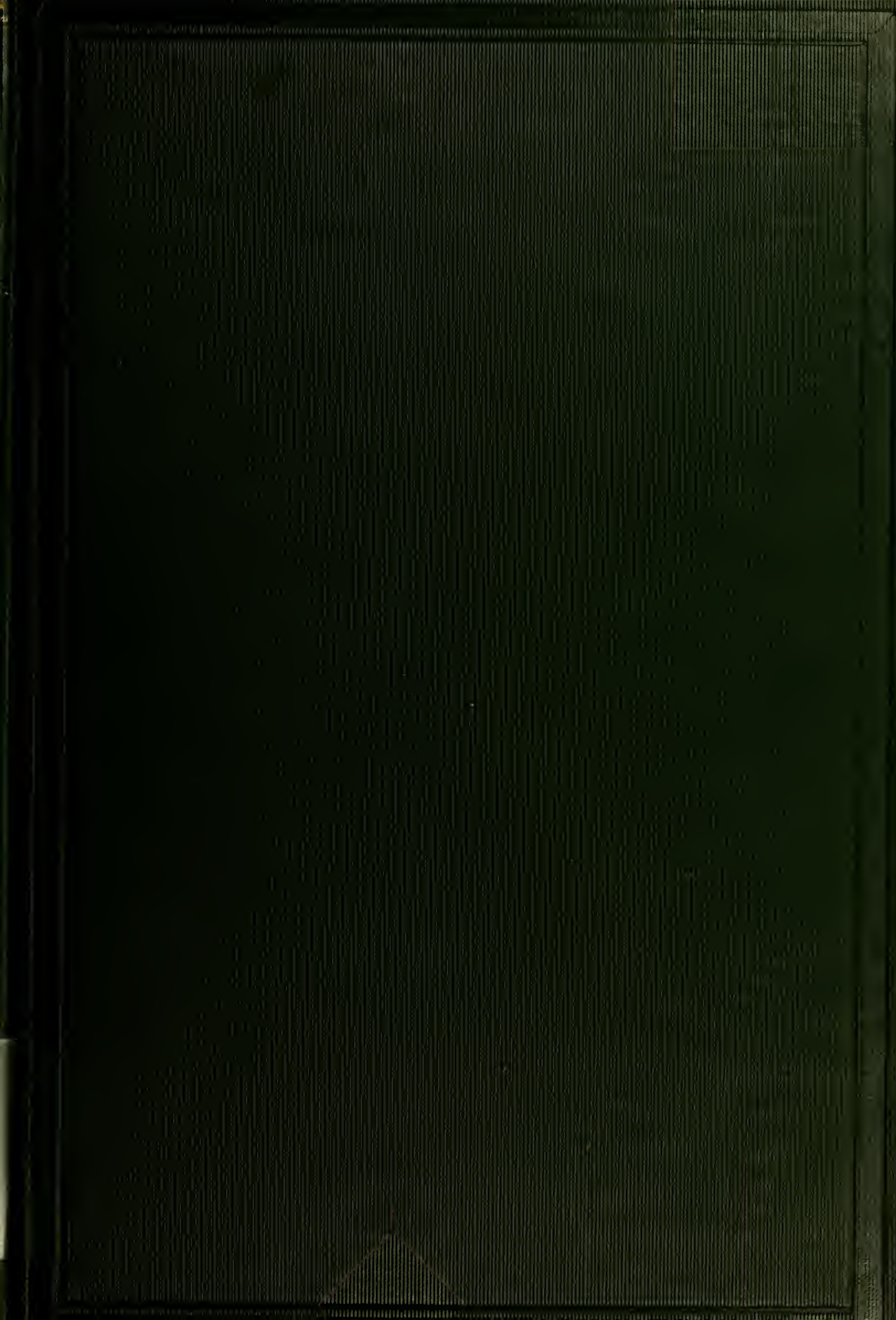




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Studies in church history

~~Wm. H. Dancy~~

STUDIES
IN
CHURCH HISTORY

BY
REV. REUBEN PARSONS, D. D.

VOL. I
CENTURIES I-VIII

THIRD EDITION

“That a theologian should be well versed in history, is shown by the fate of those who, through ignorance of history, have fallen into error. Whenever we theologians preach, argue, or explain Holy Writ, we enter the domain of history.”—

MELCHIOR CANUS, *Loc. Theol.*, B. XI., c. ii.

JOHN JOSEPH McVEY
PHILADELPHIA

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✠ MICHAEL AUGUSTINUS,

Archiepiscopus Neo-Eboracensis.

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BRIEF OF APPROBATION
FROM HIS HOLINESS, POPE LEO XIII.

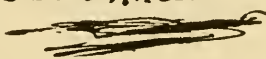
Leo P. P. XIII.

DILECTO FILIO, REUBEN PARSONS,
Presbytero Neo-Eboracensi:

DILECTE FILI, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM!

Senis voluminibus quæ nuper edita ad Nos misisti, duplicem assequutus es laudem, et utramque merito; alteram alacris ingenii magnæque eruditionis, alteram incensi studii ad Catholicum Nomen ab osorum calumniis vindicandum. Menstibi in operoso labore exantlando ea unice fuit, ut, depulsis erroribus ex historia quæsitis, facilius qui dissident ad Catholica Sacra adducantur. Hanc tibi mentem, Dilecte Fili, fortunet Deus! Nihil enim optatius Nobis est quam ut omnes unico Christi ovili, quotquot Ejus Sanguine redempti sunt, contineantur. Quo vero officii gratiam rependamus, Apostolicam Benedictionem Nostram, tibi caritatis testem, amantissime impertimus.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum die XX. Maii, Anno MCML., Pontificatus Nostri Anno vicesimo quarto.

Leo 15. 17. 1887:


(TRANSLATION.)

TO OUR BELOVED SON, REUBEN PARSONS,
Priest of the Archdiocese of New York:

BELOVED SON: HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BLESSING!

For the six volumes which you have recently published, and which you have sent to Us, you have received two encomiums, both of which you have deserved; one because of your spirited talent and great erudition, the other because of your fervent zeal in defense of the Catholic cause from audacious calumny. In the execution of your laborious design, you have had only one object in view; namely, such a refutation of historical errors as would impel separatists to enter into the Catholic Fold. May God second your endeavors, dear son! Nothing is nearer to Our heart than the hope that the One Fold of Christ may soon shelter all who have been redeemed by His Blood. And now, mindful of the privilege of Our office in your regard, we accord Our Apostolic Blessing to you most lovingly, as a testimony of our affection for you.

Given at St. Peter's in Rome on the Twentieth Day of May, in the Year MCML., the Twenty-fourth Year of Our Pontificate.

LEO PP. XIII.

APPROBATION OF
MT. REV. MICHAEL AUGUSTINE CORRIGAN, D.D.
ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK.

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,
NEW YORK, Jan. 22, 1901.

REV. DEAR DOCTOR :

Permit me to congratulate you most sincerely on the successful completion of the Herculean task of publishing your "Studies In Church History." The six ample volumes which, under this modest title, embody the results of your labors, will remain a monument of your zeal, your great learning, and your unflinching perseverance. *Improbis labor omnia vincit.* In these volumes you offer light and valuable guidance regarding all the knotty questions and controverted points of Church History; and you supply an arsenal whence may be drawn unfailingly ammunition for the defence of the Church against oft-repeated calumnies and misstatements of facts. Moreover, with this wealth of erudition in vindicating the truth, there runs through the entire work a beautiful docility to the See of Peter—in fine, that *Roman spirit* which is like a sixth sense, instinctively pointing to what is right, and guarding from error. While I felicitate you on the accomplishment of the greatest literary work ever undertaken by a priest of this Diocese, I thank you for the good example which you have thereby given to your Brethren in the Clergy; and I trust that it may stimulate others to devote their talents and their leisure to promoting the greater glory of Him who is the Immortal King of Ages, and the World's Redeemer.

I am, my dear Doctor,

Very faithfully yours,

M. A. Corrigan,

Abp. of New York.

REV. DR. PARSONS,
Yonkers, N. Y.

P R E F A C E .

Of all branches of history, none is so pregnant with matter for controversy as that which treats of the career of the Church ; none excites such wide-spread interest, or causes such intense feeling. "Theological hate" is proverbially strong ; and it influences the person of superior culture as effectively as it does one of ordinary attainments. To all who are animated by this sentiment, ecclesiastical history furnishes keen and powerful weapons. But to those who are actuated by simple yearning for truth, to those who feel that the career of a society must show whether it be of God or of man, this branch of science is of first importance. In our day, especially, appeals to ecclesiastical history are not merely of last resort—certain thinking men are influenced by its lessons when they ignore other authority in religious matters. agreeing with Fenelon that "He is profoundly ignorant of the nature of religion, who does not perceive that she is all historical" (*Education* c. vi).

In publishing the following dissertations, we are actuated by a desire to supply a want in our English ecclesiastical literature. Histories of the Church we have in abundance, but no one work which treats exhaustively, and nearly exclusively, of the many controverted points which are of interest alike to Catholic, Protestant, and incredulist. We claim no merit for having thrown new light upon subjects, many of which have been fully illustrated by master-minds, whose writings are familiar to the experienced ; but zeal and conscientiousness have united in an endeavor to lessen the labors of the student in a most

important branch of ecclesiastical lore. We are not without hope that our pages will be read with interest and profit by many of the Catholic laity, as well as by many of our separated brethren; for while we have not designed to produce a "popular" book, it would have been difficult, in a just treatment of the subject matter, to confine ourselves more carefully to the vernacular, and to avoid more rigidly the technicalities of theologians and canonists. All may not be pleased with the numerous references and quotations, which they may deem an encumbrance to the page; but it seemed injudicious, if not absurd, to expect the reader to receive, on the author's unsupported authority, citations and assertions which might affect, and sometimes wound, one's prejudices. During the course of our disquisitions we are too frequently compelled to rebuke such presumption. Again, the experienced student will appreciate the method adopted, and will not regard it as an affectation of erudition. He knows that by referring to the designated authority, he will derive, in the majority of instances, additional and valuable information concerning the matter treated in the text.

We issue our work as a sincere, albeit inadequate, token of our devotion to that Roman Church which the light of history reveals to us as One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic; as the True Spouse of Our Lord Jesus Christ, solely intrusted by the Divine Master with the deposit of truth, which she is to guard and communicate until the end of time.

NEW YORK,

Feast of the Chair of St. Peter at Rome, 1886.

STUDIES IN CHURCH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE ROMAN PONTIFICATE OF SAINT PETER THE APOSTLE.

The occupant of the Papal chair may be regarded in four different ways. He is pastor of the Universal Church, patriarch of the West, bishop of Rome, and a temporal sovereign. As ruler of the Pontifical States, most Protestants would prefer his deposition, simply because they are averse to anything which adds to the dignity of his position. As bishop of Rome, the Schismatics of the East and the Anglicans are willing to recognize him ; dissenting Protestants are willing he should be so styled, so long as his diocesans are content with the episcopal system. As patriarch of the West, the oriental Schismatics readily acknowledge him, while Protestants scarcely know of the title. But when the Pontiff asserts his authority as supreme pastor of Christendom, then all the separatist bodies, schismatical and heretical, prelatie and anti-prelatie, unite in rejecting his words. This office of Head of the Church is claimed by the Pope as the successor of St. Peter. The adversary of the Papacy, who devotes his energies to the undermining of this position, is so far logical, and he manifests an appreciation of the value of time. Could the Pontiff be dislodged from it, there would be left him no vantage-ground, the occupation of which would enable him to retrieve his loss. Now, the simplest way of proving that the bishop of Rome is not the successor of St. Peter, is not by showing that he has no legitimate title of succession, not by contending that the wickedness or even heresy of his predecessors entailed a forfeiture of that succession ; but by establishing, as a stubborn and eloquent

fact, that St. Peter himself, the presumed source of the Papal claims, never was bishop of Rome—in fine, that he never was in the Eternal City. In many and various ways, the adversaries of Rome have endeavored to prove this, and the object of the present dissertation is to show that the Prince of the Apostles did proceed to Rome, and that he there founded his Primatial see.

The first to cast doubt upon St. Peter's coming to Rome was Marsilius of Padua, a partisan of Louis the Bavarian, and excommunicated as a schismatic and heretic by an express Bull of Pope John XXII. in 1327. From his time to that of the Lutheran movement we meet no author of note who held such a view. The antiquarian Leland (d. 1557), among his many ways of pleasing his patron, Henry VIII., chose the publication of the adverse opinion. The rank and file of Protestant writers have either absolutely denied the Roman Pontificate of St. Peter, or have affected to regard it as dubious. There are not wanting, however, Protestant authors who defend our thesis, and they are among the most celebrated of their class. Such are Pearson, Usher, Young, Hammond, Blondel, Basnage, J. Scaliger, Grotius, Casaubon, Leclerc, Sir Isaac Newton, Leibnitz, Chamier, Papp, Ittig, Schrökh, Bertholdt, Neander, Gieseler, and even the Centuriators of Magdeburg. The younger Scaliger contradicts himself in this matter, for while in his *Annotations to the 18th Chapter of the Apocalypse* he asserts that no instructed person will believe in the voyage of St. Peter to Rome, he contends against Eusebius (1) that the Apostle came to Rome, not in the fourth year of Claudius, but in the second. Basnage (2) and Leclerc (3) agree that assent cannot be refused to the testimonies in favor of the Roman voyage, that only some objections of a chronological nature can be presented, and that the martyrdom of Sts. Peter and Paul, in the reign of Nero, is an incontestable fact. But they hold that St. Peter was no more bishop of Rome than of any other place, and that there are stronger reasons for supposing St. Paul to have been bishop of the Eternal City, than there are for St. Peter's having exercised that office. We shall treat of this

(1) *Animadversions on the Chronicle of Eusebius*. (2) *History*, b. 7, c. 3. (3) *Year 168*, v. 1.

matter when we have established the reality of the Roman voyage. Hugo Grotius, than whom Protestants can produce few more learned writers, says (1), "As regards Babylon, there is a controversy between the ancient and modern interpreters. By it the ancients understand Rome, where no true Christian will doubt Peter to have been; the moderns hold that by it is meant Babylon of Chaldea. I agree with the ancients." Neander (2) says that it would be "hypercritical to doubt the tradition of Christian antiquity, that Peter was in Rome." Among Catholic authors, Pagi, Papebrock, Baluze, Valois, Calmet, Alexandre, and many others, dispute as to the precise year of St. Peter's arrival in Rome, but all agree that he came there, established there the Primacy, and there suffered martyrdom.

We contend that the following events are asserted and believed to have happened, on as convincing grounds as those upon which rests any undisputed fact in history. After the ascension of our Lord, Simon Bar-Jona (son of John), to whom Christ had given the name of Peter, having preached the Gospel in many places of Judea, Galilee, and Samaria, went to Antioch in the year 36, and there established an episcopal see. In the year 42, the second of Claudius, he came to Rome, and there definitively fixed his Primatial see, suffering martyrdom in the twenty-fifth year of his Roman Pontificate, namely, in the year 66. No one disputes the voyage to Antioch, for nothing is to be gained by so doing. As for the Apostle's presence in Rome, the first witness we call is St. Peter himself. In his first Epistle, chap. 5, he says: "The Church that is in Babylon . . . saluteth you," in which place, we contend, Rome is understood by Babylon, in accordance with that figurative mode of signifying, by that name, any great but wicked city, which is in vogue even in our own day. So this passage of St. Peter was understood by Papias, a disciple of the Apostles, for he says, "Peter mentions this Mark in the first Epistle which he is said to have written at Rome; which Epistle he indeed shows to have been written there, when, by a translation of

(1) *On the 5th Chapter of St. Peter's 1st Epistle.*

(2) *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*, v. 1, p. 1.

the word, he calls that city Babylon.”(1) That the Apostles sometimes designated Rome by the name of Babylon, we learn from St. John’s *Apocalypse*, for, in chap. 17, great Babylon is said to sit upon seven hills, and to hold sway over the kings of the earth. Now, in St. John’s time, no other widely-ruling city than Rome was built upon seven hills. But why did St. Peter call Rome by the name of Babylon? Why does any man use figurative language? we may retort. But there was a reason, in the Apostle’s case, for not mentioning the place of his residence. He had just escaped from his prison in Jerusalem, and it was prudent, lest his letter should fall into the hands of his enemies, to disguise the name of the place whence it went. (2) Again, it was advisable that the quick increase of the Christian numbers in the capital should not be known, lest the emperor Claudius, who studied to please Agrippa, should more severely persecute them. But if, by Babylon, the Apostle did not mean Rome, from what city did he write his letter? Our adversaries answer, the real Babylon. In those days, there were two places of that name, one in Assyria and one in Egypt. Now, the Babylon of the text cannot be the Babylon of the Assyrians, for we know from Josephus (3) that, a few years before this time, the Jews had all—to a man—been either killed, or expelled from the city. Nor could the Babylon of Egypt have been the place of St. Peter’s residence at the time he wrote his *Epistle*. That Babylon, we learn from Strabo (4), was a small and insignificant place, not worthy the name of town or village, for it is styled a castle. The letter in question speaks of a flourishing church, which would certainly imply a place of some note. (5)

(1) In EUSEBIUS: *History*, b. 2, c. 14. (2) St. Luke used the same economy, when, in the *Acts*, he said that St. Peter went to another place.

(3) *Antiquities*, b. 18. (4) Book 17.

(5) During the first five centuries of the Christian era, not one author understands any other place than Rome by the *Babylon* of the text. Among those who explicitly declare that St. Peter wrote his Epistle at Rome, we cite Tertullian (*Against the Jews*, c. 9); Clement of Alexandria (*Institutions*, b. vi., in *Eusebius*, b. 2, c. 15); Eusebius, *ibid*; St. Jerome, (*Ecclesiastical Writers*). Those who believe that St. Peter was bishop of Babylon in Chaldea, should remember that it has always been the tradition of the Chaldeans that their first bishop was St. Thomas the Apostle, who, after six years of administration, was succeeded by Addeus or Thaddeus. In the *Catalogue of Chaldean patriarchs*, first published in the West by Assemani, and continued to our own days by Guriel (Rome, 1860), we find the name of St. Thomas at the head. We may also cite Martin Luther’s opinion in our favor

St. Paul furnishes us with, if not a positive argument, at least a good reason for supposing the presence of St. Peter in the Eternal City. In his Epistle to the Romans, written, says the Protestant Paley, in the year 53, he speaks of the Church as being in a flourishing condition in Rome. Some one of the Apostles had therefore preached the Gospel there several years before the advent of St. Paul. There are no traces of any other Apostle than Peter having been there, while the Biblical indications point at least to his presence. Again, St. Mark, a disciple of St. Peter, wrote his Gospel at Rome. St. Clement of Alexandria, in his *Hypotyposeon*, says, "When Peter had publicly preached the word of God in the city of Rome, and, filled with the Holy Ghost, had promulgated the Gospel, many who were present requested Mark, as one who had but lately followed Peter, and had his sayings by memory, that he would write down that which the Apostle had preached." Therefore, St. Peter was at Rome. (1)

Our adversaries particularly insist upon the silence of St. Paul as to St. Peter, when he writes to the Romans. When saluting so many by name, he would not have omitted a remembrance to Peter, had he been in Rome. And nevertheless, when St. Paul wrote to the Ephesians, he did not salute their bishop, Timothy; when he wrote to the Hebrews, he made no mention of St. James, who was bishop of Jerusalem. When Theodoret, a most critical investigator, commented upon this Epistle, far from concluding from it that St. Peter never went to Rome, he noted, in his first chapter, that St. Paul speaks of "confirming" the faith of the Romans, because St. Peter had already preached the Gospel to them. "Because the great Peter," says Theodoret, "had first given them the Gospel, he necessarily said

for one of his attacks on the Roman Church is entitled "The Captivity of Babylon." Another reason for refusing to recognize the Chaldean city as the Babylon of the text, may be found in the utter silence of Scripture and of all ecclesiastical writers as to St. Peter's ever having passed the Euphrates.

(1) The following writers also assert that St. Mark was a faithful disciple of St. Peter, and that he wrote his Gospel at Rome, with the approval of the Apostle: Irenaeus (*Heresies*, b. 3, c. 1), Origen (*Commentary on Matthew*, in Eusebius, b. 2, c. 25), Tertullian (*Marcion*, IV., 5), Jerome (*Isaias*, LXV., 24), Epiphanius (*Heresies*, 46), Theodoret (*Epistle 86, to Flavian*).

‘to confirm you.’ For he says, ‘I do not wish to bring you another doctrine, but to confirm that already given, and to water the tree already planted.’” But there was a good reason why St. Paul did not salute the Prince of the Apostles in this Epistle; he was absent from Rome at the time. We know, from Suetonius and Josephus, that in the 9th year of Claudius, that is, in the year of our Lord, 50, the entire Jewish population had been sent into exile. The next year was that of the Council of Jerusalem, at which St. Peter presided. He did not return to Rome until after the death of Claudius, in the year 54. Now, St. Paul’s Epistle was written at Corinth, shortly after the Council, as he passed through that city, on his last visit to Jerusalem (1). Therefore, he, quite naturally, made no allusion to St. Peter. A very interesting argument against the Roman Pontificate of St. Peter is drawn from the Bible, as follows: If Peter was at Rome when St. Paul arrived, the latter was very injurious to the former, or else we must say that St. Peter behaved in a very unchristian-like manner to his co-apostle. For, St. Paul, writing from Rome to the Philippians, says (*Chap.* 2) that there they all look after their own affairs, not those of Christ; and he says to Timothy that all abandoned him to his own defence when he was arrested. Further, when St. Paul was entering Rome (*Acts*, 28), the brethren went out to meet him, as far as the Three Taverns, but there was no St. Peter among them. To this reasoning we may say, with Alexandre, that we do not contend that St. Peter was always in Rome, that he was fastened there like Prometheus on Caucasus. His very office entailed upon him the necessity of travelling considerably, leaving the care of the Roman Christians to his vicars, from time to time. But, with regard to the argument taken from *Philippians*, the context shows that the Apostle only alludes to those whom he could have sent on his errand; certainly, he could not have sent Peter as a messenger: “And I hope

(1) That St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans was written at Corinth, shortly after the Council of Jerusalem (year 51), is proved by Origen with the following arguments. It was sent by the hands of Phoebe, a deaconess of Cenchris, a suburb of Corinth. The Apostle calls Caius, who was living at Corinth, his host. In the salutations of *Chap.* 16, he speaks of his companions in the Jerusalem journey, who were with him at Corinth.

in the Lord Jesus to send Timothy unto you shortly, that I also may be of good comfort, when I know the things concerning you. For I have no man so of the same mind, who with sincere affection is solicitous for you." In writing to Timothy, the saint complains of being abandoned by those who might have helped him with Cæsar, and among those St. Peter is not to be counted, for he was placed in the same danger as St. Paul. Another objection is founded on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, 1 and 2, where the Apostle makes no mention of having conversed with St. Peter in Rome, although he tells us of their having met at Jerusalem and at Antioch. But such mention could not be made in an Epistle which was written before St. Paul's visit to Rome. He arrived in Rome in the year 59, and the Epistle to the Galatians was composed at Ephesus in 57, as is shown by the journey of the saint, and by the arguments prefixed to the Epistle in the Latin codices.

The silence of St. Luke, in his history of the Apostles, is also adduced by our adversaries to prove that St. Peter was never in Rome. But this silence is easily explained, and in such a way as to show that it in no way favors our opponents. St. Luke's principal object was the narration of the Acts of his preceptor, St. Paul, and not those of the other Apostles. With the exception of those events which happened between the death of Christ and the conversion of St. Paul, which he narrates as a kind of introduction to his main purpose, and Peter's conversion of Cornelius, which was the commencement of the vocation of the Gentiles, to which St. Paul was specially called, St. Luke, in the whole course of his history, makes no mention of any of the other Apostles, unless where St. Paul is concerned. He is silent even as to St. Paul's journey to Jerusalem to see St. Peter; he says nothing of the meeting of the two at Antioch, and nothing of St. Paul's journey to Galatia. When noting this silence of St. Luke, St. Jerome did not regard it as an argument against St. Peter's residence at Rome; on the contrary, he contended that, because it was certain that St. Peter resided both at Antioch and at Rome, therefore it was manifest that the author of the *Acts* omitted many things

Speaking of the dissension between the two Apostles upon the legal observances, the great doctor says, in his first book on *Galatians*, treating of the second chapter, "It is not strange that Luke is silent as to this matter, since he used the license of a historiographer to omit many other things which Paul performed; and there is no contradiction, if what one man thinks proper to relate, another leaves aside. We know that Peter was the first bishop of Antioch, and that afterwards he removed to Rome, a fact which Luke altogether omitted."

St. Clement of Rome, who became Pontiff about the year 90, was a disciple of St. Peter. In an epistle which he wrote to the Corinthians shortly after the persecution of Domitian, commemorating the glorious sufferings of the Roman Christians, he says, "Let us place the glorious Apostles before our eyes. Peter did not undergo one or two, but many, sufferings, on account of wicked jealousy; and being made a martyr, he departed to the merited place of glory. Through emulation, Paul obtained the reward of patience . . . and coming to the far West, suffered martyrdom under the princes, and migrated from the world. . . To these heroes, who entered upon divine life, was joined a great multitude of the elect, who, suffering in rivalry many contumelies and many torments, were a beautiful example among us." The authority of St. Clement is of indisputable historical value, and is readily accepted as such by Pearson, Junius, Basnage, and other Protestants. But some regard his testimony as defective, inasmuch as he does not explicitly state that St. Peter died at Rome. But it is certain, in the first place, that St. Clement's letter was written in Rome, for the inscription leaves no doubt on the matter, and as such it was regarded by Dionysius of Corinth, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. The saint speaks of the great sufferings which had been undergone by his people, and which served as a beautiful example to all; among these sufferings, he places those of Sts. Peter and Paul, and the whole context shows that the "great multitude" and the two Apostles were martyred in the same place and about the same time. He speaks of St. Paul "com-

ing to the far West" to be martyred "under the princes," and in such close connection is this remark with that upon St. Peter, that the latter's presence in the far West, and his suffering under the princes, are fully implied. The "great multitude" of Roman martyrs is "joined" not only to St. Paul, suffering in the far West, but to "these heroes," of whom, he tells us, St. Peter was one. The context seems—to us, at least—so plainly indicative of the martyrdom in Rome of both the Apostles, that an attempt to render it more clear appears as unnecessary as it is futile. (1) We have already read the testimony of Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, in connection with the belief that St. Mark wrote his Gospel at Rome, at the dictation of St. Peter. Papias was a contemporary of St. John the Evangelist, and probably his disciple, and when he tells us that St. Peter wrote his first Epistle in Rome, his assertion should not be rashly contemned.

St. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, was a pupil of St. Polycarp, a disciple of St. John. In his work on *Heresies*, b. 3, c. 1, he says, "But because it would take too long a time to enumerate, in this volume, the successions of all the churches, we will confound all who, in any way, gather outside the vineyard, by indicating the Apostolic tradition, and the faith preached to men, and handed down to us by the succession of bishops of the greatest, and most ancient, and most noted Church, that one founded and established in Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul." Caius, a Roman priest who lived at the end of the second, and in the beginning of the third century, is quoted by Eusebius, *Hist.*, b., 2, c. 15, as saying, "I, however, can show the monuments of the Apostles. For, whether you go to the Vatican, or along the Ostian Way, you will meet the monuments of those who founded that Church." The testi-

(1) Pearson, Anglican bishop of Chester (d. 1686), answers this objection by asking how Clement could have asserted the martyrdom of St. Peter, if he was ignorant of the place where it occurred, as the objection implies. How did he know that the Apostle suffered on account of his own zeal, and the jealousy of his enemies? Clement therefore knew that the martyrdom took place at Rome, but did not expressly state the fact, as there was no necessity for so doing, it being too notorious to demand mention when the text did not require it. This purely negative argument is so puerile, that a scholar of the calibre of Saumaise (its author) would not be expected to adduce it. Were we to write a eulogy of the late Pope Pius IX., and not state that he died at Rome, it would not be said that we were ignorant of the place of his death.

mony of Tertullian (b. 150) is remarkably clear (1). "Come, then, you who wish to better satisfy your curiosity in the affair of your salvation; look around the Apostolic Church, in which the very chairs of the Apostles yet hold their places, and in which their own authentic letters are yet recited, sounding the voice, and representing the face of each one of them. If Achaia is near you, you have Corinth; if you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi and Thessalonica; if you can trip it to Asia, you have Ephesus; if you are in the neighborhood of Italy, you have Rome, whence we, too, have authority in readiness. How happy is that Church upon which the Apostles poured the whole doctrine with their blood; where Peter shared the passion of the Lord, where Paul was crowned!" And (2) "Nero first shed blood upon the growing faith in Rome. Then was Peter led by another, when he was fastened to the cross." Again (3), "Let us hear what the Romans say, they to whom Peter and Paul left the Gospel sealed with their blood." And (4) "Nor does it matter anything to those whom John immersed in the Jordan, and Peter in the Tiber." Eusebius, in *B.* 2, c. 24, gives us a very clear testimony of Dionysius of Corinth, who died in the second century, and is often confounded with the Areopagite. In an epistle to the Romans, the holy bishop says, "By a certain impulse of prudence, you have placed in one spot Peter and Paul, who first brought the Romans and the Corinthians into the Church of Christ. For both, when they had founded our Church of Corinth, and yours of Rome, and had indoctrinated our souls and yours with the same doctrinal precepts, at the same time suffered martyrdom." Hegesippus, who lived in the first half of the second century, and must have known some of the disciples of the Apostles, says (5), "And returning, he came back to the city, and being taken by the persecutors, was sentenced to the cross. He requested that he might be affixed to the cross head downwards, because he was unworthy to suffer in the same manner as the Son of God; this having been granted, either that the prediction of Christ might be fulfill-

(1) *Prescriptions*, c. 26. (2) *Scorpiace*, c. 15. (3) *Marcion*, b. 4, c. 5. (4) *Baptism*.
(5) *Destruction of Jerusalem*, c. 1.

ed, or because a persecutor is not unwilling to allow an increase of torture, he was killed by the cross, and Paul by the sword." Julian the Apostate may also be cited in favor of our thesis, for St. Cyril of Alexandria tells us, *B.* 10, that Julian had conjectured that St. John was led to proclaim the Divinity of Jesus "because he found that a large number of persons, in many cities of Greece and Italy" believed in it, and because he had heard "that the monuments of Peter and Paul, though secretly indeed, were venerated." To which assertion of Julian, St. Cyril answers, "John was not led to say that Christ was God by having seen the veneration paid to the monuments of Peter and Paul." St. Jerome (1) tells us, "After his episcopacy of the Church of Antioch, and his preaching to those of the dispersion who were converted from Circumcision, in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, Simon Peter came to Rome, in the second year of Claudius, to defeat Simon Magus, and there kept his priestly chair for twenty-five years, until the last year of Nero, that is, until the fourteenth." And again (2), "I am joined in communion with your Blessedness, that is, with the Chair of Peter, following no other, unless Christ, before you. Upon that rock I know the Church is built." Optatus of Milevi (3) says, "There is a unique Chair, the first in prerogatives. In it first sat Peter," etc. St. Cyprian (4) writes to Rome that his opponents "dare to have recourse to the Chair of Peter, to carry to the principal Church, from which sacerdotal unity is derived, letters from schismatics and the profane, not reflecting that there they are Romans (whose faith was praised by the Apostle), to whom deceit can have no approach." St. Augustine (5) thus urges a heretic, "Even though all, throughout the world, were such as you vainly declare, what has been done for you by the Church of Rome, in which Peter sat, and in which Anastasius now presides? Or by Jerusalem, where James sat, and where to-day John rules? We are joined in Catholic unity to these, from whom your nefarious frenzy has separated

(1) *Ecclesiastical Writers*, art. *Peter*. (2) *Epist.* 57.

(3) *Against Parmenian*, b. 2.

(4) *Epist.* 55, to Pope St. Cornelius.

(5) *Against the Letters of Petilian the Donatist*, b. 2, c. 51.

you." St. Prosper (1) sings, "Whatever Rome, the see of Peter, does not hold by arms, she acquires by religion, being made the source of pastoral honor for the world." St. Epiphanius (2) says that "Peter and Paul were the first Bishops and Apostles of Rome." Paul Orosius (3) speaking of Claudius, says that, in the beginning of his reign, "Peter, Apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, came to Rome.....From that time there began to be Christians in Rome." Lactantius (4) says of Christ and the Apostles, that "they predicted all which Peter and Paul taught in Rome, and that preaching remained fixed in memory. In it, among other wonders, they declared that it would soon come to pass that God would send a ruler who would punish the Jews and level their cities to the ground.....And so, after their demise, Nero having put them to death, Vespasian destroyed the Jewish race and name." St. Athanasius (5) writes that "Peter also, who had lain hidden for fear of the Jews, and the Apostle Paul, who had escaped in a basket, when they understood they were to be martyred at Rome, did not refuse the journey, but rather undertook it with joy." St. Gregory of Nazianzen (6) says that "Peter and Paul gained their victory in Rome." The poet Dracontius (7) tells us, "In order that Rome might not any longer ignore the benefits of Christ, Peter obeyed the divine commands, and, in company with Paul, went thither." These testimonies, none later than the fifth century, and most of them of an earlier date, ought to convince any candid mind of the historical reality of St. Peter's residence in Rome. Scarcely one of the cited authors has not spoken to the same purpose in dozens of other passages, and we have quoted but a few of the many who are available for our thesis. The reader may consult the following, also not later, any of them, than the beginning of the fifth century, and most of them of the fourth. St. Ambrose (*Sermon on Basilicas*), St. John Chrysostom (*2d Homily on the Acts of the Apostles*), Prudentius (*12th Hymn on the Martyrdom of Sts. Peter and Paul*), Sulpicius Severus

(1) *Poem on "The Ungrateful,"* (2) *Heresies*, 27. (3) *B. 7, c. 4.*
 (4) *Divine Institutions*, b. 4, c. 11. (5) *Apology for his Flight.* (6) *Poem XIV.*
 (7) *On God*, b. 3, v. 227, etc.

(*History*, b. 2, c. 28), *St. Paulinus* (*Poem* 19, v. 55, &c.), *St. Maximus of Turin* (*Sermon* 61).

We would now draw attention to the ancient Catalogues of the Roman Pontiffs. The first chronologist in the matter of the Roman succession was Hegesippus, a converted Jew, who, about the year 170, came to Rome for instruction, and while there drew up a catalogue of the Popes. "While I was at Rome," he says (1), "I composed a succession down to Anicetus, to whom Eleutherius was deacon. To Anicetus succeeded Soter, and after him came Eleutherius." It was from this Hegesippus that Eusebius derived his catalogue, and at its head we read the name of St. Peter. The Anglican Pearson asks, when speaking of Hegesippus (2), why he arranged this succession, more than that of any other city, unless it meant something. Towards the end of the second century, St. Irenaeus also wrote a catalogue, and in it St. Peter holds the first place. The authority of St. Irenaeus is great indeed, for his preceptor was St. Polycarp, a disciple of St. John. He tells us (3) that "the Blessed Apostles, founding and instructing the Church, delivered the episcopal administration to Linus." The third catalogizer was Tertullian (4), who defied the heretics of his day to prove the Apostolic origin of their sects as did the Roman Church her descent from St. Peter. "Let the heretics," he says, "publish the origins of their churches; let them display the order of their bishops in a flowing succession from the beginning, so that (we may see whether) their first bishop had, for author and predecessor, an Apostle or one of the Apostolic men. For in that manner does the Roman Church show Clement, ordained by Peter." The fourth chronologist was St. Hippolytus, bishop of Porto, at the end of the second, and beginning of the third century (5).

(1) In EUSEBIUS, b. 4, c. 11. (2) *Succession of the First Bishops of Rome.*

(3) *Heretics*, b. 3, c. 3. (4) *Prescriptions*, c. 32.

(5) In the year 1842 there was discovered in the monastery of Mt. Athos an anonymous work entitled *Philosophumena*, which was declared by Jacobi, Bunsen, and the Anglican canon Wordsworth, to be from the hand of this saint and martyr. The discovery was of importance to the adversaries of Rome, for the *Philosophumenist* was a bitter enemy of the Roman Pontiffs Zephyrinus and Callixtus. But he was soon proved to have been a very different man from the holy bishop of Porto, and to have been a heretic of the third century. One of the most erudite investigations in the matter was accomplished by Prof. Torquato Armellini, of the Roman College, and published in 1862. We allude to the *Philosophumena*, because of the following passage in favor of our thesis. In the 6th Book, the author, speaking of Simon Magus, says that he "betook himself to Rome, and opposed himself to the Apostles; he deceived many with his magical arts, but against him Peter made much resistance."

His testimony is found in the catalogue known as the *Bucherian*, from the name of its first editor, and as the *Liberian*, from the name of the last Pontiff mentioned in it. This catalogue was composed about the middle of the fourth century, and, according to the Protestant Mommsen, consists of two distinct parts, one ending with Pope Pontianus (y. 235), and another finishing with Liberius. As we know, says Mommsen (1), that the catalogue of St. Hippolytus ended with Pontianus, we may infer that it is the basis of the *Liberian*. This document begins with these words, "During the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, our Lord Jesus Christ suffered, on the 8th of the Calends of April, in the Consulate of the two Gemini; and after His ascension, the Most Blessed Peter assumed the episcopacy. From that time, is shown by succession who was bishop, how many years he ruled, and under what emperor." After the *Liberian* catalogue comes that of Eusebius, in the *Chronicle* and in the *History*; then that of Optatus, ending with Pope Siricius; that of St. Jerome, as a continuation of Eusebius; that of St. Augustine, terminating with Anastasius; that of Victor, edited by Scaliger; that of St. Prosper, published by Labbe; that of Marcellin; that of the time of St. Sylvester; that of Felix IV.; that of the Vatican, in the time of St. Gregory the Great. The more modern ones we may omit. In all of these documents, authentic as any ever handled by historian or critic, the name of St. Peter invariably heads the list of Roman Pontiffs.

The traveller who has visited Rome with an eye, not bent upon mere sources of pleasure or of distraction, but directed to what can instruct and improve the intellectual man, must have been impressed with the tradition, so vivid, universal, and absolutely held by the people, of the Roman Pontificate of St. Peter. In a dissertation of this kind, we can do no more, at best, than allude to the monuments of the Eternal City, which, from the earliest days of Christianity, have attested and perpetuated this tradition (2).

(1) *Historico-Philological Dissertations of the Royal Saxon Society of Sciences*, vol. 1.

(2) In 1864, the learned Jesuit theologian, the late Prof. John Perrone, published a little book designed for popular, rather than for learned people's use, entitled "*St. Peter in Rome*," Although meant merely as an antidote to the poisons, then as now, being disseminated in

Christian Rome has ever been an intellectual, as well as a religious, city. Nor has its intellectual culture been confined to the ecclesiastical element of its population; its literary and artistic history—and it is fuller than that of any other city in the world—shows that the Roman laity, even though guided and encouraged by the clergy, have ever been capable of, as they were always inclined to, independent investigation. And yet this Roman laity, fully as firmly as any of the clergy could wish, have always believed in the authenticity of the traditions connected with their “holy places,” as they call, by excellence, the spots sanctified by the blood of the Apostles. Commencing at our own day, and going back to the time when Constantine gave freedom to the church, we find a constant succession of Roman writers proclaiming this belief. Nay, further back than that happy day, even in the midst of the persecutions of the second century, we hear Caius praising the glories of the Vatican and the Ostian Way. Nor are the Romans ever disturbed in their proud confidence of possessing the relics of the Apostles, in the glory that the Roman soil was moistened with their blood. No other place ever claims to have been the site of their martyrdom; no other place boasts of guarding their bodies. On the contrary, from all lands there is a constant succession of pilgrimages, on the part of priest and layman, king and peasant, the learned and the illiterate, to the tombs of the Apostles. In the second century, we behold Polycarp, Hegesippus, Justin, Irenaeus; in the third, Origen, Tertullian, Peter of Alexandria. The writings of the first three centuries, Pagan as well as Christian, frequently attest the seizure of persons known as Christians from the fact of their being seen at prayer in the holy places. There was Maurus, an African, who, under Numerian, was taken “at the tombs of the Apostles” in the year 184, as we read in the ancient Martyrology. Sts. Marius and Martha, with their sons, Audifax and Abacus, Persians,

the fair land of Italy, there is much in it to repay the student for its perusal. The author devotes considerable space to the archaeological proofs of St. Peter's presence in Rome, and draws particular attention to the sarcophagi, cemeterial vials, inscriptions, &c., which may be studied in the catacombs and various museums. These objects have an eloquence peculiar to themselves, and while primarily serving to confirm the faith of the devout Catholic, necessarily command the notice of the archæologist, and the student of history.

were captured while "at prayer," and when interrogated by Claudius, they declared that they had "come to pray to the servants and Apostles of Jesus Christ." St. Paternus, coming from Alexandria, was arrested by the tribune under the same circumstances (1). So were Sts. Tranquillinus and Zoe (2). And this devotion to the tombs of the Apostles has never grown torpid in the course of time. While in the early ages, we discover an emulation in the work of praising the Apostles. Read the words of Athanasius, Gregory, Chrysostom, Germanus, in the East, and of Cyprian, Augustine, Fulgentius, Hilary, Prudentius, Isidore, in the West; we find that the succeeding centuries are no less fervent in the task. It was this firm persuasion that the Roman Pontiff was the successor of St. Peter, that caused Constantine, Theodosius, Gratian, and Valentinian, to give such splendid proofs of affectionate veneration for the Holy See. Equally devoted to Rome, because equally persuaded of her splendid prerogatives, were Clodoveus, Pepin, and Charlemagne, of the Franks; Otho and Henry in the new Empire; Ina, Offa, and Aidulphus, among the Saxons; Demetrius of Russia; Bertrand of Provence; Alphonsus of Portugal. It would be superfluous to enumerate the more modern sovereigns who distinguished themselves by their veneration for the "Confession of St. Peter." And as for pilgrimages to the Roman shrines, their antiquity and universality are too well known to need more than allusion (3).

It has been asserted that the ambition of the Roman See gave rise to the opinion that St. Peter was its founder. In that case, the ambition is certainly as old as the See itself, as is shown by the testimonies already adduced. But, if Rome propagated and nourished that opinion, when there was no historical foundation for it, how comes it that, in the olden times, there was no one to rebuke such audacity? Not one of the ancient heretics, so hotly pressed by the authority and prestige of the name of St. Peter, ever alleged that Rome had no right to invoke that name. Not one of the ancient patriarchates ever presumed to dispute Rome's

(1) BOLLANDISTS; v. 4, *August*.

(2) *Idem*, v. 2, *July*.

(3) The old *Saxon Chronicle* remarks, as an extraordinary fact, that, in the year 889, no pilgrims went to Rome, and Alfred's letters had to be sent by messengers.

precedence on the ground that her Pontiff was not the successor of St. Peter. Even the proud church of Constantinople, in her most arrogant moments, never contested the historical claims of Rome, as deduced from the Prince of the Apostles. In the height of their frenzy, some of the Byzantine schismatics held that Rome had lost her supremacy on account of the "heresy" touching the Holy Ghost; certain others claimed that Rome's jurisdiction had accrued to the "New Rome," on the transfer thereto of the imperial government. But none of the would-be "œcumenicals" ever alleged that Rome had falsely presented herself as heiress of St. Peter's authority. Again, it is a noteworthy fact that, of all the noted writers of the first three centuries, who attest St. Peter's coming to Rome, nearly all are Orientals; very few belong to the West, still fewer are Romans. Orientals were Ignatius, Papias, the Author of the "Apostolic Constitutions," Dionysius of Corinth, Hegesippus, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Caius, Origen, Firmilian, Eusebius of Caesarea, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem. Of the Western testimonies, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, and Optatus, were Africans; Lactantius may have been an Italian, but he was certainly no Roman; Philaster of Brescia was probably a Spaniard. There remains then, among all these witnesses, only one who was certainly a Roman, Pope Clement I. This preponderance of foreign testimony would certainly indicate some other origin than Roman ambition for the assertion we defend.

Many historical writers have lamented the fact of their being so frequently obliged to wrestle with difficulties of chronology. Few suffer so much from this matter as he who devotes himself to ecclesiastical history. To say nothing of the chronological mysteries of the Old Dispensation, one is taken aback on being confronted by such, at the very outset of one's investigations into the history of the New. And yet, because learned critics cannot satisfy him as to the precise year in which Christ was born, the student does not rush to the conclusion that the Word did not become man. So, in the matter of the present question of St. Peter's Roman Pontificate, our adversaries should not claim a verdict be-

cause our witnesses differ as to the date of St. Peter's arrival in the Eternal City. It is true that Lactantius asserts that the Apostle entered Rome "during the reign of Nero;" that Orosius assigns as the date, "the beginning of the reign of Claudius;" that St. Jerome puts it down as "the second year of Claudius;" that the *Book of Dates* ascribes it to the fourth year of the same. But the dissension among these authors, Lactantius excepted, is more apparent than real. Is not the "second year of Claudius" of St. Jerome very easily reconciled with the "beginning of the reign" assigned by Orosius (1)? The erudite have no confidence in the chronological authority of the *Book of Dates*. As for Lactantius, he is alone in his opinion, but he is as firm as any other author in the assertion that St. Peter was martyred at Rome. His words are (2), "During the reign of Nero, Peter came to Rome, and having performed, by the power of God, certain miracles, he converted many to justice, and established for God a faithful and permanent temple. When Nero heard of this, and learned that, not only at Rome, but everywhere, multitudes were abandoning the worship of the idols and, despising antiquity, were passing to the new religion, execrable and cruel tyrant as he was, he rushed to the destruction of the heavenly temple, and to the abolition of justice, and becoming the first persecutor of the servants of God, he fastened Peter to the cross, and also killed Paul."

Claude de Saumaise (3) contended that St. Peter could never have been in Rome, because St. Paul declares that he himself was the Apostle of the Gentiles, while St. Peter was accredited to the children of the Circumcision. Alexandre allows St. Jerome to answer this difficulty. Commenting upon the text, *Gal., c. 2, v. 7, 8, and 9*, the holy doctor says, "Did Peter therefore, when he met any Gentiles, not lead them to the faith? And if Paul encountered any of these

(1) The arrival of St. Peter in Rome during the second year of Claudius, is asserted by Eusebius (*Chronicle*), St. Jerome (*Church Writers*), Ado of Vienne (*Martyrology*), with them agree those who say the Apostle was martyred in Nero's 14th year, after ruling for 25 years, viz., Damasus, Isidore, Bede, and others.

(2) *Deaths of the Persecutors*.

(3) A famous French Protestant scholar of the 17th century. His "Defense of Charles I.," written to please Charles II., then a refugee in Holland, was the occasion of Milton's issuing his "Defence of the English People."

of the Circumcision, did he not impel them to the Baptism of Christ? This question is answered, if we say that each (Apostle) received a principal commission in regard to the Jews and Gentiles; so that they who defended the Law might have one to follow, and they who preferred Grace to the Law, might not want a teacher, and a forerunner. However, they had this in common, that they should establish a Church for Christ from among all peoples. For we read that the Gentile Cornelius was baptized by St. Peter, and that Christ was very often preached by Paul in the synagogue of the Jews." And does not St. Peter himself answer the objection of Saumaise when he tells his colleagues in the Council of Jerusalem that God had decreed that the Gentiles should hear the Gospel by his mouth (1)? And even though St. Peter had been commissioned to preach only to the Jews, it by no means follows that he did not go to Rome. We know that the Eternal City contained, at that time, a large Jewish population (2); why should not St. Peter have gone there to evangelize it? But the special credential to the Jews given to St. Peter cannot be understood as implying an exclusion of jurisdiction over the Gentiles. However, as this matter does not, properly speaking, pertain to the historical domain, we shall dismiss it with the remark that no Christian denies the universal jurisdiction of our Lord, and yet He is specially designated as "Minister of the Circumcision."

We come now to the nature of the office exercised by our Apostle at Rome. Samuel Basnage, Leclerc, and very many other Protestant authors, contend that, while it is certain that St. Peter died at Rome, it cannot be shown that he was bishop of that city. Some indeed hold that he exercised episcopal authority, but they uphold, on the part of St. Paul, a

(1) *Acts*, 15, 7.

(2) Josephus tells us, *b. 17, c. 13*, that after the death of Herod, when an embassy of the "Libertine" synagogue at Jerusalem was sent to Rome, "more than eight thousand of the Jews in the city received them." Philo, in his *Legation to Caligula*, testifies that Augustus allowed the Jews to exclusively occupy a large quarter in the city. Tacitus says that, in the sixth year of Tiberius, four thousand Jews were carried to the island of Sardinia, and the rest ordered to leave Italy unless, by a certain day, they abandoned their religion. After this expulsion, the Jews soon returned to Rome, for after the death of Sejanus, their enemy, Tiberius favored them. Under Claudius, they were so numerous that Dio says the emperor feared to use force against them; he finally did expel them, but the edict was revoked, perhaps by himself, perhaps by Nero, and under the latter emperor, they were so secure and happy, that they could publicly celebrate their festivals. See Persius; *Satire* 5.

joint jurisdiction. Others go so far as to assert the incompatibility of the Apostolate with a tenure of a particular episcopal see. There would be some truth in this last assertion, if we did not know that when St. Peter's Apostolic duties called him from his special diocese, he left its care to a vicar (1). In order to prove the Roman episcopacy of St. Peter, it is not necessary to go beyond the testimonies already adduced to prove his residence in Rome, for they nearly all speak of him as Rome's first bishop. But with regard to the joint jurisdiction claimed for St. Paul, the assertion merits special consideration. Many of the fathers seem to regard St. Paul as the equal of St. Peter; and, to this day, the Roman Pontiff issues his decrees, indulgences, &c., "By the authority of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and our own." Again, on the seals of the Pontifical Diplomas, we always find the effigies of the two Apostles, with no discrimination as to the post of honor; sometimes one is on the right, sometimes the other. All these things appear to show a perfect equality between Sts. Peter and Paul. Indeed, there have been Catholic writers who contended that St. Paul was a colleague of St. Peter in the Roman Episcopacy. We remark, before we proceed to an analysis of these objections, that while some Catholic authors have held that St. Paul exercised in Rome a co-jurisdiction with St. Peter, all agree in the teaching of Pope Innocent X., when, in 1647, he condemned as heretical the proposition asserting "a perfect equality between St. Peter and St. Paul, without a subordination and subjection of St. Paul to St. Peter, in the supreme power and government of the Universal Church" (2). If we carefully attend to the manifest sense of the passages of the fathers which are alleged to assert the equality of the two Apostles, we shall find that they do not militate for our opponents.

(1) EPIPHANIUS: *Heresies*, 27.

(2) The First declaration of St. Paul's entire equality with St. Peter seems to have been made by Claude of Turin, a Spaniard, seated in that episcopal chair in 823, by Louis the Compliant. This prelate is praised by Basnage and Mosheim as one of the forerunners of Protestantism, and is called by them the founder of the Waldenses of Piedmont. But if Claude left any followers in the Piedmontese valleys, history makes no mention of them until 1185. Again, when Pope Lucius III. condemned the Waldensian errors, he made no mention of the chief doctrines of Claude, Nestorianism, and Adoptianism. However, we do not deny that Claude was a heretic; for, besides these two errors, he made war on devotion to the Saints and declared that only a virtuous priest could validly officiate.

Thus St. Irenaeus (1) is introduced, saying that "The Roman Church was instituted and founded by the holy Apostles Peter and Paul." But how does it follow from this that St. Paul was a co-governor of that church, and much less of the Church Universal? St. Epiphanius (2) tells us that "at Rome Peter and Paul were the first Apostles, as well as Bishops." Alexandre concedes the truth of this assertion, if it be taken as regarding the local episcopacy of Rome, and that Epiphanius spoke only of that, and not of the government of the whole Church, is evident from the saint's object at the time he wrote the words. He wished to show that the particular Church of Rome had always preserved the purity of doctrine, and that, to learn what was sound teaching, it was only necessary to recur to Rome, which had been indoctrinated by Sts. Peter and Paul. St. Paul may have been a co-bishop in Rome with St. Peter, on account of his Apostolate, which certainly gave episcopal right and power, but there is nothing in the quoted passage of Epiphanius to show that St. Paul was ordinary in Rome, much less that he shared the supreme Pontificate. Nay, the context shows that he regarded St. Peter as the ordinary, for he particularly notes that St. Clement was consecrated by St. Peter. And in another place (3), Epiphanius deems St. Paul deserving of eulogy, since "Peter, the prince of the Apostles, who was worthy of receiving the keys of the Kingdom, gave him the right hand." And the holy father must have been conversant with the history of Novatianism and Donatism, and one of the most salient facts in the annals of these heresies, is the persuasion of the Romans that no diocese could have two ordinaries. St. Cyril of Jerusalem has also been cited in favor of St. Paul's co-papacy, it being alleged that he always speaks of the two apostles as "Heads" of the Church. This is not correct. The saint uses the word *prostata*, "prelate"; and when he speaks of St. Peter by himself, he terms him *protoprostata*, "first prelate." St. John Chrysostom (4) is also brought forward, since he styles both Apostles the "eyes of Rome," and the "leaders of the saints." But cer-

(1) *Heresies*, c. 3. (2) *Heresies*, 27. (3) *Ancorato*. (4) *Homily 32, on Epist. Rom.*

tainly there is here no implication of equal authority. We might call St. Gregory VII. and St. Peter Damian the "eyes of Rome" in their day, or St. Francis de Sales and St. Jane de Chantal the "eyes of Savoy," but no one would accuse us of investing St. Damian with the tiara, or of making the holy Chantal bishop of Annecy. Pope St. Leo I. (1) calls Sts. Peter and Paul "the fathers and pastors of the Roman city," and rightly, but that he did not recognize them as equals, he proves in the same sermon, when he says that Rome "has been made head of the world through the see of Blessed Peter."

The attempt to make the Roman Pontiffs testify to the equality of authority in Sts. Peter and Paul is no more successful than the torturing of the fathers to that end. It is true that the Popes style themselves "successors of the Blessed Peter and Paul," but St. Bernard, when addressing his quondam disciple, Eugene III., understood the sense of this expression, when he said "Thou art the Prince of Bishops; thou art the heir of the Apostles." When the Pontiff uses this phrase, he means not a personal succession, which is derived only from St. Peter, but a succession to all the rights and privileges of the Apostles, in which sense he is sometimes called the successor of all the Apostles.

The Pontiffs certainly invoke the "authority of Sts. Peter and Paul," when issuing decrees, etc., but they also invoke that "of all the saints;" in some decrees, the authority "of the Blessed Virgin" is mentioned in the same preamble. Patronage, and intercessory power, is here indicated; not any office of authority. In an epistle of Alexander II. (1061-1073), all of these invocations occur; and, in the decrees, etc., of the more modern Popes, they are all very frequently read. It is plain then that all, that of God, of Mary, of Peter, of Paul, and of all the saints, cannot be adopted as indicating the same authority. Had the Pontiffs ever regarded themselves as the successors of St. Paul in the same sense as they were of St. Peter, they would have treated the former with the same respect that they gave the latter, that is, not one of them would have presumed to take his

(1) *Sermon I. on the Feast of the Apostles.*

name. There have been five Popes called Paul, only one Peter. Again, if the Popes are successors of St. Paul, or thought themselves such, the last Pope Paul would have been called not Paul V., but Paul VI.

The argument drawn from the seals of Pontifical documents proves nothing against the undivided Roman episcopacy of St. Peter. In the first place, the more important documents are sealed with the "ring of the fisherman," which bears only the image of St. Peter. Again, even if the Pontifical seal were always engraved with the image of each Apostle, and with St. Paul always at the right, there could be no conclusion in the premises, for the right is not necessarily the post of honor in the Church (1).

Before bringing this dissertation to an end, we would draw attention to some events, in the early history of the Church, which certainly show that our ancestors in the faith were fully persuaded that the Bishops of Rome were the successors of St. Peter. The first event is the famous Paschal controversy which agitated the Church from the days of Pope Anicetus, culminated under Pope Victor I., (193-202), and was finally settled by the Council of Nice. We shall treat this matter in detail in its proper place; for our present purpose it is sufficient to note that the Roman Pontiffs, following the tradition received from St. Peter, wished that the entire Church should celebrate Easter on the Sunday after the 14th moon of the Spring equinox, whereas the churches of Asia Minor, following, they alleged, the instructions of St. John, ate the Paschal lamb on the evening of the fourteenth day, and kept the feast of the Resurrection three days afterwards. Hence, it came to pass that, when the fourteenth happened to fall on any other day than Thursday, Easter could not be celebrated on Sunday the proper day. The want of uniformity was productive of scandal, for while one church was feasting, another was clad in the habiliments of woe. The controversy, as we shall see, soon approached the region of dogma, and it became necessary that Rome should interfere in

(1) For proofs of this non-discrimination of right and left, in matter of precedence in the Church, as well as for St. Peter Damian's opinion as to why St. Paul is often placed at the right, see ALEXANDRE, 1st Cent., *Dissert. IV., Prop. 4.*

the interests, not only of uniformity, but of truth. Pope Victor ordered Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, to convene a Synod of all the bishops of Asia Minor, and to inform them of the Pontifical resolve to excommunicate all recalcitrants in the Paschal matter. Polycrates obeyed. Now, in the supposition of our adversaries, that the Roman Pontiff is not the successor of St. Peter, that, in fine, his authority is no greater than that of any other bishop, Polycrates, deeply attached to the Asiatic tradition, would not have obeyed. Who is this foreigner, he would have properly demanded, in his indignation, that he should dictate to us? Neither he, nor one of his Synodals, protested against an innovation, a usurpation. Some certainly yielded, in their bitterness of regret at being obliged to abandon their traditions, to human passion, and upbraided the Pontiff, not one contested Rome's primacy of jurisdiction.

Another event in the history of the early Church, which admirably illustrates our thesis, is the dispute between Pope St. Stephen (253-257) and St. Cyprian, as to the rebaptism of those baptized by heretics. St. Cyprian, as we shall see, when we come to treat of this subject, was supported in his opinion and practice, by the African and Asiatic prelates, and the controversy was extremely bitter. Yet, when the Pontiff decreed the validity of baptism conferred by heretics, provided that the proper form had been used, not one of these bishops told him to attend to his diocese of Rome, and to leave Africa and Asia in peace. They recognized Pope Stephen as the successor of St. Peter; they felt with their leader, when he wrote of that Apostle (1), "Upon him alone He built His Church, and ordered him to feed His sheep. And although, after his resurrection, He gave similar power to all the Apostles, and said, 'As the Father sent me, so I send you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven them,' etc.; nevertheless, that He might manifest unity, He established one Chair, and, by His authority, disposed that the origin of that unity should be derived from one. The other Apostles were certainly that which Peter was, united in an equal society of

(1) ST. CYPRIAN; *Unity of the Church*.

honor and power. But the beginning takes its course from unity. The Primacy is given to Peter, that the Church of Christ may be shown one, and the Chair one. They are all shepherds ; but the flock is shown to be one, which is fed, with unanimous consent, by all the Apostles. . . Does he believe that he holds the faith, who does not hold to this unity of the Church ? Does he believe that he is in the Church, who withstands and resists the Church, who deserts the Chair of Peter, upon which the Church is founded ? ” These fathers of Africa and Asia, who so sympathized with the theory of St. Cyprian, like those who had fought so strenuously for the perpetuation of their Paschal tradition, never for a moment dreamed of contesting the authority of the Roman Pontiff, because they recognized him as the occupant of “ that Chair so celebrated by the Fathers, who have rivalled each other in exalting ‘ the principality of the Apostolic Chair, the chief principality, the source of unity, and in the place of Peter, the eminent grandeur of the sacerdotal Chair ; the mother-Church, holding in her hand the guidance of all others ; the source of the episcopacy, from which proceeds the ray of government ; the principal Chair, the unique Chair, in which alone all preserve their unity.’ You hear, in these words St. Optatus, St. Augustine, St. Cyprian, St. Irenaeus, St. Prosper, St. Avitus, Theodoret, the Council of Chalcedon and others, Africa, Gaul, Greece, Asia, the East and the West united together.” (1)

(1) BOSSUET; *Sermon on the Unity of the Church*

CHAPTER II.

HERESIES OF THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES.

The Church had much to suffer, as we have seen, from the Pagan governments of the earth, and from the ignorant hatred of the Pagan peoples, during the first three centuries of her existence. This suffering was terminated, so far as the Roman Empire was concerned, by the conversion of Constantine. There was also another source of trouble which did not terminate with the active influence of Roman Paganism, and which, since God has irrevocably given to man a free will, will not terminate until the end of time. The Pagan persecutors of the early time killed the bodies of our ancestors in the faith, but the persecutors, of whom we are now about to speak, were killers, says Tertullian, of the truth itself. Heresy is one of those scandals which must of necessity cross the path of the children of light. So true is this, that the very first generation of Christians found themselves face to face with this far greater agony than any caused them by the Pagan torturer of the body.

SIMON, called *Magus*, from his profession of the art of magic, is the first heretic of whom history makes mention. He was a Goth by blood, but was probably born at Samaria. The people of this town had already begun to venerate him, when he professed the Christian faith, and received baptism at the hands of Philip the Deacon. Having tried to purchase the gifts of the Holy Ghost, as we are told in *Acts*, 8, he became the cause of the Church's introduction of a new term into her vocabulary—the word “Simony,” which, unfortunately, is often met with in her history. The doctrines of Simon so teem with absurdities, that we would be tempted to deny that any person could have accepted them, were

it not for the authority of Irenaeus, (1); Epiphanius, (2); Cyril of Jerusalem, (3); and Theodoret, (4). Thus, he was always accompanied by a Tyrian woman named Helen, who had been a common prostitute, and his followers must have been especially interested in her when they were informed that she was the same Helen who had caused the siege of Troy. They seem, however, to have been prepared to swallow anything offered by Simon, for they believed him when he declared that it was he who had some years before appeared to the Jews in the guise of the Son of God; that he had descended at Samaria as the Father; and that the other peoples knew him as the Holy Ghost. He also declared that his Helen was the first conception of his divine mind, and the mother of all men; that the love of the fallen angels for her kept her upon earth, and that to seek her—the wandering sheep—he had come upon earth. He erected his own image to be adored under the name of Jupiter; that of Helen under the name of Minerva. According to Simon, the Mosaic Law came not from God, but from some evil Intelligence, and all who adhered to it would eternally perish. These who trusted in him and his Helen might do what they pleased and yet be saved. Men were to be saved, not by good works, but by his grace. He not only allowed all sorts of obscenity, but taught certain mysteries of impurity, which he designated as the mysteries of perfect knowledge, without which no man could be saved.

With regard to the origin of the world and of man, he taught that it was through his Helen that he first conceived the idea of creating the angels, and that they afterwards created the world and mankind. The idea of the necessity of good works was suggested to man by the angels, that they might keep him in slavery to themselves. Although Simon pretended to despise the angels, yet he taught his disciples to mollify them by certain mysterious rites, lest they should seize and detain the soul when it left the body.

Simon must have been a master in the magic art, or he would not have succeeded so well in deceiving men. Nero

(1) *Against Heresies* b, 5, c. 20.

(2) *Heresies*, 21.

(3) *Catechism* No. 6.

(4) *Fables of the Heretics*, c. 1.

and some of the first people of Rome succumbed to his illusions, and he was only convicted of imposture, when, having attempted to show his divinity by flying in the air, the prayers of St. Peter caused him to perish miserably (1). Simon Magus was recognized by St. Irenaeus as the head and front of Gnosticism. But the term Gnostic is applied by the olden authors to many different sects. As all heresiarchs necessarily vaunt themselves as possessing more or less of knowledge superior to that of their fellow Christians, and this arrogance is shared by their followers, so the term Gnostic, "knowing one," came to be given to, and readily accepted by, most of the early heresies. The word fastened itself, however, in a peculiar manner, to the disciples of Carpocrates, of whom we shall speak in their proper place. Properly speaking, Simon Magus, as well as his disciple Menander, should be placed among the false Messiahs of the world, rather than among the heretics, for they both declared that they were sent by the invisible powers to operate the salvation of mankind; they both claimed to be the Holy One hitherto unknown to men.

MENANDER was a Samaritan, and a disciple of Simon. He commenced to propagate his errors in the year 74. He taught that he was the saviour of men, come down from heaven. No man could be saved from the tyranny of the angelic creators of the world unless he was initiated in the mysteries of magic and had received his baptism. This baptism would secure the recipient not only from death, but from the miseries of old age.

SATURNINE was an Antiochian, and though his heresy did not flourish until about the year 120, yet it should be treated of in this place, as the author was a disciple of Menander. Accepting Simon's doctrine as to the angelic creators of man, he taught that when the angels had succeeded in producing the body of the first man, they were unable to give it life, but that God sent the vital spark from heaven, which spark, after death, returns to its source. The God of the Jews was one of the angels, and the Saviour was sent

(1) ARNOBIUS, *Against the Gentiles*, b. 2; ST. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, *cat.* 6; EUSEBIUS, *Hist.*, b. 2, c. 12; ST. EPIPHANIUS, *Heresies* 21; ST. AUGUSTINE, *Heresies*; THEODORET, *Fables*; ST. MAXIMUS OF TURIN, *serm.* 5.

on earth to keep this deity in order, and to save those who would believe in himself. Christ was incorporeal, and appeared to men only as a phantasm; all His actions, His suffering, death, &c., were purely phantastic, in no sense real. Nuptials and carnal generation were of Satanic origin. When the angels created men they established two orders, one of the good, and the other of the bad.

BASILIDES, a companion of Saturnine in the school of Menander, was an Alexandrian by birth. He wrote a gospel, and about forty books of commentaries on the Scriptures. He held that there was one Principle, the creator of Mind, in its turn the producer of the Word. From the Word, Prudence had origin; from Prudence came Virtue and Wisdom. These two created the Powers and the Angels, who in turn, created the highest heaven and other angels; these last produced another heaven, and still more angels, and so on continued the productive process until there were 365 heavens, each with its own order of spirits. The lowest order created the earth, and their prince created man. It was this angelic chief whom the Jews knew and worshipped, and who sent his Mind in the form of Christ to free man from the dominion of his angelic tyrants. When Christ was being led to death, He changed bodies with the Cyrenian; then Simon was crucified, and the Saviour stood by unknown.

The human body does not rise from the grave. Our souls have sinned in another life, and are punished here. Voluntary sins are not forgiven, but the only punishment of sin is in the nature of the transmigration to which all souls are subject. In time of persecution it is proper to deny God before the enemy, because only the just are men, the others being as hogs and dogs; we are obliged to confess God only before men. Like his predecessors, Basilides taught his followers the most revolting obscenities. Against his doctrines wrote St. Ignatius, Martyr; Castor Agrippa, and Sts. Clement of Alexandria and Epiphanius.

CERINTHUS is said to have moved the question as to the observances of the Jewish law, which caused the Council of

Jerusalem (1). His fundamental errors were the following — There is but one God, but He did not directly create the world; He produced certain distinct Powers, who altogether ignore Him. The Mosaic law is binding upon man, equally with the Gospel. When the man Jesus became an adult, the Christ descended upon Him, and after the crucifixion returned to Heaven. Cerinthus mutilated the gospel of St. Matthew, and rejected much of St. Paul's Epistles, and all of the Acts. He seems to have had a special affection for Judas. His followers used to receive baptism in the name of those who had died without it. After the final resurrection the earthly kingdom of Christ is to come, and for a thousand years men are to live in Jerusalem in the enjoyment of carnal pleasure.

EBION taught that God gave to Satan power over the present world, and to Christ the future. Christ was a mere man, born of Joseph and Mary. Some of his followers, we learn from Tertullian (2), held that Mary conceived of the Holy Ghost, but denied that Christ was the Eternal Word. Ebion inculcated an equal respect for the Mosaic and Christian laws. He admitted as a gospel, only that of St. Matthew; he expunged from the Pentateuch all that permitted the eating of once animated things. Jesus was no more than a successor of Moses, but He was the prophet of truth, while the other prophets were only of intelligence. Ebion excogitated a book of Acts of the Apostles, in which he represented St. Paul as having been of Pagan parents, as having become a Jew for love of the pontiff's daughter, and as revolting from Judaism because he could not receive her in marriage.

NICHOLAS was one of the seven deacons of whom we read in *Acts*, c. 7, v. 5, but we do not know for certain how his name came to be given to a heresy. Some of the ancient writers hold that he had married a very beautiful woman, but had not the strength to leave her. St. Clement of Alexandria (3) says that, being accused of an excessive attachment for this woman, he offered to cede her to whoever would marry her. St. Clement adds that Nicholas

(1) EPIPHANIUS, *Heresies*, 28.

(2) *The Flesh of Christ*, c. 18.

(3) Stromaton, b. 3, c. 4

was very chaste, but that wicked men had misinterpreted his maxim that "we shall exercise the flesh," by which he meant to signify that we should rule it. Many authors hold that a Gnostic sect took their name from Nicholas without warrant, simply to feign a respectable parentage. Their principal errors were those of the Cerinthians. They especially venerated a fictitious female called Prunicus, a personification of voluptuousness. This heresy is mentioned by name in the *Apocalypse*, c. 2.

SAMPSEANS, or Schamseans, is the name given to a sect which arose in the second century, and is supposed to be identical with the Helcesites, founded by a false prophet called Elxai. According to St. Epiphanius, their doctrines were a mixture of Paganism, Judaism, and Christianity. Their name is derived from the Hebrew *schemesch*, the sun, they being supposed to have worshipped that planet; that they did so, is doubted by some (1). They held that Christ was a creature; that the Holy Ghost was of the feminine sex, and sister to Christ. They despised virginity, and commanded marriage. They rejected the Epistles of St. Paul. In the time of St. Epiphanius, this sect greatly vaunted the sanctity of two of their women, named Martha and Marthanna; they collected the dust from their sandals, and their spittle, that they might form amulets from them (2).

CARPOCRATES, an Alexandrian by birth, held that corporeal creatures were the work of the angels. Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary, and many of these sectaries were equal to Him in virtue and wisdom. Nothing is evil in itself; the distinction of good and evil subsists only in the minds of men. Every species of voluptuousness is permissible. Souls transmigrate from body to body, according to *Matth.* 5, v. 25 and 26. These heretics placed the picture of Christ along with those of Pythagoras, Plato, &c., and venerated all alike with Pagan rites. In the time of Pope Anicetus, a female Carpocratian named Marcellina made a great many perverts in Rome itself.

The GNOSTICS, of the origin of whose name we have already spoken, held all the errors, with some changes, which we

(1) BEAUSOBRE, *History of the Manicheans*, v. 2, b. 9. (2) EPIPHANIUS, *Heresies*, 50.

have mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. Each of the 365 heavens of Basilides had its presiding deity, so that, with Virtue and Prudence, the offspring of the Word, son of Mind, and finally, Mind itself, there were, subject to the One Great Principle, 369 minor gods. Christ was not born of Mary, unless in appearance. As to the turpitudes of the Gnostics, we decline to go into particulars, for, as Tertullian says, they were monstrosities rather than crimes. It is better, if we may use the words of St. Epiphanius, to consign the putrid corpse to the grave. This saint had learned the mysteries of the Gnostics from certain of their women, who, while he was a mere boy, had laid snares to his virtue, and were necessity to arise for the divulgence of their nefarious practices, the student would find them accurately, though hesitatingly, narrated in his book *On Heresy*, num. 26. One of the greatest evils accruing to the Church from Gnosticism was the evil repute into which its immoralities brought the Christian name among the Pagans. St. Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and other apologists, spent a great part of their time in clearing Christianity from the imputation of responsibility for Gnostic wickedness.

CERDO was a Syrian who came to Rome during the Pontificate of Hyginus. According to St. Irenaeus, he again and again apostatized, and again and again did public penance and was absolved. His principal error was that the God of the Prophets was not the Father of our Lord. The God of the Jews was just and severe, while the Father of Jesus was good and benign. Christ was not born of Mary, and was man only in appearance. Of the New Testament, he rejected some of the Epistles of St. Paul, the Acts, the Apocalypse, and all the Gospels excepting a portion of St. Luke's. Cerdo was condemned by St. Apollonius of Corinth in a Synod of oriental bishops.

MARCION came from the neighborhood of the Black Sea. After a terrible picture of that region, worse in his day than in our own, Tertullian (1) says, "But the most barbarous and sorrowful thing about Pontus is that there was born Marcion, more loathsome than a Scythian, more unstable

(1) *Against Marcion*, b. 1, c. 1.

than a Hamaxobian, more cruel than a Massagetan, more brazen than an Amazon, . . . more deceitful than the Danube, more refractory than Caucasus. Why not, when the true Prometheus, God Almighty, is wounded by his blasphemies ? For Marcion is more unsparing than were the beasts of that barbarity. What beaver is such a castrator of the flesh as he who abolishes nuptials ? What ermine is such a devourer as he who eats into the gospels ? Thou, O Euxine, hast produced a beast no more acceptable to philosophers than to Christians. That little dog, Diogenes, carrying a lantern in mid-day, tried to find a man ; Marcion, having put out the light of faith, lost the God he had found." This heresiarch was the son of a pious bishop, and his father was compelled to excommunicate him for the crime of rape. Going to Rome after the death of Pope Hyginus, he in vain applied to the Roman clergy for restoration to communion, and then joined the disciples of Cerdo. He first attracted notice about the year 144, in the Pontificate of Pius I. He tried to solve the question of the origin of evil by admitting a good and evil Principle. According to him, Christ did not assume true flesh. Marcion denied the resurrection of the body, and taught metempsychosis. Cain, Dathan, Esau, the Sodomites, and all the nations who did not know the God of the Jews, were saved by Jesus ; Abel, Enoch, and the Patriarchs, were not then saved, because they acknowledged said God, when they ought rather to have turned to the other God, who cannot be seen with eyes, but they will yet be saved by another Christ. Marcion rejected the Old Testament, because produced by the evil God ; as for the New, he admitted only the gospel of St. Luke, and portions of some of St. Paul's writings. He taught that man could attain salvation, only by abstaining from all pleasure not purely spiritual. Hence, he condemned marriage, and made of continence a rigid obligation, though he had himself grossly failed in its regard (1). Baptism could be given only to the continent, but, to more and more purify

(1) The reason of Marcion's strictness in matter of continence is found in his theory that the human race owes its origin to the evil principle. It became a duty therefore to abstain from the propagation of the human family. This contempt for the carnal part of man caused the Marcionites to rush blindly into martyrdom, but history mentions only three who suffered with the Catholics.

one's self, it could be received three times. According to Tertullian, in his *Prescriptions*, c. 30, Marcion finally repented of his apostacy, and implored to be allowed to enter upon a course of public penance; his request was granted, on condition that he would restore to the Church those whom he had allured from her, but he was soon overtaken by death.

VALENTINE, chief of the heresy known by his name, was born in Egypt, shortly after the death of the last of the Apostles. Being ambitious of the episcopacy, and having been disappointed, he turned his attention to heresy as another avenue of fame. Rome was a wider theatre than Alexandria, but he tried in vain to obtain followers there; expelled from that church, he settled in Cyprus, where he had better success, and soon his disciples began to spread his ideas in a part of Europe, and in Asia and Africa. He admitted a Divinity sojourning from eternity in a *pleroma*, plenitude, of light; there were also there thirty Æons, immortal intelligences, male and female, born of the union of Bythos, (depth), the first father, with Enncea or Sige (silence), and from their offspring. The first progeny of Bythos and Enncea were Intellect and Truth; these also produced two Æons, &c. The last of the thirty were Christ and the Holy Ghost (1). According to Valentine, there are three species of men; the earthly, animal, and spiritual. Cain was the source from which springs the earthly man, and that race is dissolved in corruption. Abel was the father of the animal men, and if they conduct themselves well, they will rest in a middle region; if not, they will pass into a similar animal state. Seth gave origin to the spiritual man, and he will be married to an angel of the Saviour. Catholics, said Valentine, are animal persons, and for their attainment of salvation, good works are necessary; the Valentinians, on the contrary, are spiritual, and for their salvation knowledge is sufficient. Hence, those among these secta-

(1) Heretics always find apologists, no matter how absurd may be their teachings. If the absurdities are too patent for excuse, then it is claimed that the doctrine must not be taken too literally. So it has been with these theories of Valentine, which, by the way, were taught by many before him, though in a different form. It has been contended that Valentine only used a mystic method of explaining the operations of God; that his notions are, in the main, those of Pythagoras and Plato, who probably derived them from the Chaldeans. For an excellent, though brief, treatise on this subject, see *Bergier's Dictionary of Theology*, art. *Valentinians*.

ries who thought themselves perfect, ignored even the divine law, perpetrating any foul deeds to which they were tempted. Valentine explained the mortal birth of the Saviour by saying that Christ took His body from Heaven, not from the womb of Mary; that He passed through Mary, Valentine admitted; as Tertullian expresses the idea, "He issued through the Virgin, not from the Virgin."

TATIAN was a celebrated Syrian philosopher, and after embracing Christianity he became a disciple of St. Justin. After the martyrdom of his master he returned to his own land, and fell into error. Like Marcion, he taught the two Principles, good and evil. The latter, he said, was the author of the Old, the former of the New Testament. He condemned the use of marriage, meat, and wine, as all equally the work of the evil Principle. According to him, Christ had only the appearance of a human body. Tatian composed a gospel called *Diatessaron*, that is, a union of the original four; in it he excluded all the texts which showed that the human genealogy of Christ was from David. The followers of Tatian were called Encratites, or Continentals. One of these, a certain Severus, not to be confounded with the Eutychian patriarch, Severus, of the sixth century, held that, after the creation of man by God, Satan felt the need of some help on earth, and hence created woman.

MONTANUS was a Phrygian eunuch, and commenced to teach his heresy during the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161). He was greatly aided by two abandoned women named Priscilla and Maximilla, who went about in the most free and easy manner, giving utterance to prophecies which time proved empty. Montanus and his women were especially noted for greed of money, which, says Apollonius, who wrote against them, of itself proved the falsity of their prophetic claims, since the Scriptures forbid the prophets to receive money. The errors of Montanus may be summed up as follows. In His revelations to man, God has proportioned his lessons to the capacity of man at the time. Thus, those given to the Jews were fuller than those given to the patriarchs, while those given by Christ were still more extensive and satisfactory. Montanus was the Paraclete promised by

Jesus as the teacher of all things. A hundred years after Montanus, Manes, and in the seventh century, Mohammed, preached a similar doctrine; all three forgetting that the Paraclete had been promised *to the Apostles*, and that it was therefore absurd to expect another, for whom there was no necessity. The first Montanists made no alterations in the Creed, but they claimed a system of morality more perfect than that of the Apostles. That it was certainly more austere, is seen from the fact that they denied to the priesthood the power of absolving from the greater crimes; that they kept three Lents, during which they ate nothing containing juice; that they regarded second nuptials as adulteries; that they said that we cannot fly from persecution, or purchase the leniency of the tyrant. Anything approaching taste and care in the toilet of females they regarded as diabolic; the arts and sciences, the study of philosophy and literature, were unworthy of Christians (1). Condemned by the synod of Hierapolis, they made their headquarters at Pepuzium in Phrygia, whence their other names of Pepuzians, Phrygians, and Cataphrygians. They established a hierarchy, into which they admitted women, saying that in Christ there is neither masculine nor feminine, *Gal. 3*. Their doctrines soon spread over Phrygia, Galatia, and Lydia, made some impression at Constantinople, but failed in Rome. Penetrating into Africa, they seduced, by their severe morality, the harsh and austere Tertullian. While in this heresy, Tertullian composed most of his moral treatises, and his books on Fasting, Chastity, Monogamy, and Flight from Persecution. Whether Tertullian finally returned to the bosom of the Church, is doubtful. The remaining heresies of the second century are of slight importance; therefore, we shall pass to the principal ones of the third century. Some of these are of such importance, that we shall treat of each in a special chapter; they are Novatianism, the error of the Re-baptizers, and the heresy of Paul of Samosata.

(1) Sts. Augustine, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Epiphanius, attribute certain terrible rites to the Montanists, especially to the Pepuzian faction. Thus they are said to have had a rite in which an infant was punctured by needles in the entire body, and the blood, being mixed with flour, was used for the Eucharist. If the child died, he was a martyr; if he recovered, he would be a holy priest. Tertullian denies this; St. Jerome says he would rather not believe it.

SABELLIUS was born at Ptolemais, in Libya. He commenced to spread his errors about the year 260. According to him, the Father is the only Person in God, the Son and the Holy Ghost being attributes, emanations, or operations, not subsisting Persons. The Father may be likened unto the sun; the Son unto its light, and the Holy Ghost unto its heat. The Word emanated from the Father like a divine ray, and, united with Jesus, operated the redemption of man; then, the Word ascended to the Father, as the ray to its source. The divine warmth of the Father was communicated to the Apostles under the name of the Holy Ghost. Christ, therefore, was not God, nor the Son of God, in the true sense of the terms; if Sabellius admitted an Incarnation, it was of the Father, and hence the fathers who wrote against him placed him in the ranks of the Patripassians, founded by Praxeas, in the second century. This heresy made some progress in Asia Minor, and even at Rome. In the fourth century it was revived by Photin, and in more modern times by the Socinians.

MANES, whose name has been perpetuated in the Manichæan system, was not its founder; for, according to Plutarch, its doctrines were held among many nations of antiquity. Manes, born in Persia in the year 240, was bought as a slave, when quite young, by an aged widow, who, a short time before, had become the heir of a rich magician named Terbinthus, who had met the fate of Simon Magus. Terbinthus himself had been the disciple and heir of a certain Eastern prestidigitator and sorcerer, called Scythian, who also fell from the roof of a temple in Jerusalem while engaged in incantations. The wealthy widow gave a fine education to her favorite slave, and having manumitted him, adopted him as her heir. Among the treasures originally accumulated by the unlucky magician were four of his books, which, on the death of the old lady, fell, with the rest, into the hands of Manes. The contents of these books, mixed with adulterated Christian doctrine, formed the system which Manes now presented to the world. He was obliged to flee from Persia soon after receiving his inheritance, having escaped from the prison into which he had been

thrown on account of the death of the prince royal under his spells. Arriving at Mesopotamia, he announced himself as the Apostle of Jesus Christ (1), and commenced to preach his doctrines. In the year 277, he held a dispute with Archelaus, Bishop of Cascar, who proved, to the satisfaction of all, that Manes was an impostor. The *Acts* of this conference are yet extant (2), and are the source of whatever information Socrates gives as to this heresiarch. Manes now returned to Persia, but falling into the hands of the king, he expiated the death of the prince royal by being flayed alive. His disciples carried his doctrines throughout the East, and finally they entered Europe. At the end of the fourth century they were well known in Africa and in Spain. Down to the time of the Emperor Anastasius they were under the ban of the empire, but, in the year 491, under the influence of his Manichaean mother, that sovereign gave them some rest. Justin and his successors returned to the old rigor. Manicheism, though divided into numerous sects, was quite powerful in the East until the end of the ninth century, when, having joined the Saracen invaders, its professors were defeated in several campaigns, and finally dispersed. Some penetrated into Bulgaria, others into Lombardy, and in the beginning of the eleventh century we find them strong in France, especially in Provence and Languedoc. In the diocese of Albi they were particularly numerous, whence their name of Albigenses. During the last years of their existence, the Manicheans had abandoned the fundamental hypothesis of two Principles; they spoke of the evil Principle as we do of Satan. But they clung to their errors as to the Incarnation and the Sacraments, to their hatred of the Catholic hierarchy, and to that refined libertinage which often accompanies false spirituality.

With regard to the errors of Manicheism, it must be observed that its leaders did not follow Manes in everything; each one arranged his doctrines so as to best suit the

(1) Some authors have held that Manes was a Christian priest; St. Cyril of Jerusalem asserts that he never embraced the faith.

(2) *Collection of Ancient Monuments of the Greek and Latin Churches, Rome, 1696.*

time and circumstances. Theodoret counted seventy sects of Manicheans, who were united in the avowal of belief in two Principles, but who differed as to their nature and operations, as well as to the speculative and moral consequences to be drawn therefrom. But the following points were of general acceptance among them. Starting with the idea of a good and an evil Principle, they declared that flesh being material, and matter being the work of the evil Principle, the flesh of Christ was not real, but simulated (1). They condemned generation, and impeded it; the priests instructing the married, according to the ideas of the time, how to effect the nefarious design (2). Our bodies, they said, will not arise from the grave, for the simple reason that they come from the evil one (3). They rejected the Old Testament, asserting that the God of Moses was one of the princes of darkness; as for the New, some admitted this portion, some not (4). Each man has two souls, one of which is a part of God, and the other from the evil one; every good deed is to be attributed to the good soul, every evil one to the bad (5). In man there is no free will; if there were, God would be to blame for sin (6). Baptism is not necessary for salvation, and hence they baptized none of their number (7). Souls transmigrate; the souls of Manicheans are assumed by the more perfect of the sect in their food, and being thus purified, return to the good Principle (8). Some of the customs, of the Manicheans were strange, and some detestable. Some again were simply horrible, and like those of the Gnostics, are better left unnoticed (9).

Before closing this chapter upon the heretics of the first three centuries, we would say something upon the doctrines of Origen, if it were certain that this great writer was guilty of heresy. This great man, says Tillemont, "was banished from his country, deposed from the priesthood, excommunicated by his own bishop and by others, at the same time that great saints were defending his cause, and when God seemed to have declared for him, by bringing into the Church,

1) AUGUSTINE, *Heresies*, 46; EPIPHANIUS, *Heresies*, 66.

(2) *Idem*, *Customs of the Manicheans*, c. 18.

(3) *Idem*, *Against Faust*, c. 2.

(4) *Idem*, *ibidem*, c. 3.

(5) *Idem*, *On the Two Souls*, c. 1.

(6) *Idem*, *On Free Will*, *passim*.

(7) AUGUSTINE, *Heresies*, *passim*.

(8) *Ibidem*.

(9) AUGUSTINE, *Customs of the Manicheans*, c. 18, 19, 20.

through him, many men whom she regards as her brightest ornaments. After his death, his lot is what it was while he lived. Saints are opposed to each other in his regard. Martyrs have written his apology, and martyrs have written his condemnation. Some have looked upon him as the greatest master the Church has possessed since the Apostles; others have detested him as the parent of all the heresies born since his time." It is not within the scope of our work to enter upon a question which the reader can better settle, at least to his own satisfaction, by comparing the arguments of the many learned men who have discussed the matter. That Origen was not an obstinate heretic, to say the least, would appear from the following passage cited by St. Jerome, and taken from a letter written after his excommunication at Alexandria. Complaining that his writings have been mutilated and corrupted, and that many have been ascribed to him which he never wrote, he says, "I am content to leave my enemies and my calumniators to the judgments of God; I think that I am obliged to pity them more than to hate them, and I would rather pray God to have mercy on them than wish them any evil, for we are born to pronounce blessings and not malediction." (1)

(1) "The olden enemies of this father," says Bergier, "carried their obstinacy to the point of accusing him of approving of illicit magic, and of finding no crime in it. Beausobre, in his *History of Manichæism*, v. 2, b. 9, c. 13, refutes this accusation Some authors have asserted that Origen succumbed during the persecution of Decius, and that he threw incense into a sacrificial fire, in order to escape an infamous treatment with which he was threatened. But it is not credible that so courageous a man as Origen would have thus contradicted the lessons given by himself to so many martyrs; and that the many enemies who attacked him, after his death, would not have mentioned so odious a charge. So true is it that a great reputation is frequently a very great misfortune." Daniel Huet, bishop of Avranches, was the first to publish the exegetic works of Origen (1668-1679), in 2 v., fol., with a learned monograph entitled *Origeniana*. The learned Benedictine of St. Maur, La Rue, published, in 1733, the complete works; and the reader will find all that we have from the pen of Origen, together with a Latin translation, in Migne's *Patrology*.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH.

Authors differ as to the number of the persecutions which the Church underwent before the time of Constantine. St. Augustine, in his beautiful work on the *City of God*, book 18, c. 52, gives us many opinions, and declares his own inability to solve the question. Paulus Orosius thought there were ten, but only because he regarded the ten plagues of Egypt as prophetic of the Pagan onslaughts on the early faithful. Sulpicius Severus numbered nine; Lactantius five, but he only enumerates those the instigators of which met a violent death; Prudentius devotes all his energy to a description of the sufferings of the Christians under Nero and Decius. But, be the number ten or less, it is certain that there were many severe persecutions, and that the number of martyrs was large. Reflections upon the fearful sufferings of their ancestors in the faith have ever been the source of triumph, rather than of melancholy, to the more modern Christians, and their polemicists have drawn from these persecutions one of their most stringent arguments wherewith to prove the divinity of the Christian religion. It is not strange, therefore, that writers of the Gibbon stamp should endeavor to belittle the extent of these dire visitations of brute force, and to palliate in every way the cruelties by which they were accompanied. Among the many men of note who have bent themselves to this melancholy and ungracious task, sad pre-eminence is claimed by Voltaire; but in the contest of bad faith and sophistry, distinction should also be awarded to Basnage, John Leclerc, Gibbon, and Henry Dodwell. The last named, an Irish author of the seventeenth century, has presented

his arguments more fully than any of his brethren, and hence against him have principally been directed the efforts of most Catholic writers who have treated of this subject. Of these, the most satisfactory are Rinaldi, on the *Persecutions of the First and Second Centuries*; Ruinart, in his *Preface to the Acts of the Martyrs*; F. Luchini, in a preface to his Italian translation of the work of Ruinart; and Palma, in his *Historical Lectures*.

Although it is our main purpose to treat of those persecutions which were visited upon the early Christians by the Pagans, yet we cannot omit, at the commencement, a mention of the uprising against the disciples of the Lord, excited by the Scribes and Pharisees in the year following His death (1). It was then that suffered St. Stephen, the first martyr, and, according to some writers, two thousand others. Nor should we forget the outburst of Herod Agrippa at Jerusalem, in the eleventh year after the crucifixion of Christ, when St. Peter was put in chains, and, in all probability (2), St. James the Greater put to death. Some also regard as a persecution of Christians that edict of Claudius by which all "Jews" were expelled from Rome, because, as Suetonius says, "at the instigation of *Chrest*, they were guilty of tumults." Many authors exclude this action of Claudius from the list of persecutions, on account of the use of the term "Jews," and because of the name *Chrest* being assigned to the Jewish leader. But we know that in those days the Pagan writers often spoke of the Christians as Jews. As for the name *Chrest*, it was in familiar use among the Romans, as appears from many inscriptions, and from Cicero, book 2d of Epistles, Epist. 8, *ad Fam.* Very easily indeed might the Pagans have confounded the name of Christ with that of *Chrest*, with which they were more familiar. Palma is of opinion that this ejection of the "Jews" should not be classed among the Christian persecutions, because the alleged cause of the edict was the tumultuousness of the victims, not their religion. But very

(1) Petau, Usher, and Tillemont assign this persecution to the year of our Lord's death: Baronio places it in the year 35.

(2) It has always been a Spanish tradition that St. James preached in Spain, but there is no solid foundation for it.

frequently the Pagan authorities, in assigning a reason for their assaults upon the Christians, made no mention of religion; nay, they not seldom put forth purely political motives as an excuse. And if, as seems probable, by the *Chrest* of Suetonius was meant the Lord of the Christians, the religious motive is plainly indicated.

To the emperor Nero (37-68) is to be assigned the first open persecution of Christianity by Rome. The precise year of his first outburst is a subject of dispute among critics. Baronio regards the year 66 as the date, Eusebius the year 70, and others go back as far as the year 58. The probable date is that assigned by Pagi, namely, the month of August of the year 64, in the consulate of Licinius Bassus and Marcus Lic. Crassus. As for the cause of the persecution, authors differ. Hegesippus and Nicephorus Calixtus ascribe it to the destruction of the impious Simon Magus, brought about by the prayers of St. Peter. Others find the cause in the rage of Nero, on account of St. Paul's having restored to life one Patroclus, whom the emperor had put to death. Another reason is traced by some to the corrupt habits of the heretics of that day, which had brought the Christian name into terrible disrepute (1). Some again assign the reason of the outbreak to the ancient law of the Roman Senate prohibiting the adoration of any deity not approved of by that body. While each and every one of these causes may have either influenced the emperor, or persuaded the people to acquiesce in the decree, the real motive of the persecution seems to be given by the Pagan historian, Tacitus (2). In the year 64, the city of Rome was visited by a terrible conflagration, which, according to this author (3), lasted for six days. It was bruited around that no less a personage than the young emperor was the incendiary, and so firm a hold did the idea take on the minds of the people, that Nero was forced to seek some means of diverting the imminent fury of the Romans from himself. The necessary scapegoat was found in the rapidly growing sect of the Christians. This body of religionists were in

(1) *Justin Martyr and Eusebius*. (2) *Annals*, book 15, c. 44. (3) According to an ancient monumental slab, preserved in St. Peter's at Rome, the fire lasted nine days.

bad odor among the Romans. They were popularly supposed to be guilty of secret and atrocious crimes; to be animated by a most ferocious hatred towards the rest of mankind. Against them, therefore, was the indignation of the mob directed. In a few days Rome was illuminated by an unwonted light. Torches were made of the quivering bodies of thousands of innocents of both sexes and of every age, while daily use was made of every torture which imagination could invent for the amusement of a cruel people. Dodwell (1) asserts that this persecution was confined to the city of Rome, but there is abundant proof that it extended throughout the empire. Tacitus assigns as a reason for it that the Christians were accused "not so much of the crime of incendiarism, as of a hatred of the human race," which charge would certainly apply equally well to all of them. Again, we learn from an epistle of the younger Pliny to Trajan (2) that while he was pro-praetor of Bithynia, many Christians having been sentenced to death, he asked the emperor Trajan what course he should pursue in their regard, and that he was answered that only those Christians should be prosecuted whom some one should accuse by name. Now, the laws in accordance with which Pliny and Trajan thus acted were not laws made by Trajan, for Tertullian and other ancient writers, while they admit that many Christians suffered death during his reign, deny that he was a persecutor. Nor could they have been the laws promulgated by Domitian, for, according to Tertullian, they were repealed by that emperor himself; according to Eusebius, they were abrogated by the Senate or by Nerva. And they could not have been laws of the old republic; for while we know from Cicero (3) that no new gods were to be received without the approbation of the Senate, yet capital punishment was not the penalty for a violation of the decree. It follows then that the laws under which Pliny condemned the Bithynian Christians were laws of Nero, which had not been cancelled by his successors. Therefore the persecution decreed by that emperor was not restricted to the capital.

(1) *Cyprianic Dissertations*, no. XI. (2) *Book 10, epist. 97*. (3) *On Laws*, book 2, c. 2.

Next in order to that of Nero comes the persecution of Domitian, who mounted the throne in the year 81. Baronio assigns its commencement to the year 90; Pagi prefers the year 93; Rinaldi agrees with St. Jerome in placing it in the year 94. Some writers have interpreted the first epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians as indicating that the cause of the eruption is to be found in the dissensions which existed in the Christian ranks. But it is more likely that its origin must be ascribed to the virulent hatred of the populace towards the new religion. It was during the first year of this persecution, according to Tertullian, that the Apostle St. John was plunged into a caldron of boiling oil, and, emerging intact, was exiled to Patmos. After St. John, the most distinguished victim of this persecution was Flavius Clement (1), who was of consular rank, and, although a cousin of the emperor, was executed for impiety towards the gods. The universality and cruelty of this persecution is impugned by Dodwell and his imitators, but the testimony of ancient and reliable authors proves that it was general and terrific. Dio Cassius says, "In the same year Domitian put to death, among many others, Flavius Clement, although he was his own cousin, and had for wife Flavia Domitilla, a relative of his; both were charged with impiety towards the gods, and many others. . . . were condemned for this crime, some being executed, and some despoiled of their goods. Domitilla was merely exiled to Padetaria, but he ordered Glabrio, who had been a magistrate under Trajan, to be killed." Brutius, a Pagan author of the second century, is authority to Eusebius for asserting that under Domitian many Christians were put to death. It is true that we have but comparatively few authentic records of martyrdoms in this and previous reigns, but that want does not necessarily bring comfort to those who would palliate the cruelty of the persecutors. At this time there was a dearth of writers among the Christians, not because they were at all lacking in men or culture, but because, as Papebroch observes,

(1) Baronio seems to doubt as to his martyrdom, on account of the silence of the ancient Martyrologies. In the year 1725, the body of this martyr was found in the ancient basilica of St. Clement at Rome. Traces of blood were found in the leaden case, as well as the glass bottle usually and only placed with the body of a martyr. On the case were inscribed the words, "Here is happily buried the martyr, Flavius Clement."

in the midst of consternation people are not likely to make formal records of events. The ecclesiastical notaries, one of whose duties it was to put on record the important events of their churches, were certainly not established before the time of Domitian, and probably afterwards. And we know that in the Calendars, *Festa*, Diptychs, and other monuments of the time, it was not the custom to insert any but the names of those martyrs who were venerated in the particular church owning the document. Sometimes only those were recorded whose "natal days" were celebrated in pomp and by public sacrifice. Had the persecution of Domitian been comparatively light, as Dodwell contends, the Christians would scarcely have styled him "another Nero;" Lactantius would not have called him "no less a tyrant;" Tertullian would not have applied to him the phrase, "heir to a portion of Nero's cruelty."

After the death of Domitian, in the year 96, the Christians experienced a little rest, although isolated cases of martyrdom were of not unfrequent occurrence (1). Nerva rescinded the cruel decrees of his predecessor, allowed the exiles to return, and ordered that hereafter no one should prosecute the "Jewish sect" for impiety. But with the reign of Trajan (y. 98) terror again visited the Christian communities. This persecution is styled the third by Sulpicius Severus, St. Augustine, and Orosius. As to the precise date of its beginning critics are again at fault. Baronio assigns it to the first year of the new reign; Pagi places it in the year 111; Usher, with more plausibility, names the year 106 (2). Tertullian and Eusebius show that Trajan issued no new decrees against the Christians, and he is generally regarded as one of those "good princes" under whom, as the ancient author of "Deaths of the Persecutors" says, "the Church suffered no assault from the enemy." But even if Trajan merely executed the old decrees of Nero, he no less merits the name of persecutor. During his reign happened the martyrdom of St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, in the year

(1) If we accept as true the narrative of Polycrates, which is defended by the Bollandists and by Tillemont, St. Timothy suffered at this time. However, some hold that he was killed during a popular tumult.

(2) *Notes to Martyrdom of St. Ignatius.*

107. In the very beginning of this reign, according to Pearson, was crucified the bishop of Jerusalem, Simeon, the son of Cleophas. Under Trajan also suffered the Supreme Pontiffs, St. Clement (*Romanus*), Evarist, and Alexander; the martyrs, Nereus, Achilleus, Sulpitius, Severianus, and Cesareus. That this persecution was widespread and virulent appears from the following words of the author of the Acts of St. Ignatius of Antioch, the authenticity and value of which work are readily admitted by such Protestant critics as Usher and Pearson. "In the ninth year of his reign, waxing arrogant on account of his victories over the Scythians and Dacians and many other peoples, and deeming only wanting to his universal domination the religious body of Christians, Trajan compelled all the pious livers to either sacrifice or die, threatening them with persecution unless they would join in the worship of the demons along with the rest of the people." The same fact is shown by St. Polycarp, who, in his epistle to the Philippians, besought them to imitate the patience of Ignatius, Zosimus, and Rufus (martyrs). And Tertullian, speaking to the proconsul Scapula, narrates the cruelties of Arrius Antoninus, Trajan's lieutenant in proconsular Asia. But no other authority need be adduced than that which we have already read in the younger Pliny, and for which Tertullian bitterly upbraids the emperor as cruelly inconsistent: "He orders them to be left undisturbed, as innocent; he commands them to be punished as guilty. He spares, and he is cruel; he dissimulates, and takes cognizance. Why dost thou subject thyself to censure? If thou condemnest, why dost thou not investigate? If thou dost not inquire, why not acquit?" Although he promulgated no new laws against the Christians, he left the persecution to the discretion of the prefects, and it is not likely that Pliny was the most cruel or corrupt of those satraps.

The persecution under Adrian was called by Eusebius an appendix of that of Trajan; Sulpicius Severus styles it the fourth of the list. According to Tertullian and Melito of Sardis, this emperor issued no edicts against the Christians; but as the present question is one of fact, and not

of name, we cannot admit with Dodwell that under his rule there were no persecutions. St. Jerome tells us Adrian was a devotee of Paganism ; Spartianus lauds him as most careful in fulfilling his duties as Pontiff ; Tertullian calls him an untiring seeker into curious things, and says that he followed all sorts of magical arts. With such dispositions, one would at least suspect him of being unlikely to leave the path of his predecessors. Baronio assigns as a reason for this fourth persecution the tumultuousness of the Jews. Some writers find its occasion in the abominable habits of the Carpocratian heretics, which caused the people to rage against all Christians. At any rate, the persecution took place, as we shall show. Tillemont adduces the *Acts* of St. Eustachius, who perished during the reign of Adrian, but more severe critics reject the documents. But there is no doubt of the authenticity of the *Acts of St. Symphorosa and her Seven Sons*, put to death by Adrian at his beautiful villa at Tivoli, after he had already destroyed her husband and his brother. From these *Acts* we learn that, about the same time, a very large number of martyrs were destroyed. Dodwell asserts that, with the exception of Pope St. Telesphorus, no martyr fell under Adrian. But we have an inscription from the catacombs of St. Callixtus published by Arringhi, in his *Subterranean Rome*, which proves the contrary. It reads as follows: "In the time of the emperor Adrian, at length rested in peace the youth Marius, an officer of the army, who lived long enough, since he yielded with his blood his life for Christ. His well wishers placed this with tears and fear." The word "fear" would certainly indicate some anticipation of future trouble to the survivors. The testimony of St. Justin Martyr may be adduced as proving the existence of persecution, probably under Adrian, and if not, certainly since the time of Domitian, for he was born in the year 105, and speaks of what he saw. "While I was yet a follower of the Platonic philosophy, and heard the Christians pursued by calumny, and saw them stand intrepid before death and all formidable things, I thought to myself that such persons could not be given to vice and voluptu-

ousness." Dodwell and his imitators tell us that Adrian gave rescripts of exemption in favor of Christians. This is true; but if persecution had not been going on, where would have been any occasion for the exemption? The facts are these. Adrian was passing the winter, probably of the year 126, at Jerusalem, and, initiating himself into the Eleusinian mysteries, his Pagan zeal was redoubled, and the Christians felt its effects. At this juncture, a petition was presented to him by Quadratus, a disciple of the Lord, (1) and Aristedes, an Athenian philosopher, begging for indulgence to the Christians. On account of these supplications, and because of a letter of Serenus Granius (or Grani-anus), an Asiatic proconsul, urging that it was ill-seeming to condemn Christians merely on account of popular clamor, a decree was issued to Minucius Fundanus, successor to Granius, stopping the persecution. This rescript of Adrian was sent, according to Eusebius, not only to Fundanus, but to many other prefects, and was afterwards quoted by Melito of Sardis, in his *Apology* to Marcus Aurelius.

Antoninus Pius reigned from the year 138 to the year 161. He was singularly clement, and of very affable manners. Nevertheless, that his Christian subjects had no reason to revere his memory, we must judge from the following inscription (2) found in the Callixtan catacombs, and dedicated to the memory of a martyr named Alexander, who was killed under Antonine. "Oh! unhappy times, when, in the midst of sacred things, and occupied with our prayers, we cannot be safe even in the bowels of the earth; what more miserable than life, and what more miserable than death, when we cannot be buried by our friends?" And Justin Martyr, in his *Apology*, No. 1, expressly charges Antonine with a persecution of the Christians.

Marcus Aurelius succeeded his father-in-law Antoninus Pius in the year 161, and reigned until the year 180. He was quite a philosopher, having donned the mantle of the Stoics when but eleven years of age. A good warrior when

(1) Halloix thinks that this Quadratus is the "Angel of Philadelphia" to whom the Lord speaks in the Apocalypse.

(2) ARRIGHI, *Subterranean Rome*, book 3, c. 22.

necessary, he was yet a lover of peace, and his general course was more beneficial to his subjects than that of most Roman emperors. Some authors have scented the odor of a Christian spirit in his *Meditations*, but that he persecuted the Christians, is beyond the possibility of a doubt. After the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, and disciple of St. John, the widowed church sent to all the other churches of Asia an epistle describing the sufferings of the holy bishop and of his twelve companions. He had been burnt at the stake in the year 169, and the fathers allude to many other martyrdoms which happened about the same time. Eusebius, in his Book 4, c. 26, gives many passages from an apology which Melito of Sardis presented to Aurelius, interceding for the Christians, and we find him insisting that no more cruel punishment could be visited upon them if they were enemies of the state. St. Irenaeus is supposed to be the author of an epistle which, during this reign, the churches of Lyons and Vienne sent to those of Asia and Phrygia, and in it we find a graphic description of the persecutions in Gaul. And if the sufferings of the Christians at this time were not great and widespread, why so much anxiety and eloquence as are displayed in the *Apologies* of Apollinaris, Athenagoras, and Miltiades, all written at this period?

From the death of Marcus Aurelius, in the year 180, until the year 197, the Church of God enjoyed a spell of tranquillity. Outbursts of popular hatred certainly occurred now and then, but no new law was enacted against the Christians, and the old laws fell into desuetude. But in the year 197, Septimius Severus was induced to shake the dust from the old edicts, and five years afterwards he promulgated a new one of the severest nature. The following passages of Eusebius would sufficiently indicate the quality of this persecution. In Book 6, c. 1, he says "when Severus had excited a persecution against the Church, throughout all the churches of the world were perfected illustrious martyrdoms on the part of athletes contesting for piety." And in c. 2, "Therefore in the tenth year of the reign of Severus, when there burst forth a most devastating

fire of persecution, and innumerable martyrs were crowned." Finally, in c. 7, "He thought that then was imminent the coming of Antichrist, so vehemently were the souls of many affected by this persecution against our people." The words of Dion Cassius are clear, "He visited with death a great number of men who were of equal nobility and honor with himself." Equally plain is the saying of Clement of Alexandria, in the 2d Book of his *Stromaton*, "For us are daily redundant the fountains of martyrdom; with our eyes we see those who are roasted, who are broken apart, who are beheaded." And in Book 4, he says that they are so treated merely "because they are Christians." These testimonies are enough to show that the persecution of Severus was bloody indeed; as to its length, there is no doubt that Dodwell errs when he states that it was a temporary storm. In his address to Scapula, who had been sent as proconsul into Africa towards the end of the persecution, Tertullian describes the course of procedure of no less than six successive proconsuls, which certainly proves that the attack was not a passing one.

The next open persecution was that of the emperor Maximin; but before we enter upon any account of it, we must say a few words in regard to the reign of Alexander Severus (222-235). This sovereign always manifested a kind of benevolence towards the Christians; his household was filled with them; his mother was "a good woman," and associated familiarly with the new religionists. Upon these slight foundations, some critics have built a theory that Alexander was a Christian. As for Julia Mamaea, the mother of the emperor, we have the testimony of St. Jerome and Eusebius that she was given to devotion, and they tell us that she once invited Origen to the palace, and that she listened to his doctrinal explanations. But they do not say that she was convinced of the truth of Christianity; on the contrary, Eusebius insinuates that the Egyptian doctor left immediately for home; so we may suppose that the fair Julia found his maxims too uncompromisingly severe for her delicate constitution. Nor does the testimony of Lampridius, in his *Life* of Alexander, go to show that Julia embraced

Christianity, for while he certainly styles her a holy woman, he speaks in a manner which plainly proves that he uses the term "holy" in anything but a Christian sense. He says she was "a holy woman, but miserly—fond of gold and silver." Such was not a characteristic of Christian sanctity, especially in the primitive ages. As to Alexander himself, we learn from Lampridius that he "conceded privileges to the Jews, and allowed the Christians to exist," which was very much from a Roman emperor, but was not equivalent to becoming a Christian. If this passage is conclusive for any theory of conversion, it proves that Alexander became a Jew rather than a Christian. And if the emperor really revered our religion, why was he content with simply permitting its votaries "to exist"? Why did he not abrogate the cruel laws against them which were exposing them to the uncertain disposition of each individual prefect? Nor must we forget that one of Alexander's most trusted administrators was Domitius Ulpianus, a man who used his power to the utmost to gratify his hatred towards the Christians, and who, we learn from Lactantius (1), "compiled a collection of the nefarious rescripts of the emperors in regard to the duties of a proconsul, that he might show what punishments ought to be inflicted upon the adorers of God." Had Alexander been a Christian, he would have removed from this and similar men the temptation and power to persecute. Of no value whatever is the argument drawn from the fact, narrated by Lampridius, that the emperor preserved in the oratory, where he made his matutinal devotions, an image of Christ. This image he cherished, but among those of Apollonius, Abraham, Orpheus, "and such like Gods." Nor were all the images in Alexander's oratory those of revered personages, for we know from the same Lampridius that he kept therein the image of Alexander the Great, whose drunkenness and cruelty he condemned. The other arguments adduced by those who have alleged the Christianity of Alexander Severus are of no moment whatever.

After the assassination of Alexander Severus in Gaul, in

(1) *Inst. Div.*, book 5, c. XI.

the year 235, the troops proclaimed as emperor the burly Maximin. The son of a Goth, his only staff in the struggle of life the possession of herculean strength, he was the right material for the forces of hell at a time when they relied upon brute force more than upon the depraved reason of man. His first move against Christianity appears to have been instigated by a spirit of intense personal hatred against the family of his easy-going predecessor. The household was filled with Christians, and its heads were favorably disposed towards the new religion; that was sufficient to unleash the hounds of prey. His first step was to pounce upon the ministers of religion: the shepherds removed, the flock would soon succumb. Before long the persecution spread throughout the length and breadth of the empire, and was felt the more terribly, says Firmilian of Cappadocia, because several years of comparative peace had unaccustomed the victims to such danger. For three years Maximin reigned, and wielded his bloody scourge, and during that time the Martyrology received many of its noblest additions.

The poet Prudentius (1) immediately connects the Decian with the Neronian persecution, saying nothing of the intervening ones we have noticed. But this by no means favors the theory of Dodwell as to the lightness of these afflictions. He was a poet, and in accordance with poetic license, chose what he deemed the fitter subject for his verse, even though he sinned against the canons of chronological criticism. The persecutors whom he omitted did not furnish the material to his taste, for Prudentius seems to gloat in a picture of bloody horror. The emperors intervening between Decius and Domitian preserved the forms of law in their trials, and did not adopt those terrific and exquisite tortures, to a description of which he owes his reputation. Hence he slighted them, and jumped at once to the more congenial task of drawing the horrors of Decius. As for Domitian, he very likely excused him from special reproach, because he had finally stopped the persecution. It is a remarkable fact that many ancient writers (Tertullian,

(1) *Against Symmachus*, book II.

for instance) seem to have regarded as comparatively "good" those emperors who restricted their lieutenants in persecution to due process of law, and who tolerated only the prescribed punishments; while they almost confine their invectives to those who allowed full vent to individual hate, cupidity, and superstition. With this remark as to the silence of Prudentius, we take up the persecution of Decius, who mounted the imperial throne in the year 249, and reigned for two years. He affected, or perhaps really felt, great zeal for a reformation of Roman habits and for a restoration of the primitive "virtues" of the ancient republic. To bring about this end, he fancied a persecution of the new and foreign religion would tend. The text of his edict has perished, but we know from Dionysius of Alexandria (in Eusebius, b. 6, c. 41) that it was "horrible and terrific enough to frighten the elect." In his life of the holy Thaumaturge, St. Gregory of Nyssa is very explicit on this subject. We learn that "the emperor ordered the prefects and magistrates to force the Christians by terror and by every kind of torture, to the worship of the gods." He threatened his subordinates with severe punishment for any remissness in their task, and hence they neglected every duty of their positions to devote their time to the extirpation of Christianity. Forms of torture hitherto unknown were adopted, and the terrible engines were kept ever exposed to view, as an earnest of the power and will of the authorities. It was during this persecution that certain magistrates, moved by greed or by pity, devised the system of certificates of sacrifice (*libelli*), by means of which any unfortunate recusant could escape from both death and open denial of his faith. We shall have occasion to treat of these backsliders in an apposite dissertation. Suffice it now to remark that by this cunning device the persecution of Decius became noted as the first, if not the only one, in which any large number of the baptized failed to confess God before men.

The emperor Valerian ascended the throne in the year 255, and associated with himself as Cæsar his son Gallienus. For two years he showed himself kind to the Christians, but he finally allowed himself to be persuaded into per-

secution by his favorite, Macrianus the Praetorian. His first efforts were restricted to the exiling of the clergy and the prohibition of Christian assemblies, but he soon let loose the full force of persecution throughout the empire. In the *Acts of St. Cyprian*, we find the proconsul Paternus thus addressing the holy prelate: "The most sacred emperors Valerianus and Gallienus have deigned to write to me, ordering that those who do not follow the Roman religion, should at least acknowledge the Roman ceremonies." St. Cyprian refusing, he is condemned to exile, and Paternus continues, "They have also commanded that assemblies be held in no places, and that no one enter the cemeteries; if any one violates this salutary precept, he shall be beheaded." Dionysius of Alexandria (in Eusebius, b. 7, c. XI.) narrates the experience of himself and companions. The prefect Æmilian said to them, "You will be sent into the Libyan region, to the place called Cephro; you will not be allowed to hold meetings, or to enter the places you call cemeteries." In St. Cyprian's 77th epistle, to the confessors in the mines, we are informed how a great part of his flock had already flown to heaven; how numbers of others lay in loathsome dungeons, lacerated by scourgings; how many more were dragging out a painful existence in the mines, and all simply because they were Christians. "And a large part of the people," he tells the confessors, "following your example, have also confessed the faith, and have been crowned; they are united with you by the ties of a strong charity, nor are they separated from their prelates by prisons or by mines. Nor are virgins absent from this number. And even among the boys, there is a virtue greater than their age, which exceeds their years in the glory of their confession." After a life of incredible labor and fortitude, St. Cyprian consummated his victory by a bloody death during this persecution, in the year 258. At this time also suffered Pope St. Sixtus II. and St. Lawrence the deacon. Finally, towards the end of the year 260, while warring with the Persian monarch Sapor, Valerian was taken prisoner. Gallienus paid no heed to his father's plight, but at once seized the throne, and one of

his first acts was to order a cessation of the persecution.

In the next ebullition of Pagan hate against the growing Church, though it is generally styled the persecution of Diocletian, there figure two emperors and three Cæsars. After the assassination of Numerian in the year 284, the army, which was marching home from Persia, proclaimed Diocletian emperor. Two years afterwards, this prince chose as colleague his old companion in arms, Maximian Hercules; while in the year 292, he appointed as Cæsars Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximian. Deciding then to divide the empire, he made the following partition. He reserved to himself the provinces located beyond the Ægean; to Galerius Maximian, he assigned Thrace and Illyria; to Maximian Hercules, he gave Italy, Africa, and their islands; to Constantius Chlorus he presented Gaul, and this prince soon added Britain and Spain. Of very different characters were these princes whom Diocletian thus raised to power. Galerius, according to the author of the "Deaths of the Persecutors," was "more wicked than any evil man who ever lived," but he seems to have been possessed of military talent. Maximian Hercules was ferocious and depraved, but was a brave combatant, and nothing better. Constantius Chlorus was praised by both Christians and Pagans as an "amiable and venerable man;" although not a Christian, he adored one only God. The prime cause of Diocletian's persecution was Galerius; critics dispute as to the precise date of its beginning, but the best arguments assign it to the year 303. It did not end until long after the abdication of Diocletian, which happened in the year 305. After this event, the western Christians enjoyed some tranquillity, but Galerius continued the bloody work in the east until the year 311, when, feeling himself at the point of death, he issued an edict for its cessation. Peace was not everywhere restored until the year 313, in the third consulate of Constantine and Licinius.

As in the case of the previous persecutions, so in this one of Diocletian, the belittlers of Christianity endeavor

to show that it was of small account, and that very little damage was effected. To this, more than palliation of the imperial butchers, let the first answer be given by Eusebius. In book 1, c. 13, of his *Life of Constantine*, he says of Diocletian and his companion princes, "They polluted, as with civil war, their subject provinces with the slaughter of women as well as of men." Lactantius thought differently from Dodwell, Voltaire, and Gibbon, upon this matter, for he thus descants upon the imperial cruelty. "If it ever pleased victors to be so furious towards the conquered, they did no more than to kill them, or to lead them into slavery. But this is unspeakable, that they should so treat those who can do no harm Then, they torture them with the most exquisite kinds of punishments; they bend over them with all the powers of their slaughter-house, as though they thirst for blood, . . . and what Caucasus, what India, ever raised such bloody and ruthless beasts? That person is a beast, by whose single wish everywhere flows the purple gore; everywhere cruel tears, everywhere panic, and the multiplied image of death. No one can rightly describe the ferocity of this animal, which, though it crouches in one spot, nevertheless grinds its iron teeth through the universe, and not only consumes the entrails of men, but crunches their very bones, and even rages against their ashes, lest they should have a place of burial." Lactantius (260-325) was an eye-witness of what he describes, and he certainly does not mince matters as Gibbon would do. The ancient author of the *Deaths of the Persecutors* has the following, "Diocletian, who always wished to pass for intelligent and astute, inflamed with anger, immediately began to cut his familiars to pieces. He sat in judgment, and burned the innocents with fire . . .; the emperor became infuriated, not only against his familiars, but at every one, and, first of all, he compelled his daughter Valeria and his wife Prisca to sacrificial pollution . . . Persons of every age and sex were thrust into the flames, not merely one at a time, for so great was the multitude that they were collected into a heap, and fire built around them . . .; no less violently did the

persecutions fall upon other people." If such was the course of Diocletian, who preferred to avoid slaughter, we can imagine what must have been the conduct of the ferocious Maximian Hercules in his dominions. The last quoted author tells us that he "willingly obeyed" when Diocletian wrote to him to follow his example in his treatment of the Christians. That Galerius did not show himself far behind in anti-Christian zeal, goes without saying, for he was the prime mover of the persecution. Shortly after the partition of the empire, Galerius had induced Diocletian to give the rank of Cæsar to Maximin Daza, his nephew, who afterwards donned the purple. In regard to this prince's mode of procedure, Eusebius, in Book 8, c. 14, says that he gave the Christians "fire and sword, piercings with nails, wild beasts, deep pools, burnings, cutting off of limbs, perforations, boring of eyes, mutilations of the whole body; add to these, starvation, the mines, chains." As to Severus, another nephew of Galerius, and also appointed Cæsar, he afterwards obtained Italy and Africa, and there thoroughly carried out the ideas of his uncle. When Maxentius, the son of Maximian Hercules, gained a footing in these countries, he so conducted himself as to be styled, by Lucifer Calaritanus, "another Nero." But we have said enough to show that in this persecution of Diocletian, as in all the previous ones, there was sufficient misery to warrant a Christian in believing that only the hand of God could have sustained our ancestors in the faith in their fearful trial. (1)

(1) The apologists of Paganism declare that the Romans were justified in regarding the Christian Church as a dangerous association, since the new religionists were almost entirely separated from the rest of society, and were submissive only to their pastors, the only judges whom they acknowledged. This objection was answered by Tertullian, when he declared to the magistrates that the Christians were separated from the rest of society, only in the exercises of religion; in everything else, they conducted themselves as did other citizens. Our adversaries also accuse the Christians of having insulted the magistrates in their tribunals, and of thus provoking their cruelty. If there were such cases of misguided zeal, the Church did not approve of such conduct. In the Council of Elvira, held about the year 300, it was decreed that he should not be enrolled among the martyrs who ~~was~~ put to death, merely for breaking the idols.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RAPID PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY A PROOF OF ITS DIVINITY.

In the preceding chapter we have seen what terrible struggles the early Church was compelled to undergo. But these were not the only obstacles to her rapid development; humanly speaking, the severity of her doctrine, and the love of pleasure which was fostered by Paganism, should have contributed more to retard her advancement than was contributed by mere brute force. Christian writers have always adduced her quick and marvellous acquirement of the hearts of men as a proof of her divine origin, while men of the school of Gibbon and Voltaire have endeavored to show that there is nothing in her development which cannot be accounted for by purely human reasons. The object of this chapter is to show that the history of the early propagation of our religion is such as to demand, from a candid reader, an acknowledgment of a divine guidance, as the only possible reason for that propagation. We shall merely condense the arguments of the learned Valsecchi (1).

When Augustus wielded the sceptre of the Roman empire, the whole world, with the exception of Palestine, was gentile; when Nero mounted the throne, an immense multitude of Christians, according to Tacitus (2), was to be found, even within the walls of the capital. Under Domitian, the new faith penetrated into the Imperial palace, and claimed its converts among those raised in the purple. Flavius Clement, and his wife Domitilla, were among those put to death by this emperor on account of Christianity. While Trajan ruled, the younger Pliny (3) found the new religion

(1) *Sources of Religion and of Impiety*, b. 2, c. 14.

(2) *Annals*, b. 15, c. 44.

(3) *Book 10, epist. 97 to Trajan.*

"in the cities, in the villages, throughout the country places; professed by persons of both sexes, of every order and every age, even to the point of death; so that the temples are desolate, and the sacrifices for a long time stopped." St. Ignatius suffered under Trajan, and he wrote to the Philadelphians that the "Church founded in the Blood of Christ was spread from one end of the earth to the other." In the days of the Antonines, St. Justin, Martyr, asserted (1) that "there is not one nation of men, be it Greek or barbarian, or called by any name you will, whether it lives in the swamps and wants a roof, or lives in tents and feeds the flocks, from the midst of which do not ascend prayers and thanks to the Father and Creator of the universe, in the name of Jesus Crucified." St. Irenæus (d. 202) shows us the hierarchy of the Church in full working order throughout the empire. Speaking of Rome (2), he says that "To this Church, because of its preëminent principality, all churches must have recourse, that is, the faithful wherever they are, because in it is ever preserved the Apostolic tradition." Tertullian (d. 230) says, (3), "Only yesterday were we born, and we have filled all your places, the cities, the islands, the fortresses, municipalities, the councils, the camps, the palace, the senate, the forum; we leave you only the temples." In the book which the learned African wrote to the prefect Scapula, he draws a terrible picture of the wholesale desolation which would ensue if the Christians of Carthage were only decimated. And disputing with the Jews, he asks (4), "And in whom besides Christ, who has already come, have all the gentiles believed? there are the Getuli, the Moors, the Spaniards, the Gauls, the Britons—not yet subdued by the Romans, but conquered by Christ—Sarmatians, the Dacians, the Germans, the Scythians, and many other races and countries and islands unknown to us, and which cannot be enumerated, in all of which places reigns the name of Christ." Tertullian was certainly a Christian, but not for that reason is his testimony as to the spread of his religion to be questioned. He

(1) *Dialogue with Trypho*, n. 117.(2) *Book 3*, c. 3.(3) *Apology*, 37.(4) *Against the Jews*, c. 7.

would not have dared, especially in a polemical work, to risk an assertion which, if false, could easily be refuted. And we possess documents of certain authenticity, which go to prove that long before the cessation of persecution, the faith was propagated throughout the empire. The immense number of martyrs who yielded up their lives for Christ, and whose *Acts*, for the greater part authentic, have reached us, furnish an indisputable argument for our position. The Irish critic, Dodwell, in vain tries to reduce the number of martyrs to a trivialty; let the student consult Ruinart, in his *Preface to the Acts of the Martyrs*, and he will find that our writers have by no means exaggerated in their accounts. The following passage of Prudentius, who wrote in the fourth century, is pertinent to the question, (1). "We have seen in Rome the ashes of innumerable saints. Do you ask me to give the names and titles of each, as they are cut on their tombs? It would be difficult to grant your request, for the number of the just destroyed by impious fury was as great as the number of gods worshipped by Trojan Rome. Many sepulchres speak in minute accents of the name, some others bear an epigram upon the martyr. But there are many silent marbles, containing taciturn cohorts of victims, which record only the number within; how many bodies there are, you are told, but the names you do not find. From under one only slab, I remember were taken the remains of sixty heroes, whose names are known to Christ alone, as of those now united to Him in friendship." If such was the state of affairs in the capital, what must it have been throughout the empire?

And what result was obtained by the three hundred years of persecution? Simply the verification of Tertullian's saying (2) that the "blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church." When the advent of Constantine gave peace to the fold, and the fathers met in general Council for the first time since the Council of Jerusalem, it was found that they numbered 318, and most of them were from the East; and this, in spite of the slaughters of Diocletian and Maximian, only twelve years previous. In Rome, the cross was now

(1) *On the Crown*, Hymn XI.

(2) *Apology*, last chap.

publicly revered ; it shone upon the flags of the army, and upon the crown of the sovereign. And to what was due the wonderful vitality and progress of the Church which then astonished the world ? We shall prove that such progress was impossible to human means, that to God alone it must be attributed. Firstly, what was the character of the age during which this progress was attained ?

From the time of Augustus, when Christianity first appeared, Rome was the mistress of the world. Her victories in the East had brought to her immense wealth and this wealth entailed a luxury, a refinement of vice, which made Juvenal sigh for the days of Roman poverty (1). It is difficult for us to believe all that incontestable evidence reveals of the corruption of all classes under the Pagan Cæsars. An avaricious and cruel aristocracy, a brutal and gluttonous people ; men without honor, and women who had not even the knowledge of what modesty should be. If scarcely one of the many Roman empresses was an ordinarily decent woman, it would be hard to draw an exaggerated picture of general society. The philosophy which Rome received from Greece helped on the infection. Whether Stoic, and puffed up with arrogance, or Epicurean, and given to voluptuousness, the average Roman was a thorough philosophaster. Rome was filled with the *dilettanti* of letters ; her schools, rostrums, and palaces, resounded with the grandiloquent precepts of teachers who only added to the general corruption. Adrian philosophized to-day, to-morrow he will weep for Antinous like a school-girl. In matter of religion, the Rome of the Cæsars was superstitious, but religion was respected. Everything was acceptable to the religion of the empire ; Christ would have been enrolled among the divinities had the Christians consented. Religion was a vast machine. At its head was the sovereign as Supreme Pontiff ; the temples and their furniture were magnificent in the extreme. Foolish and impious as it was, the Roman religious system powerfully influenced all classes ; both public and private life were permeated by it, either from policy or superstition. Such was the Rome

(1) 6th Satire, v. 292.

of Augustus and his successors ; cultivated to excess, in matter of art and science, but immersed in luxury and parade ; dominated by a religion which attracted men because it favored every depraved appetite, and checked no raging passion. Now, looking at the matter from a human point of view, was it likely that success would crown the effort of a system like Christianity to obtain the mastery in such a society ? When Sts. Peter and Paul entered the Eternal City they declared implacable war upon all the deities under whose care the little hamlet of Romulus had become the mistress of the nations. Capitoline Jove, before whom the conquerors of the earth bent the knee after a triumph, was spoken of by these despised Jews as a nobody. All the other deities were also nobodies, or perhaps demons. The temples were sublime follies ; the priests, vile impostors ; the Supreme Pontiff, at best a stage manager. From Cæsar on his throne, down to the veriest slave, how would the Romans naturally receive such teachings, and from such men ? And if the proud Quirites consented to put out their sacred fires, what kind of a worship did these Jews propose to substitute for that of majestic Jupiter and lovely Venus ? A few years before there had lived in pitiful Judea a man called Jesus, a man of no wealth or of what the Roman would call "standing ;" this obscure Jew had styled himself the Son of God, and, at the request of his countrymen, had been crucified by the Roman governor, and between two thieves. What a god to propose to the philosophy of Rome ! And what was the system of morality inculcated by these foreign adventurers ? A people who made a virtue of love of glory were to embrace instead the practice of humility. They were to cherish purity, to whom lechery was as the breath of their nostrils, and whose gods were its prime promoters. Forgiveness of injury was to be the ordinary thing among those who regarded revenge as oftentimes a sacred duty. And so on through the whole catalogue of precepts. As Valsecchi well says, "It was as little to be expected that such a law would be received in Rome during the time of the Cæsars, as it was natural to see the carnal and bloody religion of the impostor Mohammed

accepted by the Saracens of Asia. . . . This latter system was in unison with the brutal propensities of those peoples, and therefore it was received; the former was entirely opposed to the disposition of the Romans, therefore, humanly speaking, it was not to be established." And what consequences accrued to the profession of Christianity in those days? In the first place, the convert was proclaimed by all as impious, as an enemy of Cæsar and of society, as the vilest of the vile. Listen to Tacitus: "He (Nero) punished, in a most curious manner, those hated malefactors whom the vulgar call Christians repressed for a while, the pestiferous superstition broke out again even in the city, where everything atrocious and shameful flows, and is cultivated. First were taken the professing Christians, then a great number of those who were named, not as guilty of firing the city, but as enemies of the human race" (1). Suetonius (2) says, "Torments were visited upon the Christians, a set of men belonging to a new and pernicious superstition." Juvenal thinks he is very just when he styles the Christians *cerdones*, "vile mechanics." Cecilius (3) deemed them "uncivilized, and without culture, the vilest scum of the earth." Lucian regarded them as "idiots." A long string of like compliments may be found in the erudite work of Mamachi on Christian Antiquities, vol. 1, c. 2 and 3, but these will suffice to show what the refined gentleman and delicate lady convert had to anticipate in those days from their former associates. Tertullian tells us (4) that in consequence of Pagan calumnies, "Every public calamity and every popular trouble was attributed to the Christians. If the Tiber rises above its banks, if the Nile does not overflow, if the skies are not clear, if the earth quakes, if famine or pestilence come, up goes the cry, 'The Christians to the Lions.'" Now, does the reader think it likely, humanly speaking, that people of every condition, age, and sex, in so brilliant and refined an age, would have rushed to join a sect so vilified and persecuted, and that too for the sake of a doctrine contrary

(1) *Annals*, B. 15, c. 41.(2) *Nero*, 16.(3) MINUTIUS FELIX, *Octav.*, c. 24.(4) *Apology*, c. 30.

to their secret and dearest inclinations? And remember, a few may be guilty of gross extravagance, and of transcendent fanaticism, but here it is a question of millions of all classes, nobles and commoners, rough soldiers and delicate women, the philosophers and the ignorant octogenarians and tender children.

Had the first apostles of Christianity been helped by military force, or by the allurements of an easy and self-petting religion, or even by an extraordinary eloquence of their own, they might possibly have been expected, humanly speaking, to succeed. But God wished to take from them even these human aids. Origen makes a remark very apposite to this point (1). "It seems to me that if Jesus had chosen for the work of teaching, those who, in the opinion of the vulgar, were wise, and fit by knowledge and speech to captivate the good graces of the multitude, He would not have escaped the suspicion of instituting a new school, like the philosophers, for his own reputation." The twelve apostles chosen by Christ were men possessed of not even the first rudiments of education; this fact was so well known to the Pagans that Origen says that Celsus conceded it without hesitation (2). They were Jews, and therefore hated; fishermen, and therefore poor; foreign plebeians, and therefore lacking in Latin and Greek culture. Yet they go into the most cultivated, as well as into the most barbarous places of the earth, and without art or metaphor preach a new and difficult doctrine, which is accepted by millions. They teach what the world's philosophy must regard as folly, but their folly conquers philosophy. The first argument of their every discourse is the cross,—the scandal of the Hebrews and the foolishness of the Gentiles. They fail, indeed, but their doctrine triumphs.

The rapid propagation of Christianity is an historical fact which no one denies. The resistance of the Pagan world was the greatest possible, on account of the natural opposition between its genius and that of the new system; it was exercised too in the most ferociously determined manner, as we know from the consequences entailed by con-

(1) *Against Celsus*, b. 1.

(2) *Ibid.*

version to Christianity. Now, the force opposed by the Church to this Pagan resistance was, humanly speaking, the smallest possible, for her doctrines were not alluring to human nature, and her apostles were absolutely deficient in all human aids to success. Therefore, to conclude with Valsecchi, whose argument we have appropriated, since it is an axiom that the effect must be zero where the force is at the minimum, and the resistance at the maximum, we must admit that according to all human ideas the Christian religion should have been, from the outset, a failure. But it was nevertheless successfully propagated, therefore it was the work of God. We may well use the words of Richard of St. Victor: "If, O Lord, my faith were an error—which is an impossibility—Thou art the deceiver, for Thou hast permitted that Christianity should be marked by signs which plainly show the imprint of Thy omnipotent hand." (1)

(1) St. Augustine, in his *City of God*, b. 22, c. 5, makes these apposite remarks: "Here we notice three incredible things. It is incredible that Christ rose from the dead; that the world should have believed in His resurrection; that a small number of men, and men, too, from the dregs of the people, should have persuaded, even wise persons, of the fact. Of these three incredible things, our adversaries refuse to believe the first. They see the second with their own eyes, and they can only account for it by admitting the third. The resurrection of Christ is published and believed in the entire world. If it is incredible, why does the universe credit it? Had a large number of learned and distinguished men testified to this miracle, asserting that they had beheld it, it would not have been wonderful, had the world believed in it; but when we know that the world has credited it, on the testimony of a few obscure and ignorant persons, how is it that there are yet found men so obstinate as to discredit that which has been received by an entire world? If people will not believe that the Apostles performed miracles in testimony of the resurrection of Christ, they ask us to believe in a greater miracle, namely, that the whole world did believe without a miracle."

Cantù says that while we cannot accept as absolutely true the remark of Justin Martyr (*Dial. Trypho*, n. 117) as to the universal spread of Christianity in his day, yet: "It is certain that Christianity spread with a rapidity, which, considering the obstacles that it encountered, proves its divinity. Besides Judea, Italy, Greece, and Egypt, the provinces between the Euphrates and the Ionian were cultivated by Paul; the *Apocalypse* speaks of the seven Asiatic churches of Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Laodicea, and Philadelphia: in Syria, the churches of Damascus, Berea (Aleppo), and Antioch, were illustrious; Cyprus, Crete, Thrace, and Macedonia received the Apostles who spread the truth in the ancient republics of Corinth, Sparta, and Athens. From Edessa, where many embraced it, Christianity was propagated in the Greek and Syriac cities which obeyed the successors of Artaxerxes, in spite of the solid hierarchy, and the exclusiveness of the Persian system. The Great Armenia received it very early from the neighboring Syria, although the kingdom was not entirely converted until the fourth century. The Synagogue, the emperors, the proconsuls, persecute them? If weak, they fly; if not, they suffer, but they do not yield. . . . It is true that the Romans were used to daily executions, to gladiatorial combats, to Stoical suicides; but the victims of all these either were forced to die, or they threw down life as an insupportable burden—at least they died with indifference, being satiated with life. Among the Christians, on the contrary, death was met by women, children, and old men, not with the haughty dignity of the schools, but with simplicity, and without ostentation."—*Univ. Hist.*, b. 6, c. 26.

CHAPTER V.

ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

Some of the writings which have come down to us as of the first century (1) are clearly of a later date; others again have been proved to be forgeries; some, however, are undoubtedly authentic. We shall briefly treat of those which are the most frequently quoted or consulted, either by Catholic authors or their opponents, as fountains of history. First in order of importance, if it were authentic, comes the letter said to have been written by our Lord to Abgar, king of Edessa, in Mesopotamia. Eusebius (2) tells us that this prince addressed an epistle to Christ, begging him to come to him and cure him of a malady; that the Saviour replied, promising to send one of his disciples; that, after the Ascension, St. Thomas sent St. Thaddeus, who performed the cure and converted the people of Edessa. The historian gives the whole letter of Christ, and says that he found it in the ancient annals of Edessa. St. Ephrem, who was a deacon of Edessa, also speaks of the epistle. Count Darius, writing to St. Augustine; Evagrius (3), St. John Damascene (4), and the 7th General Council (5), are cited by the friends of the epistle, as mentioning it and regarding it as authentic.

Tillemont, the Anglican Cave, and a few other critics, accept it. But, as Bergier well remarks (6), the authenticity of this letter need not give much concern to a theologian,

(1) Besides the books of the New Testament, we have the following: A letter of Christ to Abgar, king of Edessa, and one of that prince to our Lord; Liturgies ascribed to Sts. Peter, James, Matthew, and Mark; Acts of Sts. Paul and Thecla; The Apocryphal Gospels according to the Egyptians, Hebrews, Sts. Peter, James, Thomas, and Matthias; Acts of Sts. Peter and Paul, Andrew, John, Philip, and Thomas; Revelations of Sts. Paul and Thomas; Apocalypse of St. Peter; Epistle of St. Paul to Seneca; and of Seneca to St. Paul; Epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans; Writings of Prochorus (one of the seven deacons), Linus, and Abdias; Epistle of St. Barnabas; Book of the Pastor; Passion of St. Andrew by the Clergy of Achaia; Epistles of St. Martial; Epistles of Pope St. Clement, and of other Pontiffs; Book of Recognitions, ascribed to St. Clement; Epistle of St. Polycarp; Encyclical Epistle of the Church of Smyrna; Writings of St. Dionysius the Areopagite; Epistles of St. Ignatius, Martyr; Canons of the Apostles; Apostolic Constitutions; Canons of the Apostolic Council of Antioch.

(2) Book 1, c. 13.

(3) Book 4, c. 26.

(4) Orthodox Faith, b. 4, c. 17.

(5) *Action* 5.

(6) Art. *Abgar*

“for upon it depends no fact, no dogma, no point of morality.” Pope Gelasius, in a Synod of 70 Bishops, held at Rome in 494, pronounced the correspondence apocryphal, and certainly if the letter of Christ is authentic, it is difficult to understand why it has not been included in the Canon of Scripture. Alexandre uses this argument, and adds, among others, the following. None of the Gospels were written during the sojourn of Christ upon earth, and yet, in His alleged letter to Abgar, He is represented as quoting the Gospel. Again, Abgar writes to our Lord that His fame has reached Edessa; now, the letter bears date of the 430th year of the Edessenes, which was the 15th of Tiberius, the year in which St. John commenced his mission, and at that period fame had not yet become occupied with the name of Jesus. Finally, if the early fathers had regarded this correspondence as authentic, they would not have omitted, as they did, to adduce it against the Arians; for in it the divinity of Christ is explicitly asserted. As for the testimony of Sts. Ephrem and John Damascene, of Evagrius, and of the 7th Council, we can only say that these fathers were mistaken in their judgment. St. Jerome, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, makes no allusion whatever to the Abgar correspondence. And it is to be noted that Count Darius, writing to St. Augustine, speaks of these letters as of dubious authenticity; that St. John Damascene does not allude to any letter of Christ to Abgar, but to a portrait of our Lord sent to the prince (1); that the same is to be observed as to the testimony of the 7th Council.

The *Canons of the Apostles* purport to be disciplinary regulations of the primitive Church, and are 85 in number. Torriani, in a book written against the Centuriators of Magdeburg, ascribes them all to the Apostles. Bellarmine, Baronio, and Possevin, hold that the first 50 are authentic. Bini accepts all but the 65th and 84th. Daillé (2), and

(1) “History tells us that when Abgar, king of Edessa, sent a painter to take a portrait of our Lord, the artist could not fulfil the task on account of the effulgence of His face; that our Lord Himself then pressed his garment to His divine and life-giving countenance, thereby affixing His likeness upon it, which He sent to Abgar.”

(2) *Apostolic Pseudopigraphs*, b. 3.

many other Protestant authors, contend that all these Canons are supposititious, and that they were not known before the fourth, and perhaps the fifth, century. Protestant writers would naturally be hostile to them, for they are manifestly opposed to many Protestant doctrines. In them we discover that the early Church believed in preëminence of bishops; we read of "altars" and of "sacrifice"; we observe that regulations were made for the administration of the Eucharist, for Penance, &c

The Anglican Beveridge (1), holds, however, that these Canons were established by bishops and synods in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Alexandre (2) contends that the eastern churches accepted them in the beginning of the sixth century; that the western churches received the first 50 at the same period; that the entire collection is supposititious; that, nevertheless, they are very ancient, and were in great part drawn up in 258, by the Synod of Iconium, over which Firmilian presided. Those who hold that the Apostles and the Apostolic fathers had no part in the framing of these Canons, rely upon the following arguments. Pope Gelasius I. declared them apocryphal. Cardinal Hubert, legate of Pope Leo IX. to Constantinople, rejected them when Nicetas cited them in support of his opposition to the Saturday fast. "We disdain," says Hubert, "to listen to these fabulous traditions." Had the early Church regarded these Canons as authentic, contends Alexandre, they would have been inserted in the Canon of Scripture. The Ecclesiastical authors of the first four centuries are silent as to these documents, even in circumstances in which their existence would have been very beneficial to the cause of truth. Words occur in these Canons which are utterly foreign to the style of the Apostles, e. g., Cleric, Lector, Chanter, Priest (*Sacerdos*), Laic, First among Bishops (for a Metropolitan), the Hyperberetean Month (for October) (3). In Canons 46, 47, and 67, we find a denial of the validity of Baptism conferred by heretics. Canon 7 prohibits the celebration of a Pasch "with the Jews," and yet the conduct

(1) *Canons of the Early Church.* (2) *History; Cent. I., Diss. 18, prop. 1, 2, and 3.*

(3) This was the Syro-Macedonic word for October.

of the bishops of Asia Minor in the Paschal Controversy implies utter ignorance of this ordinance. And why did not Pope Victor cite this canon, when these prelates defended their course as upheld by Apostolic tradition? Canon 65 deposes any cleric, and excommunicates any layman, who fasts on Saturday; yet it is certain that in the very city of Rome, at least in the fourth century, Saturday was a fast-day (1), and that St. Augustine doubted whether or not it was so observed by the Apostles. In Canon 84, the Books of Scripture are mentioned, and among them, we find three Books of Macchabees, two Epistles of Clement, and eight Books of Constitutions; there are wanting in the list, Wisdom, Tobias, Judith, Ecclesiastes, Esdras, and the Apocalypse. In Canons 21, 22, and 23, no one is allowed admission to the ranks of the clergy who has been guilty of self-mutilation; a cleric who is thus guilty, after admission, is deposed; a layman is excluded from communion for three years. It is very unlikely that this crime was committed in the time of the Apostles; we certainly know of no instance. And in after years, when the indiscreet zeal of a few impelled them to it, and the ecclesiastical authorities forbade it, we find no citation of an Apostolic canon in defence of the prohibition (2). To these arguments against the authenticity of the Apostolic Canons, Torriani, Bellarmine, and Baronio, respond in some instances, with considerable plausibility (3). It is very improbable, says Bergier (4), that Sts. Peter, John, James, and Mark made no regulations for the government of their respective dioceses of Rome, Ephesus, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. And in these cities, synods were held during the second and third centuries; the attending prelates would naturally follow the Apostolic regulations, and having embodied them, they soon styled them Apostolic Canons. They are apocryphal, inasmuch as they were drawn up, neither by the Apostles, nor by St. Clement, whose name they bear. But they are

(1) ST. AUGUSTINE; *Epist. 36 to Casulanus*. CASSIAN; *Monasteries*, b. 3, c. 10. SOCRATES; b. 5, c. 2.

(2) The instance of Origen, thanks to Demetrius, was made notorious, but he was not deposed. Theortistus, Alexander, "and the bishops of the whole world," who, according to Eusebius, knew of Origen's fault, would certainly have obeyed an Apostolic canon.

(3) See ALEXANDER, *loc. cit.*

(4) *Art. Canons*.

authoritative, inasmuch as they present us the discipline, which, in the second and third centuries, was believed to have been established by the Apostles.

The *Apostolic Constitutions* are a collection of regulations bearing the name of Pope St. Clement. Nearly all critics agree that they are supposititious, that they were unknown before the fourth or fifth century. Bellarmine says (1) that "In them there are many useful things, and by the olden Greeks they were highly esteemed. But in the Latin Church they are almost of no account, and even the later Greeks, in the Trullan synod, *can.* 2, rejected them as corrupted by heretics I understand that the Ethiopians use these *Constitutions* as though they were really Apostolic, and that, for that very reason, they err in their observance of Saturday and Sunday, in regard to the minister of the Sacrament of Baptism, and in certain other doctrines In these same *Constitutions* there are not a few things contrary to truth." The erudite Christian Lupus (2) reminds us that "the Catalogue of St. Jerome makes no mention of them, and St. Gelasius, in his Roman synod, rejects them as apocryphal; the whole Latin Church has always held the same opinion. In our own times, Cardinals Baronio, Bellarmine, Perron; Gabriel d'Aubespine (Albaspinaeus), the learned bishop of Orleans, believe the same. Charles Bovius, therefore, and Francis Torriani might have used their time to better advantage than in an attempt to vindicate them. Thomas Stapleton wrongly declares them to be full of the Apostolic spirit, and worthy of a place in the Scriptural Canon The book was issued by some unknown Arian of the 4th century, and it errs in dogma and in liturgy." However, in spite of the Arianism, anachronisms, and other faults of these *Constitutions*, they are valuable as sources of information on many disciplinary and liturgical points. Such is the judgment of Grabe, Beveridge, and other Protestant authors. Mosheim holds, in one place, that they are the works of the 3d century; in another, he assigns their origin to the second

(1) *Ecclesiastical Writers*, art. *Clement*.

(2) *Notes to the 2nd Canon of the Trullan Synod*.

Whiston (1) employs much erudition in trying to prove them the work of St. Clement, at the dictation of the Apostles. Alexandre (2) contends that they are apocryphal, and at variance with the teachings of the Church. Bergier believes that the first books were compiled some centuries before the 8th. Roncaglia thinks that at the time of St. Epiphanius, who praises the *Constitutions*, they were incorrupted, but that, soon afterwards, they were vitiated (3).

The *Epistles of St. Clement* (4) come next in order of importance. Some of these are unanimously rejected by all critics, both Catholic and Protestant, but the two *Epistles to the Corinthians* are undoubtedly authentic. The first has come down to us entire, while we have only a fragment of the second. With regard to the first, St. Dionysius of Corinth, only seventy years after it was written, tells the Romans that, from time immemorial, it was customary to read it in his church (5), Sts. Irenaeus (6), Clement of Alexandria (7), Cyril of Jerusalem (8), Epiphanius (9), and Jerome (10), cite it and praise it. Origen (11) also speaks of it. Eusebius (12) says that it is approved by the judgment of all. The learned Presbyterian, Nathaniel Lardner (13), thinks it was written about the year 96, immediately after the persecution of Domitian. Alexandre assigns the same date, noting that the author, in chapters 1, 5, and 6, alludes to a persecution other than that of Nero, which must have been that of Domitian. It has been asserted that Eusebius in his *Book 3*, c. 36, St. Jerome, and Photius, absolutely rejected the *2nd Epistle*; that the first betrays an ignorance unworthy of St. Clement. Eusebius does not reject the *2nd Epistle*; he simply says that it is "less known" than the first.

(1) This author, now best known by his translation of Josephus, was the successor of Newton at Cambridge. Becoming an Arian in 1710, he was deprived of his chair, and finally joined the Baptists.

(2) *Cent. I., Diss. XIX.*

(3) There are several instances of inconsistency in the *Constitutions*, which would indicate the presence of a tampering hand. Thus, they sometimes permit the observance of the Pasch with the Jews, and sometimes prohibit it.

(4) The Epistles of the other Pontiffs, down to Siricius, will receive attention in the chapter devoted to the *False Decretals of Isidore Mercator*.

(5) EUSEBIUS; *b. 4, c. 14.*

(6) *Heresies*, 5, 3, c. 3.

(7) *Stromaton*, *b. i, 4, 6.*

(8) *Catechism*, 18.

(9) *Heresy*, 27, n. 6.

(10) *Ecclesiastical Writers*, art. *Clement*.

(11) *Princip.*, *b. 2, c. 3.*

(12) *B. 3, c. 12.*

(13) *Credibility of the Gospel History*, v. 3.

Photius, in his *Codex*, 113, and St. Jerome, in his *Catalogue*, both seem to discredit its authenticity, but they do not there give their own opinion, but that which Eusebius appears to favor. When, indeed, they speak for themselves, as Photius does in *Codex*, 126, and St. Jerome, *against Jovin.*, b. 1, c. 7, they both acknowledge the *2nd Epistle* as genuine. The charge of ignorance is hinted by Photius, in his *Codex*, 126, saying, "Some may blame him because he admits the existence of other worlds beyond the ocean; because he adduces the story of the phoenix as a certain fact; because he gives to Jesus Christ merely the title of high-priest and ruler, not using the more eminent titles which belong to His divinity." As for the admission of "other worlds," this is only another argument against those who assert that the Fathers deny the existence of the antipodes. Origen (1) interprets St. Clement as meaning regions beyond the ocean, and agrees with him. St. Hilary does the same (2). As to the fable of the phoenix, its mention by the author of the *Epistles* is no proof that he regarded it as a fact, or used it in any other sense than as an illustration of our resurrection, as did Origen, Tertullian, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Lactantius, St. Gregory of Nazianzen, and many other Fathers. The insinuation that the writer did not believe in the divinity of Christ is shown to be unfounded by the commencement of the second letter, where our Saviour is called God, the Judge of the living and the dead.

The book of *Recognitions*, ascribed to St. Clement, is cited by Origen (3) and by several early writers; nevertheless, it must be classed among the apocryphal. St. Epiphanius (4) is of opinion that St. Clement wrote these *Recognitions* and other works ascribed to him, but that they were corrupted by the Ebionites. Rufinus, in his book on the corruption of the works of Origen, forms the same judgment. Eusebius, and Sts. Jerome and Athanasius also reject them. Two entire pages of the *Recognitions*, observes Alexandre, are taken, word for word, from the book on *Fate*, written by Bardesanes the Syrian, who flourished under Marcus Anto-

(1) *Princip.*, b. 2, c. 3.
(2) *Psalms II.*, n. 23.

(3) *Tract 35, on Matthew.*
(4) *Heresics*, 30.

ninus (161–180), certainly sixty years after the death of St. Clement.

The *Epistle of St. Polycarp to the Philippians* is a valuable document. Its author was a disciple of St. John the Evangelist, was made bishop of Smyrna, and was martyred about the year 169. The doctrine of the Real Presence and that of Holy Orders are plainly presented, and hence Protestants would gladly show it to be spurious. But even Le Clerc (1) entertains no doubt as to its authenticity. Daillé, in his anxiety to discredit the authority of the letters of St. Ignatius, which Polycarp sustains, alleges some flimsy arguments against it, which are refuted by Pearson, in his *Vindication of Ignatius*, chap. 5. Mosheim (2) thinks it is not easy to decide whether or not the *Epistle* is authentic. The following words of St. Irenaeus (3) speak well for its genuineness. "And Polycarp, not only instructed by the Apostles, and associated with many of those who saw our Lord, but also made bishop of Smyrna in Asia, by the Apostles, whom we ourselves saw, in our early age. There exists a most perfect Epistle of Polycarp, written to the Philippians, from which those who wish, and who have regard for their salvation, may learn the quality of his faith and the preaching of truth." Eusebius (4) and St. Jerome (5) also praise this letter. Some have impugned its authority, because it seems to be guilty of inconsistency; in one place, they say St. Ignatius is mentioned as living, while again he is spoken of as "in his due place, with God." But the holy martyr is not spoken of as still living; at least, that is not necessarily the sense of the passage. St. Polycarp requests the Philippians "to inform him of what they know for certain about Ignatius, and those who are with him." The *Acts* of the martyr tell us that he passed through Philippi on his way to death, and that the Philippians, as was customary in such cases, sent messengers to honor and console him. When these returned to their companions, they certainly had much to narrate, and St. Polycarp wished to be informed of everything. The knowledge of the saint's

(1) *History*, y. 117.

(2) *Hist., Cent. I.*, p. 2, c. 2, § 21.

(3) *Heresies*, b. 3, c. 3.

(4) *B. 3, c. 20*, and *b. 4, c. 13*.

(5) *Eccles. Writers*, art. *Polycarp*.

last moments, of the disposition of his body, etc., reached Macedonia before it did Smyrna; it was natural then for St. Polycarp to apply to the Philippians for information. The authority of Nicephorus of Constantinople and of Anastasius the Librarian is also adduced against our *Epistle*. But the opinion of Anastasius, who flourished in the ninth century, is not of first importance, when contrary to that of Irenaeus, Eusebius, Jerome, Bede, and of all the Asiatic churches, who, for many centuries, solemnly read this *Epistle* in their services. As for Nicephorus, his judgment was not so good as that of his contemporary, the learned Photius, who, though he rejected the letter of St. Clement, had nothing to allege against that of St. Polycarp. Again, the *Stichometria* of Nicephorus, cited against us, does not speak of the *Epistle*, but of the *Didaschalia* of St. Polycarp. Finally, even though the *Epistle* were quoted by the author of the *Stichometria*, no argument can be drawn therefrom, for the writer does not pronounce the document spurious; he merely says that it is to be placed among the apocrypha of the Bible, that is, to be excluded from the Canon of Scripture, which is very different from banishing it from the company of authentic works (1).

The *Encyclical Epistle of the Church of Smyrna* inserted by Cotelier among the *Works of the Apostolic Fathers*, was written after the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, and is not impugned by any author of note. It is valuable for the testimony it bears to the veneration of martyrs and their relics on the part of the primitive Church.

St. Dionysius (Denis), the Areopagite, is believed by many to have been the author of the following works: *The Celestial Hierarchy*, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, *The Divine Names*, *Mystic Theology*, and ten *Epistles*. The state of the question in regard to these books is well explained by Alexandre (2), at the beginning of his apposite dissertation: "It is certain that no one has spoken of these works as

(1) It may be observed, with Alexandre, that the cited *Stichometria* was not written by the patriarch Nicephorus, nor by any author of the 9th century. At that time, the Greeks did not doubt of the canonicity of the books of *Esther*, *Judith*, and *Wisdom*, as does the writer of this book.

(2) *Cent. I., Diss. XXII.*

written, either by Dionysius or by any other Father, before the beginning of the fifth century. Secondly, it is certain that, in the following centuries, the Fathers, the Councils, the Pontiffs, and all the Ecclesiastical writers, down to Erasmus (one alone, an anonymous, excepted), ascribed them to Dionysius the Areopagite. Thirdly, it is certain that there are grave reasons for denying that they are by Dionysius the Areopagite, and for assigning them to an author of the fifth century; by which reasons Launoy and Morin were persuaded to adopt that opinion. However, though it is fortified so strongly, I would rather defend the contrary opinion, which declares St. Dionysius the Areopagite to be the legitimate parent of these books; it has so many arguments in its favor, that I deem it not less probable than the other, and would prefer to defend it, with the Œcumenical Councils and the Holy Fathers on my side, than to embrace the other, under the leadership of the doubtful Erasmus, and Daillé, Blondel, and other heterodox authors, together with the most learned Morin and Launoy." Nothing will better show the diversity of opinion among Catholic critics, concerning these writings, than a comparison of this passage of the great historian and critic with one of Bergier (1). "It is certain that the works, which bear the name of St. Dionysius the Areopagite, are not those of the holy bishop of Athens, but the real author is unknown. Critics differ as to the period when they first appeared. The first authentic mention of them is at the conference held in 532, in the palace of the emperor Justinian, between the Catholics and the Severians; the latter quoted them in their own favor, the former upheld their orthodoxy, and from that time many Fathers of the Church have sustained their authoritativeness. Mosheim and Brucher deem the *Mystic Theology* the work of a fanatical Platonist, who, in place of the reasonable religion of the Gospel, substitutes a chimerical devotion, consisting of prayers, vigils, and macerations of the body; making lazy contemplation the perfection of Christianity—an absurd doctrine, which has

(1) Art. *Dionysius*.

produced great abuses in the Church"(1). The book on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* is also displeasing to Protestants, for it bears witness to the ancient use of rites and ceremonies, and to the "Discipline of the Secret." So grave are the authorities adduced by both parties to this controversy, and so weighty are some of the arguments used by each, that we can do no better than summarize their respective reasons, leaving the student to his own good judgment thereon. In the first place, thirteen centuries of possession, during which time these books have been ascribed to the Areopagite, by Fathers, by Pontiffs, and by Councils, no other author being put forward as claimant, militate for their authenticity. They are cited as works of our Dionysius by Juvenal of Jerusalem (2), who lived in the fifth century; by Leontius (3), when combating the *Aphthartocetes*, or asserters of the incorruptibility of the flesh of Christ; by the Monothelites, with no contradiction on the part of the Catholics (4); by Sophronius of Jerusalem, the first opponent of the Monothelites (5); by Pope St. Martin I. in the Council of Lateran (6); by St. Maximus, disputing with the Monothelite, Pyrrhus; by the 6th General Council, in *Action* 8; by Pope Agatho, writing to Constantine Pogonatus; by St. Gregory the Great (7); by Pope Adrian I., in his letter to Charlemagne on the Seventh Council; by Pope Nicholas I., addressing the emperor Michael; by Hincmar of Rheims and Anastasius, writing to Charles the Bald; by Photius, one of the most rigid, as well as one of the most learned of critics (8); by St. John Damascene (9); by St. Thomas of Aquin (10); by the erudite Cardinal Bessarion (11). Secondly, the author of these books speaks of himself in a way that indicates him to have been a contemporary of the Apostles. Thus (12) he calls himself a disciple of St. Paul; he declares that he was present at the obsequies of the Blessed Virgin, together with Sts. Peter and James (13); he says he witnessed the disappearance of the

(1) *Ibi*. (2) NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS; *History*, b. 15, c. 14. (3) *Against Nestorius and Eutyches*, b. 2. (4) *Gen. Council of Constantinople (3rd)*, *Action* 2. (5) *Epistle to Sergius*. (6) *Sec. 1 and 3*. (7) *Homily 34, on St. Luke's Gospel*. (8) *Coder*, 231. (9) *Orthodox Faith*, b. 1, c. 15. (10) *Seutences II.*, dist. 10, q. 1, art. 12. (11) *Platonic Defence*, b. 2, c. 3. (12) *Divine Names*, c. 2. (13) *Ibi*, c. 3.

sun on the death of Christ (1). Finally, the great Erasmus, the leader of the opponents of the Dionysian claims, could adduce, in favor of his theory, only the names of Lorenzo Valla and William Grocinius. Against the authenticity of these works, Theodore, an author much praised by Photius, proposes four questions, and answers them. First, why do none of the Fathers quote the works of the Areopagite? This is answered by a denial of the supposition. Second, how is it that Eusebius, enumerating the writings of the Fathers, does not mention those of Dionysius? St. Maximus Martyr replies that Eusebius tells us that many of such writings had not reached him, and Alexandre observes that Eusebius makes no mention of the works of Athenagoras, which are celebrated, and of undoubted authenticity. Third, how is it that, while Dionysius was a contemporary of the Apostles, he alludes to traditions which arose in after times? To this the friends of the Dionysian claims reply that it is false that said traditions were not from Apostolic days; that the persecutions of the early days had prevented the use of much of the ceremonial, which was nevertheless of Apostolic origin, and they cite St. Basil (2), saying, "We bless the water of Baptism, and the oil of Unction, and also him who is baptized; but on (the authority of) what writings? Is it not from silent and secret tradition? Where is the triple immersion found in Scripture? And the other things performed in Baptism, such as the renunciation of Satan and his angels, from what Scripture do we drive them? Is it not from this unpublished and hidden tradition? In this manner, the Apostles and the Fathers, who, in the first days of the Church, prescribed certain rites, preserved in silence the dignity of the Mysteries." Fourth, how is it that St. Dionysius cites the *Epistle* of St. Ignatius to the Romans, when the former was martyred under Domitian, and the latter suffered under Trajan, and wrote his *Epistle* just before his death? Alexandre believes that this citation is an interpolation, but it is unnecessary to recur to such a supposition, as St. Dionysius did not suffer under Domitian, but in the last year of Trajan, or the

(1) *Epist.* 7, to Polycarp.(2) *Holy Ghost*, c. 27.

first of Adrian (1). It is also urged against the authenticity of these works that the author styles St. Timothy his son, an implication of superiority of which the holy Areopagite would not have been guilty. The reply to this objection is that there was no undue assumption, on the part of Dionysius, in so speaking of Timothy. St. Timothy was much younger than the Areopagite; St. Paul himself alludes to his extreme youth. A third objection is founded upon the mention, in the book on *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, of the monastic institution as already established, while, it is alleged, the ecclesiastical writers of the first two centuries do not speak of monks. Alexandre (2) replies at some length to this argument, and shows, that while the monastic state, as we now have it, did not exist for some time after St. Dionysius, yet, from Apostolic times, there were such monks as the Areopagite depicts; who were regarded as laics, and were subject to the bishops, and even to the priests; who, devoted to God, and free from earthly cares, lived, sometimes at home, often in community; to whom, immediately after the clergy, place was accorded in the sacred services (3). Morin urges, as against the authorship of St. Dionysius, that, in the book on the *Celestial Hierarchy*, the word *hypostasis* is used to signify "person," as distinct from essence; while we know, he says, that this term began to be so used, only after the synod of Alexandria of 362. To this may be answered that, nevertheless, the Areopagite may have so used it. There was certainly a first to adopt the term in the new sense; why should not he have been the one? He certainly understood the force of the word, and knowing that it admirably indicated those substances, which, in intelligent natures, we designate as "persons," it was quite natural for him, a sublime philosopher, to apply the term to the three Divine Persons, and style God, *Trishypostatos*, that is, a Being subsisting in Three Persons. But it is not true that the word *hypostasis* received its new signification after the synod of Alexandria in 362. St. Dionysius of Alexandria, in response to the fourth pro-

(1) Conf. SUIDAS, *Roman Martyrology*; Bede; Ado of Vienne.

(2) *Cent. I.*, diss. 22.

(3) See the *Epistle of Dionysius to Demophilus*.

position of Paul of Samosata, says of the Persons of the Father and the Son, "They are two inseparable *hypostases*." St. Alexander, also of Alexandria, in a letter to Alexander of Constantinople (1), declares that "of the Father and the Son, there are two natures *in hypostasi*." And, according to St. Basil the Great (2), the Council of Nice (325) used the word *hypostasis* for "person" when, in its Exposition of Faith, it condemned those who asserted that the word "was made from another subsistence or substance." According to St. Gregory of Nyssa (3), when St. Paul, in *Hebrews, I*, speaks of "the figure of His substance" (in the Greek, *character tis hypostaseos*), he used the word *hypostasis* for "person." Finally, as a member of the Areopagus, St. Dionysius was certainly well versed in the works of Aristotle, and that philosopher, in his work on *The World*, uses *hypostasis* in another sense than that of "essence." He says, "of those things which we observe in the air, some only appear, others *are*;" the Greek text has "*are kath' hypostasin*." In the supposition that St. Dionysius was not the author of the works bearing his name, critics are at an utter loss to whom to ascribe them. The famous Dominican, Le Quien, in his edition of the writings of St. John Damascene, endeavors to prove that the unknown was a Monophysite heretic (4).

St. Ignatius, Martyr, a disciple of St. John the Evangelist, and third bishop of Antioch, called by the olden Greeks *Theophorus*, because they believed him to have been the child embraced by the Saviour, *Matt.*, 18, 3, has been reputed the author of many works which are undoubtedly spurious. Thus, the *Epistles* addressed to the *Blessed Virgin*, and the two inscribed to *St. John*, those to *Mary Cussaboline*, to the *Tarsians*, to the *Antiochenes*, to *Hero*, and to the *Philippians*, give intrinsic evidence of their worthlessness, and are defended by none. But there are seven other *Epistles*

(1) THEODORET: *History*, b. 1, c. 3. (2) *Epistle* 78. (3) *Difference of Essence and Hypostasis*, written to Peter.

(4) Roncaglia, in his 2d *Animadversion* to Alexander's dissertation on this subject, gives several additional reasons why these works should be deemed spurious. The most conclusive are 1st, the author explains the mystery of the Trinity even more clearly than is done by Athanasius; 2d, he alludes to no persecution of the Church; 3d, he quotes the Gospel and Apocalypse of St. John, which were composed in the old age of the Apostle, while the Areopagite tells us that his own works were of his younger days.

of St. Ignatius, addressed to the *Ephesians*, to the *Magnesians*, to the *Trallians*, to the *Romans*, to the *Philadelphians*, to the *Smyrniotes*, and to *St. Polycarp*. These seven, as they are presented, according to the common Greek-Latin edition, in all but the very latest *Patrologies*, are interpolated and corrupted. This is shown by the fact that the passages of the *Epistles*, quoted by the ancient Fathers, are either not found in this edition, or are given in very different language; again, because there are many things therein foreign to the age of the reputed author. These same seven *Epistles*, however, as they are read in the editions formed from the Greek codex discovered by Isaac Voss in the Medicean Library, and from the two Latin MSS. found in England by Usher, are regarded as authentic by the best Protestant critics. De Saumaise, Daillé, Blondel, and some others, reject them. They certainly agree with the character of their reputed author, and with the genius of the age in which he lived; which is no slight argument in favor of their authenticity. They refute the heresies of his day; they use no testimony but that of Scripture; they speak of the Apostolic gifts yet flourishing in the Church; they are redolent of the simplicity of the Apostolic age, and betray an irrepressible yearning for the martyr's crown. These characteristics of the *Epistles* powerfully impressed the Anglican Pearson in their favor, and he devoted much of his diligence to their vindication. But there are not wanting more positive arguments for their authenticity. Many of the Fathers, and ancient Ecclesiastical writers, quote them as by Ignatius, and many speak of Ignatius' writings as showing the very characteristics which we observe in those before us. Thus, St. Polycarp (1) praises them as conducive to the spiritual profit of the reader; St. Irenaeus, according to Eusebius (2), quotes them several times; Origen (3), St. Athanasius (4), St. Jerome (5), Theodoret (6), and many others, mention one or more of them. Daillé objects that the *Epistles* of Ignatius were unknown to ecclesiastical writers before the time of Eusebius; that even St. Chrysos-

(1) *Epist. to Philippians*.(2) *Hist.*, b. 5, c. 8, and b. 3, c. 36(3) *Homily 6, on Luke*.(4) *Epist. on Synods of Rimini and Seleucia*.(5) *Eccles. Writers*.(6) *Dialogue: Inmutabilis*.

tom, an Antiochian, ignored them; that the same may be said of Tertullian, who teaches things contrary to these writings; of St. Clement of Alexandria, who not only does not mention them, but even holds different opinions, on certain matters, from those expressed herein; of St. Epiphanius, who would have cited them against Aërius, a bitter enemy of the episcopal dignity, had he deemed them authentic. But because certain authors seem to ignore these Epistles, it by no means follows that all did so, and we know that the contemporaneous Polycarp and Irenæus approved of them. Again, how can Daillé, or any other critic, prove that the cited fathers ignored the *Epistles* of Ignatius? Their silence shows nothing, since we do not possess all of their works, and in those which have perished, there may have been some mention of these documents. As for the argument deduced from Tertullian's contrary teaching, if it avails anything, it shows equally well that he was unacquainted with the Gospels and Apostolic writings, for he sometimes contradicts even them (1). With regard to St. Clement of Alexandria, Daillé's reasoning is ineffective, for in none of his works does the holy bishop mention any author of the second century; not even Polycarp, Justin, Athenagoras, Dionysius, Hippolyte, Hegesippus, or Irenæus, of whose works Daillé certainly did not believe him ignorant or suspicious (2). To prove St. Clement's opinions diverse from those of St. Ignatius, Daillé adduces the former's assertion that the preaching of Christ lasted but one year, while the latter represents our Lord's mission as extending through three years. But this assertion of St. Ignatius is not found in the only reliable codices, viz., the Medicean and the Anglican. As to St. Epiphanius, Daillé can draw very little comfort from his silence, for he does not mention Papias, Hegesippus, Theophilus, Athenagoras, Agrippa, Caius, Dionysius, Miltiades, whose writings he must have read; and when he does cite an author, he never quotes his words in confutation of a

(1) Thus, in his book entitled an *Exhortation to Chastity*, he condemns second marriages as lecheries.

(2) In his *Stromata*, St. Clement Alex. only cites Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Hermes and Tatian.

heretic's doctrine, but rather uses him as an historian of that particular heresy. No wonder then that he does not adopt the *Epistle* of St. Ignatius against the teaching of Acrius. St. John Chrysostom gives no assistance to Daillé for though he does not expressly cite the *Epistles*, he quotes the words of the *Epistles to the Romans*, where the future martyr expresses his yearning for the crown (1).

The book entitled *The Pastor* seems to be authentic, and to have been written by Hermas, a disciple of St. Paul. It is divided into three parts, *Visions*, *Commandments*, and *Similitudes*. The edition of Cotelier, inserted in his *Apostolic Fathers*, and learnedly annotated, is by far the best we possess. Many Protestant critics dispute the genuineness of this work. In it we find an assertion of the free will of man, the doctrine of purgatory, and other Catholic dogmas. The authorship of *The Pastor* was ascribed to Hermas, a brother of Pope Pius I., by the unknown poet who wrote under the name of Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, b. 3; by the author of the *Epistles* assigned to Pope Pius I.; by Venerable Bede, and by Ado of Vienne. But a book, written by a brother of a Roman Pontiff, would scarcely have been almost unknown in the Western Church, as St. Jerome (2) says was the case with *The Pastor*; indeed, it would have acquired a greater notoriety in the West than in the East. (3). Brucker holds that *The Pastor* is the work of a fanatic, indoctrinated with the Platonic and Egyptian philosophies, and he bases his assertion upon the fact that Hermas teaches that each individual is attended by a good and an evil genius. Mosheim accuses this author of a pious fraud, in saying that he was instructed by an angel, and of declaring himself inspired, because he desired his book to be read in the churches—accusations certainly not sustained by the allegations. Le Clerc is more moderate in his opinion of Hermas, and even pretends to excuse some alleged errors. Origen identified this author with the person

(1) *Oration on the Martyrdom of St. Ignatius*.

(2) *Eccles. Writers*, art. *Hermas*.

(3) Mosheim contends that the identity of Hermas with the brother of Pope Pius I. is proved beyond doubt, by a fragment on the Scripture Canon published by Louis Anthony Muratori in his *Italian Antiquities of the Middle Ages*, and which he found in the Library of Milan.

spoken of by St. Paul, *Rom.*, xvi, 14, saying, "salute Her-
mas." His work is cited with respect by Sts. Irenaeus, Cle-
ment of Alexandria, Athanasius, and by Tertullian and
Eusebius.

Some of these authors, influenced, in all probability, by the
purity of morals found in *The Pastor*, and by its simplicity
of style, regard it as equal in authority to the writings of
the Apostles, but Sts. Jerome and Prosper did not esteem
it as valuable. Pope Gelasius, in 496, placed it among the
apocrypha, but such a decision, of course, does not condemn
the book as unworthy of respect; it simply means that it
does not belong to the Canon of Scripture. Bergier thus
repels the charge of pious cheating brought by Mosheim
against Hermas: "Without any imposture, Hermas may
have believed that his interlocutor was an angel; he may
have believed, without wishing to claim any inspiration,
that it was an angel who instructed him. He could have
wished his book to be read in the churches, even though he
did not place it on an equality with the Scriptures; for we
know from the ancients that the first epistle of St. Clement
was read there. The consequences which Mos-
heim draws from these facts are false, and only show his
malignity." With regard to Brucker's opinion, Bergier
asks: "What would this critic reply, if he were told that
his patriarch, Luther, derived from the Orientals the opin-
ion that man is like a horse, who goes where his rider di-
rects? If he carries God, he goes where God wishes; if he
carries Satan, he goes as Satan desires. Cotelier and Le
Nourry have shown that this passage of Hermas is only an
allegory, and that the basis of the idea may have been drawn
from Scripture."

CHAPTER VI

CONVERSION OF GAUL AND QUESTION OF THE AREOPAGITE.

It is certain that the Gospel was preached in Gaul during the lifetime of the Apostles, although critics dispute as to whom should be awarded the merit of having first brought the saving tidings to the favored land which was destined to be the "eldest daughter of the Church." Some have thought that St. Philip the Apostle, St. Lazarus, and St. Denis the Areopagite, were the first evangelizers of Gaul. Others, however, relying on the testimony of Gregory of Tours, have contended that no churches were founded there before the third century; that then the see of Tours was established by Gratian, that of Arles by Trophimus, that of Narbonne by Paul, Limoge by Martial, Paris by Denis, Toulouse by Saturnine, Auvergne by Stremonius. The voyage of Lazarus and of St. Mary Magdalen is contested by many of the erudite, and that of the Areopagite is upheld by few modern writers. It is evident that the faith made little progress before the mission of St. Pothinus and his companions, which occurred in 177. From the acts of these Lyonesse martyrs, taken from the letter (supposed to have been written by St. Irenæus) of the churches of Lyons and Vienne to the faithful of Asia and Phrygia, we learn that about that time there were a great many Christians in those two cities. In this chapter we propose to show, first, that the French church was established in the first century; secondly, that a St. Denis the Areopagite was not the founder of the see of Paris.

St. Irenæus (d. 202), enumerating the churches which preserved that unity of tradition which furnishes so many proofs of the truth of our religion, has the following (1): "Although there are many different languages in the world, yet the power of Tradition is one and the same. There is no difference of belief or of Tradition in those churches

(1) *Heresies*, b. i. c. 2.

which have been founded in Germany or in Spain, or among the *Celts*, or in the East, or in Egypt; neither is there among those established in Libya, or in the middle of the world." In the time of St. Irenaeus, the inhabitants of Gaul were often called "*Celts*;" therefore, at that period there were Christian churches in Gaul. The same is proved by Tertullian (b. 150), speaking of the "various *Getuli* and many lands of the *Moors*, all the regions of *Spain*, and the different nations of *Gaul*," who had received the Gospel (1). Again, unless the Gospel had been successfully preached in Gaul before the third century, St. Justin (b. 103), in the *Dialogue with Trypho*, written about 139, would not have confidently asserted that there "was not one race of mortals, whether *Barbarian* or *Greek*, or called by any other name, among whom, through the name of *Jesus crucified*, are not offered prayers and thanksgiving to the *Father and Maker* of all things." Finally, we know that *Trophimus* was a disciple of St. Paul (*Acts*, and *2 Tim.*, 4); that *Crescens* was the same (*Eusebius*, b. 3, c. 4); that Paul was a "disciple of the Apostles" (St. Gregory the Great, b. 7, *epist.* 29); that *Martial* was ordained and commissioned by St. Peter (*Old Martyrologies*); and that these saintly missionaries respectively founded the churches of *Arles*, *Vienne*, *Narbonne*, and *Limoges*. The authority of St. Gregory of Tours is adduced by some to show that these prelates were sent to Gaul just before the Consulate of *Decius* and *Gratus*, that is, about the year 250. But this writer proves himself unreliable in many instances. Thus, among seven missionaries whom he represents as preaching the faith in Gaul in the third century, he places *Saturninus* of *Toulouse*, and notwithstanding this, he says (*Miracles*, b. 1, c. 48) that this bishop was "ordained by the disciples of the Apostles." Gregory also tells us (*Glory of the Confessors*, c. 8) that St. *Ursinus* was ordained by the same disciples, and that he established the church of *Biturica*; and it is exceedingly improbable that the more celebrated cities would have been neglected. Gregory accounts for this tardy third century mission by the slow and limited propagation of the faith,

(1) *Against the Jews*, c. 7.

which is certainly repugnant to the testimony of Scripture, as well as to the evidence of Irenaeus and Tertullian. Dismissing, therefore, the objection founded on the allegations of Gregory as of no weight, we adduce in favor of the first century mission of Trophimus of Arles, the action of the bishops of the province of Vienne, in 450, in reference to the metropolitane claims of the church of Arles. This latter church had been deprived of its metropolitan privileges on account of the contumacy of Bishop Hilarius, who refused to obey the decree of Pope Boniface, restricting his jurisdiction within the province of Vienne. In a suppliant missive to Pope St. Leo I., the Viennese prelates requested the Pontiff to restore to the church of Arles the jurisdiction over both Narbonnes which, out of reverence to Trophimus, Pope Zosimus had conferred upon it. "It is known," they said, "to all the regions of Gaul, and it is not unknown to the Holy Roman Church, that, in all Gaul, the city of Arles first merited to have from the blessed Apostle Peter its priest St. Trophimus; and from it did the other Gallic countries derive the benefits of faith and religion." Had these bishops not been assured of the solidity of their position, they would not have used this argument with St. Leo. Had the church of Arles received the faith only in the third century, as Gregory of Tours asserts, the fraudulent claim, based on the first episcopacy of St. Trophimus, would have been repelled by Rome.

That St. Crescens preached the Gospel in Gaul during the first century, is also shown by excellent authority. Eusebius (1) writes: "Among the other disciples of Paul, Crescens is said to have been sent by him into Gaul." St. Epiphanius (2), speaking of St. Luke, says: "To him was entrusted the privilege of preaching the Gospel, which he exercised first in Dalmatia, Gaul, Italy, and Macedonia; but in Gaul first, as attests Paul in his Epistles in reference to some of his companions: 'Crescens,' he says, 'into Gaul;' we should not read 'into Galatia,' as some have im-

(1) *History*, b. 3, c. 4. The version of Christopherson has "in *Gallatia*," but the Greek text, as derived from the best codices, and from Rufinus, has *epi tas Gallias*—"into the Gauls." The latter reading is defended by Valois, *On Timothy*, chap. 4.

(2) *Heresies*, no. 51.

properly done, but 'into Gaul.' Theodoret (1) says: "Crescens into Galatia;" for thus he named the Gauls. Thus they were anciently designated. Sophronius (2) tells us that "Crescens preached the Gospel in the Gauls." The Alexandrian Chronicle, 220th Olympiad, records: "Having promulgated the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, Crescens died under Nero, and was buried." Ado of Vienne writes in his *Martyrology*, under date of the 5th calends of July, "Into Galatia, the Blessed Crescens, disciple of St. Paul the Apostle; who, passing into the Gauls, converted many by the word of preaching. For some years he sat in Vienne, a city of the Gauls, and there ordained, as bishop for himself, his disciple Zachary. Returning however to the Galatians, the people to whom he had been especially given as bishop, he comforted them in the work of the Lord, unto the blessed end of his life." The same testimony is given in the Roman Martyrology, and in that of Usuardus (3).

The Gallic mission of St. Martial in the first century is proved by the authentic *Tabularia* and Offices of the Church of Limoges. That the tradition to this effect was regarded, from the earliest times, as well founded, is evinced from the epistle of Pope John XX., read in 1302 in a synod of Limoges, and which rebuked those who had erased the name of St. Martial from the list of apostles. It is also shown by Pope St. Innocent III., who, in an *Extravagans: On Extreme Unction*, makes mention of the miracle performed by St. Martial during his Gallic mission, in raising a man from the dead by the touch of St. Peter's crozier (4). In the ancient Martyrology of Corbie, we read under the date of the day before the calends of July: "Of St. Martial, bishop, who, having been ordained at Rome by the Blessed Apostles, was sent as first bishop of Limoges, where, illustrious for many virtues, he rested in peace." Similar evidences

(1) *On the Epist. to Tim.*, c. 4.

(2) *Writers*.

(3) This *Martyrology* of Usuard, a French monk, was compiled by order of Charles the Bald (823-877), and was the one ordinarily used at Rome before that of Sixtus V. The *Martyrology* of Ado was made up from the Lesser Roman, itself drawn from the Great Roman of St. Jerome, and that of Bede, as augmented by Florus a subdeacon of the church of Lyons. Ado compiled it after his return from Rome, in 858. It served as a basis for the *Martyrology* of Notker, a Swiss monk of the monastery of St. Gall, issued in 894.

(4) It is in remembrance of this event that to this day, the Pope alone, of all bishops, carries no crozier; St. Peter having sent his to St. Martial.

can be adduced for the mission of St. Paul of Narbonne (1).

That the first bishop of Paris was a St. Denis seems to be certain, but the ancient and once almost universally received theory that this saint was no other than the Areopagite philosopher, is now rejected by the best critics. In the beginning of the ninth century, Hilduin, abbot of St. Denis, offered to the emperor Louis the Pious some writings on this subject, in which he cited some *Acts* of St. Denis composed by Visbius, a presumed eye-witness of the martyr's passion. In these *Acts*, it was recorded that Denis, the Areopagite, having been converted by St. Paul, was sent by Pope St. Clement into Gaul, that he founded the see of Paris, and was there martyred. Mosheim and others accuse Hilduin of having forged these *Acts* in the interest of the celebrity of his monastery. This allegation is contradicted by the reputation the abbot enjoyed among his contemporaries (2), and by the centuries during which many of the learned gave credence to the *Acts*. But although Hilduin did not wish to deceive others, he was himself deceived, as we shall see, by a similarity of name, which caused him to confound two different personages. Those who identify the Areopagite, with St. Denis of Paris base their assertion, secondly, upon the ancient *Life of St. Genevieve* (3), written, says its author, eighteen years after the virgin's death (512). Here we also read that St. Denis was sent to Gaul by Pope St. Clement, and, triumphantly asks Alexandre (4), "Who else can that be, than the Areopagite?" A third argument is found in a Hymn in honor of St. Denis by Fortunatus of Poitiers, which tells us that "he was sent to Gaul by Clement of Rome, to sow the seed of the word." Passing some other arguments of minor importance (5) which are adduced to show the identity of the Areopagite and the bishop of Paris, we come to one upon which Alexandre greatly relies.

(1) *Martyrology* of Rossveyd. USUARD; Day before the Ides of December. ADO; *Feasts of the Apostles*, 11th of calends of April.

(2) Lupus, abbot of Ferrières (*epist.* 110) styles Hilduin "conspicuous for his nobility, dignity, and moderation: a master of ecclesiastics."

(3) This *Life* is found in Surius, Jan. 3rd, and in the MSS. codices of St. Remigius of Rheims, formerly preserved in the monastery of Compiègne.

(4) *Cent. I., dissert. XVI., prop. II.*

(5) Eugenius of Toledo (v. 650) distinctly says that the Areopagite went to Gaul. Simeon Metaphrastes, who lived during the reign of Heraclius, asserts the same. Pope Stephen III., having been cured by the intercession of St. Denis while in France, erected a monastery in Rome, which he assigned to some Greek monks.

St. Methodius, patriarch of Constantinople and martyr, in the year 818, came to Rome as an imperial legate, and brought with him a *Life of St. Denis the Areopagite*, in which we read: "Then this Blessed Denis, ploughing the sea with the cross, came from Athens to Rome, led on the way by the divine will, as one beloved by God. Having entered the city, and found the Blessed Clement, who occupied the Apostolic Chair, he was received with such honor as circumstances allowed. St. Antonine being sent into the regions of Aquitaine, he himself, with Sts. Lucian, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, proceeded to the city of Paris. . . . St. Denis himself remained in Paris." Anastasius the Librarian tells us that Methodius drew his materials for this book from many old Greek writings.

The testimony of St. Methodius would certainly be of great value, if there were not good reasons for supposing that he did not write his *Life of St. Denis* before he came to Rome in 818; that hence he derived his opinions from Hilduin, who published his book about the year 834. In this chronological question lies the difficulty we experience in accepting the authority of St. Methodius. Anastasius certainly says that he brought the book to Rome, and that he derived it from old Greek sources. Nevertheless, we agree with Roncaglia (1), that St. Methodius derived from Hilduin the theory of the identity of the bishops of Athens and Paris. Hilduin says that "the Greeks have written nothing about the death of Denis the Areopagite, because, on account of the distance, they knew nothing about it." But if St. Methodius had already, sixteen years before Hilduin wrote, published his theory, and one founded, too, "upon old Greek writings," the abbot of St. Denis, a learned and well-informed man, would not have made this assertion. And Hincmar, in an Epistle to Charles the Bald, tells us that he had read the work of St. Methodius, and found it conformable to what he had learned in his childhood about St. Denis. "which information the Greeks had derived from the Romans." We therefore deem it more than probable that the argument derived from St. Methodius should be

(1) *Animadversion III.*, on Alexandre's *Diss. XVI.*, cent. I., prop. II.

regarded as of no more weight than the one drawn from the *Acts* presented by Hilduin to Louis the Pious. What value that possesses, we now proceed to examine.

From Hilduin to Alexandre, with very few exceptions, those who hold that the Areopagite was the first bishop of Paris, base their argument merely upon the constant tradition that Pope St. Clement sent a certain St. Denis to Gaul. They conclude that this personage must have been the Areopagite, simply because he was still living during the Pontificate of St. Clement. None of the ancient writers assert that our St. Denis the Areopagite was made bishop of Paris, or even went into Gaul. On the contrary, the old *Martyrologies* make an explicit distinction between the two saints, the one of Athens, and the other of Paris. Adrian Valois says: "After Sirmond, Launoy treats this question, adducing all the ancient MSS. *Martyrologies* of the French church, in which each Denis is located in the month of October, but on separate days; in which they are distinguished, one from the other, by different sees, and different kinds of death; in which one (the elder, and the Athenian) is called bishop of Athens, and is said to have there perished by fire, while the other (that is, ours) is styled bishop of Paris, and declared to have been beheaded near the city. All the Gauls, all the Franks, in fine all Christians, down to the ninth century, that is, to the time of Louis the Pious, son of Charlemagne, always distinguished, as I do, two Denises. Then the legates of the Constantinopolitan emperor, often coming into France, and understanding that the first bishop and martyr of Paris was called Denis, they brought forth the writings (as was pretended) of Denis the Areopagite; and persuaded Hilduin, abbot of St. Denis, that this author was the bishop of Paris and the patron of that monastery. Most willingly believing this, he composed a book of Areopagitics, full of fables, to persuade people that our first bishop and martyr was also the Athenian Areopagite. So much availed vanity, wishing to claim an Apostolic origin for our first bishops, preferring a fable and an imposture to solid and incontestable truth" (1). And in another place: "I must give you the

(1) In Papebrock, in Answer to exhibition of errors, &c., art. 11, § 4, *epist.* 1

words of Usuard, a grave, erudite, and exact author, who did not wish to follow his contemporary Hilduin, but, in the *Martyrology* dedicated to Charles the Bald, made a sacrifice to truth, first, by writing under date of the Fifth of October: 'Fifth of the Nones of October. At Athens, the natal day of St. Denis, who, after a brilliant confession of faith, and most terrible torments, was crowned with a most glorious martyrdom,' as attests Aristides of Athens, a man of great faith and wisdom, in his work on the *Christian Religion*. Behold Denis of Athens, or the Areopagite. Then follows the other under date of the Ninth of October, thus: 'Sixth of the Ides of October. In Paris, the natal day of the holy martyrs, the bishop Denis, the priest Rusticus, and the deacon Eleutherius. The said blessed bishop, directed by the Roman Pontiff to preach the Gospel in Gaul, came to the aforesaid city, where for some years he fulfilled his allotted task, and at length, being seized by the prefect Fescenninus, completed, together with his companions, his martyrdom by the sword" (1). The learned Bollandist, Sollier, commenting on the text of Usuard, under date of Oct. 9, when is recalled the memory of St. Denis of Paris, has the following: "Restricted within the limits of the *Martyrologies*, we shall only allege such reasons as can be defended by their authority. Behold the words of Jeromian of Corbie: 'At Paris, the natal day of Sts. Denis, bishop; Rusticus, priest; and Eleutherius, deacon.' Bede agrees with this: 'At Paris, the natal day of the holy Martyrs, the bishop Denis, Rusticus, and Eleutherius.' You have also the *Lesser Roman*: 'At Paris, the bishop Denis with his companions, punished with the sword by Fescenninus.' The same is the opinion of Ado. . . . Now compare these with the words under date of Oct. 3d, related by the *Lesser Roman*, Ado, Usuard, and Notker, and you will clearly see that in their mind the Denis of this day is very different from the Areopagite. The Denis, whose feast is this day celebrated, is called bishop of Paris, as to whose century, country, mission, companions, and deeds, there have been many controversies, especially during the last century." Pagi observes

(1) *Idem*, *epist.* 2.

that Hilduin did not succeed in convincing the minds of the Martyrologists of his own Benedictine order, who were really or nearly his contemporaries. Thus, as we have seen, Ado, Usuard, and Notker are plainly averse to his theory. Alexandre uses the testimony of John Scotus Erigena, who, however, militates rather against his theory, for, in the cited passage of his letter to Charles the Bald, he clearly says that only the more recent writers assign the Gallic mission to the Areopagite (1). Alexandre endeavors to elude the force of the argument taken from the *Martyrologies* by asserting that it merely proves that St. Denis, at different periods, occupied the episcopal chairs of Athens and Paris; that in the Greek *Menology*, we find the names of Sts. Eustathius and Alexander in two different places for a like reason. But in all such cases, says Roncaglia, the *Martyrology* obviates danger of error by noting the place of death; and in the case of St. Denis, wherever the Areopagite is clearly mentioned, Athens is the place assigned. Again, nearly all the ancient *Martyrologies*, when speaking of the St. Denis of Oct. 3d, call him the Areopagite; they never so style the St. Denis of the 9th. Sirmond (2) says of the opinion of the Holy See on this point: "What Roman Pontiff ever thought of styling Denis of Paris the Areopagite, or of saying that the Areopagite ever filled an episcopal chair other than that of Athens? Stephen III., it is said, was cured of a disease by Denis of Paris. Who denies it? Grateful for the favor, the same Pontiff decreed a temple in Rome in his honor, and it being built, Paul, brother of Stephen, and his successor, dedicated it. But what then? Did either Stephen or Paul call this Denis the Areopagite? Let the partisans of St. Denis (the Abbey of) open their archives, and examine the Diplomas of the Pontiffs, all that they have, from Zachary down to Innocent III.; they will never read otherwise than of St. Denis Martyr, of the Monastery of St. Denis Martyr, of the Abbots of St. Denis Martyr. Let them turn to the Roman archives, and

(1) Erigena rejects the theory only on account of its newness, and Pagl ascribes this to his wish not to contradict Hincmar, who favored Hilduin's idea, and had much influence with king Charles, to whom Erigena was writing.

(2) *Dissertation on the Two Denises*, c. 6.

what we have lately observed of the Greek writers, they will find in Martin, Agatho, Adrian, viz., that whenever they cite the words of Denis the Areopagite, they always designate him as bishop of Athens, never of Paris, which they would have done, had he migrated from Athens to Paris."

Alexandre urges against the argument, derived from the constant naming of the Areopagite as bishop of Athens, certain instances to prove that not always, in ecclesiastical history, does a translated bishop derive his title from his new see. It is the general rule, however; and of all the instances cited by the great Dominican, there is but one which Pagi does not refute. Thus, in the case of Eusebius of Nicomedia, who was made bishop of Constantinople after Alexander, and who continued to be called bishop of Nicomedia (1), this designation was his only legal one, for he had usurped the chair of Paul, and after his death, Paul was restored. The second instance cited by Alexandre is of Theodore of Perinthium, who, being at first bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, was made, under Valens, patriarch of Antioch, succeeding Euzoius, and was styled, nevertheless, *Heracleotes* (2). But this example proves nothing, since Philostorgius (3) tells us that Dorotheus, not Theodore, succeeded Euzoius at Antioch. Alexandre also adduces the instance of St. Gregory of Nazianzen, who was transferred from the coadjutorship to his father, in that city, to the see of Constantinople, but was always called Nazianzen. This argument is certainly unworthy of Alexandre, for he could not have forgotten, even though Homer sometimes sleeps, that St. Gregory, for love of peace, soon resigned the see of Constantinople, returned to Nazianzen, and there ruled until his death. There remains the case of St. Methodius, who was transferred from Patara in Lycia to Tyre, but continued to be called bishop of Patara (4). To this instance Pagi well observes that Leontius, who alone styles Methodius bishop of Patara, does not destroy the force of a rule, nor does one exception much injure its application. Again, Methodius was better known as bishop of Patara, for, while in that see, he wrote

(1) PHILOSTORGIVS : *b.* 2, c. 17.

(2) THEODORET : *b.* 2, c. 3.

(3) *Ibid.* *b.* 9, c. 14.

(4) LEONTIVS : *Sects.* act. 3.

his books. Before we leave this topic of episcopal translation, we may remark, with Sirmond, Pagi, and Roncaglia, that, if St. Denis the Areopagite had been transferred from Athens to Paris, it is strange that such translation has never been cited by those olden writers who have defended the occasional usefulness of such procedure. Other instances they have gladly mentioned, but in regard to this early example they have been silent (1). We shall conclude our reflections on this subject by remarking that both the *Acts* of St. Denis of Paris, and the *Life of St. Genevieve*, cited by Alexandre, assert that St. Denis was ordained by St. Clement and sent into Gaul. Now if he was ordained by St. Clement, he was not the Areopagite, for the *Apostolic Constitutions* (2) and the Latin and Greek *Martyrologies* inform us that the latter was ordained by St. Paul.

By the middle of the fourth century, Christianity had conquered the south and east of Gaul, but in the far north and in the west, St. Martin (316-400) found Paganism yet flourishing. In the year 314, a Council of Western bishops was held at Arles, but we do not know how many Gallic prelates were present. At the Council of Nice, in 325, only one Gallic bishop is recorded as subscribing. Arianism did not make much progress in Gaul, although Constantius, its protector, caused a second council of Arles, in 353, to condemn St. Athanasius. Thanks principally to the learning and courage of St. Hilary of Poitiers, the faith of Nice stood firm; only Saturnine of Arles, among the bishops, remained obstinate, and the synods of Beziers, in 356, and of Paris, in 360, suspended all communion with the Arians. In 384, the heresy of the Priscillianists, which made some progress in Spain, was condemned by a synod at Bordeaux. But in the beginning of the fifth century, the Goths and Vandals, infected with Arianism, burst into Gaul, and the churches and clergy suffered much at their hands. The Franks, however, under the glorious rule of their kings, remained faithful to the Church, and when the storm passed, religion continued to develop.

(1) Auxilius, in his book to Leo of Nola, defending Pope Formosus because he had left the see of Porto for that of Rome, cites many instances, but says nothing of St. Denis. In the ninth century, Popes Adrian II. (*epist.* 57) and Stephen VI. (*epist.* 1) both justify the translation of bishops by early precedents, but are silent in the matter of St. Denis.

(2) *Book* 7, c. 46.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SECRET.

From the fact that in the very early days of the Christian Church there seems to have prevailed a deep silence in regard to certain doctrines, Protestant writers contend that such teachings were unknown to our ancestors in the faith. While this silence is by no means so profound as our opponents declare it to be, and while so purely negative an argument would not be very weakening to the Catholic system, yet it behooves the student to examine the bearings of the adverse position, and to form a judgment as to its strength. When this is done, it will be found that out of that very silence, from which much is hoped, there comes a voice proclaiming, in no dubious accents, the antiquity of the doctrines in question. It will be seen that the first Christian pastors enjoined upon the faithful the observance of a certain *Disciplina Arcani*, or Discipline of the Secret, according to which the knowledge of certain doctrines was jealously withheld, not only from Pagans and Jews, but even from the postulants preparing for baptism. So convincing are the proofs of the existence of some such rule on the part of the early Christians, that Protestant historians (1) readily admit them, but endeavor to attenuate their influence by assigning the introduction of the discipline to the end of the second century, and by confining its objects to the inhibition of certain rites to the Jews and Pagans. Matthew Pfaff, also a Protestant, agrees with Catholic authors in asserting that the rule in question was established in the days of the Apostles, and that it prohibited not only a participation in certain ceremonies, but even the very knowledge of certain dogmas. (2)

St. Basil the Great, in his book on the Holy Ghost, chap. 27, speaking of the Secret, says: "The Apostles and fathers,

(1) Cassaubon, Basnage, Tentzel, Le Clerc. (2) *Last diss. on theological prejudices*, § 13.

who in the beginning arranged ecclesiastical affairs, in silence and in secrecy preserved the dignity of the mysteries. For that is not a mystery which is wafted to the imprudent and popular ear." The testimony of St. Basil is certainly of great weight with one who wishes to form an idea of the opinions of that day, and he lived from 328 to 379. But Tertullian, who goes further back, (150-230) tells us of the heretics of his time, (1) "I must not omit a description of the heretical customs; how futile, how earthly, how human they are; without gravity, without authority, without discipline; in fine, fitting to their faith. Firstly, it is uncertain who is a catechumen and who a believer. Alike they approach, alike they hear, alike they pray. Even when the Pagans come in, the holy things and pearls, albeit false ones, are flung to the dogs." Scarcely a century had passed since the Apostles made their regulations, when these words were written, and here we find accused of acting without authority and discipline, those who presumed to manifest certain doctrines to the Gentiles. Had such a custom not been antagonistic to primitive law, even the impetuous Tertullian would scarcely have made such an ebullition. But in his *Apology*, chap. 7, this father affords us perhaps a better argument. The Pagans had charged the Christians with secretly celebrating the Thyestean banquets. (2) Refuting the calumny, Tertullian brings forward the discipline of the Secret, declaring that even if the Christians were guilty of such atrocities, the crimes could not be discovered, as no strangers were admitted to the reunions, and the participants were prohibited to reveal any of the proceedings. He says: "If we always lie hidden, when was revealed what we perform? And by whom could it be revealed? Not by the guilty parties, for silence is imposed in regard to all the mysteries . . . If they have not betrayed themselves, then the revelation came from strangers. But whence did the strangers receive the information, when reverent efforts always keep the profane at a distance?" According to Tertullian, therefore, the secret discipline was

(1) *Præscript.*, chap. 41.

(2) Thyestes, son of Pelops and brother of Atreus, committed adultery with the latter's wife, and to revenge himself, Atreus caused him to eat the flesh of his own son.

in full vigor, not only in his time, but had come down from the days of Tiberius—Apostolic times.

An objection against the existence of the Secret, regarded as a concealment of certain doctrines, is adduced from the command of Christ to preach the new Gospel from the house-tops. But nothing can be found in this command which can militate either for or against the system. As the context shows, our Lord wished to show that in matters of faith the injunctions and threats of men were to be of no weight in the scale of our duty. He immediately adds that we should not fear those who can kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. And we read in *Matth.*, c. 7, that we should not throw holy things to dogs, nor pearls to swine. Both commands were admirably reconciled by the Church when on the one hand she sent her martyrs to painful death, and on the other, in her Secret Discipline, she kept the unbaptized in ignorance of certain doctrines which as yet they "could not bear."

The *Apology* of St. Justin is sometimes adduced to show that, in the time of that father, the secret system was not yet in vogue. This document was presented by the martyr to Antoninus Pius, who reigned 138–161, and in it we find a plain, though succinct, account of the doctrines of Baptism and the Eucharist, and also a narrative of the doings of the Christians in their hidden assemblies. It is strange, we are told, that St. Justin would so violate an important law of the Church. But from the contents of this *Apology* we must logically conclude neither that there was a disobedience on the part of St. Justin, nor that, as is urged, the law did not exist. The Church has always varied her discipline according to the adjuncts of time, place, and circumstances; now mitigating it, now rendering it more severe, in order that, without a sacrifice of essentials, she might be all things to all men. The circumstances of the Christians in the days of St. Justin were peculiar. Fearful rumors of Christian wickedness were rampant; it was even believed that in their secret meetings, new-born infants were slain, their blood imbibed, and their flesh devoured. It became necessary then that some responsible person should be

permitted, nay, probably enjoined, to inform the Pagan world as to what was promulgated and what done in those mysterious conclaves about which gossip so wildly raved. Hence St. Justin addressed the emperor and the senate, informing them especially of the nature of the Eucharistic sacrifices, between which and the fearful rites of the Thyeſtean banquets there was no real analogy. And the very fact of the spread of this terrible accusation conclusively proves that the real nature of the Eucharistic mystery must have been hitherto carefully hidden from the Gentiles, or, in other words, it shows the preceding existence of the Secret Discipline.

Let us now approach the subject matter of the system. Protestant critics generally hold that it embraced merely certain rites of worship, and not certain heads of doctrine. As has been already hinted, the elucidation of this point is of importance, since Protestants found an argument against the antiquity of some Catholic teachings, upon the silence thereon of the fathers. Now Origen (185-254) alludes to this silence, and gives a reason for it. His antagonist Celsus, having designated Christian doctrine as *clancularia*, he presses him as follows, "Since he often calls our doctrine a secret one, he must be refuted, for our teachings are better known to the entire world, than are the whims of the philosophers. Who knows not that Jesus was born of the Virgin, affixed to the cross, and risen from the dead; that there is to come a judgment by which the unjust will be visited with merited suffering and punishment? Is not the mystery of the resurrection on the tongue of the infidels, so that their ignorance is ridiculous? Certainly, then, he is silly who calls our doctrine a hidden one. *Of course there are certain more recondite teachings, not manifested to all*, and this method is common to Christianity and philosophy, for this latter has some things acroamatic and some things exoteric (1). To some of the disciples of Pythagoras, it was more than sufficient to hear that he had "so said." Anything stronger than the above can scarcely be desired for the defence of our position,

(1) The doctrines openly taught were called Exoteric; those manifested to a favored few, were styled acroamatic or Esoteric.

but it may be well to enter a little into detail, and see whether the olden writers allude by name to any of the aëroamatic doctrines. The most sublime of all Christian dogmas is that of the Unity and Trinity in God. Facing an idolatrous world with the fundamental teaching that there is but one God, the Church felt it to be more prudent to withhold the companion doctrine of a Trinity of Persons from her catechumens until their minds had been prepared by grace and discipline to properly, albeit inadequately, understand it. When this time arrived, that is, a few days before the reception of baptism, the appointed catechist unfolded the tremendous article of divine faith. In his sixth *Catechism*, no. 29, St. Cyril of Jerusalem plainly shows us both the fact and the economy of the Church in this matter. Addressing the candidate, he says: "To thee who art come forth from the ranks of catechumens, the Church now manifests these mysteries which it is not the custom to lay open to the Gentiles; for we do not show the infidel what pertains to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, nor even to the catechumens do we speak openly about the mysteries; and this in order that the informed faithful may understand, and the uninformed may not be injured." St. Cyril was born in the year 315, and it may be alleged that such testimony does not affect the Protestant assertion that the concealment of certain dogmas was introduced only towards the close of the second century. But the holy bishop expressly states the reasons of such concealment, and they are such as to apply slightly indeed to the circumstances of his time, but with overwhelming force to the adjuncts of the primitive Church. St. Cyril wrote at a time when Christianity was comparatively triumphant, while Paganism was relegated to the nooks of the empire. People were better instructed as to truth than they were in the days when a monument was erected in Portugal, thanking Nero "for having purged the province of robbers and of those who were teaching the human race a new superstition." A Tacitus could not at that time accuse the followers of the Lamb of God of cherishing an insatiable hatred against humanity (1),

(1) *Annals*, b. 15, c. 44.

nor would a Suetonius have numbered among the meritorious works of a sovereign, the persecution of Christians as a superstitious and malefic sect" (1). There was then comparatively little reason for a continuance of the Secret Discipline in the time of St. Cyril, and it was probably kept in force because of the conservative instincts of the Church which render her slow to change without necessity, and because of the deep impression produced upon her catechumens by the practised reticence. We must in conclusion suppose that, if the system was carried out when there was no apparent necessity for it, it was obligatory when both moral and physical circumstances would have prompted its adoption. The saintly and eloquent prelate of Milan, Ambrose, (340—397) tells us, in his twentieth epistle, to his sister, that he was accustomed to dismiss the catechumens, and to then explain the Creed to the competent.

As for a reticence in regard to the Eucharistic doctrine, we find an argument for it in an epistle of Pope St. Julius I., who was elected in 337. In his letter to the Eusebians, he gravely rebukes them for having spoken of the Blessed Sacrament in the presence of Jews and Pagans. His words are: "Before the prefect and his followers, and in the presence of Jews and Pagans, a question was put, concerning the chalice and the table. This would have been incredible, had it not been proved by documents. That which caused us to wonder, will, I think, produce the same effect upon you: that a question upon the Body and Blood of Christ. . . before an outside judge (2), in the presence of catechumens, and what was more unworthy, before Pagans and Jews. . . was held."

St. Augustine tells us (3), that in his day, if catechumens were asked if they were fed with the Body of Christ and if they drank His Blood, they would not know what was meant by the question; which certainly shows that at that time the doctrine of the Real Presence was limited to the baptized, for whatever interpretation Protestants may give to that doctrine, they must admit that when the holy bishop of Hippo uses the phrase above given, he alludes to the Holy

(1) *Life of Nero*, c. 16.(2) "*Externum.*"(3) *Tract 11th on John*, No. 3.

Communion, understood in some way or another. Thus speaks St. Augustine : "If we ask a catechumen, 'Dost thou believe in Christ?' he will answer 'I believe,' and will sign himself. Now he carries on his forehead the cross of his Lord, and is not ashamed of it—behold he believes in His name. If then we ask him, 'Dost thou eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and dost thou drink His Blood?' he knows not what we say, for Jesus has not given Himself to him."

Before demonstrating the usefulness of the Discipline of the Secret, we must remark that the existence of this system does not at all weaken the argument for the divinity of Christianity, which is drawn from the difficulties attending its propagation. One of the greatest of these difficulties is formed by the dogmas of the Trinity and the Eucharist—the one so imperative in its demands upon faith, and in its apparent contradictions of sense; and the other so apparently antagonistic to the fundamental idea of Divine Unity, and so incomprehensible in its presentation of the personal relations in the Divinity. It may seem that if these great obstacles to conversion were removed from sight, there would be nothing so wonderful in the quick propagation of the faith, as to necessitate the supposition of a divine intervention as a means of accounting for it. But we must remember that these doctrines were kept hidden only for a time, and then, with their presentation to the neophyte, the difficulties in question would arise. And there were other doctrines and duties which were inculcated at once, and which of themselves were well calculated to give birth to difficulty. Such were the necessity of curbing the depraved instincts of unbridled passion, and the many logical consequences of such restraint. Then, above all, there was the law of divine charity, with its manifold permeations through the chain of human obligations; and to this law, unless enlightened and strengthened by divine grace, no self-sufficient Pagan would have bent his stubborn neck.

And now for the usefulness of the Secret Discipline. But little need be said on this point, as from the preceding remarks sufficient may be gathered to show that the Church displayed no puerility in the premises. As for the

charges of inhumanity, we fail to see how the most extravagant hyper-criticism can discover any foundation for it. And where was the silliness in preparing a weak mind for the reception of difficult truth? Is the physician silly who, though he knows his patient to be in need of nourishment, causes him to abstain from the more solid food until his stomach is in a condition to bear it? St. Cyril of Jerusalem (1) illustrates the economy of the Church in these words, "When the instruction is delivered, if a catechumen asks you what the teachers have been saying, answer him not, for we have taught thee a mystery and the hope of the world to come. Keep the secret for Him who will give the reward. Let no one perchance say to thee, 'what harm will there be if I also learn?' Sick persons often ask for wine, and if it is unseasonably given them, it produces frenzy. Then two evils arise—the patient dies, and the physician is blamed. So it happens if a catechumen learns a mystery from a believer; for the catechumen suffers from frenzy. He understands not what he hears, disparages the whole matter, and receives it with sneers; at the same time the believer is condemned as a traitor." St. Augustine (2) assigns another motive for this treatment of postulants. The Church, he supposes, wished to inflame their zeal of knowledge, to excite them to a desire of receiving baptism, by presenting to them that sacrament as a portal, through which alone they could pass into the coveted regions of mystery.

And now we approach the real centre of interest excited by the ancient Discipline of the Secret. Protestant critics would scarcely have tried to disprove its existence, and that failing, to discredit its Apostolic origin, had they not discovered in it a most convincing proof of the antiquity of the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation. And certainly the Eucharistic theories of Calvin, Zwingli, &c., could but produce little impression upon men who saw, in the history of the first Christian centuries, undoubted evidence that their ancestors in the faith believed the Blessed Sacrament to be precisely that which it was held to be by the obedient children of Leo X.; namely, truly and in-

(1) *Pro-cat.*, No. 12.(2) *Traet* 96 on John.

deed the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, present therein, not in any figurative or spiritual manner, but in reality, and by a Transubstantiation of the elements. Besides the testimonies we have adduced to show the care exercised by the Church of the first centuries in shielding the dignity of the mysteries, not only from any approach of Jews and Pagans, but even of her own postulants, we might fortify our position by quotations from Athenagoras, Minucius Felix, the author of the *Recognitions* attributed to Pope St. Clement, and many others, but enough has been brought forth to convince a candid mind that the diligence displayed would have had no reason of existence had the early Christians regarded the consecrated elements as being still in substance mere bread and wine. On the contrary, in the supposition that the Catholic position is correct, we at once perceive a reasonableness in the *Arcanum*. The mystery was sublime, to a degree beyond any conception of the human imagination; the minds of the catechumens were as yet "of the earth, earthly" and comparatively imbecile as to the things of God; well might the Church refuse to lift the veil of the Secret until the weak candidate had made progress in humility, and until he had become convinced of the truth of divine revelation; well might she prefer to first familiarize the postulant with the prodigies performed by Christ and His saints, ere she demanded from him the prostration of his intellect, and the abdication of his senses in so recondite and tremendous a dogma. But why should she consult the imbecility of the human mind, why respect so assiduously the dignity of the mysteries, if Christ were only figuratively present, if that dignity were such as arose only from bread and wine? Had the Eucharistic teaching of the Church been of so easy an interpretation as the Protestant theory would imply, then indeed the drawing over it a mystic veil would have been silly and puerile. Nay, when we reflect upon the terrible calumnies which the Pagans put forth as to the cannibalistic practices of the Christians in their secret assemblies, we must say that it would have been the imperative duty of the Church to lift a curtain, for which there was no necessity.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EASTER CONTROVERSY.

In the second century of the Christian era, there was a great difference among the churches, as to the time for the celebration of Easter. Those of Asia Minor, following, they said, the instructions of St. John the Evangelist and St. Philip, celebrated the Pasch, as did the Jews, on the fourteenth day of the March moon; while the other churches, following that of Rome, and relying upon the authority of Sts. Peter and Paul, postponed the celebration until the following Sunday. Imitating the example of our Lord, the Asiatics ate the paschal lamb on the evening of the fourteenth day; some of them then terminated the lenten fast, others observed it for two days more. As with us now, so then, the Resurrection was celebrated by the Asiatics on the third day after the paschal meal; hence, when the fourteenth day fell at any other time than Thursday, the feast of the Resurrection could not be kept on the proper day, Sunday. But outside of Asia Minor, the paschal lamb was not eaten until the night of Saturday, and the Easter was always kept on a Sunday (1). This diversity of rite caused no little scandal, and might well be regarded by the infidels as indicative of a kind of schism. It certainly appeared strange that one church should be buried in grief and wrapped in mourning, while another was filled with joy. And this diversity bore its fruit through the entire ecclesiastical year, for upon the date of Easter depended the dates of all the movable feasts. It is not strange, then, that there arose a controversy, which owing to the unwillingness of Rome to enforce her discipline, where faith was not concerned, and where greater evils were to be apprehended, was not ended until the time of the Coun-

(1) When it is said that the Asiatics kept the Pasch on the fourteenth of the March moon, it is not meant that on that day they celebrated the Resurrection, but that then they ate the paschal lamb. This has been proved by the erudite Jesuit, DANIEL, in an apposite dissertation, and by MOSHEIM, *Hist.*, 2d cent., § 71.

cil of Nice ; indeed, among the Britons and Scots, the seventh century had closed before the Roman discipline was thoroughly adopted. The dispute commenced about the year 160, when St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, came to Rome and consulted with Pope Anicetus on the matter. Eusebius tells us (1) that, "while Anicetus governed the Roman church, Irenaeus commemorates that Polycarp, who was yet alive, came to Rome, and had a colloquy with Anicetus about the controversy as to what day the Pasch should be celebrated." But the Pontiff could not prevail upon Polycarp to give up what was already an old custom. However, as we learn from St. Irenaeus (2), "they parted in peace, and all the churches, those who kept the Pasch on the fourteenth day, and those who did not, continued to enjoy tranquillity among themselves." But about the year 194, in the Pontificate of Victor, the dispute became more vivid. The Montanists were asserting (and with them a Roman priest, named Blastus) that Christians are obliged, by divine law, to celebrate the Pasch with the Jews, and the Pontiff feared that any further delay in settling the controversy would result in the Asiatics becoming infected with this error. Accordingly he ordered the metropolitans, throughout the Church, to hold synods in their respective provinces, to consult as to the Paschal discipline, and to report to the Holy See their conclusions. Among the letters which came to Rome in answer to the Pontifical command, were some from the bishops of Palestine, declaring that the Asiatic abuse was now entrenching upon matters of faith. This made Pope Victor the more determined, and he wrote to Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, commanding him to convoke a synod of all the bishops of Asia Minor, and communicate to them the Pontifical resolve to excommunicate all who would continue to keep the Pasch on the fourteenth day. Eusebius (3) tells us the result. "For this reason are collected the bishops in synods and assemblies ; and all are of one mind, issuing ecclesiastical decrees to all the churches, to the effect that the Resurrection of the Lord be celebrated

(1) *History*, i., 4, c. 13.

(2) *Epist. to Pope Victor*, in EUSEBIUS, b. 5, c. 24.

(3) *History*, b. 5, c. 23.

only on Sunday. We have even now the rescript of those who met for this reason in Palestine, over whom presided Theophilus of Caesarea, and Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem. At Rome also a synod was held under the presidency of Victor. And another, of the bishops of Pontus, under the venerable Palma. Also, one of the dioceses of Gaul, which Irenaeus governed. And another, of the prelates of Isrlcena, and the cities therein; especially one of Branchillus, bishop of Corinth. And all of these issue the same decree. However, over the bishops of Asia Minor, who declared that they must cling to the custom handed down to them of old, presided Polycrates, who, in a letter sent to Victor and the Roman Church, explains the tradition observed down to his time, in these words: 'We celebrate the Paschal day inviolate; great luminaries have died in Asia—Philip, one of the twelve Apostles, and John, who reclined on the breast of the Lord, Polycarp, &c.—these all observed the day of Pasch on the fourteenth day of the month, according to the Gospel, preserving the rule of faith in everything.'" The bishops of Asia Minor gained their point, for, as we shall see, Pope Victor did not carry out his threat of excommunication. The affair remained as a bone of contention, though it never culminated into anything like schism, until the year 325, when the first general Council of Nice decided that throughout the world, the feast of Easter should be celebrated on the Sunday following the fourteenth moon, after the vernal equinox. The Britons and Scots, from the year 566, for about a century, labored under an error in this matter which was peculiar to themselves, and of which we shall speak at the close of the chapter.

Concerning the action of Pope Victor in this Paschal controversy, there are several points to be elucidated. Learned men have differed as to whether Pope Victor really excommunicated the Asiatics. Protestants have asserted that he did fulminate his censure. but that the prelates laughed at it; the best of Catholic critics generally hold that the Pontiff was content with a threat; that such was the sense of the phrase used by Eusebius, "he *tried* to cut them off from the community of the Church (1)." Mosheim

(1) *Ibi*, b. 5, c. 24.

(1), Potter (2), and Le Clerc (3) agree in holding that at that time the Roman Pontiff had no jurisdiction over Asia, and that the action of Victor was one of the first instances of Papal attempts at usurpation. The limits of our work do not permit of any extended defence of Pope Victor, nor, indeed, does his conduct, so far as history presents it, need any patronage. We shall merely observe that he did not act merely upon his own impulse ; long before he proceeded against the Asiatics, he took the opinions of the bishops of Palestine, Pontus, Mesopotamia, Corinth, and Gaul ; when he finally did act, he spoke at the head of a Roman synod. Neither St. Irenaeus nor Polycrates accuse the Pontiff of arrogating to himself any undue authority, and one great proof that his action was justifiable, is found in its confirmation by the Council of Nice. St. Irenaeus certainly “decently admonished” Victor, as Eusebius has it, lest he should cut off from communion so many bishops, but he agreed as to the Paschal decree. Polycrates certainly resisted the Pontiff ; and there have ever been, are, and ever will be, men to do likewise ; but that is no argument against the legitimacy of the Papal authority. We now proceed to the solution of various questions arising from the Paschal controversy.

Did this controversy regard a matter of faith, or one of discipline ? We must reply that it was a dispute as to a more disciplinary matter, although, at the time that Pope Victor took his decisive stand, the question bade fair to yet encroach upon the domain of faith. Certainly there was in the Church a difference of opinion, and a difference of practice, as to the Paschal time, and that variety had been expressly tolerated by the Holy See. In matters of faith, however, there can be no room for doubt, no scope for variety. Therefore, Pope Victor, Irenaeus, Polycrates, and all those connected with the controversy, must have looked upon it as one of discipline. Had it been regarded by St. Irenaeus as a question of faith, he would not have deterred the Pontiff from anathematizing the recusants. Nor

(1) *Christianity before Constantine*, 2d cent., § 72.

(2) *Spirit of the Church*, v. 2.

(3) *History*, years 194 and 196.

can it be urged that the rebellious in this matter were afterwards condemned as heretics, and styled *Quatuordecimani*, or "devotees of the fourteenth," and that as such they are numbered among heretics by Sts. Epiphanius and Augustine, and by Theodoret. They were not condemned as heretics before the Council of Nice, and then it was because they were reviving, so far as in them lay, the Mosaic Law, by joining its observances to the Gospel; they were not condemned as heretics, merely because they kept the Pasch on the fourteenth day of the March moon. The Church looked upon them as heretics because, as St. Epiphanius says (1). "They taught certain things which are not consonant with her institutions and doctrine, for they clung to Jewish fables." Before the Council of Nice, one could apply to the Asiatics of this question the words which St. Augustine afterwards applied to the Donatists, in the matter of rebaptizing heretics (2), "The obscurity of this opinion forced great men, and bishops endowed with great charity, so to contend among themselves, communion unbroken, that for a long time synods established a diversity of statutes in their respective regions, until at last a General Council, removing all doubt, decided what was, with safety, to be held."

Now we come to the question whether Pope Victor reduced to action his threat to excommunicate the recusant prelates of Asia Minor. We cannot arrive at certainty in this matter, but the probabilities would seem to demand a negative response. Eusebius (3) says, "Influenced by these things, Victor, who then governed the Roman Church, *tried to cut off* from the common unity of the Church all the churches of Asia and other neighboring ones, as being of another faith and opinion, and inveighed strongly against them by letter; and he decreed that all the brethren inhabiting that region should be entirely excluded from communion." We gather from these words that the mind of the Pontiff was resolved upon a future excommunication, but from the next words of the historian it seems plain that the

(1) *Heresies*, 50.(2) *On Baptism, against the Donatists*, b. 7, c. 7.(3) *History*, b. 5, c. 24.

sentence was never pronounced. "But this did not please the other bishops. They therefore earnestly exhorted him to the contrary, that he might keep a diligent care for peace, charity, and concord with his neighbors. Their words, sharply and bitterly reproaching Victor, are yet extant. Among them, Irenaeus, though he wrote in the name of the Gallic brethren whom he governed, declaring indeed that the feast of the Lord's Resurrection should be kept only on Sunday, nevertheless admonished Victor not to cut off from the body of the Church of Christ so many churches because of an observance of an ancient tradition received among them." It is not probable that St. Irenaeus would have so spoken, had the anathema been already proclaimed. Eusebius gives a fragment of the letter of Irenaeus (1), in which the saint quotes the course pursued by the predecessors of Victor, and it is quite probable that the Pontiff concluded to follow in the path they had marked out. It is objected that as Pope Victor excommunicated the Roman priest Blastus for celebrating the Pasch on the fourteenth day, so it is not probable that he made an exception in favor of the Asiatics. But it should be noted that Blastus was bound to follow the discipline of his diocese; by abandoning it, he subjected himself to censure. Again, Blastus was not anathematized because of his opinion as to the date of the Pasch, but on account of his conjunction of Mosaicism with Christianity (2), and because he had become a Valentinian (3). There is a passage in the works of St. Epiphanius (4), in which it is asserted that the Eastern and Western Churches were so divided on this question, as to cease from any pacific interchange of letters, but this would only indicate a bitter feeling, not necessarily a rupture of communion. Sozomenus was well acquainted with the writings of St. Epiphanius, and yet he tells us (5), "I think that the controversy on this matter was most wisely settled by Victor, then bishop of Rome, and by Polycarp of Smyrna. For when the priests of the West deemed that the tradition of Peter and Paul was not to be contemned, and the Asiatics declared

(1) *Ibid.*, c. 25.

(2) See the *Supplement to Tertullian's Prescriptions*, c. 53.

(3) THEODORET, *Fables*, b. 1, c. 23.

(4) *Heresies*, 70.

(5) *History*, b. 7, c. 19.

that they followed John, a common decree was sanctioned, whereby, each one celebrating the feast (as they had been accustomed to do), they did not dissolve the mutual communion. For they considered it frivolous, and rightly, to segregate, for the sake of a custom, those who agreed on the principal points of religion." With regard to this question of Pope Victor's excommunication of the Asiatics, several erudite writers, men of excellent judgment in matters of criticism, have held that the sentence was pronounced (1). Their chief arguments are as follows: First, they insist upon the positive language of Eusebius, and hold that it implies far more than a mere threat upon the part of the Pontiff. One passage of the historian is certainly very favorable to their theory (2). "Having sent letters to all the brethren who were there (Asia), he proscribed them, and pronounced them entirely foreign from the unity of the Church." As for the intercession of St. Irenaeus, that occurred, say some, between the utterance of the threat and the fulfilment of the sentence; it is believed by Tillemont to have been made after the promulgation of the excommunication, and to have been a prayer for its abrogation. These authors rely considerably on the testimony of the historian Socrates (3), which is strong in their favor. When they are told that this writer's testimony is of dubious value in the premises, since, as a Novatian, it was his interest to depreciate Pope Victor, and since, also, whenever he is actuated by party spirit, he is an unmitigated liar (4), they answer that Socrates is not unsupported. Baronio and Scheelestrate hold that Pope Victor excommunicated the Asiatics because they contended that the Pasch should *necessarily* be celebrated on the fourteenth day; to

(1) SCHEELESTRATE: *Antiquities of the Church*, p. 2, PAGI; on Baronio, year 196. TILLEMONT; vol. 3. MASSIET, *Dissert. præf. on St. Irenaeus*. RONCAGLIA, note to *Alexandre's Dissert.* V. in 2nd Cent.

(2) *History*, b. 5, c. 24.

(3) *History*, b. 5 c. 21.

(4) The following instances of mendacity on the part of Socrates are noted by Alexandre. In the cited chapter, he asserts that the Roman Church observes only three weeks of Lent, while his contemporary, Pope St. Leo, is a witness (*Sermon 4, on Lent*) to the fact that throughout the West, the full Lenten fast was respected. In the same place he says that Rome allowed the Lenten fast to be suspended on Saturday, just as on Sundays, while we know that the fast was unbroken, from Augustine's *Epistle to Casulanus*, 86. In his book 6, chap. 3, he says that St. John Chrysostom "was given rather to anger, than to observance," that in his conversations he was "insolent," and that he was justly deposed "because he had deprived the Novatians and Quartodecimans of their churches."

this Roncaglia sensibly replies that if they had gone so far, no Catholic would have communicated with them, even before the sentence of the Pontiff; no Irenaeus would have interceded for them, and certainly the Pope would not have restored them to communion.

The Gallican school, now happily relegated to the realms of history, was fond of citing this controversy on the Pasch as furnishing an argument against Papal infallibility. Had the Christians of those days believed in the inerrability of the Pontifical teachings, neither the Asiatics nor St. Irenaeus, it said, would have acted as they did. But, as we have seen, throughout the whole dispute between Victor and the Asiatics, there was not for a moment a question of faith. And had the bishops of Asia Minor resisted the Pontiff because they thought that he erred in a matter of faith, they must also have denied the infallibility of the Universal Church, for it is certain that, with the exception of themselves, the whole Church held that the Pasch should be celebrated on the Sunday following the fourteenth day of the March moon.

The Council of Nice finally put an end to this famous dispute. In the Synodical Epistle to the church of Alexandria (1), the fathers say, "As for our unanimous consent as to the celebration of the Paschal Feast, know that through your prayers the controversy, held on that matter, has been prudently and conveniently settled; so that all the brethren who live in the East, and who hitherto have been used to imitate the custom of the Jews in the observance of that Feast, will hereafter follow, with consenting minds as to its celebration, us Romans, and all of you, who have from the earliest times clung to our method of keeping it." In the Epistle sent by the emperor Constantine to all the churches, he gives the following reasons why the fathers of Nice issued the decree (2): "It seemed unworthy that we should celebrate that most holy festival with a copy of the Jewish rites and customs (copying those, that is), who are properly held in the blind error of their souls because they polluted their hands with a horrible wickedness. . . . there are

(1) THEODORET; *History*, b. 1, c. 2.

(2) *Ibid.*, c. 10.

those who celebrate a second Pasch in the same year. And why should we imitate those, who are certainly afflicted with the malady of error? Those who celebrated the Pasch on the fourteenth moon, caring nothing for the equinox, sometimes did so after the equinox, sometimes before it, because the fourteenth moon rose at that time. And it is a great shame that there should reign dissension in regard to so solemn a feast of our religion; it is indecorous that on the same day some should be fasting, and some banqueting; that after the Pasch, some should be fasting because of the remission of their sins, and others be yet in the prescribed fasts. I myself thought that your Wisdom would easily assent, that what is unanimously observed in the city of Rome, in Italy, in all Africa, in Egypt, Spain, Gaul, Britain, Libya, throughout Greece, in the Asiatic diocese, in Pontus and Cilicia, should be willingly observed by you. . . . Since things are so, accept this decree as a gift of God, and a command truly sent down from Heaven; for whatever is agreed upon in the holy Councils of the bishops, must be attributed to the Divine Will." The reader will observe that Constantine here places Britain among the countries which followed the Roman tradition as to the celebration of Easter. This fact is worthy of note, as the Centuriators of Magdeburg, and other Protestant critics, have asserted that Britain received her first Christian instruction, not from Rome, but from the East. Constantine was born and bred in Britain (1), and probably knew of what he was talking. Had the Britons received their religion from the East, it is improbable that they would have held the Roman discipline as to the Pasch. This remark brings us to a very interesting phase of the Paschal controversy, namely, that which was presented by the British Isles, when, for more than a century, they followed a custom, in this matter, peculiar to themselves.

We would draw the reader's attention to the following remarks of the erudite Dr. Moran, now archbishop of Sydney (2): "Some reader, unacquainted with the records of

(1) BEDE: *Eccles. Hist. of the Angles*, b. 1, c. 8.

(2) *Origin, Doctrines, and Discipline of the Early Irish Church*, c. 1.

Ireland in her first ages of faith, may be surprised at seeing *Scotia* marked by St. Prosper as the field of Palladius' apostolate. However, in the fifth century Ireland was the only country known by the name of *Scotia*. This was at one time a matter of angry discussion; but at length all controversy has ceased. The researches of the Scottish antiquaries themselves, and their open acknowledgment of the fallacy of the opinion which referred that name to modern Scotland, have set this question at rest for ever. We shall, therefore, on this head, merely remark with Dr. Todd, that 'Whoever reads the works of Bede and Adamnan, will not need to be informed that, even in their times, *Scotia* meant no country but Ireland, and *Scots* no people but the inhabitants of Ireland' "(1).

The Scots, or, to use the more modern name, the Irish, received the Christian faith at the hands of St. Patrick in the year 432. The Britons may have received some knowledge of the faith before the second century, but positive evidence can be adduced for such reception only in the Pontificate of Pope Eleutherius in 182. The British church was driven to the mountains of Wales by the Saxon conquest in 454; the conversion of the Saxons was commenced in 596, and consummated in about eighty years. The Christians of Britain and *Scotia* were preserved by their isolated position from the heresies which agitated the East, and with the exception of a short inroad from Pelagianism, they preserved the purity of the faith. But the Paschal controversy was destined to cause trouble in both countries. At the Council of Nice it had been determined that, since the date of Easter depended on astronomical observations, and the Egyptians excelled in such, the patriarch of Alexandria should annually communicate to the Roman See the proper time, to be made known to the distant churches. But again disputes arose, for the Roman and Alexandrian methods of computation were different; the cycle of Rome contained eighty-four years, that of Alexandria nineteen. About the middle of the sixth century, the

(1) The first author to apply the name *Scotia* to Scotland was Marianus Scotus, who died in 1086. The olden name was *Alba*, also *Caledonia*. The first Scotch settlement in *Caledonia* was made from "Greater" *Scotia*, or *Hibernia*, in 503.

Holy See adopted a new cycle of ninety-five years, or five Egyptian cycles. But the Britons and Scots, almost cut off from communication with Rome, continued the ancient manner of calculation. Originally, then, there was no difference between the Roman Church, on the one side, and the British and Scotch Christians on the other, with regard to the Easter question. We learn from Comm. de Rossi's work on *Roman Inscriptions*, that at the Council of Arles (314), where the cycle of eighty-four years was adopted for the computation of the Paschal time, there were British bishops present, and "it requires little sagacity to perceive that these prelates received their cycle, and the manner of computing Easter, from Pope Sylvester, and the corrections and changes which were subsequently made did not reach them, as they were so much separated from the continent of Europe as to be considered at the end of the earth. . . . Hence, we understand the origin of the famous controversies about the manner of keeping Easter in the British Churches; thus the fable of the Eastern origin of these churches, and of their peculiar Paschal rite, is exploded, and the union of the ancient British church with that of Rome is proved by a new argument." In the year 630, the bishops of Munster and Leinster celebrated a synod at Magh-lene to promote a settlement of the controversy. One of its most distinguished members was St. Cummian. He was deeply attached to the old traditions, and fully appreciated the fact that the Irish Easter method had been derived from St. Patrick. We shall allow him to speak his own sentiments, for they serve to confute those who hold that the early Irish were not united with Rome. "'An old authority,' says Jerome, 'rises up against me. In the meantime, I cry out, whosoever is joined to the chair of St. Peter, that man is mine.' What more? I turn to the words of the bishop of Rome, Pope Gregory, gifted with the appellation of the Golden Mouth, who, though he wrote after all, is deservedly preferred before all; and I find him thus writing on this passage of Job—Gold hath a place where it is melted, etc. 'The gold is the great body of the saints; the place of melting is the unity of the Church; the

fire the sufferings of martyrdom ; he, therefore, who is tried by fire, and is outside of the Church, may be melted, but cannot be cleansed.' What can be deemed more injurious to Mother Church than to say, Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, Alexandria errs, Antioch errs, the whole world is in error ; only the Scots and Britons know what is right ? . . . Having, therefore, studied the matter for a year, I asked my fathers to declare to me, my elders to tell me (the successors, forsooth, of our first holy fathers, bishop Ailbe, Kieran of Clonmacnoise, Brendan, Nesson, Lugid) what they thought of our being separated from the above-mentioned Apostolic sees. And having met all together in the plain of Magh-lene, some in person, some by legates sent in their stead, they decreed that 'our predecessors, through meet witnesses, of whom some are yet living, while others sleep in peace, commanded us to humbly receive, without hesitation, whatever things were better and more estimable, whensoever they were approved of by the source of our baptism and wisdom, and brought to us from the successors of the Apostles of the Lord.' Afterwards they, of one accord, set forth to us, according to custom, a mandate upon this matter, to keep Easter, the coming year, in unison with the whole Church" (1). In accordance with the decree mentioned by St. Cumminian, legates were sent to Rome. They returned in 633 with the news that their Easter method was wrong. In the following year, a letter arrived from Pope Honorius. Ven. Bede tells us (2), "Pope Honorius sent letters to the Irish people, whom he found to err in the calculation of the Easter time, and he exhorted them not to regard their own small population, dwelling at the extreme end of the inhabited earth, as wiser than the churches of Christ, both ancient and modern, throughout the world ; and not to persist in keeping a Pasch different from their Pasch, and opposed by the Easter computations and synodical decrees of the bishops of the entire world." This letter was read in the synod of Lethglin in 635, and it settled forever the Paschal controversy in the south of Ire-

(1) *Letter to Segienus, Abbot of Hy.* See also *Irish Glosses by STOKES.*

(2) *History*, b. 2, c. 19.

land. In the north, however, the old state of affairs lasted some time longer. The archbishop of Armagh wrote to Pope Severinus in 640, but the letter arrived after that Pontiff's death. The Roman clergy replied, censuring the Quartodecimans, but as the Irish protested their rite was simply the ancient rite of Rome, and that they also opposed the Quartodecimans, they believed themselves justified in holding on their course. As Dr. Moran says (1), "The Roman Church was subsequently too much distracted by other cares, and we find no decision on record regarding the Paschal controversy which was agitated in our island."

The merit of putting an end to this dispute among the Saxons belongs to King Oswin. Among the many Irish monasteries celebrated, during the sixth and seventh centuries, as centres of learning, none were more distinguished than those of Hy and Lindisfarne. From them the Britons, Saxons, and Picts, drew treasures of religion and literature. St. Aidan, the founder of Lindisfarne, converted the Northumbrians, and became archbishop of North England. His second successor was Colman, who had been a monk of Hy, and was sent from there, according to Bede, to instruct the Angles. For a long time after the conversion of the Northumbrians, the Irish missionaries were all-powerful with prince and people; but when King Oswin married Eanfled, who had been educated in Kent, under Roman teachers, the Paschal difference drew his attention (2). To procure uniformity, he invited the two contending parties, in 664, to meet him at Whitby, and there dispute the question. The champion of the Roman computation was St. Wilfrid, at this time abbot of Ripon. He had been educated at Lindisfarne, but had acquired in Rome the new computation. Associated with Wilfrid was Agilbert, a Frenchman, who had studied in Ireland, and was then bishop of the West Saxons. The defence of the Irish cause was entrusted to St. Colman, and in his argument, he did not censure those who used the Roman cycle, but claimed the right to retain a custom founded by so many holy men. To this St. Wilfrid replied, "I believe that had they been

(1) *Loc. cit.*, p. 158.

(2) LINGARD; *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, c. 1.

rightly informed on the subject, they, too, would have conformed to the universal usage. You and your associates certainly commit sin if, after hearing the decrees of the Apostolic See, nay, of the Universal Church, and these confirmed by the holy Scriptures, you disdain to follow them. For although your fathers were saints, yet in their small number, in the very extremity of the world, they must not be preferred to the whole Church. And however holy and illustrious a performer of miracles your Columba was, is he to be preferred to the most blessed Prince of the Apostles?" The end of the discussion was that Oswin declared he would "not oppose the heavenly gate-keeper," so Wilfrid's side gained the day. We will dismiss this subject with the following quotation from Dr. Moran's valuable work (1): "One happy result, at least, followed from the conference at Whitby, that, forsooth, it preserved an indubious record of how the Irish and Roman clergy, even in the warmth of their controversy, were found of one accord asserting the prerogatives and supreme authority of St. Peter. St. Wilfrid and Agilbert were themselves, indeed, witnesses as to the teaching of the Irish schools, whilst Colman combined in himself the doctrine of Lindisfarne and Iona, nay more, of the whole Irish Church; for, on being expelled from his monastery by King Oswin, he retired to Ireland and founded there the monasteries of Inisbofin and Mayo, being venerated by all for his learning and sanctity. The learned Protestant dean of Ardagh (2), to whose singular opinions we have more than once referred in the preceding pages, thus comments on the Whitby conference:—Colman, when he found his opinions rejected, resigned his see of Lindisfarne, rather than submit to this decision of the king, thus furnishing us with a remarkable proof that the Irish bishops in the seventh century rejected the authority of the Pope. This, indeed, is singularly strange reasoning. His logical conclusions should rather have been—1. That as there was no exercise of the Pope's authority, St. Colman could not

(1) P. 3, c. 1.

(2) Dr. R. Murray. The book alluded to by Dr. Moran is entitled *Ireland and her Church*, London, 1845.

have resisted it. 2. That he even openly and expressly acknowledged the authority of Rome. 3. That he moreover furnishes us with a most striking proof of the opinion of the Irish church in the seventh century, that the judgment of the court or crown was very far from being decisive on matters of ecclesiastical discipline; and hence—4. That St. Colman would deem it strange, indeed, to be classed by the worthy dean amongst the members or abettors of the Anglican church.” (1)

(1) Speaking of this difference of discipline prevalent, at one time, in the Roman and British churches, Lingard says: “On this circumstance the prejudice of party has endeavored to build a wild and extravagant system. Because the British Christians of the seventh century differed from the Roman Church in the time of celebrating Easter, it has been gratuitously asserted that they were Quartodecimans; that of consequence their fathers were of the same persuasion; and ultimately that the faith was planted in Britain by missionaries who were not sent from Rome, but from some of the Asiatic churches. The truth or falsehood of the latter hypothesis is of little consequence; yet it is certain that the Britons, in the time of St. Augustine, were not Quartodecimans, as they observed Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon, only when that day happened to be a Sunday; (Bede, b. III., c. 4) and that their ancestors were not Quartodecimans, is no less certain, if any credit be due to Eusebius (*Hist.*, b. 5, c. 23), to Socrates (b. 5, c. 21), to Constantine, in his letter to the bishops (Euseb., b. 3, c. 14) and to the subscriptions of the British prelates to the Council of Arles (Spel. Conc., p. 40). I should not omit that Goodall (*Introd.* to *Hist. Scot.*, Keith’s *Catal. of Scottish Bishops*, preface) asserts that the Scots employed the same cycle, and observed Easter on the same day as was customary in the Roman Church, previous to the Council of Nice. He founds his opinion on the ancient Paschal Table published by Bucher, in which the festival is fixed on the fourteenth day of the moon for the years 316 and 320.” *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, c. I.

“It is quite commonly believed that there is a law prohibiting Christians from celebrating the pasch on the same day with the Jews, and its existence is asserted in various works. But no such law exists, and it was never enforced. Pope Victor simply decreed that the pasch should not be celebrated, as is done by the Jews, on any day whatever of the week, but only on a Sunday. In fact, in the year following that of the Council of Nice, that is, 326, the Christian pasch coincided with that of the Jews, and it was so celebrated without any difficulty being raised. The same coincidence occurred in 1602, 1609, 1805, 1825, and in the next century, it will happen in 1903, 1923, 1954, 1981. In these years the pasch falls on a Sunday, and precisely on a day of full-moon. Therefore it is an error to suppose, as some do, that when the moon becomes full on a Sunday, the pasch is to be postponed to the following Sunday. On the contrary, the Council of Nice declares that, in such a case, the Sunday is especially opportune for the solemnity. And indeed, a postponement would carry the pasch to the 22nd day of the moon, that is, into its last quarter, which would be a direct contradiction of the will of the Council. . . . It would certainly be an improvement if Easter were made an immovable feast, and the Church ‘exercising her right, could freely do so’ (*Explanation of the Roman Calendar, as restored by Pope Gregory XIII.*; by Christopher Clavius, Rome, 1603). But the Church has preferred to retain the present system, both because of its antiquity—a great obstacle to any innovation—and because of ‘the recondite mysteries included in it.’” *CANTU; Univ. Hist., Documents: art. Chronology*, § 25.

CHAPTER IX.

CONTROVERSY REGARDING "THE FALLEN" UNDER PERSECUTION.

The constancy which our ancestors in the faith, generally speaking, exhibited under persecution, is so remarkable, that we rightly look upon it as one of the many proofs of the divinity of our holy religion. Their constancy was so different from the perseverance sometimes shown by the votaries of other creeds in similar circumstances, so void of obstinacy, petulancy, fanaticism, or fatalism, that the rationalist tries in vain to account for it on purely natural grounds. But there were some exceptions to this rule of constancy, in all of the persecutions, just as there was one in the very first assemblage of Christians that the world beheld. Especially, during the persecution of Decius, the number who denied their faith, directly or indirectly, was large. This persecution was far more ferocious, as we have seen, than any of the preceding ones, and it came upon the faithful with multiplied force, because they were comparatively enervated by a long period of rest. We have said that the number of the "fallen" was large in this persecution; we mean, not that a great many openly denied the One God, and sacrificed to the false deities of Paganism, but that many shrank from an open avowal, and availed themselves of an unworthy and cowardly scheme to escape from the consequences of unshaken fidelity. For the fallen must be divided into two classes, the "thurificators," or offerers of incense, and the *libellatici*, or those who took out pretended certificates of sacrifice. The name of the first class sufficiently indicates the status of its members, but an explanation is necessary to a full understanding of the meaning of the third term. Many of the magistrates, whom Decius ordered, under threat of condign punishment, to enforce his edict, were approachable by bribes; some also were of a clement disposition. Whether influenced by love of money or by sentiments of pity, these officers devised a

means of avoiding the commanded act of sacrifice, which proved acceptable to many of the weaker Christians. This means consisted in taking from the official a certificate (*libellus*), which stated that the bearer had offered sacrifice to the gods. And as it was not necessary for the recipient to appear in person before the judge, since he could receive the saving document through an agent, he the more easily satisfied his conscience that he had not even seemed to deny Christ before the world. Had such persons simply bribed the judges to leave them in peace, to abstain from citing them before the tribunals, they would merely have manifested a weakness; but in the case of the certified, in the Decian persecution, their fellow citizens were led to believe that they had denied their God. And even though the giving of false certificates were so common and notorious, that it would always be doubtful whether, in this or that particular instance, the denial had really been pronounced, yet the certificated person was subject to the imputation, and therefore gave reason for grave scandal to his brethren. Hence the Church regarded the certified as ranking in guilt next to the sacrificers. St. Cyprian says, in his fifteenth epistle to the clergy of Rome, "When I found those who had tainted their hands and mouths with sacrilegious contracts, or had polluted their consciences with the execrable certificates, going around among the martyrs and confessors, importuning them for intercessory letters, without any discrimination or examination of each case, I wrote to those martyrs and confessors, that, so far as in me lay, I might recall them to the observance of the Lord's precepts." In another place (1), the saint compares the weakness of the certified with the conduct of Eleazar, as narrated in *March. II., c. 6*. "And lest any one take advantage of the wicked offer of the deceivers, in the shape of a certificate, or any other deception, let Eleazar not be forgotten, who, when the royal ministers offered him food which he was allowed to eat, that he might deceive the king by appearing to eat the illicit food of sacrifice, would not consent to the fraud, saying that it was not fitting to his

(1) *Exhortation to Martyrdom, c. XI.*

age or station to feign what would scandalize others, and lead them into error. God, who is the judge of our consciences, and alone to be feared, cannot be mocked or deceived."

In the first quotation from St. Cyprian, we learn that the fallen used to beg from the martyrs intercessory letters, or petitions to the Church, that the bishops would shorten their public penance. The reverence of the faithful for those who had suffered, or were about to suffer, for the faith, was very great, and the Church encouraged that reverence, even to the point of granting to the prayers of the confessors what would otherwise never have been conceded. Hence, those who had unfortunately become either sacrificers or certificated, thronged around the expectant sufferers, beseeching them to request, through the Church's appreciation of their coming trial, a remission of the punishment due to their own pusillanimity. This custom was greatly abused, and many of the fallen insisted upon the bishops accepting the "letters of peace" in lieu of any public penance. "Some of these turbulent spirits," says St. Cyprian, "who, even in the past, were with difficulty ruled by us, and in our very presence were disputatious, now became, through these letters, as fiery as though a torch had been applied to them, and tried to extort the peace promised them" (1). And again, "After I had written to you about the temerity of certain persons who refused to perform penance and satisfy God, they applied to me, saying that peace was not *to be given* them, for it had *already* been given to them by Paul (a certain martyr)." This demand of the fallen was most presumptuous, and of itself proved that they were in bad disposition for communion, for the Church had always insisted upon satisfaction for sin. The Church had always striven against the abuse of the martyrs' letters of peace. From the most ancient times, the deacons were in the habit of visiting the prisons to moderate the zeal of the confessors in granting such letters. And it was always understood that the peace of the Church was not attained by the mere reception of such a letter; that

(1) *Letter to the Roman Clergy*, No. 15.

the martyrs merely besought the peace for the recipient, as a favor to themselves. Again, in granting the letter, the martyr was obliged to name the person in whose interest the favor was asked ; it was therefore an inexcusable abuse to extend the favor to one's friends, as many tried to do. St. Cyprian speaks of this attempt as follows (1) : " You ought to correct this thing diligently, and designate by name those to whom you wish peace to be conceded. For I hear that letters are given by some, saying, ' Let so and so communicate, and also his friends,' and hitherto that has never been done by the martyrs. . . . I therefore ask that you designate by name, and give letters, consonant to faith and discipline, only to those whom you yourselves see and know, and whose penance you know to be nearly completed."

This abuse of the letters of peace, and especially the claim that they were of themselves sufficient to entitle the recipient to communion, was resisted to the utmost by St. Cyprian, in whose jurisdiction most of the trouble happened. He was obliged to contend, not only against the audacity of the fallen, but even against many of the martyrs, who insisted upon the conciliatory nature of their letters as being independent of any episcopal decision. Thus, a practice which had come in vogue through the Church's veneration for those who had shed, or were about to shed, their blood for Christ, now threatened not only the right of the pastors to control their own discipline, but that humility and simplicity of motive which were, under God, the surest force of the martyr. In the midst of his anxiety, St. Cyprian be-thought himself of the Apostolic See, but the chair of Peter was then vacant, and so disturbed were the clergy of Rome by the fierceness of the persecution of Decius, that it was as yet impossible to fill the vacancy. However, the holy bishop of Carthage besought the advice of the Roman clergy, and the result was the issue of a provisory decree to the effect that the owners of letters of peace were to be reconciled to the Church, if they were in danger of death ; the others were to await the pleasure of their bishops, to be announced when the cessation of the persecution would

(1) *Epist. 2, to Martyrs and Confessors.*

admit of an examination of the respective cases. With regard to this decision, St. Cyprian wrote to Antonianus (1) "I wrote most fully to the Roman clergy, then without a bishop, and to the priest Maximus and other confessors then in prison, but now joined with Cornelius to the Church. What I wrote, you can know from their answers, for in their epistles they thus replied, 'What you have done in this important affair is pleasing to us, that the peace of the Church be first consulted; that then there be held a comparison of opinions, of the bishops, priests, deacons, and also the confessors, the laity being witnesses, to treat the cause of the fallen.' It was then added, that peace should be accorded to the fallen who were sick, or in danger of death. Novatian also subscribing to this, and reciting his subscription with his own voice; the priest Moses, then a confessor and now a martyr, also subscribing. These letters were sent through the entire world, and given to the knowledge of all the churches, and of all the brethren." The council which the Roman clergy recommended in their letter to St. Cyprian was held immediately after the death of Decius had given some peace to the Church, and a peremptory decree was issued, of which the saint thus speaks(2): "As had been already decided, when the cessation of persecution allowed us to meet, a large number of bishops came together, and the protection of the Lord and our own faith preserving us, the Scriptures were consulted by both sides, and we weighed the matter with saving moderation, that all hope of communion might not be denied to the fallen, and thus they be driven by desperation, if the Church were closed to them, to follow the world and live like gentiles. Nor should the ecclesiastical censure be disregarded, by our rashly admitting them to communion; so penance was continued, and paternal clemency was to be contritely sought after, and each case was to be examined, with the disposition and necessity of each person."

Finally, St. Cornelius having been elevated to the Papacy, a synod was held in Rome in the year 254, in which it was decreed that those of the fallen, who had really sacrificed

(1) *Epist.*, 52.(2) *Idem.*

to the gods, should do full penance before restoration to communion, unless they were in danger of death. Such of this class as were priests, were reduced to the rank of laymen, and as such, after penance, admitted to communion. The *libellatici*, or certificated, were received into the peace of the faithful without any penance, other than that they had themselves voluntarily undertaken. The Church was naturally much more lenient with the certificated than with the sacrificers. "There is a great difference," says St. Cyprian (1), "even among those who have sacrificed; what cruelty, then, what fearful acerbity, it would be, to join the merely certificated with the sacrificers! He, who has accepted the certificate, says, 'I had read, and I had known from the bishop, speaking on this matter, that I should not sacrifice to the idols, and that a servant of God should not adore at their altars; and therefore, when the occasion was offered to obtain a certificate, I went to the magistrate, or sent another—lest I might do that which is not permitted—and said that I was a Christian, that I could not sacrifice, that I could not approach the altar of the devil, and that therefore he should, in return for a sum of money, free me from doing what I was not allowed to do.' Now, however, this man, who is contaminated by his certificate, after he has understood from our rebukes that this thing should not have been done; that, even if his hands be pure, and his mouth tainted by no contact with forbidden food, yet his conscience is polluted; having heard all this, he stands and laments, &c."

If, at first sight, the Church's treatment of the sacrificers seems too harsh, it is well to know that, under certain circumstances, she tempered her severity. Thus, if a persecution were imminent, she conceded them immediate absolution. Under such circumstances, St. Cyprian wrote to Pope Cornelius, *epist.* 54, "Peace is now necessary, not to the weak, but to the strong; not for the dying, but for the healthy. We must now concede communion, that those, whom we exhort to battle, be not left helpless, but be fortified with the protection of the Body and Blood of Christ."

(1) *Epist. to Antonian*, 52.

Again, immediate absolution was granted to those of the fallen who suffered anything for the honor of Christ, or who did anything difficult which redounded to the good of the Church. This is proved by a letter of Caldonius, an African bishop, to St. Cyprian (1), asking his advice about restoring to communion some of the fallen ones who had just proved their sincere repentance by submitting to exile rather than to a denial of Christ. "You have judged correctly," answered the saint, "as to the granting of peace to our brethren, for they have brought it to themselves by true penance, and by a glorious avowal of the Lord." Further, if delay would have caused danger of schism, absolution was immediately granted to the fallen. This is shown by the rule laid down by St. Augustine (2): "I assert nothing new or unaccustomed, but what the health of the Church requires, that when any one of the Christian brethren, constituted in the society of the Church, is found guilty of such a sin, he be held worthy of anathema; let this be done where there is no danger of schism He who diligently considers this, will not neglect the severity of discipline in the preservation of unity, nor will he rupture the tie of community by immoderate coercion." Finally, immediate absolution was conceded to the excommunicated, when any great good would thereby accrue to the Church, such as the extinction or diminution of a schism, or the conversion of many to the fold. We learn this from the action of Pope Cornelius in the case of several Novatian converts, and in the case of the priest Trophimus, who had wandered from the Church. In the first instance. Maximus, Urban, Sidon, Macarius, and several others, who had been deceived by the wiles of Novatian, begged to be restored to communion, and as the petitioners were leaders in the schism, the Pontiff hoped that their example would encourage the rank and file to return to unity. The priest Maximus was fully restored to his sacerdotal privileges; and full forgiveness, with no penance whatever, was accorded to the rest. The case of Trophimus is narrated by St. Cyprian in his 52nd epistle, to Antonian, and is of the same

(1) *Epistles of Cyprian*, No. 19.(2) *Against the Epistle of Parmenian*, b. 3, c. 2,

nature as the preceding, with the difference that Trophimus was reduced to lay communion.

In concluding this dissertation, we would observe that the enemies of Christianity do not seem to have perceived that the proceedings of the immense majority of the early apostates afford a good proof of the truth and sanctity of our religion. When the persecutions ceased, nearly all the "fallen" returned to their allegiance. And it is a remarkable fact that no one of these unfortunates, so far as we can gather from history, ever traduced the faith he had abandoned. Pliny declares, in his letter to Trajan, that he interrogated many of them, and was led to believe that Christianity was merely an excess of superstition.

CHAPTER X.

THE NOVATIAN HERESY.

The distinction of having been the first of the few Anti-Popes who have troubled the Church, belongs to Novatian, a Roman priest, born at the commencement of the third century. He had been a Pagan, and addicted to the Stoic philosophy, but being seized by sickness, he became a Christian. Baptized in his bed, he neglected to have the accustomed ceremonies supplied, and hence became irregular for the priesthood. His bishop, however, dispensed with the irregularity, and he received Holy Orders. When persecution became the order of the day, Novatian shut himself up in his house; his deacons endeavored to prevail upon him to go out and encourage the faithful, but he declared that he was tired of the priesthood, and would return to philosophy (1). This was the man who presumed to dispute the Papacy with St. Cornelius, after the election in the year 251. He had already sworn that he entertained no ambition for the Pontificate, but, scarcely had Cornelius been installed,

(1) *St. Cornelius, Epist. to Fabius of Antioch.*

when Novatian, by the connivance of three bishops (1), received episcopal consecration, and was proclaimed by a few partisans as head of the Church. His principal assistant, and probably the instigator of his schism, was Novatus (2), a Carthaginian priest, who, having revolted against St. Cyprian (3), had fled to Rome. He was, according to the testimony of the saint (4), "Always desirous of new things, furious with the insatiable rapacity of avarice, puffed up with arrogance and pride, always in bad odor with the bishops of these parts, condemned by the unanimous voice of the priests as a heretic; he was ever curious, that he might betray, and ever a flatterer, that he might deceive, but never faithful, that he might cherish. He was a torch for the starting of the fires of sedition, a whirlwind of tempest to make shipwreck of faith, an enemy of quiet, the adversary of tranquillity, the foe of peace. . . . The orphans whom he has defrauded, the widows whom he has robbed, the churches which he has despoiled, all demand his punishment. . . . His father died in the street, of starvation, and he would not bury the body. He kicked his wife in the abdomen, and through the miscarriage became a murderer. And now he dares to condemn the hands which sacrificed, when his feet are more guilty, since they killed his son." With the aid of this worthy coadjutor, Novatian soon secured a sufficient number of followers to cause a great amount of anxiety to the legitimate Pontiff. One of his first acts was to bind his partisans by oath never to return to the communion of Cornelius (5). He then sent legates to Carthage, bearing letters justifying his own usurpation, and calumniating St. Cornelius, but St. Cyprian refused to communicate with them. Through all Africa the faithful primate sent letters, exhorting all the bishops to remain true to the Papacy, "the root and matrix of the Catholic Church," and received answers confirming the "necessary origin and just reason" of the election of

(1) St. Cornelius says that they were "uncultivated and ignorant men, from the most insignificant and contemptible quarter in Italy." *Ibi*.

(2) St. Epiphanius, Eusebius, and Theodoret, confound the two men; Sts. Cornelius and Cyprian, and Pacian, clearly distinguish them.

(3) He accused the holy bishop of too great leniency in his treatment of those who fell, during persecution, and was destined himself to rush into the other extreme.

(4) *Epist.* 49, to *Cornelius*.

(5) Each one received the Holy Eucharist, and instead of replying "Amen" to the words of the communicator, said, "I shall never return to Cornelius."

Cornelius, and his "glorious innocence" (1). Novatian made great efforts to draw the confessors and expectant martyrs to his side, knowing well how much prestige would be gained by such success. Hearing of this attempt, and learning that it had not been entirely unsuccessful, St. Cyprian sent letters, to be first submitted to the Pontiff, exhorting the candidates for martyrdom to remain faithful to unity, and his zeal resulted in the return of many perverts. Novatian endeavored to win over Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, declaring to him that he had with great unwillingness accepted the Pontificate. Dionysius answered him thus: 'If you did this unwillingly, as you say, you will easily prove it, by renouncing the position. For one should suffer anything, rather than impair the concord of the Church of God. That martyrdom which is sustained for the sake of the unity of the Church, is not only not less commendable, but is even more so than that which one would undergo rather than sacrifice to idols. In this, one suffers for his own soul; in the other, for the whole Church.'

The Novatians were, in the beginning, schismatics, but like most separatists, they soon joined heresy to their other crimes. Their first error was the denial of the Church's power to forgive those who had sacrificed to the idols, or even those who had taken out "certificates." St. Cyprian says that while he was suffering great anxiety as to what course to pursue with regard to these penitents, "behold, there arises on the other side an enemy, the adversary of any paternal clemency, the heretic Novatian, who does not merely imitate the priests and levite of the Gospel by passing the wounded man, but even kills him, by taking away all hope of salvation" (2). Novatian went so far as to deny the power of the Church to forgive any sin committed after baptism, although, in after times, his followers so far tempered the doctrine as to acknowledge the Church's power over venial sin. So we learn from St. Ambrose (3) and St. Pacianus (4). Another error of the Novatians was the re-baptism of their converts. They also condemned second nuptials.

(1) *Epist.* 45, to *Cornelius*.
 (2) *On the Fallen*.

(3) *On Penance*, b. 1.
 (4) *Epist.* 3, to *Sympronianus*.

The legitimate Pontiff, St. Cornelius, held a Council at Rome in the year 253, in which Novatian and his followers were anathematized. They had already been condemned in synods held at Carthage in 251, and in Antioch in 252. How Novatian terminated his career, we do not know. His followers asserted that he died a martyr. After denying the truth of this boast, St. Pacian (1) says, "And even if Novatian did suffer, he received no crown for his agonies. And why not? Outside the peace of the Church, outside of unity, away from that mother to whom must pertain every one who is a martyr, hear the Apostle saying of him, 'Even though I deliver up my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.' " Though divided into numerous sects, the Novatians did not vanish in the East until the seventh century; in the West, not before the eighth.

With regard to the cruelty of the Novatians toward the "fallen," it may appear that they were not any more rigid than were some of the early synods held by the orthodox; that some of the canons of the Spanish council of Elvira (2) seem nearly as rigorous as the Novatian practice. But it must be remembered that the Church holds and ever has held, that she has received from her Divine Founder the power to forgive *all* sin; that in the council of Elvira and similar synods this power was always asserted, though, owing to circumstances, the bishops deemed it necessary to exact in certain cases a long and severe penance before the concession of absolution. We have already seen, when treating of the discipline in regard to the fallen, that there were several circumstances in which the Church held her rigor in abeyance. But Novatian, or his adherents, denied the power itself, just as do the heretics of modern times. Socrates tells us, in *b. 7, chap. 25*, that Asclapiades, a Novatian bishop, said to a patriarch of Constantinople, "We cannot communicate with great sinners, but leave to God alone the power of forgiving them." And Sts. Pacian and Augustine ascribe this doctrine to Novatian again and again.

(1) *Idem*, Epist. 2.

(2) Held at the commencement of the fourth century. The precise date is controverted but most probably it was just before the persecution of Maximian.

In the days of Novatian there was more at stake than the mere policy or duty of pardoning the unfortunate fallen; there had arisen a question as to the *power* of the Church to forgive all sin. In the interest of his own sect, Mosheim says that the Novatians should not be reproached for corrupting Christian doctrine, as their opinions did not much differ from those of their fellow Christians (1). How far this assertion is true, we have seen. It may be painful for a Protestant to hear one of his favorite opinions condemned by the Church of the third century, but nevertheless the fact remains. The following passage from the letter sent by St. Cyprian to Pope St. Cornelius, after the celebration of the Council of Carthage of 251, furnishes an excellent summary of the question at issue with the Novatians, and of the action of the African fathers thereupon. "We had already decreed, after mutual consultation, that those who had been overthrown by the adversary in the heat of persecution, or had so fallen as to stain themselves with illicit sacrifice, should, for a long time, perform full penance; or, if there were danger of weakness, that they should receive peace when threatened by death. For it was not right, nor did paternal devotion or divine clemency allow, that the Church should be closed to those who applied for admission; or that those who were contrite, and sought the aid of salutary hope, should be denied it, and sent out of the world without the communion and peace of the Lord; when He Himself, who gave the law, had permitted that what was bound on earth, should be bound in Heaven, and what was loosed on earth, should also be loosed in Heaven. For when we perceived that another period of persecution was approaching, and by frequent and constant signs we were shown that we should be armed and prepared for the fight offered by the enemy; that we should get ready the people entrusted to us by the divine mercy; that we should bring into the camp of the Lord every one of the soldiers of Christ who call for arms and cry for battle; we deemed ourselves compelled by necessity to concede peace to those who had not left the Church of God, and who had not ceased

(1) *Eccles. Hist.*, 3rd cent., p. 2, c. 5; *Hist. Christ.*, 3rd cent., in notes.

from the first day of their fall, to do penance and to lament and to beseech the Lord." And in his 52nd epistle to Antonianus, the holy primate says, "We do not anticipate the judgment of God, who will ratify what we have done, if He finds that their repentance was sincere and entire. If we were deceived by false appearances, He will correct the sentence which we have pronounced Since we know that no one should be debarred from doing penance, and that, by the mercy of God, peace can be accorded by the priests, we must have regard for the groans of our penitents, and not refuse them their reward."

CHAPTER XI.

CONTROVERSY ON THE REPETITION OF BAPTISM.

We now approach one of the most important controversies ever developed in the Church—important not only on account of the sanctity and eminent position of the parties to the agitation, but because of the vital nature of the principle involved. At the commencement of the third century, an opinion began to be ventilated that the validity of Baptism depended upon the orthodoxy of the minister. Such an idea was a natural outgrowth from a state of society intensely hostile to schism or heresy, if the members listened rather to their prejudices than to the calmly logical and unerring voice of the proper magistracy. The first promulgator of this opinion seems to have been Agrippinus, bishop of Carthage, who, in a synod of his suffragans, held in the year 215, declared, says St. Cyprian (1), that "He who comes from heretics, and has not been already baptized in the Church, but comes as a profane one and an entire stranger, is to be baptized, that he may become one of the sheep, for there is but one water in the Church for the making of sheep. We also have followed this doctrine, as

(1) *Epist.* 71, to *Quintus*.

religious, legitimate, salutary, and agreeing with that of the Catholic Church." The new doctrine soon spread into the East, and acquired zealous defenders in St. Dionysius of Alexandria and Firmilian of Caesarea in Cappadocia. But its principal support was found in St. Cyprian. In the year 256, a synod was held at Carthage, in which the doctrine was so plainly asserted, that the fathers would not deign to use the word "rebaptize," but substituted "baptize," for, says St. Cyprian (1), "they do not receive anything where there is nothing; but they come to us, with whom are grace and all truth, for grace and truth are one." In the same year, another synod was celebrated at Carthage, and 71 bishops signed the synodical letter sent to Pope Stephen, begging his confirmation of their decrees. The following passage of this letter is interesting: "Many things were transacted, but we thought to write to you, and to consult your Gravity and Wisdom principally upon a thing greatly affecting the sacerdotal authority, and the unity and dignity of the Catholic Church, derived from the providence of God; namely, that those should be baptized, who come to us and the one Church, after having been tainted by profane water among the heretical schismatics." When Pope Stephen had read this synodical epistle, he vehemently reproved the errors it contained. His letter has not come down to us, but it must have been very firm, and very pointed in its terms. to cause St. Cyprian to speak of it as follows (2): "Among other haughty, or not pertinent, or contradictory things which he unlearnedly and improvidently wrote, he said, 'If, therefore, any one comes to us from any heresy whatever, let there be no innovation beyond what has been handed down to us, namely, that hands be laid upon him in penance.'" Baronio, and some others, hold that Pope Stephen excommunicated St. Cyprian and his brother bishops for their persistency in this matter, but the probabilities are in favor of the opinion that no such decree was issued. We shall speak more fully on this point, when we come to treat the various questions arising out of the controversy. Whether St. Cyprian abandoned his error or not, we have no means of

(1) *Ibi.*(2) Epist. 74, to *Pompeius*.

ascertaining, but it is certain that, through the entire controversy, he and his friends regarded the question as one, not of faith, but of discipline.

There are several knotty points in this controversy upon the Repetition of Baptism, and it would be very convenient, if we could dismiss the whole question as a work of the imagination, as lacking any historical foundation. But though there would then be no necessity for grappling with some apparent and some real difficulties, truth will not allow us to imitate those authors who have seen fit to reject as unauthentic the documents bearing upon the controversy (1). It is asserted by these writers that we ought not to credit the testimony of Eusebius in this matter; that he invented the whole history in the interests of the Donatists; and that, again, the Donatists themselves interpolated many of the passages of Eusebius referring to it. As for Eusebius' working in the interests of Donatism, merely because he was an Arian, that is pure conjecture, and not a solid one; again, we know that he really condemned rebaptism, from his *book* 7, c. 2, &c. As for the Donatist interpolations, we cannot acknowledge them, unless we are prepared to admit that a comparatively weak sect succeeded, in the face of powerful opponents, in vitiating all the codices of Eusebius' history. St. Augustine appears to speak very clearly upon all matters concerning the controversy, but his testimony is rejected by those who relegate the story to the realms of imagination. They contend that the holy doctor only speaks hypothetically of the matter, that is, that he supposes, merely for the sake of argument, that this history, adduced by the Donatists, is true, wishing to present to them (who were so rebellious) the picture of Cyprian, who differed in opinion from the head of the Church, but yet did not rush into schism. This theory is specious, but whenever St. Augustine treats of this subject, he seems to feel that it is a fact, one which, for Cyprian's sake, he would like to excuse. And in his *book* 7, on *Baptism*, c. 20, he says that "Peter, the first of the Apostles, might have thought otherwise than truth demand-

(1) Among these the best is John Alberi, of the Pious Schools, professor in the university of Pesth, who published, in 1820, a fine work on *Select Topics of Church History*.

ed ; which happened to Cyprian, as all of us, who love him, believe, without any reproach to him." Those who banish this controversy from the domain of history hold that the quality of authenticity is wanting in many of the documents upon which we rely to prove its reality ; for instance, in the epistles of St. Cyprian to the bishops of Numidia, to Quintus, to Jubajan, to Pompeius, and to Magnus ; in the *Acts* of the 3rd Council of Carthage, and in the epistle of Firmilian to Cyprian. The works of St. Augustine are full of passages which show that he regarded the cited letters of Cyprian as authentic, nor do they at all support the supposition of hypothesis alleged by the disbelievers in the controversy. The following, taken from his work *on Baptism*, b. 1, c. 18, would alone sufficiently show his mind : "Great proofs are extant in the letters of the blessed martyr . . . for in those days it appeared to him, and to nearly eighty of his bishops of the African Church, that a man who had been baptized outside the communion of the Catholic Church, ought to be again baptized on his return to the Church." As for the celebration of the 3rd synod of Carthage, the friends of the imagination theory would find it difficult to prove that such synod was not held. In addition to the testimony of St. Augustine just quoted, we have, in the *3rd book on Baptism*, "I would never believe that in a holy synod of his colleagues, Cyprian would utter with his mouth what he did not feel in his heart," and the context shows he speaks of the 3rd synod. And St. Jerome, speaking of Dionysius of Alexandria, says (1), "Consenting to the teaching of Cyprian and the African synod, he sent many letters to various persons in regard to the rebaptism of heretics." As for the authenticity of Firmilian's letter to St. Cyprian, only negative arguments can be adduced against it, and for it we have the positive evidence of Eusebius, Dionysius of Alexandria, and St. Basil the Great (2).

The first question arising from the controversy on rebaptism is about the threat of excommunication said to have been made by Pope Stephen against St. Cyprian.

(1) *Ecclesiastical Writers*.

(2) For a full defence of the authenticity of all these documents, consult PALMA ; *Lectures*, vol. 1, c. 23.

Was such a threat really made, and if so, was it put into execution? The saint insinuates, at least, that the threat was uttered, when, in his 74th letter, to Pompeius, he asks concerning Stephen, "Does he give honor to God, who communicates with the baptism of Marcion? Does he give honor to God, who asserts that remission of sin is given, among those who blaspheme God? Does he give honor to God, who declares that sons can be born to God outside, from an adulterous and fornicating one? Does he give honor to God, who, not regarding the unity and truth derived from divine law, defends heresy against the Church? Does he give honor to God, who, a friend to heretics, and an enemy of Christians, declares that the priests of God, who defend the truth of Christ and the unity of the Church, *should be shunned?*" St. Dionysius of Alexandria (1) says that Pope Stephen wrote a letter "concerning Helenus, Firmilian, and all the bishops of Cilicia, Cappadocia, Galatia, and the neighboring countries; saying that, for that reason, he would not wish to communicate with them. 'For,' said he, 'they rebaptize heretics.'" And St. Augustine speaks more strongly (2): "When, therefore, Stephen not only did not rebaptize heretics, but even thought that they should be excommunicated, who did so or allowed it to be done; nevertheless, Cyprian remained with him in the peace of unity." These authors certainly say that Pope Stephen threatened the rebaptizers with severance from the communion of the Church, but there is good reason for concluding that such a decree was not issued. The last clause of St. Augustine's testimony, just quoted, is explicit. Again, an excommunication of the rebaptizers by Pope Stephen would have furnished Augustine with a fine argument against the Donatists, but in none of his writings against them, do we find a hint of such a thing. On the contrary, in the book on Baptism which he wrote against those sectaries, we find, *b. 5, c. 25*, "Stephen had thought that they should be avoided who tried to destroy the ancient manner of receiving heretics. However, moved by the difficulty of the question, and being largely gifted with the bowels

(1) *Epist. to Sirtus, in Eusebius, b. 7, c. 5.*(2) *On One Baptism, against Petilian, 14*

of charity, he decided to remain in unity with those who thought differently. . . . the peace of Christ conquered in their hearts, so that the evil of schism did not arise between them." St. Cyprian himself, in his letter to Jubajan, declares that he has always been in peace with his colleagues, and this would not be true, had he been excommunicated by the Pontiff. Those who believe that St. Cyprian and his fellows were really excommunicated, rely greatly upon a passage of Firmilian, in which he says to Cyprian, "In many other provinces, there is great diversity of opinion, and yet on this account, the peace and unity of the Catholic Church were not broken. Stephen has now dared to do this, breaking that peace with you, which his predecessors always preserved with you in love and mutual honor." But these and similar words, with which the letter of Firmilian abounds, do not necessarily imply an issue of a formal decree; they might well refer to a mere threat, especially when we consider that they were used by an angry man. "It is natural to angry men," says Alexandre, in treating of this objection, "to speak or write of their real or fancied injuries as far greater than they really are. Hence the tragic poet sang, 'The angry man utters only monstrosities.'" The whole tenor of Firmilian's epistle is one of impotent rage and disappointment; he does not hesitate to compare the Pontiff to Judas, to accuse him of manifest foolishness, to charge him with designating St. Cyprian as a "pseudo-Christ," and an "unfaithful laborer." No matter how holy the former and after life of Firmilian may have been, in this letter he certainly abandoned the ways of truth, moderation, and charity, and we may reasonably suppose that his anger led him into exaggeration. When we compare his assertion (if taken literally) with the positive testimonies of Augustine and Cyprian himself, we are forced to deny it credence. Roncaglia, in an endeavor to prove that St. Cyprian was really excommunicated, thinks that Firmilian's declaration may be reconciled with these testimonies by supposing that the excommunication was withdrawn by Pope Stephen, or by his successor, Sixtus. Before passing to other questions, it is well to observe here that St. Cyprian

never incurred the stain of heresy, although he erred exceedingly. He was always ready to bow to the decisions of the Church, and again, as we shall soon see, he regarded the question at issue as one of discipline rather than of faith. The following passage of St. Augustine well shows the sincere yearning of Cyprian for truth, and his solicitude for unity (1): "Very often a little loss is revealed to the Doctors, that their patient and humble charity, in which there is greater fruit, may be tried; either as to the way of preserving unity, when they think variously on the more obscure matters, or as to their reception of the truth, when they see it declared in a sense contrary to what they thought. Of these two, we have one manifested in Blessed Cyprian, that is, how he preserved unity with those from whom he differed. For he says, 'judging no one, or removing no one from the right of communion, if he thinks otherwise.' And the other, that is, how he received the truth, when found contrary to what he had deemed it. If his letters do not record it, his merits proclaim it; if the epistle is not found, the crown (of martyrdom) attests it; if a council of bishops does not announce it, it is indicated by his being in the company of the angels. For it is no small proof of a most pacific soul, to have merited martyrdom in that unity, from which, though thinking differently, he would not separate. For we are men. Hence to relish a thing, when its nature prohibits it, is a trial to men. But to love one's own opinion excessively, or to grudge their ideas to the more justly thinking, to the point of breaking off communion and founding a schism, or to the point of committing the sacrilege of heresy, is diabolic presumption. . . . Having shed his blood, but shed it in unity, (Cyprian) attained angelic light through the confession of martyrdom, so that, if he did not know before what had been revealed, he knew it then, because he preferred the tie of unity to the assertion of his own opinion."

The question now arises as to the light in which the controversy was viewed by St. Cyprian, Firmilian, and the other rebaptizers of the time, who were in

(1) *Baptism, against the Donatists.*, b. 2, c. 5.

communion with them. Did they regard the question as one of faith, or of discipline? That they looked upon it as a mere matter of discipline, is easily proved. In the epistle sent by St. Cyprian and his brethren of the council of Carthage to Pope Stephen, we read, "We know that some do not wish to lay aside what they have once learned; that they do not easily change their minds, but wish, saving the tie of peace and concord with their colleagues, to retain what has been practiced among them. In which matter, we do violence or lay down a law to no one, since each bishop exercises his free will in the administration of his church, for which he will render an account to the Lord." But no bishop is free to act, according to his own opinion, in matters of faith; the fathers of Carthage, therefore, regarded the controversy as one of discipline. St. Jerome says that St. Cyprian never anathematized, but rather always communicated with, those who regarded his opinion as an error; if, however, the saint had thought his practice to be of faith, he could not have pursued such a course. These are the words of the great doctor (1): "However, if these do not wish. . . . to adduce from the Scriptures those texts which Blessed Cyprian has left in his epistles, concerning the rebaptism of heretics, let them know that he never proffered such sayings together with an anathema on those who would not agree with him. . . . And he finished the address, which he sent to Pope Stephen on the matter, with these words: 'We have proffered these things to your conscience, both for our common honor and for pure love, believing that what is religious and true will be also acceptable to you, for the sake of your own religion and faith'" (2).

Blondel and other Protestant writers, and in their day,

(1) *Dialogue against the Luciferians*, c. 9.

(2) If St. Cyprian believed that the question was one of faith, the definition of the African synod would certainly have made him a schismatic, which is not to be supposed possible, if we read his works. He could not be defended because of an example given by previous councils, for these did not judge of matters of faith, unless with the antecedent consent of the Church, or with the will to subject their decisions to the Church's judgment. In his epistle to Jubajan, St. Cyprian does not exclude a converted heretic from salvation, even though he be not "rebaptized;" he therefore must have regarded the effects of the old baptism as yet surviving, and therefore he must have looked upon the new baptism, for which he contended, as merely a disciplinary practice. It is certain that St. Cyprian did not hold as invalid a baptism conferred by a sinner; therefore, we may reasonably conclude that he regarded as valid that given by a heretic. See *Triumph of the Holy See*, by Cappellari (Pope Gregory XVI), chap. 20.

some Gallican authors, have contended that, in his condemnation of St. Cyprian's error, Pope Stephen rushed into the extreme opposite one of approving every heretical baptism. How false this accusation is, we can very easily show. In his epistle to St. Cyprian, Firmilian says, "It is quite absurd for them to deem it unnecessary to inquire as to who baptized the person, saying that the grace can be attained by the invocation of the Trinity by name, that is, of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." Firmilian therefore supposes that Stephen insisted upon a certainty as to the use of the proper form, ere he would declare the validity of a baptism. Again, we know from Eusebius that the Pontiff defended the ancient practice of the Church, and the ancient practice was to insist upon the use of proper form and matter (1). Again, had Pope Stephen fallen into any error in his treatment of the question, Vincent of Lerins could not have said that he "crushed the novelty, and sustained the practice of antiquity" (2). And it is very unlikely, if Stephen had so erred, that the Council of Arles, when it issued a special canon against the rebaptizers, would have omitted to notice the opposite, and far more dangerous, heresy. Finally, if the Pontiff fell into such error, then the Church had erred through her entire extent, and therefore disappeared from the earth, which no Gallican, even in the palmiest days of his school, would admit to be possible. Certainly, at the time of the controversy as to rebaptism, the entire episcopacy received either the definition of Pope Stephen or the doctrine of St. Cyprian, and both, in the supposition of Stephen's fall, had wandered from the truth. The temerarious Launoy, in accordance with his system, which gained for him the title of "un-nicher of the saints" (3), drew up a series of what seemed to him terrible objections to the sanctity of Pope Stephen, and proofs that he had erred in the matter of St. Cyprian. Thus, he said, the Church always thought much more of Cyprian than of Stephen. Hear the praises which the fathers lavish upon Cyprian, and note how

(1) *History*, b. 7, c. 3.(2) *Commonitory*.

(3) The pastor of the church of St. Roch, at Paris, used to say, "Whenever I meet M. Launoy, I make him a profound bow, for fear that he will yet deprive me of my dear St. Roch."

seldom they speak of the Pontiff. In the Canon of the Mass, we have the name of Cyprian, not the other. In the ancient Litanies of the Roman Ordo and of the Rituals of the Churches of Gaul, Cyprian's name occurs, but never Stephen's. In the *Sacramentary* of St. Gregory and the olden Missals, we read a proper Preface for the Feast of Sts. Cornelius and Cyprian, but there is none for the Feast of St. Stephen. Anastasius, the Librarian, in his *Life* of Stephen, mentioning the *Constitutions* of the Pontiff, is silent as to the baptismal decree, as though, at Rome, where he wrote, they were ashamed of the Pope's course of action. All these allegations of Launoy simply show that St. Cyprian was more venerated than St. Stephen was; how a man of Launoy's acumen could draw from them any argument against the Pontiff's faith, is one of the many mysteries furnished by the devotees of Gallicanism and by those of many other "isms."

It has been also asserted that Pope St. Stephen decreed that baptism was valid when conferred only in the name of Christ. We must at once observe that both ancient and modern writers very frequently use the phrase "in the name of Christ," when they really mean to signify the names of the three Divine Persons; and the context, either direct or remote, will always show, if they are treating of sacramental forms, that the names of the Father and Holy Ghost are understood. To prove that Pope Stephen erred in this matter, it must be shown that he allowed the names of the Father and Holy Ghost to be omitted from the baptismal form, and that is impossible. It is true that a testimony to this effect can be adduced, which at first sight may seem conclusive, but, as we shall show, it must be rejected. St. Cyprian received from Jubajan an epistle said to have been written by Pope Stephen. In his 73rd letter, Cyprian declares that he had read in that epistle a definition to the effect that baptism in the sole name of Christ was valid, and he refutes the assertion. In answering this objection, we might say, with Alexandre, that the holy bishop of Carthage did not "penetrate the mind" of the Pontiff; that Stephen by the phrase "in the name of Christ" meant bap-

tism as instituted by Christ, and therefore conferred in the proper way. But it is difficult to believe that so perspicacious a mind as that of Cyprian would not have been able to penetrate the meaning of the Pope, or that so good a theologian would not have recognized the true meaning, if it were couched under a common form of expression. The most conclusive reply is that the epistle read by St. Cyprian was not written by St. Stephen. The Pontiff wrote indeed to the Primate of Africa, but it is unlikely that he would have written, in such unsettled and difficult times, to the bishop of an obscure place in the remote wilds, and there is no record of such an epistle. St. Cyprian does not ascribe it to Stephen, nor say anything which would indicate that he regarded him as its author, which he would have scarcely omitted to do, had there been any foundation for such a belief.

The opponents of Papal infallibility used to cite this difference of opinion between Sts. Stephen and Cyprian as favorable to their theory, but how they could derive any advantage from it we cannot perceive, since it is evident that both parties regarded the question as pertaining, not to faith, but to discipline. We may observe, however, that before the question of rebaptism arose, St. Cyprian often acknowledged the rights and prerogatives of the Apostolic See in explicit and reverential terms. Thus, when writing to Pope Cornelius against the schismatic Felicissimus, who had opposed his elevation to the see of Carthage, he said, "They dare to approach the chair of Peter, and to bear, from schismatics and the profane, letters to the principal Church, from which is derived the sacerdotal dignity; not thinking that they (the Roman clergy) are those Romans whose faith the Apostle praised, and to whom perfidy can have no access." And in his letter to Antonianus, "You asked me to send a copy of your letter to our colleague Cornelius. that, all anxiety laid aside, he might know that you communicate with him, that is, with the Catholic Church." Speaking to Pope Cornelius, he says, "We exhorted them to acknowledge and hold to the root and matrix of the Catholic Church that all our col-

leagues should cling to thee and thy communion, that is, to the unity and charity of the Catholic Church." In his epistle, he requests Pope Stephen to use his authority against Marcian, bishop of Arles, who had become a Novatian. And in the entire controversy on rebaptism, he never calls the authority of the Pontiff into question, although he laments the injustice of the decision. If Cyprian was afterwards guilty of disobedience, we can only say that God permitted it for his correction. That he afterwards came to his senses is more than probable, although no documents give us the particulars of his recantation. The constant devotion of the Roman Church to his memory, and his own sacrifice of life for the faith, would prove that when he died, he was not at variance with the chief pastor of the fold.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SAMOSATIAN HERESY, AND THE COUNCIL OF ANTIOCH.

Paul, called Samosatenus, from his native place, Samosata, a village of the Euphratesian Syria, was made bishop of Antioch about the year 262, during the reign of the emperors Valerian and Galienus. Before his elevation he was poor, even to mendicancy, but he soon acquired immense wealth by means of oppression, sacrilege, and other wickedness. The fathers of the Council of Antioch, before whom he was accused of heresy in the year 264, say that he was exceedingly fond of parade. "Carried away, beyond all measure, by love of parade, and by his arrogance, he bore secular dignities, and preferred to be styled a ducenturion (1) rather than a bishop. He pompously strutted through the forum, openly and publicly reading, and dictating his correspondence as he promenaded, preceded and followed by an immense retinue; thus, through his luxury and haughtiness, the envy and hatred of many were excited

(1) The text has *ducentarius*, which can mean either the commander of two hundred soldiers, or a man possessing 200,000 sesterces.

against our faith " (1). His sermons were calculated solely to win glory and fame for the orator; hence, continue his fellow-bishops, "He scolded and insulted those who listened with the gravity and modesty which be seem the house of God, and who did not loudly applaud, as they do in the theatres, nor imitate his friends of both sexes in their shouts and leapings." After this, we need not be surprised to learn that "He picked to pieces the dead doctors of our law, but spoke of himself in grandiloquent terms, not as a bishop ought to speak, but like a sophist and an impostor. He abolished the singing of the Psalms which were always sung in honor of the Lord Jesus Christ, and placed a band of women in the middle of the church to sing certain Psalms in his own praise. And these persons who sing Psalms in his honor, . . . call him an angel, come down from heaven " His morals could not have been of a very ascetic nature, for the Antiochian prelates tell us that he was always accompanied by two beautiful women, and that he allowed his clergy, if they desired it, the constant society of certain females whom they called "Sisters." It would seem that Paul's heresy, like many others, could not come into the world without the connivance or prompting of some members of the fair sex, for it was to please no less a personage than the celebrated "queen of the East," Zenobia, that he made his first inroads upon the deposit of faith. This beautiful and talented princess was a Jewess, and from the time of her marriage to Odenathus, prince of Palmyra, cultivated the acquaintance of learned men. Paul, the Christian bishop of Antioch, was as erudite as any she met, and he possessed a certain eloquence and dictatorial manner which captivated her. He was not the man to forego the advantages of a friend at court, and the consequence was an intimacy which led him to please the Jewess by disguising the doctrines of Christianity.

His first and capital error was that Christ did not exist before His birth from Mary. When Christ was conceived, said he, the Word descended to dwell in Him, and by this temporal mission, became the Son. Nevertheless, Christ

(1) *Synodical Epistle.*

was eternal, by predestination. The fathers of the Council of Antioch say that "He refused to confess with us that the Son descended from heaven. . . . Nor is this simply our assertion; it is declared more than once in the records which we have sent to you, especially where he says that Jesus Christ had His origin from the earth. . . . having abjured the mystery of our religion, he passed to the execrable heresy of Artemas" (1). From this error, Paul logically drew that of two Persons in Christ, one by nature, the other by adoption. Of this heresy, St. Dionysius of Alexandria wrote to him, saying, "Thou sayest there are two hypostases, and two Persons in the One and Only Christ, and two Christs and two Sons; one by nature the Son of God, who was before all time, and one, the Son of David, who was not before, but who, by the pleasure of God, took the name of Son, as a city takes the name of its lord, and a house the name of its builder." Other errors, consequent upon these, Paul developed in a list of *Questions* sent by him to Dionysius. Christ was by nature a man like ourselves; the hypostasis of the Word and the Crucified are not the same; He who hungered, thirsted, labored, &c., was not God. His next error was akin to that of Sabellius, and must have been especially pleasing to Zenobia. He explicitly denied the doctrine of the Trinity, asserting that the Word was not a Person, distinct from the Father, but merely the efficiency of the Father. Speaking of this doctrine, St. Epiphanius says (2): "The opinion of Paul is that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one God; the Word and His Spirit are perpetually in God, as his own word is in the heart of man; the Son of God has no subsistence by Himself, but subsists in God. The Word of God, coming into the world, dwelt in Jesus, who was a mere man. Thus, he says, God is one. . . . that one God is the Father, and the Son is in Him, as the word is in man." The points of difference between the Samosatian doctrine and that of Sabellius and Nestorius, are given as fol-

(1) Artemas was a heretic of the 2d century, who taught that Christ was a mere man. Eusebius speaks of him in his *Hist.*, b. 7, c. 22.

(2) *Heresies*, 65.

lows by Leontius (1): "He erred as to the Divinity and the Incarnation. As to the Divinity, because he acknowledged only the Father. As to the Incarnation, because he asserted that Christ was merely a man. . . . nor did he teach the same as Nestorius; for although Nestorius said that Christ was simply a man, yet he acknowledged as dwelling in Him the Word and Son of God, who subsists by Himself. For Nestorius erred in nothing as to the Trinity. But Paul of Samosata did not acknowledge in Christ the Word of God which subsists by Itself; he called the Word a something ordered, that is, God commanded (as he expressed the idea) what He wished to be done through that man and did perform through him. Nor was the opinion of Paul, as to the Divinity, that of Sabellius. For Sabellius said that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, were the same; he called God a Being of three names, and admitted no Trinity whatever; while Paul did not say that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, were the same, but asserted that the Father was the God who created all things, the Son being a mere man, and the Holy Ghost the gift that descended upon the apostles." Paul also erred as to the formula of Baptism; at least, his followers did. Hence the Council of Nice, in its nineteenth canon, decreed that the Paulianists (as they were generally called) should be baptized, when they applied for admission into the fold.

Against the heretical bishop of Antioch a synod was held in the year 264, during the Pontificate of Pope Dionysius. Among the more celebrated prelates who attended it, were St. Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea and Firmilian of Cæsarea in Cappadocia; St. Dionysius of Alexandria excused himself on account of sickness and old age. Paul disguised his opinions, and protested that the alleged doctrines were not his; the bishops therefore contented themselves with condemning the heresies, without pronouncing any censure against him. But Paul soon began to teach his errors so openly that evasion was no longer possible, and in another synod, held in the year 270, he was condemned and deposed from his see. Then was witnessed the curious spectacle of

(1) *On the Sects*, action 3.

an appeal to a Pagan emperor, made by Catholic bishops against a rebellious brother. Paul refused to yield up the temporalities of the diocese to his successor, Domnus, and the bishops of the province applied to Aurelian for his ejection. The emperor entertained the appeal, and gave the very just decision that the temporalities should be secured to whomsoever the Roman Pontiff and the Christian bishops of the Italian province should designate as legitimate bishop of Antioch (1). Sympathizing more or less with all of the early heretics, Mosheim (2) tries to justify Paul, or rather, since that would be too difficult a task, to cast suspicion upon the motives of those who condemned him. He ignores any zeal for truth on their part, and supposes that they were actuated by envy of Paul's wealth, and by jealousy of his influence. If the Protestant historian could bring forth any documents or any substantial reasons for this suspicion, we might abstain from accusing him of pure maliciousness, but, as it is, the records of the time are against him, and the characters of so many of the subscribers to the *Acts* of the synod are of proven sanctity, that we need do no more than refer to him as another instance of historical acumen rendered null by party spirit.

Coming now to an important question which arises from a perusal of the decrees of the Council of Antioch, we must first draw attention to one of Paul's prime sophisms. If Jesus did not become God, he said, He is not consubstantial to the Father, and hence there are three substances, one principal, and two derivative (3). Now since it is because the Son *is* consubstantial to the Father, that there are not three substances, the argument of Paul is absurd, if he used the term "consubstantial" as we now use it. St. Athanasius has been said to have believed that the fathers of Antioch rejected the word "consubstantial," and that they did so, taking the word in another sense, in which it might have been used by Paul, namely, that there were three substances formed from one pre-existing *materia*. However this may be, it is certain that the prelates assembled

(1) EUSEBIUS; *Hist.*, b. 7, c. 23. THEODORET; *Fables*, b. 2, § 35.

(2) *Hist. Christ.*, sect. C, § 35.

(3) FLEURY; *History*, b. 8, n. 1.

at Antioch formally taught that the Son of God is equal and co-eternal with the Father. We now proceed to examine the question, whether or not the fathers of Antioch rejected the term *homoousios*, "consubstantial," because Paul of Samosata had so abused it as to deceive many, even well meaning persons. This term, as we shall afterwards see, became, during the progress of Arianism, the test, as it were, of orthodoxy, and the opponents of the true doctrine on the Incarnation were fond of citing this synod of Antioch as favorable to their heresy (1). To show that it was a moral impossibility for the fathers of Antioch to reject the term "consubstantial," it is only necessary to consider the events which happened at Alexandria, scarcely ten years before the celebration of their synod, on account of a reported unwillingness of Dionysius to accept the term. This holy bishop had been accused, before Pope Dionysius, of this hesitancy, by certain Pentapolitans, who declared that he "styled the Son a creature, and not consubstantial to the Father." Having called a synod at Rome, the Pontiff wrote to the Alexandrian bishop, asserting the necessity of the term in question. Indignant at the accusation, the prelate repelled it in the strongest of language, and to further clear himself, sent to the Pope four of his books, which plainly proved that he held the consubstantiality of the Son, and received the term *homoousion* as a test of the doctrine. Now, is it at all probable that so many learned and holy bishops, as were those assembled at Antioch, would, not ten years afterwards, have sent to this very Pontiff Dionysius, during the life too of the very prelate whom he had ordered to receive the term, a synodical epistle which rejected the word *homoousion*? Again, would not the Antiochian fathers have seemed demented, if, while condemning an impious and most dangerous heresy, they rejected the very term which, of all possible terms, most conclusively indicated the one true doctrine? And how is it that the Arians never objected that the term had been rejected at Antioch? It would have been an excellent argument for their cause, they never

(1) The student will find this question treated most thoroughly in the work of Maran on the "Divinity of our Lord J. C., Manifested in Scripture and Tradition," b. 4, c. 20. We shall merely give a synopsis of this author's argumentation.

missed a chance, and yet they never alleged even a suspicion of such a thing. No such assertion was ever made until nearly ninety years had elapsed since the holding of the synod, and then it was made by the Semiarians at the synod of Ancyra, in the year 358. And although it was greatly to the interest of these Semiarians to prove their assertion, yet it always remained a simple assertion, without an attempt at proof. It is worthy of note that Eusebius of Caesarea, who certainly was not very hostile to the Arians, while commemorating the anti-Nicene writers who received the term *homooousion*, says that he found none who rejected it, and in his seventh book he gives us that part of the Synodical Epistle of Antioch which alone has come down to us. And in that portion, nothing can be gathered which would give rise to the slightest suspicion that in the lost part there was a rejection of the term. Finally, the Antiochian fathers could not, in their epistle, have rejected a word, the use of which they defend in their Symbol (1).

Those who contend that the term *homooousios* was rejected at Antioch, rely upon certain passages of Sts. Hilary, Athanasius, and Basil, in trying to defend their position. But St. Hilary does not assert the rejection of the word, as his own opinion; he simply proffers the objection as coming from the Semiarians. The same may be said of St. Athanasius, for, in treating of the objection, he says, in parenthesis, "as they say, for I have not a copy of the epistle," and he shortly adds, "If I possessed a copy of the epistle, which they say the fathers wrote, I believe I would find several reasons why they may have been forced to write in such a manner." As for St. Basil, he certainly says, in his 52nd epistle, that some excuse may be made for those who receive the Nicene decrees, excepting the word "consubstantial," because "those who met in the case of Paul of Samosata condemned the term as less apt and convenient." If such was St. Basil's opinion, then he showed much confidence in the Semiarian assertion, but his solitary judgment is of little weight when compared with the arguments we have adduced.

(1) This Symbol is found in Hardouin, *Councils*, vol. 1, p. 1639, and the erudite entertains no doubt as to its genuineness.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CONVERSION AND BAPTISM OF CONSTANTINE.

Eusebius tells us, in his *Life of Constantine*, that while that emperor was marching on Rome to meet the tyrant Maxentius (310), and was reflecting upon the difficulty of his undertaking, he remembered that his father, Constantius Chlorus, worshipped only one God, and that, unlike most of the Roman emperors, he was a happy man. Constantine therefore resolved to devote his worship to the one only God, and "he began," says Eusebius, in chap. 28, "to implore His aid, beseeching Him to make Himself known unto him, and to extend His helping hand to the present enterprise." Then occurred that signal miracle of the appearance of a cross in the sky, and Christ's manifestation of Himself to Constantine on the following night. Our Lord explained the meaning of the miracle to the emperor, ordered him to adopt the cross as his standard, and promised him victory. Constantine then sent for some Christian priests, and having acquired the rudiments of Christian doctrine, was enrolled among the catechumens. The following are the words of the historian: "A wonderful sign, sent by God, appeared to the emperor as he was simply praying. If the event were narrated by any other person, it would not easily be believed. But since the august victor himself told it to us, who write this history, some time after it happened; when, that is, we had become familiar with him; and since he attested the declaration with his oath, who can hesitate in believing it? About the middle of the day, as the sun was turning to the west, he saw, with his own eyes, he asserted, immediately over the sun, a figure of the cross made up of light, and with it the inscription '*En touto nika*' (In this, conquer). At this vision, both he and the soldiers, who were following him on I know not what journey, and were witnesses of the miracle, were thoroughly stupefied." Many Pagan authors are mentioned by Gelasius of Cyzicus (1), as rejecting this vision of

(1) *Council of Nice*, h. 1, c. 4.

Constantine as false or imaginary, and as a rule, Protestants are too averse to any admission of miracles, to receive this one as authentic. That Voltaire should rank the story among fables (1), is not surprising. If a wish to disbelieve be any reason for rejecting an assertion, then those who are incredulous as to this miracle are not unreasonable. As for any more solid argument against it, the rules of criticism furnish none. Eusebius is not alone in his narration, and even if he were, his authority would be great indeed, living, as he did, at the time it is said to have happened, and publishing it, as he did, in the hearing of those whom he declares to have been witnesses to it. What about the oath of Constantine? What about the coins and medals struck by Constantine in commemoration of the vision, and which have come down to us? But Eusebius is corroborated by two Pagan authors, one, the famous orator, Nazarius, the other anonymous (2). The story of the vision is also given by the author of the book on "The Deaths of the Persecutors" and by Optatian Porphyry, the poet. Prudentius, Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoret, all agree in believing in its truth. And of no small value as an argument of its authenticity is the sign of the cross on the military insignia of the early Christian emperors, and on many of the public monuments of the day.

We now approach the question as to where and when Constantine received the sacrament of baptism. The great mass of authors, until within the last two centuries, held that he was baptized at Rome about the year 324, by Pope St. Sylvester. The popular tradition in the Eternal City has always been to that effect. One of the principal complaints made by the enemies of Cola di Rienzo in 1347, was that he had been guilty of profanation, by bathing in the sacred font of Constantine. But the weight of evidence is too much for this tradition, and goes to show that the emperor was baptized only at the close of his life, and in the suburbs of Nicomedia. The principal defenders of the Nicomedian baptism are Mamachi, Papebrock, Henri de Va-

(1) *Essay on General History*, c. 5.

(2) Their stories are found in the Parisian edition of Pliny's *Epistles*, of 1599.

lois, Pagi, Aeneas Silvius, Alexandre, Mosheim, and Palma. Among the modern approvers of the Roman baptism the chief place is held by Baronio. But though it is more probable that Constantine's baptism was deferred until he was about to die, it would be incorrect to say that he was at heart a Pagan up to that time, as some have asserted. This accusation must be repelled, before we treat of his baptism. As Mosheim notes, the facts, laws, and institutions of his reign, show that Constantine had embraced the Christian religion with his whole soul. All his efforts were for the establishment of that faith, and for the destruction of Paganism. In the interests of Christianity, he changed nearly the entire system of Roman jurisprudence; he richly endowed the bishops and priests, and provided in every way for the splendor and accuracy of divine worship. From the day of his vision, he constantly praised and worshipped Christ; he brought up his children in the faith. It is foolish to object certain events of his life as abhorrent to the spirit of the Gospel. Thus, the killing of his son Crispus and the execution of his own wife Fausta (1), his vanity and voluptuousness, do not militate against his Christianity. Are there no bad Christians? Of no value to the theory of Constantine's persistent Paganism, especially when compared with the known facts of his life, is the passage of Eusebius where he is said to have "first merited to receive the imposition of hands with solemn prayer" at Nicomedia. For these words do not necessarily imply that only then Constantine became a catechumen; there were several impositions of hands upon the candidate, ere he finally received baptism. Nor is it at all unlikely that a man in Constantine's elevated position would not have been subjected to all the ceremonies usually adopted at an induction among the catechumens; in which case, the passage of Eusebius is at once understood. We know from Eusebius himself that the emperor was present at the divine services, that he kept the Lord's Day and the feasts of the martyrs, that he fasted at the appointed times, that he kept the vig-

(1) Crispus was accused of high treason, and of attempted outrage on herself by Fausta, his stepmother. The emperor revenged him by ordering Fausta's death.

il of Easter, &c.; we know too that he allowed himself to be excluded from all in which catechumens could not participate. He must, therefore, have been a catechumen long before the journey to Nicomedia, and in the quoted passage of Eusebius, the phrase "first merited" applies to the last and final imposition of hands before baptism. Arguments for the theory of Constantine's continued Paganism have been found in the restoration of the temple of Concord at Rome, in his decree for the consultation of omens, and in the fact that he retained the title of "Supreme Pontiff." With regard to the temple of Concord, we answer that the inscription proves that the Senate and Roman people (S. P. Q. R.) restored it, but not that Constantine did so (1). The decree as to the consultation of omens proves simply that he could not all at once do away with Pagan superstition. He tolerated the augurs by a law of the year 320, which is found in the code of Theodosius, b. 16, tit. 10, No. 1, and its words show that he looked upon their system as a superstition. If Constantine was at heart a Pagan because he bore the title of "Supreme Pontiff," then so were many of his successors, for not until the year 375 was the appellation dropped by Gratian. From the time of his vision, however, he never officiated as Pontiff, nor did he ever sacrifice to the gods. He kept the title, lest it should be taken up by some one else in the interests of the dying system, and not from any affection to the office.

And now for the time and place of Constantine's baptism. Eusebius, in his *Life of Constantine*, b. 4, c. 61 and 62, gives the circumstances as follows: "In the beginning he was attacked by an uneven temperature of the body, and then by illness. Therefore he went to the warm waters of his city, and then he was taken to Helenopolis, where, pausing for a long time in the church of the Martyrs, he offered supplications and prayers to God. When he felt that the end of life was imminent, he thought that at length the time had come for him to expiate the faults of his whole

(1) Palma speaks of two inscriptions, one of which is addressed to Constantine by the S. P. Q. R., but contains nothing attributing the restoration to him; the other treats of the restoration by the S. P. Q. R., but says nothing at all of the emperor. "There are some," he says, "who think that, through the fault of some ignorant man, these two inscriptions have been made into one."

life ; most firmly believing that whatever sin he had committed, through human frailty, would be wiped out by the efficacy of the secret words, and the salutary immersion. Having thought these things, kneeling on the ground, he humbly begged pardon of God, confessing his sins in the same church of the Martyrs, and in that place he first merited to receive the imposition of hands with solemn prayer. Thence having gone as far as the suburbs of Nicomedia, calling the bishops, he addressed to them these words : ‘ This is the time for which I have long hoped, for which I have longed with incredible desire, which I have asked for with my every prayer, that I might attain salvation in God. Now is the time when we also should receive the sign *which confers immortality*; now is the time for us to be made participants of the salutary seal. Truly, I had once decided to do this in the river Jordan, in which, for our example, our Saviour Himself received the immersion. But God, who best knows what is useful for us, deigns that it should be done in this place. Therefore, let all doubt be removed. For if God, the arbiter of life and death, wishes me to live longer here, and it is decreed that I am hereafter to mingle with the people of God, and that, aggregated to the Church, I am to partake of her prayers with the rest, I promise to prescribe for myself such laws of living as are due to God.’ When he had said this, they performed the divine ceremonies with solemn rite, and enjoining upon him what was necessary, they made him a participant in the Sacred Mysteries. Of all the emperors who have ever been, Constantine alone, &c.” There is only one way of escaping from this testimony of Eusebius, and that is at once adopted by Baronio, firmest of all those who believe in the emperor’s baptism at Rome. No confidence is to be placed in Eusebius, in this matter at least, says the father of Ecclesiastical Annals, since he was tinged with Arianism, and naturally drew a curtain over the baptism by Pope Sylvester, that he might consult the feelings of Constantius, the Arian son of Constantine. But Eusebius is not merely silent as to the baptism at Rome; if he were, the conjecture of Baronio might demand attention. He

positively asserts the Nicomedian baptism, knowing, that if he lies, there are hundreds living who can brand him as he deserves. Again, how could such a lie be a salve to the feelings of Constantius? Was this prince so much more ignorant of affairs than the rest of the world, as to be unaware of his father's intense aversion for Arianism? He well knew that he was not following in the footsteps of Constantine; hence, there was no solid reason why Eusebius should, for the sake of his tender feelings, frame so tremendous a lie. We will merely allude to Socrates, Sozomenus, Theodoret, Sts. Jerome, and Ambrose, as agreeing with Eusebius in this matter, and pass to the arguments generally adduced by those who contend that Constantine was baptized at Rome.

Their principal argument is derived from the *Acts of St. Sylvester*, and the records of a Roman synod held in the year 324, which assert that the emperor was baptized and cured of a leprosy by that Pontiff. But neither these *Acts* nor the records of the synod are genuine. Alexandre (1) details many reasons why the *Acts* should be rejected, of which we will give one as a specimen of all. They narrate that in the year 315 a synod was held at Rome, at which attended 75 bishops, and 109 Jewish priests; 12 of the latter having been sent by the high-priest, Isachar, to dispute on religion with their patroness, the empress Helena, and with Constantine. For, they say, Helena was yet a Pagan, but almost converted to Judaism, and was violently angry with her son because of his Christian proclivities, and had begged him to become a Jew. Is not all this trash? Passing by the absurdities, do we not know that, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jews ceased to create high-priests, and that the very name of Pontiff had grown obsolete among them? We cannot, therefore, yield homage to the *Acts of Sylvester*. As for the cited records, they represent a synod which was never held. In the first place, they speak of the heresy of Photinus, which did not arise before the year 343, and treat of it as condemned, while it was not condemned before the Sirmian council of 351. We pass several

(1) *Fourth cent.*, dis. 23.

other intrinsic proofs of falsity, and ask if women, even though they were empresses, were ever admitted into the synods of the Church? Yet these records present Helena as even subscribing to the decrees. Again, this synod appears to have been so lacking in the roughest kind of common sense, that no one can believe it other than fictitious. Among its canons is this one: "No bishop shall bless the marriage of a sacred virgin unless he knows her to be seventy-two years of age." Another canon says that "no bishop shall be condemned unless by seventy-two witnesses; no priest, without forty-four, &c." In the 13th canon, it is established that "no one shall attain clerical honors unless he has first received the sacred veil of marriage at the hands of a priest." It is evident then that no value can be attached to the testimony of such records. The *Acts of Liberius* are also produced in favor of the Roman baptism. According to them, Constantius was highly indignant because Liberius said that Constantine had been cured of leprosy when he was baptized by St. Sylvester. Baronio himself admits that these *Acts* are full of errors, and the ancient writers are silent in their regard, although they are most diligent in collecting all possible evidence bearing upon the contest of Liberius with Constantius. And why should Constantius be specially angry with Liberius for asserting that which, if true, must have been as yet fresh in the minds of many?

It is incredible, say the defenders of the Sylvestrian baptism, that Constantine should have been so superstitious as to put off his baptism, merely that he might receive it in the Jordan. And whose example encouraged him to defer so important an act to the end of his life? Besides, if he really wished to be baptized in the holy river, why did he not avail himself of the opportunity, when he was at Jerusalem for the dedication of the new temple? To this we may answer that there was no superstition in desiring to be baptized in the waters sanctified by contact with the body of Christ. That the waters of the Jordan were often bathed in with a religious devotion, we know from Eusebius and St. Jerome; especially on the feast of the Epiphany,

the faithful were wont to don the shroud they were to wear in the grave, and descend into the river to be blessed by the priest. A spirit of piety, therefore, and not of superstition, animated Constantine when he wished to be baptized in those waters (1). As for the examples by which the emperor was influenced, they matter little, but we know that he was not alone in deferring his baptism, however we may condemn the delay. Valentinian died a catechumen; Constantius remained one for many years. Nectarius, and Sts. Ambrose and Augustine were baptized in mature age; the last tells us it was common in his time (2). The observation upon the opportunity furnished by the dedication at Jerusalem is of no importance; we wish not to know what the emperor might have done, but what he did.

But, it is urged, if Constantine was baptized in the year 337 at Nicomedia, he must have been baptized by Eusebius of Nicomedia, who was an Arian; hence, he became an Arian, which is absurd. It does not follow from the fact of his having been baptized at Nicomedia, that Constantine was baptized by Eusebius, bishop of that city. Had he so been, the equally Arian Eusebius of Cæsarea would gladly have mentioned the fact. Gelasius of Cyzicus (3) tells us "he was baptized by an orthodox priest, and not, as some have said, by some one of the heretics." And the Pagan historian Zosimus, in the peculiarly Pagan way of treating Christian matters, says that the emperor was purified by a Spanish magician; might it not then, asks Alexandre, have been Hosius of Cordova, who was so often in his suite, and was very dear to him, who performed the ceremony? Finally, even though we grant that Constantine was baptized by Eusebius of Nicomedia, it does not follow that he became an Arian, for that bishop had subscribed to the Nicene faith, and professed himself a Catholic.

A reconciliation between the description of Eusebius and the theory of the Sylvestrian baptism was attempted by

(1) St. Jerome, translating Eusebius (*Loc. Heb.*), writes: "Bethabara, across the Jordan, where John was accustomed to baptize unto penance. Hence, even to-day, many of the faithful desire to be there reborn, and are there baptized in the life-giving waters."

(2) *Confessions*, b. 1, c. 10.

(3) See PHOTIUS, *Bibliotheca*, Cod. 88.

Bianchini (1), who applied the words of the historian to Constantine's reception of the sacraments of Penance and Confirmation. The phrase, "kneeling on the ground, he humbly asked pardon of God, confessing his sins," naturally refers, he says, to confession; while, among the Greeks, it was common to speak of Confirmation as "the divine seal." But this theory, while ingenious, is not solid. Eusebius expressly states that Constantine received the sign "which confers immortality," and that phrase applies only to Baptism. Again, of Baptism it is properly said, of Confirmation it cannot be predicated, that it makes one a participant in the sacred mysteries; that by it one is reborn, renovated, &c.; that through it one is allowed to mix with the people of God. Finally, how could Constantine have wished to receive Confirmation by the banks of the Jordan? Chrism, not water, is the matter of the sacrament of Confirmation.

So grievous were the suspicions excited in some minds by the circumstances of the baptism of Constantine, that, when compared with certain events of his life, they led to a belief that this first Christian emperor had become an Arian. A few remarks, therefore, upon the faith of Constantine will not be amiss at the close of this dissertation. He certainly was cruel to Athanasius and other defenders of the Nicene Creed; he was undeniably very familiar with the Arians, or, to speak more correctly, with the Semiarians; and he may have, as Rufinus says, consigned his last will and testament to an Arian priest. St. Jerome, in his *Chronicle*; Lucifer of Cagliari, in his book addressed to the emperor; Sulpitius Severus, in his *History*; Rufinus, also in his *History*, all speak of him as an Arian. And nevertheless, it is easy to show that, in his life, and at his death, the faith of Constantine was orthodox. During his life, the Arians did not dare to attack the faith of Nice; even, in the time of Constantius, when they tried to do so at Antioch, they declared, "We certainly are not acolytes of Arius nor do we receive any faith but that delivered in the beginning." If, therefore, Constantine was familiar with the Eusebians,

(1) *Historical Notes to Anastasius the Librarian.*

he ought not be supposed to have been drawn by them into Arianism. Again, Athanasius, whom Constantine had exiled, upbraids Constantius because he does not imitate the faith and piety of his father (1). After the death of Constantine, Athanasius, in an interview with the youngest son, Constans, pays the same tribute to the faith of the parent (2). St. Hilary styles Constantius "a rebel heir of the paternal piety" (3). St. Epiphanius says that Constantius, "while otherwise pious, and endowed with many ornaments of virtue, wandered in this one thing, that he did not follow the parental footsteps in the faith" (4). Finally, the ancient Menologies of the Greek Church number Constantine among the saints, and although Rome has never approved that canonization, any more than she has the popular canonization of Charlemagne by some of the peoples of Europe, yet the insertion of his name in the sacred dyptichs is a strong argument for the orthodoxy of Constantine. The combined authority of St. Jerome, Lucifer of Cagliari, Sulpitius Severus, and Rufinus, proving, as they all do, at the most, that Constantine was deceived by the enemies of Athanasius, is of far less weight in determining the faith of that sovereign, than the favorable testimony of the saintly hero of Alexandria, who was for so many years in the thick of the fight, and had far better opportunities of forming a correct opinion upon Arian matters than they could have possessed. The opinion of Athanasius as to the faith of Constantine may be gathered from the passages already quoted, and from the following, taken from the *Epistle to Solitaries*: "The father (Constantine), on account of the calumnies of the Eusebians, sent Athanasius into Gaul for a time, where he would be free from the cruelty of those who tried to ensnare him And if he did admit Arius into his presence, when he knew him for a perjurer, he showed no good will to him, but, the affair being known, he regarded him as condemned, and as a heretic."

(1) *Epistle to Solitaries*.(2) *Theodoret*, b. 2, c. 4.(3) *B. I., to Constantius*.(4) *On Heresies* No. 69.

CHAPTER XIV.

PUBLIC PENANCE AND AURICULAR CONFESSION.

We have already seen that, in the first ages of Christianity, such persons as were guilty of idolatry and certain other grave sins, were obliged to perform public penance before they could be restored to the communion of the faithful. That this custom was in full vigor in the days of Tertullian (born A. D. 150) appears from his book on *Penance*, c. 9., where he says that penance is a discipline for the humiliation of man; that in its course he should be clothed in sackcloth, and sprinkled with ashes; that his soul should be cast down in grief, and his body treated with contempt; that he should nourish his prayers with fasting and weep by day and by night; that he should have recourse to the priests, and ask the prayers of the dear ones of God. And St. Cyprian (died, 258) tells us, speaking of those who had fallen into idolatry, "They should pray more earnestly, pass the day in grief, and the night in watches and in weeping, spend the whole time in tearful lamentations; they should lie prostrate on the ground in ashes, be covered with sackcloth and dirt; having lost Christ for a vestment, they should wish no other clothing; having eaten the food of the devil, they should prefer to fast; they should attend to good works, through which sins are washed out, and often give alms, through which their souls may be freed from death." But St. Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea (210–270) called the "Worker of Miracles," is the first author who expressly mentions the four classes into which the public penitents were divided. They were the weepers, the hearers, the prostrate, and those who remained (*consistentes*). In his canonical epistle, written about the year 263, in reference to those who had eaten food offered to the idols during the barbarian inroad into Pontus, and about whose treatment he was consulted, the saint describes, in the eleventh canon (1), the state

(1) The authenticity of this canon is proved by Nat. Alexander, in *diss.* 18, 4th cent.

of each of these classes. The weepers were kept entirely outside the church, and they there besought the faithful who were entering, to pray for them. The hearers were admitted within the doors, but restricted to a part of the nave called *narthex*, where they could hear the sermon. The prostrate, though mentioned as a separate class, are comprehended by St. Gregory under the same rules as the hearers, both being sent out of the church with the catechumens before the Offertory. The remaining penitents were allowed to hear the whole mass, but could not receive the Holy Eucharist. Thus we see that the weepers alone were, of all classes of humanity, entirely excluded from the services of the Church. We learn from the 4th Council of Carthage, can. 84, that Pagans, Jews, and heretics, were permitted to be present up to the Offertory, in order to receive some amount of instruction. This, however, must be understood of the time when the Discipline of the Secret had been relaxed, for while that system was in force, outsiders were rigidly excluded. All penitents wore a peculiar dress. The stuff was clean, but sprinkled with ashes; it was of sackcloth or even of haircloth. The hair was dishevelled, and so far as was consistent with modesty, the appearance of the body betokened contempt of conventionality. During the penitential course, arms could not be borne, nor could its subjects assist at weddings and other reunions of society. The time was passed in rigid fasting, in prayer, in vigils, and every kind of bodily mortification. These particulars we learn from the 2nd Council of Arles, can. 21; St. Leo the Great, *epist.* 92; Tertullian, book *on Penance*; St. Jerome, *epist. to Oceanus* on the death of Fabiola; 3rd Council of Toledo, can. 12.

It may be asked whether this public penance was rendered more painful by a public confession of the sin committed. Certainly, the spectators might easily conjecture the nature of the sin by noting the time spent in penance, which would amount to a confession on the part of the penitent. Thus, we know from St. Basil, in his canons to Amphilochius, that adulterers passed fifteen years in penance, four among the weepers, five with the hearers, four

with the prostrate, and two with those remaining to the end of mass. However, such conjecture would not be very conclusive, for it often happened that humility and fervor prompted a penitent to remain in discipline long beyond the prescribed time. But sometimes there was a public and explicit confession, especially when the crime was notorious. This we learn from St. Jerome, who describes the avowal and penance of Fabiola, a noble lady, who under the impression that the adultery of her husband had dissolved her marriage, publicly espoused another. When, however, the sin was secret, it depended upon the will of the penitent whether a public confession should be made. St. Ambrose, in his work *on Penance*, book 2. c. 10, exhorts to public penance those whom shame is keeping therefrom, and he founds his argument upon the idea that shame should not deter from public humiliation before God, him whom shame has not withheld from the private confession to a priest. "Should it shame you to supplicate God from whom you are not hidden, when it does not shame you to confess your sins to a man to whom you are hidden?" This method of reasoning could not have been adopted, had public confession been inseparable from public penance. Again, the fourth and tenth Councils of Toledo, in canons 12 and 10 respectively, decide that no one shall be debarred from Holy Orders on account of a public penance which was unaccompanied by public confession. Now we know that the public knowledge of his crimes would render a candidate irregular for Orders. Therefore, since men who had undergone public penance were sometimes admitted to Orders, it follows that said penance was not always accompanied by, or even necessarily equivalent to, a public confession. Finally, St. Leo the Great, *epist.* 238 (*alias* 80), speaking of public penance, expressly teaches that a private confession to a priest is sufficient, without any public manifestation of the particular crime. Here we take occasion to note that in the African Church, at least at one period, a public confession of a hitherto unknown crime could not take place. For in the third Council of Carthage, can. 32, public penance is absolutely forbidden "unless

on account of a public and most notorious crime, known to the whole Church. With regard to this matter of public confession, we may safely say with Petau, that it was never *prescribed* by the Church, but sometimes allowed, for the sake of edification.

The public penitents received from the priest two kinds of "imposition of hands." One was "deprecatory," and was given each time they were dismissed, before the Offertory; the other was sacramental and "absolatory," and was only given when the penance was completed. When it happened that danger of death came upon one as yet in the course of penance, absolution was of course conceded, but with the obligation, in case of recovery, of completing the interrupted discipline. At the time of their "reconciliation," the ex-penitents always received Holy Communion. See St. Ambrose, book 2, on *Penance*.

From the nature of the system of Canonical Penance, we are prepared to hear that few crimes were subject to its discipline. We learn from Tertullian, on *Purity*, c. 14 and 12, and from Pacianus, that they can be reduced to the heads of infidelity, luxury, and homicide. "These three crimes are to be feared as the breath of the basilisk, as a cup of poison, as a deadly arrow. What shall the contemner of God do, what the bloody man? What remedy shall the fornicator take? Can he who deserts Him, pacify the Lord? Can he consecrate His blood who has spilled another's? Can he reconstruct the temple of God, who by fornication has violated it in himself? These things are capital, brethren, these are mortal." St. Gregory of Nazienzen (328-389) in his *epistle to Lactorius*, seeks a reason for the Church's severity against these crimes, in their connection with the prominent activities of the soul: reason, concupiscence, and anger. Impiety towards God perverts the whole reasoning faculty; anger causes homicide, concupiscence brings forth every species of impurity. Under the heading of infidelity, he classes all recourse to magicians, all incantations, all invocations to the demon. The first Council of Arles, can. 14, subjects to public penance the perpetrators of forgery, false witnesses, and calumniators of character.

The system of public penance flourished in the Church for twelve centuries, and in the last two of its existence, although formerly penitents could not bear arms, it was commuted for participation in the crusades. (1) Some Protestant authors have contended that it was from this discipline that arose the Catholic practice of auricular confession; that, in fact, the custom of private and secret confession only came into use when the ancient system of public and general confession was abolished. It is outside of our historical province to defend the Catholic doctrine on this subject, but we will not enter the special domain of dogmatic theology, if we show, by the light of history, that ancient writers recognized both private and public confession. Origen (185-254), in his *2nd Homily on the 37th Psalm*, tells all sinners who may think of doing public penance, to first confess their sins to a priest, and then act according to his judgment. "Seek diligently," he says, "for one to whom you may confess your sins. Try the physician, to whom you will expose the cause of your malady. . . . that so, at length, if he says anything, who first shows himself to be a merciful and learned physician, if he gives any counsel, you may follow it. If he understands, and foresees, that your trouble should be exposed and cured in an assembly of the whole church, so that perhaps others may be edified, and you yourself easily healed, this should be arrived at with much deliberation." Here certainly we find that upon the private confession was to depend the feasibility of the public penance in a particular case. We may adduce the testimony of St. Cyprian (died 258) who in his book on *The Fallen*, speaking of those who had bought certificates of compliance, though they had not really been guilty of idolatry, says, "Of how much greater faith and fear are those who, although stained by no crime either of sacrifice or of certificate, yet, having thought to commit the act, do now in simplicity and grief confess this to the priests of God, and make a confession of conscience, (*sic*) lay open the burden

(1) As to the treatment of the clergy, under the system of public penance, there is a variety of opinion, some authors contending that not even the higher clergy were exempt from its application. See the dissertations of Cabassut and Constant, inserted by Zaccaria in his Latin edition of Fleury's *Discipline of the People of God*.

of their souls, and receive the healing cure for even their little wounds." Surely by the term "confession of conscience" the saint cannot mean a public avowal; the very word implies secrecy. We learn from Anastasius the Librarian that Pope Simplicius (467) ordered that on certain days priests should be in attendance at the basilicas of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Laurence, on account of penitents and baptisms. In the Roman *Penitentiale*, tit. 8, Pope Symmachus (498) says: "All whom we receive in penance, are thereby our spiritual children, just as are those whom we have taken from the font, or whom we have immersed therein, and whom the baptismal water has regenerated." This spiritual affinity could not be contracted with public penitents merely because of their being such; again, the comparison with baptism shows that Symmachus supposes his *penitence* to be the administration of a sacrament. In the Council of Elvira, which was held before that of Nice, the 32nd canon reads thus: "It pleased the fathers that if any one should fall into a deadly sin, he should do penance rather before the bishop than before a priest," which can only mean that the Spanish prelates wished public and very grave crimes to be referred to the bishop, while hidden ones, which did not call for public penance, should be confessed to, and absolved by, the priest. The history of the Novatian schism in the 3d century also shows that private confession was in use at that time. The doctrine of the Novatians is well expressed by Chrysostom (1) in the words he puts into their mouths: "It is not for thee to give the Eucharist to those who have sinned, for there is no other remission" (than by baptism). That is, the Novatians held that since the Eucharist could only be received by the innocent of sin, the fallen (into idolatry, under Decius) could not receive it, for there was no way of recovering their baptismal innocence. The whole controversy, therefore, was as to whether Christ had left to His Church any sacrament, other than baptism, for the remission of sin. The fathers of the council held at Rome in the year 254 declared that the "fallen," when penitent, were to be forgiven. The mere

(1) *Comment on Epist. Heb.*, c. 10.

standing in penance for a time could not bring about their reconciliation, except as a preparation for the sacrament, to be received at the end of the probation. Again, it is certain that the quality and length of the public penance depended entirely upon the judgment given by the confessor; nay, it depended upon him as to whether or not there should be any public penance. As Origen said, in the passage just quoted, the confessor had to judge whether "the trouble should be exposed and cured in an assembly of the whole church," and that judgment could be delivered only after private confession.

The opponents of auricular confession contrive to draw considerable comfort from a famous fact in the life of Nectarius of Constantinople, who succeeded St. Gregory of Nazianzen in that see, in the year 389. This bishop, they say, abolished in his diocese the practice of private confession, and was not therefore condemned; this shows that the custom was derived from human, not divine institution. Premising that a note should be taken of this objection as an admission that the practice was in vogue in the 4th century, we narrate the fact in the words of Socrates, book 5, c. 19, "About this time, it pleased (the authorities) to abolish the priests of the churches who managed penance, and for this cause. After the Novatians had separated from the Church, because they would not communicate with those who had fallen in the Decian persecution, from that time the bishops added to the church rolls a penitentiary priest, in order that those who, after baptism, had fallen, might confess their sins to a priest appointed for that purpose. . . . When this institution had been in vogue a long time, it was at length abolished, in the time of bishop Nectarius, on account of a certain crime committed in the church. A certain noble woman had approached the penitentiary priest, and confessed the sins committed by her since her baptism. The priest ordered the woman to fast and pray frequently, which actions, taken together with her confession of her sins, would constitute a work befitting penitence. In the course of time, the woman confessed another crime, that a deacon of the church had committed fornication with her.

When she had said this, the deacon was ejected from the church, and the people were greatly moved; not only on account of the crime committed were they indignant, but because of the infamy and heavy stain put by this fact upon the Church. When, therefore, on account of this thing, reproaches were heaped upon churchmen, Eudaemon, a priest, and Alexandrian by birth, persuaded bishop Nectarius to do away with the penitentiary priest, and to allow every one, as he might wish, and for his own conscience, to approach the communion of the sacraments." Besides confirming the above narration, Sozomenus, book 7, c. 16, says: "Since, in seeking pardon of sin, one must necessarily confess it, it rightly, and from the beginning, seemed to the priests grave and annoying to have to divulge one's crimes, as in a theatre, before the multitude. Therefore they assigned to this office one of the priests who was noted for integrity of life, and who was endowed with taciturnity and prudence, in order that those who had sinned might confess their acts to him. Then, according to each one's fault, what each should do or suffer, he indicated by way of penance, absolved them confessing, each one to exact of himself the punishment of his crime." If we carefully peruse this narrative, we shall see that Nectarius abolished, not sacramental and private, but public confession. For it is plainly stated that he did away with that office which was established at the time of the Novatian schism, which office was no other than of superintending public penance. Again, Nectarius abolished that which was causing scandal. This was, not the betrayal of the woman's crime by the priest who had heard it in the confessional, for neither the words of Socrates bear that interpretation, nor does the testimony of Sozomenus, showing how the selection of the penitentiary was from among those noted for "integrity, taciturnity, and prudence." The occasion of scandal was, and our opponents admit this, the open avowal, on the part of the woman, of her criminal intercourse with the deacon. Nectarius therefore abolished the practice which sometimes obtained, as we have already seen, of publicly confessing certain crimes, according as the permission of the confessor and the fervor

of the penitent dictated. That Socrates understood public confession to be the subject matter of the abrogation is plain from the remark which he says he made to Eudaemon, the instigator of the decree: "Whether or not thy advice will profit the Church, priest, God knows. For my part, I see that to each one is now given a pretext for no longer stirring up his neighbor on account of his sins, and for not observing that precept of the Apostle which tells us not to communicate with the barren works of darkness, but to rather reprove them."

CHAPTER XV.

ORIGIN OF CHRISTIAN RITES AND CEREMONIES.

Among the many changes produced by the spread of Christianity, that upon the arts is not the least notable, and the first effect upon art was a re-establishment of the sublime. A propensity towards the sublime as an æsthetic element, modified by the Mosaic and Christian dogma of Creation, and by the consequent retirement of Eastern emanatism, is observed in the authors of the New Testament, and conspicuously in the writings of Sts. Paul and John. And although it was reserved for later days to witness the maturation of the sublime in the pre-eminently Catholic Dante, and for still more modern times to be blessed by the adult genius of a Michel Angelo, we cannot arise from the perusal of Tertullian, Cyprian, or any of the early fathers, without feeling that their souls were afire with preternatural eloquence prompted by meditation upon the four great types of Christian art, the God-Man, the Virgin Mother, the Angel, and the Saint. These four subjects are ever present to the Christian, and it is natural to him to externate the ideas born in his soul, now by painting, now by sculpture, now by music, now by ritual. All religionists, of course, in a greater or less degree, experience this tendency, and in

accordance with their approach to truth in the conception of divine things, do they arise to the sublime, or sink to the commonplace—mayhap, to the deformed, in their artistic manifestations. Influenced by her four great types of art, the Church banished from the portals of the sublime the deformities of Oriental symbolism, substituting therefor an emblematicism which was simple at once and dignified. It was only when the days of open persecution had been for a while shortened, that the world found that she who claimed its mastery in the spheres of religion was also its mistress in the domains of art. But even when she lurked in the bowels of the earth, there moved within her the instinct to present to the eyes and ears of her children the beautiful ideas of eternal truth with which she glowed. The damp and bare walls of her subterranean churches were utilized, the slabs of her martyrs' graves were adorned, and the faithful could see around them pictorial illustrations of the doctrines they believed. Through the long and gloomy corridors of the Catacombs, on stated occasions, there wended its pious way a torch-lighted procession of clergy and of virgins, chanting the praises of the Lord and His saints. Arrived at the chapel designed for the service of the day, the Pontiff seats himself on his throne, cut in the solid rock, and by his attendant deacons is vested in habiliments each one of which has a deep and liturgical meaning. For he is about to offer up to God that Eucharistic Sacrifice of the Lamb of God which is the centre of all Catholic ritual, and it is the aim of the Church that her ritual shall be instructive of doctrine even in its minute details. Here too, then, just as, when circumstances shall permit, she will avail herself of architecture and sculpture as a means of instruction, does she seek in her ceremonies to impress truth upon the minds of men. The awful and majestic rite is begun, and after a series of prayers and ceremonies—all excitant of faith and devotion in the bystanders—it is consummated amid the tears of many who will never participate in it again. They will soon receive the martyr's crown, and among the causes which, under God's grace, will have contributed to the enlightenment of their

understanding and to the strengthening of their wills, will be those very ceremonies which the Church has used for their edification.

And now for the object of this chapter. That the rites of the Church are deeply impressive, many outsiders admit ; that some of them are eminently beautiful, all agree ; why and how and when they originated, is a matter of dispute. It is not within the province of the historian to illustrate the meaning of the Church's liturgy, but it is his office to investigate a charge of unworthy origin brought against her rites. Of such a nature is the accusation put forth by Mosheim, one of the most worthy, as he is about the most impartial of our opponents in the historical order. This author, when treating of the third century, reduces the origin of Christian rites to the following causes. The primitive worship of Christians was distinguished by simplicity ; in fact, it was so void of ritualistic tendencies, that it seemed to the Pagan mind to even ignore the existence of God. To avert, therefore, the charge of atheism, the Christians introduced external paraphernalia of which the Pagans were fond. Again, among the apparatus of the Greek and Oriental worship, the chief respect was paid to the *mysteries* : to draw, therefore, the Gentiles more easily away from the temples, our forefathers in the faith introduced their mysteries and sacred rites. To these alleged causes, which in last analysis are based upon a mere "perhaps," and might, therefore, be dismissed by a "perhaps not," Mosheim assigns a more specious one. "To these causes, add the study of the Platonic philosophy, or, if you prefer, the popular superstition of the Orientals about demons, which the Platonists had made their own, and which the Christian teachers had received from these latter. From this opinion as to the nature and propensities of the genii, the origin of many rites is to be sought. This idea called forth public exorcisms, frequent fasts, the avoidance of marriage. This idea dissuaded companionship with those not yet admitted to the sacred font, or with those who were excluded from communion in divine things, since all such were regarded as subject to the dominion of some evil genius. This idea, to say nothing of other

effects, increased the annoyances and punishments generally imposed upon sinners" (1). And in another place (2), "The Christian bishops slightly changed the institutions and rites with which the Romans, Greeks, and other people showed their devotion and reverence towards the false gods, and introduced them into Christian worship, and therefore at that time there was but little difference between the public religions of Romans, Greeks, and Christians. All possessed showy vestments, mitres, tiaras, wax torches, trumpets, supplications, purifications, golden and silver vases, &c." Let us now examine these causes which Mosheim assigns as an origin of our Catholic rites and ceremonies. Firstly, as to the desire of the clergy to attract the Greeks and Romans who were used to *mysteries*. Were such a reason given for the present use in this city of New York of a certain pomp and ceremonial, supposing of course that they were of late introduction, it would not lack a certain speciousness, although it would be little complimentary to the intellectual calibre of our Protestant friends, and would display very little confidence in their religious sincerity. But when it is assigned to the third century as a motive of Christian action, we are asked to believe too much. At that time the Church was in hiding. Of what use to the object in view would have been the introduction of rites when the Pagans were excluded, not merely from the spectacle, but in most cases even from a knowledge of the place where it was given? Is it not more logical to admit that as the Church ever taught that God was to be adored in external worship, as well as by internal obsequiousness, so she furnished her children with the means of fulfilling the obligation? And this, from the very nature of her doctrine, she was compelled to do, so far as circumstances would permit, even though there had been no calumny as to her atheism.

Puerile, indeed, is the charge of imitation in the matter of mysteries. Mosheim could scarcely have intended to descend to a play upon words when dealing with so important a matter. And yet, outside of the mere verbal analogy, there is no similarity between the Pagan mysteries and

(1) *History*, p. 2, c. 4.(2) *Ibid.*, *hist. Cent.* 4, c. 4.

the hidden dogmas and sacred rites of the Christians. In what were these like unto the Eleusinia, the Thyestea, or the Lupercalia? But rooted deeply into the Christian religion there were certain heads of doctrine, real mysteries, so called because they were too sublime for the caption of human understanding. No need had the Christian pastors to go outside of their own communion for what they had within in such abundance; no need to go to the decrepit and sensual systems of Paganism for what the Redeemer had given them in all purity and sanctity.

Of no greater weight is the assertion based upon the affection of many of the early fathers for the philosophy of Plato. Deep indeed and all-powerful would that affection have been, and weak indeed their respect for Christianity, if the Neo-Platonist fathers had been led to so radically vitiate the faith as Mosheim supposes. But the theory of demonology as understood by the Church, and with her by these Neo-Platonists, was far different from the superstition of genii, &c., encouraged by ancient Paganism and modern Mohammedanism. Her exorcisms, &c., are based upon her own theory derived from her Founder, and of the truth of which both the Old and New Testament furnish abundant proof. As for the frequency of fasts having any connection with the Platonic philosophy, we are at a loss to account for it, as all Pagans extolled the system of Lucullus as above that of the Baptist. But there is a way of accounting for the introduction of any rational system of mortification into the Christian discipline, if we reflect upon the example and teaching of Christ. As for avoidance of matrimony, the idea of which Mosheim derives from the Platonic affiliations of the early Christians, the veriest tyro in sacred science knows that the Church holds marriage to be a sacrament, and therefore holy, but that, with St. Paul, she teaches that in particular cases the celibitic state is preferable. Nor is there any Platonic sympathy displayed in the discontinuance of association with the excommunicated, which the ancient discipline so rigidly inculcated; it is rather in accordance with the command of St. Paul whereby we were not even to give the compliment of salute to a heretic.

The entire theory of Mosheim in this matter is based upon the supposition that because there exists a similarity between the Christian rites and those of Paganism, therefore the more modern system drew such institutions from the other. "Similitudes are not to be urged in all points" is a very good maxim, but the points of assumed similarity should at least be tangible, and not merely fancied. Now there is no more likeness between the rites of Catholicism and those of Paganism as practised in Rome, Greece, and Egypt, especially when we consider the symbolic meaning of the ceremonies, than exists between them and those which were once in vogue in the temples of the Montezumas. And even if we discovered a well-founded similarity, we could not logically infer a connection, if there were other ways of accounting for the origin. Palma (1), in treating of this subject, presents Mosheim as very neatly undermining his own position in another part of his works (2), where he expressly contends that because similarities are found between the Christian and Jewish customs, it by no means follows that the Church modelled her discipline upon the form of that of the Synagogue. "I easily believe," says Mosheim, "that the Christians established many customs which were in use in the Jewish assemblies, and that therefore it would not be rash to say that the Church is similar to the Synagogue. But this similarity by no means shows that the Christians took from the Jews those things which are like in form to the Jewish worship. For since the same end was proposed by the Jews and Christians in frequenting their houses of worship, it could not but necessarily happen that sometimes the Christians would do the same things as the Jews did. . . . the divine law was to be publicly promulgated, and explained; the people were to be excited by sermons and exhortations, and to be taught; hymns were to be sung and prayers recited. For no religious assemblage, convened for divine worship, can lack these things. . . . The nature of things demanded these institutions, without which religion could not subsist; not, how-

(1) *Hist. Eccl.*, c. 33.(2) *Inst. Hist. Maj.*, sec. 1, p. 2, § 9.

ever, the desire, which they are said to have had, of imitating the Jews."

Several Catholic writers assign a Pagan origin to many of our rites, though not prompted by the spirit of contempt which actuated Calvin, the Centuriators of Magdeburg, Conyers Middleton, Buddeus, Mosheim, &c. Among such we regret to notice Gerson, Raynaud, Petau, Noel Alexandre. But all rely upon the similarity which they find between the Christian and Pagan rites, which argument, as we have seen, is not conclusive. As well might it be said that since both Pagans and Christians eat and drink, live under roofs, and cover their bodies, therefore the latter do so in imitation of the former. There are some things which men are impelled by nature to do, and in which they need no teacher. Just so, many of the sacred ceremonies come into use instinctively, without any example being necessary from the more ancient religions. Thus nature prompts men to use for the honor of God those things of earth which seem to speak of goodness, of purity, and of glory. Hence in nearly all religions the use of flowers and lights. Even Puritanism sought, for a time, to manifest by external signs the spirit of its doctrine. The very simplicity of its worship, the barrenness of its temples, the primness of countenance and severity of costume of its followers, all were so many ritualistic expressions of the sombreness of the Deity it adored. On the contrary, the Catholic religion, being pre-eminently one of joy, of love, and of filial confidence, in a God who had given so many and such proofs of love to man, naturally sought to express its feelings by the use of everything in nature and in art which, otherwise legitimate, might enhance the devotion of its children. Nature, and not Paganism, was its teacher. There are certain passages of Gregory of Nyssa and of Theodoret (1) which seem to give weight to the theory of our opponents. But they only go to show that as the Pagans on certain days celebrated the memory of their gods and heroes, so the Christians assigned other days to the memory of the saints. The same might be alleged of tem-

(1) BARONIO, *year 44, num. 86.*

ples, but no one contends that we owe to Pagans the idea of a place of worship. The origin of saints' days flows naturally from the Catholic dogma of their veneration, and traces of such may be found in the Old Testament, without recurring to Gentile sources. But granted that the Church wished to substitute her own feasts for those of the Pagan world, wherein is strengthened the theory we combat? Some ancient fathers (1), commenting upon the words of St. Paul, *Gal.*, 4, 10, "You observe days and months, &c.," ask themselves whether the Christians imitated the Jews in the establishment of feast-days, and answer with a denial, because of the diversity of end proposed in each case. St. Jerome says (2), "We do not celebrate the Pasch of the unleavened, but of the resurrection and the cross; nor have we, according to the rule of Israel, seven weeks in Pentecost, but we venerate the advent of the Holy Ghost." The same father answers our opponents, when he says to Vigilantius, "That was done for the idols, and is therefore detestable; this is done for the martyrs, and is therefore to be received." And St. Augustine (3), "When these are shown to God, in accordance with His inspiration and teaching, it is true religion; but when to the demons, in accordance with their impious pride, it is a baneful superstition.

It may be interesting to notice some of the rites which we are said to have derived from the Pagans. We shall confine ourselves to those which in themselves are the most important, or which have been placed in this category by authors of celebrity (4). The pious Gerson so insists as to the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (5), the ancient Romans being accustomed to carry candles in honor of a certain goddess, and in the purification of the city. The learned Erasmus, Melancthon, and Gravati, derive the Christian idea of excommunication from the same source. Polydorus Vergilius thus treats the constitution of our hierarchy and our ecclesiastical polity; especially our cus-

(1) ORIGEN, *Ag. Celsus*, B. 8. CHRYSOSTOM, *hom.* 63.

(2) *Ad. Apost. loc.*

(3) *Ep.* 49, *al.* 102, *qu.* 3, *n.* 18.

(4) The reader who is anxious for more information will find an abundance in the valuable dissertation of the Jesuit Peter Lazeri, inserted by Zaccaria in his Latin edition of Fleury's *Discipline of God's People*, published at Venice in 1782.

(5) *Tom.* III., p. 474.

tom of kissing the foot of the Supreme Pontiff and the hand of a bishop ; also, the "*Ite, missa est*" at the end of Mass. Buddeus classes together our Canonization of Saints and the Gentile *apotheosis* of heroes. Angelo Rocca gives a Pagan origin to our prayers for the dead. Raynaud (1), does the same with vigils, the placing of holy water at the doors of churches, Rogation Days, the prohibition of marriage at certain periods. Now of all these instances of an apparently Pagan origin on the part of our rites, there is not one to which, with more probability of accuracy, should not be assigned as source one of the following : either nature, of which we have already spoken ; the institutes of the Jews ; the words of the Scriptures ; or Catholic dogma as naturally calling for it. And here again we must insist upon the weakness of an argument drawn from a similarity of rites. If such a reasoning were permissible, then we ought to style even the Sacrament of Baptism an imitation from Paganism. For, as Tertullian says of the devil (2), "He also immerses some, and promises his believers and faithful ones an expiation from the font," and to extend the parallel to matters of which Christ is certainly the Author, "the devil also celebrates the offering of bread, and has his virgins and his continent ones."

Those who assign a Pagan origin to a single one of the Christian rites must lay aside any acquaintance with the feelings of our ancestors in the faith towards the Gentiles. It is no exaggeration to say that they held the Pagan system in utter execration, and that they harbored a holy fear lest by any contact with anything belonging to the pest, they should contract some deadly evil. How then are we to suppose that they would willingly incorporate into their very economy of worship, the rites of the priests of Baal ? Again, we know that of old the fathers had to bear the reproach of having no temples, no images, no altars ; that Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Athenagoras, Minutius, Arnobius, Lactantius, all seem to concede the truth of the accusation. Did they really possess no temples before the year 230, as Tillemont contends, and no images, as Petau and Noel

(1) *Heteroocl. Spirit.* part 1, p. 109.(2) *De Præscript.*, c. 41.

Alexandre hold? Then why did they not have those things which so soon afterwards came to be regarded as useful to the service of God? It must have been because they wished to have nothing in common with the Gentiles, whose temples, altars, and sculptured ornaments were everywhere visible. As Petau rightly observes (1), "Since as yet the Pagan superstition was navigating under full sail, in those first days of the Church, it was deemed better to suppress and omit many things, which were in themselves not useless and even proper; for there was danger lest the parade of certain rites would give offence, bearing, as they did, some similarity to those in use by the Pagans." If this be so, can we believe that the fathers deliberately adopted the Gentile ceremonies? And how stands the case if we partly differ from Petau, and hold that in many churches the use of images was known? How is it, if we hold with Medus and Bingham that temples existed before the year 230? And how, when it is contended that the existence of altars flows necessarily from the Catholic dogma of the Eucharistic Sacrifice? Surely in this supposition, there must be some way of accounting for the silence of the fathers when accused of having neither temples, altars, or images. Bona (2) thinks it was because the sanctuaries of the Christians were hidden and modest. Petau holds that they were silent as to the altars because these were temporary, not permanent. Noel Alexandre (3) finds a reason in the repugnance of the early Christians to the theory of the Pagans that an image, when consecrated, became the god himself (4). We can only believe, in the supposition that the fathers were possessed of temples and images (of altars there can be no doubt), that so profound was their detestation of everything Gentile, they wished, as far as possible, to remove from their rites every similarity to those of the hated superstition. We cannot therefore suppose them guilty of the adoption of Pagan ceremonies.

(1) *Incarnation*, b. 15. c. 13, No. 3.

(2) *Liturgy*, b. 1, c. 19.

(3) *Cent. VIII.*, diss. 6.

(4) *MINUTIUS FELIX in Octav.*

CHAPTER XVI.

JULIAN THE APOSTATE.

Flavius Claudius Julianus, nephew of Constantine the Great, was born in the year 331. Although baptized and educated as a Christian, he became a Pagan when quite young, but kept the perversion a secret. Constantius II. was very suspicious of him, and often imprisoned him, but in the year 355, he proclaimed him Cæsar, and gave him the hand of his sister Helena. Having defeated the German invaders of Gaul, and driven them across the Rhine, Julian became the idol of the soldiery, and when, in 360, Constantius ordered him to send his best troops for a campaign against Persia, they proclaimed him emperor. He was marching on the capital, when the death of Constantius left him undisputed master of the empire. It was only then that he openly avowed his abandonment of Christianity, and entered upon a course of persecution. But his system was quite different from that adopted by the olden Pagan emperors; he aimed rather at undermining Christianity than at openly persecuting its votaries. He did not compel people to sacrifice to the gods; he rather enticed them to do so. Thus, he ordered his statue to be surrounded by images of the gods; then the Christians found themselves in a dilemma. If they paid it any sign of respect, the homage was regarded by him and his partisans as given also to the idols; if they refused the token, they could be held for treason. On one occasion, some soldiers had burnt incense before the imperial image, in gratitude for a gift of pocket-money. When they discovered what was then imputed to them, they rushed to the palace, and before the eyes of Julian, they flung the coins out of the windows, protesting themselves Christians, and ready, if necessary, for martyrdom. The enraged emperor ordered them to be beheaded, but, recovering his usual subtlety, and envying them such glory, he commuted the sentence to exile. Another means of annoying the faithful, and of corrupting the integrity of

the weak-minded—one which has proved, in modern times, far more successful than bloody persecution—was adopted by the imperial philosophaster. Under the reigns of the late emperors the Christians had arisen to the highest posts of the state, both civil and military, and in the great republic of letters, they had shone with a glory which far surpassed that of their Pagan compeers. We do not read that he entirely forbade the army to the faithful—their prowess was as serviceable to the state in those days as it is in more modern times—but the higher posts were to be opened to them no longer. They were to be shut out also from the great world of literature; probably he hoped to be able one day to reproach them with their ignorance, as more modern persecutors have done in the case of their victims. He promulgated a law, in accordance with which, the children of Christians could receive no academic education. Upon the consequences of such a law, no comment is necessary; the reader's acquaintance with modern English and Irish history is sufficient to enable him to form a correct opinion upon them. If Julian thus looked forward to the mental degradation of future generations, it is not surprising that he at once interdicted to Christians all entrance into the judiciary, or even the bar. But he was not content with these open attacks upon the faith; he descended to puerilities, which, even if successful, could have had no effect upon the victims. Thus, he ordered the food, exposed for sale in the markets of Constantinople, to be mixed with that which had been offered to the idols. When the faithful discovered the fraud, they subsisted as best they could on what they had at home, and Julian, probably fearing the market-women, put a stop to the trick. At Antioch, his agents poured the "water of purification" (*aqua lustralis*) from the temples into all the wells, but the Christians used the wells, remembering perforce the words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. 10, "Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, eat, asking no questions for conscience's sake."

Julian was also guilty of violent acts of insult to Christianity. At Antioch, he broke into the magnificent basilica constructed by his uncle, urinated on the altar, and carried

the Sacramental vessels to his treasury. He ordered the worship of Apollo to be revived in the wood of Daphne, wherein reposed the relics of the martyr-bishop of Antioch, Babyla, and the people solemnly transferred the body to the city, singing, with the Psalmist, confusion to all the adorers of idols. He threw down the statue at Cæsarea Philippi, which had been erected to Christ by the woman cured of a bloody flow, and put up one of himself (1). Although Julian preferred to use insidious rather than aggressive means for the overthrow of Christianity, there were several martyrdoms during his reign. Publia, an abbess, Juventin, Maximin, and Artimius, are mentioned by Theodoret as dying for the faith. If not by his order, at least with the connivance of Julian, the Pagans of Ascalon ripped open the bowels of many priests and nuns, and filling them with grain, threw the mutilated and quivering frames to hogs to be devoured. At Arethusa, the bishop, Mark (2) who had once saved the life of Julian, was subjected to many and grievous vexations. The regard which Julian had for the lives of his Christian subjects, and for his own laws of toleration, may be known from his having exiled a Pagan prefect who had presumed to upbraid some other Pagans for killing some Christians. The apostate tried hard to win over Sts. Basil and Gregory of Nazianzen, and made the latter's brother, Cæsarius, prefect of the imperial treasury. But the two saints spurned all bribes and solicitations for themselves, and influenced Cæsarius to do likewise. It is notable that although Julian affected a profound contempt for Christians, whom he designated as "Galileans," yet he never ceased to propose their purity as a model to his Pagan priests.

The most important event of Julian's reign was the attempted restoration of the great temple at Jerusalem, in order to falsify the prediction of our Lord. About 300 years had passed since the destruction of the temple by

(1) Sozomenus relates that the statue of Julian was immediately struck by lightning, and demolished. The people collected the fragments of the statue of our Lord, and reverently placed them in the main church.

(2) Mark was at one time an Arian, but he must at this time have again become orthodox, for St. Gregory of Nazianzen and Theodoret are strong in his praise, when speaking of this part of his life.

Titus, when the apostate, aided by the Jews, set about his task. But all his efforts only served to further verify the prophecy of Christ. We shall take occasion to speak more fully of this matter at the close of our dissertation. Although the destruction of Christianity was the main object of Julian's reign, he was compelled by exigencies of state to pause in his work in the year 363. The war with Persia claimed his attention; therefore, swearing to finish the ruin of the Church on his return, he made his preparatory sacrifices to the gods, and set out on what proved his last campaign. With his usual intrepidity, he was leading a charge, in the very first battle, when he was mortally wounded by an arrow. According to Theodoret and St. Gregory of Nazianzen, he threw some of his blood towards Heaven, crying, "Galilean, Thou hast conquered." Ammianus Marcellinus says nothing of this incident, but his silence casts no improbability upon the story. Nazianzen knew Julian thoroughly, having studied with him at Athens, and been on terms of intimacy with him, and he certainly deemed the bitter words consonant with the character of the dying man. And it is natural that Ammianus, a Pagan, should have hesitated to report this avowal of defeat on the part of his hero, especially since the Pagans had just been flattering themselves on the approaching ruin of the Christian religion, for the edict of persecution had already been sent into Africa. The last moments of Julian were spent in an interview with Maximus, a philosopher and magician, to whose influence was due, more than to anything else, his apostasy. This "philosopher" had involved the ardent young man, when a student of 24 years of age, in the mysteries of astrology; he attached him to himself by flattering his ambition, and prognosticating for him a universal empire. Leading him to believe in the theory of metempsychosis, he persuaded him that the soul of Alexander the Great resided in his body; hence, perhaps, much of his rash intrepidity in battle, and hence, certainly, much of his love of Paganism. When Julian died, he was only 32 years of age.

Since the character of Julian was a mass of contradictions, it is not strange that writers have formed upon him very

different judgments. Chastellux, the author of the treatise on "Public Happiness," says of him, "Sometimes Julian essays to copy Marcus Aurelius, sometimes Trajan, and again Alexander. His works are those of a sophist and of a rhetorician. In his habits, he is a Stoic; in the temple he is an idolater, and in his cabinet, a bad Platonist, seeking to corrupt the doctrines of that sect by an unworthy alliance with magic." The following portrait, drawn by St. Gregory of Nazianzen, is as interesting as it is reliable: "Most persons only knew Julian after he made himself known by his actions, and by his abuse of absolute power; but I knew him from the time of our acquaintance at Athens, and I never found a sign of good in him. He ever rolled his eyes from side to side, and had a ferocious aspect. He could not keep his limbs at rest, he was continually distending and contracting his nostrils, in sign of anger or of contempt, and he was constantly addicted to sharp sayings and cool buffooneries. His laugh was a bellow. He would at the same moment grant or refuse a favor with equal ease, talked without rhyme or reason, put inopportune questions, and gave answers far from the point. But why do I enter into such detail as to his exterior? those who were with us (at Athens) can witness, that, when I noted his characteristics, I said that the Roman state was nourishing a very dangerous serpent. So I said, hoping, at the same time, that I was deceived; and without doubt, it were better that I had been, and the earth not been desolated by so many evils." Le Beau, in his *History of the Lower Empire*, thus speaks of Julian: "We can perceive in his soul every play of vanity. As greedy of glory as the miser is of riches, he seeks it in the smallest of objects. His temperance is pushed to extremes, and becomes a theatrical virtue. A great portion of his subjects never received any justice from him; had he truly been the father of his people, he would have ceased to hate the Christians, and would not have made war upon them from the moment he became their emperor. He spared their lives only in his words and edicts. Julian is the model for such persecuting rulers as wish to escape reproach by an appearance of sweetness and

equity." From what has been said, it can be readily seen that the Christians of his day had some excuse for identifying Julian with the persecutor mentioned in an enigmatical manner in the 13th chapter of the *Apocalypse* (1).

We now come to the principal event in the life of Julian, his failure in the attempted rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem. The apologists of Christianity have always drawn an argument to prove its divinity, from its miracles and from the fulfilment of the prophecies connected with it. To this latter class belongs the argument deduced from the destruction of the Jewish temple by Titus. It came to the mind of Julian that by rebuilding this temple, he would render void the prophecy of Christ, and thus shake the Christian system to the core. But God ordained that he was not to succeed. All that money could produce was at hand, the Jews flocked from all parts to aid in the work, and in a short time the new foundations were well under way. But suddenly, there burst from the bosom of the earth a sea of fire, which drove the workmen from their labor, and consumed all the preparations for the task. The reality of this event is impugned by many Protestant authors, and by all the foes of the miraculous. It is for us to show that our reasons for believing the above to be an incontestable fact of history, are solid and convincing. And first, we have the testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus (d. 395), a Pagan, a courtier and admirer of Julian, and a fellow-soldier, who, speaking of Julian's widespread activity, says that, "wishing to perpetuate the memory of his reign by the magnitude of his works, he thought to restore, at an immense outlay, a certain magnificent temple at Jerusalem, which, after many destructive combats during a siege by Vespasian and Titus, had with difficulty been captured; and he assigned the task to Alypius of Antioch, a former pro-prefect of Britain. While, therefore, Alypius was energetically pushing the affair forward, with the assistance of the rector of the province, there burst forth, at the foundations, fearful masses of flames, which, by their frequent

(1) The Abbé Baudouin, in an explanation of the *Apocalypse*, published at Paris, in 1784, contends that the Greek term *apostates*, now Julian's distinctive surname, gives exactly the number 666, according to the numerical value of the letters, as assigned by the Greeks.

assaults, rendered the place inaccessible, burning up the laborers as often as any approached. In this manner, the element obstinately repelling them, an end was made to the design."

Is it likely that a man in the position of Marcellinus would have published a fact so triumphant for the Christians, had he been in the slightest doubt as to its truth? Again, St. Cyril was almost on the spot at the time, for he was then bishop of Jerusalem. Socrates (1) says of him, "At that time, Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, mindful of the prophecy of Daniel, which Christ confirmed in the Holy Gospels, plainly predicted to many hearers that, in a short time, not one stone above another should remain of that temple, and thus would the oracle of the Saviour be fulfilled." Socrates is confirmed by Rufinus. This passage shows us that the Christians of the Holy City fully appreciated the motives of Julian, and when Socrates speaks of the prediction of St. Cyril, he plainly proves that, a short time after it, must have occurred some event which, by destroying what had remained of the ancient foundations of the temple, fulfilled the Biblical prophecy. Another testimony to the truth of this miracle is found in St. Ambrose's reprimand to Theodosius for wishing to compel Christians to rebuild a Pagan temple. "Hast thou not heard, O emperor," he said (2), "that when Julian ordered the temple of Jerusalem to be rebuilt, those who were doing the work were burnt by divine fire? Dost thou not beware, lest it may do so now?" and St. John Chrysostom, speaking of the miracle, says (3), "The emperor Julian, although he was so madly devoted to the design, yet feared, that if he proceeded any further therein, the fire would descend upon his own head; and, with all his people, he ceased from the work. And now if you go to Jerusalem, you will see the bare foundations, and if you ask the reason, you will hear only this: 'We are all witnesses to this thing; in our day, only a little while ago, it happened; reflect upon the wonderful victory. This did not occur under the pious Cæsars,

(1) *History*, b. 3, c. 20.

(2) *Epist.* 11, to Theodosius.

(3) *Oration against Jews and Gentiles.*

lest some might say that the Christians' coming had perfected the work ; but it happened when we were in affliction, when all liberty was withdrawn, when Paganism flourished, when the faithful were either hiding at home or had fled into the solitudes and avoided the open places. It happened, in fine, so that there would be left no pretext to impudence.' " Looking over these testimonies of Sts. Cyril, Chrysostom, and Ambrose, we cannot perceive in them any lack of weight with which a candid mind would find fault, or any innate weakness which the rules of criticism can discover. St. Cyril was a man of cool judgment, and was thoroughly cognizant of the aspirations and acts of Julian ; he was the Christian leader in Jerusalem at the time of the attempted restoration of the temple ; and, finally, there was no reason for Socrates' introduction of his prediction unless it was well known by all that the prediction was connected with some act which fulfilled it. That act is accounted for in the supposition of the truth of the miracle in question ; it remains unknown, and therefore Socrates was guilty of holding up Cyril as a false prophet, if we set the miracle aside. St. Chrysostom exhibits too much confidence in his remarks to a people who must have been well informed on the subject of his discourse, for us to suppose him in error. The same holds good of St. Ambrose in his rebuke of Theodosius. We have already alluded to St. Gregory Nazianzen, as a valuable authority for anything connected with the reign of Julian.

The following testimony, taken from his 4th *Oration* against the apostate, fully confirms that of Marcellinus : " Julian pitted the Jews against us. He availed himself of their ancient fickleness and of their intense hatred for us, to perfect his design ; asserting that, according to their books and traditions, they were destined to return to their own land, and to renew their ancestral rites. . . . Those who have studied their doings narrate how their wives not only stripped themselves of all their ornaments and matronal insignia, that they might contribute to the reconstruction of the building, but even carried earth in their bosoms, sparing neither their exquisite robes nor their delicate

frames in what they deemed a work of piety—regarding all else as subordinate to this enterprise. When, however, forced by a dire confusion and by a sudden tremor of the undulating ground, they rushed to a neighboring temple to pray and to escape the danger, . . . they found, according to some, the doors suddenly closed and bolted by an invisible power. . . . One thing certainly all do narrate, and hold for certain, that when they were striving by main force to secure an entrance, a fire burst forth out of the temple, and consumed some of them entirely, and destroyed the principal limbs of others. . . . But more wonderful yet, and significant, a light shone forth in the heavens, and forming a cross over the earth, showed to all alike that name and that figure which were once held in contempt. Even now, those who were witnesses of this miracle show their garments burnt by the sign of the cross.”

It is difficult for the incredulous to institute any positive argumentation against the truth of this miracle. Preconceived opinions and violent religious prejudice may give birth to conjectures, but they are none of them even plausible when compared with the positive testimonies we possess in its favor. About the strongest of the negative arguments which can be adduced against it is offered by Basnage (1). St. Cyril, he says, who was bishop of Jerusalem at the time of the alleged miracle, and predicted, according to Socrates, that the prophecy of Christ was soon to be fulfilled, has nevertheless nowhere given us any account of this important event. This argument, though weak, might be of some weight, could its author show that any of the works of St. Cyril, which we possess, were written after the attempted restoration of the temple. But this cannot be proved; nay, that all of the works of St. Cyril, which have come down to us, were composed before the event in question, is conceded by the erudite in such matters. Thus, the *Catechisms* belong to the year 347; the *Epistle to Constantius* to the year 351. These are all the works of St. Cyril that we have, for the epistle to St. Augustine on the *Miracles of St. Jerome*, which is found in the works of the

(1) *History of the Jews*, b. 6, c. 18.

great doctor, is manifestly a forgery, as is shown by its own absurdities, and by the fact that St. Cyril died thirty years before St. Jerome. Basnage relies considerably upon the discrepancies between the narrations of the miracle as given by Socrates, Sozomenus, and Theodoret. But the diversities are merely in accidentals, not in essentials, and just as in the case of the gospels, so in purely historical matters, accidental variations of authors, if united with concord in essentials, are no justification for their being rejected.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DONATIST HERESY, AND THE JUDGMENT OF POPE MELCHIADES.

In the year 311, a certain Spanish woman named Lucilla, living at Carthage in Africa, was observed to kiss, with superstitious veneration, the bones of a man, who, though probably a martyr, had not been formally recognized as such by the ecclesiastical authorities. Being reprov'd by Cæcilian, the Archdeacon of Carthage, her religious devotion proved less strong than her vanity, and she bided her time for revenge. About this time Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, having been called to Rome by Maxentius to answer the charge of hiding a deacon who had written against the tyrant, was removed by death, and Cæcilian was elected to his place. Before his departure for Rome, Mensurius had consigned the sacred vessels to the care of certain seniors of the church, and these now refused to obey the requisition for them made by the new bishop. To the vindictive ex-devotee, Lucilla, and the avaricious old stewards of the church, both parties ready for anything which promised the ruin of Cæcilian, was soon given the aid of Botrus and Cælesius, two priests who had each been disappointed in the hope of succeeding Mensurius. This was the origin of the Donatist schism, the fruit of an alliance between feminine ire, avarice, and ambition. But an excuse was want-

ing to the enemies of Cæcilian, and that was soon found. His episcopal consecration had been received at the hands of Felix, bishop of Aptonga, who was accused of being one of those unfortunates who, in the time of persecution, had given up the gospels to the enemies of Christianity. Therefore, the factious contended, the consecration of Cæcilian was null and void. They also asserted that, during the persecutions, Cæcilian had prevented food from being carried to certain confessors in prison. Their first step was to procure the deposition of Cæcilian, but to bring that about, they were compelled to fall into a great inconsistency. They invoked the aid of Secundus, primate of Numidia, himself one of the most noted of "traitors," as those were styled who had surrendered the sacred books. This prelate assembled a synod of seventy bishops, "traitors" like himself, but whose sins the money of Lucilla had covered (1). In this pseudo-synod, Cæcilian was condemned, and in his place was thrust Majorinus, a creature of the precious Lucilla. The intruder received consecration from Donatus, bishop of a place called "Black Cottages," "*Casae Nigrae*," and this prelate may be regarded as the prime inciter of the new schism. To another Donatus, however, the new schismatics preferred to give the honor of having named their body; to the one, that is, who succeeded Majorinus in the usurped see of Carthage. The identity of name sometimes caused confusion in the mind of St. Augustine, as he confesses in his *Retractations*, b. 1, c. 21. In spite of the apparent triumph of his enemies, the holy Cæcilian could, as St. Augustine says (2), "care nothing for their conspiring multitude, when he saw himself united by letters of communion with the Roman Church, in which always flourished the principality of the Apostolic Chair." His foes also dreaded the affection of Constantine for their victim, and in order to lessen it, they used their influence with Anulinus, the proconsul of Africa, to have presented to the emperor, then in Gaul, the libel they had composed against the integrity of Cæcilian. They also begged of Constantine that

(1) See ST. AUGUSTINE; *Heresies*, c. 69; *Epist.* 162. Also OPTATUS, against Parmenian, b. 1.

(2) *Epistle No.* 162.

he would assign Gallic judges to settle the Carthaginian troubles, "for in Africa there are contentions between us and the other bishops," they added. According to Optatus, when the emperor had read the documents, he angrily cried out, "You ask judgment of me, a secular, who myself expect the judgment of Christ?" However, he wrote to Pope Melchiades asking him to decide the case, and requested three Gallic prelates, Maternus of Cologne, Marinus of Arles, and Rheticius of Autun, to go to Rome to assist the Pontiff. A council was accordingly held in the year 313, in the Lateran palace, then the residence of the empress Fausta, and to it were summoned, besides the three Gallic bishops, fifteen Italians. After a patient hearing of both Cæcilian and Donatus, the synod condemned the latter (him of the "Black Cottages") and declared the former legitimate bishop of Carthage. As for those dioceses in which the Donatist troubles had introduced two rivals for the episcopal chair, it was decreed, for the sake of peace, that priority of consecration should decide each case, "for the other bishop, another flock should be provided." The Donatists again had recourse to secular influence, telling the emperor that the case of Felix of Aptonga, the consecrator of Cæcilian, had not been decided, and that there had been too few bishops in the Roman synod. At this new appeal, says Optatus, Constantine exclaimed, "Such rabid audacity of fury! Just like Gentiles, they put forth an appeal." Thinking he might thus calm the raging schismatics, he now ordered Elianus, the new proconsul, to inquire into the case of Felix, and the result was his acquittal of the charge of "betrayal." But the Donatist fury was by no means assuaged, and at the request of the emperor, another synod was called in the year 314. This council met at Arles, and was attended by two hundred bishops, the Papal legates presiding in the name of the new Pontiff, Sylvester I. (1) Again was the cause of Cæcilian triumphant, but again, with few exceptions, were the Donatists obstinate. From the sentence of the Church they again appealed to Constantine, and

(1) Sirmond and Launoy thought, from the large number of prelates attending this synod, that it was the *plenary council*, the authority of which St. Augustine frequently quotes against the Donatists. That the holy Doctor means the Council of Nice is fully proved by Alexandre.

from this time the emperor vacillated in their regard. While he condemned them in Milan in the year 316, he was finally conquered by the obstinacy which, under the leadership of the "great Donatus" (the intruder of Carthage), they continued to display; and at first content with diminishing the severity of his laws against them, he soon allowed them full liberty. At his death, the government of Africa fell to Constans. Under this emperor, benignity was at first the order of the day towards the Donatists, but when he found them degenerated into worse than highway robbers, carrying fire and sword into the homes, not only of Catholics, but even of their own sect, he made use of the army to restore order. When the schismatic bishops saw the ruin of the armed bands which they had employed, some of them fled, others again were exiled. Among these latter was Donatus of Carthage. Most of the sectarians now returned to the communion of the Church, and during the following reign of Constantius, there was comparative peace in religious matters in Africa. Donatus of Carthage died in the year 350, and his place was filled by Parmenian; St. Cæcilian had died in 348, and to him succeeded Gratus, and then Res-titutus. Under Julian the Apostate, the Donatists were naturally caressed as internecine foes of Christianity. Not only were they recalled from exile, and restored to their churches, but many of the basilicas of the Catholics, which they took with the armed hand, were secured to them. With the accession of Valentinian I., their audacity met with a check, that emperor passing very severe laws to keep it within limits. At the invasion of Africa by Gildo in the year 397, the Donatists had reason for joy, as he removed all restraint from their murderous proclivities. Honorius, however, put another stop to the slaughter of the orthodox, and sincerely endeavored to bring about a permanent peace. He sent into Africa a tribune named Marcellinus, a man of high character, who, in the year 411, held at Carthage that famous Conference, of which St. Augustine gives a full history, and in which he participated. In this assembly, both parties pleaded their causes with full liberty for three days, and after due consideration, Marcellinus passed judgment in

favor of the Catholics, and it was confirmed by Honorius on Jan. 30, 412. Terrified at the severe penalties pronounced against them by the emperor, and which were sternly executed by Dulcitius, the successor of Marcellinus, most of the Donatists yielded, and before many years the sect had vanished. It would seem that, violent and audacious as it was, this heresy made no headway outside of Africa. It tried to obtain a foothold in Rome, and there sustained successively six bishops, men of ability and of grave manners. But they met with no success, not obtaining the use of even one church in the city. Indeed, from the fact that their conventicles were held in the mountains of the neighborhood, they were known among the Romans as "Mountaineers."

We pass now to the doctrines of the Donatists. In regard to Baptism, they held that it was only valid when given in the Church. Since they contended that the true Church was to be found only in their communion, the rest of Christendom having fallen away from purity of doctrine, they rebaptized such perverts as they succeeded in enticing to their fold. As to their tenets concerning the Church, St. Augustine says they differed from Catholics rather as to the body than as to the head. By contact with the betrayers of the gospels, and by communion with the wicked in general, the Church had been reduced nearly unto death, and was then confined to Africa, and restricted, indeed, to the faction of Donatus. Africa, they said, was the southern country where the Spouse of the Canticles was represented as resting in the midday. According to St. Augustine, Donatus of Carthage erred in regard to the Trinity, teaching that the three Persons were of the same substance, but that the Son was less than the Father, and the Holy Ghost less than the Son. He did not succeed, however, in inculcating this theory upon his followers. As for the morals and general conduct of the Donatists, they seem to have been of the most horrible nature. Optatus charges them with literally throwing the Holy Eucharist to the dogs, "not without a token of the divine judgment: for the dogs went mad, and as though their masters were robbers and strangers, tore them to pieces, using their teeth against the violators of the Holy

Body." According to the same author, when they did not overthrow the Catholic altars, they practiced a sacrilegious rite of scraping the surface, to indicate that purification was necessary on account of the Catholic contagion. Whenever they obtained possession of a church, or of sacred vessels, vestments, &c., they reblessed them for the same reason. Of so exalted a character was their religious frenzy, that thousands of them took their own lives, deeming the act a martyrdom, and justifying it by the example of Razias, *Macch. II.* Like most heretics, the Donatists were very hostile to monks, and, according to St. Augustine, were fond of saying, "What is the meaning of the word 'monk'? Show us in the Scriptures this word 'monk.'" (1)

In treating of the Donatist heresy, we cannot omit some remarks upon the judgment given by Pope Melchiades in the synod held at Rome in the year 313, as both Protestant and Gallican writers have contended that the history of the Papal connection with the condemnation of this sect goes to weaken the doctrine of the irrefragability of Pontifical decisions. And firstly, Basnage and Mosheim hold that Pope Melchiades acted, in this decision, as a delegate of the emperor Constantine, and not in his own right, as the supreme judge in matters of faith. But we know from Optatus, that when the prince was approached by the sectarians, he cried out, "You ask of me, a secular, to give judgment, when I myself await the judgment of Christ?" And to the complaining Donatus, after the Roman synod, he answered, "O mad audacity of fury! Just as do the Gentiles, they put forth an appeal." We also know that when Constantine took cognizance of the case after the Council of Arles, it was with disgust at the audacity of the Donatists, and with the intention of "afterwards asking the pardon of the bishops" for daring to judge of sacred things (2). If such were the sentiments of the emperor as to the respective provinces of the ecclesiastic and the secular, is it credible that he would try to make a delegate of the Pontiff? Had the power of Melchiades been merely vicarious, would he have joined with himself the fifteen Italian bish-

(1) On Psalm 132.

(2) AUGUSTINE, *epist.* 162.

ops whom the prince had not named? Again, those were given by Constantine as judges, whom the Donatists had asked for, namely, the three Gallic prelates, not Melchiades and the fifteen Italians. And if Constantine had thought himself possessed of any authority in the premises, would he have sent these Gauls all the way to Rome, especially when he himself was then in Gaul? But St. Augustine certainly regarded the Pontiff, not as an imperial delegate, but as exercising his own supreme judicial prerogative in the Roman synod, for he says of Constantine, "*He conceded the other Arletan judgment, not because it was necessary, but yielding to their perversity, and wishing in every way to repress their impudence*" (1). If the synod of Arles was not necessary, then certainly Melchiades had acted as supreme judge. Finally, if the Pontiff only judged in this Donatist matter, as the vicar of Constantine, how is it that Cæcilian was able, when and how he wished, to carry his case to the Apostolic See?

A question is raised as to whether or not the Donatists appealed to the emperor from the decision of Pope Melchiades. We have seen how they complained of it, and how the Council of Arles was assembled, in a vain attempt to pacify them. Alexandre contends that this complaint was of the nature of an appeal; Valois, Noris, and Sirmond hold that they only appealed from the Council of Arles. We may at once remark that the very nature of an appeal, if judicial forms are to be at all respected, precludes the sitting in the new court of those judges against whose previous decision the appeal is made. But we learn from the *Acts* of the Arletan synod that in it were seated as judges, besides the Roman Pontiff through his legates, five of the very bishops who had attended the Roman synod. Therefore, it is plain that at Arles there could have been no appeal from the sentence of the Pontiff. Against this conclusion is adduced the authority of Optatus, who plainly says that the Donatists appealed from the Roman synod to Constantine, that prince answering, "O mad audacity of fury, &c." But Optatus was mistaken, for he plainly shows, by

(1) *Epist.* 162.

making no mention of the synod of Arles, that he regarded the letter in question as sent by Constantine to the prelates of the Roman synod. We know that it was sent to the Arletan prelates from this passage of St. Augustine: "Nor did the Christian emperor so dare to receive the tumultuous and deceitful complaints, as to himself judge of the decision of the bishops who had sat at Rome. But he assigned other bishops, from whom, however, they preferred to appeal; for which, as to how he detested them, you have heard." These last words refer to that exclamation "O mad audacity, &c." It is plain then that the letter in which the emperor used this expression was sent to the prelates of Arles, and therefore, the testimony of Optatus must be excluded. According to Optatus, the Donatists appealed from that synod to which Constantine addressed the quoted words, and that synod was the one of Arles.

To the most casual reader of the events we have been narrating, at once occurs a question as to the relationship subsisting between the Roman synod, and the Council of Arles. Did the latter synod reconsider the judgment given by Pope Melchiades, and if so, was this reconsideration undertaken without the consent of the then Pontiff, Sylvester I.? Alexandre held that the latter supposition is *improbable*, but the Roman censors applied to his proposition the remark, "Neither question nor conclusion pleases us. The question does not, because it is to be supposed, not discussed, that Councils cannot reconsider causes of faith already adjudged by the Supreme Pontiff; the conclusion does not, because it says, 'it is probable,' while nothing is more certain." Before the Council of the Vatican settled the question of Papal infallibility, the Gallican theologians were fond of this matter of the Arletan synod, and such Protestant writers as trouble themselves at all about Church authority have ever pointed to it as a weak spot in the Roman line of defence. One of the best writers in defence of the irreformability of Papal decisions on faith, is Cardinal Orsi. In his apposite work, refuting the allegations of Bossuet, he shows that the cause of Cæcilian, having been decided by Pope Melchiades, was no longer a subject matter for retractation; that

it could not have been reconsidered without the permission of the Holy See ; and that the cause of Cæcilian, of which Augustine speaks in a passage adduced by Bossuet, and to be now noticed by us, was not one of those causes which belong to the Universal Church. Cardinal La Luzerne, in his book on the Gallican "Declaration" of 1682, opines that the arguments of Orsi are not conclusive. Equally with the bishop of Meaux, La Luzerne relies greatly upon the following passage of St. Augustine (1): "Let us suppose that all the bishops, who judged at Rome, were not good judges. There yet remained a plenary Council of the whole Church, in which the cause of these judges could be agitated, in order that their sentence might be abrogated, if they were convicted of a wrong decision." This shows, say the Gallican authors, that, according to St. Augustine, there remained a general Council in which the Pontiff's decision might be rescinded, and though that Council did not rescind it, yet the cause of Cæcilian was settled with no less authority because the judgment of Melchiades received the approbation of the Church. But this plenary Council, of which Augustine speaks, could not have been held without the consent of the Pope, or without his presidency, either personal or by means of legates. And if a general Council, with the Pope at its head, takes up a cause already defined by the Pontiff, and with the Pope's consent and participant action, repeats the Pontifical decision, it does not follow that either Pontiff or bishops deem the judgments of the Holy See a matter for conciliar revision. It is one thing to take up a decision, in order to assent and submit to it, and another to subject it to a critical and judicial discussion. When we come to treat of the Councils of Ephesus, Chalcedon, and the third Constantinopolitan, we shall see that the fathers read the decrees of the pontiffs, actuated by the former, not the latter motive. If then, in the passage of Augustine, the holy doctor declares that to the Donatists yet remained the authority of a general Council, we must not conclude that he believed that the said synod could revise the judgment of Melchiades. He wished to press the

(1) *Epist.* 43, *alias* 162, to *Glorius Eleusius*, c. 7, n. 19.

Donatists to the wall by showing them that the whole Church was against them. We have already heard him say that the emperor yielded to the Donatists in the matter of the Council of Arles, "not because it was necessary, but ceding to their perversity, and wishing in every way to curb their impudence." When, then, he alludes to a possible future plenary Council, he means to say that if such a synod were to take up the judgment of Melchiades, its unanimous assent would show the Donatists that those were "good judges" indeed who pronounced sentence in Rome. It will not be inopportune to here introduce a passage of Optatus which plainly shows that he did not deem the decision of Pope Melchiades revisable by a Council (1). He speaks of the absolution of Cæcilian "by the sentence of Melchiades, through which the trial was closed," and says that the two bishops sent by the Pope into Africa to promulgate his decree, did so, saying that "it could not be abrogated ; they thus communicated it to the clergy of Cæcilian, and returned."

CHAPTER XVIII.

ARIANISM, AND THE COUNCIL OF NICE.

Scarcely had the persecution of brute force been brought to an end by the accession of Constantine to the imperial throne, when the Church was called upon to withstand the attacks of a more insidious enemy. If not in one shape, then in another; if not in one place, then in another. the Church upon earth must be ever militant. The new enemy came in the shape of the most radical heresy which to this day she has ever encountered, and the new error soon made proportionately greater inroads upon her flock than any other had done before, or has done since that time. But with all its apparent successes, in spite of the active and enthusiastic aid of the secular power, that great heresy has vanished.

(1) *Donatist Schism*, b. 1, n. 24

Arius was born in Libya, and was subject to the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop of Alexandria. He was of a nature to win the affections of men—his manners were grave but gentle; he was modest in his bearing, dress, and conversation. In dialectics, he was a master. Several years before he turned his attention to innovation, he had acquired some experience as a schismatic, having joined the followers of Meletius of Lycopolis, when that bishop refused to submit to his deposition by his superior, St. Peter of Alexandria. Abandoning the schism, Arius received deaconship at the hands of the latter prelate, but when St. Peter excommunicated the Miletians, the young deacon became so vituperative that he was soon involved in the same sentence. After the martyrdom of St. Peter, his successor, Achilla, restored Arius to communion, and probably raised him to the priesthood (1). At the death of this prelate the future heresiarch aspired to the vacant see, and when he saw Alexander preferred by the clergy, he was devoured by envy. He commenced to disseminate his errors as to the Divinity of the Son of God about the year 317 (2). According to St. Epiphanius, he soon counted for his disciples one bishop, Secundus of Pentapolis, seven priests, and seven hundred nuns; however, St. Alexander, in an encyclical epistle, speaks of only fourteen of such disciples. They were soon condemned by Alexander, and Arius fled for a time into Palestine. In order to popularize his tenets, he now struck upon the idea of reducing them to poetical shape, and setting the verses to popular music. He took for his model Sotades, an old Egyptian poet, with whom the mob was familiar. Under the name of *Thaleia*, a mixture of obscenity and distorted theology was soon chanted in the streets and public places, and thus the new religion was sprung upon humanity. His seven hundred nuns were probably of considerable help to the enterprising theologian, and he soon received quite an important acquisition from the same devout sex in the person of the imperial Constantia, sister of Constantine. The patronage of this lady was of great advantage to the new

(1) According to Gelasius of Cyzicus, Arius was ordained by Alexander.

(2) St. Jerome dates the rise of Arianism from the year 321; a falsified codex of Lactantius places it before the persecution of Licinius, about 310.

heresy, for she possessed more than her due share of influence at court. Eusebius of Nicomedia now held a synod in Bythinia, and sent out a letter to all his brethren of the episcopate, entreating them to communicate with the Arians, and to compel Alexander to do the same; in this epistle he also congratulates Eusebius of Cæsarea on having undertaken the "defence of the truth." Many and desperate were the arts used by the friends of the new doctrine to gain over the emperor, but he decided to request the Supreme Pontiff to convoke a General Council of the Church. Accordingly, in the year 325, there assembled at Nice of Bythinia three hundred and eighteen bishops under the presidency of the legates of Pope Sylvester, Hosius, bishop of Cordova, and Vitus and Vincent, priests. In this Œcumenical Council the doctrine of Arius, as to the non-consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, was condemned; a symbol of faith—a Creed—was issued, and in it was inserted the apposite word "Homœousion." This Council also decided the vexed question as to the time of the Paschal celebration, establishing it on the Sunday following the fourteenth day of the March moon. It also edited twenty disciplinary canons, on the sixth of which we shall have something to say. At the sessions of the Council the emperor was present, but was placed below the fathers, and took his seat only when they gave the signal of permission. The expenses of the prelates were defrayed by the imperial treasury. The sentiments held by Constantine as to the relative positions of priesthood and empire are plainly indicated by the following remarks made by him during the Council, when the Arians presented to him certain petitions, tending to draw him over to their side. Having ordered the petitions to be burnt in full synod, he thus addressed the bishops (1): "God has established you as priests, and given you power to judge us, and hence we are properly judged by you; you, however, cannot be judged by men; wherefore, among yourselves await the judgment of God alone, and let your differences, whatever they may be, be reserved for divine examination. For you have been given to us as gods by God, and it is not proper for

(1) RUFINUS, *Hist.*, b. 1, c. 1.

man to judge gods, but only Him of whom it is written : God has stood in the synagogue of the gods, and in their midst God judges." Two only of the most violent, and perhaps the most sincere, Arians, refused to sign the symbol of faith, Secundus of Ptolemaide, and Theonas of Marmarica ; even Eusebius of Casarea feigned submission (1).

After the condemnation of Arius, the emperor ordered him into exile, but in the year 330, at the intercession of Constantia, then at the point of death, he sent for him and accorded him an interview. Being asked whether he would assent to the Nicene creed, he answered in the affirmative. Requested to put his Creed into writing, he handed the prince an equivocal formula, which could easily be interpreted in an heretical sense. With the permission of Constantine, Arius now returned to Alexandria, bearing letters from Eusebius of Nicomedia, urging St. Athanasius to admit the apparently repentant priest into communion. But the inflexible bishop would not yield, even though the emperor followed up his endorsement of the request by threats to depose and exile him. In the year 335, many bishops, principally of the Arian faction, assembled at Jerusalem for the dedication of the magnificent temple built by Constantine. Requested by the emperor to examine the symbol of Arius, they pronounced it orthodox. Finally, in the year 336, Constantine called the heresiarch to the capital, and ordered the bishop, Alexander, a firm defender of the Nicene faith, to accord communion to him. Force was being used to effect this nefarious purpose, when Arius was suddenly stricken with death. But with its founder, the heresy did not disappear. The Arian sympathy of the emperor Constantius secured the condemnation of St. Athanasius in the synods of Arles (353) and Milan (355), and before long St. Jerome was obliged to cry out that the world was half Arian. On the death of Valens (378) the heresy began to decline in the East, and after the General Council of Constantinople, it lost all hold in those parts. But the barbarous tribes of Germany long clung to it. Its last

(1) ATHANASIUS, *Epist. on decrees of Nice* ; THEODORET, b. 1, c. 19 ; ST. JEROME, *Dialogue against the Luciferians*.

refuge was among the Lombards, but with king Liutprand (744) it died out.

Arius asserted that the Son of God was a creature, and not God by nature; that although He existed before all ages, yet He was not co-eternal with the Father. Eusebius of Nicomedia endeavored to persuade Constantine that this doctrine was not antagonistic to Catholic faith, that the whole question was one of verbal subtlety. But it is evident that Arius denied the Divinity of Christ, when he denied the Consubstantiality of the Son with the Father. He also erred in regard to the mystery of the Incarnation, asserting that the Word took unto Itself a body without a soul; that the office of soul was supplied by the Divinity (1). He perverted the doxology, singing "Glory to the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Ghost." St. Augustine (2) says that Arius rebaptized his perverts from Catholicism, but he seems to be alone in the assertion.

Arianism met the inevitable fate of all heresies, and was soon cut up into many factions. Of these there were three principal sects. First, were the Anomœians, so called because they contended that the Son was *Anomoios*, that is, dissimilar to the Father. Not only, according to them, was the Son not equal to the Father, but he was in no way similar. The principal leaders of this sect were Aetius, Eunomius, and Euzoius of Antioch. Then came the Semi-arians, who, while they denied the Consubstantiality (*homousia*) of the Son with the Father, yet held that He was similar (*homoiousios*) in all things, even in substance. The chiefs of this sect were Basil of Ancyra, George of Laodicea, and Eustathius of Sebaste. Finally are to be mentioned the Acacians, who drew their name from Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine. These differed from the Anomœians only in name, and abstained from asserting a thorough dissimilarity between Father and Son only when circumstances of interest compelled them; when, however, they were withheld by fear of Constantius, who abhorred the Anomœians, they said the Son was not Consubstantial, nor similar in substance, to the Father, but only similar.

(1) THEODORET, *Hæret. Fab.*, c.1; ATHANASIUS, *Advent of Christ*.

(2) *On Heresies*.

Let us now turn our attention to the Council of Nice. Several questions are to be considered, and, first of all, the convocation of the Council. The adversaries of the Holy See contend that the Council was not convoked by Pope Sylvester, but by the emperor Constantine, and this assertion they support by passages from Eusebius, Socrates, Theodoret, Nicephorus, and by the synodical epistle which the Council sent to the church of Alexandria, in which the fathers say, "Since, by the grace of God, and the command of the most sacred emperor Constantine, who has called us together, from various provinces and cities, the great and holy Nicene Council is assembled." Similar expressions with regard to the Council of Nice occur in the *Relation* of the fathers of the Council of Ephesus to the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, and in the remarks of Justinian in the 1st *Collation* of the Fifth General Council. Our ancestors in the faith, therefore, say the adversaries of Rome, believed that the right of calling an Ecumenical Council resided in the emperor, not in the Pope. There is no doubt that Constantine paved the way for this Council, that he invited to it the bishops of the world, that he treated them as his guests, that he assisted at the sessions, that, in fine, he cast around it, by way of protection, the strong arm of the secular power. From the fact of ancient authors gratefully acknowledging these services of the emperor, and hence using the term "convocation" in regard to his invitation, it by no means follows that in their minds the convoking authority of Pope Sylvester was ignored. The fathers of the Council of Sardica (347) used the same word with regard to the action of the emperors Constans and Constantius, and yet St. Athanasius (1) tells us that the Council was called by Pope Julius. In the Eighth General Council (869) the Eastern vicars said that the emperor Basil, imitating the old emperors, had called the synod, but we know from the letter of Pope Adrian II. to that sovereign, which was read in the first session, that the Pontiff convoked the Council. "We wish," said the Pope, "through your pious exertions, a numerous synod to be assembled at Constan-

(1) *Epist. to Solitaries.*

tinople." And the Papal legates used these words, "The most pious and most Christian emperor, following the example of his predecessors, sent his most noble ambassadors to Rome, to ask for a synod." That the fathers of the Second General Council (381) regarded the convocation of such assemblies as the prerogative of the Holy See, is shown by their Synodical Letter to Pope Damasus, in which they say that they have come to Constantinople in obedience to the Pontiff's letters to Theodosius. Finally, with regard to the convocation of the Nicene Synod, the fact of the Pontifical legates presiding over its deliberations, the humble attitude of Constantine during its sessions, and his own words already quoted, go to show that the emperor considered himself as bound to facilitate the work of the Church, but felt that he possessed no authority in the premises. Had the sovereign been regarded at that time as enjoying the right of convoking Councils, Hosius would scarcely have used the following words to Constantius: "Concern thyself not with ecclesiastical affairs, nor teach us in such matters, but rather learn from us. To thee God has committed the empire, to us He has given the things of the Church; and as he who reviles thy government, contradicts the divine ordinance, so do thou beware, lest by taking to thyself the things of the Church, thou becomest guilty of a great crime. Give, it is written, to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and to God that which is God's. It is not right for us to hold empire upon earth, nor hast thou, emperor, any jurisdiction over incense or sacred things."

In treating of the presidency of the Council of Nice, we propose to show that the Papal legates not only presided, but that they did so, precisely because of their office as representatives of the Supreme Pontiff. With regard to the presidency of Hosius, we have from Athanasius (1), "In what synod was he not the leader and standard-bearer? What church does not retain monuments of his presidency?" Socrates, in book 1, chap. 9, giving the names of the fathers of Nice, begins thus: "In this Council were present Hosius, bishop of Cordova; Vitus, and Vincentius, priests; Alexander,

(1) *Apology for his Flight.*

bishop of Egypt, Eustathius of great Antioch, Macarius of Jerusalem, Harpocraton, Cynon, and others, whose names, &c." Unless Hosius, Vitus, and Vincentius, were presiding officers, why does Socrates place their names before those of the incumbents of the great sees of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem? Hosius was simply bishop of insignificant Cordova, and the other two were not even bishops. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims (d. 882), when writing against his nephew, Hincmar of Laudun—and speaking of the Nicene Council, says: "Over which, in the place of Sylvester, presided Hosius, bishop of Cordova, Vitus and Vincent, priests of the city of Rome." Some ultra-Gallican critics have held that Hosius presided indeed over the Nicene Council, but that such office was assigned him as a compliment to his heroic labors for religion, not because of his position as Papal legate. Firstly, we may answer that this is a mere conjecture, and it is founded on no pre-eminent excellence really possessed by Hosius over his brother bishops. There was Paphnutius, who had undergone fearful tortures during the reign of Maximian; so also had Potamon. Paul, bishop of the Euphratesian Neo-Cæsarea, had suffered all but death under Licinius. Then there were present many prelates who were famous for their miracles and for the gift of prophesy, such as James of Nisibis, Spiridion of Cyprus, Nicholas of Lycia. As for influence with Constantine, no one equalled Eusebius of Cæsarea. As far as dignity of position was concerned, there were Eustathius of Antioch, and Alexander of Alexandria. And yet we see elevated above all these prelates the bishop of an insignificant diocese in distant Spain. He is placed above two legates of the Roman See, above the Alexandrian and Antiochene patriarchs, above Cæcilian, the primate of all Africa. When he sits in the Council of Elvira, in his own Spain, although there are present but nineteen bishops, he holds the second place; and when he sits in the Council of Arles, he is not mentioned among the chief prelates (1). Again, if we do not admit that Hosius presided by virtue of his legatine authority, we must accuse

(1) ST. AUGUSTINE, *against Parmenian*, b. 2, c. 5.

the fathers of Nice of having violated those privileges of the patriarchates, which they confirmed in this very synod; the bishop of Alexandria would no longer have held the second place, decreed to him according to ancient customs. But at this time there was a canon which recognized in the Roman See the right of presiding in all synods wherein was discussed anything pertaining to the Universal Church. In an epistle to the Eusebian prelates of the East, Pope Julius I. (337-352) says that they have violated the canons in not inviting him to their synod: "Since the ecclesiastical canon forbids any decrees to be sanctioned without the judgment of the Roman bishop." That canon was in the mind of the Council held at Rome by Pope Damasus, when it reproved the prelates of Rimini for having edited a profession of faith which Rome had not passed upon. It also governed the fathers of the fifth General Council (553), when after having thrice invited Pope Vigilius to preside at their deliberations, they wrote to him, through Eutychius of Constantinople, "And we therefore beseech you, that your Blessedness presiding over us, with priestly tranquillity and gentleness, the holy Gospels being brought forward, by a common discussion these same Chapters may be treated, and an end put to the question." But it is incredible that the presidency of the bishop of Cordova should have been accepted by all the bishops at Nice, if his legatine position had not compelled them to accept it. To say nothing of the rights of the patriarchs, there were Theognis, bishop of Nice itself, and Eusebius of Nicomedia, metropolitan of all Bythinia, both intensely Arian, and not at all likely, if they could avoid it, to acquiesce in the choice of a president whom they knew to be hostile to their cause. We must conclude therefore that they regarded Hosius as president of the Council by virtue of his position as Papal legate. As for Vitus and Vincent, it is impossible to assign any reason for their being recognized as colleagues of Hosius, unless that furnished by their legatine quality, for, as simple priests, they had no right even to a seat in the Council.

The Nicene Council issued twenty canons. Among the Maronites of the Lebanon, the Armenians, Copts, Abyss-

sinians, and other Orientals, both United and Schismatic there have been regarded as Nicene sixty-four other canons; but that they are supposititious, and no older than the time of the Council of Chalcedon (451), is proved by their frequent presentation of the term "patriarch," as applied to the bishops of the greater sees—that name having been introduced into the hierarchical nomenclature at that period. That the Nicene canons numbered only twenty, is shown by all the ancient *Collections*, among which may be specially quoted that of Dionysius Exiguus (6th Cent.) and the one drawn up by Theilo and Tharistus, and sent by Atticus of Constantinople in the year 419 to the sixth Council of Carthage. The same is proved by the fact that, in the cause of the appeal of Apiarius to Pope Zosimus (417), the Nicene canons furnished by St. Cyril of Alexandria were of that number. Again, Theodoret, book 1, c. 8, expressly says: "The bishops again assembling in Council, issued twenty laws or canons on Church administration." It is true that Rufinus, in his *History*, c. 6, b. 1, cites twenty-two canons, but that comes from his dividing the sixth and eighth into two parts each.

Only one of the Nicene canons calls for any special consideration in a work such as the present. The sixth canon reads as follows: "Let the ancient custom be preserved throughout Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis; that the bishop of Alexandria have power over all these; because such is the custom with the bishop of Rome. Similarly in Antioch, and the other provinces, let their privileges be preserved by the churches. Generally, however, this is clear, that if any one be made a bishop without the consent of his metropolitan, the great Synod defines that such ought not to be a bishop. If, then, two or three, on account of their own contentions, contradict the common decree of all, reasonable and approved according to ecclesiastical rule, let the sentence of the majority (*plurimorum*) obtain." In interpreting this canon, all recognize a certain comparison between the churches of Rome and Alexandria. Some hold that only the metropolitan's privileges as to episcopal appointments are established; others that the patriarchal rights are arranged

Protestants in general contend that by this canon the theory of Roman supremacy is subverted, for, they say, by it the Roman jurisdiction is restricted to the "suburban regions," which do not extend beyond the hundredth mile-stone from the Eternal City. And Rufinus of Aquileia certainly interpreted the canon as reading, "That in the Alexandrian diocese, and in the City, the ancient custom be preserved, that the former should have the care of Egypt, and the latter of the suburban churches." Photius, the prime author of the Greek schism, made considerable use of this canon in carrying out his design. But nothing is more sure than that, even after the Council of Nice, the Roman Pontiff was regarded by the entire Church as endowed with jurisdiction over the patriarchs. What then did the fathers of Nice mean to establish when they edited this sixth canon? In the first place, there is nothing in the canon to justify the Protestant interpretation of the reading of Rufinus. Why should that author be supposed, in the use of the phrase "suburban regions," to allude to that limited territory lying within the hundredth mile-stone from Rome? Why could he not have meant to signify the Western patriarchate? The canon assigns to the Alexandrian jurisdiction all the immense region of Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis; is it likely that Rufinus would have interpreted the same canon as giving to the great patriarch of the West only that narrow strip of territory commonly known as the suburban region? The Protestant reading of Rufinus is strained. The natural reading of the canon, and therefore the proper interpretation of the phrase of Rufinus, is that as the Roman Pontiff has immediate jurisdiction over the countries of the West, so the Eastern patriarchs should wield that authority over their respective regions which time and law had given them. And we should consider the circumstances which gave rise to this sixth canon. Meletius, the bishop of Lycopolis, had usurped the patriarchal rights of the bishop of Alexandria, and that bishop, Alexander, had complained thereof to the Council. The fathers therefore framed a canon in which, although incidentally legislating upon the appointing authority of the patriarchs, they protected in general all the

privileges of the great sees of Alexandria and Antioch, asserting that as the entire West was subject to the patriarchal sway of Rome, so the East should be divided between the patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch. In fine, we may say with Henry de Valois (1), that the citation from Rufinus is not a version, but a paraphrase, of the canon, and the adversaries of Rome have badly interpreted it. An authoritative interpretation of this sixth canon can be found in the 16th *Action* of the Council of Chalcedon. Paschasius, the Papal legate, having been asked to produce the canon of Nice which he had alleged against that Council's 28th canon, he thus recited it from his codex: "The Sixth canon of the 318 Fathers: That the Roman Church has always had the Primacy; let Egypt however hold, that the bishop of Alexandria has power over all, because such is the custom with the Roman bishop. Similarly also, for him who is constituted in Antioch, and in other provinces, let the churches of the greater cities have the primacy." Against this reading not one protested, but all answered, "We declare that the Primacy, and chief honor, according to the Canons, be preserved to the Archbishop of ancient Rome." That in this canon the primacy of Rome was asserted, Gelasius I. (492) certainly believed, since in his epistle to the Orientals concerning Acacius, he asked, "With what reason or sequence can deference be paid to the other sees, if the ancient reverence is not paid to the first see of Blessed Peter, through which the dignity of all priests is always strengthened and confirmed, and to which by the singular and invincible judgment of three hundred and eighteen fathers, the most ancient honor was adjudged?" So also opined Boniface I. (418-422), in his epistle to the bishops of Thessaly. "The institution of the Universal rising Church assumed its beginning in the honor of Blessed Peter, in whom its government resides. For from him as source, in the increasing regard for religion, ecclesiastical discipline spread through all the churches. The precepts of the Nicene Synod testify to nothing else, since it dared not to establish anything in regard to him above whose

(1) *Observations on a New Version of the Histories of Socrates and Sozomenus*, c. 1.

merit it saw nothing could be conferred; it knew in fine that to him everything had been conceded by the words of the Lord." In treating of this canon, and its paraphrase by Rufinus, the learned Oratorian, John Morin (1), holds that this writer understood the entire West by the term "suburban churches." He well observes that from the time of Augustus to that of Constantine, the whole world was regarded as "suburban" to Rome, that is, subject to its rule, and owing it all reverence and submission. No other city at that time disputed the palm of empire with Rome. But when Constantine transferred the imperial residence to Byzantium, the new capital was soon designated as the "governing city," the "New Rome." This method of distinguishing the two rivals was especially prevalent in the time of Arcadius and Honorius, when Rufinus lived. The empire was practically divided into two parts, the Eastern and Western; at the head of the one was Rome, of the other Constantinople. At this time, therefore, the entire world was no longer "suburban" to the Eternal City; only the West continued to be so designated. In the mind of Rufinus the "suburban churches" were all the Western churches which go to make up the Roman patriarchate, and hence his exposition of the sixth Nicene canon would be, "Let the bishop of Alexandria exercise throughout his subject dioceses all patriarchal rights, according to ancient customs, just as the bishop of Rome patriarchally governs the churches of the West." It may also be observed that the interpretation of Rufinus, granting it to be adverse to the claims of Rome, is of little value to our opponents, since its sincerity is liable to more than suspicion. He nourished profound hatred for the Roman Church, having been excommunicated by Pope Anastasius. Both Anastasius (2) and St. Jerome (3) use very severe terms in his regard. His authority is unreliable too on account of his ignorance. He makes out St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, to be bishop of the Apostles; he confounds Eusebius of Pamphili, an Arian bishop, with Pamphilus the martyr; he knows no differ-

(1) *Ecclesiastical Exercises*, No. 30.

(2) *Epist. to John of Jerusalem*.

(3) *2nd Apol. against Rufinus*.

ence between Sixtus, a Pagan philosopher, and St. Sixtus, Pope and martyr: he thinks a *chorepiscopus* is a bishop without a diocese. St. Jerome says of Rufinus, "he teaches what he knows not, he writes of what he is ignorant." "He talks so stinkingly (*sic*) and confusedly, that Jerome is more fatigued in reproving than Rufinus was in writing." "Thou hast so much knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages that the Greeks take thee for a Latin, and the Latins for a Greek." According to St. Jerome, Rufinus was in his writings "a solecist and barbarous," "a liar, impudent, and sly." Granted then that the term "suburban" used by Rufinus should be understood as it is by the adversaries of Rome, little can be gained by them by the allegation of such an authority (1). No more need be said of Rufinus; so much would not have been written, were it not that in his reading of the sixth Nicene canon is found the only apparent justification of the idea that the Nicene Council gave equal authority to the three patriarchs of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF SARDICA.

This Council was held by decree of Pope Julius I. in the year 347. It has not been generally mentioned, under its own name, as one of the Œcumenical Councils, because it was regarded as a kind of appendix to that of Nice. Again, to use the words of the learned Ballerini brothers (2), in enumerating those Councils, the decrees of which were to be received as so many gospels, the olden writers only thought of such synods as were held for the purpose of condemning some particular heresy, and the Synod of Sardica dealt only with the relics of Arianism, upon which the main attack had been made by the fathers of Nice. The

(1) In his 20th Dissertation, when treating of the 4th century, Natalis Alexander gives several instances of omission, addition, and interpolation of the Nicene canons, on the part of Rufinus.

(2) *The Ancient Collections and Collectors of Canons down to Gratian*, p. I., c. 7.

reason for its convocation was furnished by the calumnies of the Eusebian faction against St. Athanasius, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Asclepa of Gaza, and by the dissatisfaction evinced among those malcontents at the restoration of these prelates to communion by Pope Julius. This Pontiff presided over the Council by means of his legates, Hosius of Cordova, and the priests Archidamus and Philoxenus. We do not know to a certainty the number of bishops who attended the sessions, for Theodoret places the number at two hundred and fifty, while Socrates and Sozomenus say there were three hundred Western prelates, and seventy-six Orientals. St. Athanasius, in his *Apology*, says, that besides the sixty bishops who, before the Synod, attested in writing their belief in his innocence, there did the same at Sardica, ninety-two from the Italian provinces, thirty-four from Gaul, thirty-six from Africa, ninety-two from Egypt, fifteen from Palestine, and twelve from Cyprus; in all, that is, two hundred and eighty-four. But in the beginning of this same *Apology*, the saint tells us that there were at Sardica, bishops from Isauria, Pamphylia, Lycia, Galatia, Dacia, Thrace, Dardania, Macedonia, Epirus, &c., which would indicate that the number 284 did not comprehend all the fathers of the Synod.

Scarcely had the bishops assembled for the Council, when the Eusebian faction, to the number of eighty, retired to Philippopolis, where they held an independent Synod, retaining the name of "Council of Sardica." They took this action because the fathers would not commence the proceedings by ejecting Athanasius and his companions from their body. After their departure, the Council solemnly absolved Athanasius, Marcellus, Asclepa, and others who had been wickedly condemned by the Eusebians; and deprived of their bishoprics Valens, Ursacius, Narcissus, Stephen of Antioch, Acacius of Cæsarea, Menophant of Ephesus, and George of Laodicea. In their Synodical Epistle, notifying Pope Julius of their action, the fathers say that "it will be right and proper that the priests of the Lord, from all the provinces, refer all to the head, that is, to the See of the Apostle Peter."

With regard to the convocation of this Council, the same reasoning will apply that we have used in treating of the calling of the Nicene Synod. That Hosius, Archidamus and Philoxenus presided, appears from the 2nd *Apology* of Athanasius, in which he says, "Of those who subscribed in the Synod these are the names : Hosius from Spain ; Julius of Rome, through Archidamus and Philoxenus, his priests ; Protogenes of Sardica, &c." The factious prelates of Philippopolis prove the same in their Synodical Letter, "And since those who were with Hosius wished to violate the Catholic and Apostolic faith, &c." The Council of Chalcedon, in its allocution to the emperor Marcian, says that "Hosius presided over those who, at Sardica, pronounced sentence against the remnants of Arius."

Against the œcumenicity of this Council, the captious Archbishop De Marca, in his celebrated work on the *Concord of the Priesthood and the Empire*, b. 7, c. 3, holds that while it was general in the beginning, yet the curse and exit of the synod were such as to destroy all claim to œcumenicity. The Council was intended, he says, to be composed of the prelates of all the provinces, both Eastern and Western ; but the Philippopolitan secession reduced the synodical body to the dimensions of a Western, not a General, Council. To this we answer, in the first place, it is untrue that all the Orientals seceded, for the bishops of Palestine, Arabia, Egypt, and the neighborhood of Constantinople, remained and signed the decrees. This is proved by the heading of the Synodical Epistle sent by the fathers to the church of Alexandria. "The holy Synod, by the grace of God, congregated at Sardica, from Rome, Spain, Gaul, Italy, Africa, Sardinia, Pannonia, Mysia, Dacia, Noricum, Tuscany, Dardania, the second Dacia, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, Epirus, Thrace, Rhodes, Palestine, Arabia, Crete, Egypt, to the Priests and Deacons and the universal Church of God in the Alexandrian district, beloved brethren, health in the Lord." And the rebellious prelates themselves admitted that many Eastern bishops remained at Sardica. In their Synodical Epistle, they say, "An immense multitude of bishops, arriving from Constantinople

and Alexandria, drew together in Sardica, and having united them with themselves, Hosius and Protogenes held a Council." But granted that all the Orientals were Eusebians, and that all seceded from the Council, no argument can be deduced against the œcumenicity of the Council. It had legitimately assembled, in obedience to the call of the Roman Pontiff, and the secessionists had no legitimate motive for their defection. They were guilty of open schism, and when the decayed branches are lopped off, the vitality of the tree is not affected. If the Eusebian revolt impaired the authority of the Sardican Council, the 1st Council of Constantinople was not general, for there the Macedonians, against whom that body was convoked, were wanting; nor was the Council of Ephesus œcumenical, for there were absent John of Antioch and his suffragans; nor again were the Councils of Trent and of the Vatican General, for in each of these were unrepresented those sections of the Greek and other Oriental churches which yet cling to their schism.

The canons of Sardica are in number twenty or twenty-one. Of these, the third, fourth, and seventh, claim our attention. To these canons is assigned by some writers the origin of appeal to Rome. Among these authors the principal are De Marca, Quesnel, Dupin, and Febronius (Hontheim). They have been fully confuted by such polemics as Alexander, the Ballerinis, and most triumphantly by Zaccaria, in his refutation of Hontheim entitled "*Anti-Febronius*." So far as our limits permit, we propose to show that the Council of Sardica did not initiate the right of appeal to Rome, but that long before the time of that Synod that right had been recognized by the Christian world. It is not our province to prove that this right of receiving appeals pertains of necessity to the Papacy; that must be left to the dogmatic theologian. Our task is purely historical, and in strictly confining ourselves within our own domain, we shall see that our ancestors held what Gallicans used to regard as ultramontane views on this subject, and what all Protestants deny. The first instance of an appeal to the Roman See which we shall adduce is that of

Marcion, in the year 142. Marcion was a son of the bishop of Sinope, and after having followed the monastic life for some years, was raised by him to the priesthood. Having seduced a young woman from the path of virtue, he was excommunicated by his father, and as the discipline of the Church in the matter of fornication, &c., was in those days very severe, he in vain tried again and again to be restored to communion. He then resolved to appeal to Rome. Arriving in the Eternal City, he found the Holy See vacant by the death of Pope Hyginus. Not waiting for the election of a new Pontiff, Marcion laid his case before the Roman clergy, and begged to be received into their communion (1). Now the Roman clergy could not have admitted him to communion without previously quashing the sentence of his bishop; therefore, Marcion's action must be regarded as an appeal from an inferior's condemnation to the judgment of a superior. He must have argued, as did St. Cyprian in a similar emergency, that the See of Rome "was the principal church, whence arises ecclesiastical unity (2). The request of Marcion was rejected, both because of the canons which forbade the admission of any cleric not bearing commendatory letters from his own bishop, and because of the vacancy of the Roman See, the Supreme Pontiff alone having the power to grant the mitigation of discipline which Marcion besought.

Another example of an appeal to Rome, "whence the authority of this Church is more and more confirmed," is found by Constant (3) in the affair of Privatus in the year 250. This heretic had been condemned in a synod of ninety bishops, and the sentence had been confirmed by Donatus of Carthage and by Pope Fabian. Upon the death of the Pontiff, the cunning Privatus endeavored to prevail upon the Roman clergy to accord him communion, but with the same result as Marcion had achieved.

The African churches furnish us with another instance of appeal to the Holy See in the year 252. The election of St. Cyprian had been opposed by Felicissimus and four

(1) ST. EPIPHANIUS, *b.* 42.(2) *Ej. u.* 43, to *Cornelius*.(3) *Epist. Rom. Pont.*, *tom. v.*, *col.* 22.

other priests, and they had chosen a certain Fortunatus. Excommunicated by St. Cyprian, all five fled to Rome, and appealed to Pope Cornelius. The bishop of Carthage complained strongly because of this proceeding but not because he denied the right of a bishop to appeal to Rome; rather because he regarded Fortunatus as possessed of no episcopal privileges, he having been illicitly, though validly, consecrated. A short time previously, the African church had prohibited the recourse of priests to Rome, and of this decree we shall treat in a special chapter. It is sufficient for our purpose that Fortunatus, regarding himself as possessed of episcopal rights, appealed to Pope Cornelius, and that St. Cyprian, looking upon him as no bishop, only denied his right according to the African canons which applied only to priests. An event which happened two years later than the above will throw some light upon the matter. Two Spanish prelates, Basilides and Martial, had been deposed for crime, and in their places were installed Sabinus and Felix. The former appealed to Pope Stephen, and that Pontiff ordered their restoration to their sees. Sabinus and Felix then crossed into Africa, and begged the sympathy of St. Cyprian. This bishop in a synod decided that the Pope had been deceived by Basilides, but he did not deny his right to receive the appeal of the deposed prelate.

The history of Paul of Samosata presents a fact, which, though it may not be necessarily regarded as an appeal, yet shows that the authority of synods was not, at that time, thought to be superior to Papal revision. Protected by Zenobia, the powerful queen of Palmyra, he refused to give place to Domnus, in whose favor he had been deposed. After the victory of the emperor Aurelian over Zenobia, the Christian bishops complained to that sovereign against Paul, and he decided that the episcopal residence and appurtenances should be handed over to that one of the claimants "to whom the Roman bishop and the Italian prelates of the Christian religions should write" (1). Aurelian being a Pagan, and therefore but little conversant with Church matters, could scarcely have come to the conclusion of referring the question to so

(1) EUSEBIUS, VII., c. 30.

distant as that of Rome, and one too of different nationality and language, unless the idea had been suggested to him either by the Oriental bishops or by Paul himself. The former may have done so in all sincerity, the latter in the hope of gaining time. In either case, the conclusion is favorable to our position.

Very interesting, and at the same time apodictically conclusive for our cause, is the episode of the Donatist treatment of the consecration of Cæcilian of Carthage. The Donatists contended that Cæcilian could not have acquired any episcopal rights, since his consecration was at the hands of Felix of Aptonga, whom they designated a "traitor." With Secundus, primate of Numidia, and seventy other bishops of the same ilk, they formed a synod, and in place of Cæcilian appointed Majorinus. Speaking of the pretended deposition of Cæcilian, St. Augustine says, "he might well despise so strong a conspiracy of many bishops, hostile to himself, when he found himself in communion with the Roman Church, in which was always in vigor the principality of the Apostolic chair. . . . and before which he was ready to plead his cause"(1).

Here was a question of a bishop condemned by a synod convoked from many provinces, and yet Augustine deemed that he might breathe securely for the simple reason that Rome was with him. The holy bishop of Hippo certainly recognized, therefore, the right of Rome to hear and to pronounce in the cause of Cæcilian. And the appeal took place. The Donatists, seeing that the communion of Cæcilian with Rome fortified the position which he held among Catholics, asked the emperor Constantine to call a Council to settle the question, and requested that the Synod should be composed of French bishops. But Constantine, knowing that the bishops of Gaul had no jurisdiction in Africa, wrote to Pope Melchiades, asking him to examine the matter, in union with three Gallic prelates. Melchiades judged the case, but in his examination, he joined with himself fifteen other bishops, all Italians. This episode certainly furnishes

(1) *Epist.* 43, *alias* 182.

an instance of an appeal to Rome, forced, if you please, but yet an appeal.

Finally, the history of St. Athanasius shows us that the canons of Sardica did not introduce the right of appeal to the Holy See. Liberatus the Deacon (1), speaking of John Talaja, says that "taking from him (Calendion of Antioch) synodical letters of intercession, be appealed to the Roman Pontiff, Simplicius, *just as did the Blessed Athanasius.*" Alexandre denies that this action of Athanasius was an appeal (2); he styles it a *refugium*. Yet it is certain that Pope Julius condemned the Eusebians and absolved Athanasius; that is, he examined and reversed the judgment of the former. Socrates and Sozomenus declare that Pope Julius restored Athanasius and several other prelates to the sees of which they had been unjustly deprived (3); Celestine tells the people of Constantinople the same (4), and so does Gelasius, in a letter to the bishops of Dardania (5). St. Athanasius himself, in his 2nd *Apology*, says: "Not once, but frequently, was judgment pronounced in our favor; first, in our own province, when to that end about a hundred bishops assembled; secondly, at Rome, when we and the other adversaries of Eusebius stood on trial against his calumniating letters; finally, for the third time, in the great Council of Sardica."

We now pass to an examination of some of the canons of Sardica, and to a refutation of their interpretation by Febronius. In the collection of Dionysius the Little, the third canon reads thus: "If any bishop shall have been judged in any matter, and shall be persuaded that he has a good case, so that he may desire a second Council, if it pleases you, let us honor the memory of St. Peter the Apostle; let those who examined the matter write to Julius, the Roman bishop, that if he deems it right to revise the judgment, it be revised, and let him appoint the judges. But if he decides that the cause is not of a nature to war-

(1) *Breviary*, c. 18.

(2) For a refutation of Alexandre in this matter, see the *Anti-Febbronio* of Zaccaria, p. 2, b. 3, c. 2, No. 8.

(3) *Book 2*, c. 15; and *Book 3*, c. 8, respectively.

(4) *Epist. 14, Rom. Pont.*, col. 1143.

(5) *Idem*, ep. 13.

rant a revision of what was done, what he shall decree shall be confirmed. Does this please all? The synod answers: It pleases." This canon was proposed by Hosius, and as he took special care, in proposing the seventh canon, to express the idea of appeal, whereas here there is no such mention, we must conclude that he had no thought of appeal, just then, in his mind. Again, in no appeal does the judge communicate with the superior; that is the province of the condemned. Hence when Pope Zosimus wished to show the Africans that the right of appeal to Rome had been acknowledged by the synod of Sardica, he cited, not the third, but the seventh canon. But there is a question of appeal in the fourth canon, which reads as follows: "The bishop Gaudentius said: If it pleases, let there be added to the sentence full of goodness which you have proffered, that if any bishop be deposed by the judgment of the neighboring bishops (this is the second judgment) and declares his wish that his case be adjudged at Rome, (the third judgment), after the appeal of him who appears deposed, let no other bishop be ordained for his see, until his cause be defined by the decision of the Roman bishop." To the appellant then is conceded a third trial, although already two decrees of deposition have been pronounced, the first by the prelates of his own province, and the second by his neighbors, assigned to him as judges, according to the third canon, by the Roman Pontiff. But Hosius desired a more ample declaration to be made, so after the settlement of other matters in the fifth and sixth canons, we find the seventh speaking thus plainly: "Bishop Hosius said: It pleased, however, that if any bishop was accused and judged, and deposed by the bishops of his own province, and if he who is deposed appeals and has recourse to the bishop of the Roman Church, and wishes to be heard by him; if that bishop believes it just to revise the judgment, and the discussion of the cause, let him deign to write to the neighboring bishops of the next province, that they carefully look into everything, and deliver a true and just sentence. And if he who asks for another hearing of his cause, moves the Roman bishop to send a priest as legate,

that bishop will do as he deems fit. And if he decides upon sending legates who, with the bishops, will in his name give judgment, he will so do. But if he believes that the bishops suffice to put an end to the business, he will do what to his prudence shall seem the most expedient." (1)

Febronius contends that in these canons the fathers of Sardica did not acknowledge in the Pontiff the absolute right to entertain all appeals, but only a right to arrange a revision of the cause, and that too in the original province, and by a new intervention of the same provincial bishops who had already delivered judgment. This theory is as old as the time of Hincmar, who pronounces it in a letter written in the name of king Charles the Bald to Pope John 8, and before the advent of Hontheim it had been confuted by Alexandre (2) and by the Ballerinis (3). To any one even casually reading the seventh canon, it would seem that the right of *appeal* was very clearly stated, but Febronius asserts that in the Greek text the condemned bishop is said to be "like" or "as an appellant" (*osper ekkalesameños*); and what is more, he holds that the *appeal* does not refer to the Pope, but to the *new judgment* demanded by the accused. Since the Latin version of the canons is the original one, we cannot see why it should be explained by the Greek. But the Greek text does not *necessarily* give the force of the Latin *quasi*, "like" or "as," displaying mere similarity. *Osper* may just as naturally signify "as" in the sense of "thus," and the phrase would then run "thus appealing." As for Febronius' idea that the *appeal* refers, not to the Pontiff, but to the *new judgment*, the conjunction *and* binds the *appeal* with the *recourse* which assuredly is had to the Pope. But the context of the canons is against the theory of Febronius. And first, as to the assertion that they only accord to the Pontiff the power to assign new judges to act with the others in the original province. The seventh canon speaks only of the neighboring prelates, who certainly formed no

(1) This canon is the seventh in the Latin collections, and fourth in the Greek. All the canons were first written in Latin, and then drawn up in Greek. When the latter were arranged, the above canon was placed immediately after the third, since the subject matter of both was the same.

(2) *Fourth Cent.*, diss. 28, *prop.* 2.

(3) *Observations on Quesnel's diss.* 5.

part of the first tribunal ; the fourth canon also mentions them alone. The third canon says that the Pope should "appoint judges," but the judges of the first instance were already appointed, and if they were also to sit in the second tribunal, there would be but little chance of a remedy being given for any injustice of the first. As for the assertion that the canons do not allow the Pope to decide the cause in Rome, but only to arrange a revision in the province where the first trial took place, the form adopted by Hosius, "let him deign to write," shows that no law is imposed upon the Pontiff, but only a suggestion is offered as to an easy means of expediting the affair. And if the Pope could send legates to give judgment in his name, could he not deliver it by himself? Does not the fourth canon expressly state that after the second trial the accused could call upon the Pontiff to finish the question? This decision would necessarily be given not in the province, but in Rome.

But these canons of Sardica do not pretend to confer a new privilege upon the Roman See ; they reaffirm, and more clearly explain, an ancient right exercised whenever there were occasion and opportunity. Only the fourth and seventh canons touch upon the subject of appeal, properly so called, and of these the former supposes that such appeals are and have been made, while the seventh merely indicates a manner of entertaining them, and leaves the method to the pleasure of the Supreme Pontiff. When the latter canon says that the Papal legates possess the authority of him who designates them, can it be supposed that the framers thought that they were conferring a power never before enjoyed? But we have seen that those who came after the Council of Sardica did not conceive such an idea of its canons, and that long before it, the Roman Pontiffs had received and acted upon appeals from all parts of the world.

CHAPTER XX.

ALLEGED HERESY OF POPE LIBERIUS.

IN the year of our Lord 352, sixteenth of the reign of Constantius, son of Constantine, Liberius was elected to the Papal See to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Julius I. The circumstances of the time were difficult indeed, and none but a Pontiff of pre-eminent sanctity and prudence could have guided the ship of Peter with even moderate success. Arianism, perhaps the most powerful, though not the most immediately destructive, heresy, which the world has seen, was rampant throughout the world, and all the influence of the imperial authority was brought to bear to add to its already excessive audacity. At this time, Athanasius of Alexandria was the bulwark of Catholic orthodoxy in the East, and to defend him, therefore, and to be a good Catholic, were regarded as synonymous. The word *Homoousion* (Consubstantial), which the Council of Nice had added to the Creed, was looked upon as a test of belief in the Divinity of Christ. The word *Homoiousion* (Similar) was indicative of rank heresy, although there were some who persisted in its use, and in the rejection of the orthodox term, even while they held the Catholic doctrine. In the year 355, having again, after an interval of reconciliation, become opposed to St. Athanasius, the emperor endeavored to attract the Roman Pontiff to his aid. He sent to him the eunuch Eusebius with magnificent gifts, and when these failed, threats were employed. The sentiments of Pope Liberius are to be judged by his own answer to Constantius. "How can we condemn one who has been pronounced free from crime by two Synods, and whom the Roman Church has dismissed in peace? Who would approve of our action, if we were to be hostile to him absent, whom, when present, we have cherished and held in communion? The Ecclesiastical Canons run not thus, nor have we ever received such a tradition from the Fathers. But if the Emperor wishes in-

deed to exercise his care for Ecclesiastical peace, or if he wishes that which we have written in favor of Athanasius to be erased, let those things also be erased which have been written against him; let there then be held an Ecclesiastical Synod at a distance from the palace, where the Emperor is not at hand, nor any count is officious, nor any judge utters threats, and where the fear of God and the institutes of the Apostles alone suffice for everything, that in that place, before all else, the Faith of the Church be set forth, just as it was defined by the Fathers in the Nicene Council; then let all be ejected who are of the Arian opinion, and let their heresy be anathematized; then finally let a judgment on Athanasius be delivered, or upon any other person deemed guilty: and as many as are found guilty, so many let there be ejected, and as many as are pure, let them be absolved of guilt. For it cannot be allowed that those should sit in the Synod who are impious in belief, nor is it proper to question any one's deeds before we have security as to his religion. Every discord about faith is to be first abolished, and then action may be taken upon other things." The consequence of this worthy reply was the exile of the Pontiff into Thrace. On his way to punishment, Liberius had an interview with the sovereign, and as we know from St. Athanasius (1) he thus repelled the renewed attempts to seduce him: "Cease to persecute Christians. Do not try, through me, to bring heretical impiety into the Church. We Christians are prepared to sustain everything, ere we will suffer ourselves to be called Arians." Liberius also declared, "he thought it more important to keep the laws of the Church than to reside at Rome." When about to depart, he was offered a sum of money for his journey, in the name of the emperor, but he rejected it, saying: "Thou hast pillaged the churches of the earth, and now thou offerest me alms as to a guilty one! Go first, and become a Christian." Gibbon deems this spirited answer insulting. The exile of the Pontiff lasted three years, and was terminated by a decree of Constantius, in answer to the entreaties of the Roman matrons, on the occasion of his

(1) *Epistle to Solitaries.*

visit to the ancient capital. And now comes one of the most important questions that have ever challenged the investigation of the historian.

What change had come over Constantius that he so readily liberated the Pontiff, or rather, had any change taken place in Liberius? The character of the emperor had remained the same; it follows, then, say some, that the Pontiff yielded to the importunities of the sovereign, and to the cruelties of exile. This is a fearful accusation, and is made not only by the bitter enemies of the Church, but by those theologians who, writing before the Vatican Council had settled the vexed question of Papal Infallibility, readily seized upon every fact of history which might be brought to bear in favor of "Cis-montane" opinions. Gibbon says that "the Roman Pontiff purchased his return by some criminal compliances, and afterwards expiated his guilt by a seasonable repentance." Blondel, Basnage, and other Protestant authors, contend that Constantius did not accede to the prayer of the Romans, until Liberius had subscribed to the second of the Sirmian formulas, which was plainly heretical. Quite naturally, Jansenistic writers take the same view. Bossuet holds that the formula which the Pope signed was the most innocent of the three, but that he erred in thus conniving at a dissemblance of truth, for in this formula the consubstantiality of Christ to the Father was not stated. As at this time the communion of Athanasius was the true one, so, according to the Bishop of Meaux, Liberius was wrong in condemning him. Cardinal La Luzerne, who, though not a rank, was yet a firm Gallican, asserts that even if the Pontiff signed the first of the Sirmian formulas, he became guilty of heresy. There is a school of authors in which Liberius is treated with some consideration, but by which he is blamed for having condemned Athanasius and for communicating with the Eusebians; also for having signed the first formula of Sirmium, in which the word *Homousios*, the test of Catholic doctrine, was omitted. The most eminent of this class are Coustant and Mazocchi. Of the writers who defend Liberius from each and every charge, both of heresy and weakness, the most distinguished

are Cardinal Orsi, F. A. Zaccaria, Peter Ballerini and Palma.

The following are the arguments adduced by the authors who contend that our Pontiff was guilty of heresy: *First*, St. Hilary, at No. 11 of his book against Constantius, declares that he "does not know in which the Emperor showed the greater impiety; whether in the exile, or in the liberation of Liberius." The same saint, in the *Fragment* commencing, "For the fear of God," adduces an epistle of the Pope to the Orientals, in which he says: "I do not defend Athanasius, but as Julius, my predecessor of holy memory, had received him, I dreaded lest I should be deemed a prevaricator. But when I knew. that you had justly condemned him, I quickly assented to your decree. Therefore, Athanasius being deposed, with regard to which, all of your statutes are to be received by me and the Apostolic See, I say that I am united and at peace with all of you and all the Eastern Bishops. And that you may the more securely know that I proffer true faith in this letter, I have willingly accepted, without any contradiction, as it has been explained by our common brother, Demophilus, that Catholic faith which was discussed, explained, and received at Sirmium by all our brethren and fellow-bishops." There are three other epistles of Liberius in the *Fragments* of Hilary, all redolent of heterodox sentiment. Again, in the 6th *Frag.*, Hilary cries, "Anathema from me to thee, Liberius, and to thy companions!" And in *Frag.* 8, he says, "To the prevaricator and to the Arians I declare anathema." In No. 4 of *Frag.* 6 we have, "afterwards, when Liberius was sent into exile, all these things, which he had done or promised, he reduced to nothing, writing to the heretical Arian prevaricators who had pronounced unjust sentence against the orthodox Bishop Athanasius." *Second*, St. Jerome, in his *Chronicle*, says that "Liberius, conquered by the pain of exile, subscribed the heretical depravity, and entered Rome like a victor." And in his *Ecclesiastical Authors*, the holy doctor tells us that "the African Fortunatianus, bishop of Aquileia, is to be detested because he solicited, broke down, and compelled to an heretical subscription, Liberius, bishop of Rome." *Third*, the *Acts of Eusebius* show us the

Pontiff, after his return to the Eternal City, publicly teaching Arianism, and putting the priest Eusebius to death. *Fourth*, the *Pontifical Book*, of great weight with Bossuet, says that when Liberius arrived at Rome after his exile, he dared not to enter the city at once, but besought the aid of the princess Constantia; that Felix, the Anti-Pope, was then expelled; that Liberius entered, fraternized with the Arians, and persecuted the orthodox who refused to recognize his authority. At first glance, these four arguments seem to form a terrible indictment against Liberius, but they will not bear the sifting of impartial criticism.

Now as to St. Hilary, his remark as to the impiety of Constantius in the liberation of the Pope does not prove that the saint thought that the Pontiff had assented to the Emperor's conditions. We may answer with Zaccaria that this doubt of St. Hilary may be taken as rather oratorical than practical; that also there would have been some room for it, practically speaking, since the cruelty of Constantius in exiling the Pope was well matched by his wickedness in accompanying the liberation with a false rumor as to his defection. But we can account also for the saying of Hilary, if we reflect upon the outrageous decree of the Emperor that thereafter the government of the Church should be administered in common by Liberius and Felix. Such an abominable fashion of withdrawing from the difficulty that he himself had effected, might well cause Constantius to seem to the saint equally guilty in the exile and the pardon. As for the *Fragments* attributed to the holy bishop of Poitiers, they are forgeries. In the first place, a clear evidence of falsehood is shown in two of the alleged letters of Liberius herein quoted. They are the epistles beginning "Studious of peace" and "Because I know you." In these, Liberius is made to say that from the very commencement of his reign he had condemned Athanasius, and all authentic documents show that for a long time he was the most strenuous defender of the persecuted bishop. But all these *Fragments* are to be rejected. The sentiments contained in them are opposed to those found in the saint's authentic writings; they give everything which might

militate for the Pontiff's alleged Arianism, but say nothing of his celebrated orthodox letter. Rufinus declares himself dubious as to the defection of our Pope; now if he knew anything of the existence of these *Fragments*, he would not have been doubtful, and he says nothing of them. St. Jerome enumerates the works of Hilary, but is silent as to the *Fragments* (1).

As for the testimony of St. Jerome, expressly stating that Liberius signed an heretical formula, we may answer with Palma that it is allowable in matters of history to sometimes differ from even this great doctor. But it is far from certain that the *Chronicle* has come down to us uninterpolated; indeed, we have the testimony of Menochius that nothing pointing to a fall of Liberius is contained in the Christina MSS. of the Vatican, and that is certainly of the sixth or seventh century (2). Literary forgery was easier in the days of copyists than it is in our time, and the olden heretics were much addicted to the use of this weapon. Origen, Athanasius, and others were often put to trouble by these gentry; the first, indeed, owes to them the greater part, if not all, the suspicion as to his orthodoxy. What more natural then than to suppose the audacious Arians guilty of falsifying, in the case of so important a witness as St. Jerome? If our adversaries are unwilling to accept our supposition, as the only way of accounting for the singular and absolutely isolated position among all Catholic writers of antiquity, in which they place St. Jerome, we can only say that he was deceived, and that his sole opinion should not militate against the many positive arguments to the contrary. As for the accusation against Fortunatianus, taken from the book of the saint on *Ecclesiastical Authors*, Palma regards it as a proof that also this work of the great doctor has been mutilated. For, he argues, Fortunatianus would not have urged the Pontiff to encourage a heresy which he himself detested. Be this as it may, we may apply to our own use the answer which Alexandre gives to those who adduce this passage of St. Jerome to prove that Liberius must have signed the second (plainly heretical) formula of

(1) *Acts of the Bollandists*, Sept. 23.

(2) BARTHELEMY, *Errors*.

Sirrius. Believing that the Pope subscribed the first of the three formulas, the Gallican historian says that St. Jerome might well have blamed Fortunatianus for inducing Liberius to sign a formula in which the word *Homoousion*, which was regarded as a test of orthodoxy, was omitted, and for having brought about the condemnation of Athanasius; it by no means follows from this passage, he insists, that St. Jerome believed the Pontiff to have signed an expressly heretical document.

As to the "*Acts of Eusebius*," they were discovered in the fifteenth century, and were believed by Bossuet to be genuine. They purport to be a narrative of the martyrdom of a holy priest who suffered with the consent of the late convert to Arianism, our Pontiff Liberius. But these "*Acts*" show themselves to be of no value, since they speak of a dialogue between the Pope and Constantius in the year 359, and we know that the latter left Rome in 358, and never entered it again.

And what of the *Pontifical Book*? In the first place, Muratori holds that this Diary of the Popes, as it may be styled, was not begun until the eighth century. If this opinion be correct, we must deny the *Book* any value in the premises. At any rate, there are so many contradictions in the chapter from which the adverse testimony is taken, that we can place no reliance upon it, and must suppose at least that part to be an Arian forgery. Thus, it is said that Liberius was parloned by Constantius, but that he dared not enter Rome until he had made his peace with the Emperor through the intercession of Constantia. It is said too that the matter of dissension between the Pope and the Emperor was the question of rebaptism, a subject some time forgotten. We also read of an interview between Constantius and Liberius in the year 359, while the former was warring in Pannonia against the Sarmatians. We are told that the ex-intruder Felix died a natural death, but we know that he became a martyr to the faith.

Having now done justice to the arguments of our opponents, we would, before commencing our positive defence of Liberius, ask what would be the conclusion if all that has

been alleged were acknowledged as true. Alexandre and some others will answer that even in this case, it could not be held that the Pontiff became a heretic, for the formula which he signed (if he signed any) was tenable, though it omitted the "Homousion;" that even if he did condemn the saintly Athanasius, that would have been cowardice and not heresy. But the majority of those who strive so eagerly to besmirch the memory of Liberius, go further than Alexandre to obtain a *de facto* proof that the Roman Pontiff is not, by divine appointment, an infallible teacher. Now all their arguments go to show, first, that Liberius yielded to violence; second, that his conduct was that of a personal coward, not that of one wishing to teach the Universal Church—they prove, that is, nothing against the Catholic doctrine of Papal Infallibility.

But we propose to proceed further in this matter than a mere refutation of the Gallican and Protestant theories. It is admitted by all that Liberius was faithful up to the year 358, and the sole praise of his successor, Damasus, is enough to show that in his last years he was free from heretical taint. If any unworthy concessions purchased for him the privilege of returning to his See, we should find some allusions to them in those authors who treat of that return. But these writers furnish testimony to his innocence. Thus, Sulpicius Severus, in his *Sacred History*, b. 2, c. 49, says: "Liberius, bishop of Rome, and Hilarius, bishop of Poitiers, are exiled. . . . but Liberius is soon restored to the city *on account of the seditions of the Romans*." Socrates tells us, b. 2, c. 37, that "Not long afterwards, Liberius was recalled from exile, and resumed his chair, when the Roman people, having risen in rebellion, had expelled Felix, and the Emperor, *although unwilling*, had given his assent." But Theodoret speaks still more plainly in his *History*, b. 2, c. 15, where he narrates how the Roman senators sent their wives to Constantius as suppliants for the return of the Pope. Thus the nobles argued: "He may not forgive us who are men, but if you women entreat him, he may pardon you." The Emperor received their request, but answered that the Roman See was not a widow, since it had Felix for a spouse.

To this the matrons replied that the Roman citizens would not enter the church while Felix was in it, because though he himself held the faith of Nice, yet he communicated with those who did not hold it. "Then," continues Theodoret, "the Emperor being touched, he ordered that illustrious and praiseworthy man to come out of exile, and both (that is, Liberius and Felix) to administer the Church in common. When this epistle was read in the circus, the people exclaimed that the Emperor's decree was just. But the spectators soon divided into two factions. . . . one declaring for this Bishop, the other for that. . . . then with one voice all cried out, 'One God, One Christ, One Bishop.' After these acclamations of the most Christian people, full of piety and justice, the admirable Liberius returned." This conclusive testimony of Severus, Socrates, and Theodoret, is confirmed by Cassiodorus in the fifth book of his *Tripartite History*. That these four grave historians were well acquainted with the events of the fourth century, no one will deny, and their testimony will bear more to our point, if we consider with the learned Stilting (1) that it is very unlikely that the Arians and Semiarians would have omitted to sustain their cause by quoting any lapse in their favor made by a Roman Pontiff. They seized with avidity upon the fall of the unfortunate Hosius; would they have ignored that of his master? Not one of the many Greek or Latin fathers, who flourished in such number in the centuries immediately following Liberius, alludes to any fall, either directly, or by excuse of it, or by asserting his repentance.

A strong argument for the constancy of the Pontiff is found in the manner of his treatment of the Council of Rimini, held in 359. The fathers of this synod accepted a Profession of Faith which was Catholic in the letter, but which the usual frauds of the Arians easily perverted to a comfort of heresy. Liberius condemned their action, and only pardoned them on condition that they should condemn the accepted Profession, issue one conformable to that of Nice, and cease all communication with the Arians. We find in Socrates (2) an epistle of the Pontiff to the Orientals, in which he says :

(1) BOLLANDISTS, *Sept.* 23, § 9.(2) *Book* 4, c. 12.

“For very nearly all of those who were then assembled at Rimini, and were deceived, partly by seduction, and partly by fraud, are now returned to a healthy state of mind, and have anathematized the formula of faith issued by the Council of Rimini, and have subscribed to the form of Catholic and Apostolic faith once edited at Nice ; and having entered into our communion, they are now moved by the greatest indignation against the doctrine of Arius and his disciples.” Such words are not consistent with the supposition that the writer himself had been guilty, but a few months before, of the same, if not a greater crime.

Of no light weight is the argument drawn from the affection of the Roman people for Liberius, for both the clergy and the laity of Rome were intensely hostile to Arianism and devoted to Athanasius. Sozomenus says, in his *History*, book 4, c. 15, “The Roman people loved Liberius without measure, as a man in every sense illustrious, and one who, for the sake of religion, had bravely resisted the emperor.” And Theodoret, in book 2, c. 27, says of the intruder Felix that “He preserved entire and inviolate the formula of faith drawn up by the Nicene fathers. But with those who tainted it, he freely communicated, and for that reason none of the Roman citizens entered the church while he was inside.” Would not this affectionate admiration for Liberius have ceased, if he had made shipwreck of his faith, of that faith of Nice which they so jealously cherished? They twice drove Felix from the city for merely communicating with heretics, and they continued to love him who had acknowledged and professed the heresy itself?

The reader will have noticed that the heart of the Liberian controversy lies in the Pontiff's subscription to one of the formulas of faith drawn up at Sirmium. It is now proper for us to see to which one of these documents the Pontiff put his name, if indeed he signed any one of them, and to discover its nature. Baronius holds that all three of the formulas in question were edited in the Sirmian synod of 351, held against Photinus, but Nicholas Faber (1) and Alexandre prove that only the first one was issued by

(1) *Preface to FRAGM. of St. Hilary.*

that synod. The second document saw the light in the year 357, and the third in the year 359. The first formula sins by omission, as all that it contains is Catholic, but it lacks the "*Homœousios*;" the second is unmitigatedly Arian, the third is Semiarian. We propose to show that Liberius could not possibly have signed the second or third; that therefore the first, if any whatever, should claim our attention. Pagi and Valois hold that the Pope subscribed the third formula; the following reasons will show they are mistaken: Firstly, Valois himself holds (1) that the third synod of Sirmium was celebrated in the year 359, in the consulship of Eusebius and Hypatius, and that Marcus Arethusius drew up the formula. But the one (if any) signed by Liberius is the one to which the sixth *Fragment* of Hilary alludes as "that perfidy of Sirmium which Liberius calls Catholic," and which was drawn by many bishops whose names are given. Again, this third formula did not appear until the year 359, and Liberius had been pardoned the year previous. How then could this document be connected with his restoration to freedom? Nor did he sign the second formula, for the reason that its profession of Arianism was so patent, so void of mystification, that no possible art could have cleansed the signer of the stain of heresy. In case the Pontiff had signed that document, there would have been no room for doubt as to his crime, and our opponents must admit that there are some points indicating his innocence. But we are not wanting in reasons extraneous to the nature of the paper. It is not likely, says Alexandre, that Liberius signed that formula which Constantius himself had condemned, through the agency of Basil of Ancyra. The Pontiff was called to Sirmium after the Anomœans (2) had been driven from Antioch by the Emperor, and when already the second formula had been thrust aside as a hideous abortion. Again, we know from the book *on Synods* of Hilary that, excepting the avowed Arians, the unfortunate Hosius was the only one to accept this formula. And the document which Li-

(1) *Notes to SOZOMENUS*, b. 2, c. 30.

(2) The Anomœans were the ultra Arians, who held that the Son was *anomoios*, dissimilar to the Father. Their leader was Aetius.

berius is said to have signed was subscribed by twenty-two bishops, all Orientals, while the second formula was drawn by Western prelates, as we learn from Athanasius, Socrates, and Hilary. This formula bears the names of Hosius and Potamius, while that attributed to the Pope makes no mention of these bishops. Finally, among the signers of the document assigned to Liberius are numbered Theodore of Heraclea, Basil of Ancyra, and Silvan of Tarsus, all of whom must be excluded from any connection with this second formula: Theodore (1), because he died two years ere it was issued; the others because at the very worst, they were Semiarians, and detested those Anomœan errors which are found in it.

There remains, therefore, only the first formula, promulgated in the year 351, to which Liberius could possibly have subscribed. If this is examined, the charge of heresy, which is brought against the Pontiff, must fall to the ground. It reads as follows: "We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, creator and maker of all things, in whom all pater-nity is in Heaven, and is named on earth. And in His Only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, generated before all ages from God the Father, light from light, through whom were made all things in Heaven and on earth invisible as well as visible; He is the Word and Wisdom, true light and life, and in the later days was made Man and was born of the Holy Virgin, crucified, dead, and buried; He sits at the right hand of the Father, and is to come at the end of time to judge the living and the dead, and will render to each one according to his works; whose Kingdom never-ending will last for infinite ages; He sits at the right hand of the Father, not only in this time, but in the future. And in the Holy Ghost, that is, the Paraclete, whom, having promised Him to the apostles, after His ascent to Heaven He sent to teach them and to advise them in all things. Through whom are sanctified all souls which sincerely believe in Him." Now, although the word *Homoousios* is not found in this profession, yet there is nothing in it repugnant to the Catholic doctrine on the divinity of the Word. The omission should not have

(1) THEODORET. *b.* 2 c. 16.

been allowed, for an insertion of the term "Consubstantial" was regarded by the orthodox as a safeguard to the true faith. But all those who omitted it were not regarded, in the time of Athanasius, as necessarily heretical. There never was a more strenuous defender of the word *Homoousios* than the holy bishop of Alexandria, and yet he says in his book on *Synods*, No. 41, "It is not right to regard as enemies those who accept all the other Nicene writings, and hesitate only as to the word 'Consubstantial' for we dispute as brothers with brothers, who are of the same opinion as ourselves, bringing a name alone into controversy. For when they avow that the Son is from the substance of the Father, and from no other substance; that He is not a creature or a thing made, but a genuine and real Son, the Word and Wisdom, existing one with the Father, they are not far from receiving the term "Consubstantial."

And now we may conclude our dissertation on the orthodoxy of the holy Liberius. We have seen that the arguments against him are not tenable, that there is abundant positive evidence in his favor, and that if he signed any one of the Sirmian formulas, it was one which was innocent of heresy. As the opinion of the Greek Church in this matter may be of interest to some, we will finish with a quotation from the ancient *Menology*, a liturgical book in use in both the United and Schismatic Churches, and corresponding to the Roman *Martyrology*. At the date of Sept. 27th, we read, "The blessed Liberius, defender of the truth, was bishop of Rome while Constantius was Emperor. His zeal caused him to defend the great Athanasius afterwards, Liberius contended with all his might against the malice of the heretics, and was exiled to Beræa in Thrace. But the Romans, who loved and venerated him, were faithful to him and entreated the Emperor to restore him. He returned to Rome, where he governed his flock in wisdom and died."

With the question of the fall or innocence of Pope Liberius is intimately connected the controversy as to the place due to Felix, the occupant of the Papal chair during the exile of the former. Bellarmine, Baronio, and a few others, contend that he was, at least for a time, a legitimate Pon-

tiff, and hence they style him Felix II. Papebroch and Zaccaria hold that Felix was a vicar of Liberius. Christian Lupus, Dupin, Alexandre, Tillemont, and Orsi, place him among the Anti-Popes, and it is difficult to refute their arguments. If there was any time when Felix was a legitimate Pontiff, it was when Liberius was in exile, and only then, because Liberius had abdicated. But nothing in history is more certain than that Liberius never abdicated ; and if he had done so, Felix should have become his successor in a legitimate manner, and not through the intrigues of the Arians and the violence of Constantius. Nor can an argument for the legitimacy of the claims of Felix be deduced from the fact that some of the ancient records number him among the saints. Granting that he is not confounded, in these documents, with Pope St. Felix I., it does not follow, because he became a saint, that he was never an Anti-Pope. Upon the return of the legitimate Pontiff, he may have repented of his usurpation, and during his last years of life, while, as Philostorgius says (1), "he retained the dignity of bishop, but governed no church," he may have advanced to heroic sanctity.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE COUNCIL OF RIMINI.

In the year 358, the emperor Constantius endeavored to put an end to the dissensions of the Eastern Church, by calling a synod at Nicomedia. This city, however, being devastated by an earthquake, Nice was chosen as the place of meeting. Another earthquake prevented, as Theodoret thinks (2), the Arians from desecrating, as the event proved, the city where was issued the great decree upon the Divinity of Christ. In 359, therefore, a Council was ordered to assemble

(1) *History*, b. 4, n. 5.

(2) "God, who does not cease to protect His Church, would not have the Council held here, lest the Arians should take advantage of the name of the place, and by styling the Synod Nicene, should circumvent simple minds." *Hist.*, b. 2, c. 26.

at Rimini in the Romagna, but by the advice of the Arians, the Eastern bishops left Rimini to the Westerns, and betook themselves to Seleucia, in Isauria. St. Athanasius tells us, in his book on *Synods*, that four hundred bishops met at Rimini (1). Julianus Pelagianus (2) puts the number at six hundred and fifty, but St. Athanasius is the more reliable of the two authors, and is corroborated by good authority. When the prelates had met, Valens and Ursacius, obstinate Arians, brought forth the third formula of Sirmium, in which the Son was declared, according to the Scriptures, similar to the Father, and asked the Council to approve of it, as it pleased the emperor. The bishops rejected it, and deemed it sufficient to declare their reception of the Nicene Creed. Ursacius, Valens, Germinius, Auxentius, Caius, and Demophilus, were then condemned as heretics (3). Ursacius and Valens now visited Constantius, and so worked upon his Arian sympathies that when the Council's messengers waited upon him for license for the prelates to depart to their homes, he refused to receive them. He had too much to attend to; he was preparing for a campaign against the Barbarians; when he was at leisure, he would listen to them. But if he trusted that the bishops would become tired out, and would reconsider their condemnation of Ursacius and his companions in heresy, he was mistaken, for all the synodals sent him word that they had instructed their legates to inform him that their decision was final (4). When Constantius received this message, he caused several bishops to be taken to Nice in Thrace, and there, some out of simplicity, and others from fear, they were induced to sign a formula only differing from the third of Sirmium in that it declared the Son "similar to the Father in all things," while that of Sirmium presented the Son as "similar to the Father who begat Him, according to the Scriptures." This Thracian formula was then offered to the fathers of Rimini, and they signed it. On account of this action, they have sometimes

(1) In his *Epistle to the Africans*, Athanasius says two hundred, but Baronio thinks that this document has been corrupted..

(2) In St. Augustine: *Imperfect Work*, b. 1, c. 73.

(3) SOCRATES; b. 2, c. 29. THEODORET, b. 2, c. 18. SOZOMENUS; b. 4, c. 16.

(4) *Ibi*.

been accused of heresy, and we now proceed to inquire into the justice of the accusation.

The following, according to St. Jerome (1), is from the Profession of Faith given in the *Acts* of the Council of Rimini, to which the members subscribed: "We believe in one true God, the Father Almighty. We also believe this. We believe in the only-begotten Son of God, who was born before all ages; born the only-begotten of God the Father alone, God from God, similar to the Father according to the Scriptures; whose nativity no one knows, but the Father who begat Him." St. Jerome then continues his own remarks: "Was it here inserted that there was a time when He was not, or that the Son of God is a creature? The perfect faith is the belief that He is God from God. And they said that He was born, the only-begotten from the Father alone. What means 'born'? Certainly not 'made.' Nativity removes a suspicion of His being a creature. They also added: 'Who descended from heaven, was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, was crucified under Pontius Pilate, the third day He arose from the dead, He ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father, to come to judge the living and the dead.' The words sounded piously, and amidst so much honey of praise, no one suspected any insertion of poison. . . . For the rejection of the word *ousia*, a plausible reason was given, that it is not found in the Scriptures, and it scandalizes the more simple by its novelty; the bishops cared not for the word, if the meaning were safe. But at last, in the course of time, when popular rumor had it that a fraud had been practised in the Profession, Valens, bishop of Mursia, who had written it in the presence of Taurus, the Pretorian prefect, who was at the synod by order of the emperor, declared that he was not an Arian, and that he detested their blasphemies. The secrecy of the thing had not destroyed the popular opinion. And hence, another day, in the church of Rimini, many bishops and a crowd of laics being present, Musonius, a Byzantine prelate, whose age gave him honor among all, spoke thus: 'Let one of us read to your Holinesses the common

(1) *Dialogue against the Luciferians.*

reports which have reached us, that the evil things, which ought to be abhorrent to our ears and hearts, may be unanimously condemned.' All the bishops replied: 'It pleases.' And then when Claude, a Picene bishop, had begun to read the blasphemies which rumor ascribed to Valens, this prelate denied that they were his, and cried out: 'If any one denies that Christ is God, the Son of God, and born of the Father before the ages, let him be anathema.' And all answered: 'Anathema.' 'If any one denies that the Son is similar to the Father, according to the Scriptures, let him be anathema.' And all replied: 'Anathema.' 'If any one says that the Son is not eternal with the Father, let him be anathema.' All called 'Anathema.' 'If any one says the Son of God is a creature, like other creatures, let him be anathema.' In the same way was cried 'Anathema.' 'If any one says the Son is not from God the Father, let him be anathema.' All exclaimed 'Anathema.' If any one says there was a time when the Son was not, let him be anathema.' At this, all the bishops, and the entire audience, with great joy and applause, saluted the words of Valens. If any one deems this a fiction of ours, let him examine the public archives; the records of the churches are full, and the memory of these things is recent. Men yet survive who were at that synod, and to confirm the truth, the very Arians do not deny that the proceedings were as we have said. While then all were extolling Valens to the skies, and were condemning and repenting of their suspicion of him, the same Claude, who had begun to read, said: 'There yet remain a few words which have escaped my lord and brother Valens, which, if you please, that no scruple may remain, we will together condemn. If any one says that the Son of God was indeed before all ages, but not so before all time, that nothing was before Him, let him be anathema.' And all said: 'Anathema.' And many other things which seemed suspicious, after Claude pronounced them, Valens condemned. If any one desires to learn more, he will find them in the Acts of the Synod of Rimini, from which we have drawn the above. These things done, the Council was dissolved, and all return joyful to their prov-

inces But crimes are not long hidden, and a badly-healed wound opens again. Afterwards Valens, Ursacius, and other of the companions in iniquity, illustrious priests of Christ, commenced to clap their hands, saying they had not denied that the Son was a creature, and that he was like unto other creatures. There were certain bishops, deceived by the snares of Rimini, who when they were unwittingly regarded as heretics, protested by the Body of the Lord, and by all that is holy in the Church, that they had suspected no evil in the Profession. ‘We thought,’ said they, ‘that its sense agreed with its words; nor did we fear that in the Church of God, where there is a pure Confession, one thing would be expressed by the lips, and another be hidden in the heart. We were deceived by our good opinion of evil men; we did not think that priests of Christ would combat against Him.’ And weeping, they said much more, which, for brevity, I omit; they were prepared to sign the old Profession, and to condemn all the Arian blasphemies.” This testimony of St. Jerome abundantly proves that the fathers of Rimini signed a Profession of Faith which was, in itself, orthodox; that when they discovered the fraud of Valens and Ursacius, they condemned Arianism and the Arians.

The same fact is evinced from the following passage of the historian, Sulpicius Severus (1): “The emperor forced our legates to the synod of Rimini to join the heretical communion, and gave them a Profession drawn up by the wicked, one couched in deceiving terms, which presented Catholic truth, while perfidy was latent. For, lest the Son should be believed to be of the same substance with the Father, they abolished, under a false species of reasoning, the word *ousia*, as ambiguous and rashly adopted by the Fathers, and not authorized by the Scriptures. The same Profession declared the Son similar to the Father, but there was the fraud prepared, that He should be similar, not equal. . . . Valens, as though he were helping our cause, added a sentence in which there was a hidden trap, namely, that the Son of God was not a creature like other creatures. For in those words,

(1) *History*, b. 2.

in which the Son is declared not like other creatures, He is nevertheless pronounced a creature, although more powerful than the rest."

St. Augustine indeed informs us that the Arian poison infected many at the Council of Rimini, but he attributes the calamity of the fallen prelates to their simplicity: "Because they were of little intelligence, and were so deluded by obscure language, that they thought the Arians believed as they believed" (1). He adds that some yielded to fear, but that they immediately recovered their strength. St. Hilary uses similar language (2).

There certainly are some pretty strong passages in the writings of certain Fathers, which seem to affix the mark of heresy upon the bishops of Rimini. Thus, Liberius (3), Basil (4), Ambrose (5), and Facundus (6), present isolated remarks which, at first sight, would indicate a belief that these prelates were formally guilty. But when these Fathers, in this connection, speak of Arian poison and of Arian dogma, they allude either to the Arian communion, to which the deceived prelates temporarily adhered, or to that insidious Profession which the Arians had arranged for the implicit defence of their heresy. These Fathers believed with Facundus (7) that "a heretic is not made by that ignorance which is not contumacious to true doctrine, but by that which is an obstinate defence of falsehood." There is one passage of St. Jerome (8), however, which demands more than casual notice: "Then was abolished the word *ousia*; then was acclaimed the condemnation of the Nicene Faith. The whole world groaned, and wondered to find itself Arian." This hyperbolic saying of the great doctor does not necessarily mean that the bishops of Rimini voted the entire discontinuance of the word *ousia*; that they rejected that Nicene Faith which they had hitherto professed and afterwards acclaimed; that the entire world had abandoned the orthodox faith. The saint is indignant because of the suppression of a word which was a great obstacle to Arian

(1) *Epist.* 48.

(2) *Epist. to the Eastern Bishops.*

(3) *Epist.* 11 to the Easterns.

(4) *Epist.* 52, to Athanasius.

(5) *On St. Luke*, c. 6.

(6) *Book* 5, c. 3.

(7) *B.* 12, c. 1.

(8) *Dialogue against the Luciferians.*

progress ; the Nicene Faith was joyfully rejected, not at Rimini, but after the synod there held, and by the Arians who boasted that the Catholic bishops had agreed with them in their Profession ; the whole world could not have been Arian, when even the fathers of Rimini were not Arian. St. Athanasius testifies (1) that these prelates, impelled by the laudable desire of peace, subscribed to a Profession which was apparently orthodox. As for the last clause of St. Jerome's rhetorical passage, we know that there were far more Catholics than Arians in the world. The peoples of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, Samosata, and Milan, resisted with all their might the intrusion of Arian bishops in those sees. The immense numbers of monks and hermits, who almost robbed the Egyptian desert of its name, were, according to Athanasius, ardent defenders of the Nicene Creed. St. Basil (2) testifies that the immense majority of Christians were orthodox ; Socrates (3) and Sozomenus (4) say that the Westerns, generally speaking, hated Arianism, while in the East the disaffection was principally confined to the use of the word " consubstantial." Although so closely dependent upon the emperors, the very soldiers, according to Theodoret (5), were Catholic ; so much so, that Julian, at the beginning of his reign, dared not openly show his hostility to the faith. St. Athanasius says to the emperor Jovian (6) : " Know then, most religious Augustus, that this is the faith, professed by the Fathers congregated at Nice, with which agree all the churches of the earth ; those of Spain, Britain, and the Gauls ; those of all Italy, Dalmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Macedonia, and all Achaia ; all those of Egypt and Lybia, of Pontus, Cappadocia, and the neighboring regions ; all those, also, of the East, excepting a few who follow the opinion of Arius. . . . Although a certain few contradict this faith, we know, most religious Augustus, that they are of no prejudice to the entire world." Lucifer of Cagliari thus urges the Arian emperor Constantius (7) : " If

(1) *Epistle to Rufinian.*(4) *B. 3, c. 12.*(2) *To the Neo-Cæsareans, 72 and 75.*(5) *B. 3, c. 3.*(3) *B. 2, c. 22.*(6) *Synodical Epistle on Faith, in Theodoret, b. 4, c. 3.*(7) *We Should Die for the Son of God.*

you could go among all the nations, you would find, most obstinate emperor, that everywhere the Christians believe as we do, that they persist in this faith, and like us, desire to die for the Son of God. But this new preaching, this recent religion, this blasphemy uttered by you, to the detriment of your salvation, has not only been unable to progress beyond the Roman confines, with all your efforts, but wherever it has tried to fix its roots, it has withered." It is evident, therefore, that the quoted passage of St. Jerome must be regarded as hyperbolical.

CHAPTER XXII.

SECOND GENERAL COUNCIL ; FIRST OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

This Council was called to take action against the heresies of Macedonius and Apollinaris, and to put an end to troubles in the churches of Constantinople and Antioch. Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, successively an Arian and a Semiarian, finally denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, asserting that He is not of the same substance as the Father and the Son. Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, taught that Christ took from Mary a body without a soul ; that then He assumed a soul, but one wanting mind, the Divine Word taking the place of mind and intellect. He erred also in his doctrine as to the flesh of our Lord, for he held that the Word and flesh were one and the same substance, since the "Word was made flesh ;" that is, he taught, something of the Word was changed into flesh, and the flesh of Christ was not taken from that of Mary. Against these two heresies the Council took immediate action. Its sessions commenced in May, 381, and lasted until the end of July. At first, Meletius of Antioch was its president, but, dying during the synod, he was succeeded by St. Gregory of Nazianzen. This latter abdicating his see of Constantinople, Timothy of Alexandria was called to the

head of the Council, and finally the presiding chair was given to Nectarius, the successor of St. Gregory Nazianzen. The synod was attended by a hundred and fifty bishops, all Orientals. In the beginning it did not possess the authority of an Œcumenical Council, for it was convoked by the emperor Theodosius, and to it the Occidental prelates were not invited; but the character of œcumenicity was affixed to it when its acts were confirmed by the Holy See. This occurred, in regard to its Symbol and its definitions of faith, shortly after the Pontificate of Gelasius; but its canons were not accepted in the West for some time afterwards. St. Gregory the Great (el. 590) says: "The Roman Church does not as yet hold, nor has she accepted, the canons and acts of this Synod; but she has received that which was defined against Macedonius."

Before their separation the fathers of this Council wrote to Pope Damasus, relating their acts in regard to faith and discipline, and asking that he and the Western bishops "would rejoice with them, that when the Word of God shall be established by common consent and Christian charity be confirmed among us, we may cease to say 'I am of Apollo, and I of Cephas.'"

(1) From this passage Bossuet concludes that the Constantinopolitan prelates held that the assertion of a dogma of faith is to be sought, not in a Pontifical definition, or approbation, but in the common consent of the bishops. But the passage of St. Gregory above quoted shows that the Pope considered his authority as superior to the decrees of the Council. However, as this may be regarded as inconclusive, we adduce the testimony of the Sixth General Council. Although in the Second Œcumenical Council Pope Damasus was present, neither in person nor through his legates, yet the fathers of the Sixth Council declared that to him was principally due the destruction of Macedonianism. This could only have been by the posterior confirmation of the anti-Macedonian decrees, by which they obtained an irrefragable authority. The Council, in its eighteenth *Action*, uses the following language: "Macedonius denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, but

(1) *Defence of the Declaration*, . 12, c. 8.

the great emperor Theodosius, and Damasus, the adamant of faith, whose strong mind was not to be affected by the attacks of outside sects, and Gregory and Nectarius, brought together that Synod in the imperial city." For what other reason could these fathers of the Sixth Council have styled Damasus "the adamant of faith" in connection with Macedonius, than that of his confirmation of the decrees condemning that heretic? They knew that without that confirmation the decrees were null. They agreed, in fine, with the prelates whom Damasus united in Synod at Rome to confer upon the lately held Council of Rimini, who said that, "The number of the bishops who were collected at Rimini can have no influence. . . . for neither the Roman bishop, whose sentence before all others should have been awaited," &c. If then the Constantinopolitan fathers asked for the consent of Pope Damasus, they did so, not in accordance with the theory of Bossuet, because they deemed common consent desirable in definitions of faith, but because they knew that without the concurrence of the Pontiff their decrees were of no value. Bossuet himself cites a passage from Sozomenus, b. 6, c. 21, showing how, when Pope Liberius had defined that the Holy Ghost is Consubstantial with the other Divine Persons, the opponents "rested their cause, as the controversy was ended by the judgment of the Roman Church, and the question was seen to be terminated." If it was the belief of those times that only the consent of the various churches could put an end to controversies of faith, as the Gallicans once held, how could the sole decision of Rome terminate this one?

One of the most important acts of the Second General Council was the addition, by way of explanation, of several clauses to the Nicene Creed. First, to the clause "maker of all things visible and invisible" was added "of heaven and earth" against the Marcionites, and the Manicheans, who asserted the doctrine of two Principles. Secondly, was inserted "born before all ages," to combat the teaching of Photinus that the Word was not eternal but temporal, having an origin in the womb of Mary, and in the man Christ. Thirdly, the heresy of Apollinaris caused the introduction

of "by the Holy Ghost, of the Virgin Mary." Fourthly, where the Nicene Creed reads only "suffered," the sixth synod inserted the words "was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and was buried." It also added, "He sitteth at the right hand of the Father," and "He is to come again in glory." And as Apollinaris taught the doctrine of the millennial reign of Christ, and to Marcellus of Ancyra was imputed the assertion that Christ would one day surrender His kingdom to the Father, and then be reduced to the order of the just, the Council wrote "of whose kingdom there shall be no end." Fifthly, to further confound the Macedonian errors as to the Holy Ghost, was introduced the passage from "Lord and Life-Giver" to "the holy prophets." Sixthly, was added the concluding clause, beginning with "and in one Holy, Catholic Church," and terminating with the "Amen." As to the assertion, made by some, that Pope Damasus added the celebrated clause "*Filioque*," "And from the Son," to the Constantinopolitan Creed, there is no foundation whatever for it (1). In the Roman Church, this addition was probably made in the time of Pope Nicholas I. (858), as we gather from the Encyclical sent by the heresiarch Photius to the Orientals. Finally, in the second Council of Lyons (1274), the phrase was solemnly sung thrice in the Creed by both Greeks and Latins, but by special indult the former were permitted to omit it in their churches; and in the Council of Florence (1439), when the dogma of the Procession of the Holy Ghost was confirmed, the Universal Church approved of the addition.

The Second General Council issued only three canons, as is shown by Dionysius the Little, and by the synodical epistle sent in 382 by Nectarius to Pope Damasus. The seven canons contained in the collection of Isidore *Mercator* are in substance our three; the first corresponds to our first; the second, third, fourth, and fifth, form our second; the sixth is our third; the seventh is not properly a canon, as it is the Symbol of Faith. Of these canons, the third alone is of special interest to us. In it the fathers decreed, "Let the bishop of Constantinople have the primacy of honor

(1) ALEXANDRE; 4th Cent., diss. 37, art. 3.

after the Roman bishop, because that city is the younger Rome." By this canon, which gave to a bishop, hitherto subject to Alexandria, the patriarchal dignity, and jurisdiction over all the Thracian, Pontian, and Asiatic dioceses, a radical revolution was wrought in Oriental discipline; and while it could but be received with joy by the Constantinopolitans, it must have weighed heavily upon the hearts of the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, the former being now relegated to the third seat in the hierarchy, and the latter to the fourth. A see which, fifty years before, had been a modest member of the provincial synod of Heraclea, found itself now raised to a position second only to that of Rome. The Roman Pontiffs, ever zealous for the rights of each and all of the churches, for a long time resisted the encroachments authorized by this third canon, and only recognized it when the entire East was willing, nay desired, that it should be acknowledged. In the year 418, Pope Boniface I. thus reproved Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, for his arrogance in lording it over the bishop of Alexandria: "I leave it to your Fraternity to better understand who is master in humility, who in pride. But be it far removed from the priests of the Lord that any of them fall into the guilt of contemning the example of the fathers by any new usurpation. . . . If circumstances require, you can discover, by searching the canons, which is, after the Roman Church, the second see, which the third. Let the aforesaid great churches of Alexandria and Antioch preserve the dignity granted them by the canons, keeping a knowledge of ecclesiastical law." And Pope Sixtus III. (elect. 432), writing to the bishops of Illyria that they should not obey the bishop of Constantinople, said, "Do not deem yourselves bound, dear brothers, by those constitutions which the Oriental Synod willed to decree, against our commands; only in that (are you bound) which, with our consent, it adjudged concerning the faith." After the condemnation of Eutychianism in the Council of Chalcedon (451), when most of the fathers had left the city, a canon was rushed through, in spite of the protests of the Papal legates, confirming this third canon of Constantinople. Those who had signed the

canon endeavored, assisted by the emperor Marcian, to obtain the approbation of Pope Leo the Great, but in vain. All three of the Constantinopolitan canons were rejected in the Council of Chalcedon, for the Papal legates cried out, when an oriental codex containing them was introduced, "These canons are not found in the Synodical records." And for a long time afterwards the Supreme Pontiffs declared that the Church did not receive said canons. It is true that in the 16th *Action* of Chalcedon, Eusebius of Dorylæum, speaking of the third canon, says: "I have willingly subscribed, because in the city of Rome I read this regulation to the Most Holy Pontiff, in the presence of Constantinopolitan clerics, and he received it." But this prelate must have misunderstood the Pontiff, for St. Leo, in his epistle to Anatolius of Constantinople, declares the precise contrary. Pope Gelasius, addressing the bishops of Dardania, well accounts for the hesitancy of the Holy See to advance the see of Constantinople at the expense of the rights of Alexandria and Antioch. "If it is a question," he says, "of the dignity of the cities, certainly greater is the dignity of the priests of the second and third sees, than that of the priests of the city, which not only is not numbered among the (great) sees, but is not reckoned even among those having metropolitan rights. For if you call it the 'imperial city,' the power of the secular government is one thing, and the distribution of ecclesiastical dignities another." At length, in the fourth Council of Lateran, held under Pope Innocent III., in the year 1215, the Holy See recognized the right of Constantinople to the second place in the hierarchy. The fifth canon reads as follows: "Renewing the ancient privileges of the patriarchal sees, the holy universal Synod approving, we sanction that after the Roman Church, which, the Lord so disposing, holds the principality of ordinary power over all others as the Mother and Mistress of all the faithful of Christ, the Constantinopolitan church shall have the first place, the Alexandrian the second, the Antiochian the third, and that of Jerusalem the fourth, each one preserving its own dignity."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE APPEAL OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM TO POPE INNOCENT I.

Among the many instances of appeal to Rome which are furnished by the olden records, our attention is especially challenged by that of St. John of the Golden Tongue, both on account of the eminent hierarchical position of the appellant, and because of his brilliant learning and indisputable sanctity. The great Chrysostom was bishop of Constantinople, of that see which in his time had already given signs of the overweening ambition which was one day to bring about both the spiritual and temporal wreck of Eastern Christendom. An appeal to the Roman Pontiff on the part of so exalted a prelate, and against the decision of so powerful a bishop as him of Alexandria, who was recognized as second in dignity to the Pope alone, cannot be very tasteful to gentry of the Cæsarean and Gallican schools, any more than to Protestants in general. Hence we find averse to an admission of such appeal Abp. De Marca (1), Dupin (2), and of course, Febronius (3). "The Romans," says this rehasher of old and already confuted arguments, "commencing with Pope Gelasius, conclude that Chrysostom appealed to Innocent," and then he proceeds to repeat the ideas of De Marca, Dupin, and the Protestant Basnage (4), the erroneousness of which he has seen demonstrated by David (5), by Alexandre (6), by Pagi, and by Christian Lupus (7). In his treatment of this subject, Zaccaria (8) avails himself copiously of the arguments adduced by the celebrated Franciscan controversialist, Bianchi (9), and we can do no better than imitate his example. But before entering upon an argumentative consideration of our question, it is well to speak briefly of the circumstances out of which it arose.

(1) *Concord of Priesthood and Empire*, b. 7, c. 9.

(2) *Ancient Discipline*, diss. 2, c. 2.

(6) *Fourth Cent.*, diss. 28.

(3) c. 5, § 8.

(7) *On Appeals*, diss. 1, c. 17.

(4) *Annals*.

(8) *Anti-Febronio*, p. 2, b. 3, c. 4.

(5) *Canonical Judgments*, c. 7. (9) *The External Polity of the Church*, L. 5, n. 2

When, in the year 398, St. John Chrysostom was chosen as their bishop by the clergy and people of Constantinople, Theophilus of Alexandria exerted all his influence, and descended to every species of chicanery, to prevent his accession to the episcopal dignity. But the emperor Arcadius so willing, Theophilus accorded the consecration, and the new prelate, then fifty-four years of age, entered upon a career which soon excited the admiration of the good and the hate of the wicked. The enmity of Theophilus proved long-lived, and it only wanted a suitable occasion to manifest itself in works. This occasion was furnished in the year 401, when the saint kindly received under his protection some Egyptian monks whom the Alexandrian bishop had persecuted. Chrysostom had also made many enemies among the rich and powerful by his eloquent outbursts against their arrogance and cruel injustice. Nor were all of the clergy friendly to him; his severity in upholding the canons created much excitement among the lovers of a relaxed discipline. But neither Theophilus the bishop, nor his allies, the eunuch Eutropius, and Gainas, a general of the army, could avail much against the holy prelate until the empress Eudoxia came to their aid. Chrysostom one day preached a severe sermon on the vanity and luxury to which many females of the capital were given in an extraordinary degree, and the discourse being represented to Eudoxia as directed especially against her imperial person, she resolved upon vengeance. Accordingly, in the month of June, 403, Theophilus held a synod in a suburb of Chalcedon, called "At the Oak," in which forty-five bishops hostile to the saint, presented false accusations, Chrysostom himself being absent. Theophilus rendered judgment of deposition, and the emperor followed up the sentence with a decree of exile: but under the combined influence of fear of the popular indignation, and of terror on account of an earthquake, Eudoxia relented, and obtained the restoration of the saint. But about eight months afterwards, a statue of Eudoxia was being dedicated alongside the church of St. Sophia, while divine service was being held within, and Chrysostom was so impressed with the incongruity, and the disrespect caused

by the noise of the accompanying games, that in his sermon he condemned the participators in, and the managers of the festivity. Then the smouldering fire burst out anew, and in June of 404 another synod was held, and the sentence of deposition renewed. Arsacius was intruded into the Constantinopolitan see, and Chrysostom exiled to Mt. Tarsus in the Lesser Armenia. So cunning were the persecutors of the saint, that even shrewd and learned men like Sts. Epiphanius and Jerome were deceived, and believed him in fault. His enemies tried to justify their conduct before Pope Innocent I., but when that Pontiff received an appeal from the persecuted bishop, he rescinded the iniquitous decree of deposition, and led the Western emperor, Honorius, to patronize Chrysostom's cause before his imperial brother, Arcadius. In the meantime, the saint had suffered much in his place of exile—almost a desert—and had been frequently in want of the necessaries of life. He dragged out an existence at Mt. Tarsus for three years, and then, having been ordered to Pithium in the Euxine, he started on the journey, but succumbed at Comana to the cruelties of his guards, and died Sept. 14, an. 407, in the sixty-third year of his age.

And now for St. Chrysostom's appeal to Pope Innocent I. We take it from Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis, a bosom friend of the saint, who wrote a *Life* of him which may be read in the edition of his works prepared by the erudite Benedictine, Montfaucon, of the Congregation of St. Maur. After a narration of the proceedings of the synod "At the Oak," and of his restoration, Chrysostom tells the Pontiff how he sought for a hearing before a synod wherein his enemies would be present, but not as judges; he then speaks of his condemnation without a hearing, and of the violent occupation of his church on the night of Holy Saturday, and then comes to the point of his appeal: "In order that such confusion may not invade the whole earth which is under heaven, we pray you that by your letters you denounce those things which have been wickedly done against us by one of the parties (to the question), while we were absent, and not declining a trial; that they may not have any value, as indeed from their very nature they have none; and that

those who have dared such things, be subjected to the penalties of the ecclesiastical laws. Concede, therefore, to us, who have been neither convicted nor reprehended nor proved guilty, the enjoyment of your letters of communion, of your charity, and of all other things, as hitherto." If these words of Chrysostom do not constitute an appeal, it would be difficult to frame one less open to exception. But Febronius contends that this letter does not prove that the writer believed the Pope to be possessed of authority to rescind his condemnation, since the same missive was despatched to Venerius of Milan, and to Chromatius of Aquileia. It proves merely, concludes Febronius, that the saint invoked the moral influence of these Western prelates, of the Pope included, to be exercised by a disapprobation of a judgment irregularly given, and not by a nullifying action, which they were incompetent to put forth. This objection had already been made by Dupin, and in answering him, Bianchi furnishes our reply to Febronius. "We find," says Bianchi, "among the epistles of St. John Chrysostom, one to Chromatius of Aquileia, and one to Venerius of Milan. But these two letters were written in the year 406, as Montfaucon observes, that is, two years after the letter to Innocent. And again, there is not a shadow of similarity between them and the letter to the Pontiff. But it might be alleged in favor of Dupin, that at the end of the epistle to Innocent, as it is given to us by Palladius, is said, 'this same was written to Venerius, bishop of Milan, and to Chromatius, bishop of Aquileia.' But we may well answer that this clause was added by some interpolator of the codex of Palladius. For this assertion no trivial argument is found in the fact that the passage is not read in certain MSS. cited by Coustant; that it is wanting in all the editions of the works of Chrysostom; that it does not occur in the copy of the same letter added by Fronto Duceus to the epistles of the saint. But granted that Chrysostom sent to Venerius and Chromatius a copy of the letter which he had sent to Innocent, must we therefore conclude that he recognized in them the same authority that he acknowledged in the Pontiff? Not at all. These two bishops were the chief ones among the

Italian prelates forming the ordinary council of the Pope, with the aid of which council were decided by the Holy See the most important affairs of religion and of discipline. The many Councils held in Rome by Damasus with the intervention of St. Ambrose of Milan, and of the bishop of Aquileia, and the very Synod held by Innocent in the case of Chrysostom, leave no doubt as to the custom of the Pontiffs. It was quite natural then that, in appealing to Pope Innocent, the saint should write also to those two prelates who were then the only metropolitans in Italy, and should send them a copy of the letter to the Pontiff, in order that, if called to the Synod, they would be well informed as to the state of affairs. We must also observe that the four bishops, who formed the embassy of Chrysostom, were sent, not to Milan or to Aquileia, but directly to Rome, and with the letters not only of the saint, but also of the forty prelates who persevered in his communion. Innocent answered the letters of Chrysostom and those of the clergy of Constantinople, and only his answers were spread through the East."

So much for the letter; now as to its reception by Pope Innocent. As Palladius writes, the Pontiff reprobated the judgment of Theophilus, but Febronius answers that so did Venerius and Chromatius, and others, but not in a judicial manner. To this we reply that Palladius, speaking of this reprobation, uses the word *atheteo*, which word, besides its general significance of *reproving*, possesses also the sense of *abrogating*, *abolishing*, *cancelling* (1). That the sentence of Theophilus was really *cancelled* by Pope Innocent, was believed by Pope Gelasius, who wrote to the bishops of Dardania that the Apostolic See (*alone*, says the Pontiff) had absolved John of Constantinople, whom a Synod "even of Catholic prelates, had condemned." Such was the opinion of Pope Vigilius, who, in his *Constitution*, declares that neither Chrysostom nor Flavian could be cut off from the Church, because the Holy See adjudged them to be most firmly united to her. But according to Febronius, or rather Dupin, Pope Innocent himself confesses, in his letter to the clergy

(1) See Mansi's notes to Alexandre's 28th Dissertation, in *Fourth Century*.

of Constantinople, that a Synod was necessary for his judicial decision. "That alone," says the Pontiff, "will calm the waves of such tempests." Only ignorance of ecclesiastical law, or perhaps the passion of party, can excuse the proffering of such an objection. "We must observe," says Bianchi, "that although, regularly speaking, an appeal to a legitimate judge entails the suspensive act, that is, renders necessary an inquiry by the judge into the merits of the case, suspending the execution of the sentence, and placing the appellant in his pristine condition; sometimes, nevertheless, the sentence is not suspended. The cases of such non-suspension of execution are named, in both civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence. Again, it is one thing to appeal from an unjust sentence of a competent judge, who has acted according to the proper mode of procedure, and quite another thing to appeal from a sentence which is null and void through defect of authority in the judge, or on account of a judicial error in the proceedings. In the first case, it may happen that the appeal may not entail the suspensive act, but never in the second. . . . Now, as the judgment pronounced against Chrysostom by the Eastern Synod was null because given by incompetent judges, because rendered in the absence of the accused, Innocent having accepted the appeal, and heard the ambassadors from each side, did first of all what legality demanded; he annulled the acts of Theophilus, and restored Chrysostom to his see, giving him the ecclesiastical communion, and with it, the possession of all his rights. But the Pontiff prudently abstained from any judgment, so to say, *in petitorio*, with regard to the truth or falsity of the accusations, reserving them to the consideration of a Synod. This then was the first judgment, most proper and most legal, of Innocent, and by it Chrysostom was not as yet declared innocent of the accusations, but restored to those rights of which he had been violently despoiled. And because Innocent reserved to another Synod the consideration of the cause *in devolutivo*, it does not follow that he thought he could not himself consider it; he had already treated it *in suspensivo*, therefore he might consider it *in petitorio* and *in devolutivo*. But the gravity of the question,

a party to which was composed of so many Eastern bishops, among whom was Theophilus, first prelate of the Orient, and already celebrated in the West for his *Paschal Letters*, translated by Jerome, and which party was aided by the Byzantine court, demanded that the Pontiff should not judge of it by himself, but together with a General Synod, over which would preside his legates, who, in his name, would give the Synodical sentence." It was better, in fine, that judgment should be delivered as was afterwards done in the case of Nestorius by the Council of Ephesus, and in that of Dioscorus by the Council of Chalcedon, but it by no means follows that Pope Innocent thought he had no right to pronounce a definitive decision.

Our position is confirmed by the letter of the emperor Honorius to his brother Arcadius, touching the cause of Chrysostom. He depicts the lamentable disorders in the Eastern churches, and shows how both parties to the present dispute had sent legates to the bishop of Rome and those of Italy, and had referred the cause to the Roman See. He then insists that, pending the decision, nothing further should have been undertaken; and yet, he says, the accused had been sent with unprecedented haste, into exile. Had the recourse of Chrysostom to Rome not had the force of an appeal, suspending the execution of the first judgment, the action of the saint's enemies would not have been so irregular as the complaint of Honorius declares it to have been. Nor can Febronius draw any comfort from the fact that the emperor says that legates were sent also to the "bishops of Italy." In settling the appeals of bishops, the Pontiffs were accustomed to examine them in a council of those prelates who formed their supreme senate, just as secular monarchs proceed in a council of ministers. But who will say that the ministers of a prince, when united in cabinet council, have the same authority as the sovereign?

After holding a Synod at Rome, Pope Innocent resolved to convoke one at Thessalonica, to be composed of both Eastern and Western bishops. Nothing more is needed to throw sufficient light upon this question than his instruction to his legates. He orders that Chrysostom "shall not

appear for judgment, until he is restored to communion and to his see, so that all occasion for refusing the sentence being removed, he may willingly come to the assembly." Innocent had therefore judged the cause of the saint, at least, *in suspensivo*, and had therefore treated his letter as an appeal. There is no question about the propriety of restoring him to his rights; that the Pontiff absolutely commands. The Thessalonican Synod was merely to inquire into the truth of the accusations brought by Theophilus against Chrysostom, and to punish those persons who had so shamefully violated the canons of the Church.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PELAGIANISM.

Whether Origen was to blame in any way, as a forerunner of this heresy, is disputed by men of erudition and acumen; that Theodore of Mopsueste (d. 428) and Rufinus (d. 410) were, we may gather from Marius Mercator (1) and from St. Jerome (2) respectively. The latter says of Rufinus, that, although dead, "he yet barks by means of a big and corpulent dog of Albion for he has a progeny of the Scottish race (which is) in the neighborhood of Britain." Among the continentals of those days, the Britons and Scots or Irish were frequently confounded. Hence, it is not strange to hear St. Jerome calling Pelagius a Scot, "too heavy with Scotch porridge" (3). Pelagius was a British monk, but he never took Holy Orders, probably not even the minor ones, for Pope Zosimus styles him a layman (4). According to Orosius, he was fond of the pleasures of the table, bloated in the face, and heavy shouldered. But St. Augustine certainly for a time believed him to be a holy man (5), and it was only when he became better acquainted with him that he altered his

(1) *Preface to Annotations on the Writings of Julian.*

(2) *Preface to Jeremiah*, b. 5.

(3) *Idem*, b. 1.

(4) *Epist. to Aurelius.*

(5) *Remission of Sins*, b. 3, c. 1.

mind (1). Pelagius had a happy knack of making valuable acquaintances, and wherever he went, he made good use of a store of introductory letters from bishops, nobles, influential matrons, holy nuns, &c., all sounding his praises both as to learning and sanctity. His greatest successes were among noble ladies, whose love of novelty easily led them to lend their valuable aid in extending the sect. It would seem that the new heresy made its first appearance about the year 405, for in an epistle written in 417, Pelagius alludes to a letter written by himself "twelve years ago" to St. Paulinus, and St. Augustine tells us that he read that letter, and found it corrupted with Pelagianism. The principal disciple of Pelagius was a Scottish monk named Cælestius, and so active was he in the propagation of the heresy that in many places the innovators were called Cælestians; indeed, it was under that name that they were condemned at Ephesus. According to St. Augustine, Cælestius was "a man of the keenest intellect, which, had it been corrected, would have profited many." He wrote many books, which were preserved by Marius Mercator, and have been well criticized by the erudite Jesuit, John Garnier.

Before we proceed to sketch the progress of Pelagianism, it is well to note in what its errors consisted. The basis of the entire system was the erroneous assertion that Adam and Eve were created as *mortals*, so that, whether they sinned or not, they would have died. This sin of our first parents injured themselves alone, and when infants are born, they are in that state in which Adam and Eve were, before the fall. Hence infants, even if not baptized, attain to eternal life. According to Pelagius, concupiscence and death are natural conditions of humanity, even as it was created, and therefore, human nature has not been vitiated by the fall. If it has not been vitiated, it remains as in the beginning, and by its own innate strength, is able to avoid all sin. Hence, divine grace is not necessary to man, that he may perform meritorious works. From these general principles were derived an immense number of errors, permeating through the entire economy of the Christian

(1) *Deeds of Pelagius*, c. 22.

system, but which it is not our province to indicate. The morality of the Pelagians was detestable. According to them, ignorance and forgetfulness, even when vincible, excuse from sin. No rich man can enter into heaven, unless he has sold all he possessed. They exaggerated, far beyond the limits of truth and common sense, the necessity of modesty in dress, of taking no oaths, and of loving our enemies. With regard to the last, however, they inconsistently held that an enemy was never to be believed. Pelagius was very favorable to the "woman's rights" theory; hence St. Jerome upbraids him, saying (1), "Thy liberality is so great, in order that thou mayest conciliate the favor of thy Amazons, that in another place thou writest that women should have a knowledge of the Law, whereas the Apostle teaches that they should be silent in the Church, and that they should consult their husbands at home, as to what they ignore. Nor is it enough for thee to give thy women a knowledge of the Scriptures; thou must needs be rejoiced with their voices in canticles. Who does not know that females should sing in their own rooms, and not before a crowd of men?"

After having spent some time in Rome, during which they insinuated, rather than taught, their heresy, Pelagius and Cælestius crossed into Africa in the year 411, at the time of the Conference at Carthage in the affair of the Donatists. The former went, in the following year, to Jerusalem, the latter remaining for missionary work at Carthage. The bishop, Aurelius, soon excommunicated him, and he went to Ephesus, where he managed to be ordained a priest. During the next few years, St. Augustine spent much of his time in preaching against the slowly spreading heresy, and in the year 414 he received from two of the perverts of Pelagius a copy of a book which the heresiarch had written in answer to the epistle of St. Jerome to Ctesiphon, which had bitterly attacked his errors. This was the cause of St. Augustine's work on *Nature and Grace*. Pelagius had by this time made many friends in Palestine, among them, no less a personage than John, bishop of Jerusalem. This

(1) *Dialogues*. b. 1.

prelate, in order to justify Pelagius, called a Synod of his priests in the year 415. Orosius, a celebrated Spanish priest, whom St. Augustine had sent to the Holy Land to study under St. Jerome on the "origin of souls," was present, and narrated to the synodals what he had heard Pelagius say at Carthage in 412, when arraigned in a Synod in that city. This was that "man can be without sin, if he wishes," and that "the commandments of God can be easily kept." To this assertion of Orosius, Pelagius, who was, by order of the bishop, seated among the priests, took exception. "He had not said that this could be done without the help of God." The bishop said the exception was well taken, and confirmed it by Scripture. Orosius then protesting that John could not be both judge and counsel, an altercation ensued, the upshot of which was that a decision was given that a cause which had arisen among Latins, should be settled by Latins, and the affair was remitted to the Pope. Towards the end of the year, this farce was rivalled by another at Rama, then called Diospolis. A Synod was held by Eulogius of Cæsarea, to consider the complaints made against Pelagius by two Gallic prelates, Eros and Lazarus. The heresiarch had recourse to his large stock of commendatory letters, and presented one from St. Hilary of Poitiers. The records of the Synod say that the heresiarch was then asked as to his own and Cælestius' doctrine. "What does the monk Pelagius here present say to these Chapters? The Holy Synod and the Holy Church of God reprobate them. Pelagius answered, 'I again say, according to their own testimony, these are not mine; for them I owe no satisfaction. What I have avowed to be my own, I affirm to be true; what I have said are not my own, these, according to the judgment of Holy Church, I reject, saying anathema to every one contradicting the teachings of the Holy Catholic Church. For I believe in the Trinity of one substance, and in everything taught by the Holy Catholic Church. If any one avows things contrary to her doctrine, let him be anathema.' The Synod said: Now that we are satisfied as to the persecution of the monk Pelagius here present, who really consents to pious doctrine, and who rejects and anathematizes what is contrary to the

faith of the Church, we acknowledge that he is of the communion of the Church." It is to be observed that, though deceived by Pelagius, this local Synod did not approve his doctrine. Falsely, therefore, he boasted of a victory for his teachings. After this piece of fraud, the Pelagian faction waxed so turbulent and audacious, that they set fire to the monasteries under the care of St. Jerome, and killed several persons, the holy doctor narrowly escaping to a fortified tower (1). When Aurelius of Carthage learned from Orosius of the doings at Jerusalem and Diospolis, he held, in 416, a Synod of sixty-eight bishops of the Proconsulate, and condemned both Pelagius and Cælestius. The *Acts* of the Synod were sent to Pope Innocent I. "We thought it right," said the bishops, "Holy Brother, to send our *Acts* to your Charity, that the authority of the Apostolic See might be added to the statutes of our mediocrity, to guard the salvation of many, and to correct the perversity of some." In the year 416, Silvanus, primate of Numidia, held a Synod of 61 bishops at Milevi, which accused the two heresiarchs to the Pontiff, and concluded its epistle in these words: "We believe that, by the help of the mercy of our Lord and God Jesus Christ, who deigns to guide thee when consulting Him, and to hear thee when praying to Him, those who hold such perverse and pernicious things will more easily yield to thy authority, derived from the authority of the Holy Scriptures; that we may rather rejoice because of their correction, than lament their destruction." Pope Innocent I., having received the *Relations* of the African Synods, now condemned the two primary errors of Pelagianism, and defined the two opposing dogmas on the necessity of grace and on infant baptism. In a Rescript to Silvanus and the other fathers of the Milevitan Synod, he says, "Wherefore, in the authority of Apostolic vigor, we decree that Pelagius and Cælestius, that is, the inventors of new words. . . . are deprived of ecclesiastical communion, until they withdraw from the snares of the devil, in which they are held captive according to his will; that they be not received, in the meantime, into the Fold of the Lord, which they, following the perverse path, have

(1) AUGUSTINE, *Deeds of Pelagius*, last chap.

willed to desert. At the same time we command, that any who may with similar pertinacity attempt to defend the same, shall be punished, &c. Let this fixed sentence remain, therefore, against the aforesaid, &c. We order, nevertheless, that, since Christ the Lord, by His own will, has signified that He wills not the death of the dying, but that he be converted and live; if ever any shall recover, and having abandoned the error of depraved dogma, shall condemn those things for sake of which they have condemned themselves, the customary medicine, that is, her association, shall not be refused them by the Church." With the receipt of this Rescript of St. Innocent, says St. Augustine, "the cause was finished;" but well did he add, "would that the error also were ended!"

Soon after these events, Pope Innocent died, and was succeeded, on the 18th March, 417, by Zosimus. Scarcely had he been seated in the Apostolic chair, when there arrived from Palestine a letter which Pelagius had addressed to the defunct Pontiff. In it he accused of calumny the two Gallic bishops who had attacked him at Diospolis; he enclosed a Profession of Faith calculated to deceive; he enclosed also an intercessory letter from Praylius, the new bishop of Jerusalem. The new Pontiff was also approached by the heretics from another quarter. Although a superior man to the Augustinian monk, Pelagius was in many respects, physical and moral, the Luther of his heresy; Cælestius was no less its Melancthon. Far more learned than his master, and much more conciliatory, because naturally more cunning, he was the fitter man to carry on the struggle in Rome. Accordingly, he now appeared in the Eternal City, and presented a humble petition to Zosimus. In it he denied original sin, but tried to ward off the charge of heresy by saying, "If by chance any error of ignorance has crept in, let it be corrected by your judgment." He promised to condemn whatever the Holy See would condemn. Zosimus then gave him letters to the African bishops, in which he reprimanded them for giving too easy credence to the accusations of two deposed and vagrant prelates (Eros and Lazarus had been deposed in Gaul). He then

said, "Hence we have decided nothing in the present case immaturely or impulsively, wherefore, within two months let them come to show that he (Cælestius) believes otherwise than he has pretended in his writings to us, and in his Profession of Faith, or else, after the open and manifest explanation he has made, let your Holiness know that no doubt remains." When the letter of Pelagius arrived, it produced about the same effect on the mind of Zosimus as the interview with Cælestius had done, and the result was another letter to the African bishops of the same tenor as the first. Upon the receipt of these epistles, Aurelius of Carthage immediately held a Synod of all the African bishops, which sent a letter to the Pontiff, begging him not to interfere with the judgment of his predecessors until he had examined the proofs of fraud which would soon be sent to him. Zosimus having received all the documents which the Africans sent to expose the tricks of the Pelagians, he now summoned Cælestius to a "fuller audience." But the wily disturber felt that his time had come, and fled from Rome. Thereupon, the Pontiff condemned both Pelagius and Cælestius, and their doctrines. When the news of the condemnation reached Africa, another plenary Council of the Africans was held in May, 418, in which 214 bishops received the letters of Zosimus with acclamations of joy, because, as St. Prosper said, the Pope "had armed their right hands with the sword of Peter."

Having now glanced at the origin, nature, and condemnation of Pelagianism, we must give place to some considerations which naturally arise from the facts we have narrated. And firstly, we have heard St. Augustine saying that, after the definition of St. Innocent I., "the cause was finished." The opponents of the irreformability of Papal definitions hold that the holy bishop of Hippo merely signified by this phrase that, as the Universal Church had consented to Pope Innocent's decree, nothing more was needed for a perfect knowledge of the heretical nature of Pelagianism. But that his idea was that a Pontifical decision is, by itself, conclusive of a cause, will appear from the following reflections. We have seen that after the Carthaginian synod of 416 con-

demned the teachings of Cælestius, it wrote to Pope Innocent, saying, "We send our *Acts* to your Charity, that the authority of the Apostolic See may be added to the statutes of our mediocrity, to guard the salvation of many, and to correct the perversity of some." It thought, therefore, that the authority of Rome was necessary to "guard the salvation of many;" that is, the many whom a provincial Synod's teaching would not deter from heresy, would be held back by an infallible guide. Hence, when that authority was exercised, "the cause was finished," according to Augustine, who participated in that Synod, and certainly knew its mind as well as any man in Africa. The Milevitan Synod also deemed it necessary to invoke the authority of the Pontiff, and precisely for the same end. But, it may be urged, the Milevitan fathers only desired from Innocent some Scripture testimony with which to confound the Pelagians. If the reader will again run over the words of these bishops, he will see that this interpretation is indeed strained. And again, the Milevitans already possessed the writings of Augustine and others, which were well stocked with Scripture arguments against the heretics. To these, the Pelagians would not yield; hence, the bishops invoked the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, which the Pelagians admitted to be proved by Scripture. In his letter to the Milevitans, Innocent throws light on this matter. He says that they know that "responses ever go from the Apostolic source to seekers from all the provinces especially when a question of faith is ventilated, all our fellow-bishops should have recourse only to Peter, that is, to the author of their name and honor, as your Lovingness has now done; that there may be profit to all the churches throughout the world. Wherefore we decree that Pelagius and Cælestius, the inventors of new words, be deprived, &c." St. Augustine himself in many instances plainly indicates the sense in which he said that "the cause is finished." Thus (1), "All doubt in this matter was removed by the letters of Pope Innocent of blessed memory." And he tells us that although Cælestius refused to condemn what Paulinus the Deacon declared he taught, he

(1) *To Boniface*, b. 2, c. 3.

could not resist the letters of Innocent (1). When some wished another examination, he asked, "Why do you still demand an examination, when it has been given already by the Apostolic See?" (2)

A point is raised by Bossuet which claims our attention. Peeping into every nook and corner of history in the search for instances of Papal errability, he came across the conduct of Pope Zosimus in the affair of Cælestius, and jumped to the conclusion that this Pontiff had certainly approved of a heresy, since he designated as "Catholic" the book containing heresy which Cælestius presented to him (3). Now the bishop of Meaux admits that when Zosimus interrogated Cælestius as to the letters of his predecessor, Innocent, the heresiarch answered that "he would condemn whatever the Holy See condemned." But it is certain that Zosimus stamped Cælestius as heretical in saying that infants are born without original sin; he could not, therefore, have approved his book, inasmuch as it did not acknowledge the existence of that original sin. We must conclude, therefore, that when Zosimus applied the term "Catholic" to the book presented by Cælestius, he did so, not in reference to its contents, but because of the promise to correct whatever the Pontiff should reject. "The will to correct," says Augustine, "not any falsity of dogma, was approved." But even if we were to grant that in this matter Zosimus fell into error, the school of Bossuet could derive no comfort from the concession, since the letter of the Pontiff to the Africans contained no definition *ex cathedra*, nor indeed any definition whatever. St. Augustine covers the objection of Bossuet, as though he had anticipated it, when he says, "Since this (the error upon original sin) had been placed in his book by Cælestius among those about which he said he yet doubted, and wished to be instructed upon; the will to correct, not any falsity of dogma, was approved, in a man of the keenest intellect, which would have profited many, had it been corrected. Hence his book was called Catholic, because it is the part of a Catholic mind, when it deviates from the truth, not

(1) On *Original Sin*, c. 7.

(2) *Against Julian*, b. 2, n. 103.

(3) *Defence of the Declaration*, p. 2, b. 14, c. 36.

to define the thing as certain, but to reject it, if detected and shown to be false" (1). Had Pope Zosimus declared, as Cælestius in his book affirmed, that the sin of Adam did not descend to his posterity, different, indeed, would be the aspect of affairs. But, as Augustine triumphantly asks, "What epistle of Pope Zosimus, of venerable memory, what saying can you find, in which he taught that we should believe man to be born without original sin? Never did he say such a thing, never did he write it."

We cannot close this dissertation without alluding to some of the many writers whom Pelagianism was the means of exciting to the production of some of the most valuable monuments of theological lore. First comes St. Jerome, whose learning made Prosper style him "Teacher of the World." His works on Pelagianism are the epistles to the tribune Marcellinus and to Ctesiphon; three books of *Dialogues*; the four *Prefaces* to his *Commentaries on Jeremiah*. Orosius, an intimate friend of Jerome and Augustine, having been accused of saying that "not even with the aid of God, can man be free from sin," wrote his *Apology against Pelagius, on Free Will*. But easily prince among all the Anti-Pelagians is the great St. Augustine, who, says Prosper, for twenty years and more combated the enemies of the grace of God. His first work in this material was the one dedicated to Marcellinus on *The Remission of Sins*, composed in the year 412. In the same year, he wrote his *Grace of the New Testament* to please his friend Honoratus, to whom he, in great measure, owed his conversion from Manicheism. This year also came forth the book on *The Spirit and the Letter*. In 413, Augustine preached his principal Sermon against the Pelagians in the chief basilica of Carthage. It is the fourteenth of the sermons on the *Words of the Apostles*. In 414, he produced a book on the *Perfection of Justice*, in which he teaches that man can avoid sin, when helped by the grace of God, and answers the objections of Cælestius taken from Scripture. In 415, was published the work on *Nature and Grace*, in answer to a book in which Pelagius defended the nature of man against God's grace. In 417, Augustine brought out a history of the

(1) *To Boniface*, b. 2, c. 3.

Deeds of Pelagius, and his epistle on the *Presence of God*. In 418, were issued the epistle to Optatus on the *Origin of the Soul*, and the first book on *Nuptials and Concupiscence*. Besides these, he produced a large number of epistles in defence and explanation of the Catholic doctrine on grace.

We must not omit to notice that large body of men who, like the Semiarians in reference to the Arians, without involving themselves in the condemnation of Pelagius, yet were sufficiently tainted with the poison to be called Semipelagians. They were thoroughly orthodox in their doctrine as to original sin and the necessity of the grace of Christ for its remission. Their fundamental error lay in denying the necessity of divine grace for the beginning of faith, or for those first movements of the will which prompt the striving for eternal salvation. Their leader was John Cassian, a monk of uncertain nationality, but who became quite celebrated for sanctity and erudition, and whose ascetic maxims are prized to this day. He was sent by St. Chrysostom to Pope St. Innocent I., when that saint found it necessary to appeal to Rome, and when he learned that his holy patron had died under his torments, he went to Marseilles, and there founded a monastery. He wrote many works, and Semipelagianism is visible in nearly all. Nevertheless, he died with a reputation for sanctity, and St. Gregory the Great congratulates a certain abbess in Marseilles upon the fact that her monastery is dedicated to St. Cassian (1). The doctrines of Cassian were embraced by most of the monks of Lerins, and the writings of their abbot Faust were directed especially against St. Augustine. That Vincent of Lerins and Hilary of Arles were Semipelagians, seems more than probable (2). Christian writers at this time, and for about a century, were in matters of grace, either Pelagian, Semipelagian, or Augustinian. But in the beginning of the sixth century, Semipelagianism was no longer tenable by a Catholic. Pope Gelasius condemned the books of Cassian, and Pope Hormisdas those of Faust, and in the year 529, the Synods of Valence and Orange condemned the Semipelagian doctrines, receiving in the following year the confirmation of Pope Boniface II.

(1) Book 6, *epist.* 12, to the Abbess *Respecta*.

(2) ALEXANDRE: 5th Cent., c. 3, art. 7, § 6 and 7.

CHAPTER XXV.

CONTROVERSY ON AFRICAN APPEALS TO ROME.

During the Pontificate of Pope Zosimus, there came to Rome an African priest named Apiarius, who had been excommunicated by his ordinary, Urban, bishop of Sicca. Appealing to the Pontiff, although the bishops of Africa at that time contended that African custom did not allow a simple priest to do so, he found that his appeal was not rejected. However, with the proverbial prudence of the Roman See, Pope Zosimus acted in such a manner as not to unnecessarily irritate the susceptibilities of the African prelates, while, at the same time, he did not forget the inalienable prerogatives of the Holy See, or the rights of her humblest child. He thought it best to proceed in accordance with a decree which, in the year 418, had been issued by a Carthaginian synod, and which allowed the "inferior clergy," who might feel themselves unjustly treated by their own ordinaries, to be judged by a Synod of the provincial bishops. He therefore sent to Africa three legates, Faustin, bishop of Potenza, and Philip and Asellus, priests of Holy Roman Church, who were instructed to investigate the case of Apiarius in a Synod composed of the bishops of his province. This legation ought not to have nettled the African prelates, but lest it might, the Pontiff instructed his legates to call their attention to certain ecclesiastical canons which recognized the right of Rome to receive appeals. The cited canons were those of Sardica, of which we have spoken in chapter 19, but, unluckily, as it proved, for the expediting of the affair in hand, Zosimus spoke of them as canons of the Council of Nice. In doing this, he only followed the custom of the Roman Church, which preserved the canons of Sardica in the same codex and under the same title as those of Nice (1). When the legates

(1) When treating of the Council of Sardica, we remarked that it was generally regarded as a kind of appendix to that of Nice. Many of the Popes cited the canons of Sardica

arrived in Africa, Aurelius of Carthage convoked a Synod, and quite a dispute arose as to the canons cited by Zosimus. They were not found in the African codices of Nice, and as for the Council of Sardica, the bishops seem to have had no remembrance of any such assemblage, save the infamous *conciliabulum* of Philippopolis, to which the schismatics had fastened the date of Sardica (2). Such a difference could scarcely be expected to vanish immediately, hence it was resolved to call a plenary Council; but, so great was the respect of the Synod for the Pontifical wishes, it was resolved that, in the meantime, the canons quoted by Zosimus should be obeyed. On May 28 of the year 419, the case of Apiarius, and the accompanying question of appeals, were considered by 217 bishops in the presence of the Papal legates. We learn from the Synodical Epistle, addressed to Pope Boniface I., the successor of Zosimus, that it was decided to restore Apiarius to communion, but, as a measure of prudence, he was given "letters dimissory," and he settled down in the diocese of Tabraca. As for the canons cited by Pope Zosimus, the Synod repeated what had been already reported to Rome, namely, that those canons were not to be found in the Nicene codices in use among the Africans. The fathers therefore suggested that Pope Boniface should inquire as to their genuineness, in Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, where the most authentic codices of Nice

as those of Nice. Thus, Innocent I., while quoting them to the Constantinopolitans, says that "only the canons of Nice" are to be observed. Even St. Leo the Great spoke in a similar manner. Mark Anthony de Dominis, the apostate archbishop of Spalato (d. 1634), accuses Pope Zosimus of deliberate forgery and imposture in this matter. When Hosius of Cordova, the papal legate, returned from the Council of Sardica, he brought its canons with him, just as he had brought those of Nice from that Synod. Both were preserved in the Roman archives under the one title of Nicene. And not only at Rome were the two collections united. To this day Gallic codices are extant, in which the two are quoted together. In the time of Justinian, some, at least, of the Eastern codices must have presented the same union; for, in his edict on the Orthodox Faith, that emperor, after distinctly styling the Council of Sardica oecumenical, numbers down to his time only four General Councils, thus showing that he regarded those of Nice and Sardica as one. The reason why the Synod of Sardica was looked upon as an appendix to that of Nice, was its having been called to establish what the latter had constituted, and not for the definition of any new dogma. Hosius was Papal legate to both Councils, and many of the Nicene fathers sat in the Council of Sardica; hence, just as the General Council under Eugenius IV. is called Florentine, although its first sessions were held at Ferrara, so these two Synods of Nice and Sardica, held by almost the same prelates and for the same object, were spoken of as one. St. Gregory of Tours (*History of the Franks*, b. 9) cites as canons of Nice, the canons of the Gangrensan provincial Synod, because it was held about that time, and under Hosius. Thus also, the Greeks commonly attribute the Trullan canons to the Sixth Council, because they regarded the Trullan Synod as an appendix to that Council.

(2) As for the ignorance of the Africans in regard to the true Council of Sardica, see St. Augustine's *epistle* 44 (or 163), which was written in the year 398, that is, twenty years before the Papal legates cited the "Nicene canons" to the prelates assembled in Carthage.

were likely to be found. Until answers should be received, however, the prelates of Africa, they promised, would observe the instructions of Pope Zosimus. The search among the Oriental exemplars of the Nicene records having been made, and no canons having been found such as Zosimus had quoted, the African bishops mentioned the fact to Pope Boniface ; but, in the meantime, they did not prevent appeals to Rome, as is seen in the case of Lawrence of Icosium which is mentioned by St. Augustine, in an epistle to Pope Cælestine. Things remained in *statu quo* until towards the end of the year 425, when the unfortunate Apiarius gave occasion for a renewal of the complaints against "transmarine" appeals. This miserable man had not profited by experience, and he so conducted himself in the diocese of Tabraca that he was again excommunicated. Again he had recourse to Rome, and he so well managed his case that Pope Cælestine, who then occupied the chair of Peter, sent him back to Africa, accompanied by the legate Faustin of Potenza, who was instructed to see that justice was done the apparently persecuted priest. When Faustin appeared in Carthage, he acted more like a patron than a judge towards Apiarius, and the bishops of Africa became more than ever averse to the idea of appeals from their decisions. But so far as Apiarius was concerned, the question was soon ended, for when Aurelius of Carthage had opened the new plenary Council summoned for a reconsideration of the case, the culprit unexpectedly avowed his crimes, and then, so far as history shows, disappeared from the scene. While yet influenced by the remembrance of the horrors of which Apiarius had confessed himself guilty, the Synod of Carthage addressed a letter to Pope Cælestine, in which they energetically complained of the inconveniences and even disorders entailed by "transmarine" appeals. We have now to look into the nature and meaning of this letter, that we may see whether the opponents of Papal authority can derive any comfort therefrom. But before we treat of the letter itself, we must examine another document which will throw light upon it, namely, the canon on appeals which, in the year 419, was issued by the 2nd Synod of Carthage

which bishop Aurelius assembled for the consideration of this matter.

This canon had originally been edited in the Synod of 418, and it was in recognition of it that Pope Zosimus instructed his legates to consider the case of Apiarius in a provincial Synod. It reads as follows: "It was pleasing, that if priests, deacons, or other inferior clerics, complain of the decisions of their bishops in any case, they shall be heard by the neighboring bishops, with the consent of the ordinary, and the prelates assigned by him shall settle the case. But if they wish to appeal from this judgment, let them not have recourse to transmarine tribunals, but to the Primates of their provinces, or to a plenary Council, as has frequently been ordered in regard to bishops. And let no one within the province accord communion to him who appeals to a transmarine tribunal." The phrase of this canon, "as has frequently been ordered in regard to bishops," has been rejected as not authentic by Orsi and Alexandre (1). The brothers Ballerini and Zaccaria are willing to regard it as a part of the original canon, but it proves nothing against the right of Rome to receive episcopal appeals. Where are the decrees by which such appeals were "frequently" prohibited? Not one can be adduced. Again, we have a letter written by Pope Boniface to his legates, then in Africa, under date of the 26 April, 419 (2), from which we learn that they had informed the Pontiff that all trouble had vanished. Now it is very improbable that within two months the African bishops would have again become so troublesome as to prohibit episcopal appeals. Had the legates not possessed good reason for believing in their acquiescence, they would not have represented the state of affairs as calm and satisfactory. Finally, it is not at all likely that a Synod which promised, at least, a temporary obedience to the canons cited by Zosimus, would, at the same time, and in the presence of the Papal legates, deny a

(1) Alexandre gives the following reasons for rejecting the phrase: It is not to be found in the Milevitan canon, nor in the Collection of Cresconius. Again, no African Conciliary canon can be produced, which prohibits appeals of bishops to Rome. Also, the African bishops, when they wrote to Pope Celestine, offered every argument they could excogitate against appeals, but said nothing of any such canon. See *4th Cent., diss. 28, prop. 1*.

(2) MANSI; *Councils*, vol. IV., col. 431. AMORT; *Canon Law*, vol. I.

right which those canons conceded. What interpretation then is to be given to the canon in question? A reading, by no means forced, and the only one which would not be contradicted by the history of the time, is presented by the *Ballerinis*, *Zaccaria*, and *Palma*, which so recommends itself, that it is strange that any other should have ever occurred to any mind. The adversaries of the Papal authority understand the canon as saying "let them not have recourse to transmarine tribunals, as has been ordered in regard to bishops;" but the phrase "as has been ordered, &c." should be applied, in the most natural manner, to the immediately preceding one, "but to the Primates of their provinces, or to a plenary council." The sense of the canon would therefore be, that priests should not appeal to the Pontiff, unless they had previously had recourse to the Primate or to a Council, in the third instance, as had been arranged already in the case of appealing bishops. It must be observed that hitherto, in conformity with the Synod of Hippo of 393, African priests were allowed to appeal from the decision of their own ordinary to that of six neighboring bishops, as a tribunal of the second instance. But as the priests often appealed to Rome, in the third instance, the African prelates decided that for the inferior clergy, as well as for the superior, there should be a tribunal of the third instance in their own land, namely, that of the Primate or of a national Synod. Unless this is the correct reading of the Carthaginian canon, it is impossible to account for the appeals to Rome which we know to have been made, before its promulgation, by African bishops. When treating of the Donatists, we had occasion to quote the 162d epistle of St. Augustine, in which, speaking of Cæcilian of Carthage, whom the Donatists had excommunicated, he says, "He might well ignore the multitude of his conspiring enemies, when he saw that he was joined in communion with the Roman Church, in which always flourished the principality of the Apostolic chair, and with the other places whence the gospel came into Africa, where he was ready to plead his cause For it was not a question of priests, deacons, or of clergy of the lower order, but of colleagues, who could re-

serve their causes entire, for the judgment of the other colleagues, especially of the Apostolic Churches. . . . he saw remaining to himself an incorruptible examination of his cause by a transmarine church, free of private enmities, and independent of each party to the dispute." St. Augustine certainly was well informed as to the customs of the African churches. We have also the instance of Perreivius, threatened with deposition by his co-provincials, who appealed to Pope Boniface I. In his letter to his vicar, Rufus, whom he appointed to investigate the case, the Pontiff says, "We wish your Charity to carefully hear the case, calling together the aforesaid bishops, from whose persecution he (Perreivius) says he suffers. Then let them know that if anything has been done contrary to custom, it must be cancelled; and having examined the affair, let your Charity hasten to refer it all to us, that the judgment given by you may be confirmed by our sentence." The appeal of Anthony, bishop of Fussala, made to the same Pope Boniface (1), is also well authenticated.

We now return to the letter which the 3rd Synod of Carthage sent to Pope Cælestine after the confession of Apiarius. Febronius (2) says, "This new form of ecclesiastical judgment did not altogether please the Africans, and in their Synod of Carthage, held about the year 425, they wrote to Pope Cælestine, asking him not only not to receive the wicked appeals of priests and other clerics (which at that time were not rare), but even not to send any legates to investigate the cases of appealing bishops." Nevertheless, the African bishops did not contest the Pontifical *right* to receive appeals. They knew that the use of such appeals had been always known in Africa. In the letter sent by him to Pope Cælestine, with reference to Anthony of Fussala, St. Augustine says: "There are instances of some, who, on account of their crimes, through the judgment or confirmation of the Apostolic See, have not been deprived of the episcopal honor, nor yet have been entirely unpunished. Not to go in search of the remote ones, I shall only mention the more recent examples." If the African bishops, with a

(1) LUPTON; *Appeals*, dissert. II., c. 21.

(2) Chap. 5, § 5.

knowledge of this antiquity of the right of appeal, had thought to annul it, why simply beg the Pontiff to render a less facile countenance to every appellant? Why did they not protest against it as a usurpation? But they utter no word which can be construed as a denial of the Papal prerogative. They speak of the distance from the Eternal City, and hence the ease of deception; of many other inconveniences, too manifest in the case of Apiarius, and hence combat the *expediency* of appeals. If the Africans denied the *right* of appeal, why, when bitterly complaining of the patronizing attitude of Faustin towards Apiarius, did they not stamp his action as a usurpation? Let us hear their letter: "We entreat that hereafter you will not so readily admit to audience those who go from here to you, nor receive into communion those whom we have excommunicated . . . you should guard against too hastily restoring to communion those who have been rejected in their own province . . . do not be willing, at the instance of every petitioner, to send your clerics as executors of your sentences" (1). Though these words betray a very strong sentiment against the expediency of entertaining appeals, they certainly acknowledge the Pontifical right to receive them.

The African church was certainly most hostile to appeals to Rome, and prohibited them to the inferior clergy, in the 2nd and 5th Carthaginian and in the Milevitan Synods. But it could not deny a *right*, which necessarily belongs to him who was commanded to feed the sheep of the Lord, and to confirm his brethren. After these canons were passed, the inferior clerics continued to appeal to the Pontiff, and were not repulsed. Thus, St. Gregory the Great (2) speaks of the recourse of the deacons Vincent and Felicissimus at one time, and of the deacons Constantius and Mustellus at another. The examples of appeals on the part of the inferior clergy of other regions are, however, much more frequent. The clerics of Constantinople, who were degraded by Nestorius, appealed to Pope Cælestine, and were restored. The same happened with Ætius the archdeacon, and the

(1) *Epist. Rom. Pont.*, vol. 1.

(2) *Book I., epist. 82; Book II., epist. 33.*

monk Eutyches, appealing to St. Leo. To this Pontiff also appealed many Alexandrian clerics, from the persecutions of Dioscorus. From Gaul also there came appeals to St. Leo. The priests Savinian and Leo had recourse to his tribunal after their degradation by Rusticus of Narbonne. Tuentius besought the protection of Pope Zosimus against the vexations of Proculus of Marseilles. The clerics of Arles appealed to Pelagius I. against Sapandus. In fine, the epistles of Zosimus, St. Leo, Pelagius I., and St. Gregory I., show that the inferior clergy frequently had recourse for justice to the Holy See, sometimes even in the first instance (1). We would here notice a remark of the famous Abp. De Marca, to the effect that Pope Zosimus claimed the right of receiving episcopal appeals, only because the emperors Arcadius and Honorius had resigned the right of issuing imperial rescripts for the revision of such cases. Let the reader note the following words of the Pontiff to the fathers of Carthage, and he will find that the right was claimed as derived from the canons, from tradition, and from Christ: "Although the tradition of the fathers has given such authority to the Apostolic See, that no one can dare to differ from its decision, and has preserved that authority by the canons and laws, and the current discipline shows by its rules the reverence it feels for the name of Peter, from which it itself comes down; for canonical antiquity, by unanimous consent, has held the power of this apostle to be so great, from the promise of Christ our God, that he can bind what is loosed and loose what is bound, the same power being given to him who holds the authority of the See Since, therefore, Peter is possessed of such authority, and the studies of our forefathers have established that by both human and divine law is strengthened the Roman Church, which, in the place of Peter, we rule with the power of his name, as you know, dear brethren, and as priests ought to know; when we possess such authority, that no one can reject our decisions, we wish to consider the case of him who has been accused among you, as your own letters say, and who, declaring himself innocent, has appealed to our See."

(1) RONCAGLIA; *parag. I., in note to Alexandre's Diss. 28, 4th Cent.*

We have hitherto allowed it to be taken for granted that the Council of Carthage prohibited, in some way or another, or unless made under some certain conditions, appeals to the Roman See. But the canon adduced by our adversaries by no means compels us to this admission. When the African prelates forbade recourse to transmarine tribunals, it is not certain that they intended to include appeals to Rome in the prohibition; indeed, the contrary is more than insinuated in the same canon as cited by Gratian, *causa II., quest. VI.*, for, immediately after the excommunicatory clause, we there read the exception: "Unless he appealed to the Roman See." That is, Gratian expressly mentions that exception which, in all canons of this nature, Innocent I. declares to be understood. This Pontiff, alluding to the canons of Sardica (which he calls Nicene), says "It is permitted to no one—without prejudice, however, of the Roman Church, which must be revered, in all causes—to leave the clergy who, by the Providence of God, govern the Church in the same province, and to recur to other provinces" (1). Unless this general rule of excepting the Roman See, in all such prohibitory canons, had been kept in mind by the African bishops, the legate Faustin would certainly have asserted the privileges of that See, as we know he was accustomed to do. The authors of this canon would scarcely have applied the common and indefinite adjective *transmarine* to that Church which they recognized as the mother of all. Nor did they complain of any violation of their canon, when Apiarius appealed to Rome the second time, and Faustin was sent to his assistance. That they would have complained, had their intentions been disregarded or contemned, is to be supposed, when we consider the bitterness which, throughout the controversy, they otherwise manifested. Even when the confession of his crimes, on the part of Apiarius, had demonstrated how justly they had condemned him, they did not dare ask the Pontiff not to receive any more appeals. They merely besought that such appeals should not be *very easily* entertained: "We earnestly entreat that you will not very easily listen to those who go hence; and that you will not

(1) *Epistle to Victricius.*

accord communion to those who have been excommunicated by us." Aurelius of Carthage had a chief part in the formation and promulgation of the canon under consideration, and certainly he must be regarded as an excellent interpreter of its significance. Well, in his Synodical Letter, written to Pope Cælestine a few years later, he plainly acknowledges the right of the Pontiff to revise the causes of priests already judged in Africa.

It has been urged that, from its very infancy, the African church enjoyed the privilege of giving definitive judgment in the causes of her priests and deacons; that this privilege was not abolished before the time of St. Gregory the Great, into whose hands the Africans renounced it. Naturally then, it is objected, we must suppose that, in the formation of the Carthaginian canon, the African prelates designed to include the Roman See among the "transmarine" to whom appeal was to be illicit. That the African churches enjoyed the privilege alleged, is well proven by many testimonies, but, before a conclusion can be reached in the matter in question, we should understand the precise nature of the privilege. The Roman Pontiff, in his capacity of Patriarch of the West, had the power to relax the immediate dependence of the Western churches upon his patriarchal see; to remit, as occasion demanded, the right of receiving appeals which all the patriarchs possessed in regard to their subject provinces. But the Roman See must be considered from a point of view different from that from which we regard Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; at Rome there is another chair besides the patriarchal throne, viz., the chair of the Supreme Pontiff of the Universal Church. To abrogate the essential rights of this chair of Peter, is not within the power, even of Peter's successor (1).

Before closing this chapter, we would draw the reader's attention to the valuable essay of Mark Anthony Cappello, which is one of the best ever written upon this subject.

(1) Our adversaries admit that this African custom was a privilege. A privilege does not destroy the right of him who accords it, but rather, by its very exercise, demonstrates the superiority of the giver. As Cappello well observes, this African privilege may be compared to the honor accorded by the Roman emperors to the Prefects of the Pretorium, "from whose decisions no one could ever appeal;" which honor, however, did not render the Prefect independent of the imperial authority.

This Franciscan controversialist, incited by the carpings of the apostate De Dominis, who had exchanged his archiepiscopal see of Spalato for the Anglican deanery of Windsor, and had issued a most bitter diatribe on the Holy See (1), published, in 1622, a "Dissertation on the Appeals of the African Church to the Roman See." In this, the first edition of his work, Cappello rejected as spurious the epistles of Pope Zosimus to the African bishops, in which the Pontiff is disposed to be lenient towards Pelagius and Cælestius, on account of their simulated docility. He also denied the authenticity of the Synodal Letters of the 6th Carthaginian Synod to Popes Boniface and Cælestine, and threw doubt over the entire history of Apiarius. Nor was Cappello entirely alone in this view of the subject. The illustrious cardinal Du Perron, who wrote about the same time (2), thought that the true meaning of the letters to Boniface and Cælestine could not be reached, unless through the Greek version; that the Collection of Canons, attributed to the Carthaginian Synod, was the rhapsody of some private individual. Even the erudite and critical Christian Lupus said of Cappello's opinion, that though he "would not dare follow it, yet it is not without foundation, nor are the arguments of the learned author frivolous" (3). But the theory of Cappello was soon found to be untenable, owing to the authority of the Hermian Facundus, first published, in 1629, by Sirmond; and by that of the *Commonitory* of Mercator, edited first by Labbe, in 1671. Cappello himself, in the last years of his life, met the Vatican apograph, which Sirmond afterwards gave to the light, and was led to reconsider his views. Accordingly, after much investigation, especially in the works of St. Augustine, Cappello prepared a new edition of his work, in which he accepted as genuine both the canons of Carthage and the epistles of Zosimus and the African fathers. The volume, however, did not see the light until the year 1722, when it was published by order of Pope Clement XI., into whose hands, when a youth, the MSS. had been given. Modern critics have ap-

(1) *The Ecclesiastical Republic*.

(2) *Reply to the Response of the King of Great Britain*.

(3) *Roman Appeals*, diss. 2, c. 30.

proved of many of Cappello's judgments in matters of their special province. In Chap. II. of the dissertation now before us, he proves, against the author of the common Collection of Canons, and against Baronio, that the canon on African appeals was not a canon of Milevi, but of Carthage; and this opinion has been followed by Noris, Pagi, and Tillemont. "The proceedings," he says (1), "of the ancient Council of Africa have come down to us enshrouded in such darkness, that they cannot be restored to their native integrity without immense labor; and unless they are restored it is impossible to form a correct judgment as to the things done in that church. Take, as an example, the canon on appeals to 'transmarine' sees, which had for its author, one or another Council, as I shall show; but which has been attributed to four, *i. e.*, to two of Milevi and to two of Carthage. If it was enacted in either one of the Milevitan Synods, then the Roman Pontiff was either unwilling, or ignorant of its issue. But if it was passed in either one of the Carthaginian Councils, not so; for whatever was done therein, was done with the approval, and by order of, the Roman Pontiff. Since, therefore, the very essence of this difficulty depends upon a knowledge of the authorship of the canon, we must investigate the matter as diligently and as accurately as possible." Cappello then proves that the canon on "transmarine" appeals was not edited by either of the Synods of Milevi which were held during the reign of Pope Innocent I. (there were only two); not by the first, for no such canon is found ascribed to it in the Codex of African Canons; not by the second, because that Synod was merely provincial, and only a national and plenary Council could issue a decree like the "transmarine" canon, which affected the whole African church. It was issued, therefore, by a Council of Carthage, and as we know it first saw the light in the 12th Consulate of Honorius and the 8th of Theodosius, it follows that it was enacted by the plenary Council held in 418, and repeated in the following year in the sixth, also plenary, Synod. But since both these Synods were held under the auspices and express approbation of Rome, it follows that none of their canons could have

(1) *Appeals of the African Church*, c. II., n. I.

been intended to curtail the Roman authority. Therefore the famous "transmarine" canon was directed, not against appeals to the mother See, but against recourse to the arbitration of other "transmarine" churches, *e. g.*, of Milan, or of Arles, to which sees African disputes were frequently referred (1).

CHAPTER XXVI.

NESTORIANISM, AND THE COUNCIL OF EPHESUS.

Nestorius, by birth a Syrian, at first a monk, and then a priest of the church of Antioch, was appointed by Theodosius to the see of Constantinople in the year 427. He had scarcely received the episcopal consecration, when his true character commenced to reveal itself. Animated, says Socrates, by a tempestuous audacity, and by an ardent desire of fame, rather than by a true zeal for the faith, he made this eruption in his oration to the emperor: "Give me the earth, O emperor, purged of heretics, and I will give heaven to thee. Aid me in the destruction of heretics, and I will aid thee in destroying the Persians." He commenced at once a most bitter war against almost every kind of error, as though, says Vincent of Lerins, he wished to prepare an open way for his own. With his own hands he once applied the torch to an Arian temple, and as a devastating fire ensued which for a while threatened the entire capital, the indignant populace began to style him a "fire-bug." We have said that he was bitter against *almost* every error, for he rather favored Pelagianism, as we gather from a letter of Pope Cælestine written in response to one of Nestorius interceding for the Pelagians of Constantinople.

(1) History furnishes several instances of arbitration in African causes by the churches of Milan and Arles. The reason for this action is as follows: In the Council of Sardica, at which Gratus of Carthage and thirty-five other African prelates were present, it was enacted, *Can. XIV.*, that a condemned cleric "had the right of appeal to the bishop of the metropolis of the same province; and if there were no metropolitan, he could recur to a neighboring metropolitan, and request him to examine into the affair." Now in the African provinces there were no regular metropolitans, their office being filled by the senior bishops, no matter of what sees they were the prelates. Hence grew the custom of recurring to the metropolitan of Milan or of Arles.

But his own pet crop showed itself in the very first year of his episcopate. His primary errors were two. First, he contended that the Man formed in the womb of Mary was other than the Word of God ; that the Incarnation was simply a dwelling of the Word in man as in a temple, so that God was not born, and did not suffer and die ; that Christ therefore was not God, but only the Temple of God. His second error was in styling the Blessed Virgin, not *Theotikos*, "Mother of God," but *Christotokos*, "Mother of Christ." His earliest lieutenants were a bishop named Dorotheus and a priest called Anastasius, who opened the campaign by anathematizing all who designated Mary as Mother of God, Nestorius being at the time of the outburst seated on his episcopal throne. The congregation were horrified at the blasphemy, and a certain simple monk openly contradicted it, and attempted to put Anastasius out of the sacred building. But by order of Nestorius the zealous man was publicly flogged, and sent into exile (1). The greater part of the people now began to absent themselves from church, lest they should communicate with heretics. Many priests attempted in their sermons to check the spread of the contagion, but the threats of their bishop kept too many silent. In the meantime, the false shepherd was indefatigable in his preaching, and soon the faithful lamented that "an emperor we have, but no bishop" (2). Like many heresiarchs, Nestorius found a valuable ally in his nefarious work in his external appearance. The mortification of abstinence seemed to shine forth from his pallid features and his delicate frame ; grave thoughts had impressed a solemn seal upon his intellectual brow ; a certain modest sadness, which is not without a charm, especially for the fair, pervaded his gestures. His clothes bore the marks of long usage ; he certainly loved books, and he claimed to love solitude. With these advantages, and an eloquence greatly admired, his forte lay in preaching. But there were not wanting in the capital able defenders of the truth. A distinguished attorney named Eusebius (afterwards bishop of Dorylæum)

(1) See the *Supplication to the Emperor* of the monks of Constantinople, extant in the *Acts of the Council of Ephesus*, p. 1, c. 30.

(2) *Ibi*.

challenged the prelate to a public dispute, and Proclus, newly consecrated as bishop of Cyzicus, delivered an admirable panegyric on the Mother of God before an immense audience of all classes of society. To this latter Nestorius responded immediately by an extemporaneous oration, and afterwards in three set sermons. Before long he published his treatise on the *Incarnation*, and several *Homilies*, which he took care to send as feelers into Egypt. It was owing to this importation among his people that St. Cyril of Alexandria wrote his *Epistle to Monks*, which work so excited the angry fears of the heretic that he laid before Theodosius an accusation of treason against the saint (1). The two prelates now interchanged letters; Cyril breathing the spirit of charity towards his adversary and that of chivalrous devotion towards Mary, and Nestorius lamenting the "intemperance and injustice" of the Alexandrian prelate. A further correspondence soon ensued, in which Nestorius plainly betrayed his arrogance and vanity, while he in the clearest terms announced his heresy. While these letters were passing between Constantinople and Alexandria, Nestorius wrote twice to Pope Cælestine. St. Cyril also addressed the Pontiff concerning the new doctrine, because, he says, "the ancient custom of the churches requires that such things be communicated to your Holiness." He then proceeds as follows: "We would not openly break our communion with him, before we had informed you of these things. Deign, therefore, to tell us what you think, that it may be clear to us whether we ought to communicate with him, or rather freely announce to him that no one can communicate with him who favors and teaches this erroneous doctrine. Further, the mind of your Integrity upon this matter ought to be made clearly known by letter to the devout bishops of Macedonia, and to all the bishops of the East. . . . that with one soul we may all persist in one doctrine, and give help to the true faith which is now attacked." Among other writings which St. Cyril produced about this period was a letter to Acacius of Beroë, to which he received a reply full of praise for his zeal, but full, also,

(1) CYRIL; *Apology to Theodosius*.

of excuses for Nestorius, as for one guilty only of a slip of the tongue.

When Pope Cælestine had read the letters of Cyril and of Nestorius, he held a Synod of such bishops as were then in the Eternal City, in August, 430. Sentence of excommunication and deposition was pronounced against Nestorius unless within ten days from notification he renounced his errors, *in an open and written confession*. All whom Nestorius had wickedly deprived of communion were restored to it ; the Pelagians, whom he had restored, were recondemned. Seven epistles were sent by the Pontiff. One was to Cyril of Alexandria, that he would represent the Holy See in the cause of Nestorius, and in providing for the see of Constantinople. Another was to Nestorius, urging him to return to his right mind. A third was directed to the Constantinopolitan clergy, encouraging them to persevere in the faith. The others were to John of Antioch, Rufus of Thessalonica, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and Flavian of Philippi, begging them, as bishops of the next greatest sees of the Orient, to labor energetically in the cause of truth. In the month of November, St. Cyril proceeded to carry out the orders of the Holy See. All the bishops of Egypt were assembled in a Synod at Alexandria, and a Synodical Epistle sent to Nestorius by the hands of four legates. In this letter, the heresiarch is officially informed of the sentence pronounced by the Pope against him ; he is notified that the Synod communicates with all those whom he has excommunicated for their fidelity ; he is ordered to publicly, and in writing, reject his heresies : he is furnished with a Profession of Faith, and with twelve *Anathematisms*, written by Cyril, to which he is required to subscribe. But Nestorius was far, indeed, on the road to perdition. Instead of obeying, he at once issued twelve counter *Anathematisms*, each one a blasphemous contradiction to a corresponding one of Cyril. He declared the Alexandrian *Anathematisms* infested with Apollinarianism. He at once, after the usual style of heresiarchs, proceeded to secure the help of the government, filling the ears of Theodosius with calumnies as to Cyril's fidelity to Pul-

cheria (1), and alleging that when Cyril had dedicated his book on *The Right Faith* to the emperor, he dedicated a similar one to his imperial sister, for the purpose of securing her aid against Theodosius, should he prove averse to him. In the meantime, letters were sent to the greater sees throughout the world, giving notice of an Œcumenical Council, to be held at Ephesus on the Pentecost day of the year 431. When the eventful day arrived, there came to Ephesus, on the part of the emperor, a certain courtier, Count Candidian by name, with orders to expel from the city all the monks and foreign seculars, lest they should interfere with the liberty of the bishops. He was instructed also to allow no bishop to leave before the end of the Synod, but was prohibited from intruding in any way upon the proper business of the Council. Nestorius arrived, accompanied by twelve of his episcopal partisans. Marius Mercator puts the number of attending bishops at 274, but the best authorities fix it at 218. In the beginning of the Council, Cyril of Alexandria presided in the name of Pope Cælestine; the other legates, the bishops Arcadius and Projectus, and the priest Philip, being delayed on their journey until the second *Action*, on the 10th of July.

Although fixed for the day of Pentecost, the fathers waited sixteen days for the coming of John of Antioch, but finally they opened their sessions in St. Mary's church on the 22nd of June. In the first *Action*, were read the Nicene Creed, the 2d epistle of Cyril to Nestorius, the epistle of Pope Cælestine to the same, and the Synodical Letter of Alexandria. Also was read, and declared heretical, the epistle of Nestorius to Cyril commencing, "The contumelies of your wonderful letters, &c." The testimony of the legates whom Cyril had sent to Nestorius was then taken, to the effect that he had not complied with the demands of the Pope. Theodotus of Ancyra, and Acacius of Melitus, also swore to having heard blasphemies from the mouth of Nestorius. Many extracts from various writings of the heresiarch

(1) During the minority of Theodosius II., the empire was governed by his elder sister, Pulcheria, a woman of heroic virtue, and now honored by the Church as a saint. Throughout his reign, she had great influence over him for his own and the people's good, but he often chafed under what his eunuchs, whom he too often consulted, termed a yoke.

were also presented to the Council, all manifestly heretical. Then the Synod pronounced the sentence of excommunication and deposition against Nestorius, "compelled by the sacred canons, and by the Epistle of the Most Holy Father and Co-minister, Cælestine, Bishop of the Roman Church." This sentence was inscribed "To Nestorius, the New Judas," and was sent to him. Theodosius, deceived by Count Candidian, who intercepted the *Synodical Relation to the Emperor*, now sent a rescript to the Council, declaring the proceedings defective (1), but the Council seems to have paid it no attention. In the second *Action*, the legates Arcadius, Projectus, and Philip, having arrived, the letter of Pope Cælestine to the Synod was read, the fathers acclaiming Cælestine as "the new Paul," the "Guardian of the Faith," &c. The legates then demanded that they should be informed of what had been already done, but this was postponed until the next session. In the third *Action*, the proceedings already held in the cause of Nestorius were read, and approved of by the Papal legates. A *Relation* was then sent to the emperor, informing him that the Pontifical legates had confirmed the deposition of the heresiarch, and requesting permission for the Synodals to leave Ephesus. In the fourth *Action*, as St. Cyril and Memnon presented a complaint against John of Antioch and his conciliabulars, for their pretended deposition of the complainants, the Council sent three bishops to John's residence to cite him before it. The summoners returned, reporting that they had been disrespectfully repelled by the guards, whereupon the fathers decreed John's action against Cyril and Memnon null and void. In the fifth *Action*, Cyril demanded that the bishop of Antioch should be forced to prove all his charges against the Alexandrian prelate, or be punished for calumny. Then John was again thrice cited to appear, and as he persisted in his obstinacy, sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him and his followers (2). In the sixth *Action*, the fathers

(1) John of Antioch had already, immediately upon his arrival at Ephesus, before proceeding to the Council, surrounded himself with 43 bishops at his residence, and caused them to sign a decree of deposition against St. Cyril and against Memnon of Ephesus, as guilty, the first of Apollinarism, the second of usurpation. He also threatened the other fathers with excommunication, unless, by a certain day, they joined his "Synod." He then sent a *Relation* of his proceedings to Theodosius, and remained at the head of his partisans.

(2) Liberatus, speaking of this condemnation of John of Antioch, says: "Therefore, Cyril

condemned the wicked *Symbol* of Theodore of Mopsueste, of whom we shall hear more when treating of the Controversy of the Three Chapters. The remaining *Actions* were devoted to cases of discipline respecting particular dioceses.

The office of "protector of the Church," of "external bishop," of "executor of the canons," &c., which the Roman Christian emperors, with the willing consent of the Popes, exercised in the early ages, was sometimes productive of serious evil. These sovereigns did not always observe, if indeed they always knew, the line of demarcation which separates the province of a protector from that of a ruler. And not unfrequently, the ignorance of theology and of most ecclesiastical matters, which must, almost from the nature of things, be part and parcel of the equipments of a more or less military autocrat, rendered the emperor a facile tool in the hands of ambitious churchmen and of theologistic courtiers. Theodosius the Younger was styled by the authors of his day "a most religious man," and yet he was sometimes led to exceed his authority, and to cause much trouble to the Church, though he wished to protect her. While his imperial mind was yet perplexed by the contrary *Relations* of the Ephesine Council and of the conciliabulars of John of Antioch, the fathers of the Synod thought best to send him ambassadors who would explain to him the true state of affairs. But three days before these arrived at Constantinople, the Count Irenaeus, a friend of Nestorius and of John, had come from Ephesus, and when they presented themselves to Theodosius, they found his mind preoccupied with prejudice against their cause. He allowed the two parties to dispute the case of John in a public audience, but the result was that he ordered his almoner, Count John, to return to Ephesus, to regard Cyril, Memnon, and Nestorius, as all three deposed, and to settle matters peacefully. Count John's first act was to arrest the three bishops, giving Cyril and Memnon to the care of one officer, and Nestorius to that of another. Horrified at this action, the

and Memnon, wishing to be revenged, condemned John and all who agreed with him, and with similar arrogance, visited both with many evils at Ephesus." *Brev.*, c. 6. But this author was a stern defender of the "Three Chapters," and, therefore, naturally hostile to the memory of St. Cyril.

fathers chose a faithful messenger, and to elude the vigilance of the partisans of Nestorius, they enclosed their new letter to the emperor in the hollow of a reed. In this epistle they firmly refused to communicate with John of Antioch and his brethren before these assented to the condemnation of Nestorius; they begged for the liberation of Cyril and Memnon, and asked the sovereign to receive and patiently listen to a new embassy they would send. In the reed they also enclosed a letter to all the bishops then in the capital, and to its clergy. The consequence was that Theodosius was so beset with supplications, that he decided to receive a delegation of seven from each side. He met the legates at Chalcedon, and having heard their respective arguments as to the validity of the *Acts* of Ephesus, the hopes of the Antiochians were crushed. On the 25th Oct., of the same year, 451, Maximian, a man of pure faith and confirmed piety, was consecrated bishop of Constantinople (1).

As for the convocation of the Council of Ephesus, Roncaglia, who labored strenuously to neutralize the Gallicanisms of the great work of Alexandre, feels compelled to admit that "it is difficult to prove, from the monuments of ecclesiastical history, that the Ephesine Synod assembled at the orders of Pope Cælestine. But there is no doubt that the Council is called legitimate, not because it was convoked by the emperor, but because at least the after-consent of the Roman Pontiff was accorded, since the right of calling General Councils belongs only to him who rules the whole Church, as Alexandre himself well shows in his dissertation on the convocation of the Council of Nice." The remarks which we made, when speaking of the convocation of the Nicene Synod, and which we shall have occasion to repeat when treating of that of the Council of Chalcedon, may also apply to the indiction of the Ephesine Synod. There is no doubt as to the presidency of this Council, for the *Acts* plainly show that until the arrival of the other legates of Rome, St. Cyril presided by virtue of his

(1) In the following year, John of Antioch signed a Confession of Faith drawn up by St. Cyril. Nestorius died in exile, in an oasis of Libya, about the year 440.

appointment by the Pontiff to hold his place in all matters relating to Nestorius ; they also show that after the advent of Arcadius, Projectus, and Philip, all presided in unison.

The authors of the Gallican, Aulic, and Protestant schools contend that in the Council of Ephesus, it was the action of the fathers that impressed upon the mind of the Catholic world the fact that the doctrine of Nestorius was heretical, and not the action of the Roman Pontiff. They hold that the reformability of a Papal decree by a General Council is shown in this instance, for, they say, the fathers of Ephesus examined the letters of Pope Cælestine to Cyril before they assented to them. We answer that the bishops certainly did order the letters to be read ; the documents were issued to be acted upon, and therefore they had to be examined. But, as we shall have occasion again to say, when treating of other Councils, a judicial and critical examination is one thing, and an examination for information is another ; the reading of the Pontifical letters at Ephesus belonged to the latter, not to the former category. If we read attentively the letters of Cælestine and Cyril, and the *Acts* of the Council, we must conclude that the Pontiff regarded the cause of Nestorius as finished before the Synod met ; that so it was looked upon by Cyril and the fathers. Then of what use was the Council ? Why so much trouble, expense, and danger ? Not, certainly, for a definitive judgment of the cause, but in order that, by a manifestation of the will of the entire episcopate, the audacity of heresy might be the more easily checked, and error more readily refuted. Again, a Pontifical definition is made to be received, and to be received solemnly, and submissively, and officially ; there is no way of doing this so appropriate and effective as that furnished by a General Council.

Nothing can be more certain than that Pope Cælestine did not hand over the cause of Nestorius to the will of the Council ; he simply ordered that it should do what was necessary to carry into effect the decision he had already given at Rome. In his instructions to his legates, he said, "You will in all things consult our brother, the bishop Cyril (already made Papal legate), and you will perform what-

ever you see to be in his power to decide ; and we command that the authority of the Holy See be respected. For the instructions, which you have received, tell you that you must be present at the Council ; *if they come to a disputation, you must judge among their opinions, and not undergo a struggle.*" These words, which are as literally those of Cælestine as merely decent translation will permit, certainly show that he regarded his decision as definitive. In his epistle to the Ephesine prelates, he says : " On account of our solicitude, we have sent to you our brother priests, the bishops Arcadius and Projectus, and the priest Philip, who are of one mind with ourselves, who will be present at all that is done, and who will execute what we have established." This epistle was brought to the Council by the legates themselves, and as they did not arrive until after the condemnation of Nestorius, the fathers had acted before they read it. Nevertheless, in pronouncing sentence in the first *Action*, the bishops said, " Compelled by the holy canons, and by the epistle of our Most Holy Father and co-minister Cælestine, bishop of the Roman Church, and covered with tears, we necessarily come to the sorrowful sentence against Nestorius." The epistle here mentioned must have been the one sent to St. Cyril long before the Council ; hence, we conclude that the Synod thought the decree of Cælestine definitive. Again, in the second *Action*, Firmus, bishop of the Cappadocian Cæsarea, said to the Apostolic legates, " The Holy Apostolic See, through the letters of Cælestine sent to the most religious bishops, Cyril of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, &c., before the present business, prescribed the sentence and the rule which we have followed. since Nestorius has not appeared when cited by us, we have put into execution that form, pronouncing against him the canonical and apostolic judgment." And if we consider the conduct of the Papal legates in the second *Action*, our position is still more secure. They presented the following demand : " We request that you order to be made known to us that which has been done in this Holy Synod before our coming, in order that in accordance with the decree of our Blessed Pope, and with that of this present holy

company, we also may confirm it that following the formula of the Most Holy Pope Cælestine, who has committed this task unto us, we may confirm the judgments of your holiness." Here the legates declare that the decree of the Council must be *confirmed* by them ; is not that a clear assertion of the Papal superiority ? And the fathers acquiesced.

In the first *Action*, the Ephesine fathers speak of Nestorius as "most reverend" and "most religious," but this does not prove that they disregarded the decree of Cælestine. As yet Nestorius had not been condemned, when these terms were used ; up to the very moment of his sentence, he enjoyed a strict right to receive the terms of courtesy and respect due to his elevated position as bishop of Constantinople. Nor can it be urged that the Pontiff had decreed his deposition if he did not recant within ten days from his receipt of the decree ; that therefore the use of such respectful terms towards him implies an ignoring of the Papal sentence. For we know from the last letter of the Pope to St. Cyril, that a further delay of time had been mercifully accorded. This letter was read in the second *Action*, and contains the following passage : "Thou askest whether the Holy Synod ought to receive a man who condemns what it teaches, and whether the sentence yet holds good, now that the time of delay has elapsed. Upon this matter, let us together consult our common Lord. Does He not instantly answer by the prophet, that he does not wish the death of the dying, and by the apostle Paul, that he wishes every man to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of truth ? I study Catholic peace ; I study the salvation of the perishing one, if he is willing to avow his malady If he is to perish, let him see that you are not quick to shed blood, when he knows that a remedy is extended to him."

Having briefly sketched the course and significance of the Council of Ephesus, we will in a few words indicate the fortunes of Nestorianism after the definitive condemnation of its leader. We refer the reader who desires a fuller account than our limits permit us to give, to the valuable Dic-

tionary of Bergier. Proscribed by the Roman emperors, the Nestorians sought the protection of the Persian monarchs, and the enmity of the two states proved favorable to them. They founded celebrated schools at Edessa, and established the patriarchate of Seleucia. When Mohammedanism overran the Eastern countries, the conquerors proved quite lenient towards the Nestorians, then called "Oriental Christians," and even under that savage regime they preserved enough vitality to send their missionaries into China, establishing missions which lasted until the thirteenth century. At this day, Nestorianism is professed by the schismatic portion of the Chaldean Christians, and, according to Mosheim, it is to their immortal honor that they are the only Eastern Christians who have avoided the superstitions of the Greek and Latin churches. When Mosheim made this assertion, he knew that the modern Nestorians agreed with the Mother Church in teaching seven sacraments, transubstantiation, the worship of saints, prayer for the dead. And as for what he calls their purity of doctrine, he knew that they teach that our souls are created before our bodies ; that they deny original sin ; that they teach that not until the last day do we receive our final award ; that they hold that hell is not eternal. It is worthy of note, since Protestants have such sympathy for all the Orientals who hold aloof from Rome, that in their liturgy the Nestorians persist in the use of a "dead language" ; they never use the vernacular, but always the ancient Syriac, following the custom of all the other schismatic churches of the East, not one of which has its liturgy in the language of its people. Nor should we omit to note that these Nestorian Christians regard as canonical precisely the same books of Scripture which Rome presents to her children, and if our Protestant friends would reflect a little upon this fact, they would not be so confident that their canon of Scripture is correct (1). There have been several tentatives of reconciliation with Rome on the part of the Nestorians. Thus, in the year 1304, their patriarch Iaballaha sent a profession of ortho-

(1) Another fact should be noted by the Protestant friends of these Asiatic schismatics. During the seven hundred years of the Nestorian missions in Tartary, they never presented their converts with a Tartar version of the Bible. This was done, however, by a Franciscan friar in the fourteenth century.

doxy to Pope Benedict XI. ; in the pontificate of Pius IV., the patriarch Sulaka did the same ; the latter's successor, Ehedjesus, came to Rome and made his abjuration, received from the Supreme Pontiff the pallium, and returning home, made many converts. In the year 1771, Dominican missionaries received into the fold the Nestorian patriarch, then resident at Mozul, and five of his suffragan bishops. From that time to the present, there has been a flourishing Chaldean church in communion with Rome, and governed by its own patriarch. And now for a few words upon those Nestorians who are known in history as the "Christians of St. Thomas." In the year 1500, the Portuguese, having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and penetrated into India, were thunder-struck on coming upon a community of Christians on the coast of Malabar. These people called themselves "Christians of St. Thomas," and had for a pastor only a bishop who was sent to them by the Nestorian patriarch of Mozul. They declared that their ancestors had been converted by the Apostle, St. Thomas (1), but, according to Govea, the Augustinian historian of the mission which John of Albuquerque, archbishop of Goa, seconded by the Jesuits, established among them, they erred in many things besides the doctrine of the Incarnation. Their very errors, however, furnish good arguments to Catholic controversialists, for in them all can be traced an original belief in the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Some Protestant authors have endeavored to show, by means of these "Christians of St. Thomas," that primitive Christianity must have been more Protestant than Catholic. If Protestants hold the necessity of an episcopal hierarchy, if they believe in Transubstantiation and in confession, if they enforce the celibacy of their bishops, and devoutly observe the fasts of Lent, &c., then they may be of some kith and kin with these Nestorians. At present, the Malabar Christians number about three hundred thousand ; less than fifty thousand are Nestorians, and the rest are about equally divided between the Latin and Syriac rites of the Roman Church. Those of the latter rite have native priests.

(1) Bergier shows, under the article ST. THOMAS, that their assertion has some fair arguments in its favor.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE FAITH PREACHED BY ST. PATRICK.

“Is it not known to all that the things which have been delivered to the Roman Church by Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and preserved ever since, should be observed by all; and that nothing is to be introduced, devoid of authority, or borrowed elsewhere? Especially as it is manifest that no one has founded churches for all Italy, the Gauls, Spain, Africa, and the interjacent islands, except such priests as were appointed by the venerable Peter and his successors?”

(1) From the earliest times, the Roman Pontiffs constantly carried out the commission of our Lord to feed His lambs, and all the Northern nations of Europe were converted by their missionaries. It is unknown when the name of Christ was first carried to Ireland, but during the Pontificate of Cælestine I. (422–432), the islanders were not numbered among Christian peoples. According to the *Chronicle* of St. Prosper, published about the year 434, “Palladius was ordained by Pope Cælestine, and sent as first bishop to the Irish (2) believing in Christ.” The *Life of St. Patrick*, in the *Book of Armagh*, written by Muirchu-Maccu-Maetheni before the year 700, records that “Palladius, archdeacon of Pope Cælestine, bishop of Rome, and 45th successor of St. Peter in the Apostolic See, was ordained and sent to convert this island, lying under wintry cold. But he was unsuccessful, for no one can receive anything from earth unless it be given to him from heaven; and neither did these fierce barbarians receive his doctrine readily, nor did he wish to remain long in a land not his own; wherefore, he returned to him who sent him. On his way, however, after passing

(1) *Pope St. Innocent I.; Epistle to Decentius.*

(2) The text has *ad Scotos*, but, as we had occasion to remark, when treating of the Paschal controversy, in the fifth century Ireland was the only land known by the name of *Scotia*. “Even in the time of Bede,” says Dr. Todd, “*Scotia* meant no country but Ireland, and *Scoti* no people but the inhabitants of Ireland.” See Todd’s *St. Patrick*, p. 232.

the first sea, having begun his land journey, he died in the territory of the Britains." The scholiast on St. Fiacc's Hymn (1), whose writings the best Celtic philologists refer to the 7th or 8th century, says, that landing in Wicklow, Palladius "founded some churches, *Teach-na-Roman*, or House of the Romans, *Killfine*, and others. Nevertheless, he was not well received by the people, but was forced to sail around the coast towards the north, until he was driven by a tempest to the land of the Picts, where he founded the church of Fordun; and there he is known by the name of Pledi" (2). But with the advent of St. Patrick, the light of Christianity shone upon Ireland. Probably born, certainly brought up, near Boulogne-sur-Mer (*Bonaven Taberniae*, say the *Confessions*), in France, Patrick was led a captive to Ireland, and sold as a slave to a chieftain named Milchu (3). When in his twenty-second year, he gained his liberty, and dedicated himself to God in the monastery of Marmontier, near Tours. After a few years, he went to the "blessed island" of Lerins, the founder of which holy retreat, St. Honoratus, was still living; among his companions at this monastery, were Sts. Hilary of Arles, Eucherius of Lyons, and Lupus of Troyes, together with the famous author, Vincent of Lerins. When, in 429, Sts. Germain of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes were sent by Pope Cælestine to combat Pelagianism in Britain, Patrick accompanied them, thus receiving his first training for the apostolate under the guidance of the legate of the Holy See. St. Palladius was at this time destined for the Irish mission, and St. Germain thought that Patrick, from his knowledge of the language and customs of the people would be a valuable acquisition to the apostolic messenger,

(1) The learned Irish archaeologist, George Petrie, says that it is itself given in MSS. which cannot be later than the ninth. *Essay on Tara*, p. 71.

(2) COLGAN; *Trias Thaum.*, p. 5. The reader will notice that Palladius did not reach the "land of the Picts" (modern *Scotland*), until after he had sailed around the island of the "Scots," and been driven thence by a tempest. We draw his attention to the conclusion, although there is no longer any doubt among the learned in such matters, that, before the eleventh century, the term *Scotia* was applied only to Ireland, the proper name of Scotland being *Caledonia*. The latter country changed its name to Scotland, only after its colonization by the Scots or Irish.

(3) The most ancient authority, St. Fiacc, mentions *Nemthur* as Patrick's birthplace, and the *Three Lives* identify *Nemthur* and the *Campus Taberniae*. Probus says that the *Vicus Bannave Taburniae* regionis was in *Neutrid*. On the other hand, the scholiast on St. Fiacc's Hymn, and the *Tripartite Life* say that *Nemthur* was the same as *Alcluda*; hence Usher asserted that Patrick was borne at Alclud in Scotland, now Dumbarton. The 4th *Life* seems to reconcile these conflicting statements, identifying *Nemthur* with Armorian *Bonavem*, and adding that it was in the district of *Strato-clud*, or Alclud. MORAN; *Early Irish Church*, p. 9.

“St. Patrick,” writes Probus “poured forth to God the following prayer: ‘O Lord Jesus Christ, lead me, I beseech Thee, to the seat of the Holy Roman Church, that, *receiving authority there* to preach with confidence Thy sacred truths, the Irish nation may, through my ministry, be gathered to the fold of Christ.’ And soon after, being about to proceed to Ireland, this man of God, Patrick, went, as he had wished, to Rome, the head of all churches, and having asked and received the Apostolic blessing, he returned by the same road by which he had gone thither” (1). Having secured the consent and blessing of Pope Cælestine for his future labors, Patrick journeyed back to Auxerre to see his patron, St. Germain; he then left for his mission, but, hearing, on the way, that St. Palladius had died, he paused to receive episcopal consecration at the hands of Amatorex (2). He finally set out for Ireland in the summer of 432, accompanied by Analius, Iserminus, and some others. It is not within our province to enter into the particulars of St. Patrick’s wonderful career. It is more or less familiar to every Catholic, and for such Protestants as have agiological tastes, there is access to many biographies of value. We propose, however, to treat of some questions concerning the great apostle, which have been mooted by certain Protestants of the Anglican and Presbyterian schools—questions which, though calculated merely to provoke a smile on the part of one ordinarily well versed in historical matters, yet have been seriously proposed, and, by many, willingly entertained. The subject matter of our investigations has engaged the pens of many erudite and zealous critics, but, to our mind, no writer has so well succeeded as Dr. Moran, in his learned work on the early Irish church (3). We can do no better than avail ourselves of his patient and discriminating research, and refer the reader, if he desires fuller information,

(1) Probus’ *Life of St. Patrick*, in Colgan’s *Trias Thaum.*, p. 49.

(2) It is difficult to determine the identity of this prelate. Some of the old biographies call him Amator. Moran conjectures that he was St. Lupus of Troyes. The old Latin treatise on the Irish Liturgy says that, after Cælestine, Sts. Germain and Lupus had the chief part in sending St. Patrick to Ireland.

(3) *Essays on the Origin, Doctrines, and Discipline of the Early Irish Church*, by Rev. Dr. Moran, Vice Rector of the Irish College, and professor of Hebrew in the Propaganda Rome; now archbishop of Sydney.

to a really interesting and exhaustive treatise (1). The less complete, but yet instructive essay by Gaffney, entitled *The Ancient Irish Church*, may also be recommended to the student.

The first, and certainly the most amusing, question which is raised with regard to St. Patrick, is whether or not he belongs to the mythical region occupied by the British Arthur, the Popess Joan, and William Tell. The existence of our saint was denied for the first time by Ledwich (2) who based his assertion on the assumption that the great missionary was unknown to all who wrote previous to the ninth century. This foolish theory can soon be dismissed, for, says Moran, "All the Christian traditions of Ireland are clustered around the memory of St. Patrick. Her hills, and islands, and streamlets, and fountains re-echo his name. Every monument that traces the line of separation between Christianity and Paganism in Ireland, rests for its basis on his existence. And hence, even should we suppose the assumption of Dr. Ledwich, as regards the silence of her early records, to be true, yet it would not suffice to warrant the conclusion which he would fain deduce from it." But the would-be skeptic is wrong in his assertion that St. Patrick was known to no writer before the ninth century. In the eighth century, Ængus, in his *Felire*, marks the feast of St. Patrick (3). The Irish "Collection of Canons," preserved in MSS. of the same century, contains decrees enacted by him. The famous Stowe Missal, which Dr. Todd admits to be at least of that period, has St. Patrick's name in the Litany. Alcuin calls him the "glory of the Scottish race." In the seventh century, Adamnan speaks of a bishop who was "the disciple of holy bishop Patrick" (4). The Antiphonary of Bangor, composed before the year 691 (5), has a "Hymn of St. Patrick, Teacher of the Scots." St. Cummian Fota (d. 661), left a Hymn in honor of the

(1) The reader may also consult with profit Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History*, the works issued by the Irish Archaeological Society, and O'Curry's *MS. Materials of Irish History*.

(2) *Antiquities of Ireland*.

(3) CURRY; *Lectures*, p. 368. PETRIE; *Essay on Tara*, p. 89.

(4) REEVES; *Columba*.

(5) LANIGAN; *Eccles. Hist.*, v. 1, p. 59.

Apostles, the sixteenth strophe of which is devoted to St. Patrick. St. Cummian Albus, abbot of Iona, in his life of the founder, speaks, at the very beginning, of "St. Patrick, first apostle of Ireland." In an Irish poem by St. Cuimin of Connor, one verse is devoted to the fasting of "Patrick, of Ardmacha's city, the son of Calphurn." In the letter of the abbot of Durrow on the Paschal controversy, written in 634, one of the arguments for the use of the Roman computation is that it was used by "our father Patrick" (1). In the sixth century, St. Columba, the Irish apostle of Scotland, terminates his transcription of the Gospels, with a prayer to "the holy bishop Patrick" (2). Some of the Saint's deeds are commemorated in the Hymn of St. Fiace, even the Scholia to which Usher ascribes to the sixth century. St. Fiace refers to still earlier records regarding St. Patrick, and the *Tripartite Life*, supposed to be by St. Evin, gives customs and proverbs originating in the apostle's deeds and teaching. So much for the assertion that St. Patrick was unknown to all who wrote before the ninth century.

We now come to the nature of the doctrine preached by St. Patrick. A certain class of Protestants in Ireland noisily proclaim that the religion taught by our saint was not that at present held by the Irish masses; that, in fine, the doctrines now presented by the Anglican establishment were those inculcated by him, and that this institution itself is the self-same church founded by the apostle (3). In refutation of this theory, we shall now examine, firstly, into the senti-

(1) USHER; *Sylloges Epp.* cp. 11.

(2) WESTWOOD; *Paleogr. Sac.* O'CONOR; *Writers*, 1—182.

(3) The London *Times*, of May 20th, 1863, gives the following remarks of James Whiteside, M. P., in the House of Commons: "If I were asked to say why I maintain that branch of the church which exists in Ireland, my answer would be, plainly and directly, that I maintain it because I believe it upholds the ancient, pure, Catholic, faith which was professed in Ireland, centuries before the English set foot in that country. The ablest scholars, the best divines, the soundest antiquaries, are agreed upon that point; and no man has proved it more logically, or more conclusively, than Canon Wordsworth. In the series of discourses which he delivered in Westminster Abbey, for the purpose of establishing our claim to be the true descendants of the ancient Catholic Church in Ireland. That man is profoundly ignorant who attacks the ancient church in Ireland. The question between us and the Roman Catholics is, which of us most nearly conforms to that church? Few will venture to deny that the argument of the divine who compared the ancient creed with that which we repeat every Sabbath-day—who showed that the Nicene Creed agrees, in substance, with that established by St. Patrick—was conclusive; and, therefore, I maintain that the church in Ireland preserves the old, ancient, true, Catholic faith" (cheers). The cool impudence of this assumption is only equalled by the audacity that appeals to "the ablest scholars and antiquaries" for help in sustaining it. Was such the opinion of O'Donovan, by far the best Irish antiquarian of the age? Was O'Curry, the best historian of ancient Ireland, of this belief?

ments of the early Irish Christians in regard to the Roman See.

"As true," says Wilde, "as that the Irish people were governed by their own kings and princes, and were amenable to their own laws and Brehons only, up to the middle of the twelfth century, so true is it that the Irish Catholic church was independent of all foreign rule, in either temporal or spiritual matters, until the beginning of that period" (1). With regard to any temporal suzerainty of the Roman Pontiff over Ireland, either before or after the twelfth century, we have nothing to say. We propose to decide this question—Was the spiritual supremacy of the Pope of Rome acknowledged by the early Irish church? We shall prove that it was, firstly, because the Irish church was founded by the Church of Rome, and accepted her doctrines, one of which was the Papal supremacy; secondly, because that supremacy was expressly avowed by the early Irish ecclesiastical writers, and attested by the canonical enactments of the early Irish church; thirdly, because it was the custom of the early Irish church to appeal to the Holy See, and to be guided by its decisions. As to the foundation of the Irish church, Usher admits the Roman mission of Sts. Palladius and Patrick. "From the first legation of Palladius and Patricius, *who were sent to plant the faith* in this country, it cannot be shown out of any monument of antiquity, that the bishop of Rome ever sent any of his legates before Gillebertus," &c. (2). Nor could Usher avoid the admission, for Eric of Auxerre, a French monk of the ninth century, says of St. Patrick, that "as Germain saw him magnanimous in religion, eminent for virtue, strenuous in the sacred ministry, and thinking it unfit that so strong a husbandman should be listless in the cultivation of God's harvest, he sent him to holy Cælestine, the Pope of the city of Rome, accompanied by his own priest, Segetius, who might bear witness to his ecclesiastical probity at the Apostolic See. Being thus approved by its judgment, leaning on its authority, and strengthened by its blessing, he journeyed to Ireland, and being given to that people as its chosen apostle, he illustrated

(1) *Boyne and Blackwater*, p. 281. (2) *Religion of Ancient Irish*, c. VIII.

the whole nation at that time, indeed, by his preaching and miracles, as he continues to do at the present day, and will continue forever to illustrate it by the wonderful privileges of his apostolate." Mark the Anchorite wrote his *History of the Britons* in 822, and in it we find a short sketch of the life of our saint, which may justly be taken as deriving from the most authentic records (1). "Under divine guidance Patrick was instructed in the sacred Scriptures, and then he went to Rome and remained there a long time, studying, and being filled with the Holy Ghost, learning the holy Scriptures and the Sacred Mysteries. And whilst he was there applying himself to these pursuits, Palladius was sent by Pope Cælestine as first bishop to convert the Irish to Christ; but God, by some storms and signs, prevented his success; and no one can receive aught on earth, unless it be given to him from above. This Palladius, returning from Ireland to Britain, died there in the land of the Picts. The death of bishop Palladius being known, the patricians Theodosius and Valentinian being the Roman rulers, Patrick was sent by Pope Cælestine, the angel of God, Victor, accompanying, guiding, and assisting him, and by bishop German, to convert the Irish to the belief in the Holy Trinity." The ancient and most authentic of the Irish annalists also derive the mission of St. Patrick from the Holy See. Thus, the Four Masters write: "St. Patrick was ordained to the episcopacy by the holy Pope Cælestine, the first who commissioned him to come to Ireland and preach, and give to the Irish the precepts of faith and religion" (2). And the Annals of Innisfallen say that "Patrick came from Rome, bishop, into Ireland, and devoutly preached here the faith of Christ" (3). The Annals of Ulster begin: "In the year from the Incarnation of our Lord 431, Palladius was by Pope Cælestine ordained bishop of the Irish, Ætius and Valerian being consuls. He was the first that was sent to Ireland that they might be converted to Christ. . . . In the year 432, Patrick came to Ireland in the ninth year of Theodosius the Younger

(1) "*History of the Britons by the Anchorite Mark*;" from a Vatican MS. of the 10th century, and published in 1819, by W. Gun, London.

(2) *Four Masters*, by O'Donovan, y. 432.

(3) An interesting account of these Annals is given in Curry's *Lectures*, p. 75.

and first of the episcopacy of Sixtus. Sixtus was the forty-second bishop of Rome, as Bede, and Marcellin, and Isidore reckon in their chronicles In the year 439, Secundinus, Auxilius, and Iserninus, were sent as bishops into Ireland to assist St. Patrick." The great chronicle of Marianus Scotus, which the Anglican Reeves admits to be "the most elaborate historical production of the middle ages, and always enjoying the highest encomiums of the learned" (1), was composed in the eleventh century (2). It thus chronicles the mission of St. Patrick: "In the eighth year of Theodosius, Bassus and Antiochus being consuls, Palladius was ordained by Pope Cælestine, and sent as first bishop to the Irish believing in Christ. After him was sent St. Patrick, who, being a Briton by birth, was consecrated by Pope St. Cælestine, and sent to the archiepiscopate of Ireland. There, during sixty years, he confirmed his preaching by signs and miracles, and converted the whole island to the faith of Christ." St. Patrick himself refers to the See of Peter as the source of Ireland's Christianity (3). He thus exhorts his converts: "Thanks be to God, you have passed from the kingdom of Satan to the city of God; the church of the Irish is a church of Romans; as you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome." The great Columbanus wrote to the Roman Pontiff, less than a hundred years from the death of St. Patrick, that "The Catholic faith is held unshaken by us as it was delivered to us by you, the successors of the holy Apostles" (4). The *Leabhar Breac*, described by the Protestant Petrie as "the oldest and best Irish MS. relating to Church history now preserved, or which perhaps the Irish ever, possessed" (5), and which is certainly the chief collection of religious compositions extant in Gaelic, gives the following attestation of the Roman commission of Palladius and Patrick: "The year that Patrick came to Ireland was the 433rd

(1) Translation of *Wattenbach's Irish Monasteries in Germany*, p. 13, note q.

(2) The proper name of Marianus Scotus was Maelbrigte (servant of Bridget). Born in Ulster in 1028, he became a monk in 1052, and four years later, entered the Irish monastery of St. Martin at Cologne. He removed to Mentz in 1069, and there worked out his great Chronicle. The autograph copy, with Marianus' signature, is preserved in the Vatican.

(3) *Sayings of St. Patrick*, in the Book of Armagh. This celebrated book was transcribed in 807, and was then believed to have been originally written by St. Patrick. This has been skilfully proved by the Protestant Graves. See Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Nov. 30, 1846.

(4) *Epistle to Boniface IV.*

(5) *Tara*, p. 74.

from the Incarnation, in the 9th year of the reign of Theodosius, king of the world, and in the 1st year of the episcopacy of Sixtus, the successor of Peter, and in the 4th year of the reign of Leoghaire Mac Niall, at Tara, and in the 60th year of his own age. For sixty years he baptized and instructed the men of Erin, as Fiacc says, 'He preached, for three score years, the crucifixion of Christ to the tribes of the Feni.' And here is the character given by Heleran of Patrick, at the time when he brought an account of him to Clonard: 'Meek and great was the son of Calphurn, a vine-branch laden with fruit'. . . . Palladius was sent by Pope Cælestine with a gospel for Patrick to preach it to the Irish. This was the 401st year from the crucifixion of Christ (1). In the year after this, Patrick went to preach in Ireland, Ætius and Valerius being consuls. It was in this year that Sixtus assumed the supremacy of Rome after Cælestine, and it was the 4th of the reign of Leoghaire, son of Niall, at Tara." From all these authorities it is evident that the Irish church was founded by the Church of Rome, and was a daughter of that Church.

We now propose to show that the early Irish church turned to Rome with filial reverence, and acknowledged the divinely guaranteed authority of the Holy See. This is evinced, firstly, from the writings of early Irish ecclesiastics. In the old Irish monastery of Reichenau, the eminent antiquarian, Francis Mone, discovered, a few years ago, some valuable Irish MSS. of the 8th and 9th centuries, in which were contained two Hymns very pertinent to our thesis (2). In the first, St. Peter "holds the place of Christ, and feeds His sacred fold;" he is styled "the foundation of the Universal Christian Church;" he is pronounced "the legislator of the Most High;" and he is adorned with "the aureola of Rome, in which city he is destined to reign with an ever-enduring triumph." In the second, the Apostle is called the key-bearer of the heavenly kingdom, for all time; he is the pontiff of souls, the shepherd of all the fold of Christ. St. Cum-

(1) The Irish writers generally assign the crucifixion to the year 31 of the vulgar era. For reason of discrepancy, see Alexandre's *Dissert. II.*, in 1st Cent.

(2) *Latin Hymns of the Middle Ages*; Freiburg, 1855.

mian Fota (1), born in 590, of whom the scholiast on the *Feliré* of *Ængus* says that, when he and other saints prayed to God for different graces, that of wisdom fell to Cumman, has the following passage, in a Hymn on the Apostles: "Rejoice, O New Jerusalem! Solemnize the gladsome festivals of Christ, and exult in the commemorations of the Apostles—of Peter the key-bearer, the first pastor, the mystic fisherman, who, with the Gospel-net, draws in the spiritual fish of Christ." The *Penitential* of this same St. Cumman Fota (the Tall) was the basis of many similar codes in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries (2). In this work, the saint shows how, in his time, contempt for Roman customs was punished. Having prescribed a fast of forty days for any pastor who, through ignorance, allows a heretic to say Mass in his church, and having extended the fast to a year, if the heresy is public, he adds: "But should he thus permit any individual to celebrate, through contempt for the Catholic Church, and for the customs of Rome, he himself shall be cast off as a heretic, unless he do penance, and his penance shall last for ten years." One of the most important monuments of the Irish church is the *Missal of St. Columbanus* (3), first published by Mabillon in 1724, and the MS. of which the learned Benedictine judged to be then "more than a thousand years old" (4). In the Mass assigned in this *Missal* to the feast of the Chair of St. Peter, the prince of the Apostles is said to hold "the keys of heaven, the dignity of the Pontifical chair; so great a power, that what he binds, none can loosen, and what he loosens, shall be loosed also in heaven; a throne of exalted dignity, where he will sit in judgment on all the nations of the earth." And the first Collect of the same Mass says, "Oh God! who on this day didst give to St. Peter, after Thyself, the headship of the whole Church, we humbly pray Thee, that as Thou didst constitute him pastor for the safety of the flock, and that Thy sheep might be preserved from error, so now Thou may-

(1) His contemporaries styled him the Gregory the Great of Ireland.

(2) In his Appendix III., Dr. Moran proves that this *Penitential* cannot be ascribed to any other author than St. Cumman the Tall.

(3) Brought from Bobbio to the Ambrosian Library by Cardinal Frederick Borromeo.

(4) *Italian Museum*, v. 1.

est save us through his intercession." "The monastery of Bangor," says Moran, "was the school of sanctity from which Columbanus went forth, towards the close of the sixth century, to renew the well-nigh spent civilization of Gaul, Germany, and Italy. The memory of few of the Irish saints has been better preserved on the continent than that of Columbanus, and of none do so many written memorials still remain. It is owing to this circumstance that we are able to enter more fully into an examination of his teaching concerning the prerogatives of the Holy See, than we have done in regard to the other ancient writers of the Irish church. Indeed, his letter to Pope Boniface is so replete with expressions of reverential devotedness to Rome, that it is difficult to refrain from quoting the whole of that noble document. Our saint had just settled in North Italy, and on every side was encompassed by those who warmly defended the well-known schism of the 'Three Chapters.' King Agilulf, at whose request St. Columbanus wrote this letter to the Pontiff, was himself the patron of the schismatics, and hence the holy man, fearing lest he might, perhaps, be betrayed into some error by the influence of those who surrounded him, at the very outset of his letter declares that whatever 'he shall say useful or orthodox, was to be reputed to the Pontiff's praise, but if any word, perchance, should bear the impress of intemperate zeal, it was to be referred 'not to any insubordination, but to his own individual lack of wisdom and discretion.' " The letter is addressed to "the most beautiful Head of all the churches of the whole of Europe; to the beloved Pope; the exalted prelate; the most reverend overseer; the pastor of pastors," &c. The Pontiffs are designated as "the masters, the steersmen, the mystic pilots of the spiritual ship, that is, the Church." Of the Irish people, he says: "We are the scholars of Sts. Peter and Paul, and of all disciples subscribing by the Holy Ghost to the divine canon; all are Irish, inhabitants of the remotest part of the whole world, receiving nothing save what is Evangelic and Apostolic doctrine. None of us has been a heretic, none a Jew, none a schismatic; but the faith, just as it was at first delivered by you, the successors of the

holy Apostles, is held unshaken. *We are, as I said before, bound to the Chair of St. Peter. For although Rome is great and illustrious, yet it is only through this Chair that she is great and renowned amongst us.*"

The Anglican Murray (1) says that the language of this letter is "too strong to allow us to suppose that the Irish monk, who used it, considered Pope Boniface, whom he was addressing, to be the head of the Church." And yet the writer expressly styles the Pontiff "pastor of pastors," and if he writes with that energy which might be expected from one who had grown old in the apostolate, he adds, as though anticipating Murray's objection, "therefore, freely will I speak, for I address our spiritual masters, the steersmen and pilots of the mystic ship." Murray also asserts that St. Columbanus says "it is possible for the see of Rome to forfeit Apostolic honor by not preserving the Apostolic faith." This is a deliberate falsification of the text (2), which reads: "That you may not lack Apostolic honor, preserve the Apostolic faith, confirm," &c. The idea of Columbanus is, that if the Pontiff were slow in repressing heresy, he would merit reproach, not praise; but he does not insinuate that, even then, the supremacy of the See would be affected. When our saint summons Boniface to "preserve the Apostolic faith," he addresses him as the universal pastor. "The sheep," he says, "are affrighted by the approach of wolves; wherefore use, O Pope, the whistlings and well-known voice of the true shepherd, and stand between the sheep and the wolves, so that, casting away their fear, the sheep may in everything find thee the first pastor. Set, in a manner, higher than all mortals, and exalted near unto the celestial beings, lift up thy voice as a trumpet, that thou mayest show their wicked doings to the people of thy Lord, entrusted to thee by Him." Claude, bishop of Auxerre, better known as Claudius Clemens, an Irish writer of the ninth century, is the next to whose testimony we

(1) Dean of Ardagh, and author of a "History of Ireland and her Church."

(2) "*Ut ergo honore Apostolico non careas, conserva fidem Apostolicam, confirma testimonio,*" etc.

would draw attention. In his *Commentary on the Gospels* (1), there are some passages which Usher tries to endow with a Protestant sense, by dint of omitting the context, or by forced interpretation (2). Among the passages omitted, is the following: "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The word *key*, then, does not here refer to anything material formed by the hand of man, but it indicates the judiciary power. He who with a zeal greater than the rest, acknowledged Christ, was deservedly, in a special manner, endowed with the keys of the kingdom of heaven." This also is omitted: "But blessed Peter, who had acknowledged Christ in the fulness of faith, and loved Him with a true love, received, in a special manner, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, *and the principedom of judiciary authority*, that thus all the faithful throughout the universe might understand, that *whosoever in any manner separates himself from the unity of his faith and communion, such a one can neither be absolved from the bonds of sin, nor enter the portals of the kingdom of heaven.*" We would remind the reader of the testimony of St. Cumminian the hermit (3), whom, when treating of the Paschal question, we cited as saying, "An old authority,' says Jerome, 'rises up against me. Meanwhile, I shout out, whosoever is joined to the Chair of Peter, with him shall I be.'" One of the ancient Brehon Laws, and preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, is given in an Irish tract called, "On Injury and Assault to Ecclesiastics." It proceeds by question and answer and lays down the ancient legislation of the Irish in regard to the respect due to churchmen. In it we read: "Which is the highest dignity on earth? Answer—The dignity of the Church. Which is the highest dignity in the Church? Answer—The dignity of a bishop, and the highest of bishops is the bishop of Peter's Church, to whom the Roman kings are subject."

(1) This *Commentary* has been attributed to the contemporaneous Claude of Turin; but the internal evidence is in favor of the Irishman, as well as the Cambridge MS., which has the title "*Claudii Scoti Commentarius.*" Such is the opinion of Usher, Ware, Colgan, Harris, and Rothe.

(2) See Moran *p.* 3, c. 1.

(3) Some confound this writer with St. Cumminian Fota, but Colgan, together with the ancient tradition of Ireland, identifies him with Cumminian the Fair, abbot of Hy, who died in 669. More modern authors reject the latter theory, Moran thinks, on very slight grounds. This Cumminian at one time ruled the monastery of Durrow, but all the schollasts are silent as to any connection of Cumminian Fota with Durrow.

After assigning the respective fines for various injuries to clerics, the tract continues : "Where is this doctrine found ? Answer—It is found in the treatise which Augustine wrote upon the Degrees of the Church, and upon the fines and the reparation to be made ; and it is thus, according to the rule of the Church of Peter, empress of the whole world."

(1). Seventy years before the English invasion of Ireland, Gille-Esperic (Gillebert) was appointed bishop of Lunnach, *anglice*, Limerick. One of his first episcopal acts was to congratulate St. Anselm on having "induced the untamable minds of the Normans to submit to the canons of the holy Fathers" (2). He also addressed a treatise on the "Ecclesiastical State" to all the Irish clergy, from which we take the following : "The picture I have drawn sheweth that all the Church's members are to be brought under one chief bishop, to wit, Christ and His vicar, blessed Peter the Apostle, and the Pope presiding in his See, to be governed by them. As Noah was placed to rule the ark amidst the waves of the flood, just so does the Roman Pontiff rule the Church amid the billows of this world. . . . The position held in the Eastern church by the patriarchs is that which belongs to archbishops in the West ; and both patriarchs and archbishops are subject in the first degree to the Roman Pontiff. As the patriarchs, however, govern the Apostolic sees, Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, it is their privilege to ordain archbishops, and, in a manner, are they likened to the bishop of Rome. To Peter alone, however, was it said : 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.' Therefore, the Pope alone is exalted in dignity above the whole Church, and he alone has the privilege of ordaining and judging all" (3).

That the early Irish church acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, is also shown by her canonical enactments. In the ancient *Book of Armagh* (4), is preserved a canon of St. Patrick, in which, after a reservation of certain

(1) Curry MSS. in the Catholic University of Ireland.

(2) This letter was accompanied by a present of twenty-five Irish pearls.

(3) USHER; *Sylloges Epist.*, n. 30.

(4) It is found in "that part of the same old MS. which was copied from the book written by St. Patrick's own hand." Curry's *Lectures*, p. 372; Petrie's *Tara*, p. 81.

cases to the see of Armagh, it is decreed : “ Moreover, if any case of extreme difficulty shall arise, and one which the various judges of the Irish nation cannot decide, let it be referred to the see of the chief bishop of the Irish (that is, of Patrick), and submitted to his episcopal examination. But if such a case of the aforesaid importance cannot easily be decided in that see with the assistance of its wise counsellors, we have decreed that it be sent to the Apostolic See, that is to say, to the Chair of the Apostle Peter, which holds the authority of the city of Rome.” With regard to this canon, which he admits to be genuine (1), Usher patronizingly remarks, “ It is most likely that St. Patrick had a special regard for the Church of Rome, from whence he was sent for the conversion of this island ; so as, if I myself had lived in his days, for the resolution of a doubtful question, I should as willingly have listened to the judgment of the Church of Rome, as to the determination of any church in the whole world ; so reverent an estimation have I of the integrity of that Church as it stood in those days.” However, St. Patrick was not influenced by any mere sentimentalism, or by any individual opinion as to the just-as-good-as-another qualities of the Church of Rome ; nor does he merely express a willingness to submit to a Roman arbitration. He commands that difficult cases be referred to Rome, and because that See is that of Peter. This canon of St. Patrick was obeyed by the Synod of Magh-lene (630), and one of its members, St. Cummian, attests the fact : “ In accordance with the canon, that if serious questions arise, they shall be referred to the head of cities, we sent such as we knew were wise and humble men, to Rome ” (2). About the year 700, a collection of canons for the Irish church was compiled, of which many MSS. have been preserved. The (now) National Library of Paris has one copy of the eighth, and one of the twelfth century ; Darmstadt possesses one of the ninth ; St. Gall another very old ; the Vallicellian Archives at Rome a minuscule MS. of the tenth century ; a Cambray MS., of the eighth century, gives us a copy, transcribed by order of bishop Alberic (d. 790) ; and the Cottonian Codex, also of

(1) *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, p. 84.

(2) USHER; *Syllog. Epp.*, n. 30.

the eighth century, used by Usher, Wilkins, Spelman, and others of our opponents, contain it (1). In Can. xx., c. 6, we read: "Care must be taken, that no controversies be referred to other provinces or churches which follow different customs and profess a different religion; or to the Britons, who are contrary to all, and separate themselves from the Roman usages, and from the unity of the Church (2); or to heretics, even when they are affable, and skilled in ecclesiastical causes." And in c. 5, of the same canon, is said: "St. Patrick enacts: If any grave questions arise in this island, they shall be referred to the Apostolic See. The Roman canons decree, that when the more difficult questions arise, they are to be referred to the head city. The Roman Synod enacts: If in any province questions arise which cannot be settled amongst the disputants, let the matters be referred to the chief See." In the 21st book, entitled, "Method of Inquiry in Causes," the course is prescribed to be followed in matters of doubt, in the very words of Pope Innocent I., "Should the Scriptures not be sufficiently clear, the inquirer must recur to the doctors of the Church;" if he is not then satisfied, "let him consult the canons of the Apostolic See" (3).

That the supremacy of Rome was acknowledged by the early Irish church, is also proved by appeals to the Holy See. Murray, the zealous Protestant dean already quoted, could not impugn the authority of the canons we have just cited, but he confidently asked: "Now, supposing for one moment that this canon and decree were genuine, were they ever acted upon before the twelfth century? The ancient Irish Church on no occasion ever appealed to the bishop of Rome" (4). This author, like nearly all of his brethren, identifies the teaching of his sect with that of the early Irish, and yet he says that Rome, at that time was "the great centre of corrupted Christianity" (5); while the early Irish, as we have seen, proclaim her the centre of the true

(1) Proceedings of R. I. A., Dec. 8th, 1851.

(2) This reference to the obstinacy of the Britons in the Paschal Controversy, shows, of itself, the antiquity of this collection.

(3) The numerous pilgrimages from Ireland to the shrine of Peter, — journeys not undertaken in the spirit of the "sight-seer" — also indicate the belief of the early Irish Christians in the supremacy of the Holy See. See Moran, p. 3, c. 3.

(4) *Ireland and her Church*, p. 29. (5) *Ibid.* p. 59.

faith. Still declaring that Anglicanism and early Irish Catholicism were identical, he asserts that no appeals should be made to Rome, while the early Irish decree that it is to Rome that all difficulties should be carried. He, again like nearly all of his brethren, exults in "the corruptions of the Romish Church" (1), while the early Irish, though they prohibit appeals to heretics, or even to those whose discipline varies from that of Rome, call that See their guide. But let us investigate the accuracy of the assertion that "the ancient Irish on no occasion ever appealed to the bishop of Rome." Towards the close of the sixth century, St. Columbanus and a few companions left their monastery of Bangor, and wended their way to the continent, to gain new conquests for God. The new establishments of Luxieu and Fontaines were soon among the glories of Gaul, but the French clergy became alarmed at the peculiar usages of the Irish monks, and especially at their method of computation of the Easter time. In a Synod held for the purpose, these practices were condemned, but Columbanus, contending that he had received them from his fathers, appealed to Rome, to obtain a reversion of the adverse decree. The appeal, which was made to St. Gregory the Great, did not reach its destination, and Columbanus again addressed "the holy lord and Apostolic father in Christ, the Pope," who was, at that time, Boniface IV., in these words: "To thee alone do we pour out our supplications, through our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, and through the unity of faith which is common to us, that thou mayest bestow upon us, laboring pilgrims, the solace of thy holy decision, with which thou wilt strengthen the tradition of our elders, if it be not contrary to faith; that thus we may, during our pilgrimage, be enabled, through thy adjudication, to keep the rite of Easter as it was handed down to us by our fathers" (2). Another instance of an appeal to Rome is furnished, in the eighth century, by Ferguil (better known by his Latin name Virgilius), abbot of Archadhba

(1) *Idem*.

(2) Before this appeal could be answered, St. Columbanus had fled from France, owing to the enmity of Brunechild.

(1). Becoming a missionary to the then barbarous Bavarians, he soon was associated with St. Boniface, bishop of Mentz (the English apostle of Germany), and was made bishop of Salzburg by Pope Stephen II. Alcuin composed a poem in his honor, and called him "pious and prudent, second in piety to none;" his German biographers style him "the most learned among the learned." While working with St. Boniface, a controversy on the essential form of the Sacrament of Baptism for a while disturbed their harmony. Some of the clergy, addicted probably to a barbarous pronunciation of the Latin language, were said to have vitiated the form in their utterance, and St. Boniface declared that the sacrament thus administered was invalid. Ferghil, having been educated in the then superior schools of Ireland, seems to have, more precisely than the English bishop, distinguished between the accidentals and the essentials of the sacramental form, and hence he pronounced, in the cases alleged, the baptisms valid. He appealed to the Holy See, and his judgment was confirmed. Still another instance of appeal to Rome, or rather, of being guided by the decisions of Rome, is furnished by the Synod of Magh-lene (630), and the letter of St. Cummian, of which we have spoken in the chapter on the Paschal question. It would be easy to fill volumes with proofs of the devotion and filial obedience of the early Irish church to Rome, but the nature of our work demands that we be content with a few. "To sum up, then, in a few words," to use the language of a learned Irish ecclesiastic (2). "no dissension on religious matters ever arose in Ireland, which was not referred to Rome for adjudication. From Rome Ireland had her precepts of morality and her oracles of faith. Rome was the mother, Ireland the daughter; Rome the head, Ireland the member. From Rome, the fountain-source of religion, Ireland undoubtedly derived, and with her whole soul imbibed, her faith. In doubtful matters, the Pope was the arbiter of the Irish; in things certain, their master; in ecclesiastical matters, their head; in temporals, their defender; in all things, their judge; in

(1) The Four Masters record his death: "In the year 784, Ferghil the geometer, abbot of Archadhbó, died in Germany in the 13th year of his episcopate."

(2) Dr. Lynch, archdeacon of Killala, refuting the calumnies of Gerald Barry (Giraldus Cambrensis). Edit. of Celtic Society, 1850, v. 2, p. 635.

everything, their adviser ; their oracle in doubt, their bulwark in the hour of danger. Some hastened to Rome to indulge their fervor at the tomb of the Apostles ; others to lay their homage at the feet of the Pope, and others to obtain the necessary sanction of his authority for the discharge of their functions."

We shall now examine the belief of the early Irish church as to the Holy Eucharist, and will prove that it was that of the Catholic Church of to-day. We shall then notice some of the arguments of our opponents. Among the many monuments of the ancient Irish church, which have come down to us, one of the most valuable is the Stowe Missal (1). In it the words of consecration are given as at present, and the subsequent prayers "agree literally with the Roman Canon down to the Memento for the dead" (2). Thus, we find the Irish of the sixth century using with us of the nineteenth the following beautiful prayer : " Humbly we beseech Thee, O Almighty God, command this offering to be carried by the hands of Thy holy angel unto Thy heavenly altar in the presence of Thy divine Majesty, that all of us who receive, through the participation of this altar, the most holy Body and Blood of Thy Son, may be filled with every heavenly blessing and grace, through the same Christ our Lord." In this same Missal, we find the rather un-Protestant " Mass of the Martyrs," " Mass of Virgins," " Mass for the dead." Another valuable monument of early Irish doctrine is the Bobbio Missal already noticed, and bequeathed by St. Columbanus to his Irish disciples in Italy. Here, we read, in the Daily Mass, the prayer : " We give thee thanks, O holy Lord, omnipotent Father, eternal God, who hast satiated us by the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ Thy Son" (3). In the Mass for Lent are commemorated the many blessings imparted by Christ, " by participation of whose Flesh, blessed by Thee, we are strengthened,

(1) The inscriptions, yet remaining on the cover of this Missal, show that it belonged to some church of Munster, and probably to the monastery of Lortha, founded by St. Ruadhan in the sixth century. The original MS. was written in an ancient Lombardic character, " which," says Todd, " may well be deemed older than the sixth century. . . . It is by no means impossible that the MS. may have been the original Missal of St. Ruadhan himself, who died in 584." See *The Ancient Irish Missal*, &c., by James Henthorn Todd, read before R. I. A., June 23d, 1856, and printed from the Transactions of R. I. A. in 1857.

(2) *Ibi*, p. 32.

(3) MABILLON ; *Italian Museum*, v. 1.

and by drinking of whose Blood we are cleansed" (1). The *Antiphonary of Bangor* is certainly of the seventh or eighth century, and it contains a hymn beginning "Come, ye saints," which plainly shows the doctrine of the early Irish church on the Real Presence. We give a literal translation of some of the stanzas (2). "Come, O holy ones, receive the Body of Christ, drinking the Sacred Blood, by which you were redeemed. By the Sacrament of the Body and Blood all are saved from the jaws of hell. In the law it was ordered to immolate victims; these divine Mysteries were prefigured by it. Let all the faithful draw near with pure simplicity; let them receive the Eternal Custodian of their salvation. He gives Heavenly Bread to the hungry; to the thirsty, drink from the living Fountain. The Alpha and Omega, the Lord Christ Himself, now comes, He who is to come to judge mankind" (3). The famous Gaelic scholar, Eugene Curry, describes, in his valuable lectures (4), a Treatise on the Ceremonies of the Mass, contained in the *Leabhar Breac*, deposited in the R. I. Academy. The following literal translation (the original is in both Latin and Gaelic) of one extract, is every pertinent to our thesis: "Another division of that pledge, which has been left to the Church to comfort her, is the Body of Christ and His Blood, which are offered upon the altars of the Christians. The Body, even, which was born of Mary, Immaculate Virgin, without destruction of her virginity, without opening of the womb, without presence of man; and which was crucified by the unbelieving Jews, out of spite and envy, and which arose after three days from death, and sits upon the right hand of God the Father in heaven, in glory

(1) *Ibi*.

(2) A beautiful metrical version, by Denis Florence McCarthy, may be found in Gaffney's *Ancient Irish Church*.

(3) The learned Dr. Todd, at one time ranked in the Usherian school, but afterwards a convert to Catholicism, in his edition of the "Book of Hymns" for the Irish Arch. Society, claims for this hymn a higher antiquity than that of the *Antiphonary* containing it. In the preface to the hymn of St. Sechnall (Secundinus) on St. Patrick, preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, we read that once, while Sechnall was saying Mass, the apostle arrived to visit him. "When Sechnall had finished the Mass, except taking the Body of Christ, he heard that Patrick had arrived at the place." The preface goes on to say that, leaving the altar, he threw himself at the feet of St. Patrick, and when both were approaching the church, "they heard a choir of angels chanting a hymn. . . . whose beginning is '*Sancti venite, Christi corpus*,' &c., so that from that time to the present, that hymn is chanted in Erin when the Body of Christ is received." This preface, says Todd, is supposed, from its language and style, to be of the 7th or 8th century, and yet it describes the hymn *Sancti venite* as having been sung, from time immemorial, in the churches of Ireland.

(4) *MS. Materials of Irish History*, p. 376.

and in dignity before the angels of heaven ;—it is that Body, the same as it is in this great glory, which the righteous consume off God's Table, that is, the holy Altar. For this Body is the rich Viaticum of the faithful, who journey through the paths of pilgrimage and penitence of this world to the heavenly fatherland. This is the seed of the Resurrection in life eternal to the righteous. It is, however, the origin and cause of falling to the impenitent who believe not, and to the sensual who distinguish it not, though they believe. Woe, then, to the Christian who distinguishes not this Holy Body of the Lord by pure morals, by charity, and by mercy. For it is in this Body that will be found the example of the charity which excels all charity, viz., to sacrifice Himself, without guilt, in satisfaction for the guilt of the whole race of Adam." To this exposition of early Irish faith in the Real Presence, we shall add a few testimonies from the *Penitentials* and other records. The *Penitential* of St. Cummin prescribes penance for those who are guilty of negligence when preserving "the Sacrifice" entrusted to their care (1); the Bobbio *Penitential* (2) assigns a year's penance to him "who shall neglect, or lose, the Eucharist, the Body of the Lord;" both of these passages show a belief in the *permanent* Presence, not a transitory one, in the act of communion. The *Penitential* of St. Columbanus (3), orders that "Special diligence must be used in confessing our sins and imperfections, before the celebration of Mass, lest with an unclean heart we should approach the holy altar. It is better to delay a little, and wait till our heart be free from scandal and envy, than audaciously to approach the judgment-seat; for the altar is the tribunal of Christ, and His Body, present there with His Blood, judges those who unworthily approach." The ancient *Lives* of the early Irish saints are replete with evidence that those heroes held the doctrine of the Real Presence. Thus the *Tripartite Life*, which competent judges assign to the sixth or seventh century (4), represents St. Patrick as saying to Ethne and Fedhlimia, daughters of

(1) *Chap.* 13, n. 5.(2) *Can.* 17.(3) *Canon* XI., n. 11.(4) See Curry's *Lectures*, p. 345.

king Leoghaire, "Whilst you are clothed with mortal flesh, you cannot see the Son of God; but to behold Him in the brightness of His majesty, it is necessary to lay aside this corruptible flesh, and first to receive His Body and Blood, concealed in an invisible manner, beneath the visible form and species of bread and wine." Probus (1) says that the ladies replied: "Give us the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, that we may be freed from the corruption of the flesh, and may see our Spouse who is in heaven." Then St. Patrick celebrated Mass, and both the daughters of the king approached the Communion with great hope and perfect faith." Cogitosus, an Irish writer, assigned by the Protestant Petrie to the commencement of the ninth century (2), gives a description of the convent-church of Kildare, in which the "Mary of Erin," St. Brigid, was wont to worship. To the sanctuary there were two entrances; "The one, through which the bishop, with his clergy and assistants at the altar, entered, when about to offer up the Sacred Sacrifice of our Lord; the second door was at the left side of the altar, and through it the abbess alone, with her virgins and faithful widows, entered, to partake of the banquet of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ" (3). Adamnan, successor of the great Columbkille in the abbacy of Iona (4), in the seventh century, wrote a *Life* of the holy founder, from which we select, among many equally strong arguments, the following account of a visit made to St. Columbkille by St. Cronan, a bishop of Munster: "Through humility, he sought as much as possible to conceal himself, so that no one might know that he was a bishop. This, however, could not be kept a secret from Columba; for, when on a Sunday he was ordered by St. Columba to consecrate (the text has the stronger term, '*conficere*'), according to custom, the Body of Christ, he called our saint, as a brother priest, to unite with him in breaking the Bread of the Lord. Columba, approaching the altar, looking intuitively into his face, said to him; 'May Christ bless thee, O brother; do thou

(1) *Trias Thaum.*(2) *Round Towers of Ireland*, p. 202.(3) COGITOSUS: *Life of St. Brigid*, c. 35.(4) For many years the monastery of Iona was the main centre of Irish missionary enterprise, and the resort of natives and foreigners who aimed at the acquisition of learning and sanctity. See Moutalembert's *Monks of the West*.

follow the episcopal rule, and distribute it alone" (1). In another memoir of St. Columbkille, written by his contemporary, Cumineus Albus (2), we read that the saint having had a vision in which he saw Columbanus, a bishop of Leinster, summoned to judgment, he called his fellow monks, and ordered them to prepare to offer the "Sacred Oblation," saying, "it is my duty to celebrate the Sacred Mysteries of the Eucharist for the holy soul which, during the night, passed to the angelic choirs." Cumineus adds that "whilst he was offering up the Sacred Mysteries of the Holy Sacrifice, he said to the brethren, 'to-day we are to pray for the holy bishop Columbanus.'" St. Fursa, another Irish missionary and saint, patron of Peronne, in France, died in 650. In an ancient *Life* (3), we read that Fursa was promised some supernatural manifestations by an angel, and that he prepared for them "by asking for, and partaking of, the Communion of the Sacred Body and Blood." In the same *Life* are recorded some instructions given to Fursa by two relatives, Sts. Beoan and Mellan, and in one of them is said: "Let the bishops and priests of the Church of Christ stimulate the faithful to tears of repentance for their crimes, and strengthen them with the spiritual food of faith, and by the participation of the Sacred Body and Blood." St. Colgu "the Wise" lived in the eighth century (4), and was the author of many edifying treatises. Among them is a prayer (5) in Irish, "Scuar Chrabhaigh," from which we take the following: "O Holy Jesus! O beautiful Friend! for the sake of the holy tree upon which Thy side was torn; for the sake of the innocent Blood, which trickled upon us from that tree; for the sake of Thine own Body and Blood which are offered upon all the holy altars which are in all the Christian churches in the world; dispense, give, and bestow, Thy holy grace and Thy holy Spirit to defend and shelter me," &c. We could proceed indefinitely with sim-

(1) The phrase *Christi Corpus conficere* is of frequent recurrence in liturgical treatises.

(2) In Mabillon's *Acta SS. Bened.*, v. 1.

(3) Usher judges that it was composed before the time of Bede (b. 672). See *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, p. 37.

(4) He was attached to the monastic school of Clonmacnoise. In a letter published in Usher's *Sylloge*, Aleuin styles him "his blessed master and pious father."

(5) Curry's MS.; *Lectures*, p. 379; Colgan's *Act. SS.*, p. 378.

ilar citations, but enough has been given to indicate the mind of the early Irish church as to the meaning of the Holy Eucharist. We shall now devote a few moments to the arguments of our adversaries.

Usher, one of the most respectable, and certainly the most learned, of those Protestants who try to identify the Anglican establishment with the early Irish church, appeals to the poet Sedulius, Claude, and a few other Irish writers, to sustain his theory. Let us see what comfort he can derive from Sedulius (1). This poet bore the fame of Ireland to the continent in the fifth century, and by his *Carmen Paschale* and its corresponding *Paschal Prose*, won for himself a great reputation. Usher asserts that this author affirms that only bread and wine are offered to God in the Eucharist, and in proof, he adduces a passage from the Poem, and one from the Prose. The first reads: "Who else presides as chief-pontiff and high priest but Christ, institutor of the two-fold libation, of the order of Melchisedech, to whom his own gifts, the fruit of the corn, and the joy of the vine, are always offered?" (2) The second, which Usher cites as rendering more clear the meaning of the former, styles the Eucharist "The sweet meat of the seed of wheat, and the lovely drink of the pleasant vine" (3). In formulating this objection, the Protestant primate of Ireland deliberately mutilated the text of Sedulius, by cutting out from the second passage words which are certainly too eloquent of Catholicism for Protestant taste. The immediate context reads: "For who but the Lord is present, the Pontiff of pontiffs, the Priest of priests, the Author and Founder of the two-fold libation, whose gifts, according to the order of Melchisedech, *which He offered for us upon the cross, changed into His own Flesh*, are the sweet meat of the seed of wheat, and the lovely drink of the pleasant vine" (4). After noting the dishonesty of Usher, which is but too usual with gentry of his school, no comment is necessary, on our part, to elicit

(1) Pope Gelasius calls him "the venerable Sedulius," and commends his works to the faithful. Venantius Fortunatus also eulogizes him, while St. Hildephonse styles him "an evangelical poet, an eloquent orator, and a Catholic writer;"—a curious fact, if, as Usher asserts, Sedulius was a Sacramentarian.

(2) *Paschal Poem*, b. 4, v. 206.

(3) *Paschal Prose*, *idem*.

(4) *Poem* b. 5, v. 289.

the thorough Catholicity of the quoted passages of Sedulius. But the reader will please observe how plainly the poet presents the Catholic doctrine on the Eucharist in the following passages : "All of us who, under Christ our leader, are regenerated in the fountain of waters, taking His Body and Blood, do eat and drink thereof that we may deserve to enjoy the Holy Ghost." Another Sedulius, an Irish commentator of the ninth century, is also cited by the Anglican primate, but, if the reader will carefully weigh the quoted words, he will find that the learned abbot, so far from broaching Protestant ideas, taught simple Catholic doctrine. In a Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, we read : "Melchisedech offered bread and wine to Abraham for a figure of Christ, offering His Body and Blood unto the Father upon the cross." And in another place of the same Commentary, "But we offer daily for a commemoration of the Lord's passion, once endured, and for our own salvation." Certainly, all Catholics recognize in the Holy Sacrifice a commemoration of Christ's passion, and only Catholics rejoice, with Sedulius, that it is everywhere daily offered for our salvation. Usher tells us that "elsewhere, expounding the words of our Saviour, 'Do this in remembrance of me,' he brings in the similitude used before him and after him by others, 'He left us a memorial of Himself, even as if one that was going on a far journey, should leave some token of affection with a loved companion ; that as often as he beholds it, he may call to mind his benefits and friendship.'" To this we reply that not only Sedulius uses this phrase ; it is used even by the Catholic Church (1). But in quoting this phrase, the Anglican publicist is again guilty of a trick which is but too common with our adversaries. He omits the preceding words : "Take and eat ; this is my Body. As if St. Paul said : beware not to eat that Body unworthily, for it is the Body of Christ." With these words, the passage of Sedulius becomes emphatically Catholic. Usher appeals also to Claudius as favorable to the Protestant theory, but to attain a semblance of success in the estimation of his credulous readers, he has recourse again to misre-

(1) Mass and Office of the Blessed Sacrament.

presentation. The following passage is cited as favorable to the Protestant tenets: "Our Saviour wished first to deliver to His disciples the Sacrament of His Body and Blood, which he presented in the breaking of the Body (1) and the effusion of the Chalice; and afterwards to immolate the Body itself upon the altar of the cross." No ordinary ingenuity could so manipulate these words as to cause them to evince the Protestant notion of the Eucharist, yet Usher tells us that herein, "Claudius expressly distinguishes the Sacrament of the Body, which was delivered unto the disciples, from the Body itself, which was afterwards offered upon the cross." He certainly does, and so do all Catholics; but nevertheless, while Protestants say that the Eucharist is mere bread and wine, Claudius says that it is the Body and Blood of Christ. Usher professes to inquire into the belief of Claudius as to the nature of the Eucharist, and yet he says nothing of the very chapters in which our author expressly treats of it. From them we select the following passages: "Whilst they were at supper, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and broke, and gave to His disciples, saying, 'Take and eat; This is my Body.' The ceremonies of the ancient Passover being at an end, He passes to the New Pasch, which he wished the Church to observe as a memorial of her redemption; thus, forsooth, instead of the flesh and blood of the lamb, *substituting the Sacrament of His own Flesh and Blood*, and showing Himself to be Him of whom it was written: 'The Lord hath sworn, nor shall he repent: Thou art a priest forever, according to the order of Melchisedech.'" When speaking of our Lord's burial in the tomb, Claudius remarks: "We may, in a spiritual sense, learn from these words, that the Body of the Lord is not to be placed upon gold, gems, or silk, but upon plain linen. . . . hence is derived the custom of the Church, to offer the Sacrifice of the altar not upon cloths of silk or of rich dye, but only upon simple linen cloths, according to the decree of the blessed Pope Sylvester." Finally, in his Com-

(1) Usher, strange to say, is candid enough to draw attention to the significant phrase "the breaking of the Body," saying: "At first sight I did verily think that in these words an error had been committed in my transcript, *Body* being miswritten for *bread*; but, afterwards, comparing it with the original, I found that the author retained that manner of speaking." The Vatican text (*Codex Vat.*, 3828, fol. 119) confirms this reading.

mentary on Leviticus, Claudius gives a beautiful passage which Usher has himself edited (1), but carefully avoided in the present question: "On the cross Christ rendered His Flesh eatable for us. For had He not been crucified, the Sacrifice of His Body would not be eaten; but now it is eaten in memory of the Lord's passion. Anticipating the cross, He immolated Himself at the supper with the Apostles—He who, bearing the scars of His sufferings, after His resurrection, introduced His Blood into the tabernacle of heaven." Thus, according to Claudius, the Flesh of Christ is indeed our food. The Redeemer offered, at the last supper, a true Sacrifice to His Father; anticipating, in a sense, the Sacrifice of the cross. And further, declares Claudius, this mysterious Sacrifice must be referred to the same mystery and power by which Christ bore His wounds into glory. There are some other writers of minor importance (2), cited by Usher, but our limits compel us to conclude this paragraph with a notice of an objection founded upon some supposed sayings of the celebrated Scotus Erigena (3). Usher asserts that Scotus Erigena was the author of a tract entitled "The Body and Blood of the Lord," condemned by the Synod of Vercelli in 1049, but the able editor of his works, Henry Joseph Floss (1853), having searched the archives of Europe, came to the conclusion that the treatise condemned at Vercelli was the work, not of the Irish writer, but of Ratramn or Bertram, a monk of Corbie, an author of whom we shall take occasion to speak when treating of the religious belief of the early Anglo-Saxon church. Berengarius, the Sacramentarian

(1) *Sylog. Epp.*, No. 20.

(2) Among these is the Transcript of the Gospels, with an interlinear commentary made by an Irish scribe called Maelbrichte. The first to allege this MS. in support of Protestantism was John O'Toolan of Derry (better known by the name Toland, which he assumed after he had renounced faith, family, and country) an apostate of the last century. Dr. Moran, in his Essay on the Eucharistic doctrine of the Irish Church, gives an admirable refutation of O'Toolan's arguments.

(3) John Scotus Erigena, not to be confounded with the great Franciscan doctor, John Duns Scotus, born at Dunstone in England, was an Irish writer of the ninth century, who made quite a stir during the reign of Charles the Bald. It is the fashion with Protestants to style him a learned, solid, and brilliant theologian, and an eminent philosopher. Thus Mosheim, *Hist.*, 9th Cent., p. 2, c. 1, and *passim* bestows upon him eulogies which he gives to no Father of the Church; and this simply because he is supposed to have attacked the Catholic faith in the Real Presence. As to the truth of this accusation, we can only judge by the opinion of his contemporaries, for none of his Eucharistic writings have reached us. According to his contemporaries Erigena was a subtle and daring sophist, with much profane erudition, but with but little knowledge of Scripture or tradition; infected with Pelagianism and Origenism, and even with the impieties of the Collyridians (Arabian heretics of the first centuries, who paid divine honors to the Blessed Virgin).

leader of the eleventh century, certainly attributed the tract to Erigena, but, in the absence of corroborating proof of its authenticity, we may well suppose that the French heretic fraudulently procured the protection of a great name. We know that the Irish author was requested by the French clergy to oppose the teachings of Paschasius Radbertus, and that the whole controversy then in agitation was not in regard to the reality of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, but about the manner in which it was affected ; about, also, not the fact of Christ's Body being present, but whether or not identity could be asserted of the natural and the Sacramental Body. It is exceedingly improbable that Erigena would have remained in favor at the French court, or that Anastasius the Librarian would have eulogized him, had he rejected Catholic doctrine. His contemporaries accuse him of Semipelagianism and Pantheism, and in such of his works as have reached us, some obscure passages seem to give color to the imputation. But, on the other hand, Berengarius and his disciples are accused of corrupting and distorting the sayings of Erigena—an old dodge of heretics, and one continued in more modern times, as we have noticed in the case of the Anglican primate of Armagh. At any rate, Usher can produce no authenticated saying of John Scotus Erigena, which militates against the doctrine of Transubstantiation. At best, he can only cite the condemnation by a Catholic Synod of a tract on the Blessed Sacrament, imputed to this author, and conclude that this condemnation is *prima facie* evidence that he taught what is now Protestant doctrine—a conclusion which is entirely too sweeping, and not logically proceeding from the premises.

Of the few points of doctrine in which all Protestant sects agree, one is that veneration of the saints, and the practice of asking their prayers, should be rejected. It will be interesting to note the teaching of the early Irish church on this subject. Preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, which the Protestant Petrie (1) calls “the oldest and best MS. relating to Church history now preserved (in Ireland), or which, perhaps, the Irish ever possessed,” is an ancient Litany of

(1) *Hist. and Antiq. of Tara*, published from the Transactions of the R. I. A., 1839.

the Blessed Virgin, which Curry pronounces "as old, at least, as the middle of the 8th century." From among sixty titles which Protestants would deem extravagant, we select the following: "O Great Mary, Greatest of Women, Queen of Angels, Mistress of the Heavens, Mother of the Heavenly and Earthly Church, Gate of Heaven, Cleansing of Sin, Star of the Sea, Mother of Christ, Destruction of Eve's Disgrace, Sanctuary of the Holy Spirit, Queen of Life." And among the prayers attached to this Litany, are the following: "Let our devotion and our sighs be carried through thee to the presence of the Creator, for we are not ourselves worthy of being heard, because of our evil deserts. O Powerful Mistress of Heaven and Earth, dissolve our trespasses and our sins; destroy our wickedness and our corruptions; raise the fallen, the debilitated, and the fettered; loose the condemned; repair through thyself the transgressions of our immoralities and our vices; bestow upon us through thyself the blossoms and ornaments of good actions and virtues; appease for us the Judge by thy voice and thy supplications; allow us not to be carried off from thee among the spoils of our enemies; allow not our souls to be condemned, but take us to thyself forever, under thy protection" (1). In the Bobbio Missal there is a Mass in honor of Mary for her general feasts, and another for the Assumption. In the former, we read the following prayer: "Hear us, O Lord, Holy Father, All-powerful God, who by the overshadowing of the womb of Blessed Mary, didst deign to illumine the whole world; we suppliantly pray Thy Majesty that what we cannot acquire by our merits, we may obtain through her protection. We beseech Thee, too, O Lord, that the joys of Blessed Mary may accompany us, and by her merits may the handwriting of our sin be cancelled." In the latter Mass, the soul of Mary is said to be "wreathed with various crowns; the Apostles render sacred homage to her, the angels intone their canticles, Christ embraces her, the clouds are her chariot, paradise her house, where, decked with glory, she reigns amid the virgin-choirs."

(1) This old Irish Litany was so pleasing to our late beloved Pontiff, Pius IX., that he attached an indulgence of 100 days to its recitation.

The Canon of this Mass also gives the usual commemoration: "Venerating, in the first place, the memory of the ever-virgin Mary, Mother of our Lord and God, Jesus Christ." The devotion of the early Irish to St. Brigid also illustrates their love and veneration for Mary. St. Brigid, or Bridget, is called the wonder of womankind, but the climax of praise is reached when they say that she is "like unto the Mother of God." What Mary is for the whole Church, Bridget seems to be for Ireland; in fine, the latter is "the Mary of the Irish," as many of the olden records explicitly style her. The Litany of St. Ængus, admitted by all Irish scholars to be a composition of the eighth century, begins: "The three times fifty Roman pilgrims who settled in Uimle; I invoke to my aid through Jesus Christ. The three thousand father confessors who met in Munster to consider one question; I invoke, &c. The other thrice fifty pilgrims of the men of Rome and Latium, who went into Scotland; I invoke, &c. The thrice fifty Gaedhils of Erin in holy orders, each of them a man of strict rule, who went in one body into pilgrimage, under Abban, the son of Ua-Cormaic, I invoke, &c." The mind of the early Irish church on this point is also shown by the ancient *Book of Kells*, of which the learned Protestant Westwood, an undoubted judge of Irish MSS., says (1): "Ireland may justly be proud of the *Book of Kells*. This copy of the Gospels, traditionally asserted to have belonged to St. Columba, is unquestionably the most elaborately executed manuscript of early art now in existence; far excelling, in the gigantic size of the letters in the frontispieces of the Gospel, the excessive minuteness of the ornamental details, the number of its decorations the fineness of the writing, and the endless variety of initial capital letters, with which every page is ornamented, the famous Gospel of Lindisfarne (2) in the Cottonian Library. . . . The verso of fol. 7, contains the drawing of the Virgin and Child, copied in plate 1, which is inclosed within a highly elaborate border composed of interlined lacertine animals with dogs' heads. This singular composi-

(1) *Sacred Palæography*.

(2) The monastery of Lindisfarne was founded by Irish monks from Iona.

tion is interesting from the proof it affords of the veneration of the Virgin Mary in the early Irish church; the large size in which she is represented, as well as the 'glory' around her head (which singularly bears three small crosses), evidently indicating the high respect with which the Mother of Christ was regarded." In the *Antiphonary of Bangor*, a MS. of the eighth century, is contained a hymn, written, we are distinctly told, by Sechnall. "a nephew of St. Patrick." In it we read the prayer: "Patrick, bishop, pray for all of us, that our sins may be completely wiped away."

That auricular confession was practised among the early Irish, is not denied by any author of note. Usher admits that "they did, no doubt, both publicly and privately, make confession of their faults, as well that they might receive counsel and direction, as that they might be made partakers of the *benefit of the keys* Sure we are that this was the practice of the ancient Scottish and Irish" (1). We therefore pass to another distinctively Catholic doctrine, that of Purgatory and prayers for the dead, in order to see whether, on this matter at least, the early Irish Christians agreed with our separated brethren. We have already alluded to the Bobbio Missal. In this monument of the early Irish church, certainly of the sixth century, and probably used by St. Columbanus himself, there are various prayers to God, "for the pardon of the deceased," and for the remission of their sins. Thus, in a "Mass for the Dead," we read: "Grant, O Lord, to Thy deceased servant the pardon of his sins, in that secret receptacle where there is no opportunity of doing penance. And do Thou, O Christ, receive the soul of Thy servant, and pardon his offences more fully than he forgave those who offended him." And in a "Mass for Living and Dead," we read: "Mercifully grant that this Sacred Oblation may procure pardon for the dead, and may promote the salvation of the living." But what better proof of this practice of praying for the dead can be asked than that furnished by the tombs of the dead? About sixty years ago,

(1) *Religion of the Ancient Irish*, c. 6.

we learn from the Protestant Petrie (1), was discovered the tomb of St. Breccan, founder of the monastery of Ardbraccan, Meath, in the sixth century. He had retired to the island of Arran, and was there interred, in a church of his foundation. Within the sepulchre was found a small block of limestone; on it was carved a cross, and the inscription: "A prayer for Breccan the pilgrim." At Monasterboice, near Drogheda, are three large Irish crosses, of which Wilde says: "they have been not only the great boast of Irish antiquaries, but have frequently, and in glowing terms, elicited the admiration of foreigners. With the exception of the great cross at Clonmacnoise, and one which we ourselves recently exhumed near the cathedral of St. Breccan in the great island of Arran, there is nothing of the kind in Great Britain, or perhaps in Europe, either in magnitude, design, or execution, to compare with two at least of the crosses at Monasterboice the various compartments contain figures of the Apostles, the Virgin and Child, and some of our Irish saints inferior in point of size, but eminently superior in artistic design and execution, is the second crucial monument, which we know, from an Irish inscription on its base, was erected by Abbot Muiredach—'A prayer for Muiredach, by whom this cross was made.'" As there were only two abbots of this name, one of whom died in 844, and the other in 924, the cross must be the work of the ninth or tenth century (2). In the year 924, died Colman, abbot of Clonmacnoise, the great monastery founded by St. Kieran in 547 (3). He erected the cross alluded to in the previous quotation. Its only inscription, unlike the fulsome eulogies of modern times, is "A prayer for Colman, who made this cross on the King Flann. A prayer for Flann, son of Maelsechlain." The cross of Tuam, erected in the beginning of the twelfth century, bears this inscription: "A prayer for Turlock O'Connor, for the Abbot of Jarlath, by whom was made this cross. A prayer for O'Ossin, for the Abbot by whom it was made. A prayer for the successor of Jarlath, for Aed

(1) *Round Towers*; *Transactions of Royal Irish Academy*, v. 20, p. 138.

(2) See *Ancient Irish Church*, by Rev. James Gaffney, Dublin, 1863.

(3) *FOUR MASTERS*; v. 1.

O'Ossin, by whom was made this cross." These testimonies were not sufficiently conclusive for Usher. Like Bingham in the case of the early Saxon church (1), he discovered that the early Irish did not offer prayers as a propitiation for the dead, but as a thanksgiving for the happiness which they believed to be already the lot of the dead. "Neither the commemoration," says he (2), nor the praying for the dead, nor the Requiem Masses, has any necessary relation to Purgatory, because they are merely thanksgiving." But we have seen, *e. g.*, in the Bobbio Missal, prayers to God "for the pardon of the deceased," and Usher exposes his own bad faith by quoting the following: "Magnus said, on his death-bed, to his friend Tozzo, bishop of Ausboro, 'Do not weep because thou beholdest me laboring in so many storms of worldly troubles, because I believe in the mercy of God that my soul shall rejoice in the freedom of immortality; yet I beseech thee, that thou *will not cease* to help me, a sinner, and my soul, with thy holy prayers.'" (3)

On Feb. 20th, 1857, the Irish Justice Keogh delivered the following opinion: "It was not, as some vulgarly suppose, a fact that priests in the Roman Catholic Church were never allowed to marry—that celibacy was always enjoined in the Church. It was a fact that, down to a late period, priests and bishops in the Roman Catholic Church were allowed to marry, and did marry. To the year 1015, priests were allowed to marry, and the vow of celibacy was not required until the year 1076" (4). If the reader is disposed to doubt the historical accuracy of Mr. Justice Keogh, he must know that the great English lawyer, Lord Coke, in his chapter on Ireland, in the 4th Institute, informs us that in a "synod holden in Ireland by St. Patrick, their apostle, it was unanimously agreed that Irish priests should have wives" (5). When we come to treat of the celibacy of the clergy, it will be seen that Mr. Keogh's knowledge of ecclesiastical history is greatly at fault, and that, whatever Coke

(1) See our chapter on Conversion of England.

(2) *Religion of Ancient Irish*, p. 28.

(3) *Ibi.*

(4) Case of Beamish *vs.* Beamish.

(5) Whiteside, M. P., quoted by Gaffney, *loc. cit.*

may have known of English law, his proficiency in Irish church history was no greater than that of the Irish judge. But even though it were shown that the early Irish church tolerated a married clergy, as some of the churches in communion with Rome still do, and always have done, modern Protestants could not claim that Irish church as their own. Clerical celibacy is a matter of discipline, and not of faith. With regard to the discipline of the early Irish in this matter, a learned Protestant writer (1) says: "The idea of the necessity or paramount importance of celibacy, as a rule for the clergy, prevailed at a very early period in most parts of the church, and although 'from the beginning it was not so,' yet few instances of the contrary can be cited from our ancient writers; so that the general practice of our forefathers in this matter would appear to have been pretty much in accordance with the law which was afterwards introduced." In another place (2), the same author says: "We would guard our readers against errors, and not lead them to suppose that the Irish Christians of the seventh century agreed more nearly with ourselves than they really did, according to the accounts given of them in ancient histories. There are points connected with Columbanus—such, for instance, as his views concerning vows and monastic celibacy,—which mark a clear distinction between his system and our own." We shall say nothing about the Irish monastic rule in reference to celibacy, for no one denies that, in all ages and in all countries, strict continency was enjoined upon monks and nuns. But we propose to show that, in the early Irish church, the secular clergy were not allowed to marry. In the Bobbio Missal, the following canon is sufficiently explicit: "If any cleric of the higher grade, who has had a wife, should, after his elevation, live with her again, let him know that he commits adultery." Certainly if one, married before his priesthood, was obliged to leave his wife, one already ordained could not marry. There is extant a treatise by St. Columbanus on the "Measure of Penances," in which the 20th clause reads: "If any cleric or deacon, or one in any orders, who

(1) REV. B. KING; *Church History*, v. 1, p. 370.(2) *Ibi*, p. 316.

has been a layman in the world with sons and daughters, should, after giving himself to God, again live with his wife and beget a son of her, let him know that he has committed adultery, and has fallen into as great a sin as though he had been a cleric from his youth, and had communicated with a girl to whom he was not married; because he has offended *after his vow*, and after his consecration to God and he has made void his vow. Therefore, for seven years he shall do penance on bread and water." In the *Penitential* of Cumminian there is a canon as follows: "If any cleric or monk, after having vowed himself to God, should secularize himself, or should take a wife, let him do penance for ten years, three of them on bread and water, and let him never again know the woman. If he disobeys, a Synod or the Apostolic See will separate him from the communion and association of Catholics." In the year 1186, a Synod was held in Dublin, and the following canon was enacted, in consequence of the iniquities of some of the Anglo-Norman clergy in the train of the invaders: "Since the clergy of Ireland, among other virtues, have been always remarkably eminent for their chastity, and it would be ignominious if they should be corrupted through his (the archbishop's) negligence, by the foul contagion of strangers, and the example of a few incontinent men, he therefore forbids, under the penalty of losing both office and benefice, any priest, deacon, or subdeacon, to keep any woman in his house, under the pretence of necessary services, or for any other reason whatsoever, unless a mother, own sister, or a person whose age would remove all suspicion of any unlawful intercourse." It is remarkable that Gerald Barry (*Cambrensis*), an English priest, who was present at this Synod, and who wielded one of the most slanderous pens that ever wrote against Ireland, when treating of the Irish clergy, said: "The clergy of this country are very commendable for religion, and among the many virtues which distinguish them, their prerogative of chastity is pre-eminent." These testimonies are certainly sufficient to show that the early Irish church held views upon clerical continence, very different from those of Protestants. It would

be interesting to compare the practice of this church with that of the reformed sects, in regard to the use of the sign of the cross; to note the sharp contrast between the former's devout belief in the perpetuation of miraculous powers in the Church, and the latter gentry's quiet consent as to the utter cessation of such gifts since the days of the Apostles. But enough has been said to prove the utter Romanism of the early Irish Christians.

In the course of this chapter, we frequently have had occasion to refer to the celebrated monastery founded by St. Columbanus, at Bobbio in Italy. After this saint had founded many seminaries of sanctity and learning in France and Germany, he went, in the beginning of the seventh century, into Italy, with the design of fixing there his permanent abode. His native island owed her first apostles to Italy, and now, when the peninsula had fallen upon evil times, she was destined to receive some comfort from the children of Erin. It was an epoch of wars and of every kind of tumult, hence the lover of prayer and of study established his new monastery in the solitudes of northern Liguria, at the head of the valley of the Trebbia. In this quiet retreat, Columbanus and his followers helped to stem the tide of barbarism, and prepared for future ages a large number of literary treasures. By the labor of their hands these monks procured their food, and turned their Alpine desert into a fruitful region. In a few years after the death of their holy founder (615), the monks of Bobbio numbered a hundred and forty; crowds of people clustered around the sanctuary for protection and comfort, and by the year 1014, the little settlement had become an episcopal city (1). St. Columbanus brought to his Italian home a number of codices which became the nucleus of a famous library; among the books which formerly belonged to it are many Saxon and Gaelic MSS. of the 6th and 7th centuries. For several centuries the monks were occupied in transcribing codices, and whenever one of their number went to Rome, he returned with an assortment of good books. When the many benefactors of the monastery wished to make it a spec-

(1) UGHELLI; *Sacred Italy*, IV., 926. ROSSETTI; *Bobbio Illustrated*.

ially valuable present, rare codices were sure to be chosen. Among such benefactors, the names of Dungal, Smaragdus, and Agilulph are eminent, and they are found written on many of the old MSS. By the tenth century the library of Bobbio had become one of the largest in Europe. "To form an idea," says the learned Barnabite, Vercellone (1), "of the literary wealth of the monastery of Bobbio, it is enough to know that, during the last three centuries, no other library has furnished more abundant material to the researches of scholars; no other has preserved so many texts of ancient classics, sacred and profane. And to speak only of our own time, codices coming from Bobbio have given us the *Republic* of Cicero, and additional fragments of his *Orations*; Marcus Aurelius, Symmachus, the Ante-Justinian Code, the codex of Theodosius, the Sermons of St. Augustine, fragments of the version of Ulfila, the apocryphal books of the Old Testament (2), and many other very precious works which had, for a long time, been sought for in vain. This library alone, nay, merely the relics of this one library, have given their most precious codices to the most celebrated of modern libraries, the Vatican, the Ambrosian, those of Turin, Naples, and Vienna. This one fact will enable you to judge of what the library of Bobbio must have been, in its palmy days. These immense literary riches, accumulated by the monks during three centuries, were afterwards guarded during the dark ages in a manner, rather unique than rare. If I were asked the reason of this singular fact, I could only give one based on the condition of the locality. It is, so to say, isolated from the rest of Italy, being almost buried in the mountains, Again, there was not, or we do not know that there was, anything in the monastery likely to excite the cupidity of the barbarians who often devastated, from one end to the other, our too beautiful peninsula. Hence, while ignorance and barbarism scattered or destroyed all the other libraries of the world, that of Bobbio remained hidden and almost forgotten, and was enabled,

(1) Discourse on a certain Bobbio Palimpsest, read in the Pontifical Tiberine Academy, Rome, April 22, 1861, and printed in the *Arcadian Journal*, new series, vol. 23; *Academic Dissertations*. Rome, 1864.

(2) See MAI; *New Library of the Fathers*, v. 1, p. XIX.; CERIANI; *Sacred and Profane Monuments*, Milan, 1861.

to our great profit, to preserve the incomparable treasures of ancient wisdom which the wise industry of the monks had deposited there." Bobbio is certainly one of the glories of Italy, and it was long after the time of Columbanus and his Irish brethren that it attained its greatest fame. But still it was Irish zeal for the faith preached by St. Patrick that laid the foundation of that fame. "From the moment that this green Erin," says Montalembert (1), "situated at the extremity of the known world, had seen the sun of faith rise upon her, she had vowed herself to it with an ardent and tender devotion, which became her very life. The course of ages has not interrupted this; the most bloody and implacable of persecutions has not shaken it; the defection of all northern Europe has not led her astray; and she maintains still, amid the splendor and miseries of modern civilization and Anglo-Saxon supremacy, an inexhaustible centre of faith, where survives, along with the completest orthodoxy, that admirable purity of manners which no conqueror and no adversary has ever been able to dispute, to equal, or to diminish. The ecclesiastical antiquity and hagiography of Ireland constitute an entire world of inquiry. The productiveness of the monastic germ planted by Patrick and Bridget was prodigious; for shortly the monasteries of Bangor, Clonfert, and elsewhere, became entire towns, each of which enclosed more than three thousand cenobites. There was, besides, an intellectual development which the hermits of Egypt had not known. The Irish communities, joined by the monks from Gaul and Rome, whom the example of Patrick had drawn upon his steps, entered into rivalry with the great monastic schools of Gaul. They explained Ovid there; they copied Virgil; they devoted themselves especially to Greek literature; they drew back from no inquiry—from no discussion; they gloried in placing boldness upon a level with faith. A characteristic still more distinctive of the Irish monks, as of all their nation, was the imperious necessity of spreading themselves without, of seeking or carrying knowledge and faith afar, and of penetrating into the most distant regions

(1) *Monks of the West*, v. 2, p. 389.

to watch or combat Paganism ; this monastic nation, therefore, became the missionary nation, by excellence. While some came to Ireland to procure religious instruction, the Irish missionaries launched forth from their island ; they covered the land and seas of the west. Unwearied navigators, they landed on the most desert islands ; they overflowed the continent with their successive emigrations ; they saw in incessant visions a world known and unknown to be conquered for Christ." St. Bernard tells us that "From Ireland, as from an overflowing stream, crowds of holy men descended on foreign nations." St. Rupert, who had been baptized by a nephew of St. Patrick, went, with twelve companions, to evangelize Bavaria. St. Columba and twelve more (1) undertook the apostolic mission to Albany. St. Eloquius carried the faith into Belgium ; St. Willibrod into Germany ; St. Ailbe into Iceland ; St. Seizen into Armorica ; Sts. Florentius, Argobastus, and Hidulf, into Alsace. In Lynch's excellent refutation of Gerald Barry, entitled *Cambrensis Eversus*, is given a long list of Irish saints "who toiled in strange lands, and fortified them abundantly with the dew of their faith and virtues." In Italy, were Donatus at Fiesole ; and Andrew and Bridget, at Opaca. In Picardy, Sts. Caidoc and Elicorius. At Rheims, Sts. Gibrian, Tressan, Hoelan, Abram, German, Veran, Petroan, Promptia, Possenna, and Iruda. At Paris, Claude, Clement, and John. At Boulogne, Vulgan, Kilian, and Obod. In the district of Beauvais, Maura, Brigid, and Hyspad. In Kleggon, Germany, Northberga and Sista. At Ratisbon, Sts. Marian, John, Candidus, Clement, Murcherdach, and Magnoald. In Austrasia, Sts. Kilian, Colonatus and Totnan. "Not taking into account," says Lynch, "those who were canonized in Britain, nor those who went over to the continent in large bodies, we have in Italy, St. Cathaldus, patron of Tarentum ; St. Donatus, patron of Fiesole ; St. Emilian, patron of Faventum, and St. Frigidian, of Lucca. Pavia honors John Albinus as the founder of her university, and St. Cumean is, above all other saints, the favorite patron of Bobbio. In

(1) Nearly all of the Irish chiefs of missions were accompanied by twelve assistants, probably in memory of our Lord's chosen Apostles, and perhaps, also, in honor of the twelve sent by Rome with Palladius to Ireland.

Gaul, St. Mansuetus is patron of Tulle; St. Finlag, patron of Metz; and St. Præcordius, of Corbie. Amiens honors St. Forcensius, and Poitiers, St. Fridolin. St. Elias is patron of Angouleme, St. Anatolius of Besançon, St. Fiacre of Meaux, St. Fursa of Peronne, and St. Lawrence of Eu. Liege honors Momo, and Strasbourg Sts. Florentius and Arbogast. In Brittany, Sts. Origin, Toava, Tenan, Gildas, Brioc, and many others, are revered as patrons. In Belgium, you have in Brabant, Sts. Rumold, Fredegand, Himelin, Dymphna, and Gerebern; in Flanders, Sts. Levin, Guthagon, Columbanus; in Artois, Sts. Lingluio, Liuglianus, Kilian, Vulgan, Fursa, and Obod; in Hainaut, Sts. Ette, Adalgisus, Abel, Wasnulf, and Mombolus; in Namur, Sts. Farennan and Eloquius; in Liege, Sts. Ultan, Foillan, and Bertuin; in Gueldres, Sts. Wiros, Plechelm, and Othger; in Friesland, Sts. Suitbert and Acca. But Germany especially was the most flourishing vineyard of our saints. St. Albin, or Witta, is honored as apostle in Thuringia; St. Disibode, at Treves; St. Erhard, in Alsace and Bavaria; St. Fridolin, in the Grisons of Switzerland; St. Gall among the Suabians, Swiss, and Rhetians; St. John in Mecklenburg; St. Virgil at Salzburg; St. Kilian, in Franconia; St. Rupert, in part of Bavaria. Was ever panegyric more appropriate than the words of Eric of Auxerre? ‘Need I mention Ireland, who, despising the dangers of the deep, emigrates to our shores, with almost the whole host of her philosophers; the greatest among them become voluntary exiles to minister to the tastes of our wisest Solomon?’ Now, we would ask of those who contend that the faith of the early Irish church was not that of Rome, what kind of doctrine did these Irish apostles preach to their neophytes? What doctrine was believed, what system practiced, by these many Irish saints so revered on the continent of Europe? They everywhere founded churches, or at least worshipped in churches, which acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. Our adversaries must therefore suppose, either that all these evangelizers and saints at once apostatized to Rome, immediately upon commencing their mission; or that none of these countries which revere these saints, held the faith of Rome,

when they commenced to honor them. Either idea is as absurd as it is historically false. Viewing, then, the close alliance which subsisted between the continental churches, which confessedly acknowledged the supremacy of the Holy See, and the representatives of the early Irish church, we must conclude that this latter church professed obedience to the Chair of St. Peter, and devoutly received the doctrine that it taught.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

EUTYCHIANISM, AND THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON.

Eutyches was a monk, as most heresiarchs have been, in illustration of the motto "*corruptio optimi pessima.*" His position as Archimandrite of the most famous monastery of Constantinople, gave him considerable influence, and at first he used it well in the cause of truth, being most ardent in combatting the heresy of Nestorius. But his zeal lacked the foundation of theological knowledge, and hence he easily fell into an error which was simply the extreme opposite of the one he attacked. St. Leo, in a letter to Pulcheria, says that his heresy "was born rather of ignorance than of subtlety," and in his *epist.* 19, he styles him "an unlearned defender of the ancient faith." He presented the two Natures as coalesced into one in the Person of Christ; asserting that our Lord was *of* or *from* two Natures, but not *in* two Natures. According to him, the two Natures, which subsisted before the union, became one after it, and hence came the corollary that Christ was not of our substance in the flesh. This error soon spread beyond the monastery, and by the year 448 it had become pretty well known. An intimate friend of Eutyches, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, tried in vain to correct the theologaster, and finally laid the matter before Flavian, bishop of Constantinople. This prelate was at that time (449) holding a Synod of his suffragans, and when the bishops heard the complaint, they begged Euse-

bis, in the name of ancient friendship, to again undertake the task of fraternal correction. But when he assured them that there was no prospect of success, they sent to the monastery an order commanding the presence of Eutyches in the Synod. The abbot replied that his vow would not permit him to leave his monastery; that the accusation of Eusebius was the result of enmity; that he was ready to sign the decrees of Nice and Ephesus, but that he would not follow the whims of the bishops when he deemed them contrary to truth; that he acknowledged one Nature in the Incarnate God; and that, in fine, he relied upon the Scriptures alone, as being of more weight than the expositions of the fathers. The Synod now summoned the recusant again and again, and after the third citation he sent several monks to report that he was sick, and to answer in his name the questions of the fathers. Flavian, however, repeated the injunction for the personal attendance of Eutyches, for he well knew that the excuse was a lie. During the interval that passed before the next session of the Synod, the obstinate monk used his influence at the imperial court (1) to obtain from Theodosius a rescript, drawn up ostensibly in the interests of peace, but calculated to terrify the more weak of the prelates. When the Synod resumed its sessions, Eutyches entered the hall with a turbulent crowd of his brethren, flanked by a band of Praetorian guards, headed by the Great Silentarius (2) of the emperor. But the bishops were not deterred from the fulfilment of their duty. They listened to the mandate of Theodosius with respect, and then proceeded to business. They carefully questioned Eutyches, and the result of the investigation was the following sentence delivered by Flavian: "Eutyches, once a priest and archimandrite, has been found infected with the errors of Valentine and Apollinarius, and to unchangeably agree with their blasphemies; he has not revered our persuasions and teaching, nor consented to the right doctrine. Whence with tears and groans

(1) The eunuch Chrysaphius, first chamberlain to Theodosius, was godson of Eutyches and devoted to him. When Flavian was consecrated, this officer applied to him for the usual present to the emperor, of which, of course, he was to have a share. The bishop gave him, instead of golden leaves, some of pure bread. From that day, Chrysaphius moved the court, especially the feminine element, with intrigues against him. NICEPHORUS, *b.* 14, *c.* 46.

(2) This officer was the first counsellor of the Byzantine rulers, and was styled "Silentarius" from the secrecy necessary in his functions.

we have decreed his perfect perdition through our Lord Jesus Christ, whom he has blasphemed, and he is deprived of every sacerdotal office, of our communion, and of the rule of his monastery ; all knowing this, that if henceforth they speak or treat with him, they themselves incur the pain of excommunication." To this decree subscribed thirty-two bishops, as judges, and twenty-three abbots as assenting (1).

Eutyches now appealed to Pope St. Leo I., and endeavored to secure the intercession of St. Peter Chrysologus, bishop of Ravenna. The latter declined to interfere, but wrote, "In all things we exhort thee to obediently attend to what is written by the Most Blessed Pope of Rome, for the Blessed Peter, who lives and presides in his own See, gives to seekers the truths of faith." In his appeal to Pope Leo, Eutyches declared that Eusebius had shown nothing wrong in his belief ; that he had been deprived of his rights, although he professed the Nicene faith. As Flavian had not yet written to the Pontiff upon these matters, St. Leo applied for information to that prelate and to Theodosius. Flavian immediately replied, enclosing the *Acts* of the Synod which had condemned Eutyches. Soon after the receipt of Flavian's letter, the Pontiff sent the celebrated *Dogmatic Epistle* which was afterwards read at Chalcedon, and of which we shall treat at some length. By the help of the eunuch Chrysaphius, Eutyches now prevailed upon Theodosius to call a Synod at Ephesus, for an examination of his case, and lest his sentence should be confirmed, if the Papal legates were to preside, he induced the emperor to issue an edict conferring the presidency upon Dioscorus of Alexandria. This Synod was attended by 130 bishops, and by four Papal legates. These latter, when they became aware of the violation of the Pontifical rights by Dioscorus, demanded that their credentials should be read, and Dioscorus swore to do so ; again and again the demand was repeated, and each time it was evaded. Therefore, though they remained as witnesses, the legates took no official part in the proceedings. Theodosius, deceived by Chrysaphius, regarded Flavian as a wicked cause of all the Eutychian tu-

mults, and in a rescript to Elpidius, Count of the Consistory, which was afterwards read in the first *Action* of the Council of Chalcedon, he excluded from the right of suffrage not only Flavian, but all the bishops who had condemned Eutyches, and gave to Elpidius constabular authority to enforce the decision. In this Synod, held in 449, Eutyches was restored to communion and to the government of his monastery; Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylæum were deposed from their sees. When some of the bishops threw themselves at the feet of Dioscorus in intercession for Flavian, the soldiers and monks fell upon them with blows. A scene of horror ensued, in the midst of which the Papal legates protested, and Flavian appealed to Rome. This intrepid prelate was then attacked by the monks, headed, according to the testimony of many bishops in the fourth *Action* of Chalcedon, by the abbot Barsumas. So severely was he wounded that he died a few days after, while being carried into exile. From this epitome of the facts, may be gathered the wisdom of those who styled this assemblage at Ephesus a "Robber Synod." Theodosius not only refused to allow a reconsideration of the *Acts* of this Synod, but he made an express law as to the respect to be shown for them. This emperor died in the year 450, and his successor, Marcianus, agreed to forward St. Leo's project of a General Council to heal the wounds of the Church.

This Council at first met in Nicæa of Bithynia, in September, 451, but for the convenience of Marcianus and the senate, who wished to witness the proceedings, the fathers adjourned to Chalcedon, a town not far from the capital. The Pontifical legates were Paschasinus, bishop of Marsala, Lucentius, bishop of Ascoli, and the priests Boniface and Basil; to these was afterwards joined the bishop Julian. The number of bishops in attendance was nearly six hundred.

As to the convocation of the Council of Chalcedon, much need not be said. Alexandre holds that it was convoked by Marcian, with the consent of St. Leo; but his arguments do not prove that it was not convoked by the Pope, with the consent and assistance of the emperor. That Marcian

faithfully labored to make the Council a success, as did Constantine in the case of Nice, is certain, but his letters to the Pontiff and his actions in the Council go to show that, no more than Constantine, did he wish to encroach upon the prerogative of Rome. In the epistle of Valentinian and Marcian to St. Leo, which was read in the first part of the Council, occur these words: "We deem it right in the beginning to address your Holiness as possessing the principality in the episcopacy, inviting and praying, &c." These words do not indicate any disposition upon the part of the emperor to usurp the initiative in the matter of convocation, nor do the following: "If it pleases your Blessedness to come into these parts, and to celebrate a Synod, deign to do so for love of religion, and you will certainly satisfy our wishes, and point out what will be useful to religion. If, however, it is laborious for you to come hither, let your Holiness manifest it to us by letter, so that our letters may be sent through the entire East, and into Thrace and Illyria, for all the bishops to meet in some definite place, where it may please us, to dispose things for the good of the Christian religion and the Catholic Faith, as your Holiness, according to the rules of the Church, may define." If the authority of the Supreme Pontiff had not been invoked for the summoning of the Council, the legate Lucentius would not have so confidently accused Dioscorus, because "when he had no power to judge, he presumed and dared to hold a Synod, without the authority of the Apostolic See, which was never done, *nor was permitted to be done.*" Pope Gelasius, in his letter to the bishops of Dardania, says that, "The Apostolic See *alone* decreed that the Synod of Chalcedon should be held." To this testimony Alexandre says that in his Roman Synod the same Pope spoke "otherwise," when he declared that the Roman Church accepted "the Holy Synod of Chalcedon, congregated *by means of* Marcianus." But Gelasius does not here speak "otherwise." In this very phrase "by means of" (in the original, *mediante*) lies the very essence of the question. The Council was certainly convoked "by means of" the emperor, when he afforded the aid of his government in summoning the bishops, in

procuring them safe and free transit to and from the place of meeting, in entertaining them, &c. The far-reaching and well-organized machinery of the imperial government was made to take the place held now by the post-office, and without it the summonses could scarcely have been served; the same machinery was necessary to secure the prompt attendance of the Synodals. In this sense of aiding the Roman Pontiff, and in no other, did Marcian convoke the Council.

In noting the *Actions* of the Council, we shall speak only of the most important, and with the brevity which becomes our limits. In the first *Action*, at the instance of the Papal legates, it was resolved that Dioscorus could not sit in the Synod as a judge, but that he might be placed in the middle as a culprit. The *Acts* of the Constantinopolitan Synod of Flavian and of the Robber Synod of Ephesus were read, and Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylæum were vindicated from the charges brought against them. The same punishment was decreed to the leaders of the Robber Synod as they had pronounced upon their victims. In the second *Action*, the Faith was considered. The Symbols of Nice and Constantinople were read; also, the two Synodical Epistles of St. Cyril, and the Dogmatic Epistle of St. Leo to Flavian, the latter being received by the bishops with the cry of "Peter has spoken through Leo," and with other devout acclamations. Then a debate ensued about Dioscorus, some exclaiming "Dioscorus to exile," "Christ has condemned Dioscorus," "He who communicates with Dioscorus is a Jew;" others crying out, "We all have sinned, let all be pardoned." In the third *Action*, by order of the legates, were read the accusations made by Eusebius of Dorylæum against Dioscorus. Thrice summoned to appear, the culprit refused to obey. Then the Papal legates pronounced sentence against him for having received Eutyches into communion when he had been canonically excommunicated; for having prevented the reading of Pope Leo's Epistle to Flavian at the Robber Synod; for pretending to excommunicate the Pontiff; for having contemned the Council. "Hence," they said, "by us and through the present Holy Synod, the Most Holy and Most Blessed Leo,

Archbishop of the great and senior Rome, together with the thrice Blessed, and worthy of all praise, Apostle Peter, who is the rock and foundation of the Catholic Church, and the basis of right Faith, has denuded him of the episcopal dignity and removed him from every Sacerdotal ministry." In the fourth *Action*, the fathers accorded a delay of five days before they would proceed to an inquisition on faith, in order that Anatolius of Constantinople, and a number of those who had subscribed to Pope Leo's Epistle, might explain certain of its passages to some of the bishops. When they again met, all the Synodals subscribed to the document. It was then ordered that a certain petition should be read which a large number of abbots and monks had presented to Marcian, asking him to bring about another Synod, as they could not recognize the present one as general, since Dioscorus was excluded from a seat among the judges. When asked to subscribe to the Dogmatic Epistle of the Pontiff, the monks refused, declaring that this requirement was of a piece with the system of persecution which the secular clergy always exercised towards them. The meek creatures finally threatened to withdraw from the communion of those bishops who would vote for anything contrary to their humble petition. At this juncture, Ætius, archdeacon of Constantinople, read a canon of a Council of Antioch, in which it was ordained that any one suspending his own communion, and refusing to obey his bishop, if he ordered the suspended to return, should be degraded forever; that if he should cause sedition in the Church, he should be handed over to the secular power. To this canon, the fathers assented. In the fifth *Action*, a definition of faith was read, but the Papal legates and some Orientals contended that it was not sufficient to declare that Christ is "from two Natures;" that it should be stated that He is "in two Natures, inconfusedly, immutably, and undividedly." Thus it was finally arranged. In the sixth *Action*, the emperor Marcian was present, and he presented certain decrees to the Council, recommending their adoption. "There are certain Chapters," he said "which we have reserved in honor to your Reverences, deeming it proper that such things

should be regularly established in this Synod, rather than by our law." The first of these decrees prohibited monks from building monasteries without the consent of the bishop; the second ordered clergymen not to engage in secular business; the third prevented clerics from passing from one diocese to another, at their own free will. In the next eight *Actions*, were considered the causes of many individual bishops; among others, those of Theodoret, and Ibas of Edessa, who were restored to their sees. In the fifteenth *Action*, while the Papal legates were absent, the Synod edited twenty-eight canons, of which the last confirmed the famous Constantinopolitan canon conferring the first place after Rome upon Constantinople. In the sixteenth *Action*, the legates demanded the reading of the twenty-eighth canon and requested the fathers to reflect upon the circumvention which must have been used ere they were compelled to sign the "non-*conscrib*ed canons which they mentioned" (1). The bishops chafed at the word "compelled," and cried out that "no one was forced to sign." Then the legate Lucentius, persisting in his opposition, Ætius, archdeacon of Constantinople, asked if the Pope had included this opposition in his instructions. The legate Boniface replied by reading from the Diploma of Legation, the following: "Suffer not the Constitutions of the Holy Fathers to be violated or diminished by any temerity, preserving in every way the dignity of our person in yourselves, whom we have sent in our place; and if it chances that any city, confused by its splendor, tries any usurpation, repel the attempt with becoming constancy." Nevertheless, the bishops persisted in editing the canon, whereupon Lucentius protested in these terms: "The Holy See commanded that everything should be done in our presence; therefore we ask of your Sublimities that you order to be cancelled all that was consummated yesterday in our absence; otherwise, let our contradiction cling to those proceedings, as we shall know what to refer to the Apostolic and Principal Bishop of the Church, that he may pronounce sentence as to the disregard of the canons and as to the injury offered to his See."

(1) The legates styled the Constantinopolitan canons "*non-conscripti*" because the Holy See had not received them.

Our attention is now claimed by the Dogmatic Epistle sent by Pope St. Leo to Flavian of Constantinople, when he had received from that prelate a copy of the *Acts* of the Synod held by him against Eutyches. The *Acts* of the Council of Chalcedon show that this epistle was received by the fathers with acclamations of joy and of praise, but the adversaries of Papal infallibility hold that, before the bishops gave their assent to the doctrine contained therein, they subjected it to a juridical examination. That such was not the case, but that the fathers of Chalcedon received the letter of the Pontiff as an authoritative and infallible exposition of Catholic doctrine, we now proceed to demonstrate. But it is well to know at once in what light the Pontiff himself regarded this letter. It is certain that when the Robber Synod was about to be held, St. Leo declared that no doubt was to be entertained as to the heresy of Eutyches, since in his epistle to Flavian he had made plain the Catholic doctrine. In his letter to Theodosius, written immediately after the one to Flavian, he says that he has sent legates to Ephesus, "in order that, because there can be no doubt as to what is Christian doctrine, the gravity of the whole error may be condemned, and he who has erred may experience sacerdotal benevolence, if he asks for pardon. As to what the Catholic Church universally believes and teaches upon the Incarnation of our Lord, it is more fully contained in the letters which I have sent to our brother bishop, Flavian." Writing to the bishops congregated at Ephesus, he plainly tells them what they are to do; he says that his legates "will establish what will be pleasing to the Lord; that is, at once the pestiferous error being condemned, let the restoration be considered of him who has imprudently erred; provided, of course, that he accepts the true doctrine, and that he clearly and openly, with his own voice and hand, condemns the heretical ideas into which his ignorance has led him." In another letter to Theodosius (No. 17), he says that he needed not to have called a Synod, which certainly indicates that he did not wish his decision to be critically examined. The mind of St. Leo is made more clear to us by his saying to the fathers of Chalcedon, "In my vicars I am now pres-

ent, who but lately was not absent in the teaching of the Catholic faith ; that you, who cannot ignore what we must believe from ancient tradition, may not doubt as to what we desire. Wherefore, most dear brethren, the audacity of dispute against divinely inspired faith being left aside, let vain infidelity of error subside. Let not that be defended which cannot be believed, since by the letters which we sent to bishop Flavian of blessed memory, it has been most fully and lucidly declared, according to evangelical authority, according to the voices of the prophets, and according to Apostolic doctrine, what is the pious and sincere confession in regard to the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ." The writer of these words would assuredly be surprised, did he hear that his teaching was subjected to critical disquisition. In his letter of instructions to the bishop Julian, whom he joined to the legation of Chalcedon, probably on the death of Julius of Puteoli, St. Leo says, "I have written to our brother Flavian sufficient for you and the Universal Church to learn the ancient and singular faith which the ignorant opponent has attacked, that which we hold as divinely delivered, and which we undeviatingly preach." Does this sound like the language of one who expected his instructions to be weighed and discounted? When the news of the disgusting scenes at the Pseudo-Synod of Ephesus arrived at Rome, the Pontiff wrote again to Theodosius, and ascribed much of the wickedness of that body to the cunning of Dioscorus in withholding the letter to Flavian, for, said he, "If the Alexandrian bishop had permitted our letter to Flavian to reach the ears of the bishops, all the noise of dispute would have been quieted by the manifestation of that most pure faith which by divine inspiration we have received and hold." And when it was finally determined to hold the Council of Chalcedon, and he selected Paschasinus as his first legate, he sent to him a copy of the epistle to Flavian, saying, "I have sent to you, to be diligently studied and learned, the epistle which we sent to Flavian of blessed memory about this matter, and which the Universal Church receives."

And now for the manner in which the Council of Chalce-

don received this epistle. That the Council acknowledged a really dominative power in the Pontiff may be seen at once from its obedience to his mandate that Dioscorus should not judge in the Synod, but only be heard. In the first *Action*, the legate Paschasinus said, "We have in our hands the commands of the Most Blessed and Apostolic Pope of Rome, which is the head of all the churches, by which his Apostleship has deigned to order that Dioscorus, the Archbishop of the Alexandrians, shall not sit in the Council, but may be admitted as a hearer." Evagrius, b. 2, c. 4, tells us how the Synod obeyed. "There were present in the Council, the bishops Paschasinus and Lucentius, Vicars of Leo; also Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, to whose number were added the chief senators, to whom the Vicars of Leo declared that Dioscorus should not sit with them in the Council, as so it had been decreed by their bishop Leo; that if it were not so observed, they would go out of the church. Which when they had said, and by order of the senate Dioscorus had been placed, &c." But to come nearer to the point, why should the fathers of Chalcedon have wished to subject the epistle of Leo to the crucial test, when already, throughout the world, it had been regarded as definitive? Not only in the East, but in the West, it was already regarded as a declaration of orthodoxy, and a subscription to it was the test of faith. Thus, we find the emperor Marcian declaring that, if the Pontiff could not come to the East, all the bishops would agree with what he had defined; we hear the bishops of Gaul (Ballerini, *epist.* 68) designating the epistle as one approved of by the whole Church; we see it sent to all the metropolitans to be subscribed by them (*act.* 4, Conc. Chalced.) But let us come to the Council. In the first *Action*, a question was raised as to the faith of Flavian, and it was settled at once when the Papal legates declared that he believed whatever Leo proposed to be believed. Is this acquiescence likely on the part of men about to doubt of the criterion? In the second *Action*, the fathers declined to frame a new exposition of faith, on the ground that the Nicene, Constantinopolitan, and Ephesine decrees were sufficient for Arius and Nestorius, and Pope Leo's epistle settled the question of

Eutyches. Were they about to examine the decrees of the three general Councils? In this session, the epistle was read, and these were the cries that accompanied and followed it: "This is the faith of the fathers, and of the Apostles. We all thus believe. Anathema to him who believes not thus. Peter has spoken through Leo. The Apostles so taught. Leo and Cyrillus have so taught. Why were these not read at Ephesus? Dioscorus hid them." Of no avail as an argument against us is the delay asked for by Atticus of Nicopolis and a few others, for we read in the records, "Let the session be deferred five days, that those who doubt may be taught. All the bishops exclaimed, 'We believe thus. As Leo believes, so do we. We have already subscribed.'" In the fourth *Action*, the legates declared that "the letters of the Most Blessed and Apostolic Leo, Pope of the Universal Church, condemning the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, have explained what is the true faith. Similarly, therefore, the Holy Synod holds this faith, and follows it; nothing can it add or subtract." And when some of the Egyptian bishops sought to evade an open condemnation of Eutyches, the Synod insisted upon their immediate subscription of the Pontiff's epistle, stigmatizing as a heretic any one refusing to obey. In the face of all these facts, it is plain that the fathers of the Council of Chalcedon, from the very beginning, respected Pope St. Leo's epistle as a certain rule of faith.

Alexandre agrees with Bossuet in finding a proof of the superiority of a Council over the Roman Pontiff in the fact that Pope Leo allowed the cause of Dioscorus to be treated at Ephesus and at Chalcedon, even though he had issued his Dogmatic Epistle. And he adduces the testimony of the Pope himself to show that he believed in this superiority; for in his Synodical Epistle to the fathers at Ephesus, St. Leo says that the emperor wished for a Council, "in order that, *by a fuller judgment*, every error might be swept away." But we have already seen that the Pope told Flavian that the affair "needed no treatment whatever by a Synod;" that he told Theodosius that 'for reasonable causes he should refrain from calling a Synod;' we have heard St. Peter Chrysologus advising Eutyches to obediently attend to what

the Roman Pontiff would write, because "the Blessed Peter shows to seekers the true faith." If, in the face of all this, at the request of the emperor, a Council was called, the Pontiff so permitted, not because he thought an œcumenical Synod superior to himself, but to repress the contumacy of the heretics, by leaving them no possible excuse for their obstinacy. Indeed, asks Roncaglia (1), in treating of this objection of Bossuet, who ever heard an inferior judge declare that a superior tribunal was supererogatory in his regard? And yet, in the supposition of Bossuet, such would have been the presumption of St. Leo. Again, in his epistle to the fathers at Nicea (afterwards at Chalcedon) the Pontiff forbade any disputation upon faith, because he had already, in his epistle to Flavian, fully explained what was to be believed. Writing this, could he have dreamed of a critical examination of his letter? St. Leo assented to the holding of a General Council, concludes Roncaglia, but in it he was to be dominant; what he desired, was to be done; disputes were to be avoided, and his Dogmatic Epistle to Flavian was to be the rule of faith in the matter of Eutychianism. But, it is urged, be all this as it may, the Chalcedon fathers did, nevertheless, institute a judicial inquisition into the letter to Flavian, for the method of subscription adopted by the prelates can be understood in no other supposition. Having read the letter, and found it concordant with the doctrines of the first two Œcumenical Councils, the bishops signed their names in this guise: "It agrees, and I have subscribed;" "Having found it to agree, I have subscribed;" "Persuaded that it agrees in all, I signed." These subscriptions are certainly sufficiently formal, but they do not necessarily indicate that their authors had held a judicial, rather than an informatory, examination of the document. Besides, many of these subscribers had long before assented to this epistle as to a test of their orthodoxy; why, then, should they now inquire into its value? But let us look a little closely into the *Acts* of the Council. In the fourth *Action*, when the Apostolic legates declared that the Epistle of

(1) *Animadversions on Alexandre's 12th Dissertation*, 5th Century; § 3.

Pope Leo contained the true faith, and that the Synod "could not add nor subtract from it," the bishops exclaimed, "We all thus believe; so we were baptized, so we baptize." And this declaration as to not adding to, nor subtracting from, the letter, was made *before* its comparison with the doctrine of Nice and Ephesus. When, therefore, they afterwards approved of the document, they did so, not because anything was wanting to render it irrefragable, but that they might show that they acknowledged in it an authoritative teaching as to the Incarnation of our Lord. That this is the proper view to take of their action, is made manifest by what followed in the fifth *Action*. The fathers had framed a Profession of Faith, and cried out that he was a heretic who would not sign it. But the legates protested that it was not proper, and demanded that it should be amended, so as to be thoroughly consonant with the Epistle of the Pontiff, saying, "If it does not agree with the letter of the Apostolic and Most Blessed Pope Leo, order a rescript to be given to us, that we may return; and there let the Synod be completed." The bishops yielded, thereby showing that they held no heterodox notions as to the reformability of a Papal decree by a General Council, and that their examination of the Epistle to Flavian was merely for a better understanding of its contents.

The defenders of the doctrine that a General Council is superior to the Roman Pontiff bring forward another testimony to their theory from Pope St. Leo. In a letter (No. 120) to Theodoret, written after the Council of Chalcedon, the Pontiff thus alludes to his Epistle to Flavian. "When certain persons, incited by the author of dissension, entered upon a war of contradiction, there came about a greater good from the Dispenser of all good things. . . . the truth itself more clearly shines forth, and is more firmly held, when, that which faith has first taught, an examination afterwards confirms. The value of the sacerdotal office is really resplendent, when the authority of superiors is so respected, that in nothing appears diminished the liberty of inferiors." According to our opponents, the Pontiff here acknowledges that after his Epistle had been com-

municated to the bishops of Chalcedon, doubt was yet legitimate, and that an examination was held upon its contents which resulted in its confirmation. This objection has already been, at least implicitly, answered. Do its propounders think that St. Leo had forgotten his instructions to his legates, that nothing written in the letter to Flavian should be questioned in the Synod? But looking into this letter to Theodoret, we find the Pontiff affirming that the Lord Himself had defined the truth in his Epistle to Flavian. Did he believe that there was any deficiency of authority in the definition by God? We hear that the doubts alluded to were incited by the demon, and this certainly shows there was no foundation for them. And of what nature was this examination, which "confirmed" the teaching of the Pope? The approbation of others does not necessarily imply their superiority. In this very matter of the authority of Councils, St. Chrysostom (*hom.* 52) holds that the consent of the world confirmed the decrees of Nice, but were those decrees fallible until that assent was given? Facundus (b. 7) says that antiquity added weight to the Council of Ephesus. And the Council of Chalcedon itself, an assemblage of 600 bishops, presided over by the legates of the Holy See, underwent "confirmation" and "approbation," by order of the emperor Leo, and not only at the hands of bishops, but from such monks as were conspicuous for sanctity (1). It will be said that these prelates only gave a testimony as to their faith, when they "examined" and signed the decrees of Chalcedon. And just so, we answer, did the fathers of Chalcedon, when they "examined" and signed the Pontifical Epistle to Flavian.

(1) LIBERATUS; c. 14. FACUNDUS; b. 12.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE ACACIAN SCHISM.

The seeds of the great Greek schism of the 9th century were sown several centuries before the baneful crop finally matured, and bore its poisonous fruit. If a mistaken idea of one's own dignity is often dangerous to the individual man, it is just as dangerous to a community whose leaders foster that spirit for the gratification of their own ambition. When the clergy, and through them the people of Constantinople, clamored for an ecclesiastical recognition of the dignity of "the younger Rome," their consciences certainly acquitted them of any designs on the peace of Christendom. But when they had obtained that recognition; when, in spite of the repugnance of far-seeing Rome, their bishop had been accorded an ecclesiastical rank above that of the venerable sees of Alexandria and Antioch; they but too often found that the newly-acquired pre-eminence was only an excitant to an appetite appeasable only by universal domination. At the time of which we are about to treat, the successor of the humble suffragan of Heraclea had not yet dared to claim the style of "universal patriarch," but he often exhibited an arrogance which caused the other patriarchs to chafe, and rendered the Supreme Pontiff chary of contributing in any way to his vanity. Under the Providence of God, it was only because the Byzantine empire was not yet sufficiently corrupt to give him the opportunity, that Acacius did not anticipate the work of Photius. As it was, he succeeded in inaugurating a schism which desolated the East for thirty-seven years. A sketch of the political history of the time will be necessary, that the reader may understand the full significance of the events which we are about to relate.

Upon the death of the emperor Marcian in the year 457, a military tribune named Leo, a Thracian by birth, was proclaimed his successor by the army; and, through the exertions of two powerful patricians, Aspar, and his son Arda-

burus, the senate confirmed him in the dignity. Leo was a firm Catholic, and hence, from the beginning of his reign, he insisted upon an exact observance of the decrees of Chalcedon, which the Eutychians used to evade in every possible manner. In the year 468, having concerted measures with the Western emperor, Anthymius, for the repression of Genseric the Vandal, he despatched a fleet to Africa under the command of Basiliscus, his brother-in-law. Through the cowardice of Basiliscus, the expedition failed, and the leader paid the penalty in exile. In the meantime, Aspar, to whom in a measure Leo owed his throne, had become hostile to his cause, and to oppose him, the emperor raised an Isaurian general named Zeno to the consulate, and gave him his daughter in marriage. But the inferiority of Zeno soon forced Leo to seek a reconciliation with Aspar, and he fulfilled his promise to make Ardaburus Cæsar. However, in a short time he put both father and son to death for conspiracy. Leo died in 474, leaving as successor, a five-year old grandson, Leo II., son of Zeno by the princess Ariadne. Zeno became regent, and the imperial child dying, he donned the purple. But Basiliscus, the cowardly brother-in-law of Leo I., now came to the front, and in the year 475 (1) he mounted the throne. Looking around for friends to secure his precarious tenure of power, he thought he might rely upon the Eutychians, if he could bind them with ties of gratitude. He therefore issued an Encyclical, in which he presumed to abrogate the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, and many bishops subscribed to it. Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, now came forward as the champion of the Church. But the event proved that he was incited, not by a pure zeal for religion, but by inordinate ambition. Among the canons of Chalcedon, as we have seen, was the famous 28th, giving to the "younger Rome" the second place in the hierarchy. Were this canon abrogated, Acacius would be indeed humbled, and to save it, he now posed as the strenuous defender of all the decrees. That we are guilty of no injustice to Acacius in denying that he respected all the

(1) So holds Muratori; Pagi assigns the rebellion to the year 476. But there are many laws extant which were promulgated by Zeno in 476: therefore, he had recovered his crown in that year.

religious decrees of Chalcedon, is fully proved by his satisfaction with the edict which Basiliscus afterwards issued, in which, while revoking the Encyclical, that emperor says nothing about the honor due to the religious enactments of the fourth Council, but is very precise about the restoration to Acacius of his suffragan dioceses.

When Acacius saw that the newly born dignity of his see was endangered, he used all his influence to excite resistance to the Encyclical. He doffed the brilliant robes of his office and appeared only in garments of sombre color; his episcopal throne, and even the altar, were draped in mourning. The people, who were, as a rule, thoroughly orthodox, were soon on the verge of sedition. They persuaded the mystic, Daniel the Stylite, to come down from his column, and to preach in the capital; he denounced all manner of evils to the tyrant, and produced such an impression that finally Basiliscus yielded. Throwing himself at the feet of the ascetic, he implored pardon, recalled the Encyclical, and confirmed the patriarchal privileges of Constantinople. But his retreat was of no avail. Zeno returned from his exile in Isauria, and though Basiliscus tried hard to win over the Catholics to his side, he was soon deposed and sent into Cappadocia to die of starvation. Acacius had now gained his point; it remains to be seen how his true character showed itself in his relations with the dissensions which were at this time rending the churches of Alexandria and Antioch. A retrospect is now necessary.

When Dioscorus was deposed from the see of Alexandria, Proterius was elected to fill the vacancy. But many of the people still clamored for Dioscorus, and so violent were they in their demonstrations, that Proterius was forced to employ a military guard for his protection. Shortly after his accession, Proterius condemned a certain Timothy Ælurus, and a deacon called Peter Moggus, who, out of sympathy for the deposed Dioscorus, refused to obey the new bishop. When the news of the death of the emperor Marcian arrived in Egypt, the Eutychians thought it safe to invade the patriarchal see. During the festivities of Holy Week of the year 457, a ferocious horde entered

Alexandria, broke into the baptistery of the church whither the bishop had fled, barbarously killed him, burned his body, and scattered his ashes to the winds. Some of them went so far as to devour portions of the burnt flesh (1). Leo I. had now become emperor, and the Alexandrian clergy besought him to punish the murder of Proterius, and to expel Timothy Ælurus, whom the heretics had thrust into the patriarchal chair. The Eutychians also had recourse to the throne, announcing that they received the Councils of Nice and Ephesus, but repudiating that of Chalcedon, and demanding the confirmation of Timothy Ælurus. Leo referred the question to Anatolius of Constantinople, who held a Synod of all the bishops then in the capital, and vindicated the Council of Chalcedon, and condemned Timothy. Anatolius sent an account of his action to Pope St. Leo, and this Pontiff wrote several letters to the emperor, urging him not to grant the demands of the Eutychians, who wished for another General Council to reconsider the decrees of Chalcedon. The emperor at length put a temporary end to the Alexandrian troubles by exiling Timothy to the Chersonese. Another Timothy, called Salophaciolus, was now legitimately elected to the see of Alexandria, and ruled in comparative peace until the year 461, when Timothy Ælurus reappeared, and the lawful bishop was expelled by the Eutychians. When Pope Simplicius heard of these events, he wrote to Acacius, and made him Apostolic legate, that he might the more efficaciously labor for the expulsion of Ælurus, and for the denial of the demand of the heretics for another Council. Ælurus finally poisoned himself, in the year 478, and the Eutychians replaced him with Peter Moggus. The latter was expelled from the see by order of Zeno, and the legitimate bishop, Timothy Salophaciolus, restored. Upon his death in the year 482, Timothy was succeeded by John Talaja, but this prelate was opposed by Zeno, incited by Acacius, whose anger had been aroused against Talaja, because he had not been formerly notified of the election. Talaja had written to the Pope and the patriarch Calendion of Antioch, and his omission of a notice to

(1) EYAGRIUS; *b.* 2, *c.* 8.

Constantinople, certainly appeared to indicate, in the mind of Acacius, that he agreed with Rome in rejecting the famous 28th canon of Chalcedon. Acacius now suggested to Zeno that it would be a good thing, in the interests of peace, to restore Peter Moggus to Alexandria, as he was in reality acceptable to all, and would readily support the *Henoticon* which Zeno had just issued (1). John Talaja was therefore deposed, and Peter seated in his place. In answering the letters informing him of the state of affairs, Pope Simplicius said that, in consequence of the serious allegations brought against Talaja (2), he had not yet sent him communicatory letters, but that he was astonished at the restoration of so pronounced a heretic as Peter Moggus; he would not restore Moggus to communion, even though he now professed the true faith, until he had done penance for his sins (3). In the year 483, Talaja appealed to Pope Simplicius, and the Pontiff wrote in his favor to Acacius. But this arrogant prelate would not forgive Talaja's seeming disrespect to his superior dignity. Pope Felix III., however, made Talaja bishop of Nola, which diocese he ruled for many years. Peter Moggus finally anathematized the decrees of Chalcedon and the Dogmatic Epistle of St. Leo, and fiercely persecuted the Catholics; notwithstanding which, Acacius persevered in his communion.

Having seen how Acacius conducted himself in reference to the dissensions of Alexandria, we will now give a brief sketch of his connection with an equally miserable condition of things in Antioch. One of the intimate friends of Zeno, at the time he was consul under the emperor Leo, was a certain priest named Peter, who was also surnamed Fullo, he having followed the fuller's craft while he was a monk. Settling in Antioch, Fullo began to preach the heresy of the Theopaschites, teaching, that is, that in the Crucifixion, the Divinity was affixed to the cross and placed in the sepulchre. Martyrius, the bishop, complained of him to

(1) This edict was suggested to Zeno by Acacius as a "unitive" measure, but it injured the Church very much, inasmuch as, while it condemned Nestorius and Eutyches, and approved the twelve Chapters of St. Cyril, it was silent as to Dioscorus, and said nothing about St. Leo's Dogmatic Epistle and the Chalcedon Definition of Faith.

(2) Acacius had charged him with violating an oath, taken never to accept the see of Alexandria; also with having obtained his election by bribery.

(3) *Epist.* 17

the emperor Leo, and that prince issued a decree prohibiting any monk from disputing on religious matters before the people. At length, Martyrius was exhausted by the tumults and seditions, which, under the protection of Zeno, the rebel continued to excite, and abdicated his see, saying, "I renounce a clergy without morals, a rebellious people, and a contaminated church; having preserved, in the meantime, my own sacerdotal dignity" (1). Fullo now seized the episcopal chair, but was soon deposed by a Synod. and exiled to the desert by Leo. Julian was elected to fill the vacancy, but when Basiliscus came to power, he ordered the restoration of Fullo, which caused Julian to die of grief. One of the first episcopal acts of Fullo was to consecrate a man very much like himself, a certain John, already under a Synodal censure, as bishop of Apame. But his people not receiving him, John was resolved to be a bishop somewhere, so he rose against Fullo, deposed him, and for three months was satisfied. But he was soon deposed by a provincial Synod, and Stephen was elected. In the year 479, this bishop fell under the murderous hands of a number of Eutychian schoolboys, who dispatched him with their sharpened writing reeds. Upon the election of Stephen "the Younger," Zeno (now emperor) sent his old friend Fullo into exile in Pontus. In three years' time, the see of Antioch was again vacant, and Calendion became bishop. And now Acacius had another opportunity to show the spirit that animated him. In the year 484, he presumed to depose Calendion, ostensibly because he was unfaithful to the emperor, but really because he held communion with Pope Felix and John Talaja. Acacius then brought out of exile the famous Peter Fullo, and restored him to his usurped see.

Having read this sketch of the iniquities of Acacius, the reader will not be surprised to hear that immediately upon the receipt of the news of the restoration of Fullo, Pope Felix III. held a Synod of 43 bishops, in which Acacius, Fullo, and Moggus were solemnly condemned. The sentence was made known at Constantinople by Tutus, "Defender" of

(1) *LIBERATUS*; *Breviary*, c. 18.

the Roman Church, and secretly affixed to the *pallium* of Acacius while at the foot of the altar, by some unknown monk. Supported by the friendship of the imperial court, Acacius exercised his ministry until his death, which occurred in the year 488. But the schism did not cease with him. His successor, Fravitas, sent Synodical letters to Peter Moggus, asserting that he did not communicate with the Roman Pontiff; he sent others to Pope Felix III., saying that he held aloof from Moggus. Which was truth, and which a lie, matters little; it is certain that he refused to remove the name of Acacius from the dyptichs, and thereby entailed upon himself the loss of communion with Felix. After a three months' rule, Fravitas died, and was succeeded by Euphemius, who would not communicate with Moggus, restored the name of Felix to the dyptichs, and held a lengthy correspondence with that Pontiff, and with Gelasius, but as he "feared" to erase the name of Acacius from the Ecclesiastical Tables, he never attained to communion with Rome. After Euphemius, came Macedon, a prelate of orthodox faith and of pure life. He incurred the enmity of the court by his inflexibility, and the emperor Anastasius induced some children to accuse him of immorality, and then sent him into exile. About the year 514, serious attempts were initiated to reconcile the church of Constantinople with the Holy See, and they came from the Eastern emperor, moved by fear of a certain "Master of the Soldiery," Vitalian, who had drawn the sword in the cause of the faith. When Anastasius felt himself driven to the wall by Vitalian, he wrote to Pope Hormisdas, referring all questions of faith and the causes of all the exiled bishops to the Pontiff, and asking for a Council to restore peace to the Church. Hormisdas sent four legates to the capital, with instructions not to accord ecclesiastical communion to the Oriental prelates or to the emperor, unless they subscribed to the faith of Chalcedon, and to the epistles of St. Leo against Nestorius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus. He also enjoined an explicit condemnation of Acacius and Peter Moggus, called the causes of all exiled bishops to the Apostolic See, and ordered the immediate restoration of all exiled orthodox prelates to their sees. Hor-

misdas also promised the emperor that he would attend the coming Council, waiving the rule of the Roman Pontiffs never to attend Oriental Synods unless by means of their legates. Athanasius dismissed the Papal legates, saying that while he condemned the *persons* and *dogmas* of Nestorius and Eutyches, and received the faith of Chalcedon, yet he could not accede to the condemnation of Acacius, for fear of scandalizing the Eastern churches; he hoped, however, that a future Council would settle everything. Hormisdas repeated his efforts for peace in the following year, but the arrogant emperor replied, "We can bear being injured, but not being ordered." In the year 518, the emperor Justin (the Elder) wrote to Pope Hormisdas, asking him to send legates to Constantinople, to finally reconcile that see with that of Peter. Accordingly, in 518, five Papal legates received the signatures of John, bishop of Constantinople, and of the emperor, to a formula of faith sent by the Pontiff. The condemnation of Acacius was accepted, and thus an end was put to the schism.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE *Palmaris* SYNOD, AND THE CAUSE OF POPE SYMMACHUS.

Pope Symmachus, a Sardinian by birth, and, at the time of his election, archdeacon of Sumana, ascended the Papal chair on Nov. 22, 498. Italy was at that time dominated by Theodoric the Goth, who having been sent in 488 by the emperor Zeno to crush Odoacer, had founded the line of Gothic kings which was to rule the peninsula until 553, when Narses would restore it to the empire. On the very day that Symmachus undertook the government of the Church, a grievous schism was inaugurated in Rome by the consecration of an anti-Pope, Laurence, of the title of St. Praxedes, whose election by a faction of malcontents had been procured by the money of Festus, a creature of the emperor

Anastasius (1). Blood was shed in the streets, and Theodoric interfered, declaring that he should be regarded as Pontiff, who was first elected by a majority of votes. But the schism was not easily healed. Festus, aided by the senator Probinus, accused the Pontiff of various heavy crimes, and sided openly with the Laurentians. The schismatics went so far as to urge Theodoric to appoint a Visitor to Rome, whose province it should be to investigate the charges against Symmachus. Peter, bishop of Altino, was accordingly sent to exercise the ungracious office of inspector into the doings of the Holy See, to the indignation of the Pontiff and the disgust of the faithful. A Synod was convoked by Peter in 501, but the Pope refused to attend it, or in any way countenance it. Theodoric, at this time, was devoting all his energies to the consolidation of his power, and, although an Arian, was desirous of conciliating the Romans. He therefore endeavored to put an end to the schism which his officious representatives had originated. He desired that another Synod should be held, and the Pontiff willingly co-operated. The first session was celebrated (502) in the Julian Basilica; the second in that of the Holy Cross; and the third in the vestibule of St. Peter's, the entrance to which, being designated as *palmaris* (excellent), has given its name to the whole Synod. Immediately upon entering the Council, Symmachus gave thanks to Theodoric for having furthered the meeting, and openly declared that it had been called by the Pontiff's own desire. In the first session, it was shown that the schismatics had been guilty of violence towards Symmachus, and had wounded many of his attendant clergy. When the Synod referred this crime to the cognizance of Theodoric, that Arian monarch gave an example to Catholic sovereigns as to their duty in treating ecclesiastical causes: "It was for the discretion of the Synod to prescribe what should be done in an affair of such moment; and

(1) Pope Anastasius II., the predecessor of Symmachus, had sent legates to the emperor Anastasius, to induce him to abandon the cause of the Acacians. At the same time with the legates, there arrived at Constantinople, a messenger from Theodoric, in the person of the patrician Festus. This nobleman persuaded the emperor that he could procure from Pope Anastasius a subscription to Zeno's *Henoticon*; hence the legates failed in their mission. But when Festus came to Rome to carry out his design, he found that another Pontiff, and one whom he could not hope to influence, was on the throne. He looked around for an instrument and selected Laurence.

for the sake of reverence to it, the king had nothing to do with ecclesiastical affairs. He committed to the will of the bishops, to decide what was the more useful, whether to attend to the affair in question, or not; provided that the venerable Council arranged that peace should be enjoyed by all Christians in the Roman city." The Synod then decreed that the cause of Symmachus should be referred to the divine judgment; that he should be regarded as pure of crime, and innocent of the charges brought against him; that he should enjoy all the rights of the Supreme Pontificate, in and outside of the city. As to the schismatic clergy, it was resolved that they should, in mercy, be allowed to retain their benefices, if they gave satisfaction to the Pontiff; if any of them should presume to officiate, without the Papal sanction, they should abide by the canonical penalties. The schismatics did not submit to the decrees of the *Palmaris* Synod; they sought to bring it into contempt by distributing among the people copies of an inflammatory circular entitled "Against the Synod of Unbefitting Absolution." To counteract this document, Ennodius, a deacon of Ticino, wrote an "Apology" for the Synod; and in another council, held in 503, the fathers decreed that the said writing should be regarded as possessing Synodical authority (1).

Launoy (2) adduces the history of this *Palmaris* Synod to

In this 5th Symmachian synod, the Pontiff excommunicated the emperor Anastasius, as an Acacian schismatic, and as a communicant with the heretical enemies of the Council of Chalcedon. Rendered furious by this apostolic act, Anastasius published a diatribe against Symmachus, in which, among other injuries, the Pope was styled a Manichean. In answer, Symmachus wrote an Apologetic Epistle, in which occur the following noteworthy passages: "You say that, the Senate conspiring with me, I have excommunicated you. I indeed have so done, but have only followed the reasonable example of my predecessors. We have excommunicated Acacius, not you; if you recede from Acacius, you will not partake of his excommunication. Have nothing to do with his excommunication, and then you will not be excommunicated by us; if you unite yourself with him, you are excommunicated by yourself, not by us. . . . Let us compare the honor of the emperor with that of the Pontiff; the former is as far from the latter, as are the human affairs, which the emperor directs, from the divine, over which the Pontiff presides. You, O emperor, receive baptism from the Pontiff; from him you receive the sacraments, you ask his prayers and beg his blessing, and beseech absolution. You administer human affairs, he dispenses divine things to you. . . . Perhaps you will retort that we should be subject to all the powers that be. We do indeed accord to every power its due respect, and until it raises its will against that of God. . . . Do you defer to God in us, and we shall defer to God in you. But if you do not defer to God, you cannot use His privilege, whose laws you despise." The student of Liturgy will note that it was this Synod which decreed that the "Glory to God on High," instead of being sung only at the nocturnal Mass of Christmas, should be sung on all Sundays and Feasts of Martyrs. Some authors have ascribed this Hymn to Pope Symmachus, but we know that it already existed in the time of St. Athanasius. See the latter's book on *Holy Virginity*.

(2) As we will frequently, during the course of our work, have occasion to combat the views of this eccentric writer, it may be well to note the opinion which Reiser, a famous Protestant author of his day, entertained of him. In a work published at Amsterdam in 1685, entitled, "John Launoy, a Witness and Confessor of Evangelico-Catholic (i. e., Lutheran) Truth," we are told that he was a "doctor of the Sorbonne, justly celebrated among his

prove that a Roman Pontiff may be cited for judgment in an episcopal Council. The fathers of this Synod, however, were of a different opinion. In the *Acts*, we read that the bishops of Venice, Æmilia, and Tuscany, met Theodoric at Ravenna, on their way to Rome, and asked why they should be compelled, in their old age, to make such a journey. "The aforesaid most pious king answered that many horrid reports had reached him concerning the actions of Pope Symmachus, and that a Synod ought to judge as to the truth of the hostile accusations. The aforesaid bishops suggested that he who was accused ought to convoke the Synod, knowing that the merit and principality of the Apostle Peter had first given him a singular power over the churches, and that afterwards, following the commands of the Lord, the authority of venerable Councils had recognized it; *nor was it in any way shown that the bishop of the aforesaid See was subject to the judgment of his inferiors*. But the most powerful prince signified that the Pope himself had shown, by his letters, his consent to a convocation of the Synod. His Gentleness was then requested to furnish the letters sent by the Pontiff, and he ordered that they should be given without delay." To escape the force of this testimony, Launoy replies that by the term "inferiors" in the cited *Acts*, we are not obliged to understand the bishops of the Church. Symmachus himself, as well as his predecessors, designated the bishops as his brethren, colleagues, co-ministers, fellow-priests, and brother-bishops. Symmachus, insists Launoy, was so far from thinking that the bishops were his inferiors, that he wrote (1): "As in the Trinity there is a one and individual power, so, among the various bishops, there is but one priesthood." Again, the bishops of the Roman Synod did not say to Symmachus: "We are not your judges; judge you yourself. Like the Prophet, you can say to God: 'To Thee alone have I sinned.'" On the contrary, these prelates heard the accusations, and pronounced judgment according

own: a diligent and irreconcilable enemy of the Roman Curia, and of all that is therein done and shamelessly taught, against Scripture and orthodox truth." In a reprint of Launoy's epistles, issued at Cambridge in 1689, Saywell premits a plea for the reformation of Anglicanism, "in which are treated the authority and use of Catholic tradition and General Councils, according to the explanation of Launoy."

(1) *Epistle to Æonius of Arles*.

to the evidence before their tribunal. But Launoy neglects to observe that the bishops of the Roman Synod show, in their remark to Theodoric, that they applied the term "inferiors" to themselves, and not merely to the clerics, senators, and people. Passing by the fact that they called "inferiors" those whom the king wished to judge the Pontiff's cause, who were certainly themselves, and no others, we note that they assign as a reason for their assertion, the sublime dignity of Peter and the power over the churches given him by the Lord. But this power was over the bishops as well as over the priests and people, over the sheep as well as the lambs. Were it otherwise, the Lord, on account of "the merit and principality of the Apostle Peter," would not have "given him a *singular* power over the churches," but only one common to the other bishops, and merely equal to their own. Nor do the words of Symmachus, which Launoy cites from the letter to the bishop of Arles, prove anything for the Gallican theory. The priesthood certainly is one, but there are in it, by the institution of Christ, certain grades of dignity and power, the chief of which is the Supreme Pontificate. The conduct of Pope Symmachus in reference to the bishops of Arles and Vienne shows that he regarded them as "inferior" to himself; when a controversy arose as to the relative position and privilege of these churches, he cited both prelates before his tribunal, judged the cause, and ordered both to observe the decrees of Pope St. Leo (1). Cæsarius of Arles regarded himself as "inferior" to Symmachus, when he wrote to him: "Just as the episcopacy takes its source in the person of Blessed Peter the Apostle, so it is needful that your Holiness should clearly indicate, by appropriate regulations, what each church should observe." The Oriental schismatics regarded themselves as "inferior" to the Pontiff, when, begging him to dissolve the excommunication which, as followers of Acacius, they had incurred, they declared: "Not only the power of binding is given you, but also, that you may imitate the Master, the power of loosing. . . . wherefore, we beseech you to cancel our later sentence, as Christ our Saviour and

(1) *Epist.* 2 and 9.

Leader cancelled the old one on the cross." Nor is the equality of the bishops with the Pontiff demonstrated by the judgment on Symmachus pronounced in the Roman Synod. For it is clearly shown in the *Acts* that the prelates did not judge until they were convinced of the consent of the Pope to such action. The mind of the bishops is fully illustrated in the *Apology* of Ennodius of Ticino, to which they gave Synodical authority: "God wished the causes of other men to be decided by men; but He reserved to His own tribunal, without question, the Ruler of this See To one only was it said 'Thou art Peter,' &c. By the voice of the holy Pontiffs the dignity of this See is made venerable throughout the world; for wherever there are any faithful, there submission to it is practised, and it is called the Head of the whole body. It seems to me that to this (dignity) refers the saying of the Prophet: 'If this is humbled, to what help can you recur?'" That the mind of the bishops, in this matter, was the same as that of Ennodius, is shown by the *Acts* of the Fifth Synod, in which action was taken against those who contemned the *Palmaris* Synod. The prelates decreed: "Let the book be brought before us, and in our presence read and approved, which was written with Synodical authority by Ennodius, against those who presumed to mutter against the 4th Synod.' Which having been read, and unanimously approved, the Holy Synod said: 'Let these be preserved for future times, and let them be observed by every one, and in every point. Let this book be regarded by all as entirely Synodical, and let it be placed between the *Actions* of our Fourth and those of our Fifth Synod; and let it be held the same as the Decrees of these Synods, because it has been written and approved by the Synodical authority.' To which things the thrice Blessed Pope replied: 'Let it be done according to the will of you all, and as you judge; let the book have Apostolic authority, and let it be placed, as you say, among the Apostolic Decrees, and let it be held by all as are held the other Apostolic Decrees.'"

That the bishops of those days were fully persuaded that the Supreme Pontiff was not amenable to their tribunal, is also indicated by the manner in which the prelates of Gaul

received the news of the celebration of the *Palmaris* Synod. Perhaps they did not know that Symmachus had given his consent to the holding of the assembly, but, at any rate, the following complaining letter was sent, in their name, by Avitus of Vienne, to the senators Faust and Symmachus : “ While we were anxious and fearful for the cause of the Roman Church, feeling that our State tottered when its Head was attacked, . . . there was brought to us a copy of a sacerdotal decree, which the bishops of Italy, assembled in the City, had issued concerning Pope Symmachus. Although the assent of a large and reverend Synod rendered this constitution worthy of observation, we nevertheless knew that Pope Symmachus, if he had been accused in the world, ought to have received consolation from his fellow-priests, rather than judgment. . . . we cannot easily understand with what reason or law a superior is judged by his inferiors. . . . the same venerable Synod reserved for divine examination the cause which, saving the reverence due to it, it had rashly undertaken. . . . Which being known, I, a Roman senator and a Christian bishop, do solemnly call upon you. . . . that you do not less respect the See of Peter in your Church, than you do the height of power in the City. . . . If anything weakens in other priests, it may be strengthened. But if the Pope of Rome is called into question, not merely a bishop, but the episcopate, seems to totter. . . . He who governs the fold of the Lord will give an account of his care of the lambs entrusted to him ; for the rest, it is not the province of the flock to terrify the shepherd, but of the Judge.”

But why, it may be asked, did Pope Symmachus allow his case to be submitted to the *Palmaris* Synod, if he did not recognize its authority in the premises ? Simply because, in certain circumstances, it may become the duty of a person high in authority to see that no stain is inflicted upon his character ; to guard against any loss of reputation which would render his rule less efficacious ; to provide, in fine, against any scandalizing of the weak. Thus, more than once have Roman Pontiffs wished even the emperors to attest their innocence of crimes imputed to them. St. Sylvester,

accused of sacrilege, referred his cause to the tribunal of Constantine. St. Damasus, in similar circumstances, laid his case before Gratian. We read in the *Book of Lives of the Pontiffs* that Pelagius I. wished to vindicate himself, before the people, of the charge of having conspired against the life of Pope Vigilius. Anastasius tells us, in the *Life of Leo III.*, that the Pontiff brought together a large number of bishops and abbots, both Romans and Gauls, in the church of St. Peter, to certify to his innocence of certain crimes laid at his door ; that the prelates declared : “ We do not dare to judge the Apostolic See, which is the head of all the churches of God. For by it, and by its Vicar, we are all judged ; it, however, is judged by no one. Such has been the ancient custom.” The spirit which animated the Roman Pontiffs, when they sometimes permitted their actions to be discussed by their inferiors, was well illustrated by St. Gregory the Great (1) : Certainly Peter had received the power of the heavenly kingdom, that whatever he should bind on earth, &c . . . And because he had entered unto the Gentile Cornelius, having been impelled by the Spirit to do so, the faithful took issue with him. Nevertheless, this same prince of the Apostles did not answer the complaints of the faithful by appealing to his power, but by reason ; he explained the thing in detail. If, when he was accused by the faithful, he had thought only of the power which he had received over the Church, he could have replied that the pastor should not be reproved by the flock committed to his care. But had he alleged anything as to his power, when the faithful complained, he certainly would not have been a teacher of meekness.”

(1) *Book 9, epist. 36.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

CONTROVERSY OF THE THREE CHAPTERS, AND THE FIFTH GENERAL COUNCIL.

A brief sketch of the history of those personages, whose aberrations gave rise to this controversy, is necessary, that the student may grasp its bearings in an intelligent manner. The prime cause of the dispute, although it occurred after his death, was Theodore, bishop of Mopsueste in Cilicia. In his youth, he was a protege of St. Chrysostom, and it was owing to the remonstrances and tender exhortations of this holy doctor, that he did not abandon his ecclesiastical aspirations for the allurements of a secular life (1). He was a man of erudition, and was very zealous against heresy; indeed, he was accused of being too fond of violence in that matter. Yet he did not himself escape contagion, and he communicated the poison to Nestorius, and was also the prime originator of Pelagianism. It is said that he taught two Persons in Christ, with only a moral union between them; also, that the Holy Ghost proceeds only from the Father; again, that original sin is not communicated to all men. He made a new liturgy which is used by the Nestorians of to-day. According to Lardner (2), he showed himself unfavorable to the Divinity of our Lord. Some Protestant critics have affected to doubt that Theodore really taught Nestorianism, but the great respect of the Nestorians of all times for his memory (they honor him as a saint) is suspicious. Only a few fragments of his works have come down to us. He died in the communion of the Church, but the Fifth General Council condemned his works as infected with Nestorianism. Theodoret, bishop of Cyr, in the province of the Euphrates (386-458), was also instrumental in giving rise to the controversy of the Three Chapters. He was learned and eloquent, and a voluminous writer. A

(1) *Letters of Chrysostom to "The Fallen Theodore."*

(2) *Credibility of the Gospel History*, vol. II., p. 399.

friend of Nestorius, he at first thought that this heresiarch merely expressed himself badly, but that his sentiments were orthodox. Opposed, however, to St. Cyril of Alexandria, whom he called an Apollinarist, he wrote against the *Anathematisms*, but afterwards recognized the mistake. He was cited before the Council of Chalcedon, and there he anathematized Nestorius, and was pronounced a Catholic. But unfortunately his writings against St. Cyril remained, and as they were composed in the heat of argument, they were often inaccurate in expression. Hence it was that these writings also were condemned by the Fifth Council. The third unconscious cause of much trouble was Ibas, bishop of Edessa, who, in a letter to a certain Persian, named Maris, denied that the Word took flesh from the Virgin Mary. He also attacked St. Cyril, and defended Theodore and Nestorius, but, in time he also was received as a Catholic by the fathers of Chalcedon. At the period of which we are about to write, many bishops believed that it was necessary to condemn these three men, because the Nestorians were pretending that their works had been approved at Chalcedon. The Eutychians, also, on their side, were anxious to procure the condemnation of these writings, in order to check the Nestorians; the great patron of the "Acephalous" Eutychians was Theodore of Cæsarea, who assured the emperor that these heretics would come into the Church if the condemnation were effected.

A glance at the ecclesiastical history of the time is now necessary. Upon the death of Pope Agapetus (536), the Roman clergy were influenced by the threats of Theodatus, king of the Goths, to raise to the Pontificate Silverius, a son born to Pope Hormisdas (d. 523) before he received orders. War was being waged between Theodatus and the emperor Justinian, and the Goth relied upon the fidelity of Silverius. Scarcely had the new Pontiff been enthroned, when he received from the ex-prostitute, now the empress, Theodora, a request to abrogate the decrees of Chalcedon against the Eutychians. As Silverius intrepidly refused her demand, the empress soon excogitated an impious scheme for the attainment of her end. There was residing

at the imperial court a certain deacon of the Roman Church, named Vigilius, whom Pope Agapetus had sent to Constantinople as legate. This ecclesiastic had already promised Theodora that if she would secure his elevation to the Papacy, he would further her wishes in all things; hence the wily woman turned now to him as a willing instrument. She furnished him with letters to the imperial general, Belisarius, then at Ravenna, and in them the latter was informed as to her designs. Proceeding to Rome, Belisarius accused the Pontiff of a design to deliver the city to the Goths, seized his person by treachery (1), and sent him to Lycia. He finally died in the year 538, whether by the sword or not, is unknown. The intruder Vigilius now became the legitimate Pope, for the Roman clergy, anxious to avoid a schism, canonically elected him to the vacancy. Then was seen a change which certainly seemed the work of God. This weak and ambitious man, who had scrupled not to stain his priestly character while an intruder, had no sooner become the true successor of St. Peter, than he became a model of Pontifical firmness. He wrote to Justinian, declaring that he "received the four General Councils, the Dogmatic Epistle of St. Leo, and the Decrees of his predecessors."

The controversy of the Three Chapters occurred during this Pontificate, and the following is a synopsis of its history. Pelagius, Apostolic legate at Constantinople, during the Pontificate of Agapetus, and Mennas, patriarch of that city, had influenced the emperor Justinian to issue an edict against certain doctrines of Origen. This condemnation greatly offended Theodore, bishop of Cæsarea, and he tried to induce the emperor to condemn three certain actions of the Council of Chalcedon. This Synod had received Ibas of Edessa and Theodoret of Cyr into communion, without any inquisition into their writings, and thus it seemed to approve of their attacks on St. Cyril, and hence, said the Eutychians, it lessened the authority of the Council of Ephe-

(1) The Pope had fled for safety into the basilica of St. Sabine, and the stepson of Belisarius promised on oath that if he would grant an interview to the general, his person would be respected. When he was seized, Silverius was stripped of the Pontifical insignia, dressed as a monk, and thus thrust into exile. In a short time, Justinian ordered his restoration, but Belisarius delivered him to Vigilius, who exiled him to the isle of Majorca.

sus. It had also restored Theodore of Mopsueste. Now Theodore of Cæsarea and the Acephali heretics saw that if these actions at Chalcedon were condemned, the authority of that Council would be greatly impaired, to their own very great benefit. This was the secret of the controversy; the Acephali desired to bring the Council of Chalcedon into disrepute. The word "Chapter," when it occurs in the title, and throughout the course of this dispute, means a certain act of the Council; so that when the condemnation of the Three Chapters is spoken of, allusion is made to an annulling, so far as it could be effected, of the *Acts* of Chalcedon according to communion to Theodore of Mopsueste, Theodoret of Cyr, and Ibas of Edessa. Justinian was about to issue an edict against the Acephali, when their secret friend, Theodore of Cæsarea, influenced him to rather condemn the three actions of Chalcedon which alone, said Theodore, kept the Acephali from receiving the Council's decrees and injured the peace of the Church. In the year 543 was issued the imperial decree abrogating the three Chapters; condemning, therefore, Theodore of Mopsueste, the teacher of Nestorius, and the enemy of Origenism (which was the tender point of the Cæsarean prelate); condemning also the epistle of Ibas of Edessa, written to Maris, and reprobating the writings of St. Cyril against Nestorius, while praising Theodore of Mopsueste; condemning finally the writings of Theodoret of Cyr, which attacked the *Anathematisms* of Cyril and defended the person of Nestorius. Justinian sent a copy of his edict to each of the patriarchs for their assent and signature. Those of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, yielded to fear and subscribed; Mennas of Constantinople also signed, but on condition that his act would be void if the Roman Pontiff should disapprove of it. Many bishops subscribed, but deposited a protest with Stephen, the Papal legate, to the effect that they had been compelled by threats of deposition (1). The emperor in vain tried to procure the signatures of Stephen, and of Dacius of Milan, who was then in the capital. Among the many bishops who refused to sign the edict, was Pontianus, who wrote to Justinian in

(1) FACUNDUS; b. 4, c. 4.

a manner which showed that he well understood the animus of those who had prompted it : " At the close of your epistle we discovered that we were expected to condemn Theodore, and the writings of Theodoret, and the epistle of Ibas, which did not a little grieve us. Their sayings have not reached us. And if they had come down to us, and if we read therein some apocryphal things against faith, we might surely reject those sayings, but yet we would not precipitately condemn the authors. If they were still living, and had not retracted their errors, most justly could they be condemned. But now, to whom shall be cited our sentence of condemnation ? There is no room for correction. However, most pious emperor, I fear lest, with the pretext of this condemnation, the Eutychian heresy may raise its head, and that while we attend to lesser matters, we may come into collision with a greater heresy. And why should we wage war with the dead, when no victory can ensue from such a contest ? They have already stood before that Judge, from whom no one appeals. Through Him then, in whom you honor and cherish us, we beseech your Clemency, that peace may endure all your days, and that, while you seek the condemnation of the dead, you may not kill the many living who will disobey you, for you will be forced to account for it to Him who is to judge the living and the dead." Whether many of the responses to the imperial edict were so simply sublime, and to the point, as this of the noble Pontianus, we know not, but Justinian came to the conclusion that he would not succeed unless by meeting the universalepiscopate, face to face, in the imperial city. He therefore asked for a Synod, alleging the need of bringing the Acephali back to the fold, but in reality to obtain the condemnation of the famous Chapters.

Pope Vigilius, who had been as iron in his firmness in resisting the imperial demand, thought best to attend this Synod, though it was contrary to the traditions of the Papacy to attend such a meeting in person, and although he hesitated to leave his immediate flock, then in danger from the Gothic invader. He left the Eternal City in the year 545, but remained in Sicily for a year, both because he desired

the Synod to be held in that island, and because he wished to be near Rome in case it was troubled by the barbarians. He arrived in Constantinople on Jan. 25, 547, and was worthily received by Justinian. He immediately, in spite of the empress Theodora's love for them, promulgated a decree against the Acephali (1), and suspended the patriarch Menna; soon, however, at the request of Theodora, and owing, probably, to the saving clause which the patriarch had affixed to his signature to the edict, the suspension was revoked. In the beginning of the next year, 548, the emperor obtained from the Pontiff permission for a discussion upon the Three Chapters in a Synod of seventy bishops, but as there was very little harmony among the prelates, Vigilius reserved the question to himself, and issued a decree styled *Judicatum*. In this document, he condemned the Three Chapters, "*saving, in all things, the respect due to the Council of Chalcedon*," thus avoiding any reflection on the restoration of Theodore, Theodorete, and Ibas, and condemning anything wrong in their writings. Far from being a harbinger of peace as Pope Vigilius had fondly hoped, this *Judicatum* proved a firebrand. Throughout the West, the Pontiff was accused of failing in respect to the decrees of Chalcedon, and the Africans went so far, in 550, as to pronounce him anathema. In such a state of affairs, both Pope and emperor deemed a General Council necessary, and letters were sent to the principal sees in all the provinces, convoking the Council in Constantinople. Very few of the Western bishops seemed willing to attend, and as the Pontiff was averse to any decided action in their absence, a new trouble arose. In vain did Justinian try to persuade Vigilius to unite with the Eastern prelates (of whom he felt sure) in condemning the Three Chapters. At the suggestion of the irrepressible Theodore of Cæsarea, the emperor issued, in 551, in his own name, a condemnatory edict, and ordered it to be placarded in various basilicas. When the Pope heard of this high-handed proceeding, he threatened to excommunicate all who would obey the edict. This action of Vigilius so enraged the emperor that he ordered his arrest, and it would

(1) ST. GREGORY THE GREAT; *b. 2, epist. 36, to the Bishops of Istria.*

have gone hard with him, had not the very soldiers refused to execute the imperial mandate. Justinian then solemnly swore to respect the person of the Pope, but there was good reason to distrust his sincerity, and Vigilius fled to Chalcedon, and took sanctuary in the basilica of St. Euphemia. The constancy of the Pontiff was not unrewarded, for the emperor withdrew his edict, and the bishops, who had signed it, begged pardon for the injury "done to his Holiness and the Holy See." Vigilius returned to Constantinople, and renewed his consent to a General Council, but providing that the East and the West should be equally represented. The Council met in May, 553, with an attendance of 165 bishops, but the Pontiff refused to attend it, or to accredit legates to it, on account of the small number of Western prelates present. Nevertheless, the Synod proceeded to an examination of the Three Chapters. When the fifth session had been held, the Pope sent to Justinian a document containing his decision as to the question at issue. He had already, for the sake of peace, withdrawn the *Judicatum*, but this new decree, styled a *Constitutum*, was essentially of the same tenor. He condemned the errors of Theodore of Mopsueste, but spared his name; he declared that nothing should be undertaken in reference to Theodoret or Ibas, since the Council of Chalcedon had refused to pass judgment upon their writings; he commanded finally that all should act in the matter of the Three Chapters in accordance with this *Constitutum*. This document is dated May 14th, but it is doubtful whether the emperor received it before the end of the Synod, or intentionally suppressed it; at all events, the seventh session was held on the 26th of May, and then Justinian adduced the *Judicatum* of Vigilius, and the anathemas pronounced against its opponents, as proofs that the Pope had condemned the Chapters. Then the Council, in its eighth session, definitively condemned them, in these words: "We condemn and anathematize, together with all other heretics who have been condemned and anathematized by the four aforesaid Councils, and by the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church: Theodorus, who was bishop of Mopsueste, and his impious writings; and whatever Theodoret wickedly wrote against the

true faith and against the twelve Chapters of St. Cyril, and against the first Synod of Ephesus, and what he wrote in defence of Theodore, and of Nestorius. We also anathematize the impious Epistle which Ibas is said to have written to Maris the Persian, in which he denies that God the Word took flesh from the ever Virgin Mary, the holy Mother of God, and was made man ; and in which he calumniates Cyril of holy memory, who taught the truth, as like unto Apollinaris. . . . and defends Theodore and Nestorius, and their impious dogmas and writings. We therefore anathematize the aforesaid Three Chapters, that is, &c." Then follow fourteen anathematisms, and it is to be noted that in the twelfth, the Council condemns the name, as well as the writings of Theodore ; but in the two last, it condemns merely the writings of Theodoret and Ibas.

Pope Vigilius confirmed the 5th General Council, and hence it acquired the quality of œcumenicity, which, during its sessions, it certainly wanted, owing to the absence of Papal legates. Some writers have held that Vigilius at first refused to confirm the Synod, and was therefore exiled by the emperor ; that after five years he yielded. But this is proved false by the confirmatory epistle, which says that it was: " Given on the 6th of the Ides of December, in the 27th year of the reign of our lord the ever august Justinian." This date is of the year 553, scarcely six months after the close of the Council. Again, the defenders of the Three Chapters are silent as to this exile, and it would have been an excellent argument for their cause, if they could have alleged that the Pontiff did not willingly and freely condemn them. The confirmatory decree of Vigilius was addressed to " Eutychius, Archbishop of Constantinople, and the entire previous Holy Synod," and reads as follows: " If wisdom requires that what is (justly) complained of, should be withdrawn, and we ought not to be ashamed to publish that which an after-study of the truth shows to have been omitted in the beginning, how much more proper is it to follow such a course in ecclesiastical discussions? Especially since the fathers, and notably the Blessed Augustine, who excelled in the study of Scripture and was a master in

Roman eloquence, revised his writings and corrected his sayings, supplying that which he had omitted and afterwards discovered. We also, incited by such examples, have never ceased, in the controversy of the above-mentioned Three Chapters, to investigate the truth in the writings of the fathers. We therefore anathematize and condemn the aforesaid Three Chapters; that is, the impious Theodore of Mopsueste, together with his impious writings; and whatever Theodoret wickedly wrote, and also the Epistle said to have been written by Ibas, in which the aforesaid blasphemies are contained. We also subject to the same anathema whoever believes that at any time these Chapters ought to have been received or defended, or whoever shall try to subvert this condemnation. Whatever has been hitherto done, either by me, or by others, in defence of the aforesaid Three Chapters, by this present writing we declare null and void."

Several questions are to be considered before we can dismiss this controversy. First, we must examine the justice of the decree issued by the Fifth Council in condemnation of the Chapters. We will commence with Theodore of Mopsueste. There can be no doubt of the heretical nature of some of his teachings. In his Symbol, he says that Christ was merely man; that He was the Son of God only by adoption; that there were two Persons in Christ, only morally, not hypostatically, united. This Symbol was condemned, in its 6th *Action*, by the Council of Ephesus, and is styled by St. Cyril "the first bubbling forth of Nestorian impiety" (1). In his book on the *Incarnation*, he says that the Word assuming, and the man assumed, are one only as man and wife are one. Among the petitions sent to Proclus of Constantinople, asking for the condemnation of Theodore, is one from the clergy of Armenia and Persia, in which they represent him as asking, "How can God and man be one, in real unity? He who saves, and he who is saved? He who was before all ages, and he who appeared, coming from Mary?" And then they demand that as Nestorius was condemned at Ephesus by name, and Theodorus *unnamed*

(1) *Epist. to Proclus.*

(since his errors were condemned), so this real author of the heresy be now reprobated by name. Rabbula of Edessa says to St. Cyril, that Theodore "first declared that the Holy Virgin was not the Mother of God." Leontius declares that Theodore prepared a liturgy for the Mass which was full of blasphemy, that he composed virulent commentaries on many books of Scripture. It is certain that Theodore was regarded as a heretic in his own church of Mop-sueste long before the Fifth Council, for in a Synod held there by order of Justinian, the clergy testified that, as far back as their memory went, the name of Theodore had been expunged from the dyptichs, and in its place that of St. Cyril substituted.

As for the writings of Theodoret, they were manifestly heretical, for they attack the doctrines approved by the Council of Ephesus, and patronize Nestorius, a condemned heretic. In his epistle to Andrew of Samosata, Theodoret thus speaks of the Council of Ephesus: "Egypt again madly rages against God, and wars with Moses and Aaron and His servants; the greater portion of Israel is in union with the enemy, and few indeed are the sane who suffer in the cause of piety. Everything venerable for piety is down-trodden. They who were deposed, exercise the sacerdotal ministry, and those who deposed them, groan at home (1). The Egyptians, Palestinians, Pontians, Asiatics, and the Westerns, play at holding a Synod." In his epistle to Domnus of Antioch, he exhorts the patriarch to prevent approbation of Cyril's anathematisms by the coming Council. In another epistle to Domnus, written after the death of St. Cyril, he thus insults his memory: "At last, indeed, the wicked man is dead. The good and the benign migrate before their time; the bad lead a long life. . . . Your Holiness should order the corpse-bearers to place an enormously heavy stone on his grave, lest he come here again to show his unstable will. Let him take his new dogmas to hell; there let him preach, as he so likes to do, day and night." As for Theodoret's sympathy with Nes-

(1) The saintly groaners are, of course, John of Antioch and his worthy followers, whose exploits we have narrated when treating of the Council of Ephesus.

torius, we need adduce only the following (1): "Your Holiness knows that if one should anathematize, without restriction, the doctrine of this most holy and venerable bishop (Nestorius), it would be the same as to condemn piety itself.

The Epistle of Ibas was also justly condemned by the Fifth Council, because it accused the Synod of Ephesus of precipitation in condemning Nestorius; it vituperated the doctrine of St. Cyril, approved at Ephesus; it praised Theodore of Mopsueste as a preacher of truth and a doctor of the Church; and it finally contains doctrine *per se* Nestorian. The first point of accusation is proved by the words "They deposed Nestorius from the episcopacy, without any investigation." The second is shown by the following: "A contest ensued between those two men, Nestorius and Cyril, and they interchanged injurious language, which was a scandal to the hearers. Nestorius said in his books, that the Blessed Mary is not the Mother of God, so he was thought by many to belong to the sect of Paul of Samosata, who said that Christ was a mere man. Cyril, however, refuting the words of Nestorius, was slippery (2), and was found to have fallen into the error of Apollinaris. . . . They brought forth and approved the Twelve Chapters written by Cyril against the constituted doctrines of the true faith, and consented to them as agreeing with the faith." As for his praise of the Mopsuestene, the following is sufficiently pointed: "The blessed Theodore, preacher of the truth, and a doctor of the Church, not only while living attacked the heretics in the cause of faith, but after his death supplies in his books spiritual arms to the sons of the Church. He who dares everything has presumed to openly anathematize him, who, for zeal of God's cause, not only turned his own city from error to the truth, but taught the distant failing churches with his erudition." That he also taught Nestorianism is certain, for he asks, "How is it possible to receive the Word, which is from the beginning, for the Temple which was born of Mary? . . . No one dares to say that one is the nature of the Deity and

(1) *Epist. to Andrew of Samosata, in Marius Mercator.*

(2) The text has "lubricavit."

the Humanity, but he confesses the Temple and the Inhabitant therein, who is the one Son Jesus Christ." This distinction of the Temple, born of Mary; and the Inhabitant—the Eternal Word, was a favorite with Nestorius, nor is its heresy at all diminished in the case of Ibas, because he avows one Person. Nestorius also declared that there was but one Person in Christ, but one morally, not consubstantially. Facundus (1), a most energetic defender of the Three Chapters, says that "The assertion that there is one Person, does not exclude the subterfuges of the Nestorians, who, when they saw the innumerable testimonies of the fathers proving that God the Word and the assumed Man were one in Person, thought, or affected to think, that this signified the dignity of authority; so that Jesus Christ may be said to have borne the Person of the Word in the same manner as did the Apostle, writing to the *Corinthians*, II, 2, &c."

The Fifth General Council has been severely condemned by certain critics for its anathematization of Theodore of Mopsueste. He had died in the communion of the Church; indeed, he had, while living, never been deprived of it. For nearly a century he had been beyond the judgment of men, and it savors of indelicacy, at least, to inveigh against the dead. Such sentiment as this would be praiseworthy, and would certainly be respected by the Church, if the weighty interests of the living, and of future generations, did not carry her out of the realm of sentimentality. Several instances of regard for the dead can be cited, which at first sight seem to rebuke the Fifth Council for cruelty, so far as in it lay, to Theodore. Thus, St. Dionysius of Alexandria, when obliged to condemn the millenary doctrines of the dead bishop Nepos, spared his memory, because he had departed this life in the communion of Holy Church. But this case is very different from that of the Mopsuestene prelate. The error of Nepos had never been condemned by the Church; the question was obscure, and well disputed, and several of the fathers coincided with him. But Theodore taught doctrines already proscribed in the cases of Paul of Samosata,

(1) *Book I.*, c. 3.

and Nestorius, and he attacked some of the principal points of doctrine, which were defended by all the fathers. The moderation then, which in the case of Nepos, and similar ones, was commendable, would have been out of place in that of Theodore. Pope St. Leo certainly tells us (1) that "there is no necessity to discuss the merits and acts of those who have thus died; for the Lord our God, whose judgments cannot be comprehended, has reserved to His justice that which the sacerdotal ministry could not carry out." But St. Leo here alludes to the soul's state in the other world; the passage does not at all affect the Church's right to pass judgment on the acts committed under her jurisdiction. It is said that Theodore died in the peace of the Church. So far as we can tell, he did not, for though he nominally belonged to the body of the Church, he persisted in his heresy, and deserved open excommunication, to the very last. Hence, Benignus of Heraclea accuses of lying those who said that Theodore died in the communion of the Church: "He dies in the communion and peace of the Church who up to the hour of death preserves and teaches the true dogmas of the Church; that Theodore did not preserve and teach the true dogmas of the Church is certain from his blasphemies." St. Cyril did not expressly anathematize Theodore at Ephesus, but his moderation proves nothing against the Church's right to do so. And Cyril's great object was the conversion of those who were devoted to the memory of the Mopsuestene bishop, and that object was better served by leniency towards his person.

We now approach the question, whether or not the Fifth Council, in its treatment of the Three Chapters, contradicted the Council of Chalcedon. In this latter assembly, Theodoret and Ibas were received as orthodox, and Theodore of Mopsueste was not condemned. It is not difficult to show that the two Councils stand in no need of conciliation. In the first place, the fathers of the Fifth Council expressly profess their veneration for the decrees of Chalcedon, and in their subscriptions to the *Acts*, use the words, "receiving the four Holy Synods, that is, of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus

(1) *Epist. to Theodore of Forum Julium.*

I, Chalcedon, and what was defined by them." St. Gregory the Great alludes to the apparent conflict between the two Synods, and he says (1): "As we sincerely cherish you, so much the more do we grieve, because you put faith in ignorant and foolish men, who not only do not know what they say, but can scarcely understand what they hear We declare, upon our conscience, that nothing was moved concerning the faith of the Chalcedon Council, and in nothing was it violated; but whatever was done in the time of the aforesaid Justinian, was done without any prejudice to the faith of the Council of Chalcedon." But it is not true that one Council approved that which the other condemned. With regard to the epistle of Ibas of Edessa, which was condemned by the Fifth Council, it was not received by the fathers of Chalcedon as orthodox, nor could it have been, since the Chalcedon synod approved of the judgment given against Ibas at Berytum. In this judgment, Ibas was compelled to anathematize Nestorius, and to receive the Ephesian decrees. Now, as in the epistle to Maris, the Synod of Ephesus is vituperatively treated for its alleged unjust condemnation of Nestorius, it is plain that the Chalcedon fathers, approving the judgment of Berytum, could not have accepted the epistle as orthodox. Ibas was welcomed at Chalcedon; his writings were not. He was received as a Catholic, because he had contradicted the errors in his epistle. "Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, said: I now put aside any suspicion about him (Ibas), because he consents and subscribes to the decree on faith now given by the Holy Council, and to the epistle of the Most Holy Leo, Archbishop of Rome." So say the records of Chalcedon; they also tell us that Juvenal of Jerusalem said, in the matter of Ibas, "The divine Scriptures command us to receive those who are converted. Therefore we receive those who return from heresy; I therefore consent that the most reverend Ibas, as he is now orthodox, and has sought our clemency, should preserve his episcopacy, because he is old.' Again, Ibas was not restored to his diocese, before he had anathematized Nestorius. When ordered to do so, he replied, "I have already anathematized

(1) *Epist. to Theodolinda, Queen of the Lombards.*

Nestorius and his dogma in writing, and I now anathematize him ten thousand times."

Nor can we trace any dissension between the Fourth and Fifth Councils in the matter of Theodoret. The fathers of Chalcedon were exceedingly opposed to his writings, for when he entered the Council chamber, there resounded through the hall cries of "He is no bishop," and "Theodoret has attacked Cyril; we condemn Cyril, if we receive Theodoret." After the termination of the sessions on faith, he was ordered to anathematize Nestorius, and although he hesitated for a time, he finally did so. If the Chalcedon Synod did not demand from him an explicit condemnation of his own writings, it was because he had implicitly given one by subscribing to the fifth *Action*, in which, after the condemnation of Nestorius, the fathers received "the epistles of Blessed Cyril, bishop of the Alexandrian church, and the synodical letters to Nestorius and others in the East." So the affair is explained by Pope Pelagius II. (1).

The case of Theodore of Mopsueste shows no more difference between the two Councils than do those of Ibas and Theodoret. Because the Council of Chalcedon did not condemn Theodore, it does not follow that it believed his writings innocuous. Nor should we believe so, because he is praised by Sts. Gregory of Nazianzen and Chrysostom, and by other fathers. In the first place, this praise is not so sure, for there are good reasons for denying the authenticity of the epistle of Chrysostom cited by Theodore's partisans, and the praise of Nazianzen seems to have been meant, not for the Mopsuestene Theodore, but for another. But if this praise is authentic, we may answer with Benignus of Heraclaea, who, taking the place of the archbishop of Thessalonica in the fifth session of the Fifth Council, said, "It is of no avail to those who act wickedly, that it sometimes happens that some persons write in their favor, either through ignorance or presumption, or even by a kind of condonance. For St. Basil wrote some things for Apollinarius, but that did not free him from condemnation. And Athanasius wrote several epistles to Apollinarius, as to one holding the same

(1) *Epist. to the Bishops of Istria.*

faith; nevertheless, even after the death of Apollinarius, he wrote entire books against him, when he had found out his blasphemies; and those things which he wrote when he deemed the faith of Apollinarius his own, were of no profit to the latter. And even Leo of holy memory, Pope of ancient Rome, both received Eutyches, and wrote in approval of him, though he afterwards condemned and anathematized him as a heretic." In fine, those who praised Theodore, did so for one thing; the Fifth Council condemned him for another. Before we dismiss the question of the agreement of the Fourth and Fifth Councils in this matter of the Three Chapters, we would call the attention of the reader to the following passage of Pope St. Leo (1): "If anything which does not pertain to faith is reported to have been done by those brethren whom I sent in my place to the Holy Synod, it will be of no weight whatever; for they were sent by the Apostolic See to be defenders of the Catholic faith, by the destruction of heresy. For whatever is offered for episcopal examination, beyond the special causes for Synodal Councils, may bear some reason for adjudication." In these words, observes Pope Pelagius II. (2), "permission is plainly accorded to reconsider whatever was there done about persons, and outside of causes of faith." Even then, if the Fifth Council had reconsidered the action of the Fourth in the matter of Theodore, Theodoret, and Ibas, there would have been no essential difference between the two Synods, for, to use the words of Pelagius, "The special cause of Synodal Councils is faith. Whatever, therefore, is treated of, outside of faith, can be, according to the teaching of Leo, recalled to judgment." But we have said enough to show that the Fifth Council merely completed, in the case of the condemnation of the Three Chapters, a work which, for prudential reasons, the Fourth had left in abeyance.

We must now treat of the action of Pope Vigilius in this controversy. It would not be very strange if a Pontiff who entered upon his sublime office under such malignant auspices as those which frowned upon Vigilius at the outset,

(1) *Epist. to Marimus of Antioch.*

(2) *To the Bishops of Istria.*

should have proved a very weak Pope. But we have seen that a miracle, at least of grace, was worked in his case. The truculent schismatic was transformed into the zealous Pastor, and at no time during his stormy Pontificate did he betray a spirit unequal to martyrdom, had duty called him to it. His manner of action, during the controversy of the Three Chapters, has been attacked by Protestants, Jansenists, and all enemies of Papal supremacy. We shall pass over the accusation made by the first class, that is, that Vigilius erred in faith, for it is sufficient to be only moderately versed in the records of his time, to know that he abhorred all heresy, especially that of Nestorius and that of Eutyches. The Jansenists, however, have insisted that Vigilius erred in a "dogmatic fact." How they could do so, unless they were thoroughly blinded by prejudice, we are at a loss to understand. It is of the nature of a dogmatic fact of this kind that in a writing there be defined as existing, either a truth or an error. Now, neither in the *Judicatum*, nor in the *Constitutum*, did Vigilius act unless upon *persons*. Pope Pelagius II. says (1) that during the reign of Justinian, certain Chapters were discussed, "outside of faith," and "no action taken, unless on persons." Gregory the Great says (2) that "action was taken only in regard to certain persons." And Vigilius himself, in his epistle confirming the Fifth Council, expressly asserts the same. Again, in order to prove him guilty of an error in matter of dogmatic fact, the Jansenists should show that Vigilius at some one time approved of the writings in question. This they cannot show, for the whole course of events proves that the Pontiff wished to leave the Chapters just as they were left at Chalcedon, neither condemned nor approved. The foes of the Papacy accuse Vigilius of fickleness. First, they say, he defended the Three Chapters, and then he condemned them. But it is false that he defended them; he simply ordered, and for good reasons, their being left in the condition that had seemed good to the Fourth Council. Let us take a glance at the course of events. When the emperor

(1) *Epist. to Childebert, King of the Franks.*

(2) *Epist. to the Bishops of Istria.*

Justinian presumed to condemn the Three Chapters, Vigilius threatened with excommunication, not only the imperial meddler, but all who would subscribe to the edict. And why? Apart from the crime committed by Justinian, there were powerful reasons why the Pontiff should take such a resolution. All the Occidentals, and a goodly number of the Orientals, were indignant at what they regarded as an attack on the Council of Chalcedon. Their mind is seen in the epistle which the clergy of Italy gave to the legates of the Frankish king Childebert, who were setting out for Constantinople to protest against Justinian's sacrilegious violence on the Pontifical person: "The most blessed Pope Vigilius going to Constantinople, or, that the truth be declared, being almost dragged there, they began to expect his condemnation of certain chapters, by which condemnation the Holy Synod of Chalcedon would be in every way broken up. But when Pope Vigilius would not consent to this thing, they acted so violently, that he cried out in the assembly, 'Although you hold me captive, yet you cannot make captive Blessed Peter the Apostle'" (1). It then appeared to the Pontiff that both parties might be pacified by such a condemnation of the Chapters as would leave intact the dignity and authority of the Fourth Council. Hence he drew up the *Judicatum*, and in the Encyclical which he issued on the condemnation of Theodore of Cæsarea, he declares his motive to have been the desire of peaceful unity, "For the last five years," he says, addressing the obstinate Acephalus, "we have shown our patience, granted us by the divine favor, both to you and to those who have been seduced by you. First indeed, when, in order to repress scandal, we condescended to the wishes of certain parties, whose minds we thought might be pacified by some arrangement (2), and whom you had been exciting for many years. We thought to order some things medicinally for a time, but under the condition that, all disturbance being quelled, no one should hereafter, either by word or letter, presume to touch the matter." But Vigilius had hoped in vain. The Africans, Illyrians, Dalmatians, and others, persisted in de-

(1) *Councils of Gaul*, v. 1, p. 294.(2) The text has "*dispensatione*."

fending the Chapters, and even two deacons of the Roman Church, Rusticus and Sebastian, accused the Pontiff of despising the Council of Chalcedon. Vigilius therefore withdrew his *Judicatum*, and ordered all discussion of the Chapters to be avoided until a General Council could be assembled. This we are told in the epistle of the Italian clergy already cited: "Although the Africans, Illyrian, and Dalmatians did not acquiesce in the Pope's action, nevertheless Vigilius was soon urged again to condemn the Chapters, without any mention whatever of the Council of Chalcedon. But he was unwilling to do this, and saying that he was pressed too strongly, he told the most serene prince that there should come bishops from all the provinces, five or six from each, and that after a tranquil discussion the affair should be peacefully arranged, because, without the consent of all, he could not acquiesce in what called the Synod of Chalcedon into question and caused scandal in his brethren." It is no wonder that the Pope refused to attend the Council. Not only were there scarcely any Western prelates present, but the votes of the bishops were not free. We learn from Liberatus (1) that bribes were given and accepted; that those who refused to condemn the Chapters were deposed and exiled, and that many fled for safety. When, however, Vigilius perceived that the Council would certainly condemn the Chapters, he feared still more for the peace of the Church, and issued his *Constitutum*, in which he contended for the sparing of the persons, at least, of those in question. But in this document he launched no anathema against those who disagreed with him. Finally, he confirmed the Fifth Council, and decreed anathema against those who would hereafter defend the Chapters. This he did "after an investigation of the truth, and the Lord revealing." He saw that the Nestorians greatly abused the Chapters, and he knew that the Western bishops, with few exceptions, would obey his decree, even though their prejudices were hurt. In fine, the time had come to settle forever a question which was a continual menace to the peace of Christendom. If it is a mark of in-

(1) *Breviary*, c. 24.

constancy to act with prudence, and to change when one's better knowledge demands such a course, then Vigilius was fickle, and with him St. Augustine and many other great men who deemed such a proceeding eminently proper.

In his search for facts to support the theory of the supremacy of a General Council, Bossuet (1) seizes upon those we have narrated, and asserts that they manifest a belief in that theory, on the part of both Vigilius and the Fifth Council. That this conclusion is not warranted by the facts, is easily shown. When Justinian was urging, with all his power, the bishops of the Council to condemn the Chapters, his prime argument was the example of the Pontiff. But if the Council regarded itself as superior to the Pope, why did the emperor use such an argument? Again, Vigilius showed his authority over the Council, when, having promised Justinian to give his opinion within twenty days, he ordered, through the deacon Pelagius, the assembled prelates to decide nothing: "Keeping the ancient and regular order of things, not to attempt to utter anything before the promulgation of our, that is, the Apostolic See's sentence, lest there should again arise occasion for the trouble which has been allayed." This language is not that of an inferior. And so far was it from the mind of the Council to establish anything contrary to the will of the Pontiff, that the fathers rather allege his example as their reason for condemning the Chapters. In the seventh session, Justinian insisted that Vigilius was favorable to the condemnation, and while he carefully withheld the *Constitutum*, which would have proved the contrary, he ordered Constantine, questor of the palace, to read several epistles of the Pope which appeared to be of that tenor. Hence, in the eighth session, the Council condemned the obnoxious Chapters, and "because," say the bishops, "it has happened that the most religious Vigilius, now residing in this imperial city, has been present at all that was done about these Three Chapters, and has frequently condemned them, both in writing and without writing." Finally, Vigilius did not regard the Fifth Council as canonical; much less then

(1) *Defence of the Declaration*, p. 2, b. 12, c. 20.

did he deem it his superior. When the patriarch Eutychius requested him to come to the Council, he replied, as we read in the *Acts* of the first session, that it was his pleasure that the controversy should be discussed "in a canonical Synod," for he regarded the absence of the Western prelates as militating against its universality. And he not only refused to attend, but in the *Constitutum* so carefully suppressed by Justinian, he declared its acts null and void. Even when he decided to confirm the condemnation of the Chapters, he showed that he regarded the Synod as of no value until it received his approbation. For he says, "Those things have been safely carried out, which had to be defined by us, through the revelation of the Lord, and an investigation of the truth." He does not even style the assembly a Synod, but defines those as his "brethren and co-priests" who, holding the faith of the four General Councils, condemn the Three Chapters. The reader will also observe that it was only by the exertions of Pope Pelagius II. and St. Gregory the Great that the Fifth Council was received in the West; so far was the Gallican theory from the mind of the sixth century.

When treating of the heresies of the first three centuries, we omitted, out of respect to his name, and because it is by no means sure that he erred in faith, to say anything of Origen. But if there ever was a man who should have prayed to be delivered from his friends, he was one. His disciples were so obstinate in upholding whatever he said, and were so persistent in quoting him as a teacher of their vagaries, that, especially since most of his works are lost, he must bear a brunt perhaps undeserved. We allude to Origen, because the Fifth General Council condemned a sect of heretics who rejoiced in his name. The Origenists appealed to the great master's writings when they contended that Jesus Christ was only the adoptive Son of God; that human souls exist before their union with bodies; that the pains of hell are not eternal; that even Satan and his fellows will one day be freed from punishment. The decree of the Fifth Council on Origenism was specially directed against certain monks of Egypt and Palestine. Catholic

authors are not unanimous with regard to it. Alexandre strenuously contends that Origen was proscribed by the Fifth Synod (1), while the erudite Garnier (2) thinks that the proscription occurred in a Synod held five years previously by the patriarch Menna, and which is sometimes styled by old writers "the Fifth Council." The Origenists of whom we have spoken must not be confounded with an impure sect bearing the same name, founded by another and little known Origen. This sect condemned marriage, and allowed the grossest immoralities. Sts. Epiphanius and Augustine agree that the great Origen cannot be blamed for these teachings, as his works are remarkable for the praise of chastity.

CHAPTER XXXII.

PONTIFICATE OF ST. GREGORY THE GREAT.

Gregory was born at Rome about the year 540, of a patrician family noted for its sterling worth and eminent piety. Possessed of great wealth, he used it entirely for the glory of God and the good of humanity. In Sicily he constructed and endowed six monasteries, and in Rome he built the celebrated one of St. Andrew (on the Cælian hill), which now belongs to the Carmaldulose congregation of the Benedictine order. To this last establishment, having resigned the prefectship of the city in 573, Gregory retired for that study and religious contemplation so admirably promoted by the monastic life. Baronio contends that the future Pontiff entered the institute of St. Equitias, but the arguments of Dom. Mabillon (3), proving that the Benedictines rightly claim him as a companion, seem conclusive. Gregory was not long permitted to remain in the seclusion he dearly loved; Pope Pelagius II. drew him from his cell in the year 582, made him a deacon of Roman Church, and sent him

(1) *Third Century*, diss. 16.

(2) In his edition of the *Breviary* of Liberatus.

(3) *Preface to 1st Benedictine Century*, and the special dissertation on the *Monastic Life of St. Gregory the Great*.

as legate to Constantinople. During the five years of his embassy, he won the love and respect of the emperors Tiberius II. and Mauritius, while scrupulously discharging his duty as Papal representative (1). Recalled to Rome in 585, he begged permission to retire to his monastery, and it was accorded. But the plague of 590 having removed Pope Pelagius, the eyes of all fell upon the learned and holy monk as his successor. Elected to the Pontificate by the unanimous voice of the clergy, amid the joyful acclamations of the Senate and the people, he not only endeavored, by every means in his power, to induce the emperor Mauritius not to confirm the election (2), but betook himself to a hiding-place, that he might escape the honor. But the emperor immediately issued the confirmation, and his retreat having been discovered, the reluctant Gregory was consecrated on the 3rd of September.

We can only give a glance at this wonderful Pontificate, during which, for fourteen years, Gregory labored as few, even of the Popes, have labored. One of his first endeavors was to recall to the unity of the Church the defenders of the Three Chapters (3); he called them to a Synod, that their doubts might be solved, but they begged for delay, and Mauritius asked him not to molest them, on account of the terrible state to which northern Italy was reduced by the incursions of the Lombards. The Pontiff accorded the delay, but he exerted his influence successfully in preventing Theodelinda, the Lombard queen, from joining the schismatics. He then turned his attention to Africa, where the Donatists were again causing trouble. By energetic letters to the bishops of Numidia, he excited their zeal for the true faith. In epistles to the bishops of Arles and Marseilles, he prohibited the enforced baptism of Jews. A controversy having arisen in Spain as to the triple immersion, he approved both methods. He ordered that, in the island of Sardinia, where bishops were few, priests should confirm, in

(1) He converted the patriarch Eutychius, who had grievously erred in the doctrine of the resurrection of the body.

(2) This confirmation of a Pontifical election, in consideration of a certain sum of money, was the result of a usurpation by the Gothic kings, and had been retained by the emperor Justinian. It was finally abolished by Constantine Pogonatus (668-685).

(3) The bishops of Istria, headed by Severus of Aquileia.

cases of necessity. He decreed that the married subdeacons of Sicily should not be advanced in orders. He turned his energies to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, but of that we shall treat in a special chapter.

One of the most interesting of Gregory's epistles was occasioned by the growing ambition of the see of Constantinople. The patriarch John "the Faster" having assumed the style of "œcumenical," the Pontiff wrote to him a stern, but prudent letter, in which occur the following passages: "I fear the hidden judgments of God, when I learn that the most holy John, a man of such abstinence and humility, has, through the seduction of his familiars, developed so much pride, that he tries to be like unto him who, arrogantly wishing to be like unto God, lost even the granted similarity. Certainly, the Apostle Peter is the first member of the holy universal Church; what are Paul, Andrew, John, but the chiefs of particular peoples? Under one head, all are members of the Church. . . . let your Holiness acknowledge, how much he must be inflated, who desires to be called by a name which no one, who was truly holy, presumed to assume. Were not the bishops of this Apostolic See, as your Fraternity knows, styled 'Universal' by the venerable Council of Chalcedon? And yet no one of them chose to be so designated, not one claimed the arrogant title." Indeed, so great was the delicacy of St. Gregory on this subject of titles, that he instituted the custom of the Pontiff's styling himself "Servant of the servants of God" (1).

St. Gregory was especially careful in the appointment of bishops. Among many instances which could be cited of this prudence, we select the following: John the Deacon had been chosen for the see of Naples, but the Pontiff rejected his name, because he had an infant daughter, thus proving that his continence was not of long duration. When three candidates were presented for the see of Ancona, he said of the first, "He is indeed learned in scripture, but he is broken with age;" of the second, "He is very watchful, but we hear that he does not know the Psalms;" and of the

(1) JOHN THE DEACON; b. 4, c. 58.

third, "We know him to be energetic, but what he is interiorly, we know not."

Hearing that simony was prevalent in Gaul and Germany, the saint wrote to queen Brunichilda (1), "Let your Christianity diligently watch, lest in your kingdom any one be allowed to receive Holy Orders, on account of money gifts, personal patronage, or claim of kinship; but let him be chosen for the episcopacy, or for any other holy office, whose life and morals proclaim him worthy; for if the honor of the priesthood is sold, that simoniacal heresy, which was the first to arise in the Church, and was condemned by Peter, will revive, which God forbid, to the detriment of the strength of your kingdom." In a Roman Synod, he prohibited the giving of money, either for ordination, or for the pallium. And writing to Theodobert, king of the Franks, he says that one of the effects of simony is that "the good, if poor, are despised and prohibited to receive Orders. And while the innocence of the poor man is displeasing, the bribe doubtless recommends the wicked; for where gold is liked, so is vice."

St. Gregory manifested great interest in liturgical matters. He added to the Canon of the Mass the words, "And dispense our days in Thy peace, and deliver us from eternal damnation, and order us to be numbered in the flock of Thy elect." He decreed that the Lord's Prayer should be recited after the Canon; that the Kyrie should be sung; that the Alleluja should not be restricted to the Paschal time; that the subdeacon should assist at Mass in alb only. He instituted that majestic chant which, after him, we term the Gregorian. He was very solicitous about the Stations at the basilicas and the catacombs, and it was while performing this devotion that he delivered his twenty Homilies on the Gospels. So great, however, was his humility, that he would not permit his writings to be read in the Vigils and other nocturnal Offices. He says (2), "I was not pleased when my brother and fellow-bishop, Marinian, caused the *Comments on Job* to be publicly read in the Vigils, because that work is not for the people, and might do more harm

(1) *Epist.* 5, b. 7.

(2) *Book X., epist.* 22.

than good to the uninstructed. But tell him to have read at the Vigils the *Comments on the Psalms*, which will teach morality to the secular mind. Nor do I wish that what I have happened to write, should be known to men while I am in the flesh. For I was much displeased when the deacon Anatolius, of blessed memory, obeyed the command of our lord the emperor, and gave him the book of *Pastoral Rule*, which my holy brother and fellow-bishop, Anastasius of Antioch, translated into the Greek language, and which, as was written to me, pleased him greatly. But it displeased me much, that they who have better books, should occupy themselves with unimportant ones." So far as he could prevent it, he would not allow his works to be read at the meals of his fellow-bishops. He writes to the bishop of Syracuse (1), "I hear that your Fraternity causes to be read at the table certain of my writings, and before strangers; this, it appears to me, ought not to be done, for some might impute to my vain glory, that which you do out of good feeling. Therefore, before visitors, let the sayings of the ancients be read, that the hearers may derive information from their authority."

In his intercourse with the emperor, Gregory always showed the respect due the civil authority, but he never, for a moment, forgot his own Apostolic duties. Events were already gradually precipitating a crisis which was soon to result in the introduction of the Pontiffs among the temporal sovereigns of the world, and the cares of civil administration were frequently forced upon Gregory. But as yet the Byzantine emperors were not so cruelly neglectful of the welfare, and even life, of their Roman subjects, as to force these to disclaim allegiance. The spirit of discontent, however, was developing itself, and hence our Pontiff was careful to show an example of respect to the imperial authority. When Mauritius promulgated a law, prohibiting admission to the ranks of the clergy or to the monastic life, of any persons owing service to the government; also ordering the monasteries to receive no soldiers or officers, Gregory approved of the first clause, but thought it should

(1) *Book VI., epist. 9.*

be so modified as to allow monasteries to receive those whose obligations they were willing to assume to themselves. As for the second clause, the Pontiff condemned it, and begged the emperor to abrogate it. "This Constitution," he says to Mauritius (1), "I tell my lord, has greatly astounded me, because by it the way to Heaven is closed to many, and what was till now permitted, is now prohibited. There are many who can lead a religious life, even when clad in the secular habit; but there are many who cannot be saved before God, unless they leave all things. Saying these things to my lord, what am I but dust and a worm? Yet, since I know that this Constitution is averse to God, the Author of all, I cannot remain silent before my lord. For power has been given by Heaven to the piety of my lord, over all men, in order that they may be aided who seek good things, in order that the way of Heaven may be made wider, in order that the earthly may be joined to the Heavenly kingdom. And behold, it is openly declared, that if a man has been once enrolled among the earthly soldiery, he cannot combat for our Lord Jesus Christ, unless his term has expired, or he is discharged for bodily infirmity. For these things, Christ will answer, through me, His and your most humble servant, saying: 'From a notary, I made you commander of the guards; from a commander's position, I raised you to that of Cæsar; from the station of Cæsar, I made you emperor; more than this, you are the father of emperors. I committed my priests into your hands, and you withdraw your soldiers from my service? Hence, by that same terrible Judge, I pray that all the tears, the prayers, alms, and fastings of my lord may not become obscured before the eyes of God omnipotent; but that your Piety, either by change or by modification, may temper the rigor of this law, for the army of my lord grows in strength against the enemy, in proportion as the army of God grows in prayer.'" Having satisfied his conscience by this protest, Gregory promulgated the imperial mandate; but, in his letters to the metropolitans, he undertook to modify the obnoxious clause—nor was Mauri-

(1) *Book 2, epist. 62.*

tius offended thereby—by ordering that soldiers should not readily be admitted as monks, and only after a three years' probation in the secular habit.

The Roman Pontiff, as we have said, was not yet, in the time of St. Gregory, a temporal sovereign, but we find him setting an example to all bishops, as to the protection they should, if possible, afford their flocks, when the ordinary civil authorities are too negligent or too impotent to extend it. Thus, he sent Leontius to the Nepesines as governor, giving him these credentials (1): "We have given to Leontius the care and responsibility of the city, that, watching over all which turns to your utility, and that of the State, he may arrange, &c. Whoever resists his orders, will be known as contradicting our dispositions." He sent as governor to Naples, the tribune Constantius, with orders to protect it. Writing to the Neapolitan soldiery, the Pope says (2): "Among other merits of an army, it deserves the greatest praise when it shows obedience to the necessities of the State, as we learn your devotion has done, showing a fitting example of military obedience by respecting our epistles, whereby we deputed the honorable tribune Constantius as governor of the city." He wrote to the bishop of Terracina that not even the clergy should be exempted from sentry duty (3): "Since we have heard that many excuse themselves from the watch on the walls, let your Fraternity be careful that no one be exempted from this duty, either in our name or that of the Church." St. Gregory having suggested to Mauritius the propriety of making peace with the Lombards, he was regarded as a simpleton, and received rather insolent letters from the emperor. In his reply, we note the following passages (4): "Since I am denounced as a simpleton, as having been deceived by the cunning of Arnulph, I am doubtless regarded as a fool; and that I am such, I myself avow. For had I not been a fool, I would not have come to bear the things which I suffer in this place, from the swords of the Lombards. As for my saying that Arnulph was heartily willing to come to terms with the State, I am

(1) *Book VIII., epist. 2.*

(2) *Book XII., epist. 24.*

(3) *Book VII., epist. 20.*

(4) *Book 4, epist. 31.*

upbraided as a liar. But although I am not a (good) priest, I know it is a grave injury to a priest, if, when serving the truth, he is thought to be a deceiver. And truly, if the captivity of my country were not momentarily becoming more intolerable, I would gladly be silent as to the contempt shown to me. But this greatly afflicts me, that what causes me to be charged with falsehood, also causes Italy to lie captive under the yoke of the Lombards. And while my suggestions are ignored, the forces of the enemy immensely increase. What wonder is it if your Piety deigns to honor those whom God Himself calls gods and angels? . . . what wonder if a Christian emperor deigns to honor the priests of the true God, when Pagan princes knew how to honor those priests who served gods of wood and stone? I suggest these things to the piety of my lord, not on my own account, but because of the entire priesthood; as for myself, I am a sinful man." At one time, St Gregory had made peace with the Lombards, but owing to the imprudence of Mauritius, war again ensued, and king Agilulph invaded the Duchy of Rome, took a large number of captives, and laid siege to the city. While the siege lasted, the imperial prefect and the general commanding were not more active in the defence than the Pontiff, but Mauritius, instead of thanking him, upbraided him because there had not been more corn in the city. The saint, nevertheless, had used the treasures of the Church to pay the soldiery, and to ransom the captive Romans (1). In an epistle to the emperor already quoted (2), the Pontiff says, "I had already received several wounds, when the arrival of my lord's orders brought me unhopèd-for consolations. If I can, I shall enumerate these wounds. The first was when the peace, which, without any detriment to the state, I had made with the Lombards of Tuscany, was broken; again, when the garrison was withdrawn from Rome. Many of them had indeed been killed by the enemy, the rest were stationed in Narni and Perugia; that Perugia might be held, Rome was abandoned. After this, a more severe wound was caused by the coming of Agilulph, when, with my own eyes, I saw the

(1) *Book 4, epist. 34.*(2) *Ibi, epist. 31.*

Romans with ropes around their necks, like dogs, led off to be sold in Gaul. And as for us who, by the mercy of God, remained safe from the enemy, we have been called culpable because the corn gave out, when we could not possibly have collected more. I have not been disturbed hereby for myself, because I speak from my conscience when I declare myself ready for anything, provided only I issue forth from these troubles with the salvation of my soul. But I have been greatly afflicted on account of the glorious heroes, the prefect Gregory, and the general, Castor, who, to the utmost of their ability, neglected nothing, but suffered greatly in the defence of the city; and yet they have fallen under the displeasure of my lord. But I plainly understand that it is not their conduct, but my person, that causes their trouble." At length, St. Gregory saw peace concluded with Agilulph, and on that score, his last days were happy.

That our Pontiff was a most learned, as well as a most holy man, his works, and the estimation in which they have ever been held, abundantly prove. He was unacquainted with Greek, according to his own acknowledgment (1); but this does not appear to have been much of a drawback. Our limits will permit of only a cursory glance at his works. His book of *Morals*, deduced from Job, was written at the instance of St. Leander of Spain, while our saint was Papal legate at Constantinople; it is admirably adapted to the wants of the preacher, and to him who seeks guidance in the care of souls. The *Pastoral Book* was occasioned by a reproof given the saint by John, archbishop of Ravenna, for having refused a bishopric. It fully treats of the duties of bishops, and was so highly appreciated during the middle ages, that we find many Synods enjoining its study and observance upon bishops. Thus, the Council of Tours, in 813, declares that every bishop should look at himself in it, as in a mirror. The *Homilies on Ezechiel* were delivered to the people, and taken down by notaries; the forty *Homilies on the Gospels* were some delivered by himself, and others dictated to notaries who read them to the people. Certain authors, both Catholic and Protestant, have denied that St.

(1) "We have written no work in Greek, nor do we know Greek." *Book 6, epist. 29.*

Gregory is the author of the *Dialogues* ascribed to him, but the weight of evidence is for the affirmative side of the question (1). The *Antiphonary* is a new arrangement of the ancient Antiphons of the Church, with the addition of many new ones. The *Sacramentary* is based on the codex of Pope Gelasius, and has been greatly modified by succeeding Pontiffs. There are *Commentaries* on the *Book of Kings*, on the *Penitential Psalms*, and on the *Canticle of Canticles*, attributed to St. Gregory, which seem to be unauthentic (2).

Modern incredulists, and other adversaries of the Holy See, have accused St. Gregory of virulent hostility to profane science, alleging that he forbade the study of letters to ecclesiastics; that his fanaticism caused him to procure the destruction of many monuments of Pagan Rome; that he burned the valuable library of the Palatine; that he was, in fine, the Attila of literature. As for the Pontiff's sentiments in regard to letters, John the Deacon (3) tells us that, under Gregory's rule, wisdom built for herself at Rome a visible temple, and that the halls of the Papal palace were resplendent with the glories of the seven arts; that not one of the court, from the highest to the lowest, ever betrayed the least barbarism in language or in dress; that study of the fine arts was the order of the day. The works of St. Gregory show that he was a learned man, and if, as is alleged, he sometimes appears to condemn the adventitious beauties of rhetoric (4), it is only because, as he himself tells us, he was more concerned for purity of doctrine and for exactness in dogmatic expression. He certainly did reprove a bishop for teaching rhetoric (5), but merely because he deemed the office of pedagogue beneath the episcopal dignity. And is it likely that a fanatical devotee of ignorance would have occupied the position of prefect of Rome, or that he would have been made legate to the cultivated court of Constantinople? Brucker (6) asserts that our Pontiff

(1) See ALEXANDRE; *Cent.* 6, chap. 4, art. 16. (2) *Ibi*.

(3) *Life of St. Gregory*, b. 2, c. 12. (4) *Epistle to Leander*, prefixed to the *Morals*.

(5) *Epist.* 54, to *Desiderius of Vienne*.

(6) *Critical History of Philosophy*, v. 3, p. 2, b. 2. "Among the many merits of this writer, to whom we owe the fullest, most complete, and most profound, history of philosophy yet seen, is that of wise moderation; he does not, like many Protestants, exercise a rabid fury towards everything Catholic. But on this occasion, he seems to have forgotten his wise impartiality. In the appendix he asserts that this otherwise good bishop

expelled mathematicians from his palace, and that he burned the Palatine library. Bayle and Barbeyrac, hostile though they are to the Fathers, admit that the last accusation is baseless. It is founded solely upon the authority of John of Salisbury (d. 1180), who, in his *Polycraticon*, b. 2, c. 26, says that, "The most holy doctor, Gregory, who nourished and inebriated the whole Church with the honeyed rain of his preaching, not only ordered mathematicians to retire from his court, but, as is handed down from our forefathers, gave to the flames all the writings contained in the (library of) Palatine Apollo, among which the principal were thought to reveal to men the celestial mind, and the oracles of Heaven." But how is it that for more than five hundred years we find no mention of this accusation? Brucker answers that it was a tradition, "handed down from our forefathers," in the words of John of Salisbury, and that Catholics, who rely so much upon tradition, ought therefore to accept it. But Catholics, well replies Bergier (1), do not receive as tradition every hearsay, and Protestants, who reject even written traditions, ought not to accept one which is unwritten. Let us omit, however, for the moment, any question as to the authority of John of Salisbury. What does he assert? Firstly, that St. Gregory expelled mathematicians from his court. But who were these "mathematicians?" In the middle ages this term was principally applied to judicial astrologists, that is, to those who pretended to predict the future by a planetary investigation. Brucker and his imitators may have been grossly ignorant as to the literature of that time, but certainly they should have noticed that Salisbury himself informs us that he makes no reference to "mathematicians" in our sense of the word. He is attacking the false science of astrology, and alleges the authority of "the most holy doctor, Gregory," who, he says, not only banished the impostors from

was not naturally acute, that he possessed no force of genius, and could not reason well. But while he was thus writing, there fell into his hands two books written in defence of St. Gregory, one by a Benedictine monk of Frisingen, and the other by the anonymous French author of the *History of Eclecticism*. Hence he resolved to again enter the field, and in a long, and, if I may so speak, very tedious digression of full forty pages, he undertook to refute the arguments of these writers, and to develop or confirm his previous assertions of our Pontiff's superstition, ignorance, and want of discernment." TORABOSCHI; *Italian Literature*, b. 2, c. 2.

(1) *Dictionary*, art. *Gregory*.

his presence, but even destroyed those writings "which were thought to reveal to men the celestial mind, and the oracles of Heaven."

As for the burning of the grand Library constructed by Augustus in the Palatine temple of Apollo (1), could such an event, so interesting to every votary of learning, have taken place, we will not say, without the lamentations of many, but without even a word of comment? And nevertheless, five centuries and a half elapse, during which a constant succession of chroniclers are busily recording even the trivialties of their time, and not a suspicion of such an event is hinted. The authority of John of Salisbury is not so incontestable as to justify us in yielding to his uncorroborated assertion, and in the face of this eloquent silence. Brucker praises his virtues, and tells us they procured his elevation to the see of Chartres. But virtue does not necessarily imply the power of critical discernment, and when Salisbury narrates things displeasing to Protestant ears, we hear nothing either of his virtue or of his acumen. The fact is, however, John of Salisbury was a bad critic; everything was grist to his mill. In the course of his works, many popular traditions are met, some of them simply ridiculous, and yet he approves them all. Coming from the pen of a Catholic bishop, what can be more absurd than his approval (2) of the story of Trajan's pardon from hell, thanks to the importunate prayers of Pope Gregory, "but only on condition that Gregory should never again intercede with God for an infidel"? But perhaps the strongest refutation of this calumny can be found in the evident futility of the act with the commission of which our Pontiff is charged. If St. Gregory burned the Palatine Library, he did so through false zeal for sacred letters. Now that zeal could not be satisfied by the destruction of one single library, and he would have in vain brought opprobrium upon himself. In Rome there were many other such collections, and in the monasteries of Italy, Gaul, Ireland, and Spain, the patient scribes were constantly multiplying copies of the dangerous classics.

(1) Some authors have thought that Salisbury intended to refer merely to the destruction of the astrological books, but the tenor of the passage seems to imply a burning of the entire collection.

(2) *Polyeraticon*, b. 5, c. 8.

The Roman Pontiff who would be so foolish and reckless as to burn the Palatine Library, would certainly have ordered the destruction of the classics in every monastery of the world (1).

St. Gregory is also charged with the destruction of many monuments of ancient Roman magnificence. But upon what testimony is this accusation put forth? Upon that of Amalricus, who lived in the 14th century, and whom the erudite and critical Muratori regards as a swallower of fables; upon that of Leo Urbevetanus, also of the 14th century, and whom Lamy accuses of credulity; upon that of Raphael of Volaterra, of the 16th century, whom Tiraboschi condemns as of little reliability (2). Where did these writers, of a period eight and nine centuries posterior to the age of Greg-

(1) Some writers of the 15th century asserted that St. Gregory endeavored to prevent the study of Tally and Livy. This seems unlikely, for these authors are probably the least offensive of any on the classic shelves. A condemnation of Horace, Catullus, and Tibullus, would have been much more consonant with the Pontiff's supposed severity. Tiraboschi (*loc. cit.*) speaks as follows of the authority of John of Salisbury: "Who is this writer? In the first place he lived six centuries after St. Gregory. Now some of the critics of our day conduct themselves, to tell the truth, in a very frivolous manner. They want every fact to be proved by the authority of writers contemporary, or nearly so, with the events in question, and if they come across a narration by a modern author, unaccompanied by such authoritative proof, they either reject the fact narrated, or place it on the list of doubtful events. I myself believe in so doing, but these gentlemen are not consistent. When they meet a story which, for some reason, they wish to credit, then any testimony, no matter of how distant an authority, is sufficient. Were John of Salisbury to narrate something creditable to St. Gregory, then we would hear that he is unreliable, but if he tells us something that would indicate the saint as a fanatic and an ignorant man, then he is a truth-telling and critical historian. . . . No other writer, during the space of nearly six centuries, says anything about St. Gregory's having burnt a library; at length an English author speaks of it, but gives no proof. Why should we easily believe him? And here precisely has Brucker been awaiting us. No, says he, Salisbury does not allege this fact without good proof (*Appendix*, p. 659); he says that 'it is handed down to us *a majoribus*;' therefore it was a perpetual tradition, doubted by no one; it was probably recorded in many books not now extant; a wise and learned man, such as Salisbury was, would not have asserted it without reason. Thus proceeds Brucker in his lengthy demonstration. But let me ask Brucker if he believes it true that St. Gregory freed the soul of Trajan from hell. He must laugh at my question. But suppose that I declare that this act of the saint is narrated by a writer of the 12th century. He will answer that it was precisely in those times of ignorance that such fables originated; that a writer, who seriously records such things, is a weak-minded, superstitious, ignorant man. Very well. This John of Salisbury, that man, as Brucker says (*ibid.*), who was learned beyond his time; that most celebrated author who was greatly esteemed by the University of Paris (*ibid.*, p. 660); in whose writings there is not wanting critical acumen, and whom learned men set above all his contemporaries (p. 664); who, well instructed in dialectics was not so uncultured, as, like Gregory, to prefer to be accused of ignorance rather than acquire the art of reasoning properly; who under the tuition of the great professor of logic, William of Soissons, learned the elements of that science, and hence entered upon the right road of true erudition (p. 665); this very man, to whom Brucker gives all these praises, when he wishes us to credit the story of the Palatine library, narrates such a fact with the most admirable seriousness. . . . Does Brucker believe this tale? Let him then acknowledge that his John of Salisbury is not so critical as he would have us believe; that he narrates as certain things that common sense shows to have been impossible (and if time and space permitted, I could give many instances, for I have read the whole of Salisbury's book, in order to form an impartial judgment); that his 'it is said,' 'we read,' 'it is rumored,' indicate merely popular traditions that are without foundation. . . . Finally, in the two passages in which he speaks of this conflagration, John of Salisbury contradicts himself. In one place he says that the library given to the flames was that of the Capitol, in another, that it was that of the temple of the Palatine Apollo. It is certain that these were two different libraries, and they were very distant from each other."

(2) As critics, Muratori and Tiraboschi occupy a position second to none and immeasurably more eminent than that attained by the rank and file of the profession. Lamy's opinions are greatly respected by scholars.

ory, derive their information? In all the works composed during this interval, there is profound silence as to the imputed vandalism of our Pontiff; it is ignored by Gregory of Tours, Isidore of Spain, Ven. Bede, Lintprand, the deacons Paul and John, Anastasius the Librarian, all of whom are prolific with details of his reign. We are asked to believe that a Roman patrician, a member of a senatorial family, and a man of liberal education, one who had occupied the exalted pretorial chair over a people distinguished for their pride in their city, helped to consummate the work of devastation which the Northern barbarians had left incomplete. We are asked to ignore his lamentations, his overpowering grief (1), caused by the destruction of so many beautiful edifices, and to regard him as a prince of vandals. And how is his insanity explained? We are told that the fanatical Pontiff wished to remove from the Roman people any danger of relapse into idolatry. But in the time of St. Gregory the Great, the Romans were as far removed from any weakness of faith as they are to-day; perhaps, indeed, further removed than they are at present. While admiring the magnificent productions of ancestral genius, they were as free from any yearnings towards idolatry as any of their martyred forefathers. And would the Roman people have allowed this destruction of their city's glorious monuments? Procopius (2) (d. 565) says, "The Romans are more careful of their city than any people we know; everything belonging to their country they strive to preserve, and although they have suffered under the rule of barbarism, they have preserved the edifices of the city, and as many of its ornaments as they were able." Gregory was Supreme Pontiff, and had, as we have seen, almost royal power in the Roman Duchy, but the emperor was yet the acknowledged master. Would he have permitted this gross infraction of the Theodosian and Justinianic laws, which so strictly provided for the care of the ancient monuments? No emperor would have suffered such vandalism to be perpetrated, still less Mauritius, who was constantly at issue with our saint, and seized every oppor-

(1) *Homily 18, on Ezekiel.*(2) *Gothic War, b. 2.*

tunity to vex him (1). But we need no better defence of St. Gregory than is furnished by Rome at this day. When we look upon the great number of ancient monuments which, thanks to the fostering care and liberal expenditure of the Pope-Kings, yet subsist in the Eternal City, we must suppose that Gregory's successor did not gaze upon any traces of Papal vandalism. And we know that many of the ancient monuments have disappeared since the death of our Pontiff (2). Rome has withstood many vicissitudes during the last twelve hundred years. She has been sacked by the foreigner, and her treasures have been plundered by her own turbulent barons. Her Frangipani and Savelli have pulled to pieces many an ancient building to procure materials for a medieval fortress, and she has seen the Gallic invader weakening her admired masonries to provide metal for his cannon. And in spite of all this, the modern traveller is awestruck under the spell of her numerous monuments of ancient art. What, then, we would ask, must have been the extent and condition of these monuments, when Sabinian took possession of the Chair of Peter?

St. Gregory died in 604, the fourteenth year of his Pontificate. His eulogy may be well condensed in the words of St. Ildephonse of Toledo, "In holiness, he excelled Anthony; in eloquence, Cyprian; and in wisdom, Augustine" (3).

(1) Although not a tyrant, Mauritius caused much trouble to St. Gregory. Thus, he left his Italian subjects a prey to the Lombards, in spite of the Pontiff's assiduous prayers for their relief. He also sustained the arrogance of the Constantinopolitan patriarch in claiming the title of "Œcumenical." We have already noticed the obstacles he threw in the way of military men, aspiring to the monastic life. He aided in every way the defenders of the Three Chapters, and so protected Maximus, a Dalmatian schismatic, that he was enabled to ridicule the Papal authority.

(2) See Fea's *Dissertation on the Ruins of Rome*.

(3) *Ecclesiastical Writers*.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND.

At the time of Christ's sojourn upon earth, Druidism was the religion of Britain; by whom, and when, the Gospel was first introduced into the island, is uncertain. Eusebius (1) says that the Apostles passed into Britain, and Gildas (2) seems to imply that the conversion took place under Tiberius. More modern authors have ventured to determine the name of the first Apostle of Britain. Parsons (3) contended that this glory belongs to St. Peter; Godwin (4) and Stillingfleet (5) ascribed it to St. Paul. Lingard (6) regards the arguments used by both Catholic and Protestant writers, in determining this question, as unworthy of attention. "The former," he says, "relied on the treacherous authority of Metaphrastes; the latter on the ambiguous and hyperbolic expressions of a few more ancient writers." It is certain that Christianity first took firm root in Britain, about the year 182, in the reign of Lucius, the great-grandson of Caractacus, and heir of some of the authority given that prince by Claudius. At the solicitation of Lucius, Pope Eleutherius sent Fugatius and Damian to instruct the Britons, and a flourishing church soon came into existence. The controversies which were the bane of the East, did not disturb the less polished and less inquisitive islanders, but they were not destined to be never assailed by heresy. Their countryman, Pelagius, succeeded in propagating his errors to an alarming extent, and it was only by the zeal of St. Germain l'Auxerrois and St. Lupus of Troyes, that the orthodox faith was sustained (7). But another formidable enemy now con-

(1) *Dem. Evang.*, b.1, c. 7.

(4) *First Conversion of Britain.*

(2) *Calamity, Destruction, and Conquest of Britain.* (5) *Brit. Orig.*

(3) *Three Conversions*, v. 1.

(6) *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, c. 1.

(7) Sts. Germain and Lupus received their mission, according to Constantius, from the bishops of Gaul; according to Prosper, from Pope Celestine. These prelates met the Pelagian leaders in a Synod at Verulam, and after a day's useless debate, nothing was decided, but in the evening a miracle confirmed the teachings of St. Germain, and his opponents declared themselves converted. But the heresy soon burst out anew, and the holy Auxerrois resumed his labors—this time with permanent success. See *Life of St. Germain*, by Constantius, b. 11, c. 1.

fronted the British church. The piratical Saxons, who, according to Ptolemy (Claude), had been, in the second century, a small tribe of barbarians in the Cimbric Chersonesus, were now become a mighty power, and were dominant in the Germanic regions. The reader is doubtless familiar with the tale of the Saxon conquest of Britain. The natives resisted to the utmost, and the incensed invaders gave such vent to their fury, that the surviving Britons took refuge in the fastnesses of the western coast of the island. With them vanished civilization and Christianity; German barbarism and idolatry were conquerors (1). But wherever the fierce northern savage destroyed the worldly empire of Rome, he soon kneeled in adoration to the God of Rome. John the Deacon (2) gives us the following narration of the first steps towards the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons: "On a certain day, when many things were exposed for sale in the Roman Forum, and many persons had come there to buy, it chanced that Gregory, a man most worthy before God, passed along. Seeing for sale some youths of very fair complexion, of beautiful shape and charming features, and with shining hair, he asked the trader from what land he had brought them. He replied that they came from the island of Britain, the inhabitants of which all possessed similar brightness of countenance. Gregory asked whether the islanders were Christians, or still involved in the errors of Paganism; the merchant answered that they were not Christians, but yet held in Pagan chains. Then Gregory sighed heavily, and said, 'Alas! that the prince of darkness should possess such resplendent faces, and that such external beauty should be united to souls not bearing the interior grace of God!' Again he demanded the name of that people, and the merchant said that they were called 'Angles.' And he answered that they were well styled 'Angles,' as though they were 'Angels,' for they had angelic features, and should be fellow-citizens with the angels of Heaven." Impressed with this idea, Gregory besought Pope Benedict I. for permission to under-

(1) The ferocity displayed by the Saxons in this war was such that it would be incredible, if narrated only by the Briton Gildas, but the *Saxon Chronicle* corroborates his assertions.

(2) *Life of Pope St. Gregory the Great*, b. 1, c. 3. Venerable Bede gives the same account, b. 2, and says it was handed down as a "tradition of our ancestors." John the Deacon wrote in the 9th century, Bede in the 7th and 8th.

take the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. He departed on his mission, but, says John the Deacon, "the Romans were displeased at his absence, and conspiring together, they approached the Pontiff in three separate crowds, as he was going to the Basilica of St. Peter, and shouted, 'Thou hast offended Peter; thou hast destroyed Rome, in dismissing Gregory.' " In consequence of this attitude of the Romans, the zealous monk was recalled to the city, and his subsequent election to the Papacy compelled him to entrust to others the accomplishment of his design. His first step in this direction was an epistle to Candidus, the administrator of the patrimony of St. Peter in Gaul, commissioning him to purchase a number of young Saxon slaves, to be sent to Rome, and there, if they proved fit, to be ordained, and sent as missionaries to their countrymen (1). The youths did not prove very bright, and the Pontiff turned to his quondam companions of the Cælian monastery for his instruments. Under the supervision of Augustine, a number of monks set out, bearing letters to the Gallic clergy, asking for interpreters to be assigned them, and also letters to the Frank princes, begging their protection on the way. They landed on the island of Thanet, in 597. We do not propose to describe the conversion of the Heptarchy; the reader will find the details in Lingard's apposite work, already cited, and from which we draw the material for this chapter.

In the entire history of Christianity, there is no instance of a change wrought in a converted people equal to that which the acceptance of the Gospel operated in the Anglo-Saxons. The various provinces of the old Roman Empire had long been subjected to the influences of a high civilization; these people were not merely barbarians, they were savages. When St. Patrick preached the faith to the Irish, he met a brave and sturdy, but yet a refined and gentle race. The Goths, Scythians, Lombards, and other barbaric nations, who entered the Christian fold, were endowed with sentiments of delicacy, if they are compared with the neophytes of St. Augustine. All the barbaric hordes who helped to disintegrate the great Empire, were valorous, but

(1) *Gregory's Epistles*, b. 5, No. 16.

the Saxons were simply brutal. Other tribes desired the labor of their captives; the Saxons preferred to drink ale out of their skulls. The Christian missionary expected to be obliged to combat the sensual passions of his converts, but, if we are to believe the ancient chroniclers, he must have been appalled by the lust of the Saxon. The brute creation is unanimous in its love for its offspring; the Saxons were so greedy of gold that they sold their own children to the slave-dealers of the continent. Their theology knew but one sin, cowardice; it recognized but one virtue, courage. But with the advent of Christianity, this terrible picture vanished, and the Saxon was no longer a monster. In a short time, he too took up the work of the apostolate, and St. Boniface converted the Old Saxons, Franks, Hessians, and Thuringians; St. Swibert the Westphalians; Sts. Wilfrid and Willibrord the Frisians and the Hollanders; St. Willihad the tribes north of the Elbe. Piety became a characteristic of the nation. Nowhere were churches, hospitals, and monasteries more numerous, or better endowed, and nowhere were they attended by a more devoted clergy; the land came to be styled the "Island of Saints." Religion developed civilization, or rather created it; the useful, as well as the agreeable, was cultivated, and the Saxon barbarian was soon to be found only in history.

Protestants once held that the Anglo-Saxon church was a Papistical institution from its very foundation. Bale informs us that "Augustine was first sent to initiate the Anglo-Saxons in Papistical traditions; he introduced altars, vestments, masses, images, &c." (1). The same author delicately asserts that Augustine "brought nothing but Pontifical traditions and human dung" (2). Parker says that Augustine was "an apostle to the Angles, not of the Christian faith and of the divine word, but of ceremonies and Roman rites; and he taught them to be Romans and Pontificals, rather than Christians and Evangelicals" (3). But more modern Saxon scholars have discovered that the early church of their ancestors was not "Pontifical," but rather

(1) *Cent.* 13, c. 1.(2) *Cent.* 8, c. 85. The text has *stercora*.(3) *Ant. Brit.*, p. 35.

worthy of being numbered among Protestant organizations. Athelhard, archbishop of Canterbury, having asked of the bishops assembled in the Synod of Cloveshoe (y. 803) for a Profession of Faith, they answered (1): "Let it be known to your Paternity, that we believe as was first taught by the Holy Roman and Apostolic See, by the direction of the most blessed Pope Gregory." Hence, according to these investigators. St. Gregory also was a Protestant. It is not difficult, however, to prove that the faith of the early Saxon Christians was what Parker called "Roman and Pontifical." In the first place, if the Saxon church was not united with the Roman in identity of doctrine, how can we account for the strict communion between the two churches? How is it that Boniface, Swibert, Wilfrid, and other Saxon missionaries preached the faith of Rome, among the German barbarians, and founded churches in communion with Rome? What mean the professions of submission to Rome, the innumerable acts of devotion to the Holy See, on the part of the Saxon kings? But let us examine the doctrines of the Saxon church, as indicated by its practices.

It is certain that the early Saxon Christians agreed with Rome as to the necessity of the Sacrament of Baptism. Protestants, however, frequently assert that the ceremonies of the Roman Ritual were unknown, that the insufflation and unctions with oil and chrism were not in use. Yet Bede (2) mentions the insufflation; the *Saxon Pontifical* (3), prescribes the salt; Archbishop Ælfric (4) speaks of the unction with oil on the breast and between the shoulders, and of that with chrism on the top of the head; Alcuin (5), finally, gives the ceremonies in their entirety. That the anointings with chrism were regarded as sacred, is shown by the head being kept bound with a fillet for seven days (6). The only difference between the practice of the ancient and that of the modern English Catholics, in the ceremonies attendant on Baptism, seems to have been in the old custom of giving the Eucharist to the lately baptized infant (7).

(1) WILKINS; *Councils*, p. 162. (4) *Saxon Laws*, p. 172.

(2) *B.* 5, c. 6.

(5) *Treatise to Adrian in Duchesne's Alcuin*, part II.

(3) MARTENE, v. 1.

(6) BEDE, b. 5, c. 7.

(7) *Saxon Laws*, p. 172

With regard to Confirmation, we know that the child was presented to the bishop, and that he received the gifts of wisdom and fortitude to assist him in the spiritual warfare(1). As for the doctrine of the Real Presence of our Lord in the Eucharist, Anglican authors, such as Parker, Lisle, Usher, Whelock, Hickes, Carte, Littleton, and Henry, have endeavored to show that Transubstantiation was not the belief of the Anglo-Saxons. Philology and history have been tirelessly invoked, but among all the Saxon authors who flourished during the brilliant period preceding the Danish inroads, not a passage can be found denying the Catholic doctrine; among the writers of the dark period which followed the Danish devastations, there are some expressions which Protestants eagerly seize, but which Catholics as eagerly defend. The first testimony to which we draw the reader's attention is from the *Actions* of the Synod of Calcuith (816). From the earliest days of the Church, no temple could be dedicated unless it held the remains of a martyr; hence, a small portion, at least, of a martyr's relics, were deposited in every altar-stone. In England, however, it became so difficult to observe this law, that the Synod of Calcuith (2) ordered that when relics could not be obtained, the Blessed Eucharist should be preserved in the church. And why? "Because the Eucharist is the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ." But, replies the Protestant, such a disposition of the Eucharist does not necessarily imply a belief in Transubstantiation; the Saxons may have believed, as do some Protestants, that Christ is present at the act and time of Communion. The context shows that a permanent, abiding presence is understood; for, in the Protestant supposition, of what significance, more than any other substance, would be the Eucharistic host, in lieu of the martyr's relics? A permanent, not a transitory presence of our Lord is supposed by Bede (3) when he says, "When we celebrate the Mass, we again immolate to the Father the sacred Body and the precious Blood

(1) BEDE; *Life of Cuthbert*, c. 29 and 32. WILKINS; *Councils*, p. 252. *Saxon Laws*, p. 167.

(2) WILKINS; *Council of Calcuith*.

(3) *Homily on the Eve of the Passion*.

of the Lamb, with which we have been redeemed from our sins." Egbert, archbishop of York, who wrote in the beginning of the eighth century, compiled a *Pontifical*, which was preserved at Evreux; in the abbey of Iumiege, another Anglo-Saxon *Pontifical* was also extant in the time of Martene. From these two documents (1), we learn that at the ordination of a priest, he is endowed with the power of "transforming the Body and Blood of Christ." The pyx is called "the bearer of the Body of Christ," and a "new sepulchre for the Body of Christ." The *corporale* is "a piece of linen, on which the Body and Blood of Christ are consecrated, and in which they are wrapped up." The altar is declared to be consecrated in order that on it "a sacred virtue may turn the creatures chosen for sacrifice into the Body and Blood of the Redeemer, and transform them by an invisible change, into the Sacred Hosts of the Lamb, that as the Word was made flesh, so the nature of the offering being blessed, *may be elevated to the substance of the Word, and what before was food, may here be made eternal life.*"

Among the works of the Saxon clergy which were composed after the Danish invasion, we find some translations and several sermons by Ælfric, a monk who had studied in the school of St. Ethelwold at Winchester, and who finally became archbishop of Canterbury. In treating of the Eucharist, Ælfric teaches that "the Eucharistic differs from the natural Body of Christ," and that "the former is indeed His Body, but after a spiritual, not after a bodily manner" (2). Lisle, Usher, Henry, and other Protestant writers, interpret this doctrine in their own favor, but Catholic disputants, and none better than Lingard (3), show that it is thoroughly consistent with Catholic orthodoxy. Among the many questions which the medieval scholastics delighted in raising, occurs, whether wisely or not, it is not for us to determine, one speculating upon the precise nature of Christ's Eucharistic Body. Haimo of Halberstadt held that, as a sign is excluded by reality, so the Eucharist contained no mystery or sign. Paschasius, Hincmar, and

(1) MARTENE: *Ancient Rites* (y. 1700).

(2) *Sermon for Easter.*

(3) *Antiquities*, note N.

others, admitted both sign and reality, and added that the Eucharistic Body was the identical one which was born of Mary and suffered on the cross. A third school, represented by Ratramn or Bertram, a monk of Corbie, and Ælfric (1), rejected both the former opinions, and taught a triple distinction of the Body of Christ: viz., that born of Mary, the Eucharistic, and the mystical. Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz (2), one of this school, declares that the difference for which they disputed, was merely as to the external appearance; and Bertram, though trying to show that the natural is not the same as the Eucharistic Body, plainly admits their identity, when he says that Christ "changed the substance of bread into His own Body, which was about to suffer, and the creature of wine into his own Blood, which was to be shed on the cross." As to Ælfric's belief in the Real Presence, it is clearly indicated in his Sermon on the Sacrifice of the Mass, although Henry asserts that no ingenuity can reconcile his doctrine with that of Rome (3). The reader shall judge whether the Saxon prelate's notions upon the nature of the Sacramental Body imply denial of Transubstantiation, and whether his doctrine should be pleasing to Protestants. We give Lingard's translation; the Saxon text may be found in Lisle's edition of 1623 (4). "Much is there between the invisible might of the holy husel, and the visible appearance of its own kind. In its own kind, it is corruptible bread and corruptible wine; but, after the might of the divine word, it is truly Christ's Body and His Blood, not indeed, in a bodily, but in a ghostly manner. Much is there between the Body, in which Christ suffered, and the Body which is hallowed to husel. Truly the Body in which Christ suffered, was born of the flesh of Mary, with blood and with bone, and with skin and with sinews, in human limbs, and with a reasonable living soul. But His ghostly Body, which we call the husel, is gathered of many corns, without blood and bone, without limbs and a

(1) The Danish devastations had seriously affected the monasteries, and when, in the 10th century, St. Dunstan restored monachism in England, he was forced to import instructors from French establishments. Monks of Fleury and Corbie taught at Abingdon and Winchester, and there Ælfric received the ideas of Bertram.

(2) MABILLON; *Cent.* 4, v. 2.

(3) *History*, v. 2, p. 202.

(4) Also, see Whelock's *Bede*.

soul, and therefore nothing is to be understood in it after a bodily, but after a ghostly manner. Whatever there is in the husel, which giveth us the substance of life, that cometh of the ghostly might and invisible operation. For this reason the holy husel is called a Sacrament; because one thing is seen in it, and another understood. That which is seen, hath a bodily appearance; that which we understand, hath a ghostly might. Certainly, Christ's Body that suffered death, and arose from death, dies now no more; it is eternal and impassible. The husel is temporal, not eternal; corruptible, dealed into pieces, chewed between the teeth, and sent into the stomach. But it is nevertheless all in every part according to the ghostly might. Many receive the holy Body, but it is nevertheless all in every part according to the ghostly Sacrament. Though some men receive a smaller part, yet there is not more might in a greater part than in a smaller. Because it is entire in all men, according to the invisible might. This Sacrament is a pledge and a figure; Christ's Body is truth. This pledge we hold sacramentally, till we come to the truth, and then this pledge will end. Truly it is, as we said before, Christ's Body and His Blood, not after a bodily, but after a ghostly manner. Nor shall ye search how it is made so; but hold that it is made so." Had Ælfrie been surrounded by heretics, by men who denied the real and permanent Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, his expressions would doubtless have been more guarded, and he would have perhaps paid more attention to his own injunction at the close of the cited passage. However, in these words there is no source of comfort to a Protestant (1). All Catholics admit that in the Eucharist the Body of Christ does not exist after the manner of an ordinary, natural body, and some adjectives must be employed to express the different modes of existence. Bertram, Ælfrie, and others used the terms "naturally" and "spiritually;" the Council of Trent adopted the words "naturally" and

(1) We should observe that. Immediately after the above passage, Ælfrie, as a proof of the Real Presence, quotes two miracles, in which the sacred Flesh and Blood were manifested in the Eucharist. Whatever discredit may be given to these events, it can scarcely be believed that they would be cited as a proof of the Real Presence by one who denied Transubstantiation.

"sacramentally" (1). Ælfric certainly denies the identity of the natural and the Eucharistic Body of Christ; so do some of the most orthodox of Catholic theologians. We cite the more familiar Lanfranc, the energetic adversary of the first Sacramentarian, Berengarius (2), and Bossuet (3). Ælfric styles the Eucharist a pledge and a figure; so does the Catholic Church (4). It has been asserted that the teaching of Ælfric represents the belief of the Anglo-Saxons. This is true, inasmuch as the whole nation believed that, in the Mass, the bread and wine were changed into the Body and Blood of Christ. But his peculiar opinion, as to the nature of the Eucharistic Body, orthodox though it was, was not held by any other Saxon writers, either of his time, or of preceding or posterior days. On the contrary, the doctrine of the identity of the natural and Eucharistic Body was frequently taught, and seems to have been the national belief. We have already quoted Bede as saying that the Body of the Lamb, which is offered on the altar, is the one by which we were redeemed; and in another place (5), he says "His Blood is not now shed by the hands of unbelievers, but received to their salvation in the mouths of the faithful." Alcuin tells us (6) that "the Mystery of the Body and Blood of the Lord is not to be called an image, but the truth; not a shadow, but the Body; not a figure of things to come, but that which was once prefigured by types; for He did not say 'this is the figure of my Body,' but 'this is my Body, which shall be given for ye.'" In a MS. once belonging to king Canute the Great (7) our Lord is said to have declared to His Apostles that "He gave them His Body to eat, and His Blood to drink, that Body which He should give up to be crucified, and that Blood which He should shed for them." In another MS. (8) of the same date, it

(1) Some modern theologians cling to "naturally" and "spiritually." See VERON; *Rule of Faith*, c. 11.

(2) In his treatise against Berengarius, c. 18, the Norman prelate says that, if we consider the mode of existence of the Eucharistic Body, we may truly say that it is not the same body which was born of Mary.

(3) Bossuet asserts that "in one sense, and regarding only the substance, it is the Body of Jesus Christ, born of Mary; but in another sense, and regarding only the manner, it is another, which is made by His words."

(4) Office and Mass of the Holy Sacrament; Anthem at *Magnificat*, and Postcommunion.

(5) *Homily for the Epiphany*.

(7) *Cott. MSS., Cal. a. 7.*

(6) *Caroline Books*, 4, c. 14.

(8) *Ibi*, *Tib.* c. 1.

is said that "The Lord did not say 'take this consecrated bread, and eat it in place of my Body,' or 'drink this consecrated wine in place of my Blood;' but, without any figure or circumlocution, He said 'this is my Body' and 'this is my Blood.' And, that He might prevent all wanderings of error, He said, 'which Body shall be given up for you,' and which Blood shall be shed for you.'"

With regard to the Sacrament of Penance, Henry contends that auricular confession was first inculcated to the Saxons by archbishop Theodore, in the seventh century, and that it was unknown to them before that time. We might dismiss this assertion with the remark that St. Augustine certainly converted the Saxons to the faith of Rome, which just as certainly commanded auricular confession. But Henry, following in the steps of Inett (1), says that private confession, according to the account given of it by Egbert, archbishop of York (8th century) was unknown to such of the Saxons as were converted by the Irish missionaries. Now, Egbert (2) says nothing about the introduction of confession, and nothing about the customs of the Saxons who were taught by the Irish; he does say, however, that, from the time of Theodore, the people had been accustomed to a twelve days' preparation, by fasting, confession, and alms, for the feast of Christmas. This by no means implies that confession was only then introduced among them. St. Cuthbert (d. 687) was a pupil of the Irish missionaries, and before Pope Vitalian commissioned Theodore to take charge of the see of Canterbury (668), had spent months receiving confessions in that diocese (3). That auricular confession was practised by the early Irish Christians, we have already seen when treating of the mission of St. Patrick. Since, however, Egbert of York is quoted as ignorant of this practice, we would draw attention to this passage from his *Penitential*: "The time of duty comes every twelve months, when every man shall speak to his confessor, and avow to God and his confessor all the sins he has committed." Whelock (4) asserts that the Saxon church advised, but did not prescribe, confes-

(1) *History of the English Church*, v. 1.

(2) *Institutions of the Church*.

(3) BEDE; *Life of Cuthbert*; c. 9. and 16.

(4) *History*, p. 215, index, art. *Confession*.

sion; and yet he furnishes us with two Homilies, from which we extract the following passages: "The holy Scriptures frequently teach us to flee to the medicine of true confession of our sins; because we cannot otherwise be healed, except we confess with sorrow what we have unrighteously done through negligence. All hope of forgiveness is in confession. Confession, with true repentance, is the angelic remedy of our sins. . . . Truly no man will obtain forgiveness of his sins from God, unless he confess to some one of God's ministers, and do penance according to his judgment."

It would be very interesting to notice the system of public penance of the Saxons, their consecration of virgins and monks to the service of God, the ceremonies with which they dedicated their temples, the coronation of their kings, the benediction of their knights, and many other features which denoted a truly Catholic people, but our limits compel us to confine ourselves to the elucidation of such points as will show that the modern Anglican or dissenter comes from a Catholic ancestor. English Protestantism has preserved some tattered remnants of nearly every Catholic garment with which Albion was once clothed, but of one vesture there is not a thread. We allude to the doctrine of purgatory, to the practice of praying for the dead. And yet the most rabid of our opponents admit that this custom was universal before the fourth century; some grant that it existed in the second. Mosheim ascribes its origin to Platonism, but Bingham (1) made the discovery that when our ancestors prayed for the dead, they believed them to be already in heaven. Whelock (2) asserts that the Saxons did not believe in purgatory, but he uses only the argument derived from the fact that some homilists say that, after the general judgment, the virtuous will be rewarded, and the wicked everlastingly punished; while all Catholics admit that then purgatory will be no more. Whelock must have missed the following passage, taken from a Saxon sermon on the dedication of a church, and published by himself: "There are also many places of punishment, in which souls

(1) *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, v. 1, p. 758, v. 2, p. 440.

(2) *Preface to the Archaionomia*.

suffer in proportion to their guilt, before the general judgment, and in which some are so far purified, as not to be hurt by the fire of the last day." Among the devotions for the departed, we find the "belt of Lord's prayers," a species of rosary; the anthem, "O Lord, according to Thy great mercy give rest to his soul, and in consideration of Thy infinite goodness, grant that he may enjoy eternal light in company with thy saints;" and finally, the chief devotion of all, the offering of the Sacrifice of the Mass for the departed soul. We are told that the object of all these devotions was simply a thanksgiving to God for the happiness already enjoyed by the dead. But not so thought the bishops of the Synod of Calcuith, when they ordered prayers for themselves, after their deaths, "that by means of a common intercession, they might merit a common eternal kingdom with all the saints" (1).

Immediately upon the death of St. Wilfrid, the abbot Tatbert, of the great monastery at Ripon, ordered a mass to be celebrated, and alms to be given to the poor, for the repose of his soul; on his anniversary, all the abbots, of the many monasteries he had founded, were summoned, and a night was spent in vigil and prayer, while the next morning, a Requiem mass was sung, and a tenth part of all the abbey's cattle was given to the poor (2). Lullus, the successor of St. Boniface in the see of Mentz, received from the king of Kent and the bishop of Rochester, a common letter, saying, "It is our earnest wish to recommend ourselves and our dearest relatives to your piety, that by your prayers we may be protected till we come to that life which knows no end. . . . Let us then agree, that when any one among us enters the path which leads to another life (may it be a life of happiness!), the survivors shall, by their alms and sacrifices, try to help him in his journey. We have sent you the names of our dead relatives, Irmige, Norththry, and Dulicha, virgins dedicated to God, and beg that you will remember them in your prayers and oblations" (3).

(1) WILKINS; *Council of Calcuith*.(2) EDDIUS; *Life of Wlfrid*.(3) *Epistles of St. Boniface*, No. 77.

Invocation of the saints was practiced by the Saxons, and a pre-eminence was given to the Blessed Virgin. Bede tells us a hymn was sung each evening in her honor, and in the old Saxon *Pontificals* we find many of the hymns which are now read in the *Breviary*. Among the many homilies which have come down to us, occur several for the feasts of the Nativity, Annunciation, Purification, and the Assumption of Mary. St. Peter seems to have occupied the next place in the devotion of the Saxons, and many of their first churches were dedicated to God in his honor. Pilgrimages were made to his tomb, and the Saxons were the originators of "Peter's Pence." Sts. Gregory and Augustine, to whom they principally owed their conversion, were venerated as patrons of England; St. Boniface, shortly after his death, was made a third patron (1). But we need not develop this point. Protestants admit the "excessive superstition" of the Saxons in this matter, and generally regard their saints as either fanatics, canonized by ignorance, or profligates, owing their honor to the gifts which they lavished upon the monasteries (2).

The sentiments of the Anglo-Saxon church with regard to the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff now claim our attention. St. Peter is styled by Bede "the prince of the Apostles, the shepherd of all believing nations" (3); Alcuin calls him "the head of the chosen flock" (4); St. Aldhelm attributes to him as a peculiar privilege, "the royal power of binding and loosing" (5). Nor did these Saxon fathers think that St. Peter's power died with him, for Bede declares that the Roman Pontiff "holds the chief Pontificate in the whole world" (6); and Alcuin calls him "the head of all Christian churches" (7). The veneration of the Saxons for the successor of St. Peter is shown by the numerous pilgrimages made to Rome, in spite of all the difficulties of

(1) *Epist. of St. Cuthbert to Lullus, in Epist. Bonif., No. 70.*

(2) Thus Sturges and Rapin. See Lingard's *Antiquities*, c. 9.

(3) B. 2, c. 4. *Homily on Vig. of St. Andrew.*

(4) *Epistle to Abp. Eanbald.*

(5) *Epist. to king Gerontius, in Epist. of Boniface, No. 44.*

(6) B. 2, c. 1. *Homily for Feast of St. Benedict.*

(7) *Epistles to Popes Adrian and Leo.*

travel at that day ; besides crowds of nobles and prelates, the kings Caedwalla, Ina, Offa, Kenred, Siric, Ethelwulph, and Canute, went to Rome to implore the Papal benediction. The Pope's charter was considered of greater importance than that of the king, for the perpetuity of an institution ; hence the numerous Bulls creating or endorsing religious establishments, and threatening their violators with the punishments of Dathan, Abiron, and Judas. Certain modern writers have asserted that the Anglo-Saxon kings exercised a spiritual jurisdiction (1), but the records of the time furnish no proof of such exercise, or even of any claim to it. Wintred, king of Kent (692), says "it is the right of the king to appoint earls, ealdormen, shire-reeves, and doomsmen ; but it is the right of the archbishop to rule and provide for the church of God" (2). Sometimes, indeed, the king is called the Vicar of Christ, but the *Saxon Laus* explain the sense in which the term is applied. "The king ought to be a father to his people, and in watchfulness and care, the vicar of Christ, as he is called." The Anglo-Saxon monarchs claimed no right to establish, extend, or restrict, episcopal jurisdiction ; such pertained to the Papal prerogative. The first ecclesiastical partition of England was made by Pope Gregory the Great, and not by the kings of the Heptarchy, or by the missionaries. When events prevented the execution of the original plan, Pope Vitalian placed all the Saxon bishops under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury ; sixty years afterwards, Gregory III. restored the primacy to York, and very soon, Adrian I. gave the metropolitan jurisdiction to Lichfield, which, though displeasing to the other prelates, was respected until withdrawn by Leo III. The Synod of Cloveshoe (803) says of this contest for precedence, "When the Apostolic Pope understood the injustice which had been done, he at once interposed his authority, and sent orders into England that the honor of the see of St. Augustine should be fully restored." But not only were the powers of the Saxon metropolitans circumscribed by Rome ; their

(1) COKE ; *Reports*, p. 5.(2) WILKINS ; *Councils*.

election had to be confirmed by the Pontiff. The archbishops did not receive the pallium (1), as a rule, until they had presented themselves at Rome, and undergone an examination as to faith, fitness, &c. ; but St. Gregory had dispensed the Saxon primates from the laborious journey, and his immediate successors had continued the exemption. Abuses having crept into the Saxon church, and birth and wealth having sometimes influenced the choice of bishops, the Holy See, in the interests of religion, resolved to enforce the ancient discipline. The Saxon prelates murmured and demurred, but yet they submitted (2). The supremacy of the Roman See over the Saxon church, is also evident from the supervision constantly exercised by the Pontiffs over religious matters in the island. In 680, Pope Agatho summoned Theodore of Canterbury and his suffragans to attend a Roman Synod, called to check Monothelitism, but the British prelates begged to be excused on account of the necessities of their infant churches. The Pontiff granted the request, but demanded a Profession of their faith, appointing as Papal legate to receive it, John, abbot of St. Martin's. The bishops met the legate at Hethfield, and declared their acceptance of the œcumenical Councils, and of the condemnation of Monethelitism by Pope Martin I.; the legate then sent a copy of the Synodical acts to Rome (3). Some of the Canterbury prelates were wanting in activity, if not in piety, and reports reached Pope Zachary of Saxon immorality ; archbishop Cuthbert and his suffragans were therefore threatened with excommunication, if they did not enforce the canons. The Synod of Cloveshoe was convoked, and thirty reformatory canons were issued, affecting the morals of bishops, priests, monks, and laity. The *Acts* of this Synod describe the admonitory epistle of Pope Zachary in language which plainly denotes willing acquiescence in Papal supremacy. "Two letters of the Apostolic

(1) The pallium is a vestment sent by the Pope to archbishops, and until its reception, certain important functions cannot be performed by the said prelates. When the archbishop of Canterbury had received the pallium, he was called a legate of the Holy See. Thus Brithwald, although a Saxon and elected by the clergy of Canterbury, is styled by his own messengers, "archbishop of the church of Canterbury and of all Britain, sent from this Apostolic see." EDDIUS, *Life of Wilfrid*, c. 51.

(2) WILKINS, *Councils*, year 1031.

(3) BEDE ; *B. 4* c. 18.

lord, Pope Zachary, were brought forward, and what he commanded, in his Apostolic authority, was plainly and with great diligence made known, and more clearly interpreted in our own language. For in these writings he familiarly admonished the inhabitants of our race in this island of Britain, and truly accused them, and finally, lovingly exhorted them; those, however, who would contemn all this, and would persist pertinaciously in their malice, he threatened with the certain sentence of anathema" (1). The 25th canon of this Synod is alleged by Henry to have been framed "to guard against the encroachments of the Popes." It reads, "If a bishop is unable to correct and amend anything in his diocese, let him bring it before the archbishop in Synod, to be openly corrected by all." Henry urges that this canon militates against appeals to Rome, but St. Boniface, who originally composed it, adds immediately after it, "for thus, unless I err, all bishops should make known to the metropolitan, and he to the Roman Pontiff, if they cannot correct their flocks, and thus they will be foreign to the loss of their souls" (2). In the reign of Pope Adrian I., the bishops of Ostia and Tudertum were sent as legates (3) to the Saxon church, with a code of laws for its use. They held a Synod in Mercia, and one in Northumbria; they published twenty canons, and exacted from each bishop a solemn promise to enforce them. Carte contends that this legation was merely a renewal of correspondence between the

(1) Henry discovers in the 2nd canon of Cloveshoe "a sufficient proof that the clergy of England were not yet disposed to bend their necks to the intolerable and ignominious yoke of Rome." *Vol. III.*, p. 225. Premising that "probably" the synod was held at the suggestion of St. Boniface, and that its canons were chiefly taken from the synod of Mentz, he says that the Saxon prelates altered the canon on "the unity of the Church"; that while St. Boniface had professed obedience to the Pontiff, the Saxons make no mention of Rome. But the bishops of Cloveshoe expressly state that they assembled because of the command of Pope Zachary; and so far are the thirty canons from being derived from the nine of Mentz, there is scarcely a passage in which they bear resemblance. Finally, there is no canon, either of Mentz or of Cloveshoe, on the "unity of the Church"; there is one, however, on the "unity of peace," applying only to the subscribers, but which Henry has impudently falsified, firstly, by omitting the agreement to live in peace, which restricts the meaning of the canon to the signers, and secondly, by translating *eos* (themselves) "all the clergy in the world." The *Acts* tell us that "The prelates turned to each other with words of mutual exhortation. . . . and they entered into an engagement, that intimate peace and sincere charity should forever dwell among themselves, and that there should be a concord of all in all ecclesiastical rights, in speech, in word, and in judgment, without flattery of any person." There was no reason why the prelates of Cloveshoe should speak of their submission to Rome, but there was every reason for Boniface so doing, as he had been sent among the pagan Germans by the Pontiff.

(2) *Epistle to Cuthbert*, in Wilkins, p. 91.

(3) Hume misses this legation, as well as that of the abbot John, under Pope Agatho, when he says that Ermanfrol of Slon, three centuries afterwards, was the first Papal legate to Britain. *History*, c. 4.

churches of Rome and England, but the letter of the legates to the Pontiff shows that they were invested with authority. "We wrote Capitulars on each matter, and having arranged all things in order, brought them to their notice. With all due humility they received both your admonition and our littleness, and promised to obey in all things" (1).

The history of St. Wilfrid, bishop of York, furnishes an excellent proof of the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff over the early Saxon church, although Carte, and, imitating him, many other Protestant writers, try to evince the contrary. This prelate, owing to the impatient zeal of Theodore of Canterbury, on the one hand, and the wicked enmity of Egfrid and Ermenburga, king and queen of Northumbria, on the other, suddenly found his extensive diocese divided into three, and himself left without subjects (2). His remonstrances being treated with contempt, he took the advice of some of his episcopal friends, and appealed to Rome (3). Had Theodore held the views which some Protestants ascribe to the Saxon church, he would have ridiculed this appeal. But, on the contrary, he endeavored to first get the ear of the Pontiff, and when Wilfrid arrived in Rome (678), he found that Cœnwald, an envoy of Theodore, had already presented his side of the case. Nevertheless, Pope Agatho convened a Synod, composed of the suburban bishops and fifty of the Roman clergy, and listened to the plea of Wilfrid. The result was that Wilfrid was restored to his diocese of York, but he was ordered to choose from among his clergy a certain number of bishops to help him in its government; this decision was coupled with a decree of suspension against any cleric, and of excommunication against any layman, who would presume to oppose it. Wilfrid now returned to England, but Egfrid threw him into prison. It is to be noted that the enemies of the holy bishop did not deny the Papal right to interfere in this case. During the nine months of his confinement, they endeavored, by promises and threats, to make him avow that the presumed decision was a forgery, or at least procured by bribery. For several years Wilfrid was exiled from his diocese,

(1) WILKINS; *Councils*, p. 146.

(2) For details, see Lingard's *Antiquities*, c. 5.

(3) EDDIUS; *Life of Wilfrid*, c. 24.

but finally the primate Theodore repented of his conduct, and wrote intercessory letters for him to the kings of Mercia and Northumbria. Aldfrid, the new ruler of Northumbria, restored him to York, and for five years he administered its ecclesiastical affairs. But new persecutions arrived, and Wilfrid fled into Mercia (1). To settle matters, Brithwald, the successor of Theodore, called a Synod in Northumbria, to which Wilfrid was invited. When asked to abide by the decision of his metropolitan, Wilfrid replied that he would do so, "if that decision be not contrary to the canons, and to the declarations of the Apostolic See." Another appeal to Rome now ensued. Wilfrid conducted his own case before Pope John V., while his opponents were represented by a deputation of monks. Seventy times was the question debated, and after four months' discussion, the Pontiff decided in accordance with a compromise proposed by Wilfrid himself (2). This history of Wilfrid speaks so plainly in favor of the Papal supremacy over the Saxon church, that Carte uses every exertion to misrepresent it. Thus, speaking of the saint's first appeal to Rome, he refers to Eddius, *c.* 24, as proof that "Wilfrid's appeal appeared so new and singular, that it occasioned general laughter, as a thing quite ridiculous." But the fact is that Eddius, *c.* 24, says no such thing; he tells us that "the flatterers of the king expressed their joy in laughter," and adds the reason in the words of Wilfrid, "who laugh because of my condemnation." Carte also asserts that the king would not restore Wilfrid, because he deemed the Pontiff's course derogatory to the rights of the crown. But Eddius, *c.* 33, assigns as the royal pretext, the accusation that the saint had procured the Pope's decision by bribery. Carte quotes Eddius, *c.* 25, as authority for the assertion that the king offered Wilfrid a part of his old diocese, if he would deny the authority of the Pontifical mandate; but Eddius, *c.* 25, says this offer was made on condition that Wilfrid would deny the authenticity of the

(1) Wilfrid had been ordered by the king to surrender the monastery of Ripon, to which he was greatly attached, that it might be made a bishopric for another prelate. His enemies thought that he would refuse to obey, and would hence be ruined. Ripon had been greatly improved by Wilfrid, and its monks, the first Benedictines of the north of England, revered him as a father.

(2) Wilfrid resigned the greater part of his diocese, and secured the possession of his two favorite monasteries of Ripon and Hexham.

mandate. Carte contends, on the authority of Theodore's letter to king Ethelred, that the prelate of Canterbury was reconciled finally with Wilfrid, not because of his respect for the Pope's decision, but on account of his personal veneration for Wilfrid. But in this very letter to Ethelred, Theodore alleges the Papal mandate as the cause of his reconciliation. "Therefore I, the humble bishop Theodore, decrepit with age, suggest this to your Blessedness, because, as you know, Apostolic authority commands it" (1). In dismissing this episode of St. Wilfrid, we would remark that, about the same time, occurred the appeal of Egwin of Worcester to Rome, and with equal success. In fine, the use of appeals to the Holy See was, from this period, established among the Anglo-Saxons, and among the laws collected by archbishop Egbert for the clergy of York, there is a canon which formally declares their legality.

We shall now briefly touch upon a point, which, though merely of discipline, and therefore, if the Church were to so will, subject to change, is seized by many Protestant writers (2), as showing a great difference between the early Saxon church and that of Rome. It is asserted that the Roman Pontiffs enjoined celibacy upon the clergy only in the tenth century; that hence, for nearly five hundred years after their conversion, the Saxon clergy were allowed to marry. We shall treat of the origin of clerical celibacy in a special chapter, but as concerns the Saxon church, we would ask our opponents for some positive proof, however slight, that marriage was ever permitted to the Saxon clergymen. Inett, says Lingard, is the only author who has ventured to corroborate such an assertion by an appeal to contemporary authority, and he refers to the *Penitentiary* of Theodore, "which was published by Petit with so many interpolations that it is impossible to distinguish the original from the spurious matter." In this *Penitentiary*, we read that "it is not permitted to men to have females as nuns, nor to females (to have) men (as monks); nevertheless, let us not destroy

(1) WILKINS; *Ep. Theod.* EDDIUS; c. 42.

(2) Matthew Tindall's translation of Rapin's *History of England*. HUME; *Hist.*, c. 2. BURTON; *Monast. of York*.

the custom of the country (1)." How this passage can be construed as referring to marriage, we do not perceive; but, if we suppose that allusion is made to the double monasteries, those where both sexes were admitted, though with a separation, then the canon has a meaning, viz., the condemnation of such establishments. But the discipline founded by St. Augustine in England, is proved to have been celibitic, by the epistle of Pope St. Gregory the Great to the holy missionary, sent in reply to one asking for advice on many disciplinary points (2). The Pontiff says that "clerics, *who are not in sacred orders*, if they cannot contain themselves, ought to take wives." And the same is forcibly expressed by Ceolfrid, abbot of Weremouth (3), saying that clerics ought to crucify their flesh with its vices and concupiscences they should bind themselves, for the Lord, with tighter chains of chastity." Bede (4) tells us that "without that chastity which restrains one from the appetite for carnal union, no one should enter the priesthood, or be consecrated to the ministry of the altar; that is, unless he is either a virgin, or has dissolved the marital connection." Archbishop Egbert (5) says that "neither priests nor deacons can take wives." In his *Penitentiary*, he declares that "God's priests and deacons, and God's other servants, who should serve in God's temple, and touch the Sacrament and the holy books, should always observe their chastity." In the same work, although as yet Holy Orders had not been made a "diriment" impediment to Matrimony, degradation is pronounced against the priest or deacon who married. And it is also decreed that "if any man in orders, bishop, priest, monk, deacon, had his wife, ere he was ordained, and forsook her for God's sake, and received ordination, and they afterwards return together again through lust, let each fast, according to his order, as is written above with respect to murder" (6). Such was the discipline of the ancient Saxon church, and if, when the invasions of the Danes had nearly destroyed ecclesiastical as well as civil order, many of the clergy were guilty of its violation, the

(1) The parentheses are inserted by us, as necessary to the sense.

(4) *Taber.*, b. 3, c. 2.

(2) *Works*, b. 12, *epist.* 31. BEDE; b. 1, c. 27.

(5) *Extracts*, can. 160.

(3) *Epistle to King Naiton*, in *Bede*, b. 5, b. 21.

(6) That is, for ten or seven years.

Church never approved of their conduct, but, whenever the nature of the times permitted her to attempt the restoration of order, she enforced the celibacy of her servants.

We have as yet only alluded to the British church, which, at the time of St. Augustine's arrival among the Anglo-Saxons of the heptarchy (1), was leading a precarious life in the mountains of Wales. If we may credit the assertions of Gildas, their countryman and contemporary, the British clergy of the sixth century had fearfully fallen from the sanctity of their profession. The dignities of the Church were bought with presents, or seized by force, "and the fortunate candidate was more frequently indebted for his success to the arms of his kindred, than to the justice of his pretensions. Indolence had induced a passion for ebriety and excess; the patrimony of the poor was sacrificed to the acquisition of sensual gratifications; the most solemn oaths were sworn and violated with equal facility; and the son, from the example of his father, readily imbibed a contempt for clerical chastity" (2). This state of affairs was undoubtedly due to the relaxation of discipline, consequent upon the long and fearful wars with the Saxons. To remedy these evils, Pope St. Gregory invested St. Augustine with jurisdiction over the British hierarchy, but it was not easy to enforce a recognition of that jurisdiction. Augustine was a foreigner, and was connected with the hated Saxon; to bend to his authority seemed tantamount to subjecting themselves again to the barbarian. Again, the Roman missionary was of stern and uncompromising morality—no pleasing omen for their soft and enticing sins. However, St. Augustine directed himself to the task. Helped by Ethelbert, king of Kent, recently converted to the faith, he arranged a meeting with the British bishops at the frontier. For an entire day he exhorted, instructed, and threatened, and although a miracle is said to have somewhat touched their obstinacy,

(1) We use the word "heptarchy" in deference to custom, although England was, at that time, an "octarchy." Bernicia and Deira had not yet coalesced in the kingdom of Northumbria.

(2) LINGARD: *Antiquities*, c. 2. The pious indignation of Gildas may have caused him to color his picture very highly, but that it was substantially correct, one is led to believe by the treatment accorded by the Britons to Augustine. Their obstinacy can be accounted for, only in the supposition of their corruption.

Augustine prevailed no further than receiving a promise for another conference. Before the British prelates came to the second meeting, they consulted a certain holy hermit. This individual told them that if, at the interview, Augustine arose and advanced towards them, they might regard him as worthy of attention; but that they should condemn him, if he kept his seat (1). It happened that Augustine did not arise to meet the British bishops, and accordingly, they rejected his demands. These were: that they should conform to the general usage in computing the Paschal time; that they should use the Roman rite in Baptism; and that they should help to convert the Saxons. In his disappointment, Augustine exclaimed, "Know then, that if you will not assist me in pointing out to the Saxons the way of life, they, by the just judgment of God, will prove to you the ministers of death." The prophecy was fulfilled eight years after the death of the saint, when, in 613, the Pagan Edelfrid, king of Northumbria, attacked the British near the city of Chester. Before the onslaught of the Saxons, more than twelve hundred monks from the establishment at Bangor proceeded to the top of a neighboring hill, that they might, Moses-like, pray for God's blessing on the arms of their countrymen. Observing this movement, and divining its object, Edelfrid cried to his followers to attack the unfortunate brethren, "for," said he, "those who pray against us, fight against us." A British detachment under Brocmail, which had been ordered to defend the hill, disgracefully fled, leaving the monks to their fate. Only fifty re-entered their monastery. This melancholy event has been a rich morsel to certain moderns of the reformed persuasion, who, greedily swallowing the assertions of the fabulist Geoffrey of Monmouth (2), ascribe the massacre of the monks of Bangor to the revengeful intrigues of the Roman missionary (3). But Bede expressly declares that the battle of Chester took place, "Augustine having been, a long time before, trans-

(1) BEDE; *b.* 2, *c.* 2.

(2) Geoffrey of Monmouth (1100-1154), bishop of St. Asaph, was author of a *Chronicle of the Britons*, professedly a translation of an older Welsh work, but so filled with legend as to possess little historical value. Geoffrey's prime object was the exaltation of his British ancestors at the expense of their conquerors' reputation; hence the above assertion.

(3) BALE; *Cent.* 13, *c.* 1. PARKER; *p.* 48. GODWIN, *p.* 33.

ferred to the heavenly kingdom ;" and he assigns as a reason of the massacre, the appearance of the monks on the battlefield. Godwin tries to evade this testimony of Bede, by asserting that the passage must be an interpolation, since it is not found in king Alfred's Saxon version of the historian. But it is found in all the Latin MSS., even in that of More(1), written within two years from the death of Bede. Again, Godwin forgets that the version of Alfred is more of a synopsis than a translation, for the royal scholar often omits entire passages, and nearly always abridges the text. In the very place in discussion, he omits the flight of Brocmail, and the date of ordination of Justus and Mellitus.

It has been asserted that the ancient British church had never recognized the supremacy of Rome, and that it refused to receive from St. Augustine the "new dogmas" of saint-worship, purgatory, confession, &c. As for Roman supremacy, Bede, Gildas, and other authors, furnish many proofs of its having been acknowledged by the Britons. It was to Pope Eleutherius that king Lucius (y. 182) applied for the means of instruction for his people. In the year 429, when St. Germain of Auxerre and St. Lupus of Troyes passed into Britain to combat Pelagianism, the former was legate of Pope Cœlestine. According to Gildas, the communion of the Britons with the Roman See had never been broken, which certainly shows that the head of that See was obeyed as the chief pastor of the Church. As for the "new dogmas," Bede informs us that the Britons admitted the orthodoxy of St. Augustine's doctrines, and both he and Gildas declare that, from the time of their conversion to the days of the Roman missionary, their faith had never been corrupted, unless, temporarily, by Arianism and Pelagianism.

(1) LINGARD ; *Antiquities*, c. 2.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE MONOTHELITIC HERESY, AND THE SIXTH GENERAL COUNCIL.

The events of which we are now about to treat are of the utmost interest to the student, for they gave rise to a most important controversy, viz., that regarding the alleged heresy of Pope Honorius. We shall consider this question in a special chapter, but before entering upon it, it is necessary to sketch the nature of the heresy which was its occasion, and to speak of the Council which condemned that heresy. The prime error of the Monothelites was the assertion that in Christ there is but one operation, and one will. They held that human nature was so united to the Word, that, although it was endowed with a mind and the faculties belonging to itself, yet it did not exercise its own action; action in Christ was one, proceeding from the Word as from a principal cause, and from the humanity as from an instrumental cause. This heresy, as Petau remarks (1), was a progeny of Eutychianism, that is, of the defenders of one Nature in Christ. Cyrus, bishop of Alexandria, one of the leaders of the Monothelites, says that Christ "operates with one *theandric* operation those things which belong to God, and those which are human." Macarius, bishop of Antioch, another leader, in a long Profession of Faith read in the Sixth Council, says, "Christ did not perform divine things as God, nor human things as man, but God being made man, showed a certain new *theandric* operation," and he asserted the same of Christ's will. Contrary to this, the Church taught that in Christ there are two natural wills, and two natural operations, undivided, inconvertible, inseparable, and unconfused.

As Alexandre justly observes, the emperor Heraclius (d. 641) acted as accoucheur at the birth of the Monothelitic heresy, first, by his decrees against the Severian heretic,

(1) *Dogmas*, b. 1, c. 20.

Paul of Armenia, to whom Sergius alludes in his epistle to Honorius, read in the 16th *Action* of the Sixth Council; again, when he was deceived by the Jacobite patriarch, Athanasius, into sympathy for the new doctrine. The real parent of the heresy was Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople. Politics too had their share in its propagation, for Heraclius was greatly influenced in its favor by his hatred of Chosroes, the Persian king, who patronized the Nestorians; hence it was that the emperor leaned towards the Eutychians, natural foes of Nestorianism, not that he believed in the doctrine of one Nature, which had been condemned at Chalcedon, but because he did not perceive the equal danger of asserting one operation and will, and he thought that he might thus bring the Monophysites back to the fold. The first sign of the coming heresy was observed when, having talked with the Severian Paul, Heraclius issued an order, styled *Jussio*, against him, prohibiting the assertion of a double operation in Christ. In the year 633, Cyrus of Alexandria held a Synod, ostensibly for the conversion of the Eutychians, and he there issued nine chapters, the seventh of which asserted that, according to St. Dionysius, Christ operated both divine and human things, by *one* theandric operation. He had corrupted the text of his holy predecessor, inserting *one* where Dionysius had said *a new* theandric operation. These chapters Cyrus sent to Sergius, who congratulated him upon them, and asserted the same doctrine, "because every divine and human operation proceeded from one and the same God, the Incarnate Word." At this time, there lived at Alexandria a holy and learned monk named Sophronius, who in vain endeavored to influence Cyrus to abrogate his chapters, but when he had become bishop of Jerusalem, Sophronius held a Synod of the bishops of Palestine, and sent out a Synodical letter in which he plainly asserted the doctrine of two operations. When Sergius received this letter of Sophronius, he devised a means for preserving, yet so as to hide, his error. He sent to Pope Honorius the letter which was afterwards read in the twelfth *Action* of the Sixth Council, and in which he suggested that neither of the words "one" or "two"

should be used in regard to Christ's operations, as they gave so much scandal to the simple, but that it should be said that the one only Son of God operated both divine and human things. Honorius answered Sergius, praising him for trying to avoid the scandal of simple souls, and concluding in these words: "Let your Fraternity teach with us these things, as we with one mind teach with you, exhorting you, that abandoning the new words "one" or "two operations," you teach with orthodox faith and Catholic unity that the one Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, True God in two Natures, operated both divinely and humanly." In another epistle to Sergius, Honorius decreed that, "the lately introduced use of the words 'one or two operations' should be left out in teaching, because it is unsuitable to think or to explain whether the Mediator between God and men, the Lord Jesus Christ, is or was of one or two operations." This letter has caused some to hold that Pope Honorius erred in faith; others have condemned him for allowing silence where silence was culpable. We shall treat the question in the next chapter. Pope Honorius died in October, 638; his successor was Severinus. About the end of the year 638, Sergius composed a decree for Heraclius, called an *Ecthesis* or "Exposition," which was issued in the name of the emperor. In this document the ostensible object is to command all to refrain from using the words "one" or "two operations," but, in parenthesis, as it were, the one will and one operation in Christ are asserted. When the new Pontiff sent, according to custom, his legates to Constantinople, to acquaint the emperor of his election, the Monothelites endeavored to impede his recognition by Heraclius, until he would promise to approve of the Sergico-imperial Exposition. The document was accordingly sent to the Exarch of Ravenna, with orders to obtain the Pontifical assent. That Severinus refused, we learn from Pope Martin I., in the Lateran Synod of 649. We gather the same from the *Diurnal of the Roman Pontiffs*, which contains the Profession of Faith which, before the Sixth Council, a new Pope was obliged to make: "We promise also to observe all the decrees of the Pontiffs of the Apostolic

See, that is, of *Severinus*, of John, of Theodore, and of Martin, against the new questions arisen in the imperial city, professing, according to the movement of the two Natures, so there are two natural operations; and whatever they have condemned, we condemn under anathema" (1). In the year 639, Sergius died, and was succeeded by Pyrrhus, a monk and a steady Monothelite, who immediately approved of the Exposition. At the same time the Holy See received a new Pontiff in the person of John IV. One of his first acts was the condemnation of Monothelitism and of the Exposition, but without mentioning any persons. When Heraclius heard of this condemnation, he wrote to the Pope, protesting that the Exposition was a production of the late Sergius, and that he now renounced all connection with it. In the meantime, Pyrrhus had fled for his life from Constantinople, having been attacked by the enraged populace on account of being suspected of having conspired with the empress Martina against the life of Heraclius and his eldest son Constantine. The new emperor, Constans, put into his place another Monothelite named Paul, who immediately wrote such a specious letter to Pope Theodore, successor to John IV., that the Pontiff congratulated him on his orthodoxy. However, some time afterwards, being hard pressed by the Pope's legate to send an explicit Profession of Faith to Rome, he wrote in such terms as to leave no doubt of his heterodoxy. The fugitive Pyrrhus had spent his exile in Africa, and occupied his time in sowing the seed of Monothelitism; but being defeated in dispute by the Abbot Maximus in full Synod, he acknowledged his error, ascribed it to ignorance, and set out for Rome with the victor. Here he abjured his heresy at the feet of Pope Theodore, as we learn from Theophanes and Anastasius. But he soon relapsed, and showed that he had played the hypocrite to secure the Papal influence in regaining his see. In the meantime, the intruding patriarch Paul, being threatened with excommunication, tried to save his position by suggesting to the emperor Constans an edict, in which silence

(1) From this document, Pagi concludes, and with some reason, that Severinus condemned the Monothelites in a Synod. At that time, the Pontiffs were accustomed to issue their decrees synodically.

was enjoined as to the number of operations and wills in Christ, but in which, to blind the Catholics, certain Monothelitic placards, affixed to the doors of the cathedral, were ordered to be torn down. Silence, he thought, as to the number of operations, would ensure a victory to his heresy. This instrument, which was called a "*Type*," was promulgated in 648, and had the fate of Zeno's *Henoticon*, and almost all imperial theological essays. It pleased neither Catholics nor heretics, and, if it was not condemned by Pope Theodore at the same time that he condemned Pyrrhus, it was certainly branded by Martin I. in 649. That we may at once be disburdened of the two worthies, Pyrrhus and Paul, we will state that both were excommunicated by Pope Theodore; that on the death of Paul(1), Pyrrhus regained the patriarchate of Constantinople by the favor of Constans, and died a Monothelite. Pope Martin I. commenced his reign in 649, and was immediately confronted by Constans with a demand for the approbation of the *Type*. The Pontiff's answer was the call of a Synod of 105 bishops, and the condemnation of Monothelitism and its professors, and that of the Exposition of Heraclius, and the *Type* of Constans himself. The reward of the Pontiff's firmness was the crown of martyrdom. Taken prisoner in Rome, he was first exiled to Naxos, then thrown into a dungeon at Constantinople, and finally transported to the Chersonese, where he succumbed to torture and disease in the year 655.

During the remainder of the reign of Constans, things prospered with the Monothelites, but with the advent of Constantine Pogonatus, came a change. Having beaten back the Saracens, made peace with the Bulgarians, and otherwise ameliorated the temporal condition of the empire, this sovereign, like a true Byzantine monarch, turned his attention to the arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs. But fortunately he was sincerely desirous of unity, and, for once, such meddling was productive of unmitigated good. Inquiring of Theodore of Constantinople and of Macarius of Antioch

(1) While Paul was dying, Pope Martin was being dragged in chains through the street by the public executioner, and was expecting sentence of death. Constans visited Paul, and told him the state of "his enemy." Stricken with remorse, the heresiarch besought the emperor to spare the life "of so good a Pontiff. This fills up the measure of my iniquities." *Epist. of Anastasius to the Westerns.*

what was the real cause of dissension, he was told that certain new words had been introduced, either ignorantly or rashly, into theological terminology, and that the innovation had produced a dangerous schism. Constantine then sent his secretary to Rome, asking Pope Donus to send his legates to Constantinople, and also to forward all books and documents which would be useful in settling the dispute. In the meantime, he called a General Council. The letters of Constantine were received by Pope Agatho, who had succeeded Donus in the Holy See. This Pontiff, in the year 680, sent as legates to the Council the priests Theodore and George, and the deacon John. In the previous year he had caused various Synods to be celebrated in the principal churches of the West, as preparatory to the great Council. The most important of these were held at Rome, at Milan, at Arles, and in England; and in all, Monothelitism was condemned. The Sixth General Council, called Third of Constantinople, was opened on Nov. 7. The number of bishops is not certain, for while Theophanes and Cedrenus make it 289, the last *Action* was subscribed by only 166. During the first eleven *Actions*, and the last, the emperor was present, but only as the Defender of the Faith and a preserver of order (1). That Pogonatus attempted nothing unbecoming a layman, is evident from his own words, thus recorded by Pope Gregory II. (2): "Nor shall I sit with them as an emperor (literally, "as a commander"), nor shall I speak imperiously; but, like one of themselves, I shall execute what the bishops order. Those who speak properly, we shall admit; those who talk badly, we shall expel, and send into exile. If my father should in any way pervert the pure and inviolable faith, I would be the first to anathematize him." His signature to the proceedings of the Council comes after those of the bishops, and whereas each bishop signs: "I, bishop of . . . defining, have subscribed," Pogonatus uses the phrase: "We, Constantine, in Christ God, King and Emperor of the Romans, have read and consented." Because

(1) With regard to the convocation and presidency of the Sixth Council, the reader may apply, *mutatis mutandis*, what we have said, regarding such matters, when treating of previous Councils. See Alexander's *Diss. I.*, in 7th Cent., with Roncaglia's comments.

(2) *Epist. to Leo the Isaurian.*

we sometimes read that the emperors "presided" at Councils, we must not understand that they occupied any other than an honorary position. In the *Actions* of the Seventh Council, we read that the empress Irene "presided."

The following is a summary of the *Actions* of the Sixth Council: In the 1st *Action*, the Papal legates announced the object of the Council to be the refutation of the heresies introduced into the Church by the later patriarchs of Constantinople. Macarius of Antioch replied that the doctrines enumerated were not new, but taken from the fathers and from definitions of the Councils. Codices of the Five General Councils were then introduced and consulted. The first *Action* of Ephesus was read, because Macarius asserted that in it was taught the doctrine of one will in Christ; he was found in error. In the 2nd *Action*, the *Acts* of Chalcedon were read, and Macarius was refuted by Pope St. Leo's *Dogmatic Epistle*. In the 3rd *Action*, when the *Acts* of the Fifth Council were read, a dispute arose as to an epistle of Mennas of Constantinople to Pope Vigilius, in which one will was asserted. The Papal legates declared the letter not authentic, and when a comparison of codices was made, and the different ones found to vary, the document was excluded. Then were read some letters of Vigilius to Justinian and the empress Theodora, and the legates cried out, "God forbid!" "Vigilius never asserted one operation," "This book has been falsified." The fathers then ordered the corrupted passages to be suppressed, although they anathematized the book as presented (1). In the 4th *Action*, was read the *Dogmatic Epistle* of Pope Agatho to the Council, in which the Pontiff declares that "The Apostolic Roman Church has never turned from the way of truth into any path of error whatever," and asserts the Catholic dogma as to the two wills and operations in Christ. In the 5th and 6th *Actions*, the emperor urged Macarius to put forth such testimonies of the

(1) Judging from the controversy agitated in 677, between Theodore of Constantinople and Macarius, and from the Greek codex, it would seem that the legates used an imperfect copy. However, the legates were forced to interfere, because, says Baronio, when the reader came to the anathema against Theodore of Mopsueste, launched because he did not avow one Person in Christ, it was found that a falsifier's hand had added, "and one operation." As for the anathematization of Vigilius' book, see the 14th *Action*.

fathers as he believed to warrant the assertion of only one will in Christ. He did so, but the legates insisted that the quoted passages applied only to the divine will. The 7th *Action* was taken up by the recitation of testimonies of the fathers proving that there were two wills and operations in Christ. The emperor then demanded of the Constantinopolitan and Antiochian patriarchs whether they consented to the definition of Pope Agatho; they requested a copy of the definition, and time for consideration. In the 8th *Action*, arrived the crucial moment for the Monothelites. When George of Constantinople was asked for his final decision, he declared that he accepted the definition of Pope Agatho, and all of his suffragans made the same submission. Then from the episcopal benches arose the acclamation, 'Many years to George, the orthodox patriarch!' The fathers then proceeded to the examination of Macarius of Antioch. After some tergiversation on his part, he was ordered to categorically answer whether he admitted two natural wills and two natural operations in Christ, and he answered that he would not admit them, "even if he were cut limb from limb, and thrown into the sea." Strange to say, he coupled his firmness with an admission that he had corrupted and twisted the sayings of the fathers of the Church, in order to prop up his tottering heresy. When the bishops heard this shameless avowal, they exclaimed, "It does not become the orthodox to mutilate the sayings of the fathers; that is fit for heretics." Finally, from all sides burst forth the cries of "He has shown himself a heretic. Anathema to the new Dioscorus. Evil years to the new Apollinarius. Let him be stripped of the Pallium!" In the 9th *Action*, Macarius was deposed from his patriarchate; the bishops and priests who abjured Monothelitism were forgiven, on condition that they submitted to the Council a sworn Profession of Faith. Most of the following *Actions* are of minor importance, with the exception of those in which occur the anathemas to Pope Honorius, and they will be quoted when we examine the alleged heresy of that Pontiff. The 14th *Action*, however, is worthy of mention. In it were read the books of Mennas to Vigilius, and of Vigilius to Justinian and

Theodora. All the bishops pronounced them suppositions, or corrupted by the Monothelites. Hence they exclaimed, "Anathema to the books which are said to have been sent by Vigilius to Justinian and Theodora, and which have been proven false." In the 17th and 18th *Actions*, was promulgated the Definition of Faith, and anathema pronounced on all who taught one will and one operation in our Lord Jesus Christ.

The assembled prelates sent a Synodical Letter to Pope Agatho, requesting his confirmation of their decrees. "We have manifested with you," they say, "the resplendent light of the orthodox faith; wherefore we pray your paternal Holiness to confirm our action by your honorable rescripts." But news of the death of Pope Agatho and of the election of Leo II. having come to Constantinople, the emperor gave the returning legates letters to the new Pontiff, also asking for the confirmation of the Council. Pope Leo conceded the confirmation, in a letter to Pogonatus, saying: "And because the Holy Synod issued a Definition of the true faith, the same as that reverently held by the Apostolic See of Blessed Peter the Apostle, whose office, although unworthy, we fill; therefore, we, and through us, this venerable Apostolic See, concordantly and unanimously consent to and confirm it, by the authority of Blessed Peter, that its teaching may acquire firmness from the Lord Himself upon the solid Rock, which is Christ. Wherefore, just as we receive and preach the five General Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Constantinople (II.), which all the churches of Christ approve and follow, so we receive with equal veneration, as following in their footsteps, and as their interpreter, the Holy Sixth Council lately held in the imperial city under the pious auspices of your Serenity; and we declare it worthily numbered with them, as congregated by one and the same grace of God; and we decree that those priests of the Church of Christ, who faithfully assembled in it, are to be numbered among the holy fathers and doctors of the Church."

Thirty years after the celebration of the Sixth Council, the emperor Philippicus Bardanes, led by the predictions

of a Monothelite astrologer, undertook to infuse new life into the dying heresy, and during the two years of his reign, the orthodox had much to suffer. But Monothelitism soon ceased to subsist as a separate heresy, its followers incorporating themselves with their cousins, the Eutychians (1).

It has been asserted that the *Acts* of the Sixth Council were vitiated by the Monothelites. If we could receive that opinion, the defence of Pope Honorius, which we shall undertake in the next chapter, would certainly be much simplified, for by far the strongest argument against his orthodoxy is deduced from the anathema pronounced against him, according to these *Acts*, by the fathers of the Council. However, the weight of evidence is in favor of the genuineness of the *Acts* as they have come down to us. It is certain that the *Acts* which we possess are the same that the Papal legates brought from Constantinople, and it is not to be supposed that the Monothelites would have been able to palm off vitiated copies upon the legates. Supposing, which is not at all likely, that the legates would have received the copies destined for the Holy See from the hands of heretics, the error would have surely been discovered upon their arrival at Rome, unless we believe that they were asleep during that important moment when the Council was anathematizing the Monothelites and all who aided them. And it would be something unique in the annals of falsification of codices, which annals are quite extensive, if the Monothelites were so lucky as to see their work alone survive, and the Catholics so unfortunate as to possess not even one codex of the genuine *Acts*. Again, we learn from the letters which Pope Leo II. sent to Constantine Pogonatus, to the Spanish king Ervigius, and to the bishops of Spain, that this Pontiff was fully persuaded that Honorius had been condemned by the Sixth Council. The Seventh General Council manifested the same belief. In the Eighth Council was read an allocution delivered by Pope Adrian II. to a Roman Synod, and in that document the Pontiff affirmed that the Holy See

(1) Mosheim and other more recent writers have contended that when Monothelitism was banished from Constantinople, it found a home among the fastnesses of Mount Lebanon, and seduced the heroic Maronites from the faith of Rome. Mosheim even asserts that St. Maro himself was a Monothelite. For a refutation of Mosheim in this matter, see PALMA: *Lectures*, chap. 70, Cent. 7.

had consented to what was done against Honorius in the Sixth Council. Baronio is convinced that the *Acts* were vitiated, and he names the culprit, the patriarch Theodore of Constantinople. According to the great annalist, Theodore erased his own name from among those of the condemned, and substituted that of Honorius. For, he says, in the Sixth Council all the Monothelite patriarchs were condemned by name ; yet that of Theodore does not occur. We know he was a Monothelite, for Anastasius tells us (1) that Constantine told the fathers of the Council that Theodore had subscribed to the Profession of Faith issued by Macarius. This argument is specious, but it seems to have escaped the observation of Baronio that the Council named the *dead* patriarchs, to condemn the heretical ones, and to put the names of the faithful ones in the diptychs. But it did not name the *living*, unless they had shown themselves pertinacious in heresy, and of this obstinacy there is no proof in the case of Theodore. He was absent from the Council, Constantine having expelled him from his see, and we do not know that he was cited by the fathers. The assertion of Anastasius as to Theodore's subscription to the doctrine of Macarius is corroborated by no other authority, and even if he had signed it, we need not therefore conclude that he should have been condemned by name in the Council. He might not have been obstinate, and might have been awaiting the decision of a General Council. And it is no light argument that such was his case, that he was afterwards restored to his see by the same anti-Monothelite Constantine who had deposed him, and that the restoration was made without his offering a new Profession of Faith. Finally, Theodore could not have interpolated the *Acts* which the legates brought to Rome. The legates left Constantinople a few months after the termination of the Council, and Theodore was not called from exile to his see until the death of the intruder George, which did not occur, according to Theophanes, until three years later.

Before we close this chapter on the Sixth Council, we

(1) *Life of Agatho.*

would say a few words as to a conclusion drawn from its *Acts* by Bossuet (1), in support of the Gallican theory of the supremacy of a General Council over the Roman Pontiff. The Sixth Council formally condemned the Monothelites, although the Popes Martin I. and Agatho had already launched their anathemas against them. But where was the necessity, asks the bishop of Meaux, of a condemnation by the Council, if the decision of the Roman Pontiff was definitive? Again, the Council submitted the *Dogmatic Epistle* of Agatho to an examination; therefore, the fathers claimed the right to judge the Pope. And the very anathema launched against Pope Honorius shows that the Council regarded the Roman Pontiff as subjected to its jurisdiction. To this opinion of Bossuet, we first oppose the epistle of Agatho to Pogonatus, which was read in the 4th *Action*. In it the Pontiff declares that he observes all that was defined by his predecessors and by the General Councils, and that he studies "that of those things which have been regularly defined, nothing shall be diminished, added, or changed, but shall be preserved intact, both in word and meaning." He then speaks of the instructions given to his legates, and says that "they were enjoined not to presume to add or change anything; but to simply narrate the tradition of this Apostolic See, as it has been established by the preceding Apostolic Pontiff." Had the Council regarded itself as superior to the Pope, would it not have resented such instructions? But Agatho goes on to explain why he wishes nothing to be changed or added: "Peter received the spiritual sheep of the Church from the Redeemer of all, with a triple injunction to feed them. By the favor of his protection, this Apostolic Church has never deviated in any way from the path of truth; and the whole Catholic Church of Christ, and the General Councils, have followed his authority in all things, as that of the Prince of all the Apostles." Asserting, therefore, the inerrability of his See, Agatho could not have submitted his definitions to the examination of the Council. We can also adduce the Synodical Epistle sent by Agatho and the Roman Synod to the Council. In

(1) *Defence of the Declaration*, p. 2, b. 12, c. 24.

this letter, after an assertion of the constant freedom from error enjoyed by the Roman See, the Pontiff and synodal fathers say, "This is our perfect science, that with our whole mind we preserve the limits of that Catholic and Apostolic faith which the Apostolic See has always held and delivered you are not to dispute about uncertainties, but to proffer certain and immutable things in a compendious definition We therefore receive as concordant with our Apostolic faith, as co-priests and co-ministers of the same faith, as spiritual brethren and our fellow bishops, all those who sincerely wish to teach what is contained in this Profession of Faith drawn up by our humility. But those who will not acknowledge these things, we look upon as enemies of the Catholic and Apostolic faith, and guilty of perpetual condemnation; and unless they will have corrected themselves, we shall not suffer such to enter the society of our humility." Had the Sixth Council regarded as illegitimate the claims here put forth, it would assuredly have protested against them, but, on the contrary, it acknowledged the supreme authority of Pope Agatho. Writing to the Pontiff, the Council ascribes the crushing of Monothelitism to his epistle, and acknowledges the letter as an emanation from the prince of the Apostles: "We regard as divinely sent from the supreme height of the Apostles, the letter sent by your Blessedness to the most pious emperor, through which we have repressed the lately arisen heretical sect of multifold error." And in its letter to Pope Leo, successor to Agatho, the Council avows its obligation to obey the dictates of St. Peter: "We have looked upon the Prince of the Apostolic chair, Peter, the bishop of the first See, divinely showing to the eyes of our souls the mystery of the whole dispensation For the whole Christ was described in those his sacred letters, which with willing minds we have sincerely received, and as though they were Peter himself, have taken to the embrace of our souls." And in its epistle to the emperor, the Council says of the epistle of Pope Agatho: "The parchment and ink were seen, and through Agatho Peter spoke." As for the examination of Agatho's epistle, which Bossuet contends was made by the Council, the same

reply may be given that we gave to a similar objection in the case of the epistle of St. Leo to the Council of Chalcedon. An inquisitorial and judicial examination is one thing, an investigation for the sake of information is another; the latter, not the former, was undertaken by the Council. As to the condemnation of Monothelitism by the Council, even after the Pontifical definitions, there was no superfluity of action in such a repetition. It was necessary for the Council to manifest the adhesion of the Church to the doctrine taught by the Apostolic See, and that could be done in no better way than by a condemnation of the heresy in question. It was proper also to show the Monothelites, in the most solemn manner possible, that the whole Church was against them. The anathema launched against Pope Honorius does not prove, as Bossuet asserts, that the Pontiff, as such, was subject to the jurisdiction of the Council. For, as we shall show in the next chapter, if Honorius erred, he did so as a private individual. We contend that he did not err at all, and the absurdities which follow from the supposition that a Pope, even as a private individual, can fall into heresy, form a good argument for those who believe in his personal, as well as official, freedom from liability to error in matters of faith. We will now proceed to examine into the alleged heresy of Pope Honorius, and among the errors of Bossuet and his school in this matter, it will be seen that a place must be accorded to the assertion that the Sixth Council regarded, and anathematized, Honorius as a heretic.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE ALLEGED HERESY OF POPE HONORIUS.

Of the few illustrative cases adduced by the opponents of Papal infallibility to support their theory, two stand out in bold relief, for they alone merit any serious attention. Of these, we think that the case of Pope Liberius affords no real

difficulty to the impartial student, but we must admit that the case of Honorius is not so simple. In it, we have to deal with letters in which our opponents discover doctrines manifestly heretical; we hear the clear voice of an Œcumenical Council anathematizing the Pontiff in the same breath that it draws when condemning those whom we willingly abjure. Such a case is not to be hastily treated. It has occupied the best minds of the two schools, into which, before the last General Council, our theologians and historians were divided. Anything new bearing upon it will probably never be discovered; every document has been thoroughly criticized, every argument well ventilated, every prejudice analyzed. To Protestant authors the cause of Honorius has been a mine which needed little delving for the extraction of its treasures. Most attractive was the picture of a Roman Pontiff teaching a doctrine which the veriest tyro in theology knows to be anti-Catholic; yet more entrancing was the scene in which was heard a General Council, confirmed by a Pope, and therefore, to all Catholics, infallible, branding as a "heretic" one of those Heads of the Church generally regarded as themselves infallible. Ultramontanes and Gallicans alike should be overwhelmed by such a fact, and it was well developed. Gallicanism has now passed into the realms of history; the Council of the Vatican has rendered it forever a thing of the past. But, just as no one could be styled a dogmatic theologian, if, though knowing what is the teaching of the Church, he were unable to prove its soundness, so no one will be well versed in the meaning of history, unless he connects his facts with their causes, consequences, and correlatives—unless, in fact, he is able to reason upon them. It is not sufficient, for one who wishes to converse intelligently upon matters of Church history, to know that the Church teaches that no Pope can err in faith; he must be able to prove that no Pope has ever so erred. With the first argument he will convince his own brethren; but it is only with the second, furnished by matter-of-fact history, that, very frequently, he will convince an outsider. For this reason, we enter upon the defence of Pope Honorius.

Of the many Catholic authors who have defended Honorius from the charge of heresy, we may first cite Cardinal Baronio. His theory is that of the vitiation of the *Acts* of the Sixth Council. If that idea were tenable, our case would require no further defence, but, as we have seen in the last chapter, the *Acts* must be accepted as authentic. The eminent annalist then asserts that the Sixth Council declared that it condemned the Monothelites according to the tenor of the sentence of Pope Agatho; we know, however, that Agatho did not proscribe Honorius. Therefore, concludes Baronio, the Synod did not condemn the Pontiff. Unfortunately, this argument must also be excluded, because Agatho only mentioned the originators of the heresy, while the Synod went further, and, to say nothing of Honorius, condemned Macarius, Stephen, and Polychronius. The next argument of Baronio is deduced from the silence of the Papal legates while a Roman Pontiff was being condemned, and it would mean much if adduced against an adversary holding that Honorius was anathematized as a formal heretic, but it has no weight with one who acknowledges that the Pontiff was guilty merely of false prudence and of giving comfort to a budding heresy. Again, these particular legates might have been culpably silent in such an emergency, for while we cannot agree with Alexandre that they were "idiots," yet we know from Agatho's epistle to Pogonatus, read in the fourth *Action* of the Sixth Council, that the Pope excused himself for sending men so little versed in theological lore, pleading as a reason the dearth of science just then prevalent in Italy, owing to the terrible state of political and social matters (1).

The erudite Jesuit Garnier, in his 2nd Dissertation affixed to his edition of the *Diurnal of the Roman Pontiffs*, defends Honorius from the charge of heresy, but contends that he was condemned for "imprudent economy" in the Monothelite matter, inasmuch as he wished for silence as to the number of operations, when the good of religion demanded that the two operations should be openly de-

(1) The Pontiff also says that his legates are not to argue, but to see that Monothelitism, already condemned by Rome, be condemned by the Council.

fended. Speaking of Baronio's theory, Garnier says, "Baronio satisfied few learned men, although he piously brought to bear, upon what he believed the only possible way of defending Honorius, the entire strength of his great genius and learning." A great number of authors lay the principal stress of their defence upon the fact that the epistles of Honorius were private, and not dogmatic. Their views are well expressed in an anonymous work cited by Alexandre (1) entitled *Gaul Vindicated*. "However the case of Honorius may be regarded," says this writer, "it is certain that his error, if any there were, would not injure our cause; for who does not know that the letters of Honorius to Pyrrhus and Sergius, on account of which he is accused of heresy, were private, not public and dogmatic, and that in them Honorius defined nothing, but simply manifested his mind and private opinion? That Popes may err in such epistles, I do not deny, nor does it enter the question; for everything done or said by a Pontiff is not an oracle or above human frailty; only when he acts as Pontiff, or, as the schools put it, when he teaches *ex cathedra*. The letters sent by Honorius to Sergius were private, not addressed to the faithful, nor do they decide anything; for although, by the law of contraries, there should be or not be two wills and two operations in Christ, yet Honorius wishes neither view to be asserted, but only two with their own operations, which surely is not a decision, but a leaving the question unsettled. However, not in every case, nor in every writing, do we proclaim the Pontiff infallible; but only when he acts as Pontiff and teacher of the Church, that is, when he performs some act which pertains to a Pontiff alone, and such is not the writing or answering of letters, for that is permitted to every bishop, and to every private person. For as this privilege of infallibility is meant for the public good of the Church, God wished to assign it to the office, not to the person, and to have it present, only when a Pontifical duty was being performed." The reader will find in Mamachi (2) a list of the authors who have treat-

(1) *Seventh Cent.*, dissert. I., in note 1.

(2) *Origins and Antiquities*, tom. 6.

ed all sides of this question, We shall, however, draw his attention to Orsi (1), to Thomassin (2), to Alexandre (3), and to Palma's *Lectures*. The pious and scholarly Cardinal La Luzerne (4) has presented the Gallican view of the matter in his usual masterly and courteous style, and as that view has been put forth by no one, not even by Bossuet, in so forcible a way, we shall take occasion to notice his objections. The opinion of Alexandre is presented in the propositions that Honorius was condemned in the Sixth Council; that he was justly condemned as an "author of Monothelitism;" that, however, he can be "truly and piously" excused of heresy. If there appears to be a contradiction between the second and third of these propositions, it is to be noted, in justice to Alexandre, that in his treatment of the second proposition, he leans to the theory of Garnier, and does not follow out the idea conveyed by the word "author."

Proceeding now to the defence of Pope Honorius from the charge of heresy, we must first observe that we find it difficult to account for the energy displayed by Gallican writers in this matter. Unlike Protestants, they were in no position of rebellion to Church authority, were actuated by no hatred to the Papacy, and hence were not naturally led to attack Rome for any reason or for no reason. What had they to gain? Their favorite theory of the fallibility of the Roman Pontiff could not be strengthened by proving the heresy of Honorius, for it is certain that the epistles to Sergius and Pyrrhus were private and not dogmatic. Unless they could show that these letters were sent by the Pontiff as dogmatic teaching, intended for the whole Church of Christ, their labor would be vain. That the letters were private, we now proceed to show. And in the first place, the adversaries of Honorius should bear the burden of producing proof in this matter, not we, for when a man in power writes a letter, no more than that of any other person is it presumed to be official, unless it carries with itself the marks of official character. Thus,

(1) *Authority of the Roman Pontiff*, p. 1, b. 1.

(3) *As above*.

(2) *Dissert. 12 on Councils*. (4) *Declaration of the French Clergy in 1682*, p. 3, c. 17.

when an absolute monarch issues an edict, its phraseology will reveal that obedience is demanded; when a constitutional sovereign emits a decree, the paper is countersigned by the minister whose department it concerns. Now, in the letters of Honorius and in the circumstances of their issuance, not only is there an absence of any indication of their being official, but there is positive evidence of their private character (1). He tells Sergius, "that no one should presume to teach one or two operations in Christ, when neither Scriptural nor Apostolic letters, nor a Synodical examination are seen to have determined the matter." Such language could not be used by a Pontiff, if he were teaching whether or not there were two operations. Again, in accordance with the doctrine that it is not by *inspiration*, but by *assistance*, that the Holy Ghost preserves the defining authority in the Church from error, the Roman Pontiffs have always, when defining doctrine, had the previous aid, either of a Synod or of some of the Roman clergy, whose duty it was to thoroughly examine the matter. In this very question of Monothelitism, the Pontiffs who succeeded Honorius (2), viz., John IV., Theodore, Martin, and Agatho, took no action until they had held Synods. That Honorius held no Synod, and took no counsel with his clergy, before writing these letters, is patent from the very disputes as to his meaning which were rampant so shortly after his death; some of his advisers must have been living, if he had used any. And the Sixth Council never speaks of the letters of

(1) In his *Animadversion* on the propositions of Alexandre, Roncaglia asserts, as a proof of the private nature of these letters, that they were unknown in the West up to the time of the Sixth Council, which certainly could not be the case with dogmatic epistles. He says they must be regarded as having been long unknown in Africa, from the fact that the Synods of Carthage, Numidia, and Mauritania, held against the Monothelites, anathematized Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul, but said nothing of Honorius. A denunciation of some kind against Honorius would have been made, as was afterwards done in the Sixth Council, had his epistles been known. As for Europe, he asks how it was that under the Pontificates of Honorius, Severinus, John IV., and Theodore, no Monothelite quoted them as did his brethren in the East. This argument would be a good one, for forty-seven years elapsed between the writing of the letters and the meeting of the Council, if history were in its favor. But it will not hold as to the African churches, for the quoted Synods were held during the Pontificate of John IV. (639-641), and the letters were written in 633. Considering the nature of the times, six or seven years of ignorance as to the existence of the letters would not prove their non-official character. Important communications between the churches were often years on the way. When the African fathers sent their legates to Constantinople to inquire into the Nicene canons cited by Pope Zosimus, they were three years absent. Nor will Roncaglia's argument hold good as to Europe. It is strange that he should have forgotten that Pope John IV. sent a letter to the emperor complaining of Pyrrhus for "scandalizing the entire West," by spreading far and wide the letters of Honorius, and interpreting them in a Monothelite sense. We shall have occasion to notice this letter hereafter.

(2) Severinus reigned only two months.

Honorius as ‘ Synodical,’ while it applies the epithet in the case of all the epistles which were indited after or in a Synod, as those of Sophronius, Sergius, and Macarius. But not only did Honorius send these letters in a thoroughly unofficial manner; in the documents themselves there is nothing to indicate that they were meant for others than Sergius and Pyrrhus. When, however, the Pontiffs send dogmatic epistles, they signify that these are meant for the Universal Church. Finally, we have a most conclusive proof that the letters of Honorius were private, not dogmatic, in the epistle of Pope Agatho to the emperor, which was read in the fourth *Action* of the Sixth Council: “This is the rule of the true faith, which, both in happy and in evil days, this Apostolic Church of Christ, the spiritual mother of your most tranquil empire, has strongly held and defended; that Church which, by the grace of the omnipotent God, is proved to have never wandered from the path of Apostolic tradition, or to have depravely succumbed to heretical innovations according to the divine promise of Christ our Lord, the Saviour, which He made to the Prince of His Apostles. . . . Let your tranquil Clemency therefore reflect that the Lord and Saviour of all, whose faith this is, who promised that the faith of Peter should never fail, ordered him to confirm his brethren; and it is known to all that this has always been confidently done by the predecessors of my Little-ness, the Apostolic Pontiffs, whose footsteps that Little-ness, although unequal to the task, desires to follow, on account of the office conferred upon it by the divine mercy.” Now Pope Agatho was aware of the prejudice subsisting against Honorius in the East, on account of these very letters. Had they been the dogmatic teachings of a successor of that Blessed Peter whose faith could never fail, and not the mere private utterances of an individual, would Agatho have been so shameless as to boast that his predecessors had never failed in confirming their brethren? No—the Pontiff knew, and the Council, which heard and approved this epistle, knew, that whatever the letters of Honorius contained of imprudence, or even, if you will, of heresy, was from the mind of the individual Honorius, and was not the authorita-

tive presentation of a doctrine on the part of the universal teacher. Here then we might conclude the defence of Pope Honorius, for it is plain that the prerogatives of the Holy See are not affected by his letters to the Monothelites. But it is well to ascertain, so far as the light of history will guide us, whether indeed one of the Roman Pontiffs was personally guilty of heresy. The accusations against Honorius are based upon the contents of his letters to Sergius; let us therefore read and examine the documents.

From the first letter, read in the twelfth *Action* of the Sixth Council, our adversaries select the following passages : " We have received the letters of your Fraternity, and by them have learned of the introduction of new disputes as to terms by a certain Sophronius (once a monk, and now, as we hear, made bishop of Jerusalem) against our brother Cyrus, bishop of Alexandria, who teaches to the converts from heresy one operation of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and having examined the copy of the letter sent to the same Sophronius, and seen that your Fraternity has sufficiently, providently, and circumspectly written, we praise the remover of a novelty in speech (1), which might cause scandal to the simple-minded We ought not to wrangle about these ecclesiastical dogmas (2), which neither the Synodal nor canonical authorities seem to have explained, that is, to presume to preach one or two wills in Christ God, when neither Scripture nor Apostolic letters, nor a Synodical examination, held for the purpose, have appeared to decide. That our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son and Word of God, by whom all things were made, is Himself one, operating divine and human things, the sacred writings plainly show. Whether, however, on account of the works of the Humanity and Divinity, one or two operations ought to be proclaimed and understood, these things do not belong to us ; let us leave them to the grammarians, who are accustomed to display to the young their choice derivations of words. We exhort your Fraternity to preach with us, as we do with one mind with you, in orthodox faith and Catholic

(1) "*Novitatem vocabuli.*"

(2) "*Dogmata hæc ecclesiastica retorquere.*"

unity,—avoiding the use of the introduced terms, one or two operations—that there is one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God, most true God in two Natures, operating divinely and humanly.” And in another part of the same epistle, the Pontiff says : “ Whence we acknowledge one will in our Lord Christ, because the Divinity assumed our nature, not our fault ; that nature, certainly, which was created before the sin, not that which was vitiated after the fall. There was not then assumed by the Saviour a vitiated nature, which fought with the law of His mind. For another law in His members, or a different contrary will, was not in the Saviour.” These are the words of Pope Honorius, which, considered together with the action of the Sixth Council in his regard, and the “ weakness of the defence,” caused the learned and sincere Cardinal de la Luzerne, as he himself says, to abandon his early opinion that the Pontiff fell into a simple error of fact, and to range himself with those who charge Honorius with heresy.

It has been contended that this epistle was corrupted by the Monothelites ; that, in the last of the quoted passages, Honorius did not say, “ one will,” but “ a new will.” But Pope John IV., in his *Apology* for Honorius, the Popes Leo II. and Adrian II., and the 6th, 7th, and 8th Councils, accepted the passage as it stands. Nor do we wish to reject it, for there is not a more orthodox passage in the whole patrology. Honorius plainly asserts that as Christ, in becoming man, assumed our nature, as it was before the fall of Adam, He did not incur any of our frailties, and hence had in his soul and members no two contrary and conflicting wills and inclinations, as have those who bear the effects of original sin. But there is no need for us to thus paraphrase the text ; its intended meaning is obvious on the instant that the eye strikes the sentence. But La Luzerne answers that Honorius cannot be understood as speaking of the one will of Christ's Humanity, as it would be absurd to suppose in man two faculties of will. While no theologian has ever been guilty of this absurdity, yet all, from the Apostle down, have ever spoken of the law in the members disputing the empire of the soul with the law in the mind. This, and

nothing else, is the meaning of Honorius: "There was not assumed by the Saviour a vitiated nature, which fought with the law of His mind. For another law in His members, or a different contrary will, was not in the Saviour." As Palma remarks, the sin of Monothelitism consisted in its explanation of the Eutychian mistakes upon the two wills and operations in Christ; for the Eutychian heresy, when developed as to the will and operation of our Lord, inevitably brought out the assertion of one will and one operation. Hence, St. Leo the Great said to his legate Julian, "His flesh was not of another nature than ours, nor in a way different from that of other men did He receive His soul, which excelled, not in diversity of kind, but in sublimity of virtue; for He had nothing contrary in His flesh, nor did a discord of desires generate a strife of wills. His bodily senses flourished without the law of sin, and the truth of His affections, being under the control of the Deity and of His mind, was neither tempted by allurements, nor yielded to attacks." After quoting this, and a similar passage taken from St. Leo's epistle to Flavian, Palma well demands whether, if it was right for St. Leo to thus urge the Eutychians, Honorius could not, in almost the same controversy, speak as he did about the one human will of Christ.

La Luzerne asserts that Pope Honorius, in his epistles to Sergius, talks as though it were a matter of complete indifference whether one or two wills be proclaimed; else, why enjoin silence as to the terms? It is true that the Pontiff advised silence, but it was to be practiced only until competent authority should decide the matter, and to avoid scandal to the simple-minded. He by no means signified that he did not believe it necessary to acknowledge two operations in Christ. On the contrary, he said to Sergius: "We must confess that both Natures are joined in the one Christ by a natural unity, operators and operating in communion with each other; the Divine indeed, operating the things that are of God, and the Human working the things which are of the flesh; not dividedly, or confusedly, or convertibly, teaching that the Nature of God is converted into man, or the Nature of man into that of God, but confessing

the integral differences of the Natures." Can the Catholic doctrine be stated in clearer terms? And before Honorius spoke of the advisability of silence, he told the patriarch that "we ought not to define one or two operations, but instead of 'one operation,' as some say, we ought to truly avow one operator, Christ the Lord in the nature of each; and instead of 'two operations,' removing the term 'two operations,' we ought rather to teach the two Natures, that is, the Divinity and the Humanity, in the One Person of the Only Son of God, each operating its own, inconfusedly, undividedly, and inconvertibly." There is no need of paraphrasing or of explaining these passages. The Catholic doctrine as to the two wills and operations is so plainly stated, that far from helping the cause of the Monothelites, the heresy is completely subverted by them, for, "each operates its own, inconfusedly, undividedly, and inconvertibly," in which phrase there is certainly not only no implication of any *Theandric* operation, but an explicit assertion of two distinct ones.

But although it is plain that the epistles of Honorius are thoroughly orthodox, there remains as evidence against the Pontiff the condemnatory action of the Sixth Council. We have shown in the last chapter that the theory of Baronio as to the vitiation of the *Acts* is untenable. It therefore becomes necessary to reconcile the orthodoxy of Honorius with the clearly denunciatory language used by the Council against him. In the 13th *Action*, the fathers say: "Reconsidering the dogmatic epistles which were written by Sergius, once patriarch of this imperial city, which may God preserve, both to Cyrus, who was then bishop of Phasis, and to Honorius, once Pope of ancient Rome; similarly also the epistle from him, that is, Honorius, written to the same Sergius, and finding them entirely different from the Apostolic teachings, and the definition of the Holy Councils and of all reliable fathers, and following the false doctrines of heretics; we in every way reject them, and execrate them as noxious to the soul. And we have decreed to throw out from the Church of God the names of those whose impious dogmas we execrate, that is, of Sergius, once bishop of this

imperial city, which may God preserve, who undertook to write on this wicked dogma; of Cyrus of Alexandria, of Pyrrhus, of Peter, and of Paul, who died in the bishopric of this city, which may God preserve, and who thought similarly to them; . . . We have also decided to eject, together with these, from the Holy Catholic Church of God, and to anathematize, Honorius, who was Pope of ancient Rome, because we find, from the writings he gave to Sergius, that in all things he held the latter's view, and confirmed the impious dogmas." In the 16th *Action*, the fathers exclaimed, "To the heretic Sergius, anathema; to the heretic Honorius, anathema; to the heretic Theodore of Pharan, anathema." In the 18th *Action*, they cried, "To Nestorius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus, anathema; to Apollinaris and Severus, anathema; to Sergius and Honorius, anathema; . . . to all heretics, anathema; to all who taught, teach, or will teach, one will and one operation in the dispensation of our Lord Jesus Christ, anathema." In the Prosphonic, or Acclamatory Address to the emperor, they say, "We have thrown out of the ecclesiastical limits superfluous novelties of speech, and their inventors, and deservedly anathematize them; that is, Theodore of Pharan, Sergius, Paul, Pyrrhus, and Peter, who held these of Constantinople, and also Cyrus, who was bishop of Alexandria, and with them Honorius, who was bishop of Rome, because he followed them." Finally, in the Synodical epistle to Pope Agatho, the fathers say, "We have afflicted with anathema, according to the sentence already pronounced upon them by your letter, Theodore, bishop of Pharan, Sergius, Honorius, Cyrus, Paul, Pyrrhus, and Peter." The action of the Sixth Council certainly tells strongly against the fair fame of Honorius; the persistent association of his name with those of such noted heresiarchs as Eutyches, Dioscorus, Sergius, and Pyrrhus, assuredly indicates on the part of the fathers of the Council, a feeling of great bitterness towards his memory, while the explicit use of the term, "heretic" in his regard, would appear to settle the question. And nevertheless, this action of the Council does not prove that Honorius was a heretic. The mere application of the term "heretic" does not show that the indi-

vidual designated did not defend the orthodox doctrine. What then did the Sixth Council mean by branding Honorius with such a stigma? For stigma the name of heretic certainly was, and in those days a terrible one. There is no need of conjecture as to the meaning of the fathers; their meaning and object are explained by those who were well acquainted with both. Pope Leo II. confirmed the *Acts* of this Council, after hearing from the Papal legates all that had been done therein, and he tells us that Honorius was condemned for weakness and neglect; in fine, as a favorer or helper of heresy,—a terrible reproach, indeed, for one in his position to receive, but very different from that of formal heresy. In his confirmatory epistle, sent to Constantine Pogonatus, Pope Leo says, “We also anathematize the inventors of the new error, that is, Theodore, bishop of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter, ensnarers, rather than guides, of the church of Constantinople; and also Honorius, who did not illumine this Apostolic Church with the doctrine of Apostolic tradition, but allowed it, while immaculate, to be stained by profane betrayal.” And in his epistle to the bishops of Spain, the same Pontiff says, “Those, however, who contended against the purity of Apostolic doctrine, departing, have indeed been visited with eternal condemnation; that is, Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter, Constantinopolitans; with Honorius who did not extinguish the incipient flame of heretical dogma, as befitted Apostolic authority, but, by neglect, nourished it.”

The conduct of Honorius had greatly helped the cause of the Monothelites. He had conceded to Sergius that which the cunning patriarch foresaw would be most opportune for the dubious fortunes of his party, namely, silence as to the terms “one or two” operations. It was not a question of terminology, but of a truth, for the specification of which those numerals were necessary. The use of those terms was even more to be required than, three hundred years before, had been the use of the word *homoousion* in the matter of Arianism; for in those days, there were many who disliked the word, but held the orthodox doc-

trine, while in the case of the wills of our Lord, if a man rejected the "two," it was patent that he admitted but "one." The imprudence of Honorius is the more remarkable in that he really gained nothing for the cause of quiet, by the concession of silence, since, at the very time he allowed it, he insisted upon the teaching of the true doctrine, couched in terms very nearly as clear to the simplest mind as those that were permitted to be kept in abeyance. He meant well, but he should have remembered the words of Cælestine I. to the French bishops: "I fear lest to be silent as to this matter, may be to connive at it; I fear lest they talk the more, who permit such things to be said. In such matters, silence is suspicious. . . . The cause is properly our own, if we favor error by silence." As he yielded to a false idea of prudence, to what was really a moral cowardice, the fathers of the Sixth Council regarded Honorius as a Pontiff who had neglected his duty, and who therefore became worthy of censure, even of anathema.

The secretary employed by Pope Honorius to draw up the epistles to Sergius was a certain abbot John, and St. Maximus Martyr tells us, in his letter to Marinus and in his dispute with Pyrrhus, that John thus spoke to a mutual friend, the abbot Anastasius, about the Pontiff's words: "We said there was one will in the Lord, not in the Divinity and Humanity, but in the Humanity alone. When Sergius wrote that some were asserting two contrary wills in Christ, we answered that Christ did not have two contrary wills, of the flesh, that is, and the spirit, as we have after the fall, but one only, which naturally affected the Humanity." Cardinal La Luzerne rejects the authority of abbot John, as of one anxious to make his own apology. Such reasoning is not only frivolous, but unworthy of the eminent author. The high-toned and sincere-minded prelate must have been deeply affected by the society of the skeptical courtiers who formed but too large a part of the court-circles of Louis XVIII. and Charles X., when he came to the conclusion that no man can ever be heard in his own defence. The unsupported word of an accused person is of no value

when contradicted by positive evidence ; but when it tallies minutely with the testimony before the tribunal, it is of great account. And the assertion of the Papal secretary is corroborated, as we have seen, by the letters themselves.

No person could have better understood the letters of Honorius than Pope John IV., who was elected six years after they were written. His letter to the Emperor Constantine, son of Heraclius, is so pointed, and so illustrative of our subject, that we shall transcribe a good portion of it : "All the West is scandalously disturbed because our brother, the patriarch Pyrrhus, has sent letters hither and thither, teaching certain new doctrines, outside the rule of faith, and ascribing the same views to Pope Honorius of holy memory, whereas such were entirely foreign to the mind of the Catholic Pontiff. That your Benignity may be acquainted with the whole affair, which occurred only a little while ago, I shall narrate it. The patriarch Sergius, of revered memory, informed the aforesaid Roman Pontiff, of holy memory, that certain persons were teaching two contrary wills in our Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ. The aforesaid Pope learning this, he replied that as our Saviour was one and indivisible (1), so He was conceived and born in a manner wonderfully above that of the entire human race. As to the dispensation of His Incarnation, he also taught that our Redeemer, just as He was perfect God, so He was perfect Man ; and that, being born without sin, He renewed the pristine nobility of the image, which the first man lost by the fall. The Second Adam, therefore, was born, having no sin, either in His birth, or in His conversation with men. For the Word being made Flesh in the similitude of the flesh of sin, assumed all of ours, but took none of the vice of guilt which is derived from the fall. and therefore our Lord Jesus Christ deigned to have one will, natural to His Humanity, according to the original formation of Adam ; not two contrary wills, such as we feel we now have, who are born of the sin of Adam. Whence, knowing that in His birth and life there was no sin, we properly say, and truly avow,

1 The text has *monadicus*.

that there is one will in the holy dispensation of His Humanity; and we do not teach two contrary wills, of mind and of flesh, as rave some heretics, as though He were a mere man. . . . Therefore, my aforesaid predecessor, when teaching the mystery of the Incarnation of Christ, said that there were not in Him, as in us sinners, contrary wills of mind and of flesh. Converting this to their own views, some persons have suspected that he taught one will, of both Divinity and Humanity, which is in every way contrary to the truth." This letter of Pope John IV. goes so straight to the point, that La Luzerne finds but one way of escape, and that is, to throw it out of court altogether. And why? Because it was written by poor abbot John, once more Pontifical secretary. La Luzerne shuts his mind to the plain fact, that the responsibility and authority of a letter accrue not to the scribe, but to the master. Such reasoning as this would preclude the citation of nearly all public documents, for, in all probability, since the origin of written communications, not one per cent. of them has been executed by the hands that signed them. The cardinal also forgets that if abbot John is accountable for the letter of Pope John IV., he should also bear the responsibility of the letters of Honorius.

St. Maximus Martyr (1) in his *Dialogue with Pyrrhus*, furnishes us with the following defence of Honorius. "PYRR. What have you to say about Honorius, who, writing to my predecessor, openly taught one will in our Lord Jesus Christ? MAX. Who shall properly interpret the meaning of that epistle? He who drew it up, at the side of Honorius, and is yet living; among other good things, conspicuous for the pious teachings with which he has illumined the entire West? (2) Or shall we hear the Constantinopolitans, speaking from their hearts? PYRR. He who composed it. MAX. That same person, writing, this time, at the

(1) St. Maximus was one of the most strenuous opponents of Monothellism. His *Dialogue with Pyrrhus* is an account of the dispute which the holy abbot held with the heresiarch, while the latter was in exile in Africa. When exiled by Constant to Byzla, he held a famous conference with the imperial emissaries, Theodosius, bishop of Casarea, and two patrieians; afterwards, he held another before the emperor in the palace at Constantinople. His three disputations have come down to us and are among the most precious records of the time. The Monothellites thrice procured his exile: his right hand was chopped off, his tongue plucked out, and he finally died in his third exile in 657.

(2) Abbot John, whose authority La Luzerne would ignore.

side of Pope John, says to the divine Constantine, then emperor, 'We said there was one will in the Lord, not in the Divinity and Humanity, but in the Humanity alone. For when Sergius had written that some asserted two contrary wills in Christ, we replied that Christ did not have two contrary wills, in the flesh, that is, and in the spirit; but only one, which is naturally an essential note of His Humanity.' That it was thus, is evidently shown by the mention made of flesh and members, which cannot be attributed to the Divinity."

Anastasius the Librarian, in his Preface to John the Deacon, thus vindicates Honorius: "There has come to our hands an *Apology* of the Roman Pontiff, John IV., for Pope Honorius, who was asserted by calumniators to have written that there is but one will in our Lord Jesus Christ. I think that this *Apology* sufficiently excuses him, although the Sixth Council anathematized him as a heretic, and smote him, already judged by God, with the javelin of reprobation; for a man does not become a heretic because he is deceived by error, but when he chooses wrongly, and is contentiously pertinacious therein. But who is there to tell us whether he really wrote that epistle? Although we do not ignore that St. Maximus, in his letter to Marinus, tells us it was written by the most holy abbot John. But granted that he (Honorius) was the dictator, who will interrogate him upon it?"

We will now bring this dissertation to an end. We have seen that there is no heresy in the letters of Pope Honorius; that, even if there were, they are not dogmatic teachings of a Roman Pontiff, addressing the Universal Church, but simply the private utterances of the writer; that, finally, Honorius was not condemned by the Sixth Council for heresy, but for neglect of duty.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE TRULLAN OR "QUINISEXT" SYNOD.

This Synod, many of the canons of which were rejected by the Holy See, and to which the same authority has always refused the stamp of œcumenicity, is regarded by the Greek schismatics as an appendix of the Fifth and Sixth General Councils. Hence its name of "Quinisext." It is also styled "Trullan," from the fact of its having been held in a domical hall of the imperial palace at Constantinople, *troullos* being Lower Greek for *tholos*, a dome. It was convoked by the Emperor Justinian II., and the reason for its celebration is mentioned by its members in their Allocution to the sovereign: "Since the two Holy and Universal Synods (5th and 6th) edited no holy canons—unlike the other four Holy Universal Synods—by which men would be led to abandon an evil and abject manner of life, and to return to a better and higher one, therefore we, assembled by order of your Piety in this ruling and God-revering city, have issued some holy canons." Where, asks Pagi (1) did the Greeks learn that a General Council must necessarily issue disciplinary canons? The date of the Trullan Synod is uncertain. Baronio contends that the year 692 is the right one, and his opinion is received by the erudite and critical Zaccaria (2); Alexandre adduces a plausible argument to show that 688 is the date. As to the presidency of the Synod, the eminent Oratorian assigns it to the Constantinopolitan patriarch Callinicus, and he is followed by Christian Lupus, who holds that the signature of Paul, the successor of Callinicus, which is read in the codices, was substituted for this latter prelate's, he having been regarded as an infamous man. Palma, after Pagi, remarks that this assertion of Lupus is gratuitous, and that, furthermore, it is certain that the patriarch Paul succeeded Callinicus in 686, and reigned until 693. Paul, therefore, as

(1) *Criticisms on Baronio*, y. 692, no. 8. (2) *Polemical History of Holy Celibacy*, c. 9.

the old codices testify, and as Blastres asserts (1), was presiding officer of the Trullan Synod.

Historians have differed as to the question whether or not any Papal legates attended this Synod. There ought to be no doubt in the matter, for it is certain that if any Pontifical legates had been on hand, they would have, by virtue of their office, taken precedence of the patriarch Paul, and presided over the assembly. Yet Balsamon asserts that the Synod was attended, "in the name of the whole Roman Synod," by Basil, metropolitan of Crete, and by the bishop of Ravenna; and furthermore, Balsamon adds that "there were present not only these, but the bishops of Thessalonica, Sardia, Heraclea in Thrace, and Corinth, who were the legates of the Pope" (2). That the learned and generally reliable Balsamon is here mistaken, is proved, firstly, in reference to the prelates of Thessalonica, Sardia, Heraclea, and Corinth, by the fact that the Synodical decrees were not subscribed by them. Where their signatures might have been placed, we read "The place of the Thessalonican (bishop)," &c., which shows that they were absent, and that the decrees, as was customary in such cases, were to be sent to them for subscription. As for Balsamon's assertion that Basil of Crete, who did subscribe, represented "the whole Roman Synod," this representation does not imply any legatine authority, in the proper sense of the term. Basil was at that time Papal *Apocrisiarius*, or ambassador, at the Byzantine court, and as such, represented, in some respects, "the whole Roman Synod," but that office did not qualify him, without a special delegation *ad hoc*, to act as Papal legate at a Council. Constantine Pogonatus, after the 6th Council, had in vain requested Pope Leo II. to give plenipotential powers to the Papal ambassador; Basil, therefore, possessed no legatine authority at the Trullan Synod. Anastasius the Librarian certainly informs us that "the Emperor Justinian having ordered a Council to meet in the imperial city, the legates of the Apostolic See came to it, and being deceived, sub-

(1) *Preface to the Nomocanon of Photius.* (2) *Commentary on the Nomocanon*

scribed." (1) But this passage also may be explained as referring to the nuncio Basil, who, with some other Papal ambassador, attended the Synod. Again, as Pagi observes, this same Basil is styled a legate in his subscription which is read in the 18th *Action* of the 6th Council. At that time also he was Papal *Apocrisiarius* at the Byzantine court, but in the 6th Council, as we learn from the letters of Pope Agatho and of Constantine Pogonatus, he was not joined with the regular legates.

The Greek schismatics entertain a particular esteem for this Trullan Synod, and affect to consider it as a continuation of the 6th Council, so as to be warranted in regarding it as œcumenical. Their reason is to be found in its anti-celibitic and other anti-Roman canons. Some of the canons, however, are most worthy of praise. Thus, the sixth prohibits priests, deacons, and subdeacons, from contracting matrimony after their ordination. The seventh rebukes the arrogance of such deacons as presumed, in certain localities, to take precedence of priests. The eighth commands the annual assembling of provincial Councils. The ninth forbids clerics to keep wine-shops. The fourteenth assigns 30 years as the age at which one may become a priest; 25 for a deacon; 40 for a deaconess. The twentieth suspends a bishop who dares to publicly teach in another diocese than his own. The twenty-sixth suspends a priest who, through ignorance, assists at an illicit marriage. The thirty-second condemns the Armenian custom of not mixing water with the wine to be consecrated. The thirty-third condemns the Armenian system of restricting the priesthood to a certain caste. The forty-second represses the wanderings of hermits, and orders them either to remain in their solitudes or to enter a monastery. The forty-fifth condemns the custom, in vogue in certain convents to this day, of dressing as a bride, and ornamenting with silks, &c., one about to take the veil. The sixty-fifth rebukes the superstition of dancing around bonfires at the time of the new moon. The sixty-eighth orders that copies of the Scriptures or of the works of the Fathers

(1) *Life of Pope Sergius I.*

be never sold to merchants, unless such copies are moth-eaten or otherwise ruined. The sixty-ninth debar all laymen from access to the sanctuary, the emperor alone, when offering gifts, excepted. The seventieth nullifies the marriage of an orthodox person with a heretic; but declares that the union of infidels is not to be dissolved, if the converted party wishes to cohabit as before, and if the infidel consents to cohabit "without injury to the Creator." The seventy-fifth ordains that "inordinate vociferations" be abolished in church-singing. The ninety-first subjects abortionists to the same penalties as homicides. The hundred-and-sixth excommunicates women who excessively dress and adorn their hair. The hundred-and-eighth declares adulterous the marriage of one betrothed to a third party.

Of the 102 Trullan canons, the Holy See rejected the following: The third, which received the eighty-five Apostolic Canons and the Apostolic Constitutions. The thirteenth, which attacked the law of clerical celibacy, and anathematized those who debarred priests and deacons from the society of their wives. The fifty-fifth, which condemned the Western custom of fasting on the Saturdays of Lent. The sixty-seventh, which condemned the eating of blood. The eighty-second, which prohibited the representation of the Saviour in the form of a Lamb.

Justinian II. sent the 102 Trullan canons to Pope Sergius I., begging their confirmation. What followed is best learned from the narrative of Anastasius the Librarian: "The blessed Pontiff would not satisfy the emperor, nor would he receive those volumes, or allow them to be read. He spurned them as of no authority, choosing rather to die, than to consent to error. Then the emperor sent his cruel sword-bearer, Zacchary, with an order to take the Pontiff to the imperial city. But the mercy of God interfering, and the blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, helping, the hearts of the Ravennese and Pentapolitan soldiers were touched, . . . and they would not allow the Pontiff to be removed from Rome. A great number of the soldiers having come together, the frightened Zacchary thought he might be killed, and hence he ordered the city gates to be closed, and trembling, took refuge

in the bed-chamber of the Pope, begging him with tears to be merciful. The Ravennese having entered the city by St. Peter's gate, the populace rushed to the Lateran, anxious to see the Pontiff. They then threatened to break down the doors if they were not opened. In despair Zachary now hid himself under the Pontiff's bed, and fairly lost his senses. But the Pope comforted him, telling him not to fear," &c. Anastasius then relates how Sergius was joyfully acclaimed by the people, and how the wretched minion of the Byzantine sovereign was opprobriously expelled from the Eternal City.

During the Pontificate of John VII. (705-707), Justinian II. again endeavored to procure a confirmation of the Trullan canons. The Pontiff, fearful of offending the emperor, did not openly condemn the obnoxious decrees, but, mindful of his duty, he did not receive them, but contented himself with returning them by the hands of the messengers who had brought them. The Pontificate of Sisinnius was of only twenty days' duration, but during that of his successor, Constantine (708-715), Justinian again pushed his favorite project. As we learn from Anastasius, the Pontiff visited Constantinople, and was most reverently received, but the silence of all Greek authors as to any confirmation of the obnoxious canons is a proof that the emperor did not gain his object. But the affectionate and reverential treatment accorded to Pope Constantine by Justinian seems to show that the Pontiff approved of such of the Trullan decrees as were not averse to the ancient decrees of the Holy See. That this was also according to the mind of Pope John VIII. (872-882), is gathered from Anastasius, in his Preface to the Latin version of the Seventh Council, which he dedicated to that Pontiff: "Your Apostolate discerning. the Church receives only such rules of the Holy Councils as are not contrary to the right faith and to approved customs and which in no way whatever conflict with the decrees of the Roman See. Therefore, those regulations which the Greeks declare to have been issued by the Sixth Council, and those of this Synod (7th), are so received by the chief See, that none of them are to be accepted which

are found to be contrary to the olden canons, to good morals, or to the decrees of the holy Pontiffs of this See."

In fine, the Holy See has never approved of the 3d, 13th, 55th, 67th, and 82d Trullan canons. It must be remembered, also, that the Trullan Synod was a particular and national, not a General Council, and that hence, even though its canons had been approved by Rome, the discipline enforced by them would not therefore necessarily obtain in the Universal Church.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ISLAMISM.

Mohammed was born at Mecca in the year 570, of poor, but respectable parents. Losing them when yet a child, he was brought up by his uncle, a merchant, and with him made many journeys through Syria and other lands. When he was about 25 years old, he married a rich widow named Kadijah, in whose service he had formerly been; and being thus enabled to abandon mercantile pursuits, he turned his energies to the acquirement of power. He had picked up from a Nestorian monk, named Sergius, a limited knowledge of the Mosaic law and of Christian doctrine, and this served him as a basis for his new religion. For fifteen years he retired during the period of a month to a cavern of Mt. Hera, where he pretended to receive revelations from God, through the Angel Gabriel. When he thought that the Arabs were pretty well prepared to listen to him, his wife and Sergius having meanwhile prepared the way by their wonderful stories, he announced that he had been sent to revive the ancient religion of Abraham, of Ishmael, of Jesus, and the prophets. He commenced his propaganda in the year 612, and continued it until his death in 631, leaving already in the profession of the new faith nearly the whole of Arabia. His successors continued his missionary career in the style he had adopted, that is, by fire and sword on the one hand,

and a pandering to human weakness on the other, until nearly all Asia and Africa acknowledged the truth of Islam. Very soon the new doctrine invaded Europe. The Byzantine empire, weakened by corruption, and still more by schism, offered but feeble resistance to the fanatical hordes who overran its fairest provinces. But through the indomitable energy of the Roman Pontiffs, the advancing waves of barbarism were checked by the Crusades, and, in more modern times, the Christian heroism of Poland and Hungary forced the followers of the prophet to abandon all designs on the West.

The doctrines of Mohammed are contained in the Koran, a book which the prophet said he received from the Angel Gabriel (1). According to him, the combined intellects of all the men in the world, aided by all the demons, could not have composed any one of its chapters; it is the greatest and most divine of all miracles. From amid a mass of fables, puerilities, and obscenities, taken, respectively, from the Jewish Talmud, the Apocryphal Gospels, and the Arabic romances of his day, we extract from the Koran the following principal doctrines of Mohammed: There is but one God, the Creator of the universe, the Judge of all men; God has no Son, for He needs nothing; when Jesus wished to be adored as God, He was rebuked by God, and excused Himself, saying, "Thou knowest that I have given to men only Thy commandment, that they should adore only Thee, my God and their own." (*Sura* 13 and 14.) Jesus was the Word of God (*Su.* 2); His Gospel was the Light and Confirmation of the Old Testament (*Su.* 12); He was divinely conceived, and born of Mary, a virgin sister of Moses (2), and at His birth, which took place under a palm tree, Mary

(1) The Koran is best known to English readers through the translation of George Sale whose deistical sympathies caused him to treat, in his preface, the Mohammedan doctrines with very great leniency. The best refutation of the Koran is that of Marracci (*Entire Text of the Koran*; Padua, 1698), professor of Arabic in the Propaganda at Rome, in the seventeenth century. This author makes no assertion that he does not corroborate with a text, and with testimonies from Arabic authors. Volney, in his *Voyage in Syria and Egypt* (made in 1783-85), although himself more than half infidel, says that the insensate teachings of the Koran are the natural cause of all the miseries experienced by the subjects of the Porte. Mohammed tells his followers, in the commencement of the book, that none of its points can admit of doubt, that a terrible punishment awaits all who will not accord it a full and hearty belief. One of the most salient characteristics of the Koran is its silence as to the interior virtues: there is no mention of the love of God and our neighbor, of mortification, of humility, of penitence.

(2) The reader need not be surprised at this anachronism, for the Koran is filled with such errors. Mohammed called himself "the prophet without learning."

fainted through pain, and was restored by eating of the fruit which Jesus, from the womb, called upon the palm to produce; He predicted His own death and resurrection; He was not crucified, God having substituted another in His place (*Su.* 29, 53, 11). The virgin Mary was devoted to God by her mother at the instant of her conception, and was the purest of all creatures; her maternity of Jesus was announced by the angels (*Su.* 29). Solomon received his wisdom from the demons, and was a great magician (*Su.* 1); Abraham received the law from God Himself, and built a temple at Mecca (*Su.* 2); God also gave the law to Moses (*Su.* 42); Ishmael was one of the prophets (*Su.* 11). The dead will arise at the last day (*Su.* 28). Paradise is a place of voluptuous enjoyment, a land watered by most limpid streams, and shaded by beautiful trees; the good who inhabit it are adorned with rings and bracelets, always have plenty to eat, and recline on magnificent couches; the region produces streams of sweet milk, the most generous of wines, and the purest of honey. But above all other joys, the houris are beautiful virgins, never deflowered by either men or devils, and are destined for the solace of the faithful (*Su.* 23, 28, 54, 57, 62, 65) (1). The wicked and unbelievers are to be tortured in everlasting fire (*Su.* 66). There is a Purgatory, and we should pray for the dead (*Su.* 29, 46). All living things came from one soul; men are derived from shade, demons from fire (*Su.* 15, 65) (2). Man is the victim of fate (*Su.* 50, 67). Adam fell, and hence came concupiscence into the world (*Su.* 30). The doctrines of the Koran are not to be disputed, and no proof is to be required of their truth; all questions about this book are to be left till the last day (*Su.* 9). The faithful are encouraged to battle for Islam; Paradise is only for the strong in war; those who fall in battle, are not said to die, but rather live in God (*Su.* 6); those who flee from the combat will be punished by eternal fire; especially against Christians should the true believers war; captives should be killed or

(1) Mohammed assigns a separate paradise to women, and it is remarkable that while he creates the houris for the delectation of men, he assigns no lovers to the gentle sex.

(2) Mohammed contradicts this doctrine in other places, saying that man was formed from the earth, and the demons from nothing.

reduced to slavery (1); the enemy who yields, is to be received into the faith; four out of the twelve months are to be devoted to war (*Su.* 6, 18, 19). Circumcision is commanded, but is not to be effected until the thirteenth year. A man may have several wives, according to his means, providing he is able to keep peace among them; wives may be repudiated or changed; one may not marry his sister, aunt, granddaughter, daughter-in-law, or two sisters (*Su.* 8, 9). An adulteress is to be imprisoned at home until death; a disobedient or sulky wife is to be whipped (*Ibi*). The word of an infidel has no value (*Su.* 6). The use of pork or of blood, and of wine, is prohibited (*Su.* 12, 3, 16). Frequent prayer, with the face turned towards Mecca, is enjoined; before it, if water is at hand, the face, neck, feet and hands, are to be washed; if there is no water, sand is to be used (*Su.* 3, 9). Friday is the special day for worship (*Su.* 72). Mohammed is more severe upon usury than are some Christian moralists (*Su.* 3). Revenge on an enemy is a sacred duty (*Su.* 60, 52). Once at least in his life every believer must make the pilgrimage to Mecca, unless prevented by absolute poverty (*Su.* 19). The religion founded by Mohammed (2), as Mosheim remarks (3) would have been somewhat different, had he met with no resistance in its propagation. The obstinacy of the Arabs in clinging to many of their ancient traditions, and the hope of attracting both Christians and Jews to his ranks, caused the impostor to tolerate much that was otherwise distasteful to him (4).

It is not our province to enter upon a refutation of Mohammed's doctrines, but we may be allowed to draw the reader's attention to the following points: True religion is ordained for the contemplation of truth, and tends to the cultivation of purity of heart and to the leading of a good

(1) To the credit of Mohammed it must be admitted that though he warred for Islam, he showed no love for the use of torture. In this respect his successors were very different from him.

(2) Christians generally style this religion "Mohammedanism." The term is offensive to Moslem ears, and sounds to them very much as "Nazarenism" would to us. A Mussulman designates his faith as *Islam*, an Arabic word signifying "full submission to the will of God." Its formula, as announced by the *muezzin* from the minarets, is "*Allah illah Allah: Mohammed resoul Allah*"—"God is God: Mohammed is His prophet."

(3) *Hist.*, 8th Cent., p. 1, c. 2, § 2.

(4) Le Noir rightly sums up the Mohammedan system as a tyranny of God over creatures, of man over woman, and of the strong over the weak. See his edition of Bergler's *Dictionary* for an excellent essay on this subject.

life ; while the spirit of Islam is of the earth, earthy, and tends merely to the brutal joys of lust and gluttony. True religion does not contradict itself, but the law of Mohammed is contradictory in nearly every one of its points. True religion is zealous for the majesty and dignity of God, while Islam attributes to Him many absurd, puerile and even wicked things. True religion does not use the art of lying as a means of propagation, while the Koran contains innumerable and shameless untruths (1). True religion does not oppose what it recognises as true and divine ; the Koran acknowledges the Gospel as true and divine, and yet opposes it most strenuously. True religion does not assert that God is the author of sin ; while Mohammed, by declaring that God created Satan out of a pestiferous fire (*Su.* 25), makes the demon evil by nature. From the very origin of Islam, there have not been wanting Christian authors to defend the truth against its attacks, but as the system was one which relied more upon the sword than upon argument for success, our writers generally confined themselves to the encouragement of the Christian peoples in resisting its inroads. However, there are many who combated it from a religious point of view. Thus, Pope Pius II. (1458-64) wrote a learned and elegant epistle to the Turkish sultan, Mohammed II. Cardinal Cusa dedicated to the same Pontiff three books entitled *The Koran Sifted*. The Greek Emperor, John Cantacuzene (d. 1400), wrote four *Apologies for Christianity* against the Mohammedans. The Dominican, Richard of Florence, gave an excellent *Confutation of the Law of Mohammed*. Cardinal Torquemada also wrote much on this matter. Among more modern writers, may be mentioned Guadagnolo, of the Minor Clerks ; Malvasia, of the Minors Conventual ; the Jesuits, Gonzalez and Luchesini ; and finally, the most satisfactory of all, Marracci, of the Congregation of the Mother of God. The reader may also consult with profit, Bergier, in his *Dictionary* : as also Cantù, *passim*, in his *Universal History*, and especially, in the *Documents*, art. *Mohammed*.

(1) In *Sura* 13, the Christians are said to adore Mary as a God. In *Su.* 15, Abraham is said to have been an idolater, and converted by studying the stars. In *Su.* 27, Mohammed calls upon God to witness that he was taken from Mecca to Jerusalem, and thence to Heaven, to receive a revelation. In *Su.* 47, he asserts that Christians attribute daughters, as well as a Son, to God.

The most casual reader of the Koran cannot fail to remark the gross ignorance displayed by its author. Geography, history, chronology, physics, and common sense, are equally ignored in his mixture of Talmud, Arabic romance, and Christian orthodoxy and heresy. Mohammed was not unconscious of his defects in matter of science, and he well knew that knowledge would be an enemy of his doctrine. Hence, he forbade his followers the study of letters and of philosophy, and for more than a century, this prohibition was strictly enforced (1); it was in accordance with this idea, that the caliphs burned the extensive library of Alexandria and all others they could reach. This hatred of science, on the part of the Arabian impostor, would seem, of itself, sufficient to preclude any possibility of sympathy from modern incredulists. Yet, so anxious are these gentry to apologize for everything not Christian, that they retort upon us by saying that Christ never made any profane studies, that His Apostles were ignorant, that the great St. Paul was an enemy of philosophy. They forget that Jesus had no need of study; that His Apostles were enlightened by the Holy Ghost, and that they successfully preached their doctrine before the most learned men of their day; that, as yet, infidelity has found no errors in their writings; that St. Paul was not hostile to true learning, but to that false philosophy which destroys the soul of man. It is sickening to be obliged to draw a comparison between Christianity and Islam, but the interests of truth compel us to the task. The opponents of Christianity are fond of asserting that the proofs for the divine origin of both religions are of the same kind; that a Christian cannot point to the wonderful propagation of his faith as indicative of its having come from God, since the spread of Islam was far more rapid, and nearly as extensive. In chap. 4, we have treated of the propagation of Christianity as a proof of its divinity; it is easy to show that rapid success, while it certainly can be predicated of Islam, cannot be adduced in favor of its claims to obedience.

(1) BRUCKER; *History of Philosophy*, v. 3.

We had occasion to remark, in chapter 4th, that in the age of Augustus it was as improbable, humanly speaking, that Christianity should escape destruction, as it was natural, among the Orientals, and at any time, that the law of Mohammed should be adopted by many. The Mohammedan system was conformable to the brutal instincts of depraved nature; therefore, humanly speaking, it ought to have prospered. Christianity, on the contrary, was diametrically opposed to the tendencies and genius of the age that witnessed its birth, and was a pronounced enemy of all that the carnal man held most dear; therefore, humanly speaking, it should have succumbed. To explain the propagation of Christianity, we must recur to the Providence of God; to explain that of Mohammedanism, the forces of nature are at hand, and furnish evident reasons by which to account for it. Christianity, therefore, rightly claims a divine origin, and hence, our obedience; Mohammedanism, however, plainly shows a human origin, and hence cannot demand our allegiance. And how different was the force against which Mohammed contended from that which was hurled against Christianity! In the days of the Arabian impostor, the Roman Empire was already tottering; in those of his successors, its military strength was contemptible. But in the early days of Christianity, Rome was at the zenith of her power, and it was all put forth against the rival of the state religion.

Few men have surpassed Mohammed in matter of luxury; still fewer have so impudently excused their turpitude. Not content with a plurality of wives, he arrogated to himself the right to take those of others; not content with the intercourse of his more mature slaves, he abused those of tender age. And he dared to justify these excesses as being expressly permitted him by God, composing, with that intent, the 33d and 36th chapters of the Koran. Although he prohibited promiscuous fornication to others, he wrote the 66th chapter to show that God allowed it to him. He was greedy, for he claimed for himself the fifth of all booty, and received bribes for judicial decisions; he even declared that God had given him the entire earth as his own. The very followers of Mohammed did not deny that,

he was a hypocrite, perfidious, vindictive, and ambitious; they excused him for all, believing that in everything he was inspired by God (1). And this man is called the peer of Jesus Christ by certain of our infidels. Both were enthusiasts, it is said, both great religionists, both successful reformers, and the system founded by each is human.

The apologists of Mohammedanism admit that the false prophet gave no signs of a divine mission, that he not only performed no miracles, but that he declared he had not come for that purpose. To the people of Mecca, who demanded his divine credentials in the shape of a miracle, he replied that Moses and Jesus had worked them, and yet had converted but few; that miracles do not, of themselves, convince the mind. The followers of Mohammed, indeed, long after his death, attributed many miracles to him, but they are all unworthy of God, and are all unattested by eye-witnesses. Nor do enlightened Mussulmans lay any stress upon these alleged prodigies of the prophet; they cite only the rapid success of their religion as a proof of its divine origin. The miracles of Christ and His Apostles, on the contrary, are adduced by us as evidence of His divine mission; they are attested by eye-witnesses, and are admitted by Pagans as well as Christians; and finally, they are all worthy of God. But there is wanting in Islamism another sign of divine origin, which is possessed by Christianity, in an eminent degree, viz., a sound system of moral teaching. Although prescribing a multitude of external observances, such as purification before prayer, the pilgrimage to Mecca, circumcision, praying five times a day, alms-giving, the fast of the *Ramadan* (2); there is not a word of love of God and of our neighbor, of humility, of gratitude to God, etc. (3). Idolatry alone can exclude the Moslem from eternal happiness. Chastity is of no account, revenge is a duty, perjury is permissible. No law is more sacred to the

(1) MARRACCI, *Preface to Koran*, notes to Su. 66.

(2) During this fast, which lasts twenty-nine days, no one can taste food or drink during daylight. The fast is followed by three days of gluttony called the "Little Bairam."

(3) The angel Gabriel, disguised as a Bedouin, asked Mohammed, "Of what does Islam consist?" The prophet replied, "In professing one God, and me as his prophet; in observing the hours of prayer and the fast of the Ramadan; in alms-giving, and in the accomplishment of the pilgrimage to Mecca." And Gabriel answered, "Such it is."

Islamites than the following: "Fight the infidels until every false religion is annihilated; put them to death, sparing none" (1). Against the "infidel dogs" all injustices are not only permitted, but commanded, and wherever the law of Islam is untempered by fear of the "Frank," it is only by force of gold that the unbeliever can live in the land. And this is the moral code compared, to its advantage, with that of Christ, by certain modern writers. These authors carefully abstain from noting the baneful effects of Islamism. So thoroughly perverted is the imagination of a Mussulman, that he cannot realize the possibility of the least liberty of intercourse between the sexes, without crime as a consequence; hence, the captivity of women under the jailership of eunuchs. Some of our philosophasters make the climate responsible for this corruption. But has the climate changed since the time when Asia and Africa were Christian? In those days, the husband was not so diffident of the virtue of his wife as to keep her under lock and key. And how about Abyssinia, and other Christian communities which are afflicted with the same terribly demoralizing climate? They accord the weaker sex the same liberty that we practise, and with no evil results (2).

Perhaps the principal evil of Islamism, at least, the one which is most felt by Christians living in its midst, and by surrounding nations, is the doctrine of absolute predestination. Believing in remorseless fate, the Islamite does not take the same precautions that the Christian takes to ward off pestilence, famine, &c. The filth of Eastern cities, of most Eastern people in their persons, is too well known to need description. But no fear of plague can cause the Mussulman to forget that "What will be, will be; God is great" (3).

(1) *Koran*, Su. 8, v. 12 and 39; 9, v. 30; 47, v. 4.

(2) In Nubia, females are often nearly naked; sometimes, entirely so. Yet they are eminently modest and retiring.

(3) As we write these pages (1883), the European powers are said to be considering the propriety, or rather the necessity, of some regulation which will obviate the evils attendant upon the pilgrimages to Mecca, always a source of danger to the health of the world, on account of the filthy habits, enjoined by their law on these occasions, upon the devotees.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE PAULICIAN HERESY AND THE VENERATION OF THE CROSS.

About the middle of the seventh century, the Manicheans, who, since the days of Justin, had been severely repressed by the civil power, came to be known as Paulicians. The name was derived from one Paul, who, with his brother John, endeavored to revive the dying error of Manes at Samosata in Armenia. The successor of Paul, one Sylvanus, tried to reconcile his system with the language of Scripture, and always plentifully availed himself of the sacred books when teaching. Many, therefore, were led to believe that the resurrected Manicheism was pure and undiluted Christian doctrine. Schism soon broke the ranks of the Paulicians, and about 810 a bloody war occurred between the two factions of Sergius and Baanes; one Theodatus, however, succeeded in pacifying and uniting them. One of the distinguishing features of these sectarians was their opposition to all veneration of saints and their images, but especially to any veneration of the cross; a feature which won for them the friendship of the Mohammedan hordes, then being hurled over the imperial frontiers—in fact, the Iconoclast heresy of the eighth century was but a logical outcome of the sympathy between the Manicheans and the Islamites. The Paulicians and their descendants never wavered in their belief in the two Principles of Manes. They denied the divine maternity of Mary, but deluded the ignorant and simple by professing their belief in “the most holy Mother of God, into whom entered, and from whom came the Lord;” signifying, in their own minds, the heavenly Jerusalem, into which Christ opened an entrance for man. They denied Transubstantiation. They carried their aversion to any veneration of saints to an extravagant extreme, in the case of St. Peter the Apostle, asserting that his denial of Christ had damned him to hell. They held that it was

right, in time of persecution, to dissimulate one's religion. The morals of the Paulicians, like those of all the Manicheans, were of a description that forbids mention (1).

We take the opportunity furnished by this notice of Paulicianism, to show the antiquity of the Catholic custom of venerating the Cross. Protestant authors insist that there is no vestige of our practice to be found in the records of the first three centuries (2). In the fourth and succeeding centuries the evidence of this veneration is so plain, that no Protestant writer of importance has ventured to impugn it. Were no other proof on hand than the reproach of Julian to the Christians of his day, it alone would suffice to show that, in the fourth century, the Cross was venerated more, perhaps, than it is in the nineteenth. "You adore," said the imperial apostate, "the wood of the Cross, you make a sign of it on the forehead, you cut it on the doors of your houses," and St. Cyril of Alexandria replies: "The Cross reminds us of Christ; we honor it because it reminds us that we should live for Him who died for us all" (3). But let us see whether the first three centuries furnish no proof that the early Christians venerated the Cross. Minutius Felix, towards the end of the second century, composed a Dialogue entitled *Octavius*, in which a Christian, Octavius, and a Pagan, Cæcilius, dispute on religious matters. In the course of the debate, Cæcilius says (chap. 9): "They who insist that the Christian worship consists in the adoration of a man punished for his crimes with death, and in the adoration of the fatal wood of the Cross, attribute to these wicked men altars worthy of them." And in chap. 12, he thus menaces the Christians: "There remain for you now, threats, tortures, crosses or gibbets, not for you to adore, but for you to be fastened upon them." And in chap. 29, Octavius replies: "You are far from the truth when you assert that we worship a criminal and his cross, when you think that we would regard as God a malefactor, or any mortal man. We neither desire nor honor gibbets, but you do make gods out of wood, and do adore,

(1) See CEDRENTUS; *Compendium of Histories*. EUTHYMIUS; *Panoply*, tit. 20.

(2) DAILLÉ; *Worship of the Latins*, Geneva, 1671, b. 5. (3) *Against Julian*, b. 6.

perhaps, crosses as portions of your gods." In this testimony of Minutius Felix, we observe that it was the opinion of the Pagan world of his time that the Christians venerated the Cross. Nor does the Christian apologist repel the charge; he simply denies that his co-religionists worship wood, as his adversary is wont to do. St. Justin, also of the second century, in his *Apology*, I., no. 55, says that the Cross is the most striking sign of the power of Christ, of His empire over the world; he recalls the words of Isaias, saying of the Messiah: "And the government is upon his shoulder," saying that here the Cross is signified. Tertullian writes, about the year 203: "In all our actions, when we enter or go out, when we put on our clothes, when we bathe, when we approach the table, when we go to bed, etc. . . . we sign the Cross upon our foreheads. This practice is not commanded by an express law of Scripture; but tradition teaches it, custom confirms it, and faith observes it" (1). Origen, writing about the year 226, says the same (2), and in another place he asks: "What do the demons fear? At what do they tremble? Without doubt at the Cross of Christ, on which they were defeated, on which their rule and power were overthrown. Fear and trembling come over them, when they behold the sign of the Cross confidently impressed upon us" (3).

Claude of Turin, generally regarded by Protestants as one of their forerunners, used to object against our practice as follows: If every piece of wood, fashioned into a Cross, is to be venerated, because Christ hung upon a cross, then many other things must be venerated, which Catholics pass unnoticed. The Saviour was but six hours on the cross, while he was nine months in the womb of Mary; therefore, all young virgins should be venerated. So with cribs, for Christ lay in one; so with boats, for Christ slept on one; so with asses, for Christ rode on one; so with rocks, for Christ's body was laid in one; so with reeds, for Christ was beaten with them, etc. This argumentation is just about as logical as any adduced by the more modern of our adversaries. In this matter, just as in reference to his other errors the Tur-

(1) *Crown*, c. 4.(2) *On Ezekiel*, c. 9.(3) *Exodus*, Hom. VI.

inese heretic was refuted by his contemporary, Jonas of Orleans (1). The reader will find every phase of this question admirably treated by Alexandre (2).

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE ICONOCLAST HERESY, AND THE SEVENTH GENERAL COUNCIL.

From very early days war was often made upon the devotion of Catholics to holy images. Not only the Jews, but the Marcionites, Manicheans, and Theopaschites, misrepresented the Catholic doctrine on this subject, and endeavored to procure the banishment of all images from Christian temples. But the Iconoclasts (3) of the eighth century were the first to cause serious trouble in the Church because of image-veneration. The war was originated by the Jews of Arabia in the year 723. A certain influential Hebrew named Sarantapechys, addicted to magic, assured the caliph Jezid that he would have a long and happy reign, provided he would banish the images of Christ and His saints from his dominions. A decree to that effect was accordingly issued, and as the Christians refused to obey, it was forcibly executed by Jews and Mohammedans (4). Having succeeded so well in Arabia, the Jews now turned their attention to Constantinople (5), where Leo the Isaurian occupied the throne. This emperor was already, in a manner, bound to the Jews, for while he was yet an obscure soldier, two of their number had prophesied that he would mount the throne, and he had sworn to be counselled by them, if his ambition was gratified (6). When the people were informed of the edict of Leo, order-

(1) *Veneration of Images*, in *Preface* to Book II.

(2) Cent. VII. diss. 7.

(3) This word, meaning "image-breakers," is derived from the Greek words *eikon* (image) and *klazein* (to break).

(4) See the *Relation* of the monk John, vicar of the eastern bishops, read in the 7th Council.

(5) They were greatly aided by Constantine, bishop of Nacolia in Phrygia, whose impetuosity, during the persecution of Jezid, had led his diocesans to expel him, and who, coming to the capital, attained the favor of Leo.

(6) This we learn from the Greek historians, Cedrenus, Zonara and Constantine Manasses.

ing the removal of images from the churches, so fierce a tumult was excited among them, that the emperor thought it prudent to dissimulate. He accordingly declared: "I do not design that the images be altogether removed, but I order them to be placed in a more elevated situation, that they may not be kissed, and thus be treated with disrespect, while they are worthy of honor." St. Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, used all his influence against the imperial innovations, but in vain (1). So great became the fury of the emperor against his Catholic opponents, that, in the year 726, he ordered the burning of the great library of the Imperial College, that he might destroy in its flames twelve of the professors, together with the rector, who would not join the Iconoclasts. By this horrible act were lost to the world 303,000 valuable volumes (2). There had been, for many years, over the Brazen Gate of the city, a statue of our Lord, and Leo ordered it to be removed. The people resisted with arms, and many of the imperial officers were killed; the women threw the agent of Iconoclasm from the ladder, after which they were themselves put to the sword. Executions and confiscations soon became the order of the day.

At this time the Pontifical chair was occupied by Gregory II., and the Isaurian deemed it prudent to request him to convoke a General Council to consider the image question. Among other things in reply, the Pontiff said: "You have asked that a General Council be called; such a thing seems to us to be useless. You are a persecutor of images, a contumelious enemy, and a destroyer; cease, and give us your silence; then the world will enjoy peace, and scandals be no more. Do you not know that this, your attempt against images, is a turbulent, insolent, and arrogant wickedness? While the churches of God are in peace, you fight, and raise hatred and scandal. Stop this, and be quiet; then will there be no need of a Synod." Leo went so far as to conspire against Pope Gregory. He sent emissaries to Rome with orders to destroy the statues of St. Peter, and to carry the Pontiff into exile, but the fidelity and affection of the

(1) *Acts of St. Stephen the Younger*, in works of St. John Damascene.

(2) See the Greek writers just quoted.

Romans frustrated his plans. With reference to this attempt, Gregory wrote: "If you insult us, and conspire against us, there is no need for us to descend to a contest with you. The Roman Pontiff will go out into the Campagna twenty-four *stadia* (1), and you may then come, and strike the winds." Gregory, however, tried to pacify the furious monarch, but he sent his legates into exile, where, as Pope Nicholas I. attests (2), they died. In the year 730, Leo determined to rid himself of the intrepid patriarch Germanus. Deposed from his throne, he was exiled and finally strangled, when nearly a hundred years of age (3). When Pope Gregory was informed of these events, he held a Synod at Rome, condemned the Iconoclasts, and excommunicated the Emperor Leo and the intruding patriarch Anastasius (4). In the year 731, Gregory II. was succeeded by a third Gregory in the See of Peter, and one of his first acts was to send a legate to Constantinople. So furious was the conduct of Leo at his reception, that the unfortunate man dared not deliver the Pontifical letters, and returning to Rome after his fruitless voyage, he owed his escape from degradation by the indignant Gregory to the prayers of the Italian bishops (5). A Synod of ninety-three bishops was held in 732 by Gregory III., in which was promulgated a Synodical Constitution, decreeing: "If any one hereafter, contemning ancient custom and the faithful practice of the Apostolic Church, shall prove himself a deposer and destroyer of, and a profaner and a blasphemer against, holy images, let him be foreign to the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the unity and society of the whole Church" (6). This decree was sent to Leo by the "Defender" Constantine, but the papers were torn up, and the legate imprisoned for a year. Notwithstanding this treatment, another legation was dispatched the following year, and this time the Roman Senate took care to remind

(1) The *stadium* was a distance of 625 feet. (2) *Epistle to the Emperor Michael.*

(3) This holy prelate was said by his contemporaries to possess the gift of prophecy. Once, while entering the imperial presence, his stole was trod upon by the emperor's chaucellor, Anastasius, and his own intruding successor. "Do not hurry," said Germanus, "the circus will wait for you." Fifteen years afterwards, Copronymus had the unworthy man flogged in the circus for treason.

(4) ADRIAN I. ; *Epistle I. to Charlemagne.*

(5) He also promised to prove more courageous on a second trial, but when Leo heard he was on his way, he had him stopped in Sicily.

(6) ANASTASIUS the Librarian, *Life of Gregory III.*

The Byzantine monarch of the necessity of being at peace with Rome, if he hoped to recover the Italian territories which the empire had lost. This embassy also met with insults, and the legates were detained for eight months. From this time until his death in 741, the fury of Leo towards the orthodox knew no bounds, and many martyrs succumbed to it.

With the advent of Constantine Copronymus (1) to the throne, the new heresy gained strength, for this prince forbade his subjects to call Mary the Mother of God, or to give to any martyr or confessor the title of saint. Hence it was that when Artabasdu, his brother-in-law, rebelled against Copronymus, the people gladly acclaimed him emperor (2). During the two years of his reign, Artabasdu restored the images, but in 744, Copronymus regained the throne, and Iconoclasm again triumphed. The Papal throne was at this time filled by St. Zachary, and he, in turn, endeavored to repress the rising heresy. When his legates arrived at Constantinople, the emperor was anxious about an ensuing campaign against the Saracens, and hence he received the embassy with respect, and dismissed it in hope. But when the war had successfully closed, he became more ardent in his hatred of images. He assembled, in 754, a pseudo-synod of 338 bishops, but took care not to invite or consult any of the patriarchs. On the last day of the conventicle, all the prelates went to the Blachernal church of the Virgin, where Copronymus himself ascended the pulpit, and proclaimed as universal patriarch of Constantinople, a certain Constantine, an heretical monk who had been bishop of Silæum in Pamphylia, but who, on account of crime, had been deprived of his see. The emperor and the new patriarch then proceeded to the Forum, and publicly proclaimed the heresy established in the pseudo-synod, and anathematized all the worshipers and defenders of images, especially Germanus of Constantinople, George of

(1) So called because at his baptism, which was performed by immersion, he had defiled the sacred font.

(2) Anastasius, the pseudo-patriarch, greatly inflamed the minds of men against Copronymus, after Artabasdu had succeeded, however, by swearing by the Holy Cross that he had said: "Do not think that Christ, whom Mary bore, was anything more than man; for Mary bore him, just as my mother bore me." This is learned from Cedrenus.

Cyprus, and John Damascene. The Definition of this Pseudo-Synod bears the title: "Definition of the Great, Holy and Universal Seventh Synod," and the legitimate Seventh General Council thus spurns the claim: "How can it be great and universal, when the bishops of the other churches have neither received it, nor agreed with it, but have anathematized it? It did not have the aid of the Roman Pope of the time, nor of the priests who are around him, either by his vicars, or by an Encyclical Epistle, as the Conciliary law requires. Neither was there the consent of the patriarchs of the East, that is, of Alexandria, Antioch, and the Holy City, nor of the co-ministers and high-priests who are with them. And how can it be the Seventh, when it does not agree with the preceding six holy and venerable Synods?" After the dissolution of his false Synod, Copronymus and his patriarch ordered the Blessed Eucharist to be brought forth, and then commanded the people to swear upon it that they would no more venerate images, but would execrate them as idols. The worthy emperor then perorated against the monastic system, for it happened that the monks were almost alone, among the clergy of the capital, in their repugnance to the imperial theology. He ordered that these "idolaters," whose cowl was a "vestment of darkness," should be stoned wherever met (1). Consistent in his monacophobia, he compelled his protege, the new patriarch, who had been a monk, to ascend the pulpit and declare that he threw off the cowl, that now he would wear a nuptial crown, that he would eat meat, that he would listen to sweet music at the imperial table, &c. But the poor man did not long enjoy all these, for having betrayed some of the blasphemies which Copronymus had privately uttered against Christ and His Mother, he was first exposed and flogged in the circus, and then decapitated (2). A Slavonic eunuch named Nicetas was then made patriarch. The rest of the reign of Copronymus was a continual horror. Few of the Pagan emperors equalled him in persecution of the faithful, and many of his prefects were worthy of their master. The prefect of Thrace, having collected all the monks

(1) *Acts of St. Stephen the Younger.*(2) *Theophanes and Cedrenus.*

and nuns in his jurisdiction, ordered them to be brought before him at Ephesus, and said: "Whoever of you desire to obey the emperor and me, let them put on these garments, and this very hour take spouses. All who refuse, shall have their eyes plucked out, and be transported to Cyprus." Many refused, and were martyred. This prefect was not satisfied with confiscating all the furniture of the monasteries and their churches, or with throwing the images and relics of the saints to the flames. All the works of the fathers, upon which he could lay hands, were also burned (1).

In the year 767, Copronymus tried to win over King Pepin of the Franks to his heresy. Wishing also to obtain the restitution of the Exarchate of Ravenna, he offered his son Leo to a daughter of Pepin in marriage, and expressed his willingness to take the Exarchate in lieu of dowry. Lest the difference of religion should prove a bar to the match, he sent into France several of his accommodating bishops, that an examination might be had on the image question, and one also on the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, about which the Greeks were complaining of the Occidentals. With the permission of the Holy See, as we know from an Epistle of Paul I. to Pepin, a Synod was held at Gentilly, near Paris. Eginhard, Ado of Vienne, Reginus, Aimoin, and the *Annals of the Franks* (Bertinian), speak of this meeting, but say nothing of its result. However, from the action of the French prelates in other Synods, we may suppose that the Iconoclast heresy was condemned, and the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son affirmed.

About this time, Cosmas of Alexandria, Theodore of Antioch, and Theodore of Jerusalem, held a Synod, composed of bishops of their patriarchates, from which a Synodical Epistle, condemning Iconoclasm, was sent to the Holy See. The document was delivered to the Anti-Pope, Constantine, whom Desiderius the Lombard had thrust into the Papal Chair. In 769, Pope Stephen III. held a Synod at Rome, in which, having nullified the acts of the Anti-Pope

(1) *Ibi.*

Constantine, the fathers condemned the Pseudo-Synod of Constantinople and its doctrine on images (1). In 775, Constantine Copronymus appeared before his Judge, and was succeeded by his son Leo. This monarch abstained from persecution for a while, but having discovered two sacred images in the possession of the Empress Irene, he renounced her society, and commenced a course similar to that of his father. But he died in 780, leaving the throne to his son Constantine, a boy of ten years, under the regency of Irene. One of Irene's first acts was the granting of permission to venerate images. In the year 784, the new patriarch, Tharasius, sent his Profession of Faith to Pope Adrian I., and begged him to call an Œcumenical Council. The Byzantine sovereigns also made this request, and urged the Pontiff to come himself, if possible, to preside. In 785, Pope Adrian sent a letter to the empress-regent, in which he urged her, if the images could not be everywhere immediately restored, to cause the rejection, at any rate, of the *Acts* of the Pseudo-Seventh Council. He also sent to Constantinople as his legates for the coming Council, Peter, archpriest of St. Peter's, and Peter, abbot of St. Saba's, but owing to the opposition of many of the imperial soldiery, the Council did not meet until the year 787 (2).

The Seventh General Council was held at Nice in Bithynia, and hence is sometimes called the Second Council of Nice. The first session was held on Sept. 24, and after seven sessions at Nice, the eighth and last was celebrated at the capital, for the convenience of the sovereigns, who wished to be present. There were in attendance 350 or 377 bishops. In the First *Action*, after the usual preliminaries, the fathers considered the cases of the bishops who had fallen into

(1) ANASTASIUS; *Life of Stephen III.*

(2) Theophanes and Cedrenus furnish us with an interesting account of an event which induced the Empress Irene to put an end, as far as she could, to Iconoclasm. In 784, Paul, then patriarch of Constantinople, being seriously ill, abdicated, and retired to a monastery. Irene was much grieved, and visiting him, asked the reason of his resignation. Weeping bitterly, Paul replied: "Would that I never sat on the episcopal throne of Constantinople, since this church of God is tyrannically governed, and being separated from the other sees, is devoted to misery and execration!" Much impressed, Irene sent to him several of the chief senators, to whom he said: "Unless you collect a General Council, and correct your errors, there is no salvation for you." They then asked him: "Why then, when you were made patriarch, did you promise, at your ordination, to never worship images?" Paul answered: "That is the cause of my tears: that has impelled me to repentance, begging God that He will not punish me as a Pontiff hitherto mute, and (solely through fear of you) not openly announcing the truth." Having said this, he expired.

heresy, especially of Basil of Ancyra, Theodore of Myra, and Theodore of Amorium, who made a solemn abjuration. In that of Basil, we read the following anathematisms: "To the calumniators of Christians, that is, to the image-breakers, anathema. To those who turn against the venerable images the Scriptural denunciations of idols, anathema. To those who do not salute the holy and venerable images, anathema. To those who compare the holy images with those of the gods, anathema. To those who assert that Christians treat the images as gods, anathema. To those who knowingly communicate with those who dishonor the venerable images, anathema. To those who say that any one else than Christ our Lord delivered us from idols, anathema. To those who spurn the teachings of the holy Fathers, and the Tradition of the Catholic Church, adopting the sayings of Arius, Nestorius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus, that unless we are taught by the Old Testament, we do not follow the doctrine of the Fathers nor the holy Synods, nor the Tradition of the Catholic Church, anathema (1). To those who say that the making of images is a diabolic invention, and not the Tradition of the holy fathers, anathema. To those who dare to assert that the Catholic Church has ever received idols, anathema." After the reading of these anathematisms, Basil and the two Theodores were received into the Council. Several other bishops, who had remained in heresy a long time, were remanded to another session.

In the Second *Action*, after the reading of the letters of Pope Adrian to the sovereigns and to Tharasius of Constantinople, the Papal legates said: "Let the most holy Tharasius, patriarch of the imperial city, tell us whether he consents or not to the Letters of the most holy Adrian, Pope of the elder Rome." Tharasius replied: "When the Apostle wrote to the Romans, approving of their zeal for the faith, he said: 'Your faith is spoken of in the whole world.' One must accept this testimony, and he who tries to resist it, acts unadvisedly. Hence, bishop Adrian of the elder Rome being one of those who merited to be strengthened by the

(1) This anathema was inserted because the Iconoclasts were fond of appealing to Scripture alone.

aforesaid testimony, wrote expressly and truly to our pious sovereigns, and to our Humility, well asserting that he possessed the ancient Tradition of the Catholic Church. And we ourselves, searching the Scriptures, have syllogistically investigated; and what we have already avowed, we do avow and will avow, we consent to and confirm, and we will persevere in the meaning of the Letters which have been read, receiving images, according to the ancient Tradition of our fathers. And these we worship with an affectionate love, as being made in honor of Christ God, and of the inviolate Lady, the holy Mother of God, and of the Holy Angels, and of all the Saints, most clearly placing our faith and service in one only God." The Papal legates then asked the Council whether it received the letters of Adrian, and the fathers answered: "We follow, we receive, we admit." Then each bishop declared that he received the doctrine of respect to images, "according to the Synodical Letters of the most Blessed Adrian, Pope of the elder Rome" (1).

In the Third *Action* were read the invitations to the Council sent by Tharasius to the eastern patriarchs, and their excuses for not attending. These prelates give the following testimony to their belief in the authority of the Holy See: "It is to be carefully born in mind that no one of our bishops was present at the Sixth Holy Synod, because of the tyranny of the barbarians; but no prejudice accrued to the Synod on account of this fact, nor was it prevented from establishing and manifesting the right dogmas of truth; especially since the most Holy and Apostolic Roman Pope agreed with it, and was present through his legates. And now, most holy fathers, with the help of God, the same will happen. For if the faith of that Synod then resounded to the ends of the earth, so will be preached in every place under the sun that of the Synod now assembled, by the grace of God, and your intervention, and that of him who rules the See of the Prince of the Apostles.

(1) After the dissolution of the Synod, the patriarch Tharasius thus wrote to Pope Adrian, concerning the Pontifical Letters: "When we had all sat down, we made Christ our Head. For in the Holy See there was the Holy Gospel, teaching all the holy men who had met, 'Judge just judgments;' judge between the Holy Church and the novelties which have been introduced." And when the letters of your Fraternal Holiness were first read, all were awaiting them as spiritual food in the royal supper which Christ was preparing, through your Letters, for the banqueters."

In the Fourth *Action* were read many passages from the ancient fathers, approving the use of images. Then were read the Epistle of Pope Gregory III. to Germanus of Constantinople, and several letters of Germanus. New anathemas were pronounced on the Iconoclasts, and a Profession of Faith was signed by all the bishops. The Papal legates subscribed first, then Tharasius, then the vicars of the other patriarchs, finally the bishops.

In the Fifth *Action*, it was shown that the Iconoclast errors were derived from the Jews, Saracens, and Manicheans. The Papal legates issued the following decree: "To the most Holy Tharasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, the new Rome: We, Peter, Archpriest of the most holy Church of the Holy and praiseworthy Apostle Peter, and Peter, Priest and Abbot of the Monastery of St. Saba; both holding the place of Adrian, Pope of the elder Rome; do deem it proper, according to the opinion of all of us, yea, according to the ancient tradition of the Catholic Church, as all the holy fathers teach us, that there be brought among us an image to be revered, and that we do salute it And we suggest another Chapter: that all signatures, which have been given against venerable images, be anathematized or given to the flames." The Holy Synod answered: "Let it be brought; let it be so done."

In the Sixth *Action*, the Iconoclast Definition of the Pseudo-Seventh Synod was read, and condemned, chapter by chapter. On their arrival at a passage where it was asserted that only one image should be venerated, namely, that in which the Saviour placed Himself under the appearances of bread and wine, the fathers declared that this form of expression was foreign to the doctrine of the Catholic Church. For, although the fathers have called the bread and wine figures of the Body and Blood of Christ, this saying was meant in regard to them, as they are before the consecration; after the consecration, they are not an image, but really the Body and Blood of the Lord. The faith of the Iconoclasts in the Real Presence was sound, however, as can be shown by the context of the Definition, and by the very reasons they alleged for calling the Eucharist the

only image of Christ (1). The following are the passages which some Protestant authors adduce as showing that the Iconoclasts denied Transubstantiation: "Let those rejoice and exult, and confidently act, who, with sincere souls, make the true image of Christ, and desire and worship it, and offer it for the salvation of body and soul; the one which the most holy Immolator and our God. . . . gave to His ministers as a figure and memorial of His own passion. For when He was about to deliver Himself up to a memorable and life-giving death, He blessed the bread which he had taken, and giving thanks, He broke it, and giving it, said: 'Take and eat ye this, in the remission of sins; this is My Body.' And in like manner, giving the chalice, He said: 'This is My Blood; do this in commemoration of Me.' As though, under heaven, there was no other figure or form He could choose to represent, like an image, His Incarnation." But in these words, the Iconoclasts do not call the Eucharist a *mere* image. They regarded the species of bread and wine as an image of Christ, when visibly and externally considered; but they also believed that the Eucharist was the substance of the Body of Christ, when considered intrinsically and as to its invisible nature; when, that is, it is an object of faith, not of the senses. For, immediately after the quoted words, they say: "As we have said, the Lord Jesus so operated that as He deified the Flesh He assumed, by its very union, with a sanctification as to nature, so He wished the Eucharistic bread, by the advent of the holy Spirit to be sanctified as a true image of His natural Flesh, to be made the Divine Body, by means of the priest, who separating the oblation from the common (kind), causes it to attain sanctification." As the Seventh Council said (2), the Iconoclasts, "dismissing what was false, touched the truth somewhat, when they said: 'to be made the Divine Body.' If it is only the image of the Body, it cannot be the Divine Body." But not only does the context of the objected passage show the faith of the Iconoclasts in the Real Presence; the same is proved by the very reasons they assign for styling the Eucharist an image.

(1) See Alexandre's *Dissert.* IV., Cent. 8.

(2) *Refutation of the Pseudo 7th Synod*, by Epiphanius the Deacon, read to and approved by the 7th Council. *Action* 6.

Alexandre thus describes their ratiocination : “ Every image which represents the Human Nature of Christ, separate from the Deity, favors the heresy of Nestorius, which divides the Natures, and introduces an addition of Person. But every image of Christ represents the Human Nature separate from the Deity, for the uncircumscribed Deity cannot be pictured. Hence it is sacrilegious to make such an image. Besides, they said, an external image, which is a thing subsisting by itself, cannot represent its prototype, unless as also by itself subsisting. But the Human Nature of Christ does not subsist by itself ; it is sustained by the Person of the Word. It therefore cannot be represented, unless by an image of the same condition, that is, which does not subsist in itself, but is sustained by the substance of the Son of God, to which it is personally united. Now the only image of Christ, of this kind, is the Eucharist. No other image therefore must be made or revered. And indeed, in their Definition, the Iconoclast synodals say : “ As that which He took from us is the matter alone of a human substance, perfect throughout, not properly figuring a subsisting person, in order that no addition of person may accrue to the Divinity ; so He ordered to be offered, the image, that is, the principal matter, the substance of bread, not figuring the form of man, lest idolatry might be introduced. And as the Flesh of the Lord, endowed, according to nature, with a mind, is anointed by the Holy Ghost with the Divinity, so the divinely-given image of His Flesh, that is, the Divine Bread, is filled with the Holy Ghost, as also the Chalice, holding the life Blood from His side. This, therefore, is shown to be the true image of the dispensation, which was made in the Flesh of Christ our God, which He, the true Vivifier and Former of nature, gave to us with His own voice.” The reasoning of the Iconoclasts was captious in the extreme, for although the image of a living man does not represent his soul, unless by implication, yet it by no means figures a body separated from its soul. Just so an image of Christ, though it does not, and cannot, figure the uncircumscribed Deity to our senses, yet it does not represent the human nature of our Lord separated from the Divine. That the Iconoclasts held the doctrine of the

Real Presence, is also evident from the absence of any rebuke on this point in the writings of the fathers who took up the pen against them. The faith of the Church at that time, in this matter, was just what it always was, and is to-day. The reader will pardon us, if we are leaving our province, to adduce the following passage of St. John Damascene (1): "How shall this be done unto me, said the Holy Virgin, when I do not know man? The Archangel Gabriel replied: The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee. And do you now also ask how the bread and wine, joined with water, become the Body and Blood of Christ? I answer you: The Holy Ghost comes, and effects that which exceeds the faculty of prayer and the understanding of the mind. Certainly, the Body truly united to the Divinity is that Body which was born of the Holy Virgin; not that the Body descended from heaven, but because the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of God. If you ask how this is done, let it be enough for you to hear that it *is done* by the Holy Ghost, just as, through the Holy Ghost, the Lord made, from the Holy Mother of God, Flesh for Himself and in Himself. Nor is anything plainer to us than that the word of God is true, efficacious, and omnipotent; the manner is such that no reason can penetrate it. But it would not be futile to say that as bread, in food, and wine and water, in drink, are changed into the body and blood of the receiver, and are made into another body, so the bread and wine and water of Proposition are changed, by the invocation and coming of the Holy Ghost, into the Body and Blood of Christ; nor are they two, but one and the same *Nor are the bread and wine a figure of the Body and Blood of Christ, but the very Body itself of the Lord, joined to his Divinity, for the Lord Himself said: 'This is' not a figure of, but, 'My Body'; not a figure of, but, 'My Blood.'*"

In the Seventh *Action* was issued a Definition of Faith receiving and confirming the previous six Œcumenical Councils. It was then decreed that 'the figure of the life-giv-

(1) *Orthodox Faith*, b. 3, c. 14. The Damascene is ranked by the Greeks with Peter Lombard and St. Thomas of Aquin. He died about 760.

ing cross, and the venerable and holy images, both painted and of stone, or of other proper material, should be set up in the churches, and put on the sacred vessels and vestments, on the walls and tables, in houses and along the streets: that is, the image of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of our inviolate Lady, the Holy Mother of God, and of the honorable angels, and of all the saints." It was declared that the souls of the faithful are excited, by the use of images, "to a remembrance of their prototypes, to a desire (to imitate them), and to give them a respectful devotion; not, however, to a true worship (*latría*), which is due to the Divine Nature alone; so that the homage of incense and lights should be extended to them, just as to the precious and life-giving cross and to the holy gospels, and other sacred objects, as was the pious custom of the ancients. For the honor paid to an image is shown to the original."

The Seventh General Council edited twenty-two Canons for the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, which had become somewhat relaxed during the Iconoclast troubles. The 1st Canon confirms the ancient ones, viz., the Apostolic, and those of the six preceding Œcumenical Councils. This Canon was not confirmed by the Holy See, because the Pontiffs always refused to recognize other than a certain number of the so-called Apostolic Canons (1). Again, the See of Rome always rejected the Constantinopolitan Canons, the 28th of Chalcedon, and the Trullan. The 2d Canon decrees that no one can be made a bishop who has not the *Psalter* by memory, and who is not thoroughly versed in the Scriptures. The 3d condemns the choosing of bishops, priests, and deacons by princes. The 4th prohibits bishops from receiving money or any kind of presents from their clergy, "because the children should not gather riches for he parents, but the parents for the children." The 7th Canon ordered that in all churches which had been dedicated, during the Iconoclast troubles, without the usual deposit of sacred relics, a remedy of the defect should at once be supplied; and commanded also that, hereafter, any bishop

(1) The Holy See received the first 50 of these Canons, excepting the 46th and 47th, on the Baptism of Heretics, as was decreed by Stephen III., in Syn. Lat., act. 4, and by Urban II. in Epistle 17, given by Gratian, *Dist.* 32.

who would presume to dedicate a church without the use of relics, should be deposed. The 11th Canon decreed the appointment, in every church and monastery, of a steward or administrator. The 12th Canon deposed any bishop or abbot who would in any way alienate the revenues of ecclesiastical property. The 17th Canon forbade the erection of any church or ecclesiastical edifice, the money for which had not been certainly provided. The other Canons are of minor importance.

In previous chapters we have been obliged to defend the authority of the Roman Pontiffs over General Councils, from the attacks of those who contend that, in several instances, the bishops of the Universal Church, in General Council assembled, have subjected the Dogmatic Epistles of the Popes to a juridical examination. Now, just as in the case of the letters of Cælestine I. to the General Council of Ephesus, and in that of the Letter of Leo the Great to Flavian, read in the Council of Chalcedon, so in the case of the Letters of Adrian I. to the patriarch Tharasius, and to the sovereigns Irene and Constantine, writers of the Gallican school have insisted that the fathers of the Seventh Council submitted them to Synodical scrutiny and judicial criticism, before finally accepting them. As in previous instances, so here we have as opponents the Author of the Defence of the Declaration of the French Clergy in 1682 (1), and the learned Cardinal de

(1) With regard to this *Defence*, generally ascribed to the great Bossuet, the reader will please note the following remarks of the Marquis Maffei (*Literary Observations*, v. 5, p. 4): "Why did he (Bossuet) wait so long, before publishing this book? Why did he not, at least when dying, advise its publication? It would seem, either that he had not yet perfected it, or that he was not so well pleased with it as with his other books. That it has been interpolated by another hand, many suspect, from the fact that it remained hidden for 26 years after his death (and it was written 22 years before he died), being published only in 1730, when an angry faction was trying, by every art, not only to restrict, but to annihilate the Pontifical power. Are we to believe that Bossuet wrote the 12th chapter of this book, where he himself is so praised, and in which his *Exposition of Faith* is so exalted? How can we ascribe certain sentiments of this book to the prelate who, in a discourse to the Assembly of the Clergy in 1682, used this language: 'Let it not be said that the ministry of St. Peter ended with himself; that cannot end, which has to sustain an eternal Church. Peter will always speak in his See, as was declared by 600 bishops in the Council of Chalcedon. The Roman Church, taught by St. Peter, and by his successors, knows no heresy; she is ever a virgin, and the Roman faith is that of the Church.' With these sentiments accords badly the saying that the bishops have the right of judging, in first instance, of questions of faith, and that, when afterwards the matter is brought before the Pope, and he sends his decision straight to the bishops, they can, even without another Council, see whether it is proper, and approve or reject it, as they deem fit. For, if such is the case, if both the first and last sentence belong to the bishops, what remains for the Pope? If his Definition is to be thus treated, his authority is no greater than that of some curate or private doctor, whose opinion might be asked. We cannot understand how such a sentiment could come from an author who, in this very work, teaches that, according to the ancient maxims, serious causes of religion should, from every part of the Catholic world, be taken to Rome, and that every Christian Church owes *obedience* to the Roman Pontiff. In fine, in reference to some passages of this work, we might say what the learned Archbishop of Embrun, M^{onsieur} Tencin (afterwards Cardinal), said in regard to another: 'The

la Luzerne. We have seen that in the 2d *Action* of the Seventh Council, the Papal legates demanded of the patriarch Tharasius whether he accepted the letters of Pope Adrian. From the answer of the patriarch, our opponents gather that he assented to the doctrine taught in those letters, not because of the authority of the writer, but simply because of the respect due to the utterances of a Church which had been so highly praised by St. Paul. The legates then asked of the fathers of the Council, "whether, *or not*, they accepted the Letters" of Adrian. In the phrase, "*or not*," says La Luzerne, lies the proof that the decree of the Pontiff was not regarded as irreformable. In reference to the mind of Tharasius when he answered the legates, his own words to Pope Adrian show that he respected, in the person of the Pontiff, the teaching authority of the Church. "When we had all sat down," he says, "we made Christ our head. For in the Holy See there was the Holy Gospel, teaching all the holy men who had met: 'Judge just judgments;' judge between the holy Church and the novelties which have been introduced. And when the Letters of your Fraternal Holiness were first read, all were awaiting them as spiritual food in the royal supper which Christ was preparing, through your Letters, for the banqueters, and in which, like an eye, you manifested the whole body of rectitude and the way of truth. Thus therefore the separated members were joined together, thus true constancy was confirmed, thus the Catholic Church acquired unity." Tharasius furnishes, in his reply to the legates, no argument for our adversaries, unless they are willing to admit that he thought he was free to differ from a Definition of Faith made by a General Council. For, just as he said he had syllogistically examined into the agreement of the Pontiff's Letter with the Scriptures and the teachings of the Fathers, so, although anathema had been pronounced against the Iconoclasts in the 2d *Action*, nevertheless, in the 4th, Tharasius persuaded the bishops to adduce in favor of their teaching the passages of Scripture

posthumous works of Monsig. Bossuet can never have the authority of those published by himself. The posthumous ones appear to have been written in order to make the author contradict himself; so much so, that if Bossuet is the author, we may believe, either that he did not deem them worthy of the light, or that he did not revise them with that care, which made his pen formidable to heretics."

and sayings of the fathers which militated against the errors already condemned. This he did, not that the condemnation needed any corroboration, but, as he explained, "that by drawing from them (the Scriptures and Tradition), we may each give drink to the flocks committed to our care. Thus our voice will go into every land, and the strength of our words to the ends of the earth." We may also observe with Palma (1), that our adversaries should show that the bishops of the Seventh Council juridically examined the Letters of Adrian before they accepted them: "And even though we grant, which cannot be concluded from the words of Tharasius, that he only assented to the Letters of Adrian because the never-failing faith of Christ is in the succession of the Roman Pontiffs, and not because the definitions of each Pope, in matters of faith and morals, are infallible; yet the testimony of Tharasius would not show that the Council really examined the letters of Adrian."

In further illustration of our position, we would notice the Letters written by Pope Adrian before the Council, which certainly show that he regarded Iconoclasm as already condemned by himself, and that he wished the Council merely to carry his sentence into execution. We shall then look into the action of the bishops on the matter. In his first Epistle to the sovereigns, the Pontiff says of St. Peter: "He then, who was so pre-eminently honored, was worthy to confess the faith upon which is founded the Church of Christ. The blessing of reward followed the blessing of the confession, the preaching of which illuminated the Holy Universal Church For the very Prince of the Apostles, Blessed Peter, who first sat in the Apostolic See, left the principality of the Apostolate and of pastoral care to his successors, who are ever to sit in that Most Holy See; and to them he left, by divine command, the power of authority, just as it had been given to him by the Lord God our Saviour. According to the Tradition handed down by them, we ought to venerate the sacred image of Christ, that of His most holy Mother, and those of the Apostles and of all the saints I demand, and

(1) *Lectures*, c. 75.

I adjure you, that you order the same sacred images to be restored as of old in your imperial and God-preserved city, and throughout all the Greek dominions : observing the Tradition of this our most holy Roman Church, rejecting and spurning the wiles of the heretical and the impious, that you may be received in the embraces of this our Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, and irreprehensible Roman Church." It is evident then that the Pontiff ordered the restoration of all the images before the holding of the Council ; he styles as heretics those who refuse to obey ; which certainly does not indicate, on his part, a willingness to subject his Letters to a Synodical examination. And he finally commands that the Pseudo-Seventh Council shall be immediately condemned, in the presence of his legates. In his Epistle to the patriarch Tharasius, Pope Adrian explicitly declares that if his commands are not obeyed, the patriarch will be deprived of his throne. Here therefore is another instance, to be joined with those we have, on other occasions, adduced, of a Roman Pontiff prescribing what shall be done in an Œcumenical Council, and of his regarding as irreformable that which he has already decreed in the premises. And how did the Seventh Council receive these Pontifical injunctions ? By obeying them, and without any previous inquisition into their authoritativeness or their orthodoxy. In the very first *Action*, it was ordered that the Iconoclast bishops should be received by the Council only as heretics, or as persons abjuring heresy, and they were commanded to proffer certain anathematisms against their former errors and against the Pseudo-Council. This is shown by the *Confession of Faith* of Basil of Ancyra, read in the 1st *Action* : " I reject, and with my whole heart anathematize the Synod called the Seventh, which was convoked in obstinacy and in madness." And shortly after, he declared : " Anathema to the calumniators of Christians, that is, to the image-breakers." And in the *Confession* of Theodore of Ammorium, was pronounced : " Anathema to those who do not revere the venerable images anathema to all who hesitate, and do not heartily declare that they venerate the holy images." It is evident therefore that the Fathers of the Seventh Council, not only did not think that

the Letters of Pope Adrian were to be juridically examined, but that they regarded it as their first duty to obey his orders, and to receive his doctrine.

At the conclusion of the Seventh General Council, the Holy See received a copy of its *Acts*, and a letter from the sovereigns Irene and Constantine, requesting their confirmation. Pope Adrian ordered the *Acts* to be translated into Latin, and to be deposited in the Pontifical Archives, but postponed the confirmation to a later date. His wish was to send a copy of the Latin version of these *Acts* to the French churches, that they might receive the attention of the many learned men who graced the court of Charlemagne. This laudable design of the Pontiff was the occasion of considerable trouble, and has given rise to a dispute as to the opinions of the French and German bishops of that day, in regard to the veneration of images. It happened that the party to whom had been committed the task of translating the *Acts* of the Seventh Council, so misrepresented the teachings of the members of that Synod, that, upon reading his version, the French bishops were led to believe that they were called upon to give to images an excessive, and even idolatrous, devotion. Hence it was that, about the year 790, there was issued a work, under the name of Charlemagne, which severely attacked the Seventh Council. This work, being composed of four books, and purporting to be by Charlemagne, is known by the name of the *Caroline Books*. In consequence, also, of this false idea of the meaning of the Seventh Council, its decree on image-veneration was condemned by a Synod of French and German bishops, held at Frankfort in 794. Protestant writers have seized upon the *Caroline Books* and the decrees of the Synod of Frankfort, as evidence of the Iconoclast belief of the French and German churches in the eighth century. Some Catholic authors, on the contrary, have ascribed the *Caroline Books* to a heretic of the time of Charlemagne, while others, also Catholic, have thought the author to have been a heretic of the 16th century (1). It can be shown,

(1) Alexandre, in his *Diss.* 6, Cent. 8, proves, against Surius and Bellarmine, that these *Books* were written either by Charlemagne, or by his order. He argues, firstly, from the *Preface*, where the author speaks of "his father, king Pepin." Secondly, from a Synod of

however, that the author of the *Caroline Books* was no Iconoclast; that he rejected the Seventh Council's decree because he falsely, or rather, mistakenly, supposed that the worship of *Latria*, due to God alone, had been authorized, by that Synod, as appropriate to images. The reader must know that Charlemagne and his compatriots were, about that time, so disposed in mind towards the Byzantine court, as to be ready to believe that its fickleness and levity were capable of any extravagance. During the early days of her regency, the Empress Irene had asked of Charlemagne the hand of his daughter Rotrude for her son Constantine; the offer had been accepted, and oaths of fidelity interchanged. But in 788, Irene changed her mind, and compelled Constantine, then in his eighteenth year, to marry an Armenian princess. Such a slight was not easily to be forgotten, nor were its perpetrators likely to be charitably regarded (1). When therefore it was reported that the "Synod of the Greeks" had encouraged idolatry, personal pique led Charlemagne to lend a facile ear to the rumor. In these circumstances were issued the *Caroline Books*. The French bishops were greatly influenced by the Latin version of a saying of Constantine, a Cyprian bishop, which appeared, in the reports of the Seventh Council received by them, couched in these terms: "I receive and honorably embrace the sacred and venerable images, according to the service of adoration which I give to the consubstantial and life-giving Trinity; and I separate from the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and subject to anathema, those who do not thus think" (2). The word "adoration," so susceptible of various meanings, and several weak arguments, used by the Seventh Synod, which, by the way, was not yet regarded as Œcumen-

Paris, under Louis the Debonnaire, speaking of Charlemagne as the author. Thirdly, from Hincmar of Rheims, citing verbally the 28th Chapter of Book 4, and ascribing it to the same emperor. Fourthly, from the Vatican MSS., bearing the name of Charlemagne.

(1) In after years, ambition led Charlemagne to pocket this affront. In 802, he vainly offered Irene his own hand, that he might unite the Eastern and Western Empires. Irene was willing, but her courtiers were not.

(2) In the original Greek *Acts*, the saying of bishop Constantine reads very differently: "I receive and honor the holy images, but I give only to the Supreme Trinity the adoration of worship (*latria*)."
Pope Adrian, in his *Apologetic Epistle* to Charlemagne, explains the strong expressions of this prelate, just converted from Iconoclasm, by his natural wish to remove any doubts as to his orthodoxy. For the rest, says the Pontiff, the Council well understood the sense of his emphatic words. See chap. 9 of the *Epistle*.

ical, not having been confirmed by the Roman Pontiff, all joined to the sentence of the Cyprian bishop, and his own political prejudices, induced the Carolinian author to reject the Seventh Council's decree as he understood it. But it is evident that he did not reject the veneration of images, as it is understood and encouraged by the Catholic Church. In Book I., c. 2, we certainly read: "But in images, made by the labor of artists, which often excite admiration in the spectator, on account of the remembrance of deeds done, but always draw the worshiper into error; for it is not a slight error to adore, with the service of religion, other than Him who said: 'The Lord thy God thou shalt adore, and Him alone shalt thou serve.'" But we also read, in *Book II.*, c. 31, while the author is comparing the legitimate with the pretended Seventh Council. "The one despised and removed the images forever from the churches; the other, not only decreed that they should be retained, but commanded that they should be suppliantly adored. The one threw them to the flames; the other honors them with incense. The one refused even to look upon them; the other would not cease to embrace them. The one dug away the ornaments of the ancient walls; the other honors them, newly restored, with offered lights. The one wished them to be abominated; the other allows them to be kissed. The one anathematized their possessors; the other those who do not adore them. Now since these two evils are contrary, and both far from the truth, let us take the royal path, walking, according to the Apostle, neither to the right nor to the left; not removing the images, according to the one, nor adoring them, with the other; but adoring God alone, and venerating His saints, according to the ancient Tradition of the Fathers and of the Church, keeping the images, if we wish, in the churches, as ornaments and memorials of deeds done." Under all this ill-disguised petulance, and aversion for the "Synod of the Greeks," the Carolinian author betrays no un-Catholic doctrine concerning images. The word "adoration" alone offends his ears, just as it offends our Protestant friends. He must have known the difference, however, between the adoration of

latría (supreme worship) and that of *dulia* (inferior worship), and we are perforce of opinion that his Græcophobia was, for the moment, too violent to admit of the exercise of theological acumen or of common sense (1). But with all his repugnance to the use of the word "adoration" in connection with images, the question with him is really rather one of degree, than of the thing itself. It is certain that the early Gallic Church sanctioned the veneration of images (2), although it seems to have objected to the more ardent practices of the Orientals, such as genuflections before them, kisses, incensations, and burning of lights. The French clergy were much displeased with the Seventh Council for pronouncing anathema against those who would not give positive respect to images: "If any one does not salute the images in the name of the Lord and of His saints, let him be anathema;" nor did they relish the denunciation as "half-wicked," made by Epiphanius the Deacon in the 6th *Action*, of those who thought it sufficient to simply retain, but not honor, the images. Placed therefore between the two *Definitions*, that of the Copronymian Synod, and that of the 7th Council, not yet confirmed, they decided to take the middle path of neither rejecting nor adoring the images (3). We may also observe, finally, that the mind of the French clergy could not have been averse to all image-worship, since twelve of their most learned prelates had assisted at the Roman Synod held by Pope Stephen IV., and had sanctioned the same devotion (4); moreover, in the Synod held under Pepin at Gentilly, in the presence of the legates of the Byzantine emperor, the French prelates had distinctly condemned Iconoclasm.

(1) The tone of this author is prejudiced throughout his book. In fact, he is so addicted to carping, that his sincerity appears doubtful. He ridicules Irene and Constantine because, in accordance with the inflated style long in vogue at Constantinople, they call their mis-sives "Divine;" and because they say: "God has chosen us, who truly seek His glory." He finds fault with their phrase, "Through God, who reigns with us." He laughs at the Seventh Council, as having a woman, Irene, for a teacher. We say that the Carolinian author must have known the distinction made by the fathers, at least from the 4th century, as the Calvinist Daillé himself admits, between the adoration (supreme) of *latría* and that (relative) of *dulia*. The French clergy of his time, reinforced by the extensive immigration of the learned monks of Ireland, were more cultured by far than the Byzantine, and even these latter were familiar with the distinction. Originally, and in the grammatical sense, the terms *latría* and *dulia* were synonymous, but by their adoption into the theological vocabulary, they acquired different meanings.

(2) St. Gregory of Tours (b. 544), in his *Glory of the Martyrs*, b. 1, c. 23, speaks of a vision in which Christ ordered that his pictures should not present His figure in an uncovered state. Pope St. Gregory the Great rebuked Serenus of Marseilles for removing images from his churches. "It is one thing," said he (*Book 7, cp. 111*) "to worship a picture, another to learn from it what is to be adored prohibit not the use of images, but only their worship."

(3) *Caroline Books*, b. 2, c. 3.

(4) Anastasius the Librarian, *Life of Stephen IV.*

We now approach an event which Protestant authors, following in the footsteps of the celebrated Calvinist Daillé, have endeavored to present as another excellent argument against the antiquity of our devotion to images. In the year 794, Charlemagne caused to be held at Frankfort-on-Main, a Synod of about three hundred bishops, convened from Italy, France, and Germany, to consider the doctrine of Elipand and Felix, two Spanish prelates, who taught that Christ, according to his Humanity, was only the adoptive Son of God. At this Synod two Papal legates, the bishops Theophylactus and Stephen, were present in the name of Adrian I. After the condemnation of Elipand (of Toledo) and Felix (of Urgel), the Synod took up the question of images, and in its 2d Canon decreed: "There was brought before the fathers a question about the late (*nova*) Synod of the Greeks, held at Constantinople on the adoration of images, in which it was written that those should be anathematized who would not give service or adoration to images, as to the life-giving Trinity. Our holy fathers, refusing, in every way, such service and adoration, despised and condemned those who consented to it." In answer to this objection, Petau (1) replies that the bishops of Frankfort condemned, not the 7th Synod itself, but the strong expressions of Constantine of Cyprus, which they regarded, according to their badly translated copy of the *Acts*, as sanctioning the supreme service of *latria* to images. It is certain, however, that the bishops of Nice embraced the opinions of the Cyprian prelate; therefore, the reply of Petau is not satisfactory. Vasquez, Suarez, Bini, and others, give a no less dissatisfactory answer, one indeed, which is to be absolutely rejected. They contend that the Synod of Frankfort, when editing the above canon, had in mind, not the Seventh Council which restored image worship, but the Copronymian Pseudo-Synod, which abolished it. The 2d Canon of Frankfort, say these writers, condemns the Synod "held at Constantinople;" but the legitimate 7th Council was held at Nice; therefore, the latter was not condemned at Frankfort. But we must remember

(1) *Incarnation*, b. 15, c. 13.

that the 7th Council was convoked for, and met at Constantinople, and would have there held its sessions, had it not been for the mutinous Iconoclast soldiery, fear of whom caused a removal to Nice; and that the last session of the Council was really held in the capital, that the sovereigns might be present. Hence, the bishops of Frankfort might quite naturally speak of the Seventh Council as a "Synod held at Constantinople." Again, the Frankfort prelates condemned "the late" Synod; now, while their term might well be applied to a Council celebrated only seven years before, as was the Seventh Council, it would scarcely be used in regard to one held forty years before, as was the Copronymian conventicle. Finally, the Synod of Frankfort distinctly asserts that it condemns and spurns those who consented to the giving of adoration to images; but of the two Synods in question, the Seventh Council alone answers to this description. It is clear then that another answer than that of Suarez, etc., must be given to Daillé and his imitators, alleging the authority of the Synod of Frankfort against the practice of devotion to images.

We must admit that the Synod of Frankfort rejected the decree of the Seventh Council; but we contend, with Baronio, Bellarmine, and Du Perron, that it was under a false impression with regard to the meaning of that decree; that, in fine, the Frankfort prelates, just like the author of the *Caroline Books*, did not condemn the doctrine of image-worship, as it is understood and taught by the Catholic Church, but merely the doctrine which would accord to images the supreme adoration of *latría*, which doctrine is condemned by the Church herself. This is evident from the words of the 2d Canon. In fact, the *Profession of Faith*, pronounced by Constantine of Cyprus in the Seventh Council, had been so abominably distorted by the incompetent translator, that it is no wonder that the indignation of the Frankfort prelates was excited against the Synod that received it (1). He is made to say: "I receive and honor-

(1) Anastasius the Librarian, who, by order of Pope John VIII., made a new version of these Acts, says of the translation which caused such trouble: "At nearly every step the translator ignored the idioms of each language, so that what was really intended, seldom or never be understood. . . . for this reason, it is despised by nearly all."

ably embrace the holy images, according to the service of adoration, which I give to the consubstantial and life-giving Trinity." Now, in the Greek text, the words "I receive and honorably embrace the holy images" are given in participles, and depend on what goes before, so that the whole sentence should read: "I, although unworthy, consent to these, and am of the same opinion, receiving and honorably embracing the holy images." Then comes the next part of the sentence, asserting the kind of adoration to be given to the Blessed Trinity: "and the adoration which is according to *latría*, I give only to the consubstantial and life-giving Trinity." Had the prelates of Frankfort seen a correct version of this *Profession*, there would have been no ill-feeling against the Seventh Synod, for their doctrine on the image question was not different from that of Rome, as is evident from the fact that communion between the Holy See and the churches of France and Germany was not suspended, even for a day. Nor did the churches of France and Germany cease to communicate with the Greeks. This is certainly a proof that the former did not think that the latter had erred in dogma; that they only regarded the discipline, sanctioned at Nice, as likely to be abused by the ignorant, and hence a dangerous one to tolerate. Indeed, the prelates of Frankfort did not condemn precisely the *Definition of Faith* of the Seventh Synod, which accorded to images an honor far inferior to the adoration of *latría*, due to God alone; they condemned what was said to have been asserted by Constantine of Cyprus in the Synod, namely, that images should receive the same honor as the Blessed Trinity. But is it not strange, one may ask, that the prelates of Frankfort entertained such feelings, as they certainly manifested, towards an Œcumenical Council? We must bear in mind that they did not regard the Seventh Council as universal; they looked upon it as a National Council of the Greeks. That such was the case, is proven by a number of testimonies from contemporary and proximately succeeding authors (1), and by the

(1) The Fulda *Annals of the Franks*, say of it: "The Pseudo-Synod of the Greeks, held for the adoration of images, and falsely called the Seventh, was condemned by the bishops." Similar language is used by Adhelm, in his *Annals*; by the Anonymous Author of the *Life of Charlemagne* in Duchesne's *Olden Writers of the History of the Franks*: by Hincmar, Ado of Vienne, Eginhard, the Saxon Poet, and many others.

sentiments of the *Caroline Books*, which we know to have been precisely their own. In Book 4, chap. 13, the author compares the Seventh with the Copronymian Synod, and says: "They and their predecessors insolently desired to convene a Synod, and to associate it with the six venerable ones, calling it the Seventh Synod. But while both parties importunately tried this thing, neither attained the object of their ambition. . . . Both the brazen coin and the tin one (1) being not allowed to make up the number Seven, there remain only Six, which are illustrated by the perfection of the number, and by the brightness of Catholic erudition.' And in Chap. 28, "Among other mad things said to have been done or written in the same Synod, not the least of their hallucinations is the styling their Synod Œcumenical, when it neither preserved the universal purity of faith, nor was made up from all the churches." Nor is it at all strange that the Frankfort prelates did not concede the palm of œcumenicity to the Seventh Synod, for it had not been confirmed by the Roman Pontiff. When Pope Adrian I. answered the *Capitular* which the abbot Angilbert brought him from Charlemagne, he did not claim for the Synod any respect as a General Council; and the successors of Adrian constantly communicated with the French who rejected it, as well as with the English church, which labored under the same mistake as the French, in regard to the meaning of the Seventh Council (2). True to his theory that the Synod of Frankfort condemned, not the Seventh but the Copronymian Synod, Bini rightly asserts that these prelates would not have ventured to reject a Synod confirmed by Rome; he holds, therefore, that Pope Adrian confirmed the Seventh Synod. Now, while it is true that this Pontiff received the decrees of the Council, yet he did not solemnly confirm them in the usual manner, namely, by an Encyclical Letter to all the churches. To this fact, he himself is a witness in his *Apologetic Epistle* to Charlemagne: "According to our orders, they held this Synod, and restored the holy and venerable images to their ancient position. And as in our own.

(1) The author compares the Six General Councils to six golden coins, to which the Copronymites wished to join a brazen counterfeit, and the fathers of the Seventh Council a tin one.

(2) See Roger of Hoveden and Matthew of Westminster.

and in the *Definition* of St. Gregory, it was established, concerning images—so they avowed, in their *Definition*—to give them kisses and honorable salutation, but not, according to our faith, to give them a real *latria*, which belongs only to the Divine nature. However, *we have given, as yet, no response to the same emperor concerning the same Synod*, fearing they might return to their errors.” Drawing these reflections to a close, we conclude that the prelates assembled at Frankfort, like the author of the *Caroline Books*, were deceived as to the meaning of the decree on image-worship, issued by the Seventh Council, and that they rejected it, feeling themselves justified in so doing, because the want of Apostolic confirmation, on the part of the same Seventh Synod, was equivalent to a lack of binding authority. The mind of the French Church, however, in reference to the authority of that Roman Church which had just defended and sanctioned anew a relative worship of images, was very different from that which Protestant authors affect to discover. The utter devotion of that mind to the authority of the Roman See, is shown by the following passages from the *Caroline Books*, b. 1, c. 6: “Before we undertake a discussion of the testimonies absurdly cited by the Easterns in their Synod, we think it proper to show how the Roman Church was elevated by the Lord above the other churches, and how she is to be consulted by the faithful; especially since testimony is only to be taken from those Scriptures which she receives as Canonical, and since the teachings of no Doctors are to be accepted, but of those who have been received by Gelasius or other Pontiffs of that Holy See.” And having recited a passage of St. Augustine, the author proceeds: “As he prefers generally the Apostolic Sees to all others in the world, how much more is that See to be preferred to all, which was elevated above the other Apostolic Sees? As therefore the Apostles were eminent among the other disciples, and Peter was eminent among all the Apostles, so likewise among other sees is an Apostolic one elevated, and among the Apostolic the Roman. For this See was not put above the rest by any Synodical constitutions, but holds the Primacy from the authority of the Lord, saying: ‘Thou art

Peter, and upon this rock I shall build My Church.'” And then, after noting how the great St. Jerome, though consulted by Pope Damasus on points of erudition, consulted the Pontiff on matters of faith, he concludes : “ Whence we are to understand that the holy and learned men, who shone by the light of science and preaching throughout the world, not only did not leave the Roman Church, but, in times of necessity, implored her aid to strengthen their faith. Which, as we have said, and proved by examples, all Catholic churches ought regularly to do, that they may obtain aid for their faith from her, after Christ, who has neither spot nor stain, and who crushes the frightful heads of heresy, and confirms the minds of the faithful. And while many have receded from her holy and venerable communion, our church has never departed, but by her Apostolic instruction, and through Him from whom comes every good gift and every perfect one, she has ever received reverend blessings.”

From the time of the Seventh General Council, to the reign of Leo the Armenian, who mounted the Byzantine throne in 814, the Eastern churches enjoyed comparative peace. But this Emperor resuscitated the Iconoclast heresy, and those who resisted his efforts were punished with imprisonment and spoliation. With the advent to power of Michael the Stutterer, in 820, the Iconoclast hopes were raised to the highest pitch. No sooner had this Emperor crushed the seditions which troubled the commencement of his reign, than he dropped the mask of toleration at first assumed, and made open war on the orthodox. He also endeavored to deceive Pope Eugene II., and the Emperor Louis the Pious as to his real designs, claiming that he was only resisting the most superstitious of practices, and begging the influence of Louis with the Pontiff that an end might be put to religious discord in the Eastern empire. Yielding to these solicitations, Louis requested of the Pope permission to hold a meeting of bishops, at which the testimonies of the fathers, bearing on the image-question, might be ventilated. To this the Pontiff consented, and in 824, a meeting of bishops took place at Paris, the result of which

was the sending to Louis a voluminous collection of citations from the fathers, divided, as follows, into Chapters. "First, against those who indiscreetly presume to remove images, not only from the churches, but from the sacred vessels. Second, as to our course of action in regard to the images of saints and historical pictures, it is laid down by that most holy, illustrious, and wonderful man, the most learned of the Catholic Church, Pope Gregory. Third, against those who revere and adore images with an undue worship, and call them holy, and say that through them holiness is acquired, as was inserted in that Synod of the Greeks. Fourth, the opinions of the Fathers on superstitious worship. Fifth, by what authority, and with what reason, are images to be adored, and incense to be offered them, when even the angels, or holy men, when living, would not be adored? Sixth, against those who defend the superstition of images by adducing its antiquity, seeking custom rather than the authority of truth. Seventh, the saints have always taught us, by their words and deeds, to avoid all superstition, or any other thing which might cause scandal to the weaker brethren. Eighth, because some have defended the adoration of images, by the fact of Jacob having adored his son Joseph, or at least the end of his rod we thought proper to show how this is explained by St Jerome and by St. Augustine. Ninth, against those who find evidence in the adoration of David by the prophet Nathan. in the *Book of Kings*. Tenth, against those who adore images because they call them sacred, and compare them with sacred vessels. Eleventh, against those who quote the two Cherubim in testimony. Twelfth, on the worship which the Greeks call *latria*. Thirteenth, against those, in that Synod of the Greeks, who say that they adore, with like reason, images and the life-giving cross. Fourteenth, against those who adduce the Sign of the Cross as proof that it is as licit to adore images as to adore the wood of the cross." In the Fifteenth, there are many testimonies of the fathers against the indiscreet adorers of images, and the Sixteenth explains "how was originated in the Eastern church, the warfare against images." To this Collection the bishops added the

text of a letter which they wished Louis to write to Pope Eugene, and also the text of one which they would like the Pontiff to send to the Emperor Michael. In this latter epistle, they proposed as a means of peace, "That those who wished to have images in a fit place, and without any improper adoration, for the sake of pious memory and of sound doctrine, should have them; that those, however, who did not wish them, should not spurn with illicit contempt, either the images or their possessors." Louis sent this draft of letter, together with the Chapters just quoted, to Pope Eugene II., and he gave the following instructions to his envoys: "We therefore command your Carefulness, that before you say anything about these things to our Apostolic Lord, you will present the matter with great care, and extract and describe what you may find more apt to the present business, and offer it to him to read. Because, as you know, we asked his permission to have this Collection made by our bishops; and hence we cannot avoid showing him that which, by his permission, has been collected. Take the greatest pains, nevertheless, to show him such of these (chapters) as best pertain to the image question, and which he, or his, will not be able to reject. And do you reason with him so patiently and so modestly on this subject, that you may successfully avoid, by too much resistance, compelling him to fall into some irrevocable obstinacy. Rather than openly resist his remarks, be yielding to them, and thus you may lead him to the rule which is to be followed in the image-question." From all this, Protestant writers have concluded that the French bishops, in convention at Paris in 825, refused to accord images, not only the supreme adoration of *latria*, but even the relative and inferior honor which Catholics claim for them.

It cannot be denied that the language used by the prelates of Paris is very strong, and that it plainly indicates, on the part of the Western churches, a full persuasion that the Greeks of their day were exceedingly superstitious. We willingly admit that the strong language was not out of place, for there is good reason for believing that the accusation of superstition was well merited by many of the

fickle, restless, and super-imaginative Byzantines of that day. But we do assert, firstly, that this meeting of bishops at Paris was not a Synod, and that therefore its authority was no greater than that of so many private individuals; secondly, that these prelates distinctly submitted their views to the authoritative judgment of Rome; thirdly, that they did not condemn the relative honor accorded to images by the Catholic Church. The first point is illustrated by the draft of the Epistle which the bishops desired Louis to send in his own name to Pope Eugene II., and which is found in the *Acts* of the meeting: "We however, not by convoking a Synod, but, as we asked of you and obtained permission to so do, by such conference with our friends, your children, as the multifarious cares of our kingdom would allow, considered what we should present to your Lovingness in this necessity, so that the people might be restored to concord by your Holiness, preserved orthodox by God." That, secondly, the Parisian assembly submitted their judgment to that of the Holy See, is shown by the Epistle sent to the Pontiff, by advice of the prelates, by the sovereigns Louis and Lothair, "as we knew that it was our duty to furnish all the help in our power, in matters pertaining to Divine worship, to those to whom God has intrusted the government of the churches and the care of the Lord's flock, so, when the Greek ambassadors informed us of their intention to wait upon you, we did not neglect to most carefully consider what aid, with the help of God, we might afford you. And for that reason, we asked of your Holiness, that it might be permitted to our priests to search for and to collect such passages of the holy fathers as would serve to elucidate the matter upon which the same ambassadors were about to consult you. And when, according to the permission given by you, these passages had been compiled, with such care as the short space of time allowed, they were sent to us to be read. Having read them, we have sent them by our legates, the venerable bishops Jeremiah and Jonas, to be read and examined by your Holiness. If your Paternity were to think fit, you might hold a profitable conference with these bish-

ops, concerning the legation you are about to send into Greece, as they are very well versed in Sacred Scripture, and not slightly experienced in disputation. However, we have not sent these bishops, with the aforesaid Collection of opinions, into the presence of your Lovingness, that they should exercise, as it were, any magisterial functions, or be regarded as sent to teach; but because, as we have already said, it is our duty to furnish aid, in all cases, to your most holy See." Finally, we contend that the Parisian assembly condemned, only the superstitions of the Greeks, not the relative and inferior honor given by Catholics to images. These prelates, in fact, were laboring under the erroneous impression which affected the author of the *Caroline Books* and the Synod of Frankfort, namely, that the Seventh Council had decreed to images the same devotion as was given to the Holy Trinity. They wished to put into practice the wise suggestions of the great St. Gregory to Serenus of Marseilles; checking the temerity of the image-breakers, and repressing the superstition of the injudicious and the ignorant. To be convinced of this, it is sufficient to read the following passages from the episcopal letter to Louis and Lothair: "The images of the saints are not to be broken by foolish presumption; nor are they, to the injury of the saints, to be despised and abolished. Rather should they be preserved, superstition being removed, for sake of remembrance and of love, according to true religion, in memory of those whose images they are, as Blessed Gregory explained, in a sufficiently clear and Catholic manner your corrective words may be openly directed against those who have sent you the Epistle we have read (1), for its text shows that both factions should be condemned, that is, those who venerate the images with an undue and superstitious worship, and those who removed the same from the nearer places." And in chap. 15, of their Collection, the bishops say: "So far this is all for thee, who art an indiscreet worshiper of images; and for thee, who art their rash destroyer."

We have more than insinuated that many superstitions

(1) The bishops allude to the Epistle of the Emperor Michael the Stutterer to Louis.

had crept into use among the Greeks, in reference to image-worship. Indeed, it is only by supposing that such, unfortunately, was the case, that we can account for the extraordinary caution and strong language of the Westerns, of which we have had so many specimens. Although there is doubtless some exaggeration to be expected in such a quarter, we adduce a portion of the Epistle sent by the Emperor Michael to Louis the Pious: "Many of our ecclesiastics, as well as laymen, forgetting the Apostolic traditions, and transgressing the limits of their forefathers, have become inventors of evil things. First indeed they put out of the temples the honorable and life-giving crosses, and put images in their stead, placing lights and burning incense before them, holding them in the same regard as the honorable and life giving wood upon which Christ the True God designed to be crucified for our salvation (1). They sang before them, adored them, and sought aid from them. Many covered them with cloths, and made them sponsors for their children at Baptism. Others, when wishing to assume the monastic habit, rejected the service of religious persons who used to receive their hair, when cut off, and using instead the images, allowed, as it were, the locks to fall into their laps. Some, even of our priests and clerics, scraping the paint from the images, mixed it with the Oblations, and from this Oblation, after the celebration of mass, communicated them who wished. Some even placed the Body of the Lord in the hands of the images, whence the communicants might receive It. Some, despising the temple, used as altars the pedestals of images in common houses, exercising the sacred ministry upon them." Bel-larmine (2) and Christian Lupus (3) contend that these assertions of Michael are foul calumnies, but the superstitious propensities of the Greeks were noted by the Dominican friar, Pantaleon, who, writing in 1252, from the Dominican convent of Constantinople, said (4). "In the church of the

(1) The reader will notice the thoroughly un-Protestant devotion to the cross, which this Iconocast inculcates.

(2) Treatise on *Image-Worship*.

(3) *Note to 7th Synod*

(4) Cited by Alexandre, *Cent. 8, diss. 6, § 10*, from the *Lyons Library of the Fathers*, v. 27.

said palace (Constantine's), where are preserved the holy relics, the image of the Holy Mother of God behind the altar, which they called the Lady of the House (of God), is immediately locked up when the Lent begins, and so kept until Holy Saturday; the doors are covered with a cloth. The same is done to the shrines of Sts. Mantelles and Koramidius. They importune the image of the Holy Mother of God, that she may cause sons to be born, and by its means, they make a sponsor of her, in this manner: A garment is connected with the image, so that she may receive, as sponsor, the child from the hand of the priest. But that the image speaks, or promises fidelity for the child, or bears witness to the baptism, who will dare to assert, unless he despises God? Omitting no kind of superstition, and hating their true brethren, they make brethren to themselves of the unwilling saints."

There are several other arguments, adduced from writers of this period, which Daillè and his imitators are fond of citing as proof that the churches of the West, during the Iconoclastic troubles, were not unanimous in giving even an inferior honor to images (1). Thus, they quote sayings from Agobardus, archbishop of Lyons; from Jonas, bishop of Orleans; from Dungal, a learned recluse of the abbey of St. Denis; and Walfrid Strabo. As the arguments already adduced in the cases of the *Caroline Books* and the two episcopal conventions, apply also to these, we may omit any disquisition upon them.

Returning now to the history of Iconoclasm, we only observe that during the reigns of Michael the Stutterer and Theophilus, the orthodox had much to suffer, but with the advent of Theodora in 841, and the election of Methodius to the patriarchate of Constantinople, the war on images came to an end. In the West, about the year 823, Claude of Turin removed the images from the churches of his diocese, and wrote against their veneration, but he was refuted by Theodemir, Dungal, and others. Before the tenth century, the 2d Council of Nice was everywhere received as œcumen-

(1) Many Protestants quote Hincmar of Rheims in their favor, but Daillè declares that a diligent inspection of the MS., from which his words are cited, satisfied him that the passage is an interpolation by the Centuriators of Magdeburg.

ical, and the respect due to images everywhere recognized. In the twelfth century, the Valdensians, Albigensians, and other fanatics, revived the Iconoclast heresy; while at the time of the "Reformation," Calvin declared the veneration of images idolatrous. At first, Luther did not wish them removed, but the friends of the *Confession of Augsburg* accused the Catholics of ascribing a certain in-dwelling power to the images themselves. In many Lutheran churches, the crucifix and certain historical paintings are allowed. Erasmus thus protests against the frenzy of Carlostadt: "Whoever deprives us of painting, deprives existence of its greatest charms; painting is often a better interpreter than language. It is false that images are useless. Formerly there were images in the Jewish temples—cherubim, and fanciful images of men and animals. The images which adorn our Christian churches are not presented to the faithful for adoration—they are either elegant ornaments or pious memorials. Do you not believe that if the scenes of the life of Christ were painted on the sacred walls, such material representations would raise our minds to the contemplation of His life? Catholics never offer images to be adored, and the respect that they show is for the saints represented. Banish, then, since you will not have images, the Atlases and musicians, whom the artist uses to support a pulpit or a pillar; yea, remove the cock which surmounts the steeple" (1).

(1) *Epistles*, b. 31, n. 50.

CHAPTER XL.

ORIGIN OF THE PAPAL DOMINION IN THE ROMAN STATES.

In giving this title to the following dissertation, we do so because we hold that the term "Temporal Power" is more appropriately applied to the authority of regulation and deposition which the Supreme Pontiffs once exercised, *de jure* and *de facto*, over the Christian monarchs of the earth. Few events have given rise to more bitter heart-burnings and more acrimonious discussions than those which commenced in the Papal States with the war of 1859, and culminated with the occupation of Rome by the Italian government in 1870. We do not propose to enter into a defence of the rights of the Holy See to the retention of its temporal domain; that has been done ably and sufficiently in every language of the Christian community, so that Catholics may be said to be of one mind in the matter. But our attention is claimed by the *origin* of the Pontifical sovereignty over the old Duchy of Rome and contiguous regions—as a purely historical theme, and one of great interest and importance, we cannot afford to omit it. The student of the middle ages is never surprised when he finds the subject matter of his researches involved in more or less of obscurity, and when he approaches the present question he will experience some difficulty in its solution. Modern writers have devoted much time to the matter, impelled by the audacious attacks of the enemies of Rome, but as yet their praiseworthy efforts have not succeeded in entirely dissipating the cloud which obscures our vision of the great events of the eighth century. In forming a just idea of this period, truth has been forced to contend with no ordinary passions. Party spirit and national vanity have taken the field, and thus we see French historians attributing to Pepin and Charlemagne far more influence in Roman affairs than those rulers ever pretended to possess, while, on the other hand,

Italian critics do not hesitate to detract from that praise which is really due to the Carlovingian kings as glorifiers of the Roman See. Nor, with so rich a prospect of facts for the buttressing of their tottering theories, could we expect any inactivity in those court-theologians and Cæsar-worshippers, who are perhaps the worst enemies of the Church; when these gentry go to the Rome of the eighth century, they can see there no sovereign but him of Constantinople, and in later days, they have eyes only for the Western emperor. In addition to these two classes of critics who may claim some of our respect and much of our attention, there is a third, made up of the sworn enemies of the royal dominion of the Pontiffs, in whatever shape it may be actuated, or by whatever arguments it may be defended. These men have covered the origin of the temporal domain with dirt, assigning as its causes, consummate ambition, unscrupulous chicanery, and low theft. We will now proceed to examine the origin of the Papal dominion in the Roman States, so far as the limited nature of our work will permit.

In the year 330, the Emperor Constantine transferred the seat of government from Rome to Byzantium, which from that time was styled Constantinople. The temporal influence of the Popes commenced to increase, nor did the Emperors complain; nay, they were too willing to be relieved of the weight of government in Italy. At the time of St. Gregory the Great, this power commenced to assume definite proportions; but even in the days of St. Leo the Great (440-461) it was remarkable. Before his election, Leo had been chosen by Valentinian III. as mediator between his general, Ætius, and Albinus the pretorian, whose discords were shaking the empire. It was during this reign that Attila fell upon Italy (452), and the safety of Rome was owing to the Pope's influence with the conqueror. Three years later, he in similar manner saved the city from the savage Genseric the Vandal. So accustomed had the people of Rome become to the tutelage of the Pontiff, that it was unsafe to leave them alone. Hence it was that Leo was unable to attend that Synod of Ephesus to which the crimes of Dioscorus gave the name of "Robber-Synod;" and that he could preside at

the Council of Chalcedon only by means of his legates. Thus he explains his absence, in the first case, in his letter to the Empress Pulcheria, and in the second, writing to Marcianus and the œcumenical fathers. But we find the great Gregory exercising a power more nearly approaching that of a sovereign. Thus, he sent governors to the imperial cities, made treaties with the barbarians, recruited armies, and provided Rome with fortifications and provisions (1). Sisinnius and Gregory II. restored the walls of Rome. And so the *de facto* sovereignty of the Pontiffs progressed, until in the eighth century it became *de jure*. The true reason for its exercise was the abandonment of their duties by the Emperors of Constantinople, and the spontaneous movement of a miserable people imploring the succor of a loving father (2). So gradual, and, we may say, insensible, was the transition to a *de jure* state of government, that grave and earnest critics differ as to the time when the Papal dominion reached the second condition. Among others, Orsi, Bianchi, and Thomassin, hold that at least the Duchy of Rome recognized Gregory II. as king, in the year 726, when the image-breaking Leo the Isaurian provoked the Italians to revolt. The learned annotator of Baronius, Pagi, contends that the temporal sovereignty of the Papacy dates from the year 754, in the pontificate of Stephen II., when King Pepin of the Franks signed the treaty of Pavia, after the defeat of Astolphus the Lombard. De Marca is not content with those who defer the commencement to 774, when Charlemagne annihilated the power of Desiderius, and thus solidified the rule of the Popes; he asserts that down to the year 796 the Byzantine Emperors remained masters of Rome. He who wishes to change history for romance, will postpone still further the date of the foundation of the temporal dominion. Ranke certainly styles Julius II. "the founder" of the States of the Church (3), but his context shows that he uses this term in the sense of "restorer."

(1) Book I., *epist.* 72; II., 3, 29, 30, 31, 46; V., 36, 41; VI., 30; IX., 4, 6, 42, 43; *Conf. Migne's Patrology*, vol. 77.

(2) For a full and exact narration of the gradual progress of this *de facto* sovereignty, read the *Origin of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes*, published in the Roman CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA for the year 1860. This article is probably the most correct and the most exhaustive yet written upon the subject, and we are indebted to it for much of our information.

(3) Book I., c. 2.

Ranke also asserts that the donation of Pepin was the foundation of the whole dominion of the Popes. If any one wishes to defend the theory of the revolutionary government of Bologna of 1859, in which it was claimed that the Exarchate and the Pentapolis (1) became subject to the Popes only under Martin V. (1417-1431)—according to Ranke, under Julius II.—we need scarcely notice the sophism, for such, and a pure and simple one, it certainly must be called. From the time of the donation of Charlemagne to that of Pius IX., there is a constant succession of public documents which prove that the Romagna was ever claimed by the Holy See, and that its suzerain rights were acknowledged by international law. There were often periods when the Popes lost possession of this or that part of their territory, now owing to popular turbulence, sometimes on account of the arrogance of their vassal princes, and still more frequently because of the usurpation of the Holy Roman Emperors, nearly always ungrateful to the power to which they owed their dignity. But what does this prove? Certainly not that the conquests of Cæsar Borgia and Julius II. were the foundation of the Papal rule in these districts.

A careful examination of the records of the time convinces us that the first Roman Pontiff to place upon his brow the crown of temporal sovereignty was Stephen II., who reigned between the years 752 and 757, and the precise date of the acquisition was the year 754. Many had been the revolts of the Italians against the Eastern Emperors; often indeed had the Popes been forced in charity to the people to assume the direction of affairs, but they had always begged the discontented populations "to not fail in love and fidelity to the Roman Empire" (2). The rule of Byzantium had proved execrable for its impiety, and contemptible for its impotency (3), and Gregory III. had been obliged in the year

(1) The "Pentapolis" was the collective name of the five cities, Ancona, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano and Sinigaglia. In the Bolognese official *Monitore* of Oct. 6, 1859, appeared a Memorandum signed by Pepoli and Cipriani, in which one reason for the rebellion was given thus, "During all the middle ages the temporal sovereignty of the Popes was never exercised in the Romagna. It was subjected to the Holy See only in the fifteenth century."

(2) ANASTASIUS Bibl., in *Life of Greg. II.*

(3) The following fact will show that the Exarch (imperial representative at Ravenna) had very little influence. In the year 733, occurred a great battle between the revolted Ravennese and the Constantinopolitan troops, and so great was the number of Greek corpses thrown into the Patermo, that for six years the people would eat no fish taken therefrom. This victory was ever after celebrated by the Ravennese with processions and litanies, and

739 to make his famous appeal to Charles Martel, sending to him the keys of the tomb of the Apostles, and begging him to protect the Romans from the oppressions of the then barbarous Lombards; but as yet the Papacy recognized as legitimate the imperial sceptre, and when peace was concluded with Luitprand by Pope Zachary (successor to Greg. III.) it was signed in the name of the Emperor. Even Stephen II., up to the very time when he was compelled to turn his thoughts from the East to the West, acknowledged the obligation of obedience to Constantinople, for we find him turning to the infamous Constantine Copronymus in the year 753, and entreating him to protect his subjects from the Lombards, to "liberate the city of Rome and the whole Italian province from the bites of the child of iniquity." These facts compel us to reject the theory of Orsi and others that the temporal sovereignty of the Popes dates as far back as the time of Gregory II.

Of different calibres indeed were the emperors Copronymus and Justinian. It was scarcely to be hoped that the former would effect for Italy, against the Lombards, what the latter, supported by Belisarius and Narses, had accomplished against the Goths. In the year 751, news reached Byzantium that the last of the Exarchs had surrendered to the conquering Astolphus, but the emperor was too much occupied in image-breaking to pay much attention to the loss of his fairest province, and two years passed ere he wrote to the usurper and implored its restitution. In the meantime Astolphus had prepared to verify the title, "king of all Italy," which, one hundred and fifty years previously, his predecessor Agilulphus had stamped upon the iron crown. His lieutenant, Count Robert, had vainly endeavored to capture Rome, and had lost his life in the attempt, when the order was given to devastate the Campagna. Nepi was taken, all the castles destroyed and the churches burned. Pope Stephen II., who had been elected in March, 752, then made his last appeal to Copronymus, but this was as vain as

by the decoration of the city, right under the eyes of the Exarch. Well may Muratori say that the Exarchs were obliged "to navigate as they best could." So nominal had become the authority of the Emperor, that, according to Balbo, in his *History of Italy under the Barbarians*, b. II., c. 25, the Exarch was often seen taking the part of the Pope against his majesty.

his prayers to the ferocious Lombard, with whom he tried every legitimate means of pacification. To whom could the Pontiff look for help? Nearly the whole of Italy lay at the feet of the oppressor. The Lombard hordes roved rampant from the Alps to the Volturno, Rome alone excepted; the days were gone, when the Spoletans successfully made common cause with the Eternal City against the barbarian; Venice, already ambitious of commercial prosperity, cared not to be embroiled with a powerful and probably successful conqueror; the few cities of lower Italy, whose insignificance the Lombard allowed yet to repose under the banners of Copronymus, were of no value in arms; the men of the Pentapolis were exhausted of all strength after their brave but futile struggle. In the exercise of that right accorded him by the will of the Romans, by the law of nature and by the imperial permission to ally himself with any willing defender (1), Stephen turned to the new peoples of the earth, and his prophetic eye selected the one whom we rightly call the first-born (2) of the Catholic nations of Europe.

The brave and generous Franks were at this time governed by Pepin the Short, the worthy descendant of Charles Martel and of Pepin of Heristal. The already great fame of this prince had been augmented this same year by an important victory over the Saxon barbarians, and his devotion to the Roman Church was well known (3). When Pepin received the letters of Pope Stephen, he resolved to hold himself at the Pontiff's disposal, and sent as ambassadors to Rome, the bishop of Metz and the duke Autcarus, who were charged to escort Stephen into France, as he had expressed a wish to treat personally with the French king. About this time the Emperor Copronymus sent a trusted courtier to the Holy See, begging the Pope to personally interview Astolphus and prevail upon him to restore his

(1) For this concession, see TROYA, *Diplomatic Codex of the Lombards*, no. 681.

(2) When Clodoveus or Clovis had been baptized by St. Remigius, he was the only Catholic sovereign in Europe, as the princes of Germany and of the British Isles were Pagans, while the Goths of Spain and Italy, the Burgundians, &c., and even the Byzantine emperor were infected with heresy. Hence arose for the French king the title of Most Christian, and for the nation, the style of First Child of the Church.

(3) He was bound by gratitude to Rome, for in great measure he owed his throne to the sanction given by Pope Zachary to his election by the Frankish counts. He was crowned at Soissons by St. Boniface, then legate of the Pontiff.

conquered Italian provinces to the empire. Stephen resolved to make an attempt upon the Lombard, thinking that the result might obviate the necessity of a journey into France. Accordingly, though quite infirm, on Oct. 14, 753, he set out for Pavia, accompanied by the French envoys, the imperial messenger, and a chosen body of Roman clergy and nobles. The interview took place, and resulted in the refusal of Astolphus to accede to the prayers of the Pontiff. Learning from himself the intention of the Pope to cross into France, the Lombard grew furious, but did not dare to impede the journey. The energetic pastor crossed the St. Bernard in midwinter amid much suffering, one of his suite dying from exposure.

In the royal villa of Pontion near Chalons-sur-Marne, in the same plains which had witnessed the discomfiture of Attila, met the august personages whose deliberations were to decide the fate of the Hun's successor, and to give a new aspect to history. The result of the interview was a justification of the hopes of the Pope. The king swore to grant the desires of the Holy See, and in a solemn diet afterwards held at Quiercy it was resolved that on the 28th of April (754) the forces of France should march against the Lombards. In this general assembly of the notables of the kingdom, with the applause of all, was promulgated that treaty with the Holy See which, renewed and confirmed again and again by Pepin and Charlemagne, became one of the foundations of European public law in the middle ages. In this treaty or *pactionis fœdus*, king Pepin declares: "We promise to thee, Blessed Peter, keeper of the keys of the celestial kingdom and Prince of the Apostles, and for thee, to this thy beloved Vicar Stephen, excellent Pope and Supreme Pontiff, and to his successors for all time, with the consent and will of all the subscribing Abbots, Dukes and Counts of the Franks, that if the Lord our God shall through His merits and through holy prayer render us victorious against the Lombard nation and kingdom, we will give to thee forever and to thy Vicars, all the states and duchies and fortified places of the Exarchate of Ravenna, in all their integrity, as well as everything which by the concession of the Em-

perors used to belong to the district, and which will be specially described below by defined boundaries, everything which is in any way established or found within said boundaries, which have been devastated, invaded, and subtracted, and have in any way been alienated, by the most wicked Lombard race, *no power within the same limits being reserved to us and to our successors, unless only that we may gain prayers and the repose of our soul, and that by You and your people we be styled PATRICIAN OF THE ROMANS*" (1). Here follow the boundaries of the territories ceded to the Holy See.

The expedition against Astolphus set out, and the Pontiff accompanied it. The pass of Susa was carried by the Franks, and after witnessing an immense slaughter of his followers, the Lombard king shut himself up in Pavia. But the spirits of the foe had so fallen, that Pepin soon reduced the place, and listening to the prayers of the Pontiff, accorded the defeated prince comparatively honorable conditions. Besides a rather small indemnity of war, he gave forty noble hostages for the fulfilment of the conditions of peace, the principal of which was the restoration to the Romans of the Exarchate, the Pentapolis, and all other places taken from them. But scarcely had Pepin recrossed the Alps, when the perfidy of Astolphus was made manifest. Not only did he refuse to comply with the treaty of Pavia, but he commenced new depredations, and even conspired for the assassination of Pope Stephen. The holy Pontiff, already suffering from an attack which in France had nearly sent him to the grave, was seriously affected by these misfortunes. He thrice appealed by letter to the French king, but that monarch delayed to act, perhaps because he was then dealing the final blow to the Saracens and sending them forever beyond the Pyrenees, perhaps because he confided in the ability of diplomacy to forestall any necessity of military procedure. In the month of January, 756, the Lombards began the siege of Rome, and

(1) The title of "Roman Patrician," in the olden time, was given to very few, and only for very distinguished services. Clovis had received the honor, and Pepin was anxious to bear a title which, as it then signified "Defender," would increase his consequence in the eyes of all Christian peoples. He received it from Pope Stephen on the day of his coronation by that Pontiff. He had already been anointed king by St. Boniface, but he wished to still further secure the prospects of his family, and so on July 28, the Pope performed the solemn function, conceding the same honor to the queen, Bertrada, and to the royal princes, Charles and Carloman.

it had lasted three months, when suddenly Astolphus broke up his camp and hurried towards the Alps to meet once more the advancing Franks. Forced again to shut himself up in Pavia, the perfidious monarch soon implored the mercy of the victor, who granted it after exacting a renewal of the former engagements and a large indemnity in money for his army. A new diploma was then issued by Pepin, confirming to the Pope the previous donation, and Fulrad, abbot of St. Denis, was sent as commissioner from city to city to receive the keys in the name of the conqueror, and to place them upon the tomb of St. Peter in token of homage.

These are the naked facts in regard to the origin of the Papal dominion. On the score of legitimacy, no European dynasty can show so good a record; in the history of the foundation of all other monarchies will be found either a defiance of the popular will or a shameless robbery of a legitimate claimant or a wanton shedding of innocent blood. "Like the Nile," says De Maistre, (1), "sovereignty likes to hide its head." This is true in more ways than one, but while it may be difficult to trace the precise origin of Pontifical rule, especially in the Duchy of Rome, we find nothing of which to be ashamed. The people of Rome and the Exarchate had been shamelessly abandoned by their Emperor; they appealed to their natural protector, to him who for many years had been their ruler in nearly all but name; a friendly power intervenes, ejects the usurper, and hands over the conquered territory, not to him whose imbecility, neglect and cowardice, had destroyed every claim to allegiance, but to him to whom the people principally owed their deliverance, and to whom—which should especially please those who idolize the popular will—the multitude wished the sovereignty to be given.

If the facts above related unfold the true origin of the Pontifical dominion in the Roman States, the Papal claims were founded principally, at least, so far as they depended upon written law, upon the cession by Pepin, and the justice of that cession can be deduced only from the right of conquest acquired by the French monarch. To the nostrils of most

(1) *The Pope*, b. III., c. 6.

of us this right of conquest bears an unpleasant odor ; there arise memories of Poland and Ireland which render us reser- vative when it is put forward. Still, a generality should not be deduced from one or two particulars, and it should be remembered that public law does and always has recognized this right, and that in many cases it is in accordance with strict common sense. But little reflection is needed to discover one of those cases in the conquest of the Roman States by Pepin. And now for a few remarks upon the manner in which this king treated the imperial claims to the provinces which Byzantium had failed to protect.

In the preliminary proceedings at Pontion, and in the solemn deliberations at Quiercy, everything shows that the Pope, the king, and the Frank nobles, regarded the imperial authority in Rome as definitely forfeited. When the Pontiff presented his views and wishes, he did not speak as did Pope Zachary when he asked Liutprand for the restitution of Ravenna, that is, using the phrases proper to an agent of the empire. The sovereignty of Copronymus is entirely and formally ignored, and Stephen addresses Pepin in the name of an independent Italy, and in his own name, as the representative and protector of the Italian peoples. On his part, Pepin treats with the Pope as with a sovereign, his peer, or rather, he enters into obligations with St. Peter in the person of his successor. There is not a word of the Emperor or of his claims, unless indeed in one passage where he so speaks as to show beyond the possibility of a doubt that he regarded the power of the empire in Italy as at an end, because of the Emperor's own implicit abdication. This abdication he assumes as at least *de facto* from the concession made to the Pontiff, which gave him full permission to provide for the deliverance and safety of the Exarchate, etc., as he might deem best (1). Pepin's denial of the imperial claims is shown more forcibly in his treatment of Carloman, his own brother, when, fearing lest the Lombard would revenge upon his monastic brethren his own refusal to obey, the royal monk left his monastery of Monte Cassino, and crossing into France, endeavored to

(1) *Codex dipl. Longob.*, no. 681.

induce Pepin to abandon the projected expedition (1). According to Anastasius, he was met with a determined refusal, his royal brother being resolved "with his whole strength to combat *for the cause of the Holy Church of God*, as he had already promised the blessed Pontiff." And to the treaty of Pavia the subscribing parties were the Romans, Franks, and Lombards, no mention being made of any Byzantine representative. While Pepin was yet at Pavia, he was waited upon by Gregory, first imperial secretary, who begged him, in the name of Copronymus, to restore the Exarchate to the empire. The Frank angrily spurned the offered bribes, and answered that he had undertaken the campaign with no hope of human favor, but solely for love of St. Peter, and that no treasure could induce him to take from the Apostle what he had already given to him. It is plain then that at this time the imperial authority was no longer acknowledged in the Roman States. It had been spurned by the people as both inefficacious for good and accompanied by cruel tyranny. The Pope, who had ever respected it, and endeavored to reconcile the Romans to its yoke, was compelled in charity to his immediate flock, to yield to the pressure of circumstances and to recognize, in the premises, the right of revolt. The Emperor himself had forfeited all claim to the allegiance of the Romans by his neglect of the first and fundamental duty of a sovereign, the care of his people, that duty which forms the only reason of existence for any government whatever. The French nation, then the most powerful in Europe, and the most authoritative in the formation of public law, had rejected the imperial claims and given the conquered provinces to the See of Rome. The Lombards solemnly recognized the Pontifical dominion by the treaty of Pavia. From the year 754, a new era was inaugurated in the political world, and was started that long list of mitred kings, who, to say the least, have reigned more in justice and in charity, and made fewer mistakes, than any other dynasty on earth (2).

(1) *Annals of Eginhard*, an. 753.

(2) We would ask the reader's attention to the following remarks of Cantù: "The original of the donation of Pepin is lost; the act usually adduced is not genuine. But the chroni-

CHAPTER XLI.

TERRITORIAL MODIFICATIONS OF THE PAPAL DOMINIONS, FROM
THE 8TH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY.

The Roman Republic, moderated by the Popes (730-754).

From the year 731 to 741, occur the expressions "Republic of the Romans," "Republican Association," "Body of the Roman Army," etc. (1). The edict of Leo the Isaurian, issued in 730, ordering the destruction of sacred images, had produced a general revolt among the Italians, and the Popes vainly endeavored to keep the Romans in obedience to the

clergy leave us in no doubt as to such a donation having been made. It embraced Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Cesena, Fano, Sinigaglia, Jesi, Forlimpopoli, Forlì (with the castle of Sussubio), Montefeltro, Acragio, Montecatini, Serra, Castel San Mariano, Bobro, Urbino, Cagli, Lucull, Agubbio, Comacchio, Narni; some even include the district from Lunel to Suria, with Corsica. Some (PEISTER; *History of the Germans*, v. 1, p. 403. SPITTLER; *Hist.*, v. 2, p. 83) have pretended that the donation conferred only the use of the properties comprised in the mentioned districts, and not the sovereignty, which they declare to have been reserved by Pepin to himself and his successors; or, if the sovereignty was included, it was not really transferred (SISMUNDI; *Ital. Repub.*, v. 1). How can this be, when the Lombards and the archbishop of Ravenna, having quarrelled with the Pope, robbed him of his jurisdiction, and not of his properties? Again, we see the Popes appointing judges and other functionaries in the cities donated (*Caroline Codes*, nos. 51, 54, 75). When Charlemagne, in 784, wished to take some ancient columns from Ravenna, he asked permission from the Pope. The Pontiffs, at that time, speak of "our city of Rome, our Roman people," knowing that they have taken the place of the exarchs. Nay, it can be proved, that, before the donation of Pepin, the Popes exercised jurisdiction, by popular consent, in many of those territories. Pepin acknowledged this, when he styled his donation a restitution. At this point historians deem themselves inevitably obliged to digress, and talk about the ambition of the Popes, about their greed of power and of wealth, about the evils which accrued to Italy because—through the fault of the Pontiffs—she did not fall entirely into the power of the foreigner. I have thought it not only permissible, but a duty, whenever history commands me to do so, to say the contrary to what mere opinion or force may wish; for I have never felt sufficient sympathy with tyranny, to deem it always in the right, simply because it is the owner of armies and of thrones. In this very matter, I am content with an investigation into the facts of the case. Behold, on the one side, the emperors of Constantinople, illegitimate successors of the ancient Cæsars, who have acquired Italy by conquest, and who have treated her like a conquered land, depriving her of her olden privileges. On the other hand, you have foreign kings (if, as some hold, they were not foreign, because they were long in possession, and because they possessed no authority in foreign parts, then the Turk is no foreigner to the Greek) who swear and forswear, devastate cities, exterminate populations, put everything to fire and sword. In front of all these, behold venerable priests, chosen by the people and from the people, who pray, write, make processions, send embassies, go in person—and all this, merely to implore peace and justice; when they raise a handful of troops, it is for simple defence. Before these three parties, desirous of preserving or of conquering Italy, I notice millions of Italians, whose destiny is to be decided, and who have been despoiled by the emperor and the kings, now praying and weeping with the Pope. How much have they not suffered under the dominion of that Greek, distant, irresolute, arrogant, a tyrant over consciences, a dominion made worse by the greed of ministers, who were obedient even to the extreme of becoming assassins. If a hope of arising out of their misery remained to the Italians, they could place it only in that Pontiff whom, for a long time, the Romans had regarded as their representative, as the defender of their rights, the only consoler of the oppressed, as he was the only person who dared to demand justice from the oppressors; that Pontiff whose very character made him just and amiable, and who caused the nations to yet venerate the Roman name, which, through the fault of others, had come to be despised. The will of a people did not then have, nor does it now have, much weight in the scales of politics; but history ought to observe, which is the cause, the triumph of which lessens the griefs and injustices suffered by that multitude of men which it too much neglects; history, at least after the lapse of ages has quieted the passions, ought to be written with unalterable justice, and ought to be cursed when it does not sympathize with the oppressed."—*Univ. Hist.*, b. ix., c. 13.

(1) *Respublica Romanorum*compages *S. Reipublicæ**corpus Christo dilectum exercitus Romanus*. ANASTASIUS LIBR.: *Life of Gregory III.*

Byzantine government. Finally, Pope Gregory III assumed the direction of affairs in Rome and its Duchy, maintained their *de facto* independence against the exarch of Ravenna, and sought the aid of Charles Martel, making him Patrician or Defender of Rome (1). The confines of the Duchy of Rome were, at this time, nearly identical with those of the modern province of *Campagna di Roma*.

Donation of Pepin (754).

Pope St. Stephen II. went to France in 753, begged the aid of Pepin against the Lombards, and at the assembly of Quercy-sur-Oise, was made the treaty given in the previous chapter. King Astolphus having failed in his promise to restore the territories stolen from the Holy See, Pepin besieged the Lombard in Pavia, and compelled him to yield. By this restitution and the donation of Pepin, the Popes acquired the Exarchate of Ravenna, which included the territory embracing, in modern times, the Ferrarese, the Bolognese, the Romagna, the Duchy of Urbino, and part of the March of Ancona. The Lombards retained possession of the Marches of Camerino and of Fermo, of the Duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, and of Tuscany.

Donation of Charlemagne (774) and Voluntary Choice of the Spoletans and Anconitans.

Anastasius tells us that the Spoletans and Anconitans, the people of Fermo and of other districts, voluntarily gave themselves in subjection to Pope Adrian I. Dom Vaisette (*Geog. Eccles.*, v. 3) holds that the Duchy of Spoleto was given by Charlemagne; Lamartinière (*Hist. Dict.*) places this donation at 778, after the death of a Frankish duke named Henry, who had received Spoleto from Charlemagne. The province of Sabina is spoken of by Louis the Compliant, as "having been accorded, in its entirety, to the blessed Apostle Peter, by a written donation of our father, the Emperor Charles." By the donation of Charlemagne, or by the will of the peoples, or by both—for these two theories are

(1) *Ibid.*, b. 2, c. 99. FLEURY; b. 42.

easily reconciled—the Holy See possessed, not only the Exarchate, between the Adriatic and the Appenines, and from the mouth of the Adige to Ancona ; but Parma, Reggio and Modena; Perugia, Spoleto, Sabina, the Marches of Camerino and Chieti (Teate); and all that part of Tuscany that lies south of the Cecina, together with the territory between the Tuscan line and the Tiber.

Contests of the Pontiff-Kings with Roman Factions and the Emperors.

During the tenth and eleventh centuries the Papal States present changes as varied as those of a kaleidoscope. Most of the cities and fiefs are in the hands of turbulent lords who regard themselves as independent ; the great Countess Matilda alone possesses nearly all of central Italy. In 932, Alberic was really sovereign at Rome, the Pontifical authority being confined entirely to spirituals. In 1028, the duke of Spoleto becomes a simple governor, named by the Emperor. In 1047, the Normans seize Benevento, but are expelled by Henry III., who cedes the duchy to Pope Leo IX., in return for the feudal rights of the Holy See in the bishopric of Bamberg. The Normans defeat the Papal troops who, under Leo IX. in person, try to recover Benevento, but the same Normans afterwards conquer the duchy for Gregory VII. The Pontiffs Gregory VII., Victor III., Urban II., Paschal II., Gelasius II., Innocent II., Lucius II., Eugenius III., Adrian IV., Alexander III. and Lucius III., are exiled from Rome either by factions, or by the Emperors, in the struggle about investitures. For a moment, Rome becomes a republic under Arnold of Brescia. But the temporal power grows stronger abroad. The Norman conquerors of the Sicilies, Croatia, and Dalmatia (1076), Hungary and Corsica (1079) Provence (1081). Spain (1074), Portugal (1142), Denmark (1159), become vassals of the Pontiffs and pay tribute to them. The Countess Matilda gives all her territories to Pope St. Gregory VII., but dying in 1115, war ensues between Rome and the Emperor, because of her will. In 1120, Duke William does homage to Pope Calixtus II. for the Puglia and Calabria. In 1208, the duchy of Ferrara falls into the pos-

session of the House of Este. In 1209, the Emperor Otho IV. yields part of Matilda's territories to Pope Innocent III., but this concession is soon revoked. In 1210, Salinguerra, who has seized the lordship of Ferrara, receives from Otho IV. twenty-four great fiefs in the Romagna; excommunicated by Innocent III., he receives the investiture from the Pontiff. In 1212, this Pope forces Marquard and Conrad to surrender the Duchy of Spoleto and the March of Ancona; he recovers the Patrimony of St. Peter (1), but cannot deprive the archbishop of Ravenna of the government of that city. He entirely restores the Papal sovereignty of Rome, the senate being no longer chosen by the people; he abolishes the dignity of Consul, and gives the Prefect that investiture which he used to receive from the Emperor.

Municipal and Feudal Italy in the 13th Century.

The Pope was, at this time, sovereign *de jure* of The Patrimony, the Campagna, the March of Ancona, the Duchy of Spoleto, southern Tuscany, the Sabina, and the Romagna; but in the Romagna, the March, and the Duchy, all the cities had submitted to tyrants who pretended to hold from the Emperor, and in reality acknowledged no superior. Even in the Campagna, many powerful families divided the political authority, and were always at war with the Pontiff. In fine, the States of the Church were a confused assemblage of independent cities, corporations, and lordships. Around Bologna, ruled the Geremii; around Ravenna, the Polenta; around Rimini, the Malatesta; around Urbino, the Montefeltri; the Sabina and the Campagna were divided among the Orsini, Colonna, Frangipani, Savelli, and Gaetani families; Bologna, Ravenna, Commachio, Imola, Faenza, Forli, Cesena Rimini, Urbino, were free cities. From Innocent III. (d. 1216) to Benedict XI. (el. 1303) the Pontiffs were nearly constantly exiled from the Eternal City. During this period, out of nineteen Popes, thirteen were elected outside Rome, and were not allowed to dwell in their capital. In 1221,

(1) This term is often loosely applied to the Roman States in their entirety, but it should be used only in reference to that portion lying between the Tiber and the modern Tuscan frontier.

the Emperor pretended to confer the Romagna upon two counts of Hohenlohe. In 1229, the count of Toulouse ceded the marquisate of Provence to the Holy See. In 1273, Philip III. gave the Venaissin and half of Avignon to Gregory X. In 1275, the family of Polenta seized upon the Romagna, but in 1278, Nicholas III. obliged the Emperor Rudolph to admit that this province belonged to the Holy See, and the city of Bologna submitted to the Pontiff. In 1281, Martin IV. named John d'Eppe, counsellor of the king of Sicily, count of the Romagna. In 1288, Nicholas IV. made John Colonna marquis of Ancona. and Stephen Colonna, in 1292, was made count of the Romagna, by the same Pontiff.

Period of the Papal Residence at Avignon (1309-1376).

Clement V. withdrew the lordship of Ferrara from the Venetians, and the marquises of the House of Este became vassals of the Holy See for that fief. The duchy of Urbino was restored to the Popes, in 1322. Parma was re-acquired, in 1326. In 1320, Bologna revolted, and resumed its republican form of government. In 1347-48, republic at Rome under Cola di Rienzo. In 1348, Clement VI. bought Avignon from Jane, queen of Naples. In 1353, Innocent VI. sent the legate, Alvarez Alborno, into Italy to recover all the territories of the Church. In 1376, end of the "Babylonian Captivity" at Avignon. Gregory XI. returned to the Eternal City, and finding the Lateran a ruin, he fixed his court at the Vatican.

The Popes Recover their Influence in Italy.

In 1392, the republic of Perugia submits to Pope Boniface IX., but, in 1416, the *condottiere*, Fortebraccio, establishes a principality and holds it for life. In 1420, Martin V. takes Bologna from the Bentivoglio. In 1440, the Venetians reduce the republic of Ravenna. In 1442, Perugia submits to Eugenius IV., but nearly all the cities of the Patrimony, of the Romagna, and of the March of Ancona, revolt, and fall under the sway of independent lords.

Nepotism ; Alienation of Papal Territories.

In 1456, Calixtus III. creates his nephew Peter duke of Spoleto. In 1471, and 84, Sinigaglia and Mondavio are made principalities by Sixtus IV., in favor of his nephew, John della Rovere ; Imola and Forlì are given to another nephew, Jerome Riario, while Frederick of Montefeltro is made duke of Urbino. In 1497, Alexander VI. makes a duchy of Benevento, for his son John, and in 1501, he makes his son Cæsar duke of Romagna.

Consolidation of the Papal Dominion (1).

In 1503, Julius II. expels the Borgias from the Romagna, and from 1504 to 1506, he takes from them many places in the March of Ancona. He also deprives the Bentivoglio of Bologna, and the Baglioni of Perugia. In 1509, Ravenna, and in 1511, Parma and Piacenza, are restored to the Holy See. In 1515, Leo X. cedes Parma and Piacenza to Francis I.

(1) Cantù thus speaks of the change which, about this period, was effected in the government of the Papal States: "In accordance with the ideas of the Middle Age, so opposed to that absolutism of the State which has been introduced by the moderns, the Popes used to carry on their government in union with the people, that is, with the Roman Republic. When the Pontiffs were far away, this Republic so prevailed, that Cola cited the emperor and electors of Germany to account for their titles to the Roman people. It was the cardinal Albornoz (1353) who tried to establish a true sovereignty, after the fashion that was then becoming general ; he destroyed the petty lords, recovered the cities—glad to obey the Pontiff, rather than these tyrants—and with his *Egidian Constitutions*, he guaranteed many privileges ; taking care, nevertheless, to secure a free exercise of sovereignty, by means of a union of the provinces. These *Constitutions* remained the real public law of the Romagna, they were printed in 1472, and afterwards, with various additions. The Holy See, conforming itself to the ideas of kingscraft then becoming prevalent, endeavored to enlarge its prerogatives, while the provinces jealously clung to their own statutes: the Pontifical sovereignty remained, after the ancient manner, nominal, rather than despotic. Affairs continued in this state until the revolution of 1797, which dispossessed the Pope ; afterwards, the restoration of 1814 reinstated him. The adversaries of the temporal dominion endeavor to show that this government of the Popes used to be exercised, only in dependence from the imperial supremacy. Let us ignore all history, and accept this assertion of the royalists. But in 1804, the Holy Roman Empire had ceased to be, and all the powers that had derived from it were declared to be possessed of full authority : in the Congress of 1815 (Vienna), it was agreed that all mediate jurisdiction should cease, and that each government should enjoy full and independent sovereignty. Therefore, the Popes also became absolute masters of their State, as far as the kings were concerned. In regard to their people, the Popes should have respected the privileges conceded of old, and hitherto maintained. But these privileges had been abolished by the unlimited sway of the usurpers, accustomed to unconditional despotism ; and the restorers—enemies to history, as are all who wish to tyrannize—wished that, especially in Italy, no constitutions or written rights of the people should exist. Therefore they compelled the Pope to become an absolute king, just as they were, and it was then that the cardinal Consalvi, not adverse to the new ideas, caused the Pope to issue the *motu proprio*, which systematized the public administration under a general law, instead of the multifarious and partial ones of old ; from the centre had to issue all appointments of magistrates, edicts financial enactments ; of all the modern ravings, only one—the law of conscription—was not actuated, and yet that one was indispensable. If the others were to be kept in force. Absolutism, therefore, was an entirely new thing in the Papal dominions, and when Pius IX. initiated and blessed the Italian movement, he protested, in the Constitution of March 14, 1848, that he did nothing but 'restore some ancient institutions, which were, for a long time, the mirror of the wisdom of our august predecessors,' and that, 'in the olden time, our Communes had the privilege of governing themselves, under laws chosen by themselves, with the sovereign sanction.' Behold one of the thousand proofs that liberty is old, and despotism new ; but to-day, all moral and political sense being lost, the name of one is bestowed on the other."—*Heretics of Italy, Discourse VIII.*

of France. In 1519, this Pontiff re-acquires Urbino, and in 1520, Perugia. In 1530, Parma and Piacenza are re-annexed. In 1532, the March of Ancona is definitively annexed. In 1597, Clement VIII. takes possession of Ferrara, the ducal house being extinct. In 1626, the duke of Urbino gives all his territories to the Holy See, viz., the duchy of Urbino, the counties of Montefeltro and Gubbio, the lordship of Pesaro, and the vicariate of Sinigaglia. In 1663, the county of Avignon is seized by the French, but is restored in 1664; again seized in 1687, it is restored in 1690; seized, for the third time, in 1768, it is restored in 1774.

Treaty of Tolentino, Feb. 19, 1797.

By this treaty the Papal sovereignty lost the Bolognese, the Ferrarese, and the Romagna, which were incorporated into the "Cis-alpine Republic," and also the counties of Avignon and the Venaissin, which were reunited to France. In Feb., 1808, Napoleon I. occupied Rome; and in April the territories of Ancona, Macerata, Fermo, and Urbino, were united to the "Kingdom of Italy." In May, 1809, the rest of the Papal dominions were annexed to the French empire. The Congress of Vienna restored, in 1815, all the dominions of the Holy See, excepting Avignon and the Venaissin, which remained definitively united to France.

Unitarian Movement of 1859.

The Franco-Sardinian war against Austria, in 1859, entailed the evacuation of Bologna by the Austrians on June 12th, whereupon the Romagna rebelled against the Papal authority, and was annexed to the Sardinian kingdom in March, 1860. In the following summer, Umbria and the Marches revolted, and after the short campaign of Castelfidardo, Ancona capitulated to the Sardinians on Sept. 29. The Papal dominion was now reduced to the Patrimony, the Sabina, and the Campagna. On Sept. 20, 1870, Rome itself was occupied by the troops of Victor Emmanuel.

CHAPTER XLII.

ST. BONIFACE, APOSTLE OF GERMANY.

The student who is desirous of a knowledge of the first attempts to convert the tribes of Germany to the faith is referred to the learned work of Mamachi, entitled *Christian Origins and Antiquities*, b. 2, chap. 20. Of these early endeavors we shall only remark that but little progress was made until the eighth century, when these barbaric hordes were destined to be enlightened by some offshoots of their own race, some of that sturdy Saxon stock which had hurled its barbarism against the isle of Britain, but had there attained a knowledge of Christianity and of civilization. The first Anglo-Saxon who carried the cross into the home of his ancestors was St. Wilfrid. Landing on the coast of Friesland in 675 (1), he succeeded in converting several chieftains and some thousands of their followers (2). Wilfrid's mission among the Frisians was, however, only temporary, as he was on his way to Rome to plead his cause, his zeal having exiled him from England. The first permanent missions in Germany were established by Egbert, a Northumbrian priest who had been educated in Ireland. Confining his own exertions to the western islands, he at first sent Wigbert into Friesland, but in two years this missionary returned to Ireland with a lamentable tale of failure. The hopes of Egbert were soon revived by the news that the Franks, under Pepin of Herstal, had conquered South Friesland. He thought that as Pepin was a Christian, he would second the efforts of those who aimed at evangelizing, and therefore civilizing, his new subjects. St. Willibrord, and twelve disciples from Ireland, were therefore sent, to meet with better success than their predecessor (3). So numerous were the con-

(1) This name was applied to the Germanic countries bordering the North Sea.

(2) EDDIUS: chap. 25.

(3) From his infancy, Willibrord was educated by the Irish monks of Ripon, and he afterwards studied Scripture twelve years in Ireland.

verts of this apostolic band, that Pope Sergius consecrated Willibrord as bishop of Utrecht, making him metropolitan of Friesland, with authority to create a competent number of suffragans. Swidbert, one of these Saxon missionaries, labored among the Boructuarii, the inhabitants of the modern duchy of Berg. Adelbert, a royal prince of Northumbria, had great success in North Holland. Werenfrid converted the Batavi, a tribe that inhabited the island formed by the Rhine and the Wahal. Wiro (1), Plechelm, and Otger, labored among the people of Gueldres. But none of these warriors of the cross met with that success which crowned the efforts of him who was destined to be called the "Apostle of Germany." St. Boniface, according to English writers, who seem unconscious of any possibility of doubt in the matter, was a West Saxon, and born about 680 at Crediton in Devonshire. Certain Irish writers, however, and among them the learned Dr. Moran (2) as confidently assert that the great missionary was an Irishman. Marianus Scotus, a good authority in such a matter, plainly says that he was "Irish, both by father and mother." Considering, however, that his disciple, Willibald, first bishop of Achstat, tells us in the *Life of Boniface* that the saint studied, when about thirteen years of age, under Wolphard in the monastery of Exeter, and that he afterwards completed his scholastic course at Nutselle in Winchester, we would give England the credit of his training, and regard his nationality as uncertain. Although certain Protestant authors affect to sneer at what they call the ignorance of Boniface, he seems to have acquired such knowledge as the civilized world could at that time impart; for he was appointed a professor at Nutselle, and his school was greatly frequented. As the monasteries were then the only sources of knowledge in England, it is safe to conclude that the scholastic attainments of Boniface were superior to those of most Englishmen of the day. After

(1) Irish writers claim Wiro as their countryman. Alcuin, however, styles him an Anglo-Saxon. Some Irish authors also claim Plechelm and Otger for Ireland.

(2) Moran quotes as proof the monuments published in reference to German history by Pertz, vol. 7; *Chronicle of Mariannus*, years 737, 745, 762, 765; *Tentamen Vitae of St. Gall.* Trithemius, he says, also refers St. Boniface to Ireland. See *Early Irish Church*, i. 3. c. 3. Lingard, who in many other cases carefully notes Irish claims to those he regards as Saxons, makes no allusion to any doubt in the matter. See *Anglo-Saxon Church*, chap. 13. Butler is similarly unsuspicious of any uncertainty on the point. See *Lives*.

his ordination to the priesthood, he became a member of the great council of the nation : and Ina, king of Wessex, gave him his confidence to such an extent that, had he been ambitious, he might have received the highest preferments. But the spirit of the Apostolate was alive in the heart of the young priest, and with the reluctant consent of his abbot, Wibert, he set out in 716, accompanied by three companions, for Friesland. But his mission was in vain. Pepin was dead, and his son Charles was opposed by a rival, while Radbode of the independent Frisians was profiting by the opportunity to reconquer the provinces which Pepin had annexed. Paganism was again triumphant in Friesland, and Boniface deemed it prudent to return, and to await in England a more propitious occasion. Soon, however, he set out for Rome to consult with Pope Gregory II., taking with him a recommendatory letter from Daniel, bishop of Winchester. The Pontiff was so impressed with the zeal of Boniface, that he advised him to make Germany the field of his labors, and dismissed him with letters to the princes whose territories he would be obliged to cross. Arriving in Thuringia, he found many nominal Christians who yet retained the habits of Paganism, and were led by a clergy, few in number, ignorant, and irregular in morals. He at once busied himself in the work of instruction and reformation, but hearing of the successes of the Franks in Friesland, he resolved to return to the people of his first choice. For three years he now labored under the direction of Willibrord, and it was only on the discovery that this prelate designed to make him his successor in the see of Utrecht, that he fled and betook himself to the country of the Hessians and Old Saxons.

In a few years, Pope Gregory II. heard that many thousands of these barbarians had been brought into the fold, and he summoned our saint to Rome in 723. When he was fully informed as to the state and needs of the German mission, the Pontiff resolved to confer upon Boniface the episcopal dignity. Willibald says that it was on this occasion that the Pope changed our saint's own name of Winfrid to that of Boniface, by which name he is now generally

known (1). Having taken the usual oath of obedience to the Holy See (2), he returned to Hesse.

St. Boniface now set himself to the task of obtaining recruits for his little army of preachers. His letters to the bishops and abbots of England resulted in a reinforcement of many zealous assistants. "No motives," says Lingard, "but those of the purest zeal could have supported them under the numerous privations and dangers to which they were continually exposed. Bread, indeed, they were able to obtain from the gratitude of their neophytes, and the menaces of the Franks protected them from the insults of the vanquished barbarians, who refused to listen to their doctrine; but for clothing, and almost every other necessary, they were compelled to depend on the casual benevolence of their distant friends; and the fruits of their labors were frequently destroyed, and their lives endangered, by the hostilities of the tribes that still retained the religion and independence of their fathers. By one incursion no less than thirty churches were levelled with the ground" (3). In a few years were founded the great monasteries of Fritzlar, Amelburg, and Fulda, and the monks placed under the strict rule of St. Benedict. By their means, cultivated ground soon took the place of the forest, and cultivated minds were engendered among what soon began to assume the semblance of a people. Boniface did not neglect the training of women. He begged Tetta, abbess of Winburn, to send him some of her Sisters for so important an object, and so many English ladies volunteered, that he soon beheld the wild daughters of Germany under the humanizing influence of Lioba at Bischofsheim, of Tecla at Chitzengen,

(1) The saint's letters show that he used both names conjointly, many years before his consecration.

(2) The oath which was exacted, at this time, by the Roman Pontiffs, is preserved in the *Diurnal of the Pontiffs*. In the first part, the bishop swears to protect the faith, unity, and interests of the Church. In the second, he avows allegiance to the emperor, and promises to oppose treason, and to inform the Pope of any such he may discover. This second part was modified when the conversion of the northern barbarians changed the circumstances of the bishops in those parts. Thus, Gregory the Great caused the Lombard prelates to swear, instead of allegiance to the emperor to contribute to all just peace between their nation and the Roman empire. At the consecration of St. Boniface, another change was made. Many of the French bishops were living in an open violation of the canons; hence Boniface swore that he would not communicate with them, but would endeavor to reform them, and failing in this that he would denounce them to the Holy See. Mosheim takes occasion of this oath to carp at Boniface, as a flatterer of the Pontiff. Where the flattery lies, he would not be able to show. The saint merely obeyed a legitimate order, and one meant for that reformation Mosheim so lauds.

(3) *Epistles of St. Boniface* nos. 91 and 92.

of Walpurga at Heidenheim, of Chunihild in Thuringia, and of Chunitrude in Bavaria. In 732, Gregory III. mounted the Papal throne; and he soon sent the pallium to Boniface, and made him primate of all Germany. In 738, our saint visited Rome for the third time, and was appointed Apostolic legate to France and Germany. On his return, he paused awhile in Bavaria, at the request of Duke Odilo, to reform several abuses; he there established the sees of Salzburg, Freisingheim, and Ratisbon, the Pope ratifying the act in 739. About this time, he also founded the sees of Erford in Thuringia, Baraburg in Hesse (since translated to Paderborn), Wurtzburg in Franconia, and Achstat in Bavaria. In the year 751, St. Boniface took a prominent part in a most important revolution. The weak Merovingian kings of the Franks had for a long time held merely the royal title, while their "mayors of the palace" exercised the real power of the crown. Pepin resolved to do away with the shadow, and accordingly, Childeric, last of the race of Clovis, was relegated to a monastery, and Pepin hailed by the nation as king of the Franks. When St. Boniface, as Apostolic legate, was requested to crown the new king, he hesitated, but the estates of the realm applied to Pope Zachary, who had succeeded Gregory III. in 741, and that Pontiff answered that it was better that he should be king who really exercised the royal power. Pepin was then crowned at Soissons.

The thirty-nine letters which have come down to us testify to the indefatigable zeal of St. Boniface, and that he had always in view the greater glory of God. His epistles are all written in Latin, although the language in most parts of Germany was almost the same as that of the English Saxons of that day. In 754, the saint resolved upon a final effort to convert the Pagans of Friesland. Availing himself of the privilege granted by Pope Zachary, he consecrated as his successor in the see of Mentz, an English monk named Lullus. He then resigned his diocese, and Pope Stephen II. acquiescing, and confirming the nomination of Lullus, he took a few companions, and set out on his last mission. Miraculous success attended his labors, and

several thousand idolaters were received into the Church. The eve of Pentecost was appointed for their confirmation, and the open plains of Dockum fixed for the assembly. Here he had pitched his tent, and was awaiting the arrival of the converts, when a horde of ferocious infidels appeared in the plain, and by their cries showed the hostility of their intentions. The attendants of the missionary wished to defend his and their own lives, but he exhorted them to remember that this was the day they had so long desired. The entire band, fifty-three in number, of whom two were bishops, three priests, three deacons, four monks, and the rest laymen, were then put to the sword. The only plunder found by the butchers consisted of relics and books, which they scattered about the fields. Three of these latter were afterwards recovered, and preserved in the monastery of Fulda; namely, a *Book of the Gospels* written by our saint, a *Harmony of the New Testament*, and a volume containing the letter of Pope St. Leo to Theodore of Frejus, the discourse of St. Ambrose on the Holy Ghost, and a treatise by this holy doctor on *The Advantage of Death*.

The courage, zeal, and success of St. Boniface were unquestionable, and his devotion to the Holy See so evident, that Protestant writers have not as yet endeavored, as in the cases of St. Patrick and St. Augustine, to prove that his doctrine was other than that of Rome. But his evident "popery" has been productive of attacks on his motives, and even on his good name. Mosheim (1) tells us that "Boniface merited the title of Apostle of the Germans, because of his many labors for Christ, nor will a fair-minded inquirer deem him unworthy of the name. But in many ways he departed from the example left us by the first and true Apostles. To say nothing of his zeal for the dignity and majesty of the Roman Pontiff, whose legate and minister he was, which equalled, if it did not surpass, his care for the glory of Jesus Christ, he did not always oppose superstition with the arms adopted by the ancient Apostles, but frequently subjugated the minds of men by force and by fear, and even by artifice and fraud. His letters be-

(1) *History, 8th Cent.*, p. 1, c. I, § 4.

tray an imperious and arrogant character, a cunning and deceitful spirit, an excessive desire to increase the prerogatives of the priestly order, and a profound ignorance of many things necessary for an Apostle, and of much that pertains to the true genius of the Christian religion." St. Boniface and his companions, according to Mosheim, were the preachers, not of Christianity, but of popery; rather than ambassadors of Christ, they were emissaries and slaves of Rome; in murdering them, the barbarous but patriotic Germans did a very natural and praiseworthy thing. The head and front of St. Boniface's offending is his popery. But what other system could he have preached? Certainly not that of Luther and Calvin, eight hundred years before its time. In the Catholic faith as taught by Rome he had been raised and trained; he as firmly held it, as did the millions of Christians of the time; it is absurd then to reproach him for teaching the same faith in the infant churches of Germany. Had he done otherwise, he would have indeed merited reproach as one false to his mission. If his letters breathe a spirit of devotion to the Holy See which appears extravagant to the colder hearts of our day, we must remember that this spirit was the very life of Christendom at that period; that in the eighth century the authority of Rome extended to more objects than it now embraces (1). As for the accusation that St. Boniface was more zealous for the dignity and aggrandizement of the Roman See than for the glory of God, all his acts go to show that he regarded the glory of God as principally increased, upon this earth, by those who obey the institutions which He founded. In common with all Catholic missionaries, he was convinced that the Pope was Christ's vicar on earth, and he could not preach the Christian religion, without inculcating respect for him upon

(1) "The Pontifical authority reached its greatest development when Europe, devastated by the barbarians, was cut up into many sovereignties, fell into ignorance and into the anarchy of feudalism, lost her customs, her laws and her police, having for masters only ferocious and vicious soldiers, who knew no other right than that of the stronger. Of what use, in moving such men, would have been prayer, exhortation, paternal advice? Menaces and censures were necessary, force had to be opposed to force, and often one faction had to be armed to reduce another. If we attempt to judge those times by our own, if we persuade ourselves that those people could be governed as we now govern, we deceive ourselves, and all declamations based upon this principle are empty. The power of the Popes has become much more limited as things have changed, and as order has been re-established." BERGIER; *Dictionary*, art. *Popes*, § III.

whom, as upon the rock, was built the Church which had care of that religion.

St. Boniface is charged with having employed force and terror to convert the German barbarians. When Mosheim makes this accusation, one would expect some proof; for it is difficult to picture St. Boniface in the guise of a Mohammedan fanatic or of a Puritan trooper, as the German historian perforce incites us to do. Does he show us the English apostle forcing the barbarians into the Church, by means of the troops of Charles Martel? The sole protection which the Hammerer and his sons, Carloman and Pepin, gave to our missionary, was what was necessary for the foundation of bishoprics, monasteries, and schools. And where was the force of this world on that glorious eve of Pentecost, when the Friesland Pagans attacked him and his fifty-two companions, as he was about to confirm his neophytes in the faith? Some of his followers would fain have sold their lives dearly, but St. Boniface bade them meet their death as a thing long desired, for it was the gate of everlasting life. He had already said (1): "If it be the will of God, let us die for the holy laws of our fathers, that we may arrive with them at the eternal inheritance. Let us not be dumb dogs, sleeping sentinels, hirelings who fly at the sight of the wolf, but watchful and diligent pastors; preaching to the great and small, to the rich and poor, to every age and condition, being instant in season and out of season." Mosheim declares that St. Boniface made use of "artifice and fraud" to make converts; that he was "cunning and deceitful." Of artifice and fraud we can find no trace, nor does Mosheim produce any instance of such practices. If the Protestant historian designates as "frauds" the saint's veneration for relics, his preaching on indulgences, purgatory, miracles, etc., he should show us some probable ground for supposing that Boniface did not himself believe in them. This cannot be shown; nay, the saint gave the best proof of his good faith when he yielded up his life in attestation of it. If, as Mosheim alleges, St. Boniface was "imperious and arrogant," his letters ought to manifest

(1) *Epistle to Cuthbert of Canterbury.*

something of such a spirit. But while they breathe zeal and Apostolic firmness, they are full of charity and of Gospel sweetness. He was strong in defence of the sacerdotal prerogatives, and so was St. Paul: "As long indeed as I am the Apostle of the Gentiles, I will honor my ministry." *Rom. XI. v. 13.* And: "Let no man despise thee." *Tit. II. v. 15.* It is certain that St. Boniface was far less domineering in his rule over the churches of his foundation, than were Luther and Calvin towards those whom they perverted. While yet in the fullness of his strength, he appointed a successor to his see of Mentz, and went off to continue his labors among the idolaters. For the rest, the authority which he claimed for bishops was simply that which was recognized as their right by the Christendom of the time. When Mosheim tells us that St. Boniface was "profoundly ignorant of much that pertains to the true genius of the Christian religion," he must mean that the saint was innocent of any knowledge of that genius which Protestantism was yet to develop. This is certainly true. Brucker ventures to blame St. Boniface for not having taught philosophy to the German barbarians; he finds fault with the Benedictine scholars for attributing erudition to the saint, and because they praise him for founding the schools of Fulda and of Fritzlar. No one contends that St. Boniface was a great philosopher, and if he had been, the Germans of that day could scarcely appreciate metaphysics before they had learned to read. But Brucker alleges a proof of our saint's ignorance which merits more than a passing notice.

This proof of ignorance lies in the fact, according to Brucker, or rather Aventin of Bavaria, that St. Boniface condemned his fellow-missionary, the Irishman Virgil (Ferghil) for having asserted the existence of Antipodes, that is, of men on the other side of the earth. If this accusation were well founded, it is no more a proof of ignorance in our saint, than would be, in the case of Brucker's idolized Luther, his want of acquaintance with the telephone. All the ancient philosophers, as well as many of the fathers of the Church, deemed the earth to be flat. Some (1) of the latter certainly manifest a knowledge of

(1) PHILOPONTUS; *Creation of the World*, b. 5, c. 13.

cosmography greater than that of their time, and show that they knew that the earth was round. Such was the opinion of St. Basil the Great, of the two Gregorys of Nyssa and Nazianzen, of Athanasius, and many others. But it is worse than hypercritical to blame St. Boniface for not being seven hundred years ahead of his time in matters of cosmography (1). However, there are several points to be considered before we grant even this excusable ignorance in our saint. The author (2) of a Dissertation printed in the *Memoires of Trévoux*, Jan., 1708, proves that the fact alleged by Aventin is not certain. The only foundation for it is in a letter of Pope Zachary to St. Boniface: "If it is shown that Virgil holds that there is another world, and that there are other men under this earth, another sun and another moon, convoke a synod, condemn him, deprive him of the priesthood, and expel him from the Church." But there is no proof that this order was executed. The accusation may have been found baseless, or Virgil may have proved the orthodoxy of his sentiments, showing that his words had been misinterpreted. At any rate, it is certain that Virgil lived thereafter in the friendship of the Roman Pontiff, and of St. Boniface; that he was made bishop of Salzburg, and that he was finally canonized; all which certainly proves that he was not condemned for heresy. Again, continues this author, St. Boniface was right in his condemnation of Virgil, if that missionary held, as other Antipodarians had held, that under this world there were other men, of a different species than our own, one, that is, not of the race of Adam, and not subject to the guilt of original sin. Such a paradox would have been contrary to Holy Writ, and it was in this sense only that St. Augustine rejected the theory of the Antipodes (3). "It is true," says Leibnitz (4), "that Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, accused Virgil of Salzburg of error in this matter, and that the Pontiff replied to his letter in a manner which showed that he greatly leaned towards the

(1) D'Alembert, in the great *Encyclopedie*, insists particularly on this proof of ignorance, both in St. Boniface and in Pope St. Zachary, to whom the case of Virgil was referred. See Vol. 1, Art. *Antipodes*. Also, Baronio, y. 744.

(2) F. Edward de Vitry, S. J.

(3) *City of God*, b. 16.

(4) *Spirit of Leibnitz*, v. 2.

views of Boniface, but we discover no consequences of the accusation. The two antagonists are regarded as saints, and the learned of Bavaria, who look upon Virgil as the apostle of Carinthia and the neighboring regions, have justified his memory" (1).

(1) "We should pause for a moment to consider, in this great man, one of those heroic lives that influence the destinies of nations. His life is a compendium of the revolution which fills many centuries. Wrapped in absolute barbarism, the Germans had been surrounded, for four hundred years, by the institutions of Christian society; bishops and monks had vainly endeavored to educate these ignorant tribes. How could the faith become mistress of these intellects enslaved by the senses? How could the faith subdue such irregular wills? Their old instincts were showing themselves in slaughter in robbery and in carousals; after thirty Catholic kings, the Franks were returning to idolatry; the sacrifices of Woden reddened the altar of Christ; and perhaps, in a short time, there would have remained only a slight remembrance of the Gospel, as of one more fable in the Mythology of the North. Such would have been the end of Christianity, had it been left to the free genius of the Germans. The barbarians could be educated only under guardianship. Their unruly spirits would bow only to the ascendancy of a great power; such was that of the Popes, who manifested that paternal character which is derived from their divine institution; who had the strength of ideas, who were accustomed to govern, and who had the prestige of time and distance and the majesty of the Latin name. By these means the Pontiffs had mastered the Franks, and through them, other peoples. It was a decisive moment when Gregory II. dictated to bishop Boniface the oath of fidelity. Rome then witnessed the fulfillment of what she had foreseen when Alaric restored, in pomp, the sacred vessels to St. Peter's basilica; she saw her empire again extended over the nations that had overthrown it; she saw a Saxon bishop kneeling, in the name of Germany, at the feet of a Roman citizen and arising, a legate of the Vatican—a proconsul of the new era, who was to introduce, without the aid of victors or of soldiery, the legislative genius of the old Senate among his people. For thirty-seven years Boniface carried out the designs of the Roman policy; an active correspondence with the Holy See, and twenty-four letters of Popes Gregory II., Gregory III. and Zachary, show us the fruitful docility of this great spirit. The northerners accepted the beneficent rule, imposed upon them, not by the eagle, but under the symbols of the dove and the lamb, and put an end to their four centuries of hesitancy between the Gospel and idolatry. The Apostolic legate renewed the unction on the brows of the Austrasian dukes; the Franks, confirmed in their mission, found themselves as God had wished them to be, defenders of the Church, continuators of the Romans, and an insuperable barrier to invasion. The past and the future, all times and all powers, appeared united to prepare the Catholic period of the Middle Age."—CANTÜ; *History, Documents, art. Sts. Columbanus and Boniface*.

APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Of the Roman Pontiffs, Emperors, Principal Councils, Ecclesiastical Writers, and Heretics.

FIRST CENTURY.

<i>Popes.</i> <i>Date of Election.</i>	<i>Emperors.</i> <i>Date of Death.</i>	<i>Eccl. Writers.</i>	<i>Heretics.</i>
St. Peter's See at Rome, y.	42 Augustus, y. Tiberius,	14 Denis the Areopagite. 37 St. Clement, Pope.	Simon Magus. Gnostics.
	Caligula,	41 Hermas.	Corinthians.
	Claudius,	54	Nazareans.
St. Linus,	66 Nero,	68	Ebionites.
	Galba, Otho, and Vitellius,	69	Nicolaites.
St. Cletus,	78 Vespasian,	79	Menander.
	Titus,	81	Hymeneus.
St. Clement,	91 Domitian,	96	Philetus.
	Nerva,	98	

COUNCILS:

Jerusalem, 51 Antioch, (supposed) 58

SECOND CENTURY.

<i>Popes.</i> <i>Date of Election.</i>	<i>Emperors.</i> <i>Date of Death.</i>	<i>Eccl. Writers.</i>	<i>Heretics.</i>
St. Evarist,	100 Trajan,	117 St. Ignatius, of Anti-	Helcesaites.
St. Alexander,	109	och.	Saturnine, Basilides,
St. Sixtus I,	119	St. Papias.	Carpocrates.
St. Telesphorus,	127	St. Polycarp.	Adamites.
St. Hyginus,	139	St. Aristides.	Valentine, Apelles.
St. Pius I,	142	St. Quadratus.	Cerdo, Praxeas.
St. Anicetus,	157 Antonine,	161 St. Justin.	Marcion.
St. Soter,	168 Marcus Aurellus,	180 Athenagoras.	Ophites, Sethiens, and
St. Eleutherius,	177 Commodus,	192 St. Melito.	Cainites.
St. Victor,	193 Pertinax,	193 St. Apollinaris.	Quartodecimans.
		St. Irenæus.	Marcosians.
		St. Clement of Alex-	Tatian.
		andria.	Bardesanes.
		St. Theophilus of An-	Montanus.
		tioch.	Theodotians.
		Hermias.	Melchisedechians.
		Hegesippus.	Millenarians.

COUNCILS:

Sicily,	125 In the East,	160 Lyons, Ephesus,	Rome,	198
Rome,	140 Rome,	170 Corinth, Cæsarea	Mesopotamia,	198
Pergamus,	152 Hierapolis,	173 of Palestine,	197 Lyons.	199

THIRD CENTURY.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Emperors.</i>	<i>Ecc. Writers.</i>	<i>Heretics.</i>
<i>Date of Election.</i>	<i>Date of Death.</i>		
St. Zephyrinus, 202	Severus, 211	Minutius Felix.	Noetus.
St. Calixtus I, 219	Caracalla, 217	Julius Africanus.	Novatians.
St. Urban I, 223	Macrinus, 218	Caius.	Rebaptizers.
St. Pontianus, 230	Heliogabalus, 222	Tertullian.	Sabellius.
St. Antherus, 235	Alexander, 235	Ammonius Saccas.	Patripassians.
St. Fabian, 236	Maximin I, 238	St. Hippolytus.	Paul of Samosata.
	Two Gordians, Max- imus & Balbin- us, Gordian III, 238	Origen.	Manicheans.
St. Cornelius, 251	Philip, 249	St. Dionysius (Alex.).	
St. Lucius I, 252	Decius, 252	St. Dionysius (Pope).	
St. Stephen I, 253	Gallus, 253	St. Gregory (Thaum).	
St. Sixtus II, 257	Valerian, 260	St. Anatolius of Laodicea.	
St. Dionysius, 259	Gallienus ; the 30 tyrants, 268		
St. Felix I, 269	Claudius I., Aurelian, 270		
St. Eutychian, 275	Tacitus, 276		
St. Caius, 282	Probus, 282		
St. Marcellinus, 296	Carus, 283		
	Numerian, 284		

COUNCILS :

Carthage, 215	Arabia, 249	Antioch, 253	Antioch, 264
" 217	Achaia, 250	Carthage, 253	Rome, 268
Alexandria, 223	Rome, 250	Antioch, 256	" 268
" 235	" 250	Narbonne, 257	" 269
Rome, 237	Carthage, 251	Alexandria, 258	Ancyra (Galatia), 273
Philadelphia, 242	Rome, 252	Rome, 260	Ancyra (Syria), 277
Ephesus, 245	Carthage, 252	Alexandria, 263	Mesopotamia, 277

FOURTH CENTURY.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Emperors.</i>	<i>Ecc. Writers.</i>	<i>Heretics.</i>
<i>Date of Election.</i>	<i>Date of Death.</i>		
	Diocletian & Maxim- ian abdicate, 305	Arnobius.	Donatists.
St. Marcellus I, 308	Constantius Chlor- us, 306	St. Pamphylus.	Arians.
St. Eusebius, 310	Severus, 307	Lactantius.	Photinus.
St. Miltiades, 311	Galerius, 311	Eusebius of Caesarea.	Macedonians.
St. Sylvester, 314	Maxentius, Maximin, Licinius (East), 324	Hosius of Cordova.	Aerians.
St. Mark, 326	Constantine, 337	St. Hilary of Poitiers.	Apollinarists.
St. Julius I, 337	Constantine II, Constans, 350	St. Eusebius of Vercelli.	Collyridians.
Liberius, 352	Constantius, 361	Lucifer of Cagliari.	Priscillianists.
St. Damasus, 366	Julian the Apos- tate, 363	St. Athanasius.	Messalians.
St. Siricius, 385	Jovian, 364	The two Apollinarii.	Ithacians.
St. Anastasius I, 398	Valentinian I, Gratian, 393	St. Basil.	Helvidius.
	Valentinian II, 392	St. Ephrem.	Jovinian.
	<i>Eastern Emperors.</i>	Optatus of Milevi.	Vigilantius.
	Valens, 378	St. Damasus (Pope).	
	Theodosius, 395	St. Cyril (Jerusalem).	
		St. Gregory Nazian- zen.	
		St. Gregory of Nyssa.	
		St. Pacian.	
		St. Philaster.	
		St. Ambrose.	
		St. Epiphanius.	
		Rufinus.	
		St. Gaudensius.	
		Sulpicius Severus.	
		Evagrius.	
		St. Jerome.	
		St. Augustine.	
		St. Paulinus of Nola.	

COUNCILS :

Elvira, 305	Neo-Cæsarea, 314	Alexandria, 321	Carthage, 333
Alexandria, 308	Alexandria, 315	Gangres, 324	Rome, 337
Carthage, 311	Palestine, 318	Rome, 324	Alexandria, 340
Rome, 313	Alexandria, 319	Nice (1st Gen.), 325	Antioch, 341
Aries, 314	Rome, 320	Rome, 325	Rome, 342
Ancyra, 314	Laodicea, 320	Alexandria, 330	Milan, 344 or 346

COUNCILS (CENT. IV).—*Continued.*

Antioch,	345	Alexandria,	363	Milan,	380	Milan,	390
Cologne,	346	Antioch,	363	Suragossa,	380	Carthage,	390
Sardica,	347	Laodicea,	364	Constantinople,	381	Constantinople,	390
Milan,	347	Illyria,	365	(2d Gen.),	381	Carthage,	393
Cordova,	347	Cæsarea,	365	Aquileia,	381	Hippo,	393
Jerusalem,	348	Rome,	366	Rome,	382	Cabarsussit,	393
Rome,	349	Sicily,	366	Constantinople,	382	Constantinople,	394
Jerusalem,	350	Tyana,	366	Sida,	383	Carthage,	394
Bazas,	351	Rome,	367	Constantinople,	383	Hadrumetta,	394
Rome,	352	Rome,	367	Antioch,	383	Caverre,	394
Poitiers,	355	Rome,	368	Nîmes,	383	Hippo,	394
Milan,	355	Rome,	369	Bordeaux,	385	Turin,	397
Ancyra,	358	Rome,	370	Rome,	386	Carthage,	397
Rome,	358	Illyria,	373	Treves,	386	Carthage,	398
Bimini,	359	Rome,	373	Zelle,	386	Carthage,	399
Achaia,	359	Valence, (Dauph-),	374	Antioch,	388	Alexandria,	399
Paris,	360	Gangres,	375	Toledo,	388	Cyprus,	399
Antioch,	360	Antioch,	375	Capua,	389	Constantinople,	401
Alexandria,	362	Antioch,	377	Carthage,	389	Rome,	401
Constantinople,	362	Rome,	378	Rome,	390	Toledo,	406
Paris,	362	Antioch,	379				

FIFTH CENTURY.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Emperors.</i>	<i>Eccl. Writers.</i>	<i>Heretics.</i>
<i>Date of Election.</i>	<i>Date of Death.</i>		
St. Innocent I., 402	Honorius, 423	St. Chrysostom,	Pelagius.
St. Zosimus, 417	Valentinian III., 455	St. Cyril (Alex.),	Nestorius.
St. Boniface I., 418	Maximus, 455	St. Prosper,	Eutyches.
St. Celestine I., 422	Avitus, 456	St. Vincent & Lerins,	Predestinationists
St. Sixtus III., 422	Majorian, 461	Paulus Orosius,	Peter Fulio.
St. Leo the Great, 440	Severus, 465	Prudentius,	Theopaschites.
St. Hilary, 446	Anthemius, 472	Cassian,	
St. Simplicius, 468	Glycerius (deposed in), 472	St. Eucherius,	
St. Felix II., 483	Julius Nepos (deposed in), 475	Claudian Mamert.	
St. Gelasius, 492	Romulus Augustulus (deposed in), 476	St. Hilary of Arles,	
St. Anastasius II., 496		Theodoret,	
St. Symmachus, 498		Socrates,	
		Sozomenus,	
		St. Leo the Great,	
		St. Maximus of Turin.	
		St. Peter Chrysologus,	
		Salvianus,	
		St. Nilus,	
		Synesius,	
		Gennadius.	
	<i>Eastern Emperors.</i>		
	Zeno, 491		

COUNCILS :

African, or of Carthage,	401	Rome,	417	Antioch,	436	Constantinople,	449
Alexandria,	401	Carthage,	417	Constantinople,	438	Britain (Gt.),	449
Ephesus,	401	Talepte,	418	Constantinople,	439	Rome,	449
Turin,	401	Carthage,	418	Riez,	439	Constantinople,	450
Milevi,	402	Rome,	419	Ephesus,	440	Milan,	451
Afr., or Carthage,	403	Ravenna,	419	Orange,	441	Arles,	451
Constantinople,	403	Carthage,	420	Vaison,	442	Chalcedon (4th Gen.),	451
Carthage,	404	Hippo,	422	Arles,	442	Arles,	451
African,	405	Antioch,	424	Rome,	444	Angers,	451
Italy,	405	Carthage,	425	Besançon,	444	Jerusalem,	451
Toledo,	406	Hippo,	426	Rome,	445	Arles,	458
Africa,	407	Constantinople,	426	Antioch,	445	Rome,	458
Carthage,	407	The Gauls,	429	Hierapolis,	445	Constantinople,	458
Carthage,	407	Rome,	430	St. Albans,	446	Tours,	461
Carthage,	410	Alexandria,	430	Wilkins,	446	Rome,	461
Ptolemais,	411	Ephesus (3d Gen.),	431	Two Spanish,	447	Spain,	464
Carthage,	411	Antioch,	432	Ephesus,	447	Vannes,	465
Braga,	411	Anazarba,	433	Astorga,	447	Rome,	465
Zerthe,	412	Rome,	433	Antioch,	448	Antioch,	472
Carthage,	412	Tarsus,	434	Tyre,	448	Ephesus,	475
Jerusalem,	415	Antioch,	434	Berytum,	448	Lyons,	475
Diospolis,	415	Thessalonica,	435	Constantinople,	448	Arles,	475
Jerusalem,	416	Armenia,	435				

SIXTH CENTURY.

<i>Popes.</i>		<i>Eastern Emperors.</i>		<i>Ecc. Writers.</i>		<i>Heretics.</i>
<i>Date of Election.</i>		<i>Date of Death.</i>				
St. Hormisdas,	514	Anastasius	518	Ennodius,		Incorruptibilists,
St. John I.,	523	Justin I.,	527	Paschasius (deacon),		Phantasiasts,
St. Felix III.,	526	Justinian I.,	565	Boetius		Therulstians,
St. Boniface II.,	530	Justin II.,	578	St. Fulgentius,		Tritheites.
St. John II.,	533	Tiberius II.,	582	Dionysius (the Little),		
St. Agapetus,	535			Ferrand (deacon),		
St. Silverius.	536			St. Cæsarius of Arles,		
Vigilius,	537			Facundus,		
St. Pelagius I.,	555			Cassiodorus,		
St. John III.,	559			Liberatus,		
St. Benedict I.,	573			St. Gregory of Tours,		
St. Pelagius II.,	578			St. John Climacus,		
St. Gregory the Great,	590			Fortunatus.		

PRINCIPAL COUNCILS : *

Agde,	506	Carthage,	525	Orleans (V),	549	Braga (II),	572
Orleans (I),	511	Vaison,	529	Constantinople, (5th		Mascon (I),	583
Tarragona,	516	Toledo (II),	533	Gen.),	553	Mascon (II),	585
Gironne,	517	Orleans (II),	533	Paris (III),	557	Auxerre,	585
Epona,	517	Auvergne,	535	Braga (I),	563	Toledo (III),	589
Lyons (I),	517	Orleans (III),	538	Lyons (II),	567	Narbonna,	589
Lerida,	524	Barcelona,	540	Tours (II),	567	Saragossa (II),	592
Valentia,	524	Orleans (IV),	541	Lugo,	569	Seville (I),	599
Arles (IV),	524						

SEVENTH CENTURY.

<i>Popes.</i>		<i>Eastern Emperors.</i>		<i>Ecc. Writers.</i>		<i>Heretics</i>
<i>Date of Election.</i>		<i>Date of Death.</i>				
Sabinian,	604	Mauritius	602			Mohammed,
Boniface III.,	607	Phocas,	610	Anastasius Sinaita,		Monothelites.
Boniface IV.,	608	Heraclius,	641	John Moschus.		Paulicians.
St. Deusdedit,	615	Constantine,	641	St. Isidore of Seville,		
Boniface V.,	618	Constans II.,	668	Sophronius,		
Honorius I.,	625	Constantine (Pog.),	685	St. Maximus (abbot),		
Severinus,	640	Justinian II. (dep.),	695	St. Hildephonse,		
John IV.,	640	Leontius,	698	St. Julian of Toledo.		
Theodore I.,	642			Marculphus.		
St. Martin I.,	649			Theodore of Canter-		
St. Eugenius I.,	654			bury.		
Vitalian,	657			Adamnan.		
Deusdedit II.,	672					
Donus I.,	676					
St. Agatho,	678					
St. Leo II.,	682					
St. Benedict II.,	684					
John V.,	685					
Conon,	686					
St. Sergius I.,	687					

PRINCIPAL COUNCILS :

Paris (V),	614	Chalons		Hertford,	673	Toledo (XIV),	684
Seville (II),	619	(sur Saone),	650	Toledo (XI),	675	Toledo (XV),	688
Rhems,	625	Toledo (VIII),	653	Braga (IV),	675	Saragossa (III),	691
Toledo (IV),	634	Toledo (IX),	655	Constantinople (6th		In Trullo, (Quini-	
Toledo (V),	636	Toledo (X),	656	Gen.),	680	sext),	692
Toledo (VI),	637	Nantes,	656	Toledo (XII),	681	Toledo (XVI),	693
Toledo (VII),	647	Autun,	670	Toledo (XIII),	683	Toledo (XVII),	694

* The Councils now become too numerous to be all noticed in a compendium.

EIGHTH CENTURY.

<i>Popes</i>		<i>Eastern Emperors.</i>		<i>Ecc. Writers.</i>		<i>Heretics.</i>
<i>Date of Election.</i>		<i>Date of Death.</i>				
John VI.	701	Apsimarus,	705	St. Aldhelm,		Iconoclasts,
John VII.	705	Justinian II.	711	Ven. Bede		Adelbert & Clement.
Sisinnius,	708	Philippicus.	713	St. John Damascene,		Ellipand of Toledo,
Constantine,	708	Anastasius II.	716	Aleuin,		and Felix of Urgel,
St. Gregory II.	715	Leo the Isaurian,	741	St. Paulinus of		
Gregory III.	731	Constantine Copro-		Aquila,		
St. Zachary,	741	ninus	755	Etherius,		
Stephen II (often not		Leo IV.	780	Beatus,		
counted, as he died be-		Constantine VI.	797	Paul (deacon),		
fore consecration),	752			Theophanes,		
Stephen III.	752			Ambrose Autpertus,		
St. Paul I.	757					
Stephen IV.	768					
Adrian I.	772					
St. Leo III.	795					
		<i>Revival of Western Empire.</i>				
		Charlemagne pro-				
		claimed emperor by				
		Pope St. Leo III, Dec.				
		25, 799, but as the				
		year was then count-				
		ed from Christmas,				
		this event is generally				
		placed in 800.				

PRINCIPAL COUNCILS:

Germanic, held ac-	Lestines,	744	Verneuil,	755	Constantinople, (7th.
cording to some, at	Soissons,	745	Compiègne,	757	Gen.)
Ratisbon; according	Cloveshoe	747	Bavarian, at Dingol-		Frankfort,
to others, at Augs-	Verberie,	753	viaga.	771	Friuli,
burg,	742				791

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~~Wm H. Vance~~

STUDIES
IN
CHURCH HISTORY

BY

REV. REUBEN PARSONS, D. D.

VOL. II
CENTURIES IX-XIV

THIRD EDITION

“That a theologian should be well versed in history, is shown by the fate of those who, through ignorance of history, have fallen into error. Whenever we theologians preach, argue, or explain Holy Writ, we enter the domain of history.”—

MELCHIOR CANUS, *Loc. Theol.*, B. XI., c. ii.

JOHN JOSEPH McVEY
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STUDIES IN CHURCH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE MIDDLE AGES.

So wide-spread is the notion that the Middle Ages furnish no material for admiration, that their very name appears to be synonymous with all that is dark, cruel, and contemptible. The nineteenth century is pre-eminently well pleased with itself; the eighteenth—that is, the philosophasters who gave it its tone—vaunted that period as *the* bright one; the seventeenth and sixteenth complacently smiled at the prospect of an era of prosperity, universal and nearly unalloyed, finally opening to humanity. There were, undoubtedly, many and crying evils in the Middle Ages, especially in their first period—the Church had not yet entirely subdued our barbarian ancestors, and thoroughly assimilated them to her civilization. During the Golden Age of Leo X., men certainly had some reason for complacency with their time, and then, says Cantù, “came the Reformation, to increase the contempt for the Middle Ages. . . . all their institutions were regarded as so much ignorance and superstition. . . . Then came the philosophy of the last century, proposing to itself the demolition of the civil and religious hierarchies. . . . Both of these had been cradled and nourished by the Middle Ages; hence to combat that period appeared to be liberty, and to show one’s self an open enemy, not only to Catholicism, but to Christianity, was regarded as free-thinking” (1). Even among Catholics, we find many who look with distrust upon this eminently Catholic period, for the poison distilled by the Reformers, and by the infidel or

(1) CANTÙ; *Universal History*, 9th Ital. ed., Turin, 1862., B. 8, *Preliminary Discourse*.

semi-infidel historians of the last century, has been eagerly imbibed by many who are deceived by the speciousness of its disguise, and by the ignorant, who know not of the existence of an antidote. There is a certain charm, for many, about Voltaire, even when he says that an inquiry into the Middle Ages produces contempt (1); about Gibbon, when, overcome by his admiration for Pagan Rome, he feigns to lament the corruption of the ensuing centuries (2); about Montesquieu, when he calls "nearly all the medieval laws barbarous" (3); about Botta, finding fault with that miserable time, when society "was regulated by the threats and promises of a future life." We are not at all disgusted with the nineteenth century, nor do we consider the Middle Ages in every respect enviable. "Far from us the wish to pine away in useless regret, and to wear out our eyes weeping over the tomb of nations whose inheritors we are. Far from us the thought of bringing back times which have forever fled. We know that the Son of God died upon the cross to save mankind, not during five or six centuries, but for the world's entire duration. . . . We regret not, therefore, however we may admire, any human institutions which have flourished, according to the lot of everything that is human; but we bitterly regret the soul, the divine spirit, which animated them, and which is no longer to be found in the institutions that have replaced them." (4).

The remark of De Maistre, that for the last three centuries, history has been a permanent conspiracy against truth, is now not quite so true as when he made it. That deliberate conspiracy of the enemies of Catholicism has no longer any effect, unless on the minds of the ignorant or the superficially informed. The labors of the Protestants, Ranke, Voigt, and Hurter, have changed, to some extent, the current of Protestant thought, wherever it has been unallied with ignorance or wilful blindness. What Ranke, in spite of himself (5), succeeded in partially doing for the Papacy of

(1) *Essay on the Morals and Spirit of Nations*, c. 23.

(2) *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, *passim*.

(3) *Spirit of Laws*.

(4) MONTALEMBERT, *Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, in *Introduction*.

(5) SAINT-CYRÉN, in his preface to his second French edition of Ranke's work, says that the German author was not a little disappointed on seeing the preference accorded to his book by the Catholic public, and "at its having become an active organ of a propaganda in

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Voigt did more fully for the Popes of the eleventh, and Hurter almost entirely did for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The shelves of Catholic libraries had been always loaded with triumphant refutations of Protestant and infidel calumnies against the ages of faith ; every Catholic scholar had been well conversant with such works ; but the great mass of those outside the fold were in Cimmerian darkness as to the true significance of those ages. We could not have expected the prejudices of our dissenting friends to permit of their studying the pages of authors like Cantù, Christophe, Semichon ; but Providence ordained that they should be somewhat enlightened by some of their own brethren. However, the impression remains among the masses, to some extent among Catholics as well as among Protestants and infidels, that there is but little for men to learn from the Middle Ages ; that they were, pre-eminently, ages of barbarism, of ignorance, and of superstition.

There are two kinds of barbarism, remarks Condillac : one which precedes enlightened periods, and another which follows them. And, well adds Benjamin Constant, the first, if compared with the second, is a desirable condition. Deeply hostile to the ages of Catholic unity, to that period to which they would fain ascribe the adulteration of primitive Christianity, heterodox polemics have not adverted to the ungraciousness of an accusation of barbarism formulated against the Middle Ages by men who regard as enlightened the times which produced Henry VIII., Elizabeth, Cromwell, in England ; which tolerated the civil wars of the sixteenth century in France ; which have witnessed the modern wars of succession, and more than one Reign of Terror. And whence came the quota of cruelty, destructiveness, and injustice, which many complacent moderns regard as characteristic of the Middle Ages ? From the Catholic clergy, reply the ignorant and malignant, who ignore the innate barbarism of the Northern hordes and the posterior civilization of these by the same Catholic

favor of the misunderstood authority of the heads of our holy Church . . . in spite of him, the divine face, which he tried to leave in shadow, has been illumined by the splendor of truth."

clergy. The fact is also ignored that, while nearly every ruin on European soil was made such by the Pagan invaders, or by the heretics of the sixteenth century, or by the impious of the eighteenth; nearly all the miracles of architectural skill and beauty now admired in Europe are the work of the Middle Ages, conceptions of Catholic minds, and results of Catholic generosity. We are frequently told that the Middle Ages were distinguished for oppression of the individual; but in those days originated the political constitutions of modern nations (1).

As for the barbarism so justly lamented when and where it did exist, blind injustice alone can ascribe it to the Catholic clergy, for they were always the first victims of the barbarians; their churches, libraries, and monasteries were sacked and burnt, the priests and monks often ruthlessly massacred. And how ungrateful is this charge, since it was this same Catholic clergy who transformed the devastating beasts into men and Christians, who repaired the damage inflicted, and preserved all of civilization that they themselves had not created.

(1) "I say nothing about the Canon Law, which was an immense advance in mercy and equity, and in which brute force was first opposed by discussion, baronial caprice by written law; in which, for the first time, all were declared equal before the law. But how great as legislators were Charlemagne, Alfred of England, St. Stephen of Hungary, St. Louis of France, and a few of the German emperors? Then England wrote her *Charita*, imperfect, yes, but not yet excelled or equalled, and which, although founded on feudalism, so well guarantees personal and real liberty. Then the commercial republics of Italy compiled a maritime code which is still in force. Then the various Communes provided themselves with statutes, which appear curious only to those who know nothing of those times and places. Then the republics of Germany, of Switzerland, and of Italy experimented with every kind of political regime, trying constitutions not at all academical—constitutions adopted, not because they were English or Spanish, but because they were opportune, peculiar, historical. Then the middle class, showing the best indication of strength—growth, caused by resistance—penetrated into the monarchy, giving to it life, force, and glory; and although the present and future importance of this class was not understood, it became the people, the nation, the sovereign. Observe the Congress of Pontida, or the Peace of Constance, or the nocturnal meetings under the oak of Truns or in the meadows of Rütli, where simple-minded men swear, in the name of that God who created both serf and noble, to maintain their customs and their country's freedom! Observe those Synods, in which religion makes herself guardian of the rights of man. Observe the people at the *witten-gemot* of England, at the French *Champ de Mai*, at the diets of Roncaglia, or at that of Lamego, where a new nation draws up the constitution of Portugal—more liberal than many modern ones—with a throne surrounded by a nobility not derived from conquest, not founded on possessions or bought with money, but conferred on those who have been loyal to Church and country, valorous in freeing the latter from the foreigner. And these laws were confirmed because they were *good and just*, conditions ignored by the ancient jurists, and forgotten by many modern ones." CANTU; *loc. cit.*—We learn from Tacitus (*Customs of the Germans*) that the ancient Germans met in parliament on certain days, in the open fields. Fredegarius (y. 776) informs us that the Franks continued the custom in the assemblies called of the *Campi Martii*, and afterwards of the *Campi Maili*. Landolph the Younger (c. 9 and 31) says that the archbishops of Milan met their vassals in similar diets. For such assemblies the Holy Roman emperors, as kings of Italy, chose the plains of Roncaglia, between the Po and the Nura, about three miles from Piacenza. According to Arnolphus (*H. R. Empire*, v. IV., b. 3, c. 4.) Henry II. met the first diet in 1047. The Acts of the parliament held at Roncaglia under Barbarossa are found in Pertz's *Hist. Monuments of Germany*, v. II.; Hanover, 1837.—TOSTI; *History of the Lombard League*, b. II., note A; Montecassino, 1848.

Until comparatively late days, few historians seem to have regarded the Middle Ages as worthy of serious investigation. According to many of these—generally successful—formers of public opinion, even the land of Dante and Petrarch was buried in ignorance the most dense, until the fall of Constantinople caused Grecian scholars to claim her hospitality; “not a painter had flourished before Cimabue, and no artist merited notice until the favor of some prince created Michael Angelo and Raphael; the Italians had lost even the remembrance of their ancient laws, until, during some devastation, a copy of the *Pandects* was unearthed; only a capricious jargon was written and spoken until the present Italian language was improvised, and—like armed Minerva from the brain of Jove—issued forth, wonderful virgin, to influence the entire universe.” (1). But with the indefatigable labors of cardinal Baronio, who, from the monuments of the Vatican, methodically and lucidly extended the *Annals of the Church* (and precisely therefore, of what was then the civilized world), new light was shed upon the intellectual condition of the Middle Ages (2). Much more knowledge was contributed by Muratori (3), a diligent and critical annalist to whom, more than to all other

(1) CANTU; *loc. cit.*—

—Hallam, although not addicted to criticism or to investigation of original sources of history, because he regarded such labors as “not incumbent on a compiler,” (*View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, chap. i., note 1), nevertheless hit upon truth when he said: “Italy supplied the fire from which other nations, in this first, as afterwards in the second era of the revival of letters, lighted their own torches. Lanfranc, Anselm, Peter Lombard, the founder of systematic theology in the twelfth century, Innocentius, the restorer of jurisprudence, Gratian, the author of the first compilation of Canon Law, the School of Salerno, that guided medical art in all countries, the first dictionaries of the Latin tongue, the first treatise on Algebra, the first great work that makes an epoch in Anatomy, are as truly and exclusively the boast of Italy, as the restoration of Greek literature and of classical taste in the fifteenth century.”—*Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries*, vol. i., c. 2.

(2) *Annals of the Church, from the Birth of Christ to the year 1198*, Rome, 1588—1607, 12 vols. in fol. These *Annals* have been continued by 1st, the Polish Dominican Szovius (Rome, 1616), and augmented (Cologne 1621—1640), down to 1572; 2d, by Spodanus, bishop of Paniers (Paris, 1640); 3d, by Oderico Rinaldi, Oratorian, 7 vols. fol. (Rome, 1646—1663), from 1198, where Baronio ended, down to 1586; 4th, by Laderchius 3 vols. fol. (Rome, 1723—1737); 5th, by Augustine Theiner, Oratorian, prefect of the Vatican Archives, 8 vols. fol. (Rome, 1856), from 1572 to our days. Baronio does not always distinguish apocryphal from authentic documents, and he not seldom uses Greek versions of dubious sincerity—faults rather of his age than his own; but with the aid of the corrections by the Franciscan, Pagl. by Mansi (Cong. Mother of God), and by the Protestant Casaubon, his work is invaluable.

(3) *Annals of Italy, from the birth of Christ to 1750*, Milan, 18 vols, 8vo, 1753—56. — *Writers on Italian Matters*, from 500 to 1500, 28 vols. fol., Milan, 1723—51. The expense of this publication was defrayed by sixteen Italian gentlemen, who each contributed 4000 scudi.—*Italian Antiquities of the Middle Age*, from the fall of the Roman Empire until 1500, Milan, 6 vols. fol. 1733—43. — *Extensian Antiquities*, Modena, 1717—40, 2 vols. fol. When it is remembered that Muratori edited over fifty folio volumes, nearly fifty quartos, and innumerable octavos and duodecimos, it seems strange that more inexactnesses do not occur.

writers, modern historians must refer. Tiraboschi (1), Scipio Maffei (2), Du Cange (3), Tillemont (4), Pertz (5), Leo (6), J. Moeller (7), may be consulted with profit. As for English historians of the Middle Ages, several are pretentious, few recommendable. Robertson (8) is carried away by his contempt for this period, and, to use the words of Cantù, "infatuated with the present liberties of his country, he calumniates the time when the edifice was not complete, forgetting that just then its foundation was laid, and its grandeur prepared." "Hume," says the same judicious and impartial critic, "in order to flatter the Encyclopedists, then the dispensers of fame, too often adopts the weapons of contempt and ridicule, capital enemies of reflection; and, sceptical of generosity, understands liberty only under certain appearances. Endowed with reason, but with no imagination; a sceptic in history as in philosophy; evidently and unfortunately partial; he entirely misunderstands the Anglo-Saxon period, regarding the English constitution as already formed at the birth of the nation. Of what assistance can he be, therefore, in an endeavor to become acquainted with foreign peoples"? Hallam has eyes for governments, never for peoples; hence, while he follows the development of a constitution, he disconnects it from the sources of its origin. Gibbon, most renowned of English historians, "regarded," says Cantù, "with veneration by his school, and respected even by his opponents, is vastly erudite, shows great sagacity in discovering new sources, artfully groups facts and interprets intentions. What book, therefore, can flatter to a greater extent the convenient propensity to agree with an author? But reflecting readers perceive in his writings a continuous diatribe, inspired by the simultaneous prejudices of a Jew, a heretic, and a 'philosopher'—a diatribe permeated by two ideas, admira-

(1) *History of Italian Literature.*

(2) *History of Verona.*

(3) In his *Glossary*, and especially in his Notes to the text of Anna Comnena in the *Writers of Byzantine History* (Paris, 1640–50), printed at the Louvre by order of Louis XIV.

(4) *History of the Emperors.*

(5) *Historical Monuments of Germany*, from 500 to 1500, Hanover, 1826.

(6) *History of the Middle Age* (1830).

(7) *Manual of the History of the Middle Age, from the Fall of the Western Empire until the Death of Charlemagne* (Paris, 1837).

(8) *Introduction to the Life of Charles V.*

tion of Roman greatness and hatred for all religion." (1).

It is false that the Middle Ages were pre-eminently times of ignorance; that, as some have not hesitated to say, men had lost the faculty of reasoning. In this epoch flourished Abélard, Dante, Albert the Great, Thomas of Aquin. It is true that the hunting and soldiering barbarians at first disdained the peaceful triumphs of letters, and regarded the fine arts as a disgraceful inheritance of the people they had conquered; that, for a time, even the olden subjects—of the secular order—of Rome lost taste for the sublime and the beautiful. But then science found a friend in the sanctuary and in the cloister: and the clergy preserved, as a sacred deposit, the traditions of literature and art. As for moral science, have modern times surpassed Anselm, Lanfranc, Peter Damian, or Peter Lombard? As for practical science, do we know much more than did our medieval ancestors? We will mention a few of the improvements and inventions which we owe to these compassionate men.

I. The paper on which we write (linen) is, according to Hallam, an invention of the year 1100 (2); cotton paper was certainly used in Italy in the tenth century. II. The art of printing, or rather the *press*, was invented in 1436, either by Lawrence Coster, a chaplain in the Cathedral of Harlem, and a xylograph printer, or by the artisan Gensfleisch, called Guttenberg (3); but printing by hand was done in the tenth century. III. That music may be now called a science is due to Guido of Arezzo, an Italian monk, who, in 1124, determined the scale, hitherto uncertain.

(1) Abp. Martin Spalding, in his valuable *Lecture on Literature and the Arts in the Middle Ages*, regards Hallam and Maitland as superior to all other English writers on this period, but he well remarks that, compared with the labors of Muratori and Tiraboschi, "their works, learned and excellent as they are in many respects, are but pigmies." *Miscellanea*, vol. I., c. 4.

(2) Casiri, drawing up a Catalogue of the Escorial Library, says that most of its Mss. are of rag-paper, calling them *chartaceos*, in contradistinction to the membranous and cotton ones. At No. 787, he cites the *Aphorisms of Hippocrates*, *Codex an. Chr. 1100*, *chartaceus*, and does not deem it remarkable. Peter of Cluny, in a treatise against the Jews, speaks of books made from the shreds of old cloths.

(3) The Abbé Le Noir, in his adaptation of Bergier's *Dictionary*, analyzes the known facts concerning this invention, and thus concludes: "Coster, we believe, invented and first employed movable types. Guttenberg came across Coster's plans, perfected them, and with invincible patience endeavored to execute them on a grand scale. But, constantly needing funds, he was compelled to put himself in the hands of an adroit banker, Faust, who played upon him the trick he himself had practised on Coster, appropriated the invention, and gathered the profits."—The *Chronicles of Feltre* say that Pandlo Castaldi, a humanist of that city, taught his disciple Faust, in 1436, the use of movable types. Stereotyping, now the perfection of printing, was known and practised by Coster, though he knew not, of course, any way of casting the plates.

His *solmisation*, or the use of the *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, was signified by means of the words of the first verses of the Vesper Hymn for the feast of the Baptist (1). Ughelli, in his *Sacred Italy*, proves that, in the ninth century, the Italians used pneumatic organs. iv. In the twelfth century, the mariners of Amalfi first applied the knowledge of the loadstone to navigation, inventing the mariner's compass, thus enabling subsequent Italian navigators to prosecute geographical discovery. v. It is amusing to learn that in those days of alleged ignorance, and hence carelessness of study, one of the most important aids to study should have been invented. To enable persons of defective eyesight to read, the ancients used a sphere filled with water, but about 1285 a Pisan monk, named Salvino d'Armato, invented spectacles. In a sermon preached in Florence, Feb. 23, 1305, the famous friar Giordano di Rivalta said: "Only twenty years ago were spectacles invented; I knew and conversed with the inventor." vi. By a people's language we can surely judge of their refinement and their intellectual calibre. Now it was in these despised Middle Ages that were formed and perfected the languages of modern Europe. Humboldt may have erred when he judged that grammatical forms are not the fruit of the progress made by a nation in analysis of thought, but he rightly admitted that these forms "are results of the manner in which a nation considers and treats its language." (2). And we are asked to believe that the densest ignorance and the grossest sentiments were the portion of the times which produced the sweet and philosophic Italian, the majestic Spanish, the graceful French, and the forcible English and German tongues (3). vii. Have modern times rivalled the Middle Ages in architectural

(1) *Ut queant laxis, Resonare fibris, Mira gestorum. Famuli tuorum, Solve polluti, Labii reatum, Sancte Joannes!*

(2) *Letters on the Nature of Grammatical Forms*. Paris, 1827, p. 15.

(3) "The Latin language began to decline even in the first century of our era, and its decay corresponded to that of the Roman empire and of Roman civilization. With the irruption of the barbarians, the corruption became so extensive that the old organism perished, and the relics could not be termed a new language. Christianity took hold of this raw material, placed therein the embryonic principles of new organizations, and fecundated them with the hieratic word, performing the two duties symbolized by the oriental myths of the cosmic egg and androgynism. Thus the modern idioms were born from the material of the old, informed and organized by the religious idea and by the sacer-

skill and taste? With the exception of St. Peter's at Rome—itself a result of the *spirit* of that despised period—all the most magnificent structures of Europe, all the real triumphs of architecture, are of medieval conception and execution. Glass windows, too, introduced only in the fourth century, commenced to present beautiful colors in the early Middle Age; and in the twelfth century the Church began, by means of those wonderful window-pictures, to reach the hearts and intellects of such of her children as, perchance, were not penetrated by the words of her preachers. VIII. The system of banking, with its convenient bills of exchange, was originated by the Italians in the twelfth century. IX. In the year 650, wind-mills were invented; in 657, organs; the Greek fire in 670; carpet-weaving in 720; clocks in 760; in 790, the Arabic numerals were introduced; in 1130, the silk-worm was first cultivated in Europe: in 1278, gunpowder was invented: engraving in 1410; oil-painting in 1415. (1).

Jotal word. At first each of these idioms was a mere dialect, that is, a vulgar speech, rude, ignoble, private, unfit for public use and for writing, not yet possessed of a life of its own, independent of the ancient mother's. And just as the fetus becomes a man, the human animal an infant, coming out into the light and entirely separating from the maternal body, so a dialect is transformed into an illustrious language, fit to signify ideal things, through the work of noble writers who divert it from popular usage, and introduce it into the forum, the temple, the schools, and into the conversation of the learned—who develop its scientific and aesthetic powers, and who give it a being entirely distinct from its progenitrix. The first of modern dialects to run this course was the Tuscan, or, to speak correctly, the Florentine, which afterwards became the noble language of Italy, just as the Castilian and the Picard became the national idioms of Spain and of France. The Tuscan was already conceived before 1200, when Folcacchiero and Ciullo d'Alcamo dictated their rude sonnets; it was born with Dante, who first initiated the speech of the Arno into the public life of civilization and of learning, and rendered it, so far as literature is concerned, not only Italian, but European." GIOBERTI; *Civil and Moral Primacy of the Italians*, Capolago, 1846, vol. ii., p. 275.

(1). As an evidence of the intellectual decadence of the Middle Ages, it is alleged that then the science of eristicism was unknown. To this Canth replies: "I do not hesitate to assert that, of all the questions agitated since that time, perhaps not one was not raised during that period. Although the age of Leo X. believed Annus of Viterbo (a Chatterton of the 15th century) and that of the *Encyclopædia* in Ossian, the eleventh century questioned the authenticity of the *Falsæ Decretals* (of Isidore Mercator). King Liutprand and Bishop Agobard condemned trials by combat and the ordeals by fire and water, although these were upheld by prejudice, custom, and law; they also ridiculed the belief that witches produced tempests. The monk Virgilius (Ferghil) and John of Salisbury taught the correct mundane system and the existence of antipodes. Even in those days, both the spiritual and temporal rule of the Pope were attacked and defended; then war was made, by argument and by ridicule, on the abuses of monachism and on false piety; then were weighed the prerogatives of kings, and their titles to power; then were laid the foundations of civil order in such a manner as to produce the only constitutions which have long endured. Every system, dogma, and rite, found champions and opponents; and the political heresies of Arnold of Brescia and of Friar Dolcino, the philosophical ones of Origen and of Abélard, the religious ones of Photius and of the Albigenses, left nothing new for Luther and Socinus to pronounce. And what if we reflect that these rude ancestors of ours civilized half the world; that, by the translation of the Bible, modern languages were formed; that hymns were composed which have been sung by the most refined centuries; that entire nations were withdrawn from licentious and ferocious superstition? Undoubtedly, much was wanting; but deny, if you can, to Alexander the title of consummate general, because he would not have been able to conquer at Leipsic or to reduce Antwerp, or the title of poet to Homer because he was ignorant of geography and astronomy." (*loc. cit.*).

A very efficient reason for that aversion to the Middle Ages, which we may observe in most heterodox writers and in all devotees of materialism, is the fact that those days formed the golden period of monasticism—a system which is as much a part of the history of the human mind, as it is of ecclesiastical history, and which must necessarily find an enemy in the spirit of the world. Of eastern birth, and at first unacceptable to the westerns, the influence of St. Athanasius—who had studied its spirit during his exile—introduced it to Rome, and in less than two centuries it was spread throughout the empire. With the sixth century came the great monastic legislators, SS. Benedict and Columbanus; and new rules, providing every constituent of wise government, enabled the monks to survive the influence of barbarism to become the refuge of virtue and enlightenment. With the twelfth century, the world beheld an alliance hitherto deemed impossible—that of the religious state with the military profession. The genius of the age enabled the soldier to sanctify his valor, directing it against the enemies of the faith, and observing the monastic vows amid the duties and hardships of the field. The knights of St. John—afterwards styled of Rhodes, and finally of Malta; the Templars—in time degraded, but for a long period a glory of Christendom; the Teutonic Order—at first devoted to the care of the sick poor, but soon taking arms for the defence of Palestine and for the civilization of Northern Germany (1); the knights of St. Lazarus, of Calatrava, of

(1). During the pontificate of Innocent III. (1198—1216), Christian, a Cistercian monk, had introduced Christianity into Prussia, and was made bishop of that region, on his visit to the Holy See, in 1214. Returning, he found his converts relapsed into idolatry, and at war with the Christians of Culm, having already destroyed over two hundred and fifty churches. Christian preached a crusade, and erected the citadel of Culm, finally compelling the Prussians to abandon idolatry. A new revolt of the barbarians prompted the bishop to institute the Military Order of Christ; but in 1224 the knights, five only excepted, were killed in battle. Christian then persuaded Conrad, duke of Mazovia, to implore the aid of the Teutonic knights; this prince ceded to the Order all the lands it could subdue. In fifty years Prussia, Lithuania, and Pomerania were conquered. "The vow of obedience observed by these soldier-friars," says Canth, "produced in them a discipline unknown to other governments, their wills being bound by honor and by religion. Into this sovereign Order the reigning families of Germany proudly enrolled their sons; in Prussia kings and princes served an apprenticeship to arms; respect gave strength to the Order, which soon reached the height of power, but afterwards fell into debauchery and tyranny." The last grand-master of the Teutonic knights, Albert of Brandenburg, yielded to the temptation of Luther to convert his power into a secular principality—a temptation which another Albert of Brandenburg, his kinsman and archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, had resisted (*Epist. Luth.* in Coehlaeus, y. 1526). He appropriated nearly all the property of the Order, united himself to the Princess Dorothy of Holstein, and divided Prussia with Poland, becoming tributary to the latter for the portion reserved to himself—thus founding the present kingdom of Prussia. Protestant writers find fault with the means taken by the Teutonic knights

St. James, of Alcantara, and many other associations, were probably the most efficient of all the human means used by the Roman Pontiffs in their struggle to preserve European civilization. With the thirteenth century came the Mendicant Orders, devoted to the combat against the errors and vices of the Albigenses and other innovators of the period. Since wealth had caused the discredit of many of the olden religious, SS. Francis and Dominick prohibited every kind of property, even in common, to their disciples; and although this severity lasted but a short time, these friars obtained and preserved, by their general virtue and zeal, the esteem of Church and State. What service did these religious render society? In the first place, agriculture, which may be styled the first of arts and the source of all real wealth, grew to be respected by our ancestors, because of the example of the monks. Fleury, speaking of the work of the monks in Germany, says: "They were useful in the temporal order, owing to the labor of their hands. They levelled the vast forests which covered the land. By their industry and their wise management the earth was cultivated; the inhabitants multiplied; the monasteries produced great cities, and their dependencies became considerable provinces. What were once the new Corbie and Bremen, now two great towns? What were Fritzlar, Herfeld, cities of Thuringia? Before the monks, what were Salzburg, Frisingen, Echstadt, episcopal cities of Bavaria? Where were St. Gall and Kempten in Switzerland, where were such towns as St. Gall? Where so many other cities of Germany?" (1). Secondly, the monks aided the poor and the oppressed. "For a long time," says Voltaire (2), "it was a con-

to convert the idolatrous Prussians. Bergier thus replies: "It is falsely supposed that the crusades and military operations of the knights were primarily designed for the conversion of the infidels. Their object was to defend Christians against the attacks, insults, and violence of idolaters; to prevent the irruptions of these, and to repress their brigandage. Where was the crime? Christianity and the natural law both prohibit private violence, but they do not prohibit nations from opposing force with force. Whether the warriors be knights or soldiers, volunteers or mercenaries, religious or seculars, the question is whether or not Christianity condemns the use of arms in every case. The knights never became preachers, and the missionaries were never armed. The barbarians were ferocious beasts, who by force were first to be made men, before any thought could be entertained of Christianizing them: the former task was for the knights, the latter for the missionaries. It is said that these means were calculated rather to disgust than to convert the barbarians, but the fact is that they were converted, and that the entire North became and is Christian. . . . It is one thing to patiently suffer persecution at the hands of one's government, another to allow one's self to be killed by foreign barbarians, practising brigandage against the law of nations.

(1) *Discourse iii.*, no. 22.

(2) *Spirit and Customs of Nations*, v. iii.

solation for the human race that these refuges were open to those who wished to escape Gothic and Vandal tyranny." Thirdly, the monks cultivated letters. Outside the monasteries few persons, in the early Middle Age, knew how to write; but within these walls patient laborers were constantly at work transcribing and perpetuating such monuments of intellect as the barbarians had spared. "I declare," wrote Cassiodorus to his monks of Viviers, "that of all bodily labors, the copying of books is the most to my taste." Without this labor, and without that jealous love of their libraries which caused the monks to say that "a cloister without a library is like a citadel without weapons," we would to-day possess not one monument of ancient lore. And what praise is not due to the schools of the monasteries? In these schools were taught, generally gratuitously, not only sacred science, but rhetoric, dialectics, astronomy, grammar, and music. History, especially, owes everything to the monks, who not only preserved all records of the far past, but minutely recorded the events of their own day. In all the great monasteries, an exact and able writer was appointed to keep this record, and after mature examination, the *Chronicle* was handed down to posterity. Italy owes all knowledge of her history to her innumerable cowed chroniclers; France is a similiar debtor to Ado of Vienne, William of St. Germer, Odoric of St. Evroul, both Aimoins, and Hugh of Flavigny; England to Bede, Ingulph, William of Malmesbury, and the two Matthews of Westminster and Paris; Germany to Regino, abbot of Prom, Witikind, Lambert of Aschaffenburg, Ditmar, and Hermann Contractus (1). In fine, so assiduously did

(1) "The sciences termed historical have a character very different from that of the sciences regarded as pre-eminently exact. The art of materially arranging facts is, for them, only a preparation; these facts, independent of their moral signification, are nothing of themselves. . . . The documents which preserve the souvenirs of humanity have a tendency to disappear, because they refer to events not identically renewed, as are the constant works of nature. This infinite diversity engenders immense difficulties of labor; to render history fruitful, there must be a unity of action in the grouping of facts, and a unity of opinion in the judgment formed. Subordination of agents in a common direction, division of the one task among many workmen—a division proportioned to the extent of the work, are primary conditions for every great historical undertaking. All such enterprises as are very exact and very extensive have been the work of religious bodies. In these bodies alone have been found men with a spirit of self-denial sufficient to renounce the joys of personal fame. . . . Here facts speak more eloquently than argument; the Revolution, by destroying the Benedictine Order, put an end to the great records of our history. Of these works, some, such as *Christian Gaul* and the *Annals of the Order of St. Benedict*, the *Letters of the Popes*, have not been resumed (they have, since the time of Lenormant); others have been continued by the Institute, but slowly and imperfectly. In confiding to the Institute the prosecution of the work of the Benedictines, and providing

the monks of the Middle Ages cultivate letters and every branch of science, that the slow progress of these, during the early portion of that period, can be ascribed only to the then existing political situation of Christendom. Intellectual culture depends, for brilliant results, on the lot of states; only when government is somewhat settled, do men turn to the Muses. Nevertheless, very many of the medieval monks would have honored the reigns of Augustus or Pope Leo X. Science can show no more devoted or brilliant disciples than Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II.), Albert the Great, or Roger Bacon. Of the first, the inventor of the wheel and weight clock, and the projector of the telescope, D'Alembert well said that he who first used the wheels and weights, would have invented watches in another age; and if Gerbert had lived in the time of Archimedes, perhaps he would have equalled that mechanician (1).

Even the early Middle Age could not have been so ignorant as we are asked to believe, since every cathedral, as well as nearly every monastery, had its school and library, in accordance with canonical enactments. Hallam admits

generously for its expenses, the State believed all had been done; despite the flinty of the academies, despite the often admirable zeal of the members, no equivalent has been found for the continuous, persevering, and multiple action of the monks. An equitable discernment has not guided the choice of editors; political considerations and momentary interest have entered into the task; and the consequence has been an unequal mass, an incoherent agglomeration of excellent and inferior volumes—and yet, there was a question merely of printing manuscripts. What would have been the result, if the Institute had undertaken the composition of great works like those of the Benedictines? I show only the exterior inconveniences of the actual organization of science; I do not push the lantern into its innermost recesses. I could have traced a deplorable tableau of the combats of vanity or of want against the councils of duty. When I see the governing powers occupying themselves with the secret vices which attack the intellectual calibre of the country; when I behold an attempt at a new organization, at the base of which there is a little honor, and much security for those who devote themselves to science, then I will admit that great historical works can be produced by a lay society." LENORMANT, *Religious Association in Christian Society*, Paris, 1844, § xix. The Benedictines to whose labors Lenormant alludes were indeed posterior to the Middle Ages, but the judgments of the author are strictly applicable to their medieval predecessors.

(1) MM. Ives Guyot and Sigismond Lacroix, in their *History of the Proletaires*, one of the most bitterly anti-Christian works of our day, are constrained to speak as follows, concerning the works of the Middle Ages: "A Benedictine monastery was a barrack for work and for prayer. But the time devoted to labor shows the special characteristic of the western monasteries. A monastery was an insurance company, and also an industrial and agricultural association. Certain works required great enterprise and a great cohesion of forces. At that time (the Merovingian period), credit did not exist; shares and stocks were unknown. But the monks established something similar. There was plenty of land, and the elements for its utilization were at hand; but men feared the desert, the swamp, and the forest, for the redemption of these was apparently above human strength. Then the monks came, like the American pioneers of our day. They selected a valley, or some propitious spot; they set to work, levelling the trees, draining the swamps, and founded an agricultural colony. All this the monks did by association. . . . They formed veritable industrial societies. . . . Among the most celebrated were the Bridge-building Friars (*Fratres Pontifices*), who daringly threw bridges over the torrents throughout Southern France. These constructed the Saint-Esprit bridge across the Rhone." Messrs. Guyot and Lacroix describe the vast possessions of the abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés, which had a radius of forty leagues around Paris (at the time of Louis le Débonnaire), and every foot of which the monks had reclaimed from the desert.

that "the praise of having originally established schools belongs to some bishops and abbots of the sixth century;" but—at least, so far as Ireland is concerned—it is certain that her schools were celebrated throughout Europe in the fifth century. As to the continent, we find the Council of Vaison recommending, in 529, the institution of free parochial schools. To cite only a few of similar decrees, there is a canon of the 3d General Council of Constantinople, 680, commanding priests to have free schools in all country places; one of a Synod of Orleans, 800, ordering the parochial clergy "to teach little children with the greatest charity, receiving no compensation, unless voluntarily offered by the parents;" one of Mentz, 813, commanding parents to send their children "to the schools in the monasteries, or in the houses of the parish clergy;" one of Rome, under Eugenius II., 826, prescribing schools in every suitable place. As to higher education, not only was it not neglected, but the most celebrated universities were founded and perfected in the "dark" ages. Most renowned were the Irish school of Bangor (Benchor)—with its thousands of scholars; and the other Irish schools founded at Lindisfarne in England; Bobbio in Italy; Verdun in France; Würzburg, Ratisbon, Erfurt, Cologne, and Vienna, in Germany. The great University of Bologna, an outgrowth of the law-school there established by Theodosius II., became so celebrated under Irnerius (d. 1140), that of foreigners alone more than ten thousand thronged its halls (1); The University of Padua frequently numbered eighteen thousand students. Famous also were the Universities of Rome, Pavia, Naples, and Perugia; of Paris; of Alcalá, Salamanca, and Valladolid; of Oxford and Cambridge; of Vienna, Cologne, Erfurt, and Heidelberg (2). And it must

(1). The University of Bologna was a corporation of scholars, who were divided into two great "nations," Cismontanes (Italians) and Ultramontanes (foreigners), each having its own rector, who must have taught law for five years, and have been a student of the University, and could not be a monk. The students elected this rector, and none of the professors had any voice in the assembly, unless they had previously been rectors. In the faculty of theology, however, the professors governed. Popes Gregory IX., Boniface VIII., Clement V., John XXII., addressed their Decretals "to the doctors and scholars of Bologna."

(2). The thirteenth century was an unfortunate one for letters in Germany. Leibnitz says that the tenth was golden, compared with the thirteenth; Heeren calls it most unfruitful; Meiners constantly deplores it; Eichorn designates it as "wisdom degenerated into barbarism." But with the fourteenth century came a change. The University of Vienna was founded in 1364; that of Heidelberg in 1385; of Erfurt, 1392; of Leipsic, 1409; Würz-

be borne in mind that in most of these establishments instruction was gratuitous; the zeal of Popes, bishops, emperors, kings, and other great ones of those times, found no more natural outlet than the endowment of these institutions. The celibacy of the clergy, well remarks Archbishop Martin Spalding, did more, perhaps, for this free tuition than anything else: "Clergymen whose income exceeded their expenses felt bound by the spirit, if not by the letter of the Canon Law, to appropriate the surplus to charitable purposes, among which the principal was the founding of hospitals and schools. The forty-four colleges attached to the University of Paris were most of them founded by clergymen." (1).

But we constantly hear that, in the Middle Ages, the clergy systematically kept the laity in ignorance; that even the nobility were so uncultivated, that in the public acts of those times it is quite common to meet the clause: "and the said lord declares that, *because of his condition of gentleman*, he knows not how to sign (his name)." Charlemagne himself, it is said, knew not how to write. But are these allegations true? In the early period of the middle ages, undoubtedly, ignorance was the lot of the warriors who became the progenitors of most of the European nobles; but when these barbarians had become Christians and members of civilized society, is it true that they generally remained in that ignorance? The learned Benedictine, Cardinal Pitra (2), has proved that in nearly all monasteries there were two kinds of schools—the internal, for the youth who wished to become religious; and the external, for the children of the nobility. And do we not know how

burg, 1410; Rostock, 1419; Louvain, 1425; Dola, 1426; Treves, 1454; Freiburg, 1456; Basel, 1459; Ingolstadt, 1472; Tübingen and Metz, 1477; Cologne, 1483. "Gerard Groot," says Cantu, "a student of Paris, founded, in 1376, at Deventer, his native place, an order every member of which was bound to help the poor, either by his manual labor or by teaching gratuitously. Very soon the order, associating thus the two passions of that day, piety and study, taught trades and writing in the monasteries which were called of St. Jerome, or of the Good Brethren, or of the Common Life; and in other places it kept schools of writing and of mechanics for poor children. To others it taught Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Fine Arts, and even Hebrew. In 1433, it had forty-five houses, three times that number in 1490; and in 1474 it established a printing-house in Brussels. Thomas à Kempis transported the system to St. Agnes, near Zwoil, where were formed the apostles of classic literature in Germany—Maurice, count of Spiegelberg, and Rudolph Langius, afterwards prelates: Anthony Liber, Louis Dringenberg, Alexander Heglius, and Rudolph Agricola." *Univ. Hist.*, b. xlii., c. 29.

(1). *Loc. cit.*, art. *Schools and Universities in the "Dark Ages."*

(2). In his *History of St. Leger*.

Abélard's retreat was filled with hundreds of young nobles zealous for knowledge? Vincent of Beauvais (y. 1250) writes that "the children of the nobility need to acquire expensive learning," and Giles of Romme says that "the sons of kings and of great lords must have masters to teach them all science, and especially the knowledge of Latin." The nobles could not have despised learning as much as they are said to have despised it, when they were so zealous in founding schools of learning. At Paris alone, six colleges were founded by noble laymen; that of Laon, in 1313, by Guy of Laon and Raoul de Presles; that of Presles, in 1313, by Raoul de Presles; that of Boncourt, in 1357, by Peter de Fléchinél; that of La Marche, in 1362, by William de la Marche and Beuve de Winville; that of the Grassins, by Peter d'Ablon, in 1569; and that of the Ave Maria, in 1336, by John of Hubant. The following remarks of a judicious critic (1), concerning the too general opinion as to the ignorance of the medieval laity, are worthy of attention: "The researches of M. de Beaurepaire concerning public instruction in the diocese of Rouen, the *History of the Schools of Montauban* from the tenth to the sixteenth century, and several other local monographs, not to speak of du Boulay and de Crévier, show what this assertion is worth. If the middle class and the peasants knew nothing, it was because they wished not to learn, for the olden France had no less than 60,000 schools; each town had its *groupes scolaires*, as they say in Paris; each rural parish had its pedagogue, its *magister*, as they style him in the North. In the thirteenth century, all the peasants of Normandy could read and write, carried writing materials at their girdles, and many of them were no strangers to Latin. The nobles were no more hostile to letters than were the peasants; they were associated in the poetical movement of the South—as Bertrand de Born, William of Aquitaine, and Bernard of Ventadour bear witness. The first chroniclers who wrote in French were nobles (and laymen)—Villehardouin and Joinville. In 1337, the scions of the first families followed

(1). M. Louandre, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for Jan. 15, 1877, p. 452.

the courses of the university of Orleans. As to the documents which they are said to have been unable to sign, 'because of their condition of gentlemen,' such papers do not exist, and we defy the paleographers to produce one containing the alleged formula. As to another proof of mediæval ignorance, recourse is had to the crosses traced at the foot of documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and to the absence of signatures in those of the thirteenth ; but this pretended proof cannot stand the tests of diplomatic science. In those days, acts were not authenticated by written names, but by crosses and seals. The most ancient royal signatures are of no earlier date than that of Charles V. (d. 1380).''

As to the pretended ignorance of Charlemagne, we prefer more ancient authority than that of Voltaire (1), the author of this assertion. Now, in the *Acts* of the Council of Fisme, held in 881, we read that the bishops exhorted Louis III. to imitate "Charlemagne, who used to place tablets under his pillow, that he might take note of whatever came to his mind during the night, which would profit the Church or conduce to the prosperity of his kingdom." It was the celebrated Hincmar who, in the name of the Council, drew up these *Acts* of Fisme, and he certainly is good authority in this matter, for he had passed much of his life in the society of Louis the Compliant, a son of Charlemagne. But is not the testimony of Eginhard, son-in-law of Charlemagne, to be preferred to that of the prelates of Fisme? Sismondi, who admits the extraordinary learning of the great emperor, is so impressed by the words of Eginhard, that he concludes that this prince acquired his knowledge by oral teaching (2). as indeed, owing to the cost of books at that time, nearly all students acquired an education. We would prefer the authority of the bishops of France, headed by Hincmar, to that of Eginhard; but the two testimonies do not conflict. Eginhard writes: "He tried to write, and used to keep tablets under the pillows of his bed, so that, when time permitted, he could accustom his

(1) *Essay on Customs* in Introduction; *Annals of the Empire*.

(2) *History of the French*, vol. 1., p. 318. Paris, 1821.

hand to the forming of letters ; but he had little success in a task, difficult in itself, and assumed so late in life." Eginhard admits, then, that Charlemagne had some success in his endeavors, and we know that he could form his monogram ; that, with his own hand, he transcribed the songs which recounted the exploits of ancient kings. We are therefore led to accept the interpretation of Eginhard's remark as given by the erudite Lambecius, and since that author's time, by the best commentators, that therein there is no question of writing in general, but merely of a running hand. In fine, Charlemagne could write by means of what we style square or printed letters, and few of the olden Mss. are written in any other ; he found it difficult to write the running hand, and " kept tablets under his pillow, that he might practise," that style of writing ; he could write, but he was not a calligrapher. Such is the opinion of Michelet (1), of Henri Martin (2), of Guizot (3). Since Eginhard is adduced to prove the ignorance of Charlemagne, it is well to note what this chronicler, in the same chapter, tells us about the emperor's learning. Charlemagne spoke Latin fluently and with elegance ; Greek was just as familiar to him, but his pronunciation of it was defective. He was passionately fond of the fine arts. He assembled at his court the wisest men of the day, and very soon he equalled his masters in their respective branches. He began the composition of a grammar ; he undertook a version of the Gospel, based on the Greek and Syriac texts (4). He perfectly understood the intricacies of liturgy, psalmody, the Gregorian Chant, etc. During his meals, he listened to the reading of histories ; he was especially fond of St. Augustine's *City of God*. He preferred to attend the schools he had founded, rather than any kind of amusement. He compelled his daughters, as well as his sons, to cultivate the fine arts (5).

(1) *History of France*, edit. 1835, vol. i., p. 332.

(2) *History of France*, edit. 1855, vol. ii., p. 292.

(3) *History of France, narrated to my Grandchildren*, 1872, vol. i., p. 226.

(4) Lambecius, in his *Commentaries on the Imperial Library at Vienna*, (1655), b. ii., c. 5, speaks of a Ms., explaining the *Epistle to the Romans*, corrected by the hand of Charlemagne.

(5) The monk of St. Gallo, in his *Cura Eccl.*, narrates that one day Charlemagne said to Alcuin : " How happy I would be, if I had twelve ecclesiastics as learned as SS. Jerome and Augustine ! " Alcuin replied : " God made only two such, and you want twelve ? "

But were not the Middle Ages excessively superstitious? To the mind of the average Protestant, who regards the Catholic religion as composed—to a great extent—of doctrines and practices not revealed and authorized by God, the Middle Ages must appear superstitious. In those days, says Montalembert, “when love had embraced heaven and its Queen, and all its blessed inhabitants, it descended again to the earth to people it in its turn. The earth which had been assigned for the dwelling of men—the earth, that beautiful creation of God—became also the object of their fertile solicitude, of their ingenuous affection. Men who were then called learned, and perhaps justly, studied nature with the scrupulous care wherewith Christians ought to study the works of God; but they could not think of regarding it as a body without superior life; they ever sought in it mysterious relations with the duties and religious belief of man ransomed by his God; they saw in the habits of animals, in the phenomena of plants, in the singing of birds, in the virtues of precious stones, so many symbols of truth consecrated by faith (1). Pedantic nomenclatures had not yet invaded and profaned the world which Christianity had regained for the true God. When, at night, the poor man raised his eyes to the blue dome above, he saw there, instead of the Milky Way of Juno, the road which conducted his brethren on the pilgrimage of Compostella, or that by which the blessed went to heaven. Flowers, especially, presented a world peopled with the most charming images, and a mute language which expressed the liveliest and most tender sentiments. The people joined the learned in giving to these sweet objects of their daily attention the names of those whom they loved the most, the names of the Apostles, of favorite Saints. or of Saints whose innocence and purity seemed reflected in the spotless beauty of the flowers (2). . . . The birds; the plants, all that man met on his way, all that had life, had been marked by him with his faith

(1) See the *Natural Mirror* of Vincent of Beauvais.

(2) The spirit of our day has seen fit to replace the sweet memory of Mary, as cultivated in the language of flowers, by that of Venus. Among many instances may be cited the modern *Cypripedium Calceolus*, which used to be called the “Virgin’s Shoe.”

and his life. This earth was one vast kingdom of love and also of science; for all had its reason, and its reason in faith. Like those burning rays which shot from the wounds of Christ, and impressed the sacred stigma on the limbs of Francis of Assisi, even so did the beams from the heart of the Christian race, of simple and faithful man, stamp on every particle of nature the remembrance of heaven, the imprint of Christ, the seal of love" (1). There were assuredly many instances of puerility, many acts of credulity, in the piety of the Middle Ages, and the Church took cognizance of and condemned them; but none of these abuses of faith are to be compared to the abuses of the "philosophy" of modern times.

Sismondi, Michelet, and even Henri Martin, following in the traces of more serious but mistaken historians (2), have found a proof of the superstition of the Middle Ages in the terror which is presumed to have seized upon Christendom, at the approach of the year 1000,—the date then generally assigned, say these writers, for the end of the world. Since most men believe that this world is to come, at some time, to an end, we might ask whether the term superstition can rightly be applied to any terror experienced at the expected consummation. But is it true, as Sismondi says, that at this period, "all humanity was in the situation of a criminal who has received his sentence; all bodily or mental labor ceased, for want of an object" (3), and as Michelet says, "The prisoner in his dungeon, the serf in his hut, the monk amid the mortifications of the cloister, entertained the terrible hope of the last judgment"? (4). Not one of the old chroniclers speaks of such a state of mind; nay, one of them, Thietmar of Merseburg, speaks of the year 1000 as one of enlightenment and glory (5). Let Hermann Contractus (1054), Lambert of Aschaffenburg (1077), Sigebert of Gembloux (1119), Vincent of

(1) MONTALEMBERT; *loc. cit.*

(2) BARONIO, *Annals*, y. 1001, no. 1;—The Benedictine *Literary History of France*, vol. vi., in preface.—LONGUEVAL, *History of the French Church*, vol. vii.—CAUMONT, *Archæology*.—AMPERE, *Lit. Hist. of France*, vol. iii.—BERGIER, *art. World*.

(3) *Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. iii., p. 397; Paris, 1835.

(4) *History of France*, vol. ii., p. 132; Paris, 1835.

(5) *Annals of his time*, in Pertz, vol. v.

Beauvais (1250), Rollevinck (1480), be consulted, and no indication of the supposed terrors will be found. Trithemius, who flourished in the sixteenth century, is the first chronicler to mention them (1). Certainly, Michelet adduces the testimony of the Council of Trosly, in 909; but to say nothing of this Council having been held ninety years before the supposed panic, we will let the reader judge if the fathers spoke as though they feared a near end of the world. "For us who bear the title of bishops, the burden of the pastoral charge becomes insupportable, as the moment approaches when we must render an account of the mission confided to us, and of the profit we have amassed. Soon will arrive the terrible day when all the pastors will, with their flocks, appear before the Supreme Pastor" (2). But it is said that the public documents of that time are filled with such expressions as "the terrible day is at hand," and "the end of the world approaches." To this objection, a modern critic (3) replies: "The erudition of those (4) who thus object, is a little at fault. If they had consulted special works on diplomatic science (5), they would have learned that these expressions were not invented in the tenth century; they were used in the seventh century, and hence have no connection with the terrors of the year 1000." Certainly, remarks Barthélemy (6), a merely cursory view of the religious, political, and artistic state of the world at the end of the tenth century, would show that neither sovereigns, nor clergy, nor nobles, nor people, were buried in torpor. In March, 999, Pope Gregory V. died, but no anticipation of the imminent end of the world prevented the election of a new Pontiff. In this same year, the emperor Otho III. so little thought of the coming ruin of earthly things, that he created the kingdom of Poland. Then also, king Stephen of Hungary organized his provinces, and founded bishoprics and mon-

(1) *Annals*, vol. i., y. 1000.

(2) *Council of Trosley*, y. 909, in Labbe and Mansi.

(3) *The Benedictine*, Fr. Plaine, in vol. xiii. of the *Review of Historical Questions*, 1873, p. 147.

(4) MICHAUD; *Crusades*, vol. i.—ESCALOPIER; *Preface on the Work of Theophylus*.

(5) WAILLY; *Elements of Palaeography*, vol. i. p. 204.

(6) *Historical Errors*, vol. xiv., p. 206, Paris, 1881.

asteries; while Adalbert of Prague was civilizing the hordes along the Vistula and the Niemen. In Spain, the patriotic Christians were trying, as of old, to reclaim their country from the Saracens, with no idea that soon any country would be only a name. At Constantinople, no thought of a coming annihilation of all earthly grandeur caused any cessation of the usual usurpations of the Byzantine throne. Finally, the numerous Councils held during the last ten years of the tenth century show that churchmen gave no heed to the few visionaries who then, as in our day, proclaimed that the career of the Church militant was about to close. We may well conclude, therefore, that the silence of contemporary authors on a fact of such importance as the panic of the year 1000, the weakness of the arguments used to uphold it, the tenor of the documents of that period, and all the general ideas we can form concerning the state of the world at that time, furnish so many reasons for believing the terrors of the year 1000 to be a myth.

The Middle Ages cannot be regarded as a starless night; and even though they furnish nothing worthy of our imitation, there is much in them for us to learn. Then it was that were prepared those ameliorations which render modern society, in some respects, preferable to the ancient; "that period, says Cantù," "was one of gestation—inconvenient, certainly, but necessary, and it must be judged by its effects." The Middle Ages commenced in barbarism; they ended in modern civilization, which, as Guizot remarks, is merely a mixture of three elements—Barbarism, old Rome, and the Gospel. But, as Guizot did not observe, the part played by Barbarism and old Rome was comparatively small, they were obstacles rather than aids to the development of the modern Christian principle. The feudal system was barbarian; the debasement of the lower classes was a legacy from old Rome and old Germany; but to Christianity the Middle Ages owed the fusion of races, the abolition of personal slavery, the emancipation of women, chivalry, and the sacerdotal influence which protected the poor. The statistical researches of Dureau—

Delamalle, of Guérard, and especially of Count L. Cibrario prove that the Middle Ages formed an epoch of immense progress in public prosperity. It was then that *industry* and *commerce* founded the Communes; and so influential did the industrial and commercial classes become, that even in the thirteenth century their representatives sat in the States General of every country in Western and Southern Europe. Even then, the workingmen of Florence (*il popolo minuto*) claimed a share in the sovereignty snatched from the nobles by the wealthy bankers and manufacturers (*il popolo grasso*). The weavers and artisans of Ghent and Bruges could claim their privileges from the bourgeois with a firmness equal to that they showed in resisting the encroachments of the courts of Flanders. *Industry* certainly held a secondary place in a pre-eminently religious period, but, "though labor must be respected, devotion is a virtue. The soldier who gives his blood, and the priest who gives his entire self, occupy a more elevated plane than that of a man who hires out his muscle, and a far more elevated one than that of the manufacturer who seeks his fortune." (1).

CHAPTER II.

THE REVIVAL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE UNDER CHARLEMAGNE.

At the death of Constantine, in the year 341, the empire of the West fell to Constantine the Younger and Constans; that of the East to Constantius. In 353. Constantius succeeded to the united empires. Julian followed Constantius, and then came Jovian. Valentinian, the next emperor, ceded the East to his brother Valens in 368, and until 476 the empire remained divided. In 476, Augustulus was deposed by the Herulan king Odoacer, the entire West was overpowered by barbarians, and the Roman empire survived only in the East. However, the valor of Belisarius and Narses enabled the Byzantine rulers to revive the Western empire, and in 556 Justinian's sceptre swayed

(1) FRUGIERAY: *Is Christianity Hostile to Industry?* Paris, 1844.

over both sections. The Constantinopolitan sovereigns now exercised jurisdiction over the West until the eighth century, when their own lethargy, cowardice, and general corruption reduced their power in those parts to a mere name. We have already noticed the gradual formation of the temporal dominion of the Roman Pontiffs. (1). In the year 800, on Christmas day (2), Pope Leo III. put an end to even the nominal authority of Byzantium over the West, by placing the crown of a new Western empire upon the brow of the Frankish king Charles, now called the Great; "thus consummating," writes Cæsar Balbo, "the greatest event recorded in European history during more than a thousand years; an event which dominated history, at first in fact, and to our own days, at least in name." It is not our province to inquire whether Pope Leo III. had a "divine right" to transfer the empire of the West from the Byzantines to the Franks; whether, that is, from the fact that the Roman Pontiff, as supreme pastor of the Universal Church, is spiritual ruler over Christians of sovereign as well as of private rank, it follows that, when the interests of Christendom demand it, he can and ought to dispose of kingdoms and empires. It is sufficient for us to know that in the time of Leo III. this principle was recognized by Christendom. And no one will deny that the public weal required the change then made, even though that change had to be inaugurated at the expense of ancient and respected institutions. To say nothing of the miseries caused to Christendom by the Arians and Iconoclasts, the other evils which the Pontiffs and their subjects, both temporal and spiritual, were forced to endure, owing to the decline of the imperial power, rendered necessary, a restoration of that power in the person of one who would use it with strength and wisdom. For nearly four centuries Italy had been the bleeding prey, not only of barbarians, but of her Byzantine suzerains; the Eternal City had been sacked repeatedly by the foreigner, and her streets had flowed with citizen blood, the shedding of which could have been

(1) Vol. I., chap. 40.

(2) At that time the year was calculated from Christmas day; but according to the present method of computation, the coronation of Charlemagne occurred in the year 799.

prevented by a strong and willing hand. A few months before Leo III. proclaimed king Charles the Defender of the Holy See, armed rebels had attacked the holy Pontiff during a solemn religious function, and after trying to pluck out his eyes and tongue, had left him for dead. For centuries the Byzantine emperors had trifled with the Holy See; some had even undertaken the assassination of its incumbent. The Lombards had indeed been defeated, but they waited for the Franks to recross the Alps, and then again they would pounce on their wonted prey. Any one of these reasons was sufficient to justify Pope Leo III. in trying the experiment of a new empire.

As to the ultimate utility of Pope Leo's action, even Catholic publicists differ. Whether or not the weary and soul-absorbing contest between the Papacy and the empire would have ensued, in some form or another, even though the Holy Roman Empire had never been excogitated, is doubtful; but it is certain that the struggle commenced almost with the blessing of Charlemagne's crown, and ended only in 1806, with the dissolution of the empire. That the institution was of benefit to the then nascent modern Europe, is certain. But Italy suffered much from the persistent, and too often criminal, interference of the new emperors, who were, as Cantù aptly describes them, "a heterogeneous element, which often impeded the progress of Italy, and finally degraded her" (1). Hence it is that many Italian publicists show themselves hostile to the Holy Roman Empire, in its very inception, and are disposed to blame Leo III. for want of foresight. Even the modern Neo-Guelph school, of which Cantù may be regarded, in historical matters, as the chief, frequently shows very plainly that its heart is not enlisted when it assumes the defence of Pope Leo's action. Cantù seems to regard Italy as having been "the necessary victim for European prosperity," and he calls on his countrymen to "bear the misfortune with decorum, and let those who profited by it not insult us" (2). And the great historian finds consolation in the fact that "the coming of the Northerners to this

(1) *Univ. Hist.*, b. 1x., c. 16.

(2) *Ibid.*

shrine of knowledge and of civil order helped to refine them." The learned Benedictine, Tosti, laments the coronation of Charlemagne by the authority of God, as Pope Leo phrased it. The Pontiff, thinks Tosti, should have said, "crowned by me," and then he would not have "made the imperial power depend on God," and his successors would not have discovered "how much exertion and how much blood it costs to make an emperor feel that between God and him there is a Pope." (1)

As to the nature of the transfer of the Western empire to the Franks, political and national predilections, as well as religious ones, have produced many and various theories. The question is very important; for upon the point of view from which we regard this transfer, will depend, almost entirely, the judgments we will form concerning the many intricate and tantalizing questions which will arise when we come to investigate the long and persistent struggle between the Church and the empire. In every conflict between the Roman Pontiff and the Holy Roman, or, as he came to

(1) *History of the Lombard League*, Montecassino, 1848.—"When Rome and Italy lost the imperial presence, the idea of the empire weakened in minds which saw no escape from misery, no civil power to quell disorder. Oppressed by the barbarians, unprotected by public authority, the Romans turned to the Pope and to the Church, from whom alone came any comfort or aid, and all were persuaded that the right of the Roman empire—impotently exercised by the Byzantine sovereigns,—now resided in the theocratic empire of the Pontiffs. . . . In the necessity of having some one who would actuate this power, not only the Romans, but all the peoples, assented to the Papal disposal of the imperial dignity. The Pope was the sole magistrate in Rome who was a Roman; the clergy, patri-cians, and people concurred in his election. Therefore, the candidates for the empire were to bow before him, the only representative of Rome. . . . When his Pontifical person had been brutally profaned, Leo III. felt that, in such times, the liberty and dignity of his office required a continuous protection by the civil power. Hence he recalled Charles to Italy, and crowned him emperor. Fatal coronation! 'Life and victory,' cried the Pontiff, 'to the most pious and august Charles, crowned by God great and pacific emperor!' And with those words began the story of Italian misfortunes. With his right hand, Leo placed a golden crown on the head of that foreigner, and although unwittingly, with his left he laid one of thorns on the brows of unfortunate Italy. Better the barbarians than an emperor! The former desolated, indeed, but they did not kill the germ of regeneration; the latter gnawed into the marrow of Italian worth, and prostrated its strength. Amid the tribulations of anarchy, Leo hoped for a refuge in the new empire; his successors found it a tyranny. Would that he had said: 'Crowned by me!' But he preferred: 'Crowned by God', and thus made the imperial power depend from God; and his successors discovered, etc. . . . Leo fancied that in the shadow of the empire he would repose as in the bosom of God; he fancied that this supreme civil power would aid the Pontiffs in their task of regenerating the world with the Gospel; he fancied that the emperors would always bow before the Papal power from which alone they held their crown, and that they would ever be docile children of Holy Church. Perhaps, when Charlemagne first felt the pressure of the diadem, he responded heartily to the Papal intentions. But that a man, crowned in such a beatitude of thirsty ambition, could long think of Pope, of Gospel, or of God, let him believe it who can! . . . I do not think that Charlemagne ever dreamed of subjecting the Pontiff to himself, of destroying the liberty of the Church. He was a good Christian, if we shut our eyes to certain domestic and Adamitic faults. And some of his faults were not malicious; for instance, when he deputed abbot Angilbert to admonish Pope Leo 'concerning the integrity of his life, the observance of the canons, and the good government of the Holy Church of God', he was simply piously impudent. . . . That which the Pontiff imposed upon Charlemagne as a law, he and his successors termed a right; and every one knows what kind of a protector he is who forces you to accept his aid. The emperor, in order to protect the Church, had an opportunity to meddle in her affairs." *Loc. cit.*, B. I.

be erroneously styled, the German emperor, just so surely as justice was nearly always on the side of the Holy See, so surely the emperor's pretensions were founded on a false assumption as to the nature of the transfer made to Charles by Pope Leo III. The root of every controversy between the Papacy and the empire was the imperial idea, more or less veiled, that the Pontiff was a subject of the emperor; that Pope Leo III., in his own name and that of his successors, voluntarily abdicated his temporal crown, or at least sank his position as an independent sovereign into that of a mere vassal to a diadem of his own creation. A few emperors, indeed, enunciated this theory in as many words. Now this extravagant supposition could be sustained only by another, equally unfounded; that is, that when Leo III. placed the imperial crown on the head of the Frankish king Charles, he conferred on that prince merely the imperial title, and nothing else which said Charles did not already possess—that, in fine, the Roman Pontiff was not the source of the imperial right. Hence it is that, concerning this historical question, a unity of thought prevails among Gallican, courtier-theological, Protestant, and rationalistic writers. The publicists of the old Gallican school, albeit generally men of great sanctity, were excessively devoted to their monarchy, and therefore they readily espoused any theory, not radically heretical, which tended to restrain the “encroachments” of Rome. The courtier-theologians, or *aulici* (as they are styled in the schools), either from a mistaken patriotism, or for the crumbs from the imperial table, were ever prompt in so shaping both religious and historical doctrine as to countenance almost any pretension of the crown. Protestants and free-thinkers naturally advocate any theory that will lessen the power or diminish the prestige of the Holy See. Chief among the apologists of imperial autocracy, and more or less followed by all of that ilk in modern times, is Mathias Vlacich, generally known as Flaccius Illyricus (1), against whom

(1) This author was born (1520) in Istria, and hence his surname of Illyricus. He became a professor of theology at Jena, but is best known as the originator, and one of the four principal authors of the famous Protestant work, the *Centuries of Magdeburg*. The other “Centuriators” were Lejeundin, Fabert, and Wigand, but all worked under the supervision of Flaccius.

Bellarmino wrote his valuable dissertation on the *Transfer of the Empire from the Greeks to the Franks*. Among Catholic writers who, with some modifications, agree with the Illyrian in this matter, are Thomassin (1), Francis Feu (2), Bossuet, and Alexandre. Bossuet admits that Charlemagne received the empire in the year 800, but contends that he derived his right from an election by the Roman people. Alexandre is careful to concede that "Charlemagne did not receive from Leo III. merely an empty title. He received a most ample dignity, corresponding to the sublimity of that title." We shall take Bellarmine as our guide in refuting the theory advanced by these authors; and in order to show that it was solely by the authority of the Roman Pontiff that the empire was transferred from the Greeks to the Franks, we shall first adduce the testimony of competent historians, and that of Pontiffs and princes who were well acquainted with their own rights.

Paul the Deacon, a friend of Charlemagne, after a narration of that prince's subjugation of the conspirators Paschal and Campalus, adds: "As a reward to Charles, Pope Leo crowned him emperor in the church of St. Peter" (3). Cedrenus (y. 1070), a Greek historian, says: "Legates came from Charles to Irene, demanding her hand, after Pope Leo had crowned him at Rome" (4). Zonaras, another Greek author (y. 1118), says: Charles having been crowned by Leo, and acclaimed as emperor of the Romans, the Franks became all-powerful in Rome (5). These authors make no mention of the Roman senate or people as having been instrumental in the advancement of Charles. Eginhard, son-in-law and chancellor of Charlemagne, speaks still more plainly: "Charles was so averse, at first, to the title of Augustus, that he declared that, although the day was one of festival, he would not have entered the church, if he had been aware of the Pontiff's intention" (6). The *Annals of the Franks* say: "Pope Leo placed a crown upon the head of Charles, and the Romans cried: 'Life and victory to Charles, crowned by God great and pacific em-

(1) *Discipline*, pt. III, b. 1, c. 29.

(2) *Laws*, q. 4, art. 4.

(3) *Roman Affairs*, b. 23.

(4) *Life of Constantine and Irene*.

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Life of Charlemagne*.

peror of the Romans ! ” (1). The reader will observe that the Romans acclaimed Charles as crowned by God, and that they did not call him emperor until after the coronation (2). Witikind of Corbie, writing in the beginning of the tenth century, says of Otho II., who was crowned in 969 : “ Although he was already anointed as king, and designated as emperor by the blessed Apostolic (Pope) ”. Here Witikind indicates the essential difference between the Holy Roman Empire and the kingdom of the Germans, or of the Franks, as the case might be. A confusion of these institutions is too often made, and while one may pardon it in a tyro in historical matters, it is inexcusable in a professed publicist. To name and instal the king of the Franks or the king of the Germans, was an affair of the Frankish or German electors : to name, or at least to confirm and crown the emperor of the Romans, was the right of the Roman Pontiff. This distinction is enunciated by Liutprand writing in the days of Otho I. (962-973) ; by Hermann Contractus, a contemporary of St. Henry (1014-1024) ; by Duodechin (1200), continuator of Marianus Scotus ; by Lambert of Aschaffenburg (1070). Otho of Frisingen (1146) must have had every opportunity to learn the nature of the imperial tenure, for he was related in the second or third degree to the fourth and fifth Henry, to Conrad, and to Frederick I. Now this author never gives the title of emperor to his grandfather, king Henry IV., until after his nomination by the anti-Pope Guibert, and then he declares that Henry “ was forcibly, rather than lawfully, elevated ” (3). According to bishop Otho, therefore, ardent imperialist though he was, only a legitimate Pope could make a legitimate emperor. Lupold of Bamberg (4), Æneas Sylvius (5), Platina (6), Trithemius (7), and a host of other writers, prove the strength of our position.

But what was the opinion of the early emperors on this matter ? When Charles the Bald contended with his brother Louis, king of the Germans, for the empire, he rushed

(1) Y. 801.

(2) Nothing but the acclamation of the already crowned emperor is attributed to the Romans by Aimon (820), Ado of Vienne (860), or Rhegino (908).

(3) B. vii., c. 11.

(4) Preface to *Rights of the Empire*.

(5) *Compendium of Blondus*.

(6) *Life of Leo, III.*

(7) *Catalogue of Writers*.

toward Rome, to receive the crown from Pope John VIII. According to Cuspinian, Rhegino, and Marianus Scotus, Louis endeavored to prevent this journey, even sending an army to intercept Charles, and when the latter had beaten this army and had gone on to Rome, Louis took his revenge by devastating the French border. Now if Charles and Louis had regarded the Papal action as a mere ceremony, why did the one so strenuously labor to prevent it, and why did the other take such pains, spend so much treasure, and run such risks for himself and dominions, to secure it? The emperor Albert (1298) most earnestly, but vainly, besought Pope Boniface VIII. to declare the empire hereditary in his family (1). Henry VII. (1308), formerly count of Luxemburg, begged Pope Clement V. to confirm his election. (2). Louis IV., excommunicated and deposed by Pope John XXII., (1324), constantly endeavored to secure the good graces of that Pontiff and of his successor, Benedict XII. Frederick I. (1154), speaking by the mouth of the bishop of Bamberg, begged of Pope Adrian IV. "to be promoted by him to the height of empire." The following passage of Albert Krantz (3), who wrote shortly before the Lutheran movement, illustrates the mind of the Redbeard on this subject: "The Pontiff tried, by condescension, to mollify the insolence of the Germans; he came to the royal camp with a retinue worthy of a Supreme Pastor. The king hastened to meet him, and is said to have held the stirrup, as the Pope dismounted, and taking him reverently by the hand, to have conducted him to the royal tent. The bishop of Bamberg then delivered these words of the king: 'Apostolic Pontiff, as we have long ardently desired an interview with your Holiness, so we now joyfully enter upon it, giving thanks to God, the giver of all good things, who has led us to this place, and made us worthy for your most holy visit. We wish you to know, reverend father, that the entire Church, collected from all parts for the honor of the kingdom, has led her prince to your Blessedness, to be promoted by you to the

(1) *Chronicle of Albert of Strassburg.*

(2) *Conrad Vercer's Life of Henry VII.*

(3) *Saxon History*, b. vi., c. 16 and 17

height of empire. He deserves this by his nobility, prudence, and fortitude ; by his fear of God, by the love of Catholic peace which reigns in his heart, and by a not ordinary devotion to the Holy Roman Church. You witness his reverent reception of your person ; how he has prostrated himself before your most holy footsteps. Therefore, venerable father, so act toward him, that what is now wanting in him of the fulness of imperial power, may be supplied by the munificence of your Blessedness'. When they had sat down, the Pope said : ' When the princes of the olden time came to ask for the crown, they were wont to allege some great deed to call for the good will of the Church. thus Charles, by crushing the Lombards ; Otho, by repressing Berengarius ; the last Lothaire, by restraining the Normans ; merited to receive the imperial crown. Similarly, then, let the most serene king restore to us and to the Church that province which is now usurped by the Normans ; we, then, will readily perform our part.' The princes then answered that, because of the great distance and the present weak condition of his troops, the king could not invade a great province. ' Let the Pontiff bless the king ; he shall not repent of being the first to confer a favor ; for when the princes shall have returned to their own dominions, they will return with their king at the head of more powerful forces, and will perform the Church's wishes.' The Pope then yielded, promising to grant their request." But even the Byzantine sovereigns recognized the Roman Pontiffs as the authors of the modern Western empire. When Michael Curopalates made peace and alliance with Charlemagne, he took care to have the treaty ratified by Pope Leo III. (1) When Emmanuel Comnenus heard of Barbarossa's contest with the Holy See, he twice offered Pope Alexander III. an immense sum of money, a large army, and even a union of the schismatic Greek Church with that of Rome, providing that the Pontiff would confer the Western empire upon him and his successors of Constantinople. (2). When the empire became vacant by the death of Albert, Philip the Fair of France resolved

(1) ADO of Vienne, at year 812.

(2) BLONDUS, PLATINA, and NAUCHER.

upon urging Pope Clement V. to restore the Holy Roman empire to the French monarchs. Hearing of this, and wishing not to offend Philip, the Pontiff wrote to the electors, pressing them to hasten their choice, and, if possible, to elect Henry of Luxemburg. (1). Philip and the electors, therefore, were of the opinion that the Holy See could transfer the empire from the Germans to the French, just as it had been previously transferred from the Greeks to the French, and from these latter to the Germans.

That the Roman Pontiff was the source of imperial authority, is also shown by the actions and sayings of the Pontiffs. When the sons of the emperor Louis had deposed their father, and had taken his wife Judith from him, Pope Gregory IV. ordered the restitution of both throne and spouse (2). This he would not have done, had he not held that the empire was a dependency of the Holy See. When Charles the Bald endeavored to depose the emperor Louis the Younger, Pope Adrian II. threatened him with excommunication; Charles was much vexed, but he obeyed the Pontifical mandates (3). Pope Adrian IV., writing to the bishops of Germany, says: "The empire was so transferred from the Greeks to the Germans, that the king of the Germans cannot be called emperor and Augustus until he is consecrated by the Roman Pontiff, who promoted Charles, and gave him the great name of emperor." (4). When the Greek ambassador urged Pope Alexander III. to unite the two empires, the Pontiff replied (5) that he would not reunite what his predecessors had purposely separated. Innocent III., writing to the duke of Thuringia, says: "We recognize, as we ought, the right and power of electing a king, to be afterwards promoted to the empire, in those princes to whom we know, from law and ancient custom, that the right belongs; especially since that right and power were given by the Apostolic See, which, in the person of the magnificent Charles, transferred the Roman empire

(1) VERCFR.

(2) This is proved by Paul Æmillus, Marfanus Scotus, Regino, and Aimoin. Falsely, therefore, Sigebert asserts that Gregory IV. conspired with the sons of Louis against that emperor.

(3) AIMOIN; b. v. 24 and 27.

(4) AVENTINE *Annals of the Bavarians*, b. iv.

(5) PLATINA; *Life of Alexander III.*

from the Greeks to the Franks." Clement V., in the Fifteenth Gen. Council (1311), issued a decree concerning the oath taken by the emperors to the Pontiffs, which commences as follows: "The Roman princes, professing the orthodox faith, and venerating with prompt devotion the Holy Roman Church, whose head is Christ our Redeemer, and the Roman Pontiff, the vicar of the same Redeemer, have not deemed it unworthy to bow their heads to the same Roman Pontiff, from whom proceeds the approbation of the person who is to be located on the height of imperial power; (nor did they deem it unworthy) to bind themselves to him, and to that same Church which transferred the empire from the Greeks to the Germans, and from which Church was derived, by certain of their princes, the right and power of electing a king, to be afterwards made emperor: as is all shown by ancient custom, renewed in latter times, and by the form of oath inserted in the sacred canons." Pius II. (1460), writing to the sultan Mohammed II. (1), and exhorting him to become a Christian, promises him a just title to his dominions in the East: "We will call you emperor of the Greeks and of the East, and you will rightly possess that which you now occupy by force, and retain injuriously. . . .as our predecessors, Stephen, Adrian, and Leo, incited Pepin and Charlemagne against the Lombard kings, Astolphus and Desiderius, and having freed the empire from tyranny, transferred it from the Greeks to the liberators, so we will use your aid in the needs of the Church, and will return a favor received."

Alexandre relies greatly upon the fact that in the creation of the new Western Empire the Greek sovereigns were despoiled of no provinces; that, in fine, the Pontiff gave to Charles no dominions which he had not already in his power. This assertion is true, to some extent, (1) but the conclusion that Alexandre draws, namely that the Pontiff

(1) *Epist.* 396.

(1) We say that Alexandre's assertion is true, only to some extent. While Charlemagne, before his coronation, was lord of Gaul, Germany, Pannonia, and a small part of Italy, he did not possess Spain, the Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, Illyria, Africa, and other provinces of the Western Empire. We say nothing of Britain, for that province had been long independent, and as for his real possessions, none of them were his by Casarean right; some belonged to him by royal, others obeyed him only by patrician right. By the translation of the empire, however, Charlemagne obtained over his old dominions the right of emperor

did not, "properly speaking, transfer" the empire from the Greeks, is incorrect. Until Pope Leo III. saluted Charles as emperor, the claims of the Greek sovereigns to their ancient Western dominions were, at least, in abeyance; the foreign conquests of the Frankish king were held only by the armed hand. But when the Frankish monarch was proclaimed emperor of the West, those claims were consigned forever to the realm of history, and public law regarded Charles as their inheritor. Flaccius especially insists that "by right and by force Charles had seized the Western empire, before Leo crowned him it is certain that Charles held the Western empire for more than twenty years before that Leonine—I had almost said, vulpine—coronation." But why, for twenty years, did Charles not don the imperial crown? Why do all historians date his empire from that Christmas day, when Leo III. and his subjects saluted him "Emperor of the Romans"? Simply because, down to that day, the empire lay with the sovereign of Constantinople. Some of the arguments adduced by the Illyrian apologist of German imperial autocracy are amusing. Thus, relying upon a passage of Lucius Florus, who wrote under Trajan, and who states that the Pharsalian victory of Cæsar was due to certain German cohorts, he asserts that the Roman empire of the Germans commenced rather at that time than with the coronation of Charles: "You may truly say that the empire was not acquired by German valor merely in the time of Charlemagne, for no one doubts that the Roman empire was born and founded at the battle of Pharsalia, fought by Julius Cæsar against Pompey. For there, says Lucius Florus, *six* German cohorts suddenly sent the numerous cavalry of Pompey flying to the mountains, destroyed many of the archers and light troops, and finally routed the veteran Pompeian legions, thus being, as all historians testify, the beginning

and Augustus, and acquired, besides, a right to all the other territories of the old empire which had been usurped by others. And, what was of no small moment in those days, upon the emperor devolved all the titles, honors, and prerogatives of the old Cæsars, so that, as emperor, he took precedence of all other sovereigns, even though, as often happened, they were more powerful and far richer than himself. Again, we must remember that the imperial power was founded much more on opinion than on the incumbent's possessions. As Cantù remarks, Barbarossa, with a very limited patrimony, became very powerful, while Francis II., with an extensive inheritance, could not gain the empire.

and front of this victory." In this unmitigated nonsense, one cannot tell which to admire the most, the logic or the falsehood. The logic is as sound as would be that of a Frenchman who would claim a French empire over these United States because very many French regiments (not a few cohorts) fought for our independence. The assertion is false, for Appianus of Alexandria (1) and Dion Cassius (2) carefully enumerate the peoples represented in Cæsar's army at Pharsalia, and while mentioning Italians, Gauls, and Spaniards, say nothing of Germans. Appianus says that Cæsar placed his great reliance upon the Italian troops, and Cæsar testifies (3) that he relied upon certain *three* cohorts, and had foreseen their value in the battle; comparing, therefore, Appianus and Cæsar, we would conclude that the decisive stroke at Pharsalia was made by Italian valor. Again, Cæsar, the abbreviator of Livy, Plutarch, Patereulus, Lucan, Tranquillus, Eutropius, Orosius, and many other ancient writers, who carefully treat of the celebrated campaign against Pompey, make no mention of the Illyrian's Germans (4). We only introduce this ridiculous item that the reader may conceive some fair idea of the calibre of this chief of the Centuriators of Magdeburg. With the same purpose we quote the brilliant argument with which he would ascribe the foundation of the German empire to Arminius: "Under Augustus, the Germans captured two eagles from the Romans, in a most just war. Among other historians, the same Lucius Florus says: 'The army being destroyed, the Germans took two eagles from the Romans, and yet retain them.' These insignia, obtained by valor and by right of war, the German empire yet uses in protestation and defense of its right against all adversaries When, therefore, the Roman priest and other rivals of the empire wish to know its origin and right, let them contemplate that glorious ensign of the double-headed eagle." Bellarmine has the patience to examine this effusion at some length, but we will simply observe that Flaccius himself, in another place, (5) ascribes

(1) *Civil War*, b. ii.(2) *Histories*, b. xlv.(3) *Civil War*, b. iii.(4) BELLARMINÉ, *loc. cit.*(5) *Cent. ix.*, c. 16.

the origin of the double-headed eagle to the empire having been divided into the Eastern and Western.

Alexandre asserts that, long before the coronation of Charles, the Romans had sworn allegiance to him. That the Romans promised fidelity to Charles in his capacity of Roman Patrician or Defender of the Roman Church, just as Stephen V. caused them to swear fidelity to Louis the Pious, is true. But it is false that by this oath the Romans recognized Charles as their sovereign. From the year 754, as we have seen, when treating of the origin of the Pontiffs' temporal dominion, the Popes were *de jure*, as they had long been *de facto*, kings of Rome and its territories. In the treaty or *pactionis fœdus* made by Pepin with Pope Stephen III. at Quiercy, that monarch acknowledged the high dominion of the Holy See over the Papal States, "*no power being reserved, within the same limits, to us and to our successors, unless only that we may gain prayers and the repose of our soul, and that by you and your people we be styled PATRICIAN OF THE ROMANS.*" This Patriciate, which was afterwards accorded to Charles, constituted the titular a defender of the Roman Church, but implied no supreme authority in the dominions of the Pontiff. Mabillon (1) gives us the formula according to which princes were accustomed to create Patricians: "We give thee this honor that thou mayest render justice to the churches of God and to the poor, and give an account thereof to the Most High Judge." Then, says the formula, the emperor (or other sovereign) puts a mantle upon the elect, and places a ring on his right fore-finger, and a golden circlet on his brow, and dismisses him. This formula certainly indicates no other power than that of Defender. That the Patriciate implied no other power, and that the oath taken by the Romans to Charlemagne regarded fidelity to him in his capacity of Defender, and did not imply in him any authority superior to that of the Pontiff, may be also gathered from the epistle sent to Leo III. by Charles, after the death of Adrian I., and from the course afterwards pursued by Leo. Sending Angilbert to Rome, Charles writes to the Pope that he had communi-

(1) *Bened. Ann.*, b. xliii., n. 2.

cated to that ambassador "all that will seem necessary to you or to us, in order that, after consultation, you may determine what will be best for the exaltation of the holy Church of God, or for the stability of your honor, or for the firmness of our Patriciate. For, just as I made a compact with the predecessor of your Paternity, so I wish to establish with your Blessedness an inviolable agreement of the same faith and charity, so that the apostolic benediction of the holy advocates of your Apostolic See, God's grace giving it, may everywhere follow me, and that the most holy Roman See, God granting, may be ever defended by our devotion. It is for us, with the aid of the divine piety, to everywhere protect the Holy Church of Christ from Pagan incursions, and to defend it with arms from the devastation of infidels." Eginhard tells us, in his *Annals*, that then "through his legates Leo sent to the king the keys of the Confession of St. Peter (1) and the banner of the Roman city, with other gifts, and he asked him to send one of his chief nobles to Rome, who would bind the Roman people by oath to fidelity and subjection to him. For this purpose, was sent Angilbert, abbot of the monastery of St. Richerius." Speaking of this correspondence, Pagi justly observes: "Charles obtained what he wanted from the Pontiff, namely, the confirmation of his Patriciate, and the title of Defender of the Roman Church; not, however, the dominion of the city, which he did not seek, and about which there had been no question in the agreements with Adrian." (2) With reference to the oath of fidelity to king Charles, Flaccius says: "All historians, even the most favorable to the Popes, testify that Leo, immediately after his election, sent to Charles a legation with the keys of St. Peter, which are the Papal insignia, and the banners of the city, with eagles; and that he requested, according to the Synod of Adrian, his own confirmation, and that some one should be sent to bind the Romans to Charles by oath. This was a sign of extreme subjection. And when a dissension arose

(1) The meaning of this is that the keys had been laid upon the tomb of the Apostles. On several occasions of emergency, the Popes performed this ceremony, when praying for assistance to the great ones of the earth. *Epist. Greg.*, b. vi., n. 23.

(2) See Gentili's *Origin of the Patricians*, and Bianchi's *Power and Policy of the Church*.

between the Pope and the Romans, the Pope fled to Cæsar as to his superior; then also the Romans sent their accusers, so that both parties testified that he was their legitimate judge and lord. How despicable therefore is the vanity of these Papists who pretend that the slaves and chattels of Charles transferred the Roman empire to the same Charles, and that they feudally bound him as a vassal to themselves, so that now they compel the Cæsars to fealty, and even force them to most foul kisses of their feet." In another place (1), however, the same polite Illyrian says that Leo asked Charles to send some one to Rome to bind the Romans to allegiance, not to Charles, *but to Leo himself*. Then it was that, without the knowledge of the Senate, Leo sent to Charles the keys (the Papal insignia) and the eagle (the Roman imperial insignia), and when afterwards Angilbert came to Rome, he compelled the Romans to swear fidelity to Leo. (2) There was every reason why the Romans should promise allegiance to their Pontiff; there was none for such a promise to Charles. How could the Frank king exact or receive such an oath, unless he was prepared to violate the pact of Quiercy, whereby Pepin swore, for himself and successors, to claim no jurisdiction in the Papal dominions, but to be more than content with the style of Patrician? But, says the ingenious and ingenuous Flaccius, "A dissension having arisen between the Pope and the Romans, both appealed to Charles as their lord and judge." These two terms are found in no *Annals* of the time, as applied, even implicitly, by the Pope to Charles; but the royal Chronicler, Otho of Frisingen, (3) who was well versed in the history and spirit of the empire, says that Charles came to Rome, after the terrible conspiracy of 799, not to judge Leo, but to punish the malefactors; that Leo was judged by no one, but purged of imputed crime by his own oath.

We will not attempt to prove that Charlemagne did not receive the empire directly from God, or by hereditary right, or by donation from the Greeks; the curious reader may consult Bellarmine, who spends much time in evincing

(1) *Cent. viii.*, c. 10.(2) *Annals of the Franks*.(3) *B. vi.*, c. 30.

each of these points. But we will proceed to consider the theory of Bossuet, according to which the Holy Roman empire owed its origin to the Senate and People of Rome. Sigebert, Blondus, Lupold, Æneas, Vincent of Beauvais, and Onofrio Panvini, are adduced in support of this assertion. Sigebert lived three hundred years, the other cited authors from five to seven hundred years, after Charlemagne; their testimony, therefore, is not so conclusive as that of the contemporary writers whom we have already quoted in defense of our own position. But these six authors prove nothing against us. Sigebert and his follower, Vincent of Beauvais, attribute to the Roman people no other part than that of applause, in the coronation of Charles. Blondus merely asserts that the Romans prayed Leo to make Charles emperor. Lupold simply repeats the words of Vincent and Sigebert, but he also says: "Pope Leo, having considered all the good and worthy reasons for the transfer of the empire from the Constantinopolitan emperors to the Frankish kings, . . . the Romans acclaiming and requesting, anointed and crowned Charles as emperor and Augustus, by which anointing and coronation the said transfer was made." (1) And Lupold denies what he is alleged to believe, for, speaking of the opinion of some who said that the Roman people could make laws for the empire, and even transfer it, he says (2): "This answer, saving a better judgment, does not please me. For at the time of the said transfer, and even for a long period before it, the empire was not with the Romans, but rather with the Greeks; nor is it to-day with the Romans, but with the Germans. There is no reason therefore, why the Roman people, at the time of the transfer, should have had, or why they should now have, a greater right to transfer the empire than any other people possess." As for Æneas Sylvius, we have already seen, in the epistle which he wrote, as Pope Pius II., to the Sultan Mohammed II., that he held that his predecessors had transferred the empire to the Franks. Onofrio alone then, who lived seven hundred years after Charlemagne, can be adduced in support

(1) *Rights of the Empire*, c. 4.(2) *Ibid.*, c. 12.

of the theory that the Roman Senate and people transferred the empire to the Franks. But, as Roncaglia, after Bellarmine, well observes, the Roman Senate and People very seldom indeed conferred the imperial dignity; the Cæsars nearly always were elevated, either by succession, by the reigning emperor, or by the soldiery. It is not likely that, at a time when the S. P. Q. R. were less than a shadow, they would have dared to elect an emperor, or that the world would have more than smiled at the puerility (1). The following passage from a letter (2), written by Louis II., great-grandson of Charlemagne, to Basil the Macedonian, who had complained because Louis was styled emperor, not of the Franks, but of the Romans, will farther illustrate our subject: "Your Fraternity is surprised because we are called emperor of the Romans, and not of the Franks. But you ought to know that, unless we were emperor of the Romans, we could not be emperor of the Franks. We received this title and dignity from the Romans, for the Frankish princes were at first kings, and afterward those only were styled emperors who had been anointed with the holy oil, by the Roman Pontiff, to that end . . . If you blame the Pope for his action, you must also blame Samuel, who rejected Saul, whom he had anointed, and hesitated not to consecrate David as king."

CHAPTER III.

THE FABLE OF THE POPESS JOAN.

The story of the female Pope constitutes one of the most delicious morsels ever offered for the delectation of the credulous children of Protestantism. The Centuriators of

(1) Onofrio names only three emperors as chosen by the senate, viz., Nerva, Maximus with Balbinus, and Tacitus. As to Nerva, Onofrio cites Dion Cassius in proof, but Dion says no such thing. Aurelius Victor, in some of his codices, says that Nerva was proclaimed by the army, and Eutropius ascribes his elevation to the prefect of the prætorium. As for Maximus and Balbinus, elected indeed by the senate, against the will of the troops, the soldiers derisively called them "senatorial emperors," says Herodian, *b. 8.* and put them to death. Tacitus was chosen by the senate, but because the soldiers called for him. So necessary was it, in fact, for the election of an emperor to be acceptable to the army, that St. Jerome, in his *epist.* 85 to *Evagrius*, says that the troops made the sovereign.

BELLARMINE, *loc. cit.*

(2) BARONIO; year 871.

Magdeburg thought that such a disgraceful episode ought to convince the world that God wished to show that Rome had forfeited her rights (1); that, in the words of Calvin (2), the Pope was no longer a bishop. Among other notable Protestant authors who insist that the Popess was a reality, we may mention Spanheim, Lenfant, and Desvignolles. (3). But many Protestants of celebrity advise the rejection of the fable; e. g., Blondel (4), Leibnitz, Bayle, Casaubon, Jurieu, Basnage, Burnet, and Cave. Æneas Sylvius (5) seems to have been the first Catholic polemic to undertake a refutation of this story. The task was also assumed by Florimond de Rémond (6), Onofrio Panvini (7), Papire Masson (8), Bini (9), Aubert Miræus (10), Leo Allatius (11), Labbe (12), Bellarmine (13), Baronio (14), Parsons (15), Alexandre (16), and many others cited by Labbe (17).

Who was the first to publish to the world the story of the female Pope? Anastasius the Librarian, triumphantly reply the friends of the fable—Anastasius, an officer of the Papal court, and a contemporary of the Popess. But it is very strange that this contemporary, a resident of the Papal palace, should introduce so extraordinary a narrative with an *on dit*; we would suppose that such a witness would be able to speak of what he himself had seen and heard. But the fact is, Anastasius does not speak of the female pope. The Protestant Bayle thus deals with this alleged testimony: "If we were to find that one and the same manuscript informed us that the emperor Ferdinand II. died in 1637, and that he was immediately succeeded by

(1) *Cent.* IX. c. 20.

(2) *Instit.*, b. iv., c. 7, § 23.

(3) Mosheim does not defend the truth of the story, but he asserts that "during five centuries there are six hundred testimonies to this extraordinary event; and until the Lutheran Reformation, no one deemed the story incredible, or ignominious for the Church." *Cent.* IX., p. 2, c. 2.

(4) *Investigation of the question whether a woman sat on the Papal throne between the reigns of Leo IV. and Benedict III.* (Amsterdam, 1649.)

(5) *Epist.* 130, to Cardinal Carvajal, dated Aug. 2, 1451.

(6) *Refutation of the Popular Error concerning the Popess Joan*, c. iii., no. 4.

(7) *Notes to Platina's Lives of the Pontiffs.*

(8) *Bishops of the City of Rome.*

(9) *Notes to Councils.—Lives of Leo IV. and Benedict III.*

(10) *Notes to Sigebert.*

(11) *Refutation of the Fable of the Popess Joan.*

(12) *Cenotaph, etc.*

(13) *Rom. Pon.*, b. iii., c. 24.

(14) *Annals*, y. 853.

(15) *Three Conversions of England*, p. ii. c. 5.

(16) *Cent.* IX., diss. 3.

(17) *Eccl. Writers.* vol. I., p. 837 (Paris, 1664).

Ferdinand III., but that, nevertheless, Charles VI. succeeded Ferdinand II., and reigned for more than two years, after which Ferdinand III. was chosen emperor, we would insist that one and the same writer could not have penned all this—that copyists must have injudiciously joined things written by different persons. Only a crazy or a drunken man would tell us that on the death of Innocent X. he was at once succeeded by Alexander VII., and that Innocent XI. became Pope immediately after Innocent X., reigning more than two years, and being succeeded by Alexander VII. Yet such is the absurdity of which Anastasius the Librarian would have been guilty, had he written what is found concerning the Popess in some of the MSS. of his work. We must conclude, therefore, that another hand than his added the passages concerning this woman” (1).

The Centuriators of Magdeburg adduce Marianus Scotus (d. 1086) as an authority for the story of Joan. At the year 853, they assert, this author says: “Pope Leo died on the Calends of August, and he was succeeded by the woman Joan, who reigned during two years, five months, and four days.” But, we ask, did Marianus really make this assertion? If he made it, is his authority of sufficient force to nullify the arguments which, as we shall see, militate against the fable? It is by no means certain that the quoted testimony is from the pen of Marianus Scotus. According to the editor of Krantz’s *Metropolis* (Cologne, 1574), the best codices of Marianus do not contain this passage (2); and the learned Benedict XIV. advances most stringent reasons for his belief that the passage is an interpolation (3). Again, it is very curious, if not suspicious, that only the modern propagators of this tale adduce the authority of the Irish chronologist; indeed, down to Martin the Pole, who wrote two centuries after Marianus, all historians make Benedict III. the immediate

(1) *Dictionary*, art. *Popess Joan*.

(2) Leo Allatius observes that the Frankfort printers carefully omitted this note of the editor;—Florimond de Rémond (d. 1602), writing on the supposed testimony of Marianus, says: “Chronologies are special victims of the marginal notes of their readers; since there are in them, quite frequently, hundreds of omissions, these are supplied by the first comer, and often he makes great blunders. Do not we ourselves comment, again and again, on the Chronologies of the learned Pontac and Génébrard, because of their omissions or fancied defects? If one of these annotated Mss. should fall into the hands of a printer, how easily he would accredit the work of the glossarist to the author.”—*Loc. cit.*, c. 5, no. 3.

(3) *Canonization*, b. iii., c. 10, no. 3.

successor of Leo. IV., thus leaving no room for the female who is said to have reigned "two years, five months, and four days;" which certainly shows that they were unacquainted with the passage of Marianus. But of what authority is Marianus? His frequent blunders should cause us to hesitate in accepting his unsupported assertions; still more care should we exercise ere we receive as true such things as become dubious under light from other sources. Alexandre gives many instances of anachronisms on the part of Marianus, but we shall notice only one, which is in connection with the present question. In the year 854, which, according to the quoted passage, ought to be the second of the Popess, Leo IV. founded the city of Leopolis, twelve miles from Centum Cellæ. In the following year, the emperor Louis visited Pope Leo IV. at Rome, and the Pope died soon after, on the 16th Calends of August. The entire period, therefore, which Marianus is said to assign for the Pontificate of Joan, was spent by Leo IV. in the Papal chair (1). The third argument in favor of the existence of the Popess is taken from Martin the Pole, penitentiary to Pope Nicholas III. This author died in 1270, that is, a hundred and eighty-four years after the death of Marianus, and four hundred and twenty-five years after the election of Benedict III. He is said to tell us that Joan was English by birth, but of German origin; that, during a solemn procession, she gave birth, when mid-way between St. Clement's and the Colosseum, to a child; that ever after the Pontiffs always went to the Lateran by another street, because of this hideous memory. St. Antonine, archbishop of Florence, praises the *Chronicle* of Martin, and says (2): "After this Leo, Martin put in his *Chronicle* Joan, by birth an Englishman, who sat in the chair of Peter two years, five months, and six days, and at his death, the Papacy was vacant for one month. This Pontiff, says Martin, is reported to have been a woman, who, when yet a young girl, was taken to Athens in male attire, by her lover; there she made such progress in learning, that her equal was not to be found, and when she

(1) ANASTASIUS the Librarian, *Life of Leo IV*

(2) *Chronicles*, p. ii., tit. 16, c. 1, § 6.

afterwards lectured at Rome, she had great professors among her disciples. Being of great repute in the city, for both science and integrity, she was made Pope after Leo, but became pregnant by a servant. Ignoring the time of her delivery, she was one day going from St. Peter's to the Lateran, when she was taken in labor between St. Clement's and the Colosseum, and was delivered in the street. Dying in the child-birth, she is said to have been buried on the spot. As the Pope, in going to the Lateran, always avoids this street, many say that it is because of this detestable thing. (This Pontiff) is not put in the Catalogue, on account of the sex."

So far as St. Antonine is concerned, he shows that he places no confidence in the story, for he says: "If the report is true, we may cry out with Paul, 'O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God; how incomprehensible are his judgments!' It is said that a monumental sculpture was erected in the street where this took place, but Vincent, in his *Historical Mirror*, and John Colonna, say nothing about it." As for the testimony of Martin the Pole, we must observe, first, that he merely gives a rumor, and that he writes four centuries after the supposed event. Again, is it certain that Martin was the author of the alleged testimony? Suffrid, who caused Martin's *Chronicle* to be printed, at Antwerp, in 1584, observed that it had been greatly interpolated, and he also noted that the various codices greatly differed, and that in the Tongerloensian MS. the narration about Joan is put in an appendix, not in the body of the work. But the very words of the story, as said to have been written by Martin the Pole, betray the hand of an interpolator, and manifest an ignorance which renders the whole narration unreliable as evidence. Joan is said to have been taken, when yet a girl, to the schools of Athens, and to have there acquired a great reputation. Now, where were the famous schools of Athens, in the ninth century? What was the condition of Athens? As far back as the year 420, Synesius of Ptolemaide wrote (1): "There is now nothing splendid in

(1) *Epistle* 35.

Athens but the celebrated names of places, just as, after a sacrifice, nothing remains of the victim but its skin. Wandering around, you may gaze upon the Academy and the Lyceum, and the Portico which gave name to the sect of Chrysippus. The proconsuls have taken away the artistic productions of Thasius. In our day, Egypt teaches, she who received the seeds of wisdom from Hypatia. Athens was once a city, the home of learned men; now it is occupied only by apiarists." The schools of Athens were afterwards, to some extent, revived, but not during the supposed student-life of Joan. Cedrenus and Zonaras inform us that the emperor Michael III., after he had removed his mother Theodora from the government, allowed the Cæsar Bardas to restore the Athenian gymnasia, but Theodora was not relegated to private life until 856, while Joan is said to have died in that year. Equally absurd is the statement that Joan's talents caused her, a stranger, to be chosen Pontiff. It is certain that for many centuries the custom had obtained of raising to the papacy only a priest or deacon of the Roman Church, one trained, as it were, in view of such a contingency. A departure from this rule would scarcely have been made without grave reasons, and none such could be conjectured as subsisting in the case of Joan. Ridiculous indeed is the assertion that the supposed Pontiff gave birth to a child during a solemn religious function. If it can be believed that stupidity was so rampant, so universal, in the Roman court, that the sex and condition of this person could so long remain hidden, exposed, as every Pontiff must necessarily be, to the scrutiny of prelates, ministers, courtiers, physicians, chamberlains, and servants, we cannot believe that so successful an impostor, and so arrant a knave, would have possessed so much asininity of mind as to subject herself, at such a time, to the risks of a processional walk from the Vatican to the Lateran. Again, in this very mention of the procession to the Lateran, the interpolator of Martin's *Chronicle* betrays himself. He says that the Pontiffs avoid the street that was fatal to Joan, when they proceed to the Lateran. It is certain that the Popes did not commence to inhabit the Vati-

can before the reign of Boniface IX., who mounted the throne in 1389. (1)

The friends of this fable also adduce the testimony of Baptist Platina (d. 1481), who, having given the story almost in the supposed words of Martin, whom he cites, says that "there are those who say that, to avoid a similar error," the junior deacon investigates the sex of the newly elected Pontiff (2). Platina also speaks of a ceremony in which the new Pontiff is seated in a chair, "according to some," for this purpose, but says that it is his belief, however, "that the seat is prepared, that he who is raised to so eminent a position may know that he is not God, but a man, and subject to the necessities of nature; whence the name of *stercoraria* is given to the seat." To this argument, we may allow Platina himself to reply: "What I have written is commonly rumored, but the authors are uncertain and obscure; I have given the reports briefly and simply, lest I might seem to obstinately omit that which nearly all affirm. Let us then, in this matter, err with the crowd." These words do not imply any great faith in the story of Joan. As for the chair, which some think so eloquent, Belarmine (3) thus explains the matter: "We know from the *Sacred Ceremonies*, b. i., sect. 2, that in the Lateran Basilica there were three stone seats on which the new Pontiff was placed at his coronation. The first was in front of the entrance to the Church, and was common and miserable; in this the Pontiff was seated a short time, to signify that he was about to leave a humble for an exalted station, and then was sung from *Kings*, B. I., c. 2: 'He raiseth up the needy from the dust, and lifteth up the poor from the dunghill; that he may sit with princes, and hold the throne of glory.' And for this reason that seat is called *stercoraria*. The second seat was of prophecy, and was in the palace itself, and the Pontiff was placed thereon, in sign of his taking possession; there he received the keys of the Lateran palace. The third seat was not far from

(1) ONOFRIO PANYINI, *The Seven Churches*.

(2) "*Pontificem ipsum dum primo in Sede Petri collocatur, ad eam rem poratorata, genitalia ab ultimo diacono attriectari.*"

(3) *Roman Pontiff*, b. iii., c. 24.

the second, and was similar to it; when he was seated here, he returned the keys to the giver, probably that, by such ceremony, he might be reminded of death, which would soon give his power to another. Of a seat for the investigation of sex, there is no mention whatever." (1)

Sigebert of Gemblours (2) furnishes another argument to the propagators of this tale. In his *Chronicle* he is said to assert: "It is reported that this John was a woman, that she was known by one alone of her servants, and that, having conceived by him during her Pontificate, she was delivered. Some, therefore, do not number her among the Pontiffs." Again we are treated to a "report," but even this shadow of an argument is of doubtful authenticity. In the MS. of Gemblours, edited by Miræus, the quoted passage is wanting. Vincent of Beauvais (3), who, in treating of this period, transcribes Sigebert's text, word for word, does not give the slightest reference to any female Pontiff. Again, the quoted words do not tally with the following statement of Sigebert: "Benedict (III.) was the 102d Pontiff of the Roman Church. Being dethroned by a conspiracy of the wicked, the Papacy was invaded by Anastasius; but Anastasius was deposed by the legates of the emperor Lothair, and put in prison, while Benedict was honorably restored." We shall prove that Benedict III. succeeded Leo IV. in 855, in a few days after the latter's death. According to Sigebert therefore, as our adversaries would understand him, either Joan was Pope at the same time as Benedict III., or her reign must be accounted for by deducting more than two years from that of Leo IV. Sigebert, however, assigns eight years to Leo IV. (4).

(1) Blondel says that this ceremony was abolished at the accession of Innocent VIII.

(2) Sigebert, a monk of Gemblours, was a contemporary of Gregory VII., and died in 1112. He was a bitter enemy of this Pontiff, and hesitates not to lie, whenever his zeal for the imperial interests is excited. His *Chronicle* extends to 1111, and was continued by Robenus de Monte down to 1210. Among his writings are two books on *Illustris Men*, in which company he ranks himself, and gives a detailed account of his works.

(3) Vincent, bishop of Beauvais, a Dominican friar, died in 1250. His *Historical Mirror* treats of events down to 1244. It was continued by an unknown author down to 1494.

(4) Alanus Copus tells us that Molanus assured him that he had read the MS. of Gemblours, and that it contained nothing concerning the Popess. He was certain, he added, that, if this MS. was not the original of Sigebert's work, it was at least a copy of that original. *Dialogues*, I, c. 8. (Antwerp, 1573).—The Protestant Spanheim admits that the passage of Sigebert, as found in the Paris edition of 1513, is a parenthesis which can be cut out without entailing any injury on the narrative or the author's chronological calculations. He also avows that the questioned passage does not occur in the MS. of Leyden, which bears the date of 1154. *The Female Pope*, p. 52.

Proof for the existence of the Popess is also sought in a certain statue, representing a woman and infant, which was erected in memory of this fatal event, say our credulous adversaries, and was finally thrown by some Pontiff into the Tiber. Is it likely that the Popes would have allowed the erection of a memorial, to perpetuate the remembrance of so disgraceful an event? But the fact is, there was once a marble group, of evident antiquity, in the very street leading to the Lateran, and it was removed by Sixtus V. (1585-90), when that street, like many others, was widened and straightened. But in that group the most vivid imagination could find no indication of a design to represent the female Pontiff. It represented two persons indeed, but not a woman and infant; one figure was that of a man, thought by antiquaries to be of a Pagan priest, preceded by a well-grown boy, probably his attendant minister. (1). But there was once a statue of the Popess in a church at Sienna, and it was removed by order of Pope Clement VIII. (1592-1605), as we are informed by Baronio (2), who was the intermediary between the Pontiff and the Grand Duke on the occasion. The existence of this statue may show the prejudices or ignorance of the Siennese, but as a positive argument it is valueless in the face of the many contrary and more weighty reasons which militate against the fable.

Having examined the arguments adduced by the propagators of this story, we now proceed to show, by the testimony of contemporary and closely following authors, that Pope Benedict III. immediately succeeded to Leo IV., and that hence the two years and more of Pontificate, on the part of Joan, are an impossibility. Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, writing to Benedict III. (3), praises the virtues of his predecessor Leo, and hopes that they will be imitated by

(1) In his *Table Talk*, Luther says: "In a great street, that which leads to St. Peter's, I have seen with my own eyes the statue of a woman, clothed with the Papal insignia, and holding a child in her arms. The Pope never goes by that way It is of that Agnes, born at Mayence, sent to England as cardinal, thereafter recalled to Rome, crowned Pope, as successor to Leo IV., in 857, and delivered of a child in the street in which her image is erected Truly, I am astonished that the Popes allow it to remain; but it is there as a miracle of God, who strikes them with blindness."

(2) *Epistle to Florimond de Rémond*, given by this author in his *Table of the Popess Joan*, c. 22.

(3) *Epistle* 103.

the new Pontiff. Here there is no suspicion of an intervening Popess. Ado of Vienne (d. 875) writes of the emperor Lothair: (1) "Resigning his temporal kingdom, he entered the monastery of Prumia; having taken the tonsure, and become a monk, he died in the year of our Lord 855, and the thirty-third of his empire. being there reverently buried by the brethren. . . . The Roman Pontiff Gregory died, and Sergius was ordained his successor; he having departed, Leo succeeded; this Pope dying, Benedict was placed in the Apostolic See, Lothair being already dead. . . . Pope Nicholas, a most religious man, died, and was buried in the vestibule of St. Peter's, not far from the remains of Benedict. Now Adrian succeeded in the order of bishops." Thus we learn from Ado that Leo IV. was succeeded by Benedict III., just after the death of Lothair, and we know that this death occurred on September 28, 855. To Benedict succeeded Nicholas, to Nicholas Adrian; where then was there room for Joan? Anastasius the Librarian informs us that Leo IV. died on July 17, 855, and that Benedict III. was installed on Sept. 29th of the same year. Where then are the two years of Joan? Hincmar of Rheims tells us (2) that he had sent messengers to Pope Leo IV., to beg for a certain privilege, and that, while on the way, they heard of that Pontiff's death, but nevertheless proceeded to Rome, and obtained the boon from the new Pope, Benedict III. Here again we find no interval for Joan's two years of Pontificate. Before the news of Lothair's death reached Rome, as we gather from the document itself, Pope Benedict III. issued a Diploma granting certain privileges to the monastery of Corbie. (3). As Lothair had died two months and twelve days after Leo IV., and this document speaks of him as yet living, it follows that Benedict succeeded Leo, at the furthest, in three months from the latter's death. Joan's two years of reign are again missing. Pope Nicholas I., immediate successor of Benedict III.,

(1) *Chronicle*, y. 855.

(2) *Epistle* 25.

(3) This Diploma begins: "Benedict, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, etc. Written by the hand of Theodore, Notary and Archivist of Holy Roman Church, in the month of October, 4th Indiction. Perfected on the Nones of October, by the hand of Theophylactus, seal-bearer of the Apostolic See, in the reign of Lothair, etc."

writes : (1) "Leo, Pontiff of the Apostolic See, who knew the desire of Hincmar, was taken from this life ; and when that Apostolic man, Benedict, of holy memory, had succeeded him in the Pontificate, the reverend Hincmar again prepared his arms, etc." There was therefore no Popess between Leo and Benedict. Photius, the father of the Greek Schism, a most bitter enemy of the Roman See, and yet a most learned man, would not have omitted to make capital out of the career of the Popess Joan, winding up, as it is asserted to have done, with so extraordinary a termination, had he known of it. Such an event could not have escaped his knowledge, for at the time it is said to have happened, Photius was secretary of state to the emperor Michael III. Now this learned, cunning, and vindictive schismatic, in a book written by him when his bitterness against Rome was fully developed, (2) distinctly enumerates the successors of Leo IV., down to that day, Benedict, Nicholas, John, and Adrian, without a hint of so acceptable an interregnum as that of a Joan would have been to his rebellious heart. Metrophanes of Smyrna, scarcely less bitter than Photius in his hatred of Rome, bears the same testimony. (3). The same is given by Stylianus, bishop of the Euphratesian Neo-Cæsarea, in the Epistle sent to Pope Stephen VI. by him and the confederated Catholic bishops of the East. In the first year of the Pontificate of Pope Formosus (891), Photius having been finally deposed, and peace been restored, for a time, to the Eastern Church, there was affixed to the main entrance of St. Sophia's basilica a Breviary or Synopsis of the Eighth General Council, in which the following passage occurs : "Down to this day, Photius has been openly condemned for forty-five years, by Pope Leo (and all the Popes) down to Formosus. For eleven years he was anathematized, while a secular and a layman, because he communicated with the excommunicated Gregory of Syracuse ; for other thirty-four years, after he had received holy orders, he was also anathematized. Popes

(1) *Epistle 46.*

(2) *On the Procession of the Holy Ghost, against the Latins, b. 1.* When Photius wrote this treatise, he had been many years an intruder in the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, and was fully and finally committed to the Schism.

(3) *Divinity and Procession of the Holy Ghost.*

Leo, Benedict, and Nicholas had condemned Gregory for various reasons. Both because of his other crimes, and because he had received orders from Gregory, Photius was anathematized by nine Roman Pontiffs, Leo, Benedict, Nicholas, Adrian, John, Marinus, the other Adrian, Stephen, and Formosus." Here we find the Church of Constantinople dividing the forty-five years which elapsed between the beginning of Leo's reign and that of Formosus among nine Pontiffs, whose names are given. Where will the patrons of the fable locate the two years and more of Joan? (1).

Pope Leo IX. (1049—1054), writing to Michael, patriarch of Constantinople, reproached that diocese in a manner which he would not have adopted, had he known that his own Pontifical chair had been contaminated as some Protestants would have us believe. His reproach is no other than that the clergy of Constantinople had raised a woman to the patriarchate: (2) "We would not wish to believe what public rumor hesitates not to assert, that the Constantinopolitan church, ignoring the First Chapter of the Council of Nice, has promoted eunuchs to her Patriarchal chair, and that once she even placed a woman in it. Even though the horror excited by so abominable a crime, so detestable a wickedness, did not prevent us, fraternal benevolence would cause us to doubt it. Nevertheless, when we consider your indifference to Canonical censures, in promoting eunuchs and mutilated persons, not only to the clerical state, but even to the episcopacy, we are of opinion that this may have happened."

(1) We may add the following testimonies as to the immediate succession of Benedict III. to Leo IV. The Synod of Tulle, y. 859, writing to the bishops of Brittany. The Roman Council of 863 (in Muratori, *Italian Writers*, vol. ii., pt. 2). Two contemporary catalogues of the Roman Pontiffs (in the *Prolegom.* to the *Lives of Anastasius*, vol. ii., pts. 18 and 20, edit. Vat.). The *Annals of Weingarten* (in the *Historical Monuments of Germany*, vol. i.). The *Annals of Würzburg* (*ibid.*, vol. ii.). A Catalogue of the Pontiffs compiled in 1048 (in Ecard, *Corp. Hist. Mid. Age*, vol. ii.). The *Annals of Einsiedeln* (in Pertz, *Monum. Germ. Hist.*, vol. v.). The *Chronicle of Hermann Contractus* (in Pistorius, *German Writers*, vol. i.). The Catalogue of Pontiffs to the reign of Honorius II. (in Muratori, *loc. cit.*). A *Chronicle of St. Denis* (in Bouquet, *Collection of Historians of the Gauls and of France*, vol. viii.). Not one of these works furnishes posterity with any trace of the alleged Popess. (2) Bellarmine thinks that perhaps this remark of Leo IX. give rise to the fable of Joan. "As there was a rumor that a certain woman had been made patriarch of Constantinople, after a while the name of the place was omitted, and people talked of a female 'œcumenical' patriarch; then some persons, who hated Rome, asserted that the woman had been the Pope of Rome; probably the report (in its new dress) arose about the time of Martin the Pole." *Roman Pontiff*, b. 3, c. 24. This idea is not incredible, for, as Bellarmine says, "the Centuriators of Magdeburg insert more incredible things. Martin only said that this woman was an Englishwoman, of Mentz origin, and the Centuriators tell us her name was Gilberta; they say her father was an English priest, and that she was raised as a monk at Fulda, and wrote books on magic." Whence this information?

Summing up what has been observed in this matter, we have shown, firstly, that Marianus Scotus, who is, according to the propagators of the fable of Joan, the first recorder of the tale, is not undoubtedly in its favor; that there is good reason to suppose that his works have been interpolated; that, granting that he did narrate the story, his authority is not great enough to justify us in rejecting, in his favor, the many positive arguments which militate against the truth of the tale. Secondly, we have seen that the *Chronicles of Martin the Pole* and of *Sigebert* have been certainly vitiated: that *St. Antonine* and *Platina* are unfavorable to the story, and that they simply record it as said to have been told by *Martin*. Thirdly, we have proved that the fable cannot be incorporated into history because of any reasons deduced from the examination theory, or from the existence of certain statues said to have commemorated the disgraceful death of *Joan*. Fourthly, we have shown that the story bears intrinsic marks of its own falsity. Fifthly, we have adduced the testimony of contemporary and closely following authorities, who all agree that the Pontificate of *Benedict III.* immediately succeeded that of *Leo IV.*, and that therefore, after *Leo*, there could not have been, on the part of *Joan*, "a reign of two years, five months, and four days." But it may naturally be asked, what could have given rise to this tale of a female Pontiff? Erudite men have been able only to conjecture. *Mosheim*, as we have said, admits, in an affectation of impartiality, that the story is certainly not well founded. But he says it must have owed its origin to some extraordinary event which happened about that time, that it is incredible that, for five succeeding centuries, a number of historians should narrate the affair, in almost the same language, if it was entirely destitute of foundation. We have seen that what he regards as incredible has not occurred. As for this "some extraordinary event" which must have happened, according to *Mosheim*, the reader may rest assured that there happened, in the Middle Ages, few, if any such, that were not recorded by the indefatigable, though often injudicious, chroniclers of the time. The science of criticism was not

well developed in those days, and the chronicler was generally so ambitious for material, that he put into his annals whatever he read or heard, historical facts or monastic gossip. No event, sufficiently "extraordinary" to give origin to such a story as that of Joan, would have been unacceptable or too prurient for insertion, as experience will show the reader, if he gives some time to the perusal of these monuments. (1). John Aventinus, (2) derives the story of Joan from the career of John IX. (898—900). Theodora, mother-in-law of Albert, prince of Etruria, who then was powerful in Rome, procured the election of this Pontiff, and as she always exercised much influence over him, the story went around, says Aventinus, that a woman was Pope of Rome. Onofrio Panvini (3) thinks that the fable originated among the Romans, who detested the vices of John XII. (956—964), and who styled his mistress Joan the real Pontiff of Rome. The opinion of Bellarmine we have already given. Baronio (4) deems the easy-going course of John VIII. in the matter of Photius the origin of the story. Leo Allatius finds its source in the *Annals of the Franks* and the *Chronicle* of Sigebert, where is described the condemnation, in the time of Leo IV., of a certain Thiota of Mentz, a pretending prophetess, etc. (5)

We will close this chapter by citing the opinions of two celebrated Protestant polemics, than whom modern heresy has produced no more able, or more bitter, foes of the Roman Church—Jurieu and Blondel. The former says: "I do not think that we are very much interested in evincing the truth of this story of the Popess Joan. Even though the Papal See had been surprised into accepting for its head a woman, believing her to be a man, it would not, in

(1) "But this is a foible of Protestants: when there is question of a fact favorable to the Roman Church, the most convincing proofs will scarcely persuade them; but if there comes up an event which is injurious to Catholicism, the weakest probabilities will engender their confidence in it; if they dare not affirm it, they must have the consolation of being doubtful about it. This disease is common to all incredulists."—BERGIER, art. *Popess Joan*.

(2) *Annals of Bavaria*, b. 4.

(3) *Notes to Platina*.

(4) *Annals*, y. 879.

(5) In the year 1845 Bianchi-Giovini published a *Critical Examination of the Acts and Documents relating to the Fable of the Popess Joan*, in which taking up the story from its first appearance, he carefully weighed all the authorities for and against its truth. Good critics opine that he so exhausted the subject, and so evidently manifested the absurdity of the tale, that no one will ever again presume to seriously adduce it. The reader will find much information concerning this question in the *Notes* of Gennarelli to the edition of the *Diary of Burckhardt*, published at Florence, in 1854. See the part on *Innocent VIII.*, p. 82, note 1.

my opinion, have suffered much. The advantage we might draw from such a fact would not compensate us for the great trouble we would have to prove it. In fact, I find, from the manner in which the tale is narrated, that it gives more honor to the Roman See than that See merits. It is asserted that this Popess had made excellent studies; that she was learned, able, and eloquent; that her many gifts won for her the admiration of Rome; that her election was unanimous, although she had appeared among the Romans an unknown foreigner, without any friends, or any other support than her own merit. I contend that much honor is given to the Roman See by the supposition that it promoted an unknown young person, merely because of personal worth." (1) Blondel remarks: "Many have tried to redeem the romance of Marianus from the suspicion accruing to it from the silence of all authors of the two following centuries, by supposing that the writers who lived during the period from 855 to 1050 refrained from narrating the story, because of the shame it heaped upon them. They preferred, it is contended, to change the records of the Papal succession by an affected silence, rather than to contribute, by noting an odious truth, to preserve the execrable memory of a woman who had dishonored the Holy See. But those authors who lived at Rome, such as Nicholas I. and Anastasius the Librarian, would have been foolish indeed, if they had deemed it possible, by their silence, to bury a disgrace which is supposed to have so astonished, scandalized, and angered the Romans that they could be appeased only by perpetuating their just indignation with the erection of a commemorative statue, with an appropriate arrangement of their processions, and with the use of hitherto unknown, and very indelicate, ceremonies." (2)

(1) *Apology for the Reformation*, vol. ii., Jurieu agrees with Florimond de Rémond, when this author says (*loc. cit.*, c. xi., no. 5) that "even though this misfortune had befallen the Church, since the woman was elevated by deceit, and by so parading an apparently holy life as to blind everybody, the crime was hers and not of the electors, who were in good faith, and cannot be charged with any part in the fraud."

(2) *Loc. cit.*, p. 78

CHAPTER IV.

THE GREEK SCHISM : ITS FIRST STAGE UNDER PHOTIUS, AND
THE EIGHTH GENERAL COUNCIL.

At the death of the emperor Theophilus, in 841, the Byzantine throne was occupied by the empress Theodora as regent for, and, according to the will of Theophilus, co-sovereign with, their son Michael III., then only six years of age. Theodora immediately restored the images to the churches and ejected the Iconoclast John from the patriarchate. To her son Michael she assigned as tutors two worthy patricians, Manuel and Theoctistus, whose aid she also used in the administration of the government. During the fourteen years of her reign the empire prospered greatly, but in the year 855 the intrigues of her brother Bardas deprived her of power and started the series of events which were destined to ultimately prove the ruin of the empire, as well as a serious injury to Christendom. Bardas may rightly be called the father of the Greek schism. A difference having arisen between Manuel and Theoctistus, Bardas profited by it to secure his own advancement. Manuel foresaw the storm, and retired from the court. Theoctistus was not so fortunate. Having rebuked Bardas for many crimes, among which was that of incest with his daughter-in law, his death was the consequence of his zeal. Bardas soon became all-powerful with the emperor, and as Theodora's severe piety and inflexible justice were too great a check upon the passions of the youthful prince, he gave a ready ear to Bardas' suggestion that she should be relegated to private life. Fearing even worse than deposition, Theodora convoked the Senate, rendered an account of the financial state of the empire, lest her administration should be calumniated, and abdicated the throne. Not satisfied with this, Bardas persuaded Michael to force his mother to take the veil, saying that she might otherwise marry again and raise a progeny which would some day claim the sceptre. The aid of Ignatius, who had succeeded Methodius in the

patriarchate, was besought in vain ; but Petronas, another brother of the empress, was amenable to Bardas' scheme, and he found some wretched ecclesiastic who cut the hair of Theodora and her daughters, and invested them all with the monastic habit. Bardas was now made *Curopolates*, and soon afterwards Cæsar. (1). Henceforth he was real master of the Byzantine empire, the nominal sovereign passing his time in debauchery, spending the immense sums which the prudence and economy of Theodora had accumulated. (2)

Ignatius, who at this time was patriarch of Constantinople, was a son of the emperor Michael Rangabes (811-813). Made a eunuch by order of Leo the Armenian (813-820), and confined in a monastery, lest he should claim the throne, he voluntarily became a monk, and in time an abbot. Celebrated for his virtues, he attracted the attention of Theodora, and on the death of Methodius, in 847, was by her influence raised to the patriarchal chair. Under his administration everything prospered, and it was plain that the holy Methodius was worthily replaced. But his zeal soon made Ignatius obnoxious to Bardas. Enraged at the episcopal rebuke for his incest, and convinced, by the refusal to violate the canons in the case of Theodora's monastic investiture, that Ignatius would never be a mere courtier-prelate, the *Curopolates* compassed his downfall. About this time a certain crazy adventurer, named Gebo, advanced a claim to the throne, asserting that he was a son of Theodora, and quite a number were found to adhere to him. When he was captured and deprived of eyes, hands, and feet, his followers soon disbanded. Bardas now came forward, accusing Ignatius of having been an instigator of the conspiracy. The credulous Michael was easily influenced, and the patriarch was banished to the isle of Terebinthus. Here he was waited upon by several of Bardas' episcopal and patrician friends, and vainly urged to resign his see. (3). Several unworthy prelates, under the

(1) The dignity of *Curopolates* corresponded to that of "Master of the Palace" in the West, although in the Byzantine court it never was associated with the real power which often accrued to the possessors of that title under the Merovingian kings. The title of *Cæsar* gave the bearer a rank second only to that of the sovereign, and was generally associated with so much of real power, that the Cæsar was regarded as a kind of lieutenant of the emperor.

(2) NICETAS, CEDRENIUS, and ANASTASIUS the Librarian.

(3) *Idem*.

leadership of Gregory of Syracuse (1), now held a species of synod, pretended to depose Ignatius, and elected as patriarch a layman, named Photius, then first secretary of state to the emperor. Photius was of a patrician family, a grandson of St. Tharasius, and, besides his secretaryship, held the post of first Sword-bearer. He was wealthy, learned, ambitious, and unscrupulous; in fine, a ready-made instrument for the use of Bardas. In six days the new patriarch received the monk's tonsure, the Lectorate, the Subdiaconate, Diaconate, Priesthood, and Episcopate. These events occurred in the year 857. That most of the bishops who voted for Photius were influenced by fear, is evident from the words of his friend, Metrophanes of Smyrna, who, writing to the patrician Manuel, said: "All the bishops of the province of Constantinople met together and anathematized Photius, declaring him deposed in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and conspiring together, they devoted themselves to eternal pains if they ever recognized Photius as patriarch." So long as Ignatius lived, Photius was uneasy. Hence he persuaded the emperor that the unfortunate patriarch was conspiring against the throne, and new persecutions were set afoot, not only against Ignatius, but against all who refused to communicate with the intruder. (2). A synod was also held in 859, in the imperial church of the Blachernal, and the deposition of Ignatius was confirmed. A few bishops, not lost to all sense of religion, met, in answer to this conclave, in the church of St. Irene, and declared Photius an intruder, asserting, furthermore, that he had promised, when nominated patriarch, to always regard Ignatius as the legitimate incumbent, and himself only as a vicar.

Photius now came to the conclusion that he would never

(1) Gregory had been tried and convicted for sedition, schism, and other crimes, and deposed from his see of Syracuse, by Ignatius, who, as patriarch of Constantinople, was his superior, Sicily being at that time in the obedience of the Eastern empire. Ignatius, however, requested of Pope Leo IV. a ratification of the procedure, which the Pontiff postponed, to give time to Gregory to make a defense. Ignatius afterwards sent to Rome a copy of the papers in the case, and Pope Benedict III. confirmed the sentence. In spite of all this, Gregory retained the insignia of his office, thanks to the protection of Bardas.

(2) Among other torments to which Ignatius was subjected, was his confinement in the sepulchre of Copronymus, where he would have died from the stench and from starvation, had not a faithful adherent bribed the guards to open the doors. He was often beaten nearly to death, and his teeth were knocked from his jaws. Basil, who had been Prefect of the Archives under Ignatius, had his tongue cut out, because he used it in defence of his patron.

enjoy his new dignity in comfort, unless he could obtain the sanction of the Roman Pontiff. Accordingly, he sent to Rome a legation composed of two bishops, and Arzabir, the imperial Sword-bearer. Most cunningly did these gentlemen fulfil their commission. Having presented to Pope Nicholas some very costly gifts in token of homage from Michael and Photius, they put on the veil of piety, and begged the Pontiff to send legates to Constantinople, in order that, by the authority of the Holy See, ecclesiastical discipline might be strengthened, and a final blow be given to Iconoclasm, then threatening to again raise its head. In the letters of Photius, the Pope was told that Ignatius, worn out with age and disease, had resigned his see, and was now residing in a monastery, loved and venerated by all, from the emperor down; that he (Photius) had been chosen patriarch by the unanimous voice of the bishops, and that he had been compelled by the emperor to assume the dignity. (1). Pope Nicholas I. then sent as legates to Constantinople the bishops Rodoald of Porto and Zachary of Anagni, who were charged with the enforcement of the decrees of the Seventh Council on the image question, and instructed "to investigate the cause of the patriarch Ignatius, and to refer it to the true and thorough judgment of the Apostolic See." The legates were ordered to communicate with Photius, "as with a layman," as we learn from the intruder himself. (2). The Pontiff sent letters to the emperor and to Photius. Writing to Michael, he disapproved of the deposition of Ignatius, as done "without the advice of the Roman Pontiff;" he condemned the elevation of Photius, as a violation of the Canons of Sardica and of the decrees of Popes Celestine I., Leo I., Gelasius, and Adrian I.; he ordered that Ignatius should be brought before the Papal legates in full Synod, that an investigation might be held as to the causes of his deposition; he insisted upon due honor to images; he ordered the restoration of the patrimonies of the Roman Church in Sicily, which had

(1) NICETAS, *Life of Ignatius*; PHOTIUS, *Epistle to Nicholas I.*, in Baronio, *y.* 859; ANASTASIUS, *Preface to 8th Council*; STYLIANUS, *Epistle to Stephen VI.*; METROPHANES of Smyrna, *Epistle to Manuel*.

(2) *Epistle I., to all Catholics.*

been alienated by Leo the Isaurian. This epistle bears date of Sept. 25. 859. In his letter to Photius, Pope Nicholas refuses to recognize that prelate's uncanonical elevation.

Upon their arrival at Constantinople, the Papal legates were confined to their quarters for a hundred days, being allowed to communicate with no one unprovided with an imperial permission; threats of starvation, exile, etc., were also made, if they did not recognize the legitimacy of Photius' installation. History shows us that, as a general thing, Pontifical ambassadors have exhibited a courage and fidelity worthy of their high position, but Rodoald and Zachary were of the few who, at various times, have ignominiously betrayed their trust. Yielding to the combined influence of fear and bribery, they promised to favor the cause of Photius, and in 861 a numerous Synod was held, at which, although the legates were present, the emperor really presided. The intruding patriarch caused a mutilated version of the letters of Pope Nicholas to be read, and then, in the name of the legates, Ignatius was ordered to appear before the Synod. The holy patriarch was on his way, dressed in the robes appropriate to his dignity, when he was threatened with death if he appeared before the prelates in any other guise than that of a monk. Thus he accordingly presented himself, and was immediately assailed by the emperor with a torrent of invectives. Seated upon a wooden bench, he was allowed to speak with the legates. Asking them if they had no letters to him from the Pontiff, he was informed that "there were none; they had been sent, not to a patriarch, but to one who had been condemned by the Synod of his own province, and that they were prepared to settle all things according to the Canons." To this Ignatius retorted: "Then first remove the adulterous one; if you cannot do so, you are no judges." The legates pointed to Michael, and replied: "He orders us." The unfortunate patriarch was then besieged by the officers of the palace, who vainly urged him to yield up his claims. Cited before the Synod, he refused to acknowledge it as his judge, and appealed to the Pope, saying: "I do not

acknowledge such judges ; I appeal to the Pope, and will willingly bow to his decision." He then desired the bishops to read the Decree of Pope Innocent I. in the case of St. Chrysostom, in which that holy doctor's restoration to his diocese was ordered as a preliminary to any judgment ; he also quoted the 4th Canon of Sardica, "If any bishop be deposed, and he declares that he has a defense, let no one be substituted in his place, until the Pontiff of the Roman Church shall have decided in the matter." Urged again and again to appear before the Synod, and being told that there were many witnesses who would swear that his election had been uncanonical, Ignatius answered : "If I am not archbishop, thou art not emperor, nor are these bishops ; for you were all consecrated by my unworthy hands and prayers." Seventy-two witnesses now came forward and swore that Ignatius had been thrust into the patriarchal chair by the secular power ; only one bishop, Theodulus of Ancyra, tried to defend the victim, but he was stopped by a blow which caused his blood to flow. Then was read the Apostolic Canon which declares that, "if any bishop obtains a church through use of the secular power, let him be deposed," and a decree of condemnation was passed against Ignatius. The ceremony of degradation was then performed, the pallium and many other patriarchal ornaments being placed upon, and then taken from, the unfortunate by one Procopius, a subdeacon whose vices had caused his suspension. As this minister of injustice pronounced the word "unworthy" at each removal of insignia, the treacherous legates and all the episcopal sycophants echoed the opprobrious term, and Photius had triumphed. But the hatred of Bardas was not yet appeased, and if Photius could not compass the death of the patriarch, he was bound to have, at least, his resignation. Ignatius was conveyed to the tomb of Copronymus and there subjected to torture. After two weeks of racking, whipping, and starvation, an attack of dysentery nearly ended his life. As he lay inanimate upon the stones, a certain Theodore, a creature of Photius, traced a cross with the patriarch's hand upon a clean sheet of parchment, and took the sheet to his master.

Photius then wrote above the mark: "I, the unworthy Ignatius of Constantinople, confess that I have usurped the throne of this church, not having been legally chosen, and that I have acted the tyrant." But this document gave no security for the future; accordingly, the two conspirators resolved to adopt that plan of mutilation so commonly used by the Byzantine rulers toward all from whom they anticipated danger. Orders were given to pluck out the eyes and cut off the hands of their victim, but when the executioners entered his mother's apartments, to which he had been taken, they found them empty. Ignatius now fled from place to place, pursued by the imperial emissaries, who had orders to kill him on sight as a disturber of the empire. But God protected him, and when a forty days' earthquake had thoroughly convinced the Byzantines of the divine displeasure, a pardon was proclaimed for Ignatius, and permission accorded him to live in his old monastery (1).

In the meantime there had arrived in Rome a faithful friend of Ignatius, the archimandrite Theognostus, who presented to Pope Nicholas, in the name of the patriarch, a full account of his own and his church's calamities. This document commences: "Ignatius, oppressed by tyranny, etc., to Our Most Holy Lord and Most Blessed Ruler, the Patriarch of all the Sees, the Successor of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, the Universal Pope Nicholas, and to all his Most Holy Bishops, and to the entire Most Wise Roman Church." And it finishes with this appeal: "Do thou, Most Holy Lord, show to me the bowels of thy mercy, and say with the great Apostle: 'Who is weak, and I am not weak?' Look upon thy predecessors, the patriarchs Fabian, Julius, Innocent, Leo, and, in fine, all who have manfully fought for the faith and for truth; imitate them, and arise in vindication of us who have suffered these things." The legates Rodoald and Zachary now returned to Rome, but merely reported that Ignatius had been deposed and Photius confirmed. There came also to the Pontiff an ambassador from the emperor Michael, in the

(1) These facts are recorded by Nicetas; by Theognostus, in the book inscribed to Pope Nicholas I. and all the bishops of the West; in the *Epistles* of Nicholas I., nos. 7, 8, and 9; and by Anastasius, in *Preface to 8th Council*.

person of his secretary Leo, charged with the task of delivering to his Holiness an account of the proceedings of the Photian Synod, and of obtaining its confirmation.

The Pontiff soon discovered the prevarication of his legates, and having called a Synod, he declared, in the presence of the imperial secretary, that he had never, and never would, consent to the deposition of Ignatius; as for the legate Zachary, he was deposed from the priesthood, while Rodoald, then absent in France, would be tried at a future time. Leo was then dismissed with letters of the same tenor to Michael and Photius. In his letter to Photius, the Pontiff is careful to address him as though he were a layman, for, although his consecration was valid, it was illicit. He inscribes the document "To the most prudent man, Photius," and after descanting upon the authority and primacy of the Holy See, which Photius himself then acknowledged, he refutes the arguments adduced by the intruder in justification of his uncanonical election, and declares that Ignatius is the legitimate patriarch of Constantinople. This epistle is dated March 18. 862, and on the same day the Pontiff issued a letter to all the patriarchs and bishops of the East, prohibiting any recognition of Photius as patriarch. These letters of Pope Nicholas infuriated the emperor, and he dispatched to Rome his Sword-bearer, with a very disrespectful epistle to the Pontiff, urging more strongly than ever the recognition of the usurper. The result of this embassy was the appearance of a Papal letter, still more exhaustive in its arguments against Photius. Nevertheless, the intruder prospered under the protection of Michael, and when his great patron, Bardas, had been put to death for supposed conspiracy, he was sufficiently wily to make the emperor believe in his fidelity, and to render that protection more solid than ever. In the year 866 the madness of Photius culminated in an "excommunication" of the Roman Pontiff; and in an *Encyclical* to all the patriarchs of the East, he adduced, in justification of his rebellious attitude, the following accusations against the Latins. They fasted on Saturdays. They observed the first week of Lent in a glut-

tonous manner, namely, drinking milk, eating cheese, etc. They imposed the yoke of celibacy upon their priests. They denied to priests the right of administering Confirmation. They taught that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son. In the year 867, Photius held another Pseudo-Synod, composed of the bishops of his faction and of impostors who called themselves legates of the other patriarchs. He repeated his anathema against Pope Nicholas I. and sent the *Acts* to the emperor Louis II., promising him the Byzantine throne, if he would procure the deposition of the Pontiff. But Photius now experienced a great reverse of fortune.

In the year 867, the emperor Michael associated his quondam chamberlain, Basil, with himself in the government. This prince, however, soon excited his monarch's displeasure, and his tenure of life became uncertain. Therefore he seized the opportunity afforded by an imperial debauch, and assassinated Michael. (1). The day following, he ordered the removal of Photius from the patriarchal palace, and his seclusion in a monastery. (2). Ignatius was then, after nine years of persecution, restored to the patriarchate. Basil immediately informed Pope Nicholas of his exertions for the well-being and liberty of the Church, and that his impartiality might be evident, he sent to Rome not only the metropolitan John of Syleum, on the part of Ignatius, but also the metropolitan Peter of Sardia, to defend the cause of Photius. He also begged the Pontiff to send legates to Constantinople, that an end might be put to all ecclesiastical turmoils. Ignatius also wrote to the Pope, consulting him as to the course to be pursued with reference to those who had become schismatics under Photius. In this letter, Ignatius gives the following mag-

(1) According to Liutprand, b. i., c. 1, a celestial vision induced Basil to perform great penance for this crime.

(2) Among the effects of Photius, the imperial officers found two elegantly bound MSS. One contained the *Acts* of the Pseudo-Synod held against Ignatius, and seven pictures, illustrating the same, painted by Gregory of Syracuse. The first represented the holy confessor receiving a beating, and was inscribed "The Devil." In the second he was seen covered with spittle, and styled "The Beginning of Sin." The third showed him de-throned, with the epigraph "Son of Perdition." In the fourth he was depicted in chains and condemned to exile, with the motto "Avarice of Simon Magus." The fifth calumniated him as "He who extols himself above all that is called or worshipped as God." In the sixth he was condemned to death as "The Abomination of Desolation." The seventh pictured him being dragged to the scaffold under the name of 'Anti-Christ.' The second MS. was a copy of the documents sent to the emperor Louis II.

nificent testimony to the reverence of the Greek Church of his time for the See of Peter: "For the cure of the wounds and ills of the human body, the medical art furnishes us with a great number of physicians; but for the members of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of our God the Saviour, there is only one chosen and universal physician, namely, your Fraternal and Paternal Holiness, constituted by the Supreme and Most Powerful Word of God, when He said to Peter, the supreme and most holy Prince of the Apostles: 'Thou art Peter, etc.' And these blessed words were not addressed to the Prince of the Apostles, simply as conferring a private privilege, but through him they were directed to all the Pontiffs of the Roman See, his successors. Wherefore, in the past, whenever heresies and corruptions came into existence, the successors in your Apostolic See always extirpated such tares and noxious growth; and now, your Blessedness, worthily using the power received from Christ, crushes the enemies of truth, and him who, like a robber, enters the fold of Christ by the window . . . With the physician's hand of holy and Apostolic authority, you cut him off from the body of the Church; and pronouncing us innocent, who have been so oppressed by his wickedness, you have, like a most loving brother, restored us to our church." When the legates of Basil arrived in Rome, they found that Pope Adrian II. had mounted the throne. Having presented their letters, they witnessed, in a Roman Synod, the confirmation of the deposition of Photius and of Ignatius' restoration.

To remedy the evils produced in the East by the schism of Photius, Pope Adrian II. convoked the Eighth General Council, which met at Constantinople, Oct. 5, 869. Before, however, we treat of this subject, it is better to finish our historical sketch of the career of Photius. During ten years of exile, this wretched man was able to do little more, in the way of furthering his ambition, than meditate and plot. Ignatius was restored by a sentence of an Œcumenical Council, was protected by the Roman Pontiff, and enjoyed the favor of his sovereign. The cunning of the schemer, however, was great, and by means of friends at court he was

constantly informed of everything which might be turned to his advantage. Having learned that Basil was exceedingly sensitive on the subject of his lowly origin, he excogitated a means of gratifying the imperial vanity, trusting to thereby mount in time to the point of his ambition. He invented a genealogical table, by which it was shown that Basil was descended from Tyridates, a famous king of Armenia. (1). The hospitality of the palace was now extended to Photius, and he was appointed governor of the imperial princes. But his influence over Basil was not strong enough to bring about the deposition of Ignatius. He therefore simulated repentance for the past, and earnestly besought the patriarch to restore him to the active priesthood. Ignatius, however, would not yield, and then the daring of Photius and the weakness of the emperor became manifest. Photius put on the patriarchal insignia, and he presumed to hold ordinations in the imperial chapel. The death of Ignatius now occurred (878), and the usurper again seized the patriarchal throne. Many of the suffragan bishops were already of his faction ; some others he won by promotion or by money, while the few who refused to recognize his jurisdiction were turned over to the mercies of Leo Catacalus, the prefect of the guards. He pretended that the ordinations of Ignatius were null and void, and as such, he repeated them ; he restored to their sees all the bishops whom Ignatius had suspended. (2). At this time, the Apostolic legation at Constantinople was held by the bishops Paul of Ancona and Eugene of Ostia. Faithful to their trust, they refused even to admit Photius to communion ; hence the infatuated Basil sent legates to Rome to try the constancy of Pope John VIII., then in the sixth year of his Pontificate. Photius also sent to Rome his creature, Theodore Santabarenus, whom he had made metropolitan of Patras, as bearer of a letter in which it was declared that Photius had

(1) By the connivance of Theophanes, one of the imperial chaplains, this table, adorned with many prophetic descriptions, was placed in the Palatine Library. Theophanes then pretended to discover it, and telling Basil that it greatly interested the imperial family, he declared that only one man in the empire was sufficiently erudite to interpret it. That man was Photius and he was immediately summoned to the palace. Here his intrigues were greatly aided by Theodore Santabarenus, a monk addicted to necromancy, but reputed a saint by Basil.

(2) These facts are gathered from Nicetas' *Life of St. Ignatius*, and from the *Epistle of Stylianus* to Pope Stephen V.

been forced by the bishops and by the emperor to accept the patriarchal dignity. This letter bore the signatures and seals of all the metropolitans, those of the faithful prelates having been procured by Peter, the imperial secretary, under pretext that the document was connected with the purchase of some ground for the patriarchate. (1). The result of this mission to Pope John VIII. was the restoration of Photius, to be effected, however, under certain conditions. In speaking of this action of Pope John VIII., Alexandre does not hesitate to say that by it "was rescinded the resolution of the Eighth Council never to receive Photius, to which resolution John himself, then archdeacon, had subscribed, before the universal Church," and that by it "John now gave up his name to everlasting reproach." That this harsh judgment is also unjust, a calm consideration of the facts in the case will conclusively show. Basil asserted that Photius was repentant; that his confirmation would give peace to the church of Constantinople; that such confirmation was desired even by those who had been ordained by Ignatius and Methodius. These assertions were apparently corroborated by the forged signatures to Photius' letter. Again, the general conduct of Basil had caused Rome to regard him as meriting well of the Church; hence if he could be gratified in justice and with honor, prudence suggested a compliance with his wishes. Finally, Ignatius was now dead, and no one claimed the see in opposition to Photius. (2). In his answer to Basil, *Epist.* 199, the Pontiff says that he hearkens to the emperor's prayers, "without any prejudice to the Apostolic statutes, or any relaxation of the rules of the fathers; yea, rather resting "upon their authority;" and after quoting instances of prudent yielding to circumstances, on the part of his

(1) NICETAS, *ibid.*

(2) Nor should it be forgotten that Pope John relied upon the Greek fleets to protect the coasts of the Campagna and Tuscany from the Saracens. It is remarkable that while even Baronio blames Pope John VIII for his restoration of Photius, the furious Gallican De Marca (*Priesthood and Empire*, b. iii., c. 14.) thus excuses him: "Ignatius having died, the often condemned Photius recovered his see through the votes of the Eastern bishops and the good will of the emperor Basil; but that restoration could not have been complete without the approval of the Apostolic Chair. Wherefore John VIII., besought by the emperor to consult the peace of the Church, ceded to necessity, and, influenced by the example of Leo, Gelasius, Felix, and an African Council, who all thought that in some emergencies rules might be modified, he freed Photius from anathema. with the consent of the other patriarchs, and allowed him to retain the patriarchal throne, on condition that he would beg pardon before the coming Council. The agreement of the emperor, the other patriarchs, and a full Eastern Synod, frees John from blame."

predecessors and certain Synods, he grants the request of the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, of all the metropolitans, bishops, priests, and of all the clergy of Constantinople, who remain of the ordination of Methodius and Ignatius ; and receives as co-minister in the episcopal office the same Photius, *if, according to custom, he begs mercy in a Synod.* We, upon whom, according to the Apostle, rests the care of all the churches, not wishing that there should any longer remain cause of dispute in the Church of God, absolve this same patriarch from all ecclesiastical censure ; and with him, all the bishops, priests, clerics, and laymen against whom the censures of the divine judgment have been pronounced ; and we decree that he receive the Constantinopolitan see principally because, by this act, all will witness an instance of Apostolic mercy." When the imperial ambassadors departed from Rome, they were accompanied by the legate Peter, cardinal of the title of St. Chrysogonus, with instructions to arrange, in union with two other legates already at Constantinople, but in accordance with what had been decreed at Rome, the affairs of the distracted patriarchate. Peter arrived at his post in November, 879, and in an interview with Photius handed him the Papal letters of instruction. The schemer then requested permission to retain the documents for a short time, that he might have them translated into Greek, for the use of the coming Synod. The legates assented, and it was afterwards found that the imprudent concession had furnished an opportunity for an interested mutilation and interpolation of the Papal instructions. Among other alterations, Photius erased the clause in which he was ordered to throw himself on the mercy of the Synod. He also inserted a condemnation of the Eighth Council, held ten years before, against his schism, and an abrogation of all the decrees issued against himself by the Pontiffs Nicholas I. and Adrian II. Armed with this new weapon, Photius now held that famous Synod which the schismatics afterwards styled the Eighth Œcumenical. The conclave met in the church of St. Sophia, and was attended by 380 prelates, and by the whole imperial family. The Papal legates were also on

hand, but, like their unfortunate predecessors in the time of Pope Nicholas, they had been corrupted. Photius, therefore, had things his own way. Although his own cause was in question, he was allowed to preside, the legates assenting to everything proposed by the usurper, and saying nothing of the Pontifical mandates. After a solemn restoration of Photius to the patriarchate, and an excommunication of all who would not communicate with him, the Pseudo-Synod issued a number of canons, to give the affair more of a conciliary appearance. Photius wished much to have the "Latin doctrine," as he called it, of the *Filioque*, condemned, but fearing lest the Papal legates would be incited to something like a resemblance of their duty, and thus render null all of his proceedings, he deferred his overt act of heresy to a more propitious time. (1)

The three Papal legates returned to Rome immediately after the Photian "Eighth Synod," and simply reported that peace was restored to the Constantinopolitan church, and that the emperor would send a powerful fleet to protect the Italian coasts from the Saracens. But the letter of Photius, admitting that he had not asked pardon of the Synod, caused Pope John VIII. to suspect that his commands had been evaded in more ways than one. Hence he commissioned the cardinal Marinus, who was destined to succeed him in the Papacy, and who had been one of the presidents of the Eighth Council, to return to Constantinople for the purpose of investigation, instructing him to rescind all which he might discover to have been unjustly or illegally done by the former legates. Marinus did his duty. The frauds of Photius were made manifest, and therefore his old condemnation by the Eighth Council was revived. The olden zeal of Basil for the good of the Church had been greatly modified by his intimacy with Photius, and he was made furious by the apostolic intrepidity of Marinus. He forgot the respect which all rulers owe to the law of nations, and even that which every Christian should show to the representative of Christ's vicar. The legate was thrown

(1) Six weeks after the Pseudo-Synod, while at an assembly of bishops in the *Triclinium* of the Blachernal palace, the emperor asked Photius for a Profession of Faith, and received one made up of the definitions of the first seven Councils, with a declaration that nothing should be added to them.

into prison, and for thirty days his constancy was tried, but the only result was an exhibition of firmness which was a glorious offset to the scandal caused among the vacillating Greeks by the weakness of his predecessors. When Pope John VIII was informed of the treachery of his legates, and of Photius' usurpation, he immediately confirmed the condemnatory sentences of Nicholas I. and Adrian II., and added his own anathema. Pope Marinus, who succeeded John VIII. in the year 882, confirmed the acts of his predecessor in reference to Constantinopolitan affairs, and the infuriated Basil dared to retort by asserting that Marinus was not a legitimate Pope, since he had been bishop of another see, and could not abandon it. It was during the reign of Marinus that Photius wrote to the schismatic patriarch of Aquileia his famous Epistle attacking the Catholic dogma on the Procession of the Holy Ghost.⁽¹⁾ During the Pontificate of Adrian III. (884—85), Basil again vainly sought from Rome the recognition of Photius. In the year 889, Leo, surnamed "the philosopher" on account of his erudition, succeeded his father Basil on the imperial throne of Byzantium, and with his advent came an end to the first stage of the Greek Schism. The Papal Chair was then occupied by Stephen VI. (885—91), one of whose first acts had been a brilliant and solid defence of the actions of his predecessors in the Photian matter, against the insolent attacks of Basil. The letters of Stephen produced a deep impression on the mind of Leo, and he immediately ejected Photius from the patriarchal palace, appointing instead his own brother Stephen. Having recalled from exile all the bishops and priests who had been the victims of Photius, Leo addressed them: "Having sought the truth, our authority, which is from God, has ejected that wicked man Photius from the patriarchal chair and has stopped your persecution. Nor shall we compel you, in any way, to unwillingly communicate with him; we rather request of your piety that you communicate with our brother, that there may be but one fold. If, however, you do not wish to communicate with my brother, without

(1) BARONIO, year 883.

first consulting Rome, which has condemned Photius, and because my brother was ordained deacon by him, let us together write to the Pontiff that he may give absolution from the anathema pronounced against those ordained by Photius." Letters were accordingly sent to Pope Stephen VI. by Leo and by Stylianus of Neo-Cæsarea, in the name of the Greek bishops, begging the Pontiff to remove the censure from all who were worthy of pardon. After due consideration, the Holy See sent legates to Constantinople, in 891, with instructions to recognize the patriarch Stephen and to remove all censures from such as they would deem worthy of lenient treatment. From this time history is silent with regard to Photius. Manuel Calecas (1) contends that he died in the communion of Rome. Certain Greek schismatic writers (2) have asserted that he re-communicated with the Latins, when these "had recanted their errors." But these authors are sufficiently refuted by the Breviary or Synopsis of the Eighth Council, affixed in 891 to the doors of St. Sophias' Basilica, and quoted by us in the last chapter.

The Eighth General Council now demands our attention. That this assembly possessed the first requisite of œcumenicity, namely, convocation by the Supreme Pontiff, is proved by the Epistle of Pope Adrian II. to the emperor Basil, read in the first Session: "We desire that a numerous Council be celebrated at Constantinople through the industry of your Piety; at which Council our legates will preside, and having examined into the causes of men and their crimes, they will give to the flames all the copies of the impious Pseudo-Synod (the Photian Eighth) which must be surrendered by all who have them." And in the Preface of the Eighth Synod, sent to Adrian II., we read: "Having sent, with your Apostolic authority, your vicar and epistolary decretals, you commanded a Synod to be held at Constantinople, etc." That the Papal legates, namely, Donatus, bishop of Ostia, Stephen, the bishop of

(1) Calecas was a Greek orthodox author of the fourteenth century. His principal work, directed against "The Errors of the Greeks," was translated into Latin by order of Martin V.

(2) MICHAEL ANCHIALIS, *Dialogue with Emmanuel Comnenus*; MAXIMUS MARGUIN, *Dialogue of a Greek with a Latin*. See the work of Leo Allatius on the *Perpetual Agreement of the Eastern and Western Churches*, b. ii., c. 6.

Nepi, and Marinus, the deacon, presided over the Council, is evident from the *Acts*. The first Session commences. "Being assembled, Donatus and Stephen, bishops, and Marinus, the deacon, holding the place of Adrian, archbishop of the senior Rome, and Ignatius, archbishop of Constantinople, the younger Rome; and the Vicar of the Orient, Thomas, metropolitan of Tyre, holding the place of the see of Antioch, etc. The most holy vicars of the senior Rome said: 'Therefore let us put all hesitation out of your hearts, and let us certify to you by word and by deed that we shall dispose all things as has been commanded unto us. We have, then, letters to the emperor and to the patriarch, and if you order, let them be read.'" Again, the Papal legates are first named, speak before all others, and are the first to subscribe to the decrees.

The Eighth General Council, also styled the Fourth of Constantinople, was opened on Wednesday, the 5th of October, 869, in the second year of Pope Adrian II., and third of the emperor Basil, and its sessions were held in the basilica of St. Sophia. In the First Session, the Papal legates were asked to manifest the nature of their commission, and as they deemed the question rather insolent, they hesitated to answer. Then the Patrician Bahanes informed the legates that no contempt of the Apostolic See was meant by this request, but rather a precaution, on account of the prevarication of Rodoald and Zachary, the legates of Nicholas I. The legates therefore replied: "We have in our hands a letter sent to the emperor by the most holy Pope Adrian, who has also given us power to so order all things according to what the blessed Pope Nicholas established for the holy church of Constantinople, that we may so arrange and strengthen them, that no one will be able to combat them, and that we may confirm what the most holy Adrian has commanded. For he has inherited the labors of him to whose honors he has succeeded; for this, God placed him in His Church. Behold the letter of the holy Pope Adrian. If you wish, let it be read." After the reading of the Pontifical letter, the legates ordered a reading of a Papal document, to which all who wished the com-

munion of Rome were obliged to subscribe. It contained a condemnation of all heresies, and an anathema against Photius ; also a declaration that the subscriber accepted all that Pope Nicholas I. and Adrian II. had done in the cause of Ignatius and Photius. In this document, which was signed by the entire Council, the following passages are noteworthy : " For we must not forget the words of our Lord Jesus Christ : ' Thou art Peter, etc.' This saying has been proved by events, because in the Apostolic Chair the Catholic Religion has been preserved immaculate, and holy doctrine ever held. Therefore, not wishing to be separated from the faith and doctrine of this See, and following the Constitutions of the rulers of this holy Apostolic See, we anathematize the Iconoclasts and all heresies ; we anathematize also Photius, etc."

The Second Session was held on the 9th of October. It being announced to the fathers that certain bishops were waiting without, who, having been ordained by Methodius or by Ignatius, had joined the Photian ranks, they were told to enter the Synod. Having begged pardon for their transgressions, they were addressed by the legates : " We receive you, according to the command of our most holy Pope Adrian, on account of your avowal of repentance." They then replied : " And we reverence you, and acknowledge you as our judges, and we will accept your judgment as from the Person of the Son of God." Having then subscribed to the document issued by Rome, and read in the first Session, the penitents were admitted to seats in the Synod, but were ordered not to exercise their functions until the following Christmas, the intervening period to be spent in penance.

The Third Session was held on the 5th of the Ides of October. The fathers invited Theodolus of Ancyra and Nicephorus of Nice to subscribe to the Roman *Definition*, but they refused. It having been discovered that Theodore of Caria, one of those lately forgiven, had been one of Photius' accomplices in anathematizing Pope Nicholas I., his case was reserved to the Pontiff. The epistle of Pope Adrian to Ignatius was read, and declared " canonically written and full of justice."

The fourth Session was held on the 3d of the Ides of October. The bishops Zachary and Theophilus, of the Photian faction, were presented by certain patricians, but when urged to sign the Pontifical *Definition*, they declared that both they and Photius had been received by Pope Nicholas I. on the occasion of a mission which they had undertaken for the usurper to that Pontiff. The legates therefore caused several epistles of Nicholas to be read, and then it was demonstrated that these schismatics lied. Urged again to subscribe to the *Definition*, they replied: "We wish to hear nothing about it." By order of the legates, they were shut out of the Synod.

The Fifth Session was held on the 13th of the Calends of November. Photius was summoned by means of laics to the Council, but when he was introduced, and asked whether he would receive the decrees of Nicholas I. and of Adrian II., he remained silent. Urged to reply, he answered: "God hears me, even when I am silent." Pressed again, he replied: "Jesus also was condemned when silent." Elias, vicar for the patriarch of Jerusalem, then ascended the pulpit and energetically contended that his church had never recognized Photius, concluding by exhorting him to repentance. The legates also urged the unfortunate man to repentance, that he might merit lay-communion. Pressed also by the patrician Bahanes, he answered: "My justification is not in this world," and then sank again into an obstinate silence. He was therefore dismissed from the Council.

The Sixth Session was held on the 8th Calends of November. The emperor Basil asked the bishops who yet adhered to Photius if they would at last yield to the decision of the Church, but they impudently answered that the judgments against their leader were null and void. Zachary of Chalcedon now arose, and in a discourse which was a tissue of sophisms where it was not mere baseless assertion, endeavored to sustain the cause of the baffled intruder. Metrophanes of Smyrna then dissected the remarks of Zachary, and refuted them, point by point. After an exhortation to penitence addressed to the recalcitrants by Basil, seven days of delay were granted them.

The Seventh Session was held on the 4th Calends of November. Photius and Gregory of Syracuse were brought to the Synod and questioned as to their willingness to accept the Papal Definition. The only reply of Photius was: "May the Lord preserve our holy emperor many years!" Urged again by the legates, he answered that they had more need of repentance than he had. Finally, the Synod pronounced anathema on Photius, "the courtier and invader; the secular, neophyte, and tyrant; the condemned schismatic, adulterer, and parricide; the inventor of lies and perverse dogmas: the new Judas and new Dioscorus; anathema on all his followers and sympathizers, etc."

The Eighth Session was held on the Nones of November. All the writings of Photius against the Pontiffs, and the *Acts* of his Pseudo-Synods, were thrown to the flames. Basil of Jerusalem and Leontius of Alexandria, whose names Photius had inserted among the subscriptions to his Pseudo-Synod, as legates of their respective patriarchs, then anathematized the writings against Pope Nicholas. Many metropolitans were then asked if they had signed the decrees of the Photian Synod, and they answered that the signatures, which purported to be their own, were forgeries. Several Iconoclasts were then reconciled to the Church, the emperor kissing them after their abjuration.

The Ninth Session was held on the day before the Ides of February of the new year. Joseph, archdeacon of Alexandria and legate of Michael, the patriarch of that see, then explained that his bishop was prevented by the Saracenic domination from travelling; that he had obtained for Joseph an appointment as commissioner of exchange of captives, in order that he might attend the Council in his name. Michael was so isolated that he knew nothing of the merits or demerits of Photius, but he suggested that he and Ignatius might rule the diocese of Constantinople in common. The Alexandrian legate, having read the *Acts* of the previous sessions, solemnly accepted them in the name of his patriarch. There were then introduced certain perjurers, among them the consul Leo, who, compelled by Photius and the emperor Michael, had sworn falsely against

Ignatius on the occasion of his mock trial. They confessed their crime, anathematized Photius, and received a canonical penance.

In the Tenth Session, held the day before the Calends of March, there were edited 27 canons, of which the following are the principal. The 1st decrees that all canons of the Church are to be observed as "Second utterances of God." The 2d orders the observance of the decrees of the Pontiffs in the Photian matter. The 3d accords to the images of Christ, of His Mother, and of the saints, the same honor as is given to the Book of the Gospels. The 5th puts a check on the growth of the pestilent crop of courtier-bishops, by ordering that no one shall be made a bishop unless he has been ten years a cleric, and allows no dispensation to be ever given in the case of a courtier candidate. The 6th segregates Photius even from lay-communion, on account of his forgeries of episcopal signatures. The 11th anathematizes the doctrine of a dual soul in man, taught by Photius. The 12th condemns all undue interference of the secular power with ecclesiastical preferments. The 13th prohibits the elevation to high ecclesiastical dignity in the church of Constantinople of any one not belonging to the clergy of that see, and excludes from that body the domestic clerics of princes and nobles, thus putting another check on the courtier-clergy and giving a safeguard to the integrity of the patriarchal chair. The 14th rebukes the want of respect for their office shown by those bishops who are ever ready to pay court to the rich and powerful, especially to princes; condemns their dismounting from horseback, etc., in order to salute the great ones; and their practice of standing among the gentlemen-in-waiting, while the grandees are eating. The bishop who thus forgets his dignity is suspended from communion for one year; the prince who permits such fulsome obsequiousness suffers for two years. The 15th prohibits any alienation or mortgaging of ecclesiastical property, and declares it null. A monastery erected by the funds of a diocese belongs to that diocese. The 16th anathematizes those who ridicule the sacred offices or officers. The occasion of this canon was the conduct of

the emperor Michael, who permitted his Protospatarius, Theophilus, to mimic the patriarch for the amusement of the court, saying : " Theophilus is my patriarch, the Cæsar Bardas has Photius, and the Christians have Ignatius." The 19th condemns those metropolitans who go about among their suffragans, living at their expense, under pretext of visitation. The 25th condemns all the bishops, priests, etc., who pertinaciously adhere to Photius, and deprives them of all hope of restoration. After the promulgation of the canons, the Council issued a *Definition of Faith*, anathematizing all heresies, and condemning Photius and his followers. In subscribing to the conciliary decrees, the Papal legates came first, and wrote : " I . . . , holding the place of my Lord Adrian, Supreme Pontiff and Universal Pope, and presiding over this Holy and Universal Synod, have promulgated, subject to the will of the same illustrious Ruler, everything above recited, and have subscribed with my own hand." The vicars of the patriarchs write : " I . . . , receiving this Holy and Universal Synod, and agreeing with, and defining, all that has been decided and written, have subscribed." The emperor Basil and his sons do not define, but consent and venerate : " Basil, Constantine, and Leo, ever August, in the Christ of God faithful princes of the Romans and great Emperors, receiving this Holy and Universal Synod, and agreeing with all it has defined and written, have subscribed." When all the bishops had subscribed, the Council issued a Synodical Epistle to all the bishops and faithful of the Church, giving an account of the crimes of Photius and of all proceedings against him. An Epistle was then addressed to Pope Adrian II., begging a confirmation of the Council, which was immediately granted, as is shown by the Pontiff's letter to Basil, which was read at the end of the *Acts*.

We now again approach a question which we have frequently had occasion to encounter, that of the amenability of a Pontifical judgment to a conciliary juridical examination. The author of the *Defence of the Declaration*, etc., and with him, Alexandre (1), contends that the actions of the

(1, *Cent. xv.*, *diss.* 4, n. 26.

Eighth Council plainly prove that the prelates deemed the conciliary authority superior to that of the Pontiff. They cite the 21st canon, "If a General Council is in session, and there is any doubt or controversy, even about the holy Roman Church, an investigation and a solution of the question should be had with due reverence; audaciously, however, sentence should not be passed against the Supreme Pontiffs of the Senior Rome." Again, the bishops were asked whether they would receive the letters of Popes Nicholas and Adrian. But it can be easily shown that the fathers of the Eighth Council, far from critically examining the Papal definitions, willingly and at once obeyed the injunctions of the Holy See; that, in fine, all that was effected in that Council was done because Rome commanded it to be done. In the 3d Session was read the letter sent by Basil to Pope Nicholas I., in which the emperor prays the Pontiff to predefine what was to be done in the Synod soon to be held, and after saying that some of the schismatics had fallen through fear, and others through simplicity, he adds: "We have asked, and now beg, your Paternal Holiness, to send a judgment and decree in regard to these persons. Thus, O Spiritual Father, and divinely to be honored Supreme Pontiff, hasten to the correction of our church, and give us an abundance of strength against injustice and for the attainment of truth, that is, a clean unity, a spiritual structure free from all strife and schism, a church one in Christ, and a fold obedient to one shepherd." These sentiments certainly indicate a belief in the irreformability of Papal decisions, and if it be thought that Basil's judgment proves little, we turn to the letter sent to Nicholas by Ignatius, and already quoted by us, in which the patriarch asserts that the Roman Pontiff is the divinely appointed physician for the diseases of Christ's members. In answer to this letter, Pope Adrian II., the successor of Nicholas I., says: "Your Fraternity must take care that the signatures of all of your bishops, united in Synod, be put to those chapters which were synodically promulgated by us in that Church of God where rests the holy body of Peter, Prince of the Apostles: promulgated for the aboli-

tion of the profane Synods held in Constantinople by Photius. . . . and let them be carefully deposited in the archives of each diocese."

Could Pope Adrian have used this language, if he, at least, did not hold that the Pontiff was superior to a Council? But let us see what the conciliary *Acts* evince. When, in the 1st Session, the patrician Bahanes requested the Papal legates to show their mandatory letters, they at first resisted, saying that "until now they had never heard that the vicars of the elder Rome were questioned by anybody," which elevated language does not imply much of subjection toward the Synod. In the same Session was read the Papal *Definition* sent by Adrian, and which all were obliged to sign as a preliminary to any recognition. In that document was written: "For we must not forget the words of our Lord Jesus Christ: 'Thou art Peter.' etc. This saying has been proved by events, because in the Apostolic Chair the Catholic Religion has been preserved immaculate, and holy doctrine ever held. Therefore, not wishing to be separated from the faith and doctrine of this See, and following the constitutions of the rulers of this Apostolic See, we anathematize the Iconoclasts and all heresies; we also anathematize Photius, etc." In these words the infallibility of the Pope is clearly enunciated, for heresy is condemned principally because of the *Constitutions* of Rome. In this same *Definition*, signed by the entire Synod, the subscriber promises to observe "all which is herein established; we will observe it according to the ordinance of your decree, receiving that which it receives, and condemning what it condemns, especially the aforesaid Photius. . . . With regard to our most venerable patriarch Ignatius and his followers, we follow, with our whole heart, what the authority of your Apostolic See has decreed, and venerate it with religious devotion. . . . because, as we have said, following the Apostolic See in all things, and observing all its *Constitutions*, we hope to merit to be in the one communion which that Apostolic See offers, and which is the true and complete solidity of the Christian religion." When such are the sentiments of this *Definition*, it is plain that the fathers of

the Eighth Council did not deem their body superior to the Pontiff, when they used the phrase cited by our adversaries, "The book presented by the holy Roman Church has been read, and pleases all." The examination, that is, like all of those of which we have treated in the cases of the *Dogmatic Definitions* read in other Councils, was not juridical, but informatory. In the 2d Session, when there arose a question as to the treatment of the schismatics, the Papal legates declared that Pope Adrian had ordered that they should not be received to penance until they subscribed to the Pontifical *Definition*, and they asked the delinquents: "Are you willing to obey the orders of the most holy Pope Adrian?" And when, in the 3d Session, the archbishops of Ancyra and Nice refused their signatures, pardon was denied them. The conduct of the legates would have been arrogant in the extreme, and the Eastern bishops would have resisted them, had the mind of the Synod been such as our adversaries would have us believe. In the 4th Session, two of Photius' faction, who had been his legates to Pope Nicholas, asked admission to the Council. The Papal representatives at first opposed their entrance, saying: "We cannot rescind the decision of the holy Roman Pontiffs; that is contrary to the canons." And when they were admitted, it was only that "the just judgment of the holy Roman Church might be more manifest." The fathers said: "Let the legates enter, but we do not call them to a dispute, but only that they may hear the epistle of the most blessed Pope Nicholas." In the 5th Session Photius was asked "whether he received the judgment of the holy Roman Pontiffs;" and in the 6th, the legates told the emperor that he should not speak to Zachary of Chalcedon, because he had been condemned by Rome. In the 7th Session, when Photius entered with the pastoral crozier, the legates took it from him, because he had no jurisdiction. In fine, throughout the Council, everything was done because of the previous decision of Rome.

The 21st canon does not favor the theory of conciliar superiority. At first sight, indeed, it would seem that only *audacious* examinations into Papal decisions are discouraged.

But how is it that the Papal legates made no opposition to this canon, if, as is asserted, it allowed a conciliar discussion of Pontifical judgments? They well knew that such procedure was foreign to the ideas of the Holy See; they knew that, a short time before the Council, Pope Nicholas I. had declared that the value of a Council depended upon its approbation by Rome; they knew that the first See claimed the right to judge all others, and the prerogative of being judged by none; they knew that this very Eighth Council had not objected to Pope Adrian's assertion, read in the 7th *Session*, that the Pontiff was subject to no judgment, unless for heresy, and then only with his own consent. And yet they did not oppose the canon. But let us hear the words of Popes Nicholas and Adrian. Rebuking the arrogance of the emperor Michael, Pope Nicholas says that "The Roman Church confirms the Councils by her authority, and guards them by her moderation. Hence, certain of these have lost their value, because they had not the approbation of the Roman Pontiff." And he adduces instances, such as the "Robber-Synod" of Ephesus, (431) where bishops and patriarchs could not constitute a legitimate Council because of the opposition of the great Leo, and then continues: "Since, according to the canons, the decisions of inferiors are to be referred to greater authority, to be confirmed or annulled, it is plain that the judgment of the Apostolic See, the authority of which is the highest, cannot be revised by any one, nor can any one pass judgment on its decision. For the canons have willed that from every part of the world appeals should be made to Rome, but from her no one can appeal." And Pope Adrian II., in his 2d *Allocution* to the Council, declares: "We read of the Roman Pontiff judging the bishops of all churches, but we read of no one ever judging him. For although the Orientals pronounced anathema upon Honorius after his death, it is to be observed that he had been accused of heresy, for which alone one may resist one's superior, or reject his depraved utterances; but even in this case, the patriarchs and bishops cannot pronounce sentence, unless the authority of the Pontiff of the first See has been obtained." Considering,

then, these declarations of the Holy See, and the consent of the legates to the 21st canon, we must suppose that the meaning of the ordinance was that, in case of a question about the Roman See, a Council should reverently consult the Pontiff, but "not audaciously pronounce sentence."

CHAPTER V.

THE ADDITION OF THE CLAUSE "AND FROM THE SON" TO THE CREED.

In the General Council of Ephesus, one Charisius, a Philadelphian priest, having brought to the fathers a *Profession of Faith* which was redolent of Nestorianism, the following decree was issued: "No one is allowed to offer, write, or compose any other Faith than that which was defined by the holy fathers congregated at Nice in the Holy Ghost. And whoever shall dare to compose another Faith, or to present it to converts to the truth from paganism, Judaism, or any heresy, shall be deprived of their sees if they are bishops, of their standing if they are clerics, and if they are laymen, they shall be subject to anathema." The same decree was repeated by the Council of Chalcedon in its *Definition of Faith*. Among the excuses given by Photius for his schism, and repeated by Michael Cerularius when he re-inaugurated a separation of the Eastern and Western Churches, was the assertion that the Latins had violated this prohibition by adding the words "and from the Son" (*Filioque*) to the clause of the Constantinopolitan *Creed* which expresses the Procession of the Holy Ghost. Traces of this dispute between the Latins and Greeks are found as far back as the Synod of Gentilly, held in 767. It was agitated in the Synod held at Aix-la-Chapelle, under Charlemagne, in 809, and has been renewed at every effort made for a healing of the schism, notably in the Fourth Council of the Lateran (1215), in the Second of Lyons (1274), and in that of Florence (1439). In theological language, when we speak of the origin of the Divine Persons, we say that the Son comes

from the Father by "generation," and that the Holy Ghost comes from both by "procession" (1). In the *Symbol* drawn up by the Second General Council, the First of Constantinople (381), it was simply stated that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father. But the faith of the Church being that the Son also is a source of origin to the Spirit, the clause "and from the Son" came to be added in the *Definitions of Faith*, and often in the *Symbol* or *Creed*. We know that the Sixteenth General Council (Florence) finally and definitively approved of the addition, as a necessary test of orthodoxy; but we cannot lay the finger on the date, place, or circumstances of the first use of the questioned clause. It occurs in the *Creed* recited by king Ricardo in the Third Council of Toledo, in 589; in the *Exposition of Faith* of the Fourth of Toledo, 633; in the *Creed* recited in the Eighth of Toledo, in 653, and that Synod tells us that this *Creed* was then read at Mass throughout Spain. In the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fifteenth Councils, held at Toledo, in the years 681, 683, and 688, the addition occurs in the *Creed*. It was also read in the Synod of Forli, held in 791, by Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia. In the year 809 the ambassadors of Charlemagne conferred with Pope Leo III. about the clause.

The Greek schismatics have always fallen back for defence upon the prohibitory canon of Ephesus, and that their interpretation of it is correct, they try to prove by various ancient testimonies. Thus they adduce St. Cyril of Alexandria (2), saying: "We in no way permit any one to attack that Faith, or *Symbol of Faith*, which was issued by the holy Nicene fathers. For it is not allowable to us, or to any one else, to change even one word there placed, nor do we allow one syllable to be passed over, mindful of the saying: 'Do not cross the limits placed by the fathers.' For they did not speak of themselves, but of the very Spirit of God the Father, who proceeds indeed from Him;

(1) Both generation and procession are, in the Trinity, eternal, for the Son and the Holy Ghost are co-eternal with the Father. Both are necessary, not contingent, for necessity of being is an attribute of the Divinity. Both the Son and the Holy Ghost are inseparably united to the Father, though really distinct from Him; hence, in the Trinity, both generation and procession have nothing in common with the philosophic conception of "emanation" of spirits.

(2) *Epistle of John of Antioch*.

the Spirit, however is not foreign to the Son, for so commands the nature of the Essence." They also cite the commands of the Council of Chalcedon, as declaring that the *Creeds* of Nice and Constantinople are sufficient, and prohibiting any additions to these. And lest they should be told that here only such addition is meant as would involve an alteration of meaning, the schismatics quote the following words, pronounced when, in the Second Session, the fathers of Chalcedon had been asked for a *Profession of Faith* plainly agreeing with, but verbally differing from, the *Symbols* of Nice and Constantinople: "No one makes another *Exposition*. We do not try, nor do we dare, to present one. For the fathers have taught, and their teachings are preserved in writing, and we can say nothing further. . . . this we all say, that what has been explained is sufficient; it is permitted to make no other *Exposition*. . . . Let the sayings of the fathers be held.' And, further, contended the Greeks, even Pope Vigilius (1) anathematized those "who presume to teach or explain, or to give to the saints of the Church of God, any other *Symbol*" than the Constantinopolitan. And Pope Agatho, in an Epistle to the emperor, read in the Sixth General Council, declares: "We preserve those doctrines of the delivered Faith which have been regularly defined by our holy Apostolic predecessors, and by the five venerable Councils; desiring, and being studious of one principal good, namely, that in what has been regularly defined nothing be withdrawn, changed, or added, but that it be preserved the same in meaning and in word." Finally, the Seventh General Council, after its *Definition of Faith*, exclaimed: "We preserve the laws of the fathers; we anathematize those who add or withdraw anything." Such were the arguments adduced in the Council of Florence by the famous Mark of Ephesus, to whom, more than to any other one man, is due the perpetuation of the Greek schism.

In defending the propriety, nay, the necessity of the use of *Filioque*, better arguments cannot be used than those adopted by Andrew, archbishop of Rhodes (2), who, in

(1) *Epistle to Eutychius of Constantinople.*

(2) Sometimes styled "archbishop of Colossus," to distinguish him from the Greek metropolitan of the island.

the 6th Session of the Florentine Council, thus pressed his adversary. The insertion of the clause "and from the Son" in the *Creed* is not, properly speaking, an addition, but an explanation. The phrase "and from the Son" was already implicitly contained in the "from the Father." If every explanation constitutes an addition, then there have been many additions made to the Scriptures, for the Nicene fathers inserted the word "Consubstantial" in their exposition of the Scriptures, and nevertheless Gregory of Nazianzen, writing to Cledonius, denies that any addition was made (1). The fathers of Constantinople added to, or explained, what those of Nice had written; these latter had not said "of all things visible and invisible," nor had they used the phrase "true God of true God," nor that styling "the Holy Ghost the Lord and Life-giver." Notwithstanding these explanations, the fathers of Constantinople did not think they had made any "additions" to the *Creed* of Nice. Again, where the Nicene Council said, "Born of the Father," that of Chalcedon said, "Consubstantial to the Father, according to the Deity, and Consubstantial to us, according to the Humanity," for such explanation was made necessary by the Eutychian heresy. And even Mark of Ephesus, when he was asked why the Ephesine prelates made mention only of the *Nicene Creed*, ignoring apparently the Constantinopolitan, gave as a reason that "they are one and the same"; therefore, even according to this schismatic leader, an insertion made in the *Creed* for the sake of explanation is not, properly speaking, an addition. Now, that the clause "And from the Son" is simply an explanation of that "from the Father," Andrew of Rhodes proved by many testimonies of Greek fathers. Again, the authority of the Church is and will be always the same as it was in the beginning, and if it was ever permitted to the Church to add new words and phrases to the *Creed*, for the sake of more efficaciously contradicting new heresies as they arose, that is allowable now, and ever will be. In the

(1) "We have not added, and we could not add, anything to the Faith which the holy fathers of Nice put forth in condemnation of the Arian heresy; but we hold and will hold that same, more clearly explaining what was less fully declared concerning the Holy Ghost. For as yet that question had not been moved."

7th Session, the archbishop observed that, as everything belonging to any science is implicitly contained in the principles of that science, so, though not explicitly, the *Creed* implicitly contains the entire doctrine of Christianity. No heresy has yet been born, or can be excogitated, which is not implicitly condemned in the *Creed*. As the Nicene Council issued its *Creed* as a basis of Faith, it was necessary that it should be affected by no change; in sciences, conclusions may be affected, principles never. But the Gospel contains the perfect doctrine, and yet both the Greek and Latin fathers have explained it. The Council of Chalcedon implied a future necessity of explanatory additions to the *Creed* when it said that "for a full knowledge and confirmation of religion, it might suffice, etc." It did not say "it suffices," for the advent of new heresies renders it incumbent upon the Church to make new explanations.

The great Bessarion, then archbishop of Nice, having forcibly opposed the use of the disputed clause, though he did not deny the doctrine, was refuted in the 10th Session by John, bishop of Forli. There are three kinds of addition to the *Creed*, said this prelate; the first adds what is contrary, the second what is different, the third what agrees with the subject treated. The first is the addition of error, *e. g.*, if one were to say that the Holy Ghost proceeds from no one. The second is an addition made by the rash, who are fond of modes of expression unknown to the Church, *e. g.*, if one were to style the Father a geometer, the Son an astronomer, the Holy Ghost an arithmetician. The third is the addition of Catholics, *e. g.*, as when they say that the omnipotent Father is eternal, the consubstantial Son is co-eternal, the proceeding Holy Ghost is breathed forth. The clause "and from the Son" is not contrary to the one "from the Father," nor does it import any different idea; it agrees with it. Hence, as the *Apostles' Creed* was not violated at Nice by the insertion of the clause declaring the procession from the Father, so the *Nicene Creed* was not violated in after time when the Church indicated by express words her faith in the procession also from the Son. An ecclesiastical ordinance, concluded the bishop of Forli,

must be understood according to the mind of its promulgators, and the 1st Session of the Ephesine Council shows us that the fathers designed merely to prohibit any addition to the *Symbol* which would be contrary to the Nicene doctrines. The bishops said : " Let the *Exposition* of the Nicene fathers be read, that we may compare the discourses on faith with it ; let those be received which agree with it, and let those be rejected which differ from it." Then the *Nicene Creed* was read, and afterwards the epistle of St. Cyril to Nestorius ; the fathers found them concordant. Then the epistle of Nestorius to St. Cyril was read, and the Council pronounced it contrary to the *Symbol* of Nice. It is evident, therefore, that the Synod of Ephesus did not intend to command the rejection of any and every other exposition of faith, but only such as were contrary to received doctrine.

In the Eleventh *Session* of the Council of Florence cardinal Julian Cesarini illustrated this subject by an account of the circumstances in which the objected decree of Ephesus was issued. Charisius, a priest of Philadelphia, had complained that one James, a Nestorian emissary, had attacked his doctrine ; and the *Profession of Faith* of Charisius and that of James, which had been written by Anastasius and Photius, two disciples of Nestorius, were both read to the Council. That of Charisius was found to be according to neither the *Symbol* of Nice nor that of Constantinople (1), and yet, after the passing of the decree of prohibition, when the Council condemned the Nestorian document, no mention whatever was made of the *Profession* of Charisius. The Council did not intend, therefore, to condemn a different Exposition, providing it agreed with the *Symbol* of Nice. The same Cesarini also drew the attention of the Greek synodals at Florence to the conduct of the Council of Chalcedon in reference to the decree of Ephesus. The reader will remember that after the condemnation of Eutyches, in 448, by a Constantinopolitan Synod held under Flavian, the heresiarch appealed to Pope St. Leo the Great ;

(1) In the Exposition of Charisius were wanting the words " those who say : ' there was a time when He was not,' " which are found in the Nicene *Symbol*. But it contained the clause " And in the Holy Ghost, consubstantial to the Father and to the Son," which is wanting in both the Nicene and Constantinopolitan *Creeds*.

but knowing that he could expect no support from the Holy See, he prevailed upon Theodosius to convoke the "Robber-Synod" of Ephesus, in 449, in which, in defiance of the remonstrances of the Papal legates, he was declared orthodox. In this assembly, Eutyches professed the *Nicene Creed* and, as we read in the *Acts*, he said: "This is the faith of the fathers, and in it I wish to live and die." But, as the Nicene Faith was confirmed by the Council of Ephesus, and this latter prohibited the profession of any other Faith than that of the former Council, decreeing that nothing should be added or withdrawn, he therefore said: "I hold the right faith; Flavian, however, does not hold it, since he asserts that Christ is in and from two natures, while the *Nicene Symbol* does not say this." After this declaration of Eutyches in the "Robber-Synod," Eusebius of Dorylæum cried out in reference to the allegation of the Ephesine decree, "He lies; there is no such canon." The usurping president, Dioscorus, replied: "Why do you say there is no such canon? We have two codices, in both of which is read that it is not permissible to add anything to the *Nicene Symbol*." Then Dioscorus passed sentence of deposition against Flavian and Eusebius for their "violation of the Ephesine decree." Now, said cardinal Julian, when these transactions were narrated in the Council of Chalcedon, the fathers exclaimed: "Anathema to Dioscorus, who wickedly judged; let him this hour be condemned." Then the Council rescinded all the acts of the "Robber-Synod," declaring that Flavian had not violated the Ephesine canon, because, although the clause "from two, and in two Natures" is not explicitly contained in the *Nicene Creed*, yet it is not contrary to that *Symbol*. Therefore, concluded Cesarini, the Latins are not to be condemned for inserting the clause "and from the Son" in the *Symbol*, as it implies nothing contrary to the *Definitions* of Nice or of any other Councils.

The schismatic portion of the Greek Church has always contended that no addition to the *Creed* should be undertaken without its consent. But, as the same schismatics avowed in the Council of Florence, the Roman Pontiff is the Pastor and Doctor of the whole Church; therefore he

may define what is of faith. But even though the Pope could not define doctrines of faith without a Council, it does not follow, according to the Greeks' own principles, that they should be consulted before every addition to the *Symbol*. They admitted, in the olden days of unity, that a small number of bishops, if convoked in Council and confirmed by the Pontiff, was sufficient to pronounce in matters of faith. They used to hold that the value of a Council did not arise from the multitude or diverse nationality of its members, but rather from their connection with the Chair of Peter. The Council of Rimini was composed of 600 bishops, Greeks and Latins, or rather Easterns and Westerns, and simply because it was rejected by Rome, both East and West condemned it. The second Council, first of Constantinople, was composed of only 150 bishops, and all of them Easterns, and yet, because it was confirmed by Pope Damasus, it was received as Œcumenical. Again, even though the Pontiff were not the "bishop of the first see," but a mere patriarch, like him of Alexandria or him of Constantinople, the Greeks should not have complained of the addition of the *Filioque*. If the question is merely ritualistic, certainly the introduction of a simple rite ought not to cause a schism. If the question, however, is one of faith, we answer that it is not certain that they were not consulted; just as we do not know how or when the addition was first made, so we do not know whether or not the Greeks had anything to do with it. But even though they were not consulted, could they not remember the many instances of condemnation of heresy by particular Synods, which were nevertheless not followed by schism on the part of those who were not called? Paul of Samosata was condemned by the little Council of Antioch; Macedonius was condemned by the Second Council, in which there was not one Latin bishop; Pelagius was condemned by provincial Synods; Nestorius was condemned at Ephesus before the arrival of the Latins. And finally, the Greeks were called again and again in Council, and the question was proposed and discussed in their presence. If they were not called in the beginning, we may say with St. Augustine, who thus

answered the Pelagians who demanded a General Council, that every heresy ought not necessarily to trouble all the countries of the earth. And if General Councils were afterwards called, it was to satisfy the Greeks, not because said assemblies were necessary. St. Bonaventure assigns as another reason the small number of learned men among the Greeks of those days.

Protestant authors quite naturally blame the Holy See for its course throughout this controversy, but it is easy to show that no blame can with justice be laid at the doors of Rome. Whenever the question of reunion between the East and West has been agitated, the principal stress of argument has been laid upon the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Ghost. Pope Benedict XIV. (1) says the whole question may be reduced to three points: "Firstly, whether it is a dogma of faith that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son . . . Secondly, whether, granted that it is a dogma, it was allowable to add to the Creed the clause obnoxious to the Greeks . . . Thirdly, whether, granting these two points, it could be allowed to the Orientals to recite, during the Mass, the ancient *Constantinopolitan Creed*, that is, without any introduction of the disputed words." As for the first point, the Holy See has always taught that it is a dogma of Catholic faith that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, and that hence no one can be regarded as a Catholic who does not accept that doctrine. The second point is equally sure. As for the third, Pope Benedict shows by many examples that the Holy See has varied its instructions according to circumstances: "At times the Apostolic See has permitted the Orientals and Greeks to recite the *Creed* without the *Filioque*, that is, when it was sure that they received the first two points, or articles, and when it knew for certain that a denial of this greatly-desired favor would prove an obstacle to union. Sometimes, however, the clause was made obligatory, because it was asserted that the Holy Ghost did not proceed also from the Son, or because it was denied that the Church had the right to

(1) *Bullarium*, vol. iv., Const. 47, n. 30.

introduce the *Filioque*." Permission to abstain from the use of the clause was accorded to the Greeks by Gregory X., in the Council of Lyons; by Eugene IV., in the Council of Florence; by Clement VIII. (1); and by Benedict XIV. (2). These two last Pontiffs decreed that the permission should not be used if there were danger of scandal, or if "in any particular place, the custom of reciting the *Filioque* had been already introduced, or if it were deemed necessary to recite it as a test of right faith." In the year 1278, Pope Nicholas III., having learned that the Greeks had forgotten their promises to Gregory X., ordered that the recitation of the clause should be exacted. Martin IV. and Nicholas IV., having doubted whether certain Oriental peoples held the orthodox doctrine on the Procession, also commanded as a test that they should recite the *Filioque*. Benedict XIV. tells us (3) that "when Pope Calixtus III. sent the Dominican friar, Simon, as inquisitor into Crete, into which island many Greek refugees had come, owing to the Turkish conquest of two years before, he ordered him to be careful that said Greeks recited the *Symbol* with the addition of *Filioque*, probably suspecting that they, being fresh from Constantinople, were careless as to that dogma of faith."

CHAPTER VI.

THE FALSE DECRETALS OF ISIDORE MERCATOR.

Towards the close of the ninth century there appeared, under the name of Isidore Mercator (4), a Collection of Canons which for several centuries undeservedly enjoyed a reputation for authenticity, not only in the West, but also in the East. (5). After the Preface, this Collection gives the order for celebrating a Council, then the first 50 Apos-

(1) *Bullarium*, vol. iii., *Const.* 34, § 6.

(2) *His Bullarium*; *Const.* "Although *Pastoral*," vol. i., § 1.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) De Marca (*Concord*, b. 3, c. 5) insists that the best codices present the name as *Peccator*. But Zaccaria (*Anti-Feb.*, diss. 3, c. 3) relying upon the Vatican codex, No. 630; that of Paris, mentioned by Hardouin; the Modenese; and the authority of Ivo; reads *Mercator*.

(5) Nicephorus (*Eccl. Hist.*, b. 4, c. 59) cites the letters of Antherus and Calixtus, although he mistakes Celestine for Calixtus.

tolie Canons, then the Epistles of the Pontiffs from St. Clement down to Sylvester, then the Decrees of Nice, then those of other Councils, and finally the Decretals of other Pontiffs, down to St. Gregory the Great. In this Collection, four classes of monuments are to be distinguished: First, the *Genuine*, namely, the Decretals taken from the Dionysian Codex. Second, the *Supposititious*, composed by the *Mercator*, whoever he was; that is, nearly all the Epistles of the Pontiffs down to Siricius, and many of those from Siricius down to St. Gregory the Great; the *Acts* of a Roman Synod under Julius; and the *Acts* of the 5th and 6th Roman Synods under Symmachus. Third, the *Apocryphal*, which, though forged long before his time, this enterprising canonist placed in his Collection; Fourth, the *Interpolated*, or those which are corrupted by Isidore's additions. Thus, among the Interpolated, are to be classed the two last chapters of the Epistle of Pope Vigilius to Profuturus (by error of the copyist, written "Enterius").

In the twelfth century Peter *Comestor*, a canon of Paris, seems to have doubted the value of the Isidorian Collection, but the first writer to render its position insecure was the Cardinal De Cusa, in the fifteenth century. (1). The great Erasmus also had his doubts of its authenticity. The Centuriators of Magdeburg having spent much labor in attacking the dogmatic value of the Collection, Francis Turriano, S. J., published at Florence, in 1572, a defence of the Apostolic Canons and of the Pontifical Decretals; but his work did not help the Collection to hold the esteem of Baronio, Bellarmine, Du Perron, Sirmond, and other learned men. Anthony Augustinus, archbishop of Tarascon, proved that many passages were taken from the Theodosian Codex, which was written two or three centuries after the time of the Pontiffs to whom said passages were ascribed. In the year 1627, the celebrated Calvinist, David Blondel, published a defence of the Centuriators of Magdeburg (2), in which he displayed as much critical acumen in his arguments, as he did temerity in claiming to be the first expositor of the for-

(1) *Catholic Concordance*, b. 3, c. 2.

(2) *The False Isidore and Turriano Chastised*.

gery. The cudgels were then taken up for the *Mercator* by the Franciscan theologian, Malvasia, in a book published at Rome, in 1635, (1) and by the Cardinal Aguirre. (2). But soon there were few left to defend a cause opposed by such critics as De Marca, Lupus, Baluz, Noris, Schelestrate, Labbe, Papebroch, the two Pagi, Alexandre, Coustant, Bortoli, and the Ballerinis. In this agreement of great critics, however, justly observes Zaccaria, we should not despise the following gentle, but wise, remark of the Franciscan writer, Bianchi (3): "I know that Turriano, having well defended these ancient Epistles from a dogmatic point of view, from which they were attacked by the Centuriators, and accused of errors against faith and sound doctrine, has, on the other hand, left them exposed to the censure of sharper critics. These have noticed the puerile solecisms, the forbidden barbarisms, and the gross anachronisms, which are constantly met in these Epistles. . . . I know also that Severino Binio vainly tried to cleanse them of these stains, that they might appear to belong to the authors to whom they are ascribed. However, if we wish to judge correctly in this matter, we must observe several things. . . . Although these Epistles, as they have come to us through the Collection of Isidore, are not to be ascribed to the reputed authors by any judicious person, both because of the adduced reasons and for others, nevertheless, their indelible stains do not prove that they were all invented in later times, and that the subjects treated were not treated by those venerable Pontiffs. It is merely shown that some impostor has *interpolated* them." (4). To this day critics dispute as to the author of the false Decretals. Some say that under the name of Isidore *Mercator* or *Peccator* is hidden the identity of St. Isidore of Seville; others think that another Spanish Isidore was the author; some ascribe the Collection to Otgar, archbishop of Mentz; others again opine that it was compiled by

(1) *Messenger of Truth to Blondel*.

(2) *Collection of Spanish Councils*.

(3) *External Policy of the Church*, b. ii., c. 3, § 5, no. 1.

(4) See the erudite work of the BALLERINIS on the *Collections of Canons*, p. 3, c. 6, § 3, in which all the documents of the Isidorian Codex, whether genuine, spurious, or interpolated, are accurately examined. Also, MARCHETTI'S *Commentary on the History of Fleury*, and WASSERSCHLEBEN'S *False Decretals of Isidore*.

Ebron, archbishop of Rheims, assisted by Rotharius of Soisson, and the canon Wulfad; others finally deem it the work of a certain Benedict the Levite, a clerk of Mentz, who wrote some false *Capitulars* in the ninth century. Certainly, the Collection did not issue from Rome, as Febronius malignantly contended. While Charlemagne was besieging Pavia, Pope Adrian I. gave him the famous Collection of Canons, commonly called the *Adrian*, and this was simply the Collection of Dionysius the Little, with a few additions at the end. Even during the reign of Leo IV., 847-858, the Isidorian Collection was unknown, for this Pontiff, in a letter to the Britons (1), describing the Collection used in Rome, speaks only of the Dionysian. Had Isidore consulted the Romans, says Coustant, (2), they would willingly have given him access to their archives, where he would have found genuine monuments with which to enrich his Collection. Febronius quotes Barthel, chancellor of the university of Wittenberg (1762), as saying that the Isidorian Codex was foisted upon the Church by Pope Nicholas I. and was brought into Germany by Reginulph, archbishop of Mentz. Now Reginulph died in 814, thirty-two years before the Isidorian Collection saw the light. As for Pope Nicholas I., when, in 858, he had occasion to cite certain Decretals in the cause of Photius, he did not quote those of Evarist, Alexander, Sixtus, etc., (in the Isidorian,) although he did quote other apocryphal documents, such as the Synod of Sylvester, the Sinuessan, etc., from other Collections. Had he known of these reputed Decretals, and deemed them of value, he would not have failed to use them. And in his letter to Hincmar, confirming the Synod of Soissons, he shows that as yet he knew nothing of the Isidorian Codex. For, assigning the sources from which the Roman Church drew its discipline, he mentions only the Councils and Epistles found in the Collection of Dionysius. (3). However, Pope Nicholas I. was made acquainted with the Collection of Isidore, and it was through the French bishops that he learned of its existence, they having cited

(1) In *Gratian*, dist. 20, c. 1.(2) *Preface to Epist. Rom. Pont.*, n. 136.(3) *Epist.* 38, in *Baronio*, year 863.

it when it suited their convenience. "It is probable," says Zaccaria, (1), "that he (Nicholas) had a copy brought from France, and that he cited it against the bishops who alleged its authority. But he found that they rejected it when they found it favorable to the Apostolic See; and he reasonably complains of this inconsistency. (2). And as they, in rejecting it, fell back upon the Adrian Codex, in which were wanting the authorities, he undertakes, I say with Noel Alexandre, to refute this weak reasoning, and argues with them *ad hominem*, that nevertheless they received the letters of St. Gregory and others, which were not in the Codex of Adrian. Here we must observe that this letter of Nicholas was sent to France in 865, the same year that he sent the eighth letter to the emperor Michael. And although in that letter he proves at length the prerogatives of his See against the wicked Photius, he adduces none of the Isidorian Decretals, but principally relies upon the undoubted epistles of Pope Gelasius. Why this difference in two letters of the same year? He mistrusted the authority of the Isidorian Collection, but used it against the French prelates, because they had cited it. . . . This is all that Nicholas did for the Decretals of Isidore. . . . In the language of Barthel and Febronius, this is forcing the world to accept the Decretals." (3).

With regard to the Collection of Isidore, the following things are to be remembered. First, there is nothing in it contrary to faith or morals; otherwise, it would not have been received by the whole Church for nearly seven centuries. Second, as we have already observed, it was issued without any consent or connivance of the Roman Pontiffs. Third, the privileges of the Holy See are not founded, as modern heretics have asserted, upon it. Fourth, there is no reason for the complaint made by De Marca, Basnage, Fleury, and others, that by the introduction of this Collection the ancient discipline of the Church was abrogated, and an entirely new one adopted; for many of Isidore's monuments are extracted from Conciliary Canons, genuine Pon-

(1) *Anti-Feb.*, diss. 3, c. 3, no. 5.

(2) *Epist. 47, to the Bishops of France.*

(3) The reader who is anxious for more information on this point will be abundantly gratified in Zaccaria's valuable work, *loc. cit.*

tifical Constitutions, and opinions of the Fathers, while the rest show the discipline obtaining before the time of Isidore. As the Ballerini brothers remark, the impostor would have been a fool if he expected his Collection to be received by men among whom he was introducing, as our adversaries assert, a new and abhorrent discipline. But no clamor was raised, no murmurs heard, because of these apocryphal Decretals, unless on account of those pertaining to the causes and judgments of bishops, of which we read something in Hinemar and in the Epistles of Nicholas I. And that which is given by Isidore with regard to these very causes and judgments is not entirely new. The canonist, therefore, did not intend to introduce a new discipline, but to establish one generally received. (1). Fifth, the discipline inculcated by this Collection did not obtain the force of law by virtue of itself, but by virtue of preceding and subsequent *Constitutions*, and by force of custom, which is quite powerful in disciplinary matters.

Protestant critics willingly admit that the Decretals of the Pontiffs contained in the Isidorian Collection, down to Siricius, are supposititious; they would gladly say the same of all the others. Centuries have passed since a Catholic author of note has defended their authenticity. Nevertheless, a brief rehearsal of the arguments by which the supposititiousness of these documents is evinced will not be out of place. The student will bear in mind that there is no question of the Epistles of St. Cornelius, which are found among the works of St. Cyprian. Nor is there any doubt about the Epistles of Julius I., which are given by St. Athanasius, in his *Second Apology*. Authenticity is vainly claimed for such Epistles as are found in the Fragments of St. Hilary (2); but the Epistles of Damasus to the Illyrian Bishops, which Theodore^t records, and also the other Epistles of Damasus given by St. Jerome, are authentic. The mark of spuriousness is affixed to the five Epistles ascribed to St. Clement, to three of Anacletus, two of Evarist, three of Alexander, two of Sixtus I., one of Telesphorus, two of Hyginus, four of Pius I., one of Anice-

(1) DÖLLINGER; *Ecel. Hist.*, ep. iii., c. 4. (2) See our Chapter on Liberius, vol. 1., p. 224

tus, two of Soter, one of Eleutherius, four of Victor, two of Zephyrinus, two of Calixtus I., one of Urban I., two of Pontian, one of Anterus, three of Fabian, three of Cornelius, one of Lucius, two of Stephen I., two of Sixtus II., two of Dionysius, three of Felix I., two of Eutychian, one of Caius, two of Marcellinus, two of Marcellus I., three of Eusebius, one of Melchiades, one of Sylvester, one of Mark (supposed to be to Athanasius), two of Julius I., two of Liberius, two of Felix II., and several of Damasus. That all of these Isidorian documents are supposititious, the best critics have decided, impelled by the following reasons: First, the Pontiffs who preceded Siricius could have had no knowledge of St. Jerome's Vulgate, and these letters ascribed to those Popes frequently quote the Scriptures according to that version. (1). Second, during the first eight centuries, these documents are cited by no Council, by no Pontiff, by no ecclesiastical writer. Had they been genuine, they would not have been ignored by such writers as St. Jerome and Photius, or by such Pontiffs as SS. Innocent I. and Leo I. Third, these Epistles are silent as to the heresies of the first centuries, as to the persecutions, etc.; it is incredible that genuine works of those days would not even touch upon such topics. Very different is the tenor of the undoubted documents of that period. Fourth, these Isidorian documents are evidently compiled from epistles, decrees, and writings of Pontiffs, Councils, and Fathers of a later date than those assigned to them. Those who favored the False Decretals answered this argument with the assertion that these posterior Pontiffs, Councils, and writers were acquainted with the documents in question and cited them. But the reply is futile, for if these Pontiffs, etc., had used these documents, they would certainly have made good use of the authority of the great names they bear, and would not have kept silence, contrary to their custom, in regard to so powerful an argument in their own favor. Fifth, in the Isidorian monuments there is fre-

(1) Siricius mounted the Papal throne in 384. St. Jerome finished his version of the New Testament in 383. Of the Old Testament, *Joh*, *Paralipomenon*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Proverbs*, and the *Canticle*, were not translated by him until 380; the *Psalter* and *Prophets* appeared in 392; the work was completed in 404. See UBALDINI *Introduction to Sacred Scripture*, sect. II., chap. 3, § 3.

quently a sublime contempt for dates, especially as to the Consular periods, which is a strong argument against their authenticity. Sixth, there is a wonderful similarity of style in these documents, which would not be observed in the works of so many different men of different countries and periods. Seventh, the Roman Pontiffs have always been men of more than ordinary education, to say the least, but the Epistles of this Collection are not only full of barbarisms, but are couched in a style, to use the words of Alexandre, "only fit for cooks and hostlers."

It has been objected that the Church of Rome gave her formal approbation to the False Decretals, by receiving the celebrated *Decree of Gratian*, which, to use the words of Zaccaria (1), "is altogether made up of Isidorian merchandise." But it is incorrect to say that the Church absolutely follows the *Decree of Gratian*. This Collection of Canons was formed, about 1150, by no public authority, but on the private responsibility and according to the individual judgment of the great Benedictine whose name it bears. But did it receive the approbation of the Church? Some authors hold the affirmative, because it has been generally used in the schools, and because, they say, Pope Eugene III. and Gregory XIII. approved of it. Others, however, hold the negative, saying that the *Decree* is full of errors, and denying the approbation of the aforesaid Pontiffs. Of the approbation by Eugene III., Trithemius is the sole witness, and gives no authentic proof of his assertion; if that approbation had been given, it would have been prefixed to some exemplar of Gratian. As for Gregory XIII., in his letters of July 2, 1582. he declares that he took care that the *Decree* should be revised and corrected, but he does not even imply any approbation. The Roman *Rivota* (*Cor. Pegna*, dec. 480), cited by Vecchiotti (2), says "Nor did Gregory XIII. approve as legal the book of Gratian, for he only ordered it to be corrected, and to be observed." And Pope Benedict XIV. says (3): "Although it has been often corrected by the care of the Roman Pontiffs, the

(1) *Anti-Feb.*, diss. iii., c. 3, no. 7.

(2) *Institutions of Canon Law*, b. i., c. 4, § 64.

(3) *Diocesan Synod*, b. vii. c. 15, no. 6.

Decree of Gratian does not possess the strength and force of law; rather do all agree that whatever it contains has just so much of authority as it would have had if it had never been inserted in the Collection of Gratian." It is plain, then, that the Roman Church did not become responsible for the False Decretals by their admission into the *Decree of Gratian*. The Holy See often felt the necessity of revising the famous *Decree*, and the learned corrector employed by Pope Gregory XIII., Anthony Augustinus, archbishop of Tarascon, in his work entitled *Gratian Corrected*, gives many instances where his labor was sadly needed. (1).

Speaking of Isidore's interpolations, Bianchi says that they are indicated by "a constant and ever-same inequality and incoherenttness of style, met with in every case, and causing each document to appear different from itself: which certainly excites a belief that these letters were not entirely manufactured, but that, already existing, they received a new dress, according to the depraved taste of the artificer." Commenting upon this idea, Zaccaria makes the following judicious remarks: "To tell the truth, I am inclined to agree, at least in part, with this erudite writer I do not understand how, in the part of his Collection which is given to the Councils, the false Isidore is so religiously careful as to give us, saving only some interpolation, merely genuine Councils (of which we are sure, from other sources); only in regard to the Epistles of the Roman Pontiffs does he assume the most impudent liberty of lying There is no doubt that many monuments were in existence at the time of our Isidore, which are now lost. In his Collection is found the genuine letter of St. Damasus to Paulinus, divided into three, and mixed up with two other apocryphal ones. Why did he do this? We must suppose that he found it so divided in the Codex of the Spanish Collection, of which he availed himself. And who does not know how many Papal Bulls and imperial privileges were preserved in the particular churches to which they were given, but which now would be vainly sought in the Roman or imperial archives? To give an instance well suiting our argument, if

(1) Thus the very words of certain Imperial Laws in the Theodosian Code are represented as proceeding from Pontiffs who lived three centuries before the Code was issued.

Agnello had not preserved, in his *History of the Ravenna Bishops*, a certain epistle of Pope Felix IV., it would have been lost. What we have already said, is confirmed by another example. Labbe and others accuse Isidore of forging the letters of St. Damasus, St. Leo, and John III., about the vice-bishops. (1). Remember, however, that I do not deny their spuriousness. I only say that Isidore did not forge them, because not a few years before him, Pope Leo III. mentioned them, writing to the French bishops. Another example is the letter of St. Gregory the Great to Secundinus. In the MSS. it is very much altered, and is full of additions tacked on, by another hand, to the original text of the holy Pontiff. Isidore is accused of these interpolations, but wrongfully, because the same text is given by Paul the Deacon, who died in 801, long before the publication of the Isidorian Collection. From all this I think that we may plausibly assume that many of the monuments attributed to Isidore were forged or adulterated before his time . . . I would wish that Isidore should not be charged with all these impostures, and principally do I desire that the learned would more accurately consider the compilation of Isidore, and take courage to separate what is more ancient, and perhaps authentic, from that which is his own, or certainly false."

Who was the author of the False Decretals? No author of repute any longer ascribes them to St. Isidore of Seville. As Alexandre, after the Ballerinis, observes, that holy doctor could not have been the impostor, for the Collection gives Councils of Toledo (6th to the 13th), and one of Braga, which were held after his death. That St. Isidore died in 636, the 26th year of Heraclius, we learn from his *Life*, written by his deacon, Redemptus: from Braulio of Saragossa (2); from Luke of Tay (3), and from Mariana (4). The Collection also gives the *Acts* of the Sixth General Council, which was celebrated in 681, or forty-four years after St. Isidore's death. We also read in it epistles of Popes Gregory II. and III., and of Pope Zachary, who lived

(1) *Chorepiscopi*.(2) *Cut-douge of the Works of Isidore*.(3) *Book III.*(4) *Book vi., c. 7.*

in the eighth century. Therefore Hincmar of Rheims was deceived when he asserted that "Isidore, bishop of Seville, collected the Epistles of the Roman Pontiffs from St. Clement down to St. Gregory." (1). Cardinals Bona and Cenni incline to the belief that St. Isidore was the author in question, but they base their opinion only on the testimony of Hincmar. Some critics have ascribed our Collection to some unknown Isidore, also a Spanish bishop. But it is incredible that an impostor, such as this writer must have been, would have missed the opportunity of glorifying the importance of his own church and country. Now in the Collection there are only one or two Epistles addressed to Spanish bishops. Again, down to the time of Innocent III (1198—1216) this Collection was unknown in Spain, and all of the 9th century MSS. which contain it were written in France or Germany, as is shown by the characters and other signs. The barbarisms of style also indicate that the author was a Franco-German, for impurity of diction was as common in the Rhine countries at that time as it was rare in Spain. Blondel accepts these two last reasons for believing the impostor to have been a Franco-German, a subject of Charlemagne, and adds another excellent argument. It is improbable that any resident of Spain, then groaning under the terrible oppression of the Saracens, would have been inclined, or have found the opportunity, to digest and arrange this mass of documents. Finally, there are many things in the Collection which were evidently extracted from the letters of St. Boniface, which is no slight indication that it was prepared in that part of Germany which was numbered among the Gauls. Many critics, and among them the acute Zaccaria, believe that the Collection must be ascribed to a churchman of Mentz, called Benedict the Levite, who, about the year 845, compiled three books of *Capitularies* of Charlemagne and Louis the Compliant (2).

With regard to the time when the False Decretals were given to the world, Febronius insisted that it was about

(1) *Epist.* 7, c. 12.

(2) See ZACCARIA, *loc. cit.* Also, DENZIGER'S *Opinions of Recent Critics on the False Decretals of Isidore*.

744 that Reginulph of Mentz published them, though they must have been written, he said, some time previous. But Isidore furnishes us with some Decretals of Popes Urban I. and John III., in which are found, word for word, certain sentences of the Council of Paris of 829. And Blondel observes that the impostor borrowed, here and there, many formulas and phrases from the letter of Jonas of Orleans to Charles the Bald. Since, then, this prince ascended the throne in 839, the Collection must be of a posterior date. In 841 Rabanus dedicated his *Penitential* to Otgar of Mentz, but he makes no allusion to the Isidorian Decretals. For these, and other excellent reasons, Zaccaria concludes that Benedict the Levite, under the auspices of Otgar of Mentz, (d. 847) published the Decretals about the year 846.

The innovators of modern times, whether of the Reformed, or courtier schools, have always laid great stress on the falsity of the Isidorian Decretals, and have contended that it was by their means that the power of the Holy See was greatly increased, to the detriment of, and in defiance of, the ancient discipline of the Church. To mention only a few of the leading minds by whom Protestants and other innovators are guided in their opinions on this matter, such was the theory of Wycliffe, Febronius, the Gallican Fleury, the Jansenist Egidius Witte, John Francis Budde, Mosheim, Tamburini, Villers, and Potter. Among the many authors who have triumphantly refuted this assertion, and successfully proved that all the present prerogatives of the Roman See belong to it of divine right, and were always recognized by the Universal Church, we may mention as especially worthy of consultation, besides the already cited works of the Ballerinis, Alexandre, Bianchi, Zaccaria, and Marchetti, the valuable book of Peter Ballerini entitled *Defense of the Pontifical Authority against the Work of Justin Febronius*; the *Commentary* of Blascus on this subject; the *Disquisitions on the Collections of Canons*, by Theiner; Schulte's *Manual of Canon Law*; Palma's *Lectures*; Vecchiotti's *Institutions of Canon Law*. Febronius (1) asserts that "with the help of Isidore and Gratian, the Roman court succeeded in chang-

(1) Chap. 8, § 3 and 4.

ing its primatial and patriarchal rights into a kind of ecclesiastical monarchy," and that "the Roman Church gained great advantages from the supposed Decretals." Fleury (1) says: "Of all these false documents, the most pernicious were the Decretals attributed to the Popes of the first four centuries, which inflicted an irreparable wound on the discipline of the Church, by the new maxims which they introduced regarding the judgments of bishops and the authority of the Pope." The Jansenist Witte (2) informs us that "Nicholas I., an active man, and very confident in his combat for a bad cause, defended with his whole soul the fictitious and adulterated Epistles, in which it was asserted that all ecclesiastical affairs were subject to the Supreme Pontiff, and he himself to no one; hence a man of nice discernment can perceive that this adulterated merchandise was exposed in the public forum of the Church, not without the consent of the Roman court, even though we do not call it their parent and author. After the days of Nicholas, these deplorable Decretals obtained force by degrees, because of the ignorance of those times in matters of ecclesiastical history."

The Protestant professor, John Francis Budde (d. 1729) asserts (3): "The Roman Pontiff Nicholas I., who, as the abbot Hegino says, 'commanded kings and tyrants, as though he were the lord of the earth,' as he never lost any occasion of augmenting his power, so he took these fictitious Epistles, so to say, in both hands, and approved of them, and tried to force them upon others, especially in France." Mosheim (4) says: "In order that this new code of the Church, very different from the old one, might be more favorably received, there was need of ancient documents and records to establish it, and to defend it against hostile attack. Hence the Roman Pontiffs took care to falsify compacts, Councils, epistles, and other documents, by means of faithful agents, so that it would be believed that in the early days of Christianity the Pontiffs enjoyed the same

(1) Discourse iii, on Ecclesiastical History.

(2) *Augustine of Ypres Vindicated*, p. 2, c. 5.

(3) *Historico-Theological Introduction*.

(4) *History*, cent. ix., p. 2, c. 2, § 7.

power and majesty that they then arrogated to themselves. Among these fraudulent supports of the Roman power, almost the first place is held by the Decretals, as they call the Epistles of the Pontiffs of the first centuries, which a certain obscure person—Isidore *Mercator*, or *Peccator*—invented.” To all these assertions we reply with Baronio (1) that “even though these Decretals be proved false, the Roman Church loses none of her rights and privileges, since, even if these documents were wanting, those rights would be abundantly sustained by other undoubtedly genuine Decretals.” The Calvinist Blondel admits that these Decretals are made up from words and passages which occur in Canons, laws, and other writings of the fourth and fifth centuries; he grants therefore that these documents illustrate a discipline which obtained at least at that time. This admission of Blondel is noticed by De Marca, who, although saturated with Gallicanism, remarks (2), “I cannot agree with him in so atrociously attacking these Epistles, which were certainly composed from words and passages of ancient laws and canons, and of the holy Fathers who flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The Ballerini brothers (3) call our attention to the end which Isidore had in view when he issued these Decretals. It was to provide for the greater security of bishops, that is, to prevent their being frequently cited in judgment by the importunate, as he himself explains in the *Preface*. If, therefore, he exalts the Apostolic See, he does so out of consideration to the bishops, who would find there a refuge from the oppressor. But, retorts Febronius, Isidore *does* glorify the Chair of Peter for this end. We must therefore show that this glorification was not unfounded, that it was not invented by Isidore. It is not our province, but that of the dogmatic theologian, to show that all the prerogatives claimed for Rome by these Decretals belong to her by divine right, but it is within our sphere to prove that the Pontiffs exercised them long before the time of Isidore, and that they did so in the face of a willingly obedient Christendom. If these Epistles produced an innovation in

(1) *Annals*, year 865.(2) *Concord.* iiii., b. 3, c. 5, no. 1.(3) *Works of St. Leo*, vol. iiii.

discipline, why are there no traces of resistance, why no clamorings in defense of the ancient system? The following, a few only of the many proofs which can be adduced, will show that Isidore introduced no new discipline when he inculcated the supreme jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff. From the first ages of Christianity the Holy See has been accustomed to consider the "greater causes," sent to it from all parts of the earth. An instance of this is found in the very first century, in the recourse of the Corinthians, because of their dissensions, to Pope St. Clement I. St. Cyprian (254) is judged by Pope St. Cornelius in the matter of reconciling the "fallen." The Council of Sardica (341) writes to Pope Julius: "It will be regarded as most proper, if the priests refer the affairs of each and every province to the Head, that is, to the See of Peter." Celebrated indeed is the case of the African Appeals, of which we have fully treated. In 378, Peter of Alexandria appealed to Pope Damasus, when expelled from his see by Euzoius and the emperor Valens. It was in allusion to this case that Eutherius and Elladius of Tarsus wrote to Pope Sixtus III. (432): "When of old the tares of heresy arose in Alexandria, your Apostolic See sufficed to give it the lie for all time, and to repress its impiety; to correct what needed correction, and to strengthen the world for the glory of Christ, in the time of the thrice-blessed Damasus, who is among the saints, and also in the time of other Pontiffs." In 381, Istanzius, Salvianus, and Priscillianus, condemned by a Synod of Saragossa, appeal to Rome. (1). Famous also is the appeal of St. John Chrysostom to Pope Innocent I., of which we have already treated. In 422, Perrevious, oppressed by the bishops of his province, appealed to Pope Boniface, and that Pontiff appointed his vicar, Rufus, to judge the case (2). In 430, Pope Cœlestine hears the cause of St. Cyril of Alexandria against Nestorius: "The ancient custom of the churches," writes the Alexandrian patriarch, "instructs us to refer such a cause to your Holiness." In 437, Iddua, bishop of Smyrna, condemned (according to

(1) SULPICIOUS SEVERUS, *History*, b. II., c. 48.

(2) *Epist. Rom. Pont.*, vol. I., ep. 13.

Holstein, who first edited his letter) by Proclus of Constantinople, or, (as Lupus (1) thinks), by his primate, Basil, appealed to Pope Sixtus. In 445 occurred the celebrated appeal of Chelidonius, a bishop of the province of Vienne, to Pope St. Leo the Great. Deprived of his see in a Synod presided over by St. Hilary of Arles, because he was said to have married a widow before he became bishop, and because, while yet a magistrate, he had condemned a criminal to death, he proved his innocence before the Pontiff and was restored to his diocese. We have already treated of the appeal of Flavian of Constantinople to this Pontiff. In 446, Lupicinus, a bishop of Mauritania, being deposed by a Synod, appealed to Rome, and was restored. (2). In 483, John Talaja, patriarch of Alexandria, persecuted by the ambitious Acacius of Constantinople, appealed to Pope Simplicius. In 488, the priest Solomon, unjustly degraded by Acacius, appealed to Pope Felix III. and received justice. In 531, Stephen of Larissa, metropolitan of Thessaly, degraded by Epiphanius of Constantinople, appealed to Pope Boniface II. In 535, the bishops Sagittarius and Salonius, deposed in a Synod of Lyons, went to Rome with permission of king Guntran, and appealed to Pope John III. In 590, the archbishop of Salona, Natalis, tried to disembarass himself of his archdeacon Honoratus, who would not connive at the prelate's convivial habits and his using the ecclesiastical revenues to support his relatives. He compelled the deacon to receive the priesthood, so that he might have a pretext for appointing another archdeacon, the discipline of that day not allowing a priest to fill that office. Honoratus appealed to Pope Pelagius II., and the disputants were summoned to Rome. Natalis delayed, and when St. Gregory ascended the throne, he restored Honoratus to his archdiaconate. In this same year we find a case of African clerics appealing in the "first instance," not to a Synod, but to the Roman Pontiff. The Donatists had bribed the bishop Argentius to promote certain ones of their sect over the heads of orthodox clerics; Vincent and

(1) *Appeals*, diss. 1., c. 34.

(2) *Epistles of St. Leo the Great*, edit. by Balberini, cv. 12.

Felicissimus, deacons, appealed to St. Gregory, and the Pontiff appointed the monk Hilarus as legate to settle the affair. (1). The Pontificate of St. Gregory the Great is filled with instances of appeals. (2). We abstain from adding to the list, for we have adduced enough of examples to show that, long before the appearance of the Isidorian Collection, the right of the Roman See to receive appeals, and therefore its supreme jurisdiction, was acknowledged by Christendom. Theodoret, bishop of Cyria, writing to St. Leo the Great (3), rightly speaks of the Holy See having received appeals in the days of St. Peter, for the Apostle Paul, he says, "betook himself to the great Peter for a resolution of the doubts which had arisen at Antioch about the legal conversation." St. Jerome (4) writes: "When I was assisting Damasus, bishop of the Roman city, in his ecclesiastical correspondence, and used to answer the synodical consultations of the East and the West, etc." (5).

The Jansenist abbé, Racine, (6) says that "To realize the extent of the evil produced by the False Decretals, one must reflect that they established new maxims, and caused them to be regarded as of the highest antiquity; that they enfeebled the greater portion of the Canons, and enervated all vigor of discipline. The forger, used by the demon to inflict so terrible a wound on the Church, knew that it would be too revolting if he brought forth Canons directly contrary to those universally received by the Church; he was contented, therefore, with forging those which only sweetened and enfeebled the ancient ones. But that he might succeed in his design of entirely changing the discipline, he made a flank movement, which was an infinite extension of the appeals to the Pope." In commenting upon this assertion, which is also made by Fleury and Febronius, Zaccaria (7) observes that Isidore could not have been such a simpleton as to fail to perceive that the

(1) *Epistles of St. Gregory*, b. 1, ep. 82.

(2) See ZACCARIA'S *Anti-Feb.*, p. 2, b. 3, c. 6.

(3) *Epistles of St. Leo*, vol. i., ep. 52.

(4) *Epist.* 123, to *Ageruchia*.

(5) See BELLARMINE, *Rom. Pont.*, b. 2, c. 24; CAPPELLO'S *African Appeals to the Roman Church*; BOLGENI'S *Episcopacy*, b. 4, c. 3.

(6) *Reflections on the State of the Church*.

(7) *Anti-Feb.*, diss. iii., c. 5, no. 3.

introduction of a new discipline would injure his design of sustaining the episcopal dignity against its oppressors. Innovations generally give rise to tumult : and how great a disturbance was to be feared, if he undertook to substitute a new discipline for one established by well-known laws, and confirmed by the use of centuries and the consent of the whole Church ? But there was no disturbance, no resistance against this "new discipline ;" Hincmar and his partisans made some clamor, but they opposed only what pertained to the causes and judgments of bishops. And here we would notice the remark of Papebroch, (1), that the doctrine contained in the False Decretals was sound, and precisely therefore the forgery was undiscovered. "In those days," says Zaccaria, "there was a lack of that critical tact which could distinguish the styles of various authors, examine dates, and compare texts ; but there was (which only a heretic will deny) the discernment necessary to judge of doctrine. Therefore the easy reception of the Isidorian Collection is an invincible proof that its doctrine was not contrary to the ancient Canons." We need not sympathize therefore, with the tears of Fleury when he laments the halcyon days of the ancient Church. Erasmus was well satisfied with the discipline of the Church of his day, in spite of the False Decretals ; so much so, indeed, that he must have disappointed those who were hoping that he would join the "Reformers," when he said that "if St. Paul were living to-day, he would not disapprove of the present state of the Church." (2)

CHAPTER VII.

THE EUCHARISTIC DOCTRINE IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

Protestant authors have not hesitated to assert that it was only in the tenth century that the Eucharistic belief took the form in which it is now presented by the Catholic Church. The invention of Transubstantiation is attrib-

(1) *Preface in Conat. Catal. Pont.*, n. 14.

(2) Letter written in 1529 against the *False Evangelists*.

uted by Claude, La Roque, Mosheim, and a host of modern imitators, to Paschasius Radbertus, a Benedictine monk of Corbie, who died in the year 860. The innovating doctrines of Paschasius, contend these polemics, were energetically combated by Ratramn (Bertram), Rabanus Maurus, Amalarius, Scotus Erigena, Heriger, and other defenders of the primitive purity of Christian dogma; but, nevertheless, the new opinions spread during the fearful darkness of the ninth and tenth centuries, and finally were adopted by the magistracy of the Church.

It is not our purpose to enter into any details in order to show that the Eucharistic doctrine underwent no change in the tenth century; that Ratramn, Rabanus, etc., did not combat the doctrine of Transubstantiation; that there was, between these writers and Paschasius, no difference of belief as to the Real Presence, but merely a difference as to the way of explaining that Presence. Catholic polemics have clearly proved that Ratramn and all the other cited authors, with the sole possible exception of Scotus Erigena, (1) were as firm in their recognition of the Real Presence as was Paschasius himself (2); and in our remarks on the faith of the early Irish and Saxon churches we have had occasion to cite many testimonies of dates greatly anterior to the period of Paschasius, which plainly show the falsity of the assumption that this writer was the inventor of the theory of Transubstantiation. Nor is it our province to further develop this point. Nevertheless, we venture upon a few reflections. Paschasius tells the king that his book on the *Body and Blood of the Lord* was written for the instruction of the newly converted Saxon youth, and throughout the work there is preserved that even and assured tone of possession which naturally pervades a treatise, the arguments of which are contradicted by none. There is

(1) John, called Scotus Erigena, or the Irishman, seems to have been a layman; for no contemporary speaks of him as being in orders or in any religious community. He enjoyed the favor of Charles the Bald, but his wild and dangerous, and even heretical, opinions caused Pope Nicholas I. to request that monarch to remove him from the imperial court. His book on *Predestination* was condemned by the third Synod of Valence, that assembly styling it a collection of "silly little questions and old women's fables—an Irish strabout—*Scotorum pultes*." His work on *The Natures* was condemned by Pope Honorius III. The book on the Eucharist, which was proscribed at Vercelli, and is attributed to Erigena, was undoubtedly heretical, but it is not certain that he was its author. Hincmar tells us, in his *Predestination*, c. 31, that in this book it was asserted that "the Sacrament of the Altar is not the true Body and Blood of our Lord, but only a memorial.

(2) ALEXANDRE, *cent.* IX., X., *diss.* 13.

nothing of that apodictical style, of that aggressiveness, which generally accompanies controversy, even when undertaken by the meekest of men. Would such have been his tone, if Paschasius had started with the idea of uprooting a settled belief of Christendom? And how is it that this presumed innovator, and so startling a one, was so universally respected by his contemporaries? A Council of Paris, in 846, was loud in his praises. Kings Louis, Lothaire, and Charles loaded him with favors. Engelmod, bishop of Soissons, wrote a poem in his honor, and styled him "the prop of the Church, the crest of Religion, and the buckler of Faith," saying also of him that he was "not disgraced by a lying simulation of faith, but adorned with a strength that was conscious of rectitude." Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, calls him "most beloved, and to be embraced by all good men." St. Odo, abbot of Cluny, says of his book on the Eucharist that he had collected "from the sayings of the Fathers many arguments to inculcate reverence for the Mystery, and to demonstrate its majesty; which, if read by even a learned man, will give him so much knowledge, that he will think that until now he has known little indeed of this Mystery." Would this esteem have been felt for an innovator? Are not Protestants fond of describing the miserable position at once secured for himself by any Catholic who presumes to leave the beaten track, and to follow the path of his own discovery? Again, if at the time that the young monk of Corbie commenced to write, the Christian world believed that the Eucharist was merely an image of the Body and Blood of the Lord, how can the silence of the Christian bishops and doctors of the time be explained? Paschasius himself tells us that no one openly contradicted him; only a few murmured, because, as they said, he attributed to the words of Christ more than truth warranted. In his old age Paschasius wrote to Frudegard on the Real Presence: "It is wicked to pray with all, and not to believe what is attested by truth itself, and universally received as truth. . . . And hence, although some have erred through ignorance, no one has as yet openly contradicted this, which the whole world be-

lieves and avows." Let us picture to ourselves a young ecclesiastic of our own day endeavoring to force upon the Catholic world a belief that the images of our holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., are not mere representations, but really and substantially the Pontiff himself. Is it likely that he would be esteemed for his learning and sanctity? But we would dwell a moment upon the absurdities of the theory advanced by our opponents.

We are asked to believe that during the ninth and tenth centuries the faith of the Church underwent a tremendous change, and that the ecclesiastical and literary world was so supine that it took no notice of the matter. Such indeed is the assertion made by Protestant polemics; and from among the scores of noted writers of the lethargic period, they bring forth only five who, they say, were awake; and of these five not one speaks of the doctrine in question as a new one, and only one of them attacks it. At other times, when innovations were made in a doctrine, all earth was moved against the heretic; the science of theologians, the prayers of the faithful, and, when it could be obtained, the aid of the secular power, were brought to bear against him. And here, we are told, is a new doctrine, calling on men to discredit the evidence of their senses; to regard their philosophy as a mere cobweb of flimsiness; and it triumphs! Dark indeed would be those days in which such a thing could be possible, unless, perchance, they were sufficiently illuminated by the preternatural effulgence of the genius who could excogitate and actuate such a design. However, it is in this very darkness, intellectual and moral—which, our adversaries insist, was a characteristic of the tenth century,—that we are told to find the key of the problem. Well, to convince us of the possibility of so stupendous an event, it would be necessary to show that the tenth century was darker than any nineteenth-century worshipper has ventured to depict it. We do not regard the tenth as remarkably lustrous among the Christian centuries; and before us now is a passage even of Baronio, wherein the great annalist presents it as "iron in its harshness, and barren of good; leaden in the deformity of its evils;

obscure by reason of its dearth of authors." (1). And Bellarmine admits that "no century has been more illiterate or unhappy; he who paid attention to mathematics or philosophy, was regarded as a magician by the common people." (2). But we can show that these remarks are to be taken in a comparative sense; that the tenth century was not so deficient in sanctity and learning as to render at all probable our opponents' way of accounting for the progress of the tremendous error which, according to them, was propagated at that period. Since the days of Bellarmine (*ob.* 1621), the labors of many erudite and patient investigators, especially of Muratori and Tiraboschi, have shed more light upon the condition of the Middle Ages than he enjoyed during his valuable studies. Speaking of the tenth century, Pagi says: "This century was not inferior to its successors in learning. If compared with the centuries immediately preceding and following it, it can be styled a period of ignorance only because of the relatively small number of authors it produced. But he who examines the catalogues of ecclesiastical writers will find that there flourished then many more authors than were known of in Bellarmine's time."

The tenth century produced Nilus, Romuald, Amimicus, Guido, Firmanus, and many others, "over whose venerable bodies," said St. Peter Damian, "ecclesiastical authority has caused the erection of holy altars." From the school of St. Romuald issued St. Boniface, martyr, apostle of the Russians. At this time the Germanic regions were enlightened by the labors of Udalric; Adalbert of Magdeburg; Bruno, Heribert, and Anno, of Cologne; Wolfgang of Ratisbon; Bernard and Gothard of Hildesheim; Harduit of Salzburg. Hungary can boast of St. Adalbert of Prague, apostle of her people and of the Lithuanians, and can also glory in her great king, St. Stephen. Norway points to her royal martyr, Olav. England had her Odo, Dunstan, Oswald, Ethelwald; her saintly monarchs Alfred, the two Edwards, Athelstane, Edmund, and Edgar. Spain, although groaning under the Saracenic yoke, produced SS. Gennadius of Zamora, Attilan of Asturia, Rudisind of Compostella,

(1) *Annals*, year 900.

(2) *Rom. Pont.*, b. iv., c. 12.

and the pious kings. Alphonsus the Great, Ramir II., and Weremond. France was taught by Heriveus, Adalberon, Radbod, and Gerald; by Berno, Odo, Aimard, and Odilo, abbots of Cluny; by Abbo of Fleury; and she was edified by her devout king Robert.

Italy, which suffered more from the storms of the tenth century than any other country, produced a great many literary men and cultivators of the fine arts and of science. (1). Ratherius of Verona tells us that in his episcopal see the many schools of science were frequented by throngs, and that the schools of Rome were in a flourishing condition. Atto of Vercelli took care that instruction should be given gratuitously to all, in every town and hamlet of his diocese. A Bull of Benedict IV., promulgated in 903, shows that at Pisa the schools of theology and of law were in full force. At Ravenna, Vilgard presided over a flourishing academy. When the emperor Otho I. wished to improve the schools of Germany, he brought from Novara the famous Deacon Gonzo. And were the monks doing nothing for science and literature during this tenth century? The labors of the cowed students of Bobbio alone would have sufficed to remove the reproach of sloth and ignorance from a whole nation. (2).

Certainly there was in the tenth century sufficient intellectual vigor, as well as sufficient zeal for the things of God, to preserve and transmit to posterity the treasures of faith and of science, where other matters were concerned. We cannot suppose, therefore, that in this one matter of the Eucharistic belief—one of so tremendous a nature—the clerks of that period were delinquent. These students and scribes were most diligent in their details of events. The modern critic often smiles, and sometimes he fumes, because of the indiscriminate zeal they often manifest in their greed of materials for their chronicles,—a zeal which causes no little trouble to the modern investigator. Can we suppose that these chroniclers, who apparently claimed everything and anything as grist for their mill, would have overlooked the

(1) See MURATORI, *Annals of Italy*, y. 900; and TIRABOSCHI, *Italian Literature*, vol. iii., b. 3, c. 1.

(2) See the Catalogue of Bobbio, in MURATORI'S *Antiquities*.

abundant harvest which Protestant polemics declare to have been at their disposal? Here are the "Lives" of SS. Radbod, Dunstan, Ethelwald, Bernard of Hildesheim, Remachus, Maurus of Cesena, Odilon, Romuald; other "Lives" of celebrated ecclesiastics of the tenth century; and throughout all of them you will search in vain for any hint at a late change in the Eucharistic doctrine. Here are the "Chronicle of Flodoard," found in his "History of the Church of Rheims," which gives an account of the events that happened from 919 to 966; the "Chronicle of Odoran," running from 675 to 1032; the "Annals" by Hepidan of St. Gallo, embracing the period from 709 to 1044, the "Chronicle of Hildesheim," reaching from 714 to 1138; the "History of the Tenth Century," by Glabrus Rudolphus, who died towards its end; the "Chronicle" of Hermann Contractus, extending to 1054; that of Marianus Scotus, terminating at 1083; and in all of them we find complete ignorance of any change in the Eucharistic belief of the Catholic Church, although they were all written, if not at the time, certainly shortly after, the momentous change is asserted to have been made.

If the ancient doctrine of the Church concerning the Sacrament of the Altar had been contrary to that taught by Paschasius; if he started that transformation of belief which is said to have been consummated during the tenth century; why did not Berengarius, the sacramentarian leader of the eleventh century, seize upon this fact as an invincible argument in favor of his own denial of the Real Presence? When, from the rising to the setting of the sun, all Christendom anathematized him as an opponent of the universally received belief of God's Church, why did he not reply that down to the tenth century the Church had ignored the doctrine of the Real Presence? Not once does he assert that he derived his theory from those who had taught him in his youth; not once does he even hint at the wonderful revolution discovered by Claude, La Roque, Albertin, Mosheim, and their modern imitators. All that he attempts to adduce by way of authority is comprised in some few misinterpreted passages of St. Augustine, and a

book attributed to Scotus Erigena. This significant silence would have been broken, had such a thing been possible. When, in the year 1045, Berengarius broached his heresy, there were living many whose teachers had seen the commencement of the tenth century, and who could not have been ignorant of the faith professed by Catholics at that time. Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, whose instructions Berengarius had often heard during his youth; Adelman, a companion of the future heresiarch in the school of Fulbert; Hugo of Langres and Deoduin of Liege, his friends; Gozechin of Mentz, Durand of Troars, Lanfranc of Canterbury, Guitmund of Aversa—all upbraid Berengarius as an innovator on the primitive and universally received faith of Christendom; not once do he and his answer that the tenth century saw the birth of what the Catholic polemics present as the ancient doctrine of the Church.

CHAPTER. VIII.

THE PRETENDED DEPOSITION OF POPE JOHN XII.

In the year 931, Hugh of Provence, who, a few years previously, had been proclaimed king of Italy and had been recognized as such by nearly all the northern Italians, made matrimonial overtures to Marozia, widow of Guido of Tuscany, who had usurped the sovereignty of Rome. Marozia bestowed her hand and usurped territories upon the new king, but his arrogance soon disgusted the Romans, and led by Alberic, a son of Marozia by her first marriage with Alberic of Spoleto, they attacked the mausoleum of Adrian (1) and the Provençal barely escaped with his life. Marozia was thrust into prison, and Alberic was hailed as patrician and consul by the Romans. With this dignity he assumed the sovereign rule of the city and duchy of Rome, the Exarchate and the Pentapolis having fallen into the hands of the king of Italy, Berengarius II. During the Pontificates of John XI. (a brother of Alberic), of Leo VII.,

(1) Castle of St. Angelo.

Stephen IX., Marinus II., and Agapetus II., the usurper was master of Rome. On the death of Alberic, in 956, his son Octavian, a boy of eighteen years, succeeded to his possessions, and the Papacy becoming vacant by the death of Agapetus II., he procured his own election to the chair. Fear of schism caused the Roman clergy to acquiesce, and the new Pontiff, John XII. (1), was therefore certainly legitimate. In the year 962, he conferred the crown of the Holy Roman Empire on Otho of Germany, thus reviving, after a vacancy of many years, the imperial dignity, which was destined to abide with the Germans until its final disappearance. One of the first acts of the new emperor was the restoration of the Pontifical authority in the Duchy of Rome, and the restitution of the Pentapolis and the Exarchate of Ravenna. In the midst of the festivities attending the elevation of Otho, no one seems to have spoken to the emperor of the scandals of the Roman court; but when he had begun to prosecute the siege of the fortress of St. Leo, in which Berengarius II. had shut himself, deputies came from Rome to inform Otho that the young Pontiff's life was a scandal to Christendom, and to beseech his interference. Believing the accusation to be a calumny, the emperor sent some confidential servants to the Eternal City to investigate the matter. The report proved true, and Otho remarked: "Pope John is a mere boy, and the example of good men will easily change him. I trust that a discreet admonition and some good advice will draw him from his evil ways, and then we may say with the Prophet, 'This change is from the right hand of the Most High.' We must first defeat Berengarius; then we shall paternally admonish our lord the Pope." (2). When the Pontiff found that Otho was disposed to become his rigid patron rather than an obsequious friend, he repented of having conferred upon him the imperial crown, and resolved to break his power, at least in Italy. He called to Rome the fugitive Adalbert, son of Berengarius, and openly espoused the cause of that de-throned monarch. Learning, in 963, that the Pope was influencing the princes of Benevento, Capua, and Salerno,

(1) This is the first instance of a change of name on the part of a newly elected Pope.

(2) *Continuation of Liutprand*, b. vi., c. 6.

to draw the sword for Berengarius, Otho left sufficient troops before St. Leo to maintain the siege, and marched on Rome with a large army. The Pontiff and Adalbert were not prepared for this sudden move, and fled from the city. The Romans opened the gates to Otho, and three days afterwards he assembled a Synod in St. Peter's, composed of many of the Roman clergy and several Italian bishops, to consider the cause of Pope John. Peter, a cardinal priest, testified that he had seen the Pontiff celebrate mass without communicating. John, a cardinal deacon, and John, bishop of Marni, swore they had seen him ordain a deacon in a stable. Many of the clergy declared that he had consecrated as bishop a boy of ten years, and that he frequently conferred the episcopacy for money. Fornication and incest were also proved against him. He was addicted to hunting. He had deprived of eyesight and put to death Benedict, his "spiritual father;" he had caused the mutilation of a cardinal deacon. He went abroad in full armor, and girt with a sword. When playing at dice, he invoked the aid of Jupiter, Venus, etc. He never said the Office. Otho quite naturally suspected that many of these accusations were false, and he conjured the prelates and clergy, by the Virgin Mother of God and the body of St. Peter, to not calumniate their Pontiff. The whole assembly arose, and unanimously protested that of all that had been alleged, "and of more wicked things," Pope John was guilty. The Pontiff was then summoned to answer the charges, but he refused to appear, and threatened the members of the court with excommunication. Two cardinals were then sent to summon him for the second time, but they returned without having been able to serve the citation. The court then declared John XII. deposed from the Pontifical throne, and in his place was chosen Leo, archivist of the Roman Church, and at that time a layman. Ordained and consecrated, he exercised the Papal functions as Leo VIII. After the installation of Leo VIII., the emperor remained a short time in Rome, and as everything seemed tranquil, he sent a large part of his army to join the besiegers of St. Leo. When Pope John heard of this dim-

ination of the imperial forces, he dispatched agents to Rome, who soon fomented an insurrection in his favor. At the head of his troops, Otho fought for his life, and succeeded in quelling the outbreak. He then departed for St. Leo. (1). Pope John now returned to Rome and took terrible vengeance for his expulsion. But in May, 964, he died, probably assassinated, and was succeeded by Benedict V., hitherto a deacon of the Roman Church. Otho was furious at this action of the Roman clergy, whereby his intruding Leo was rejected, and the oath taken by them in 963 ignored. He immediately besieged the city, and soon reducing it, he recalled Leo. A pseudo-Synod was then held, in which Pope Benedict was declared relegated to the rank of deacon (2); after which Otho exiled him to Germany, where he soon died. Leo, however, reigned only until 965, when his death enabled the Roman clergy to elect John, bishop of Narni, who ascended the Pontifical throne as John XIII.

That the life of Pope John XII. was abominable, seems certain from the concordant testimony of the olden writers, such as the *Continuator* of Liutprand, Sigebert, and the *Acts* of the Roman Synod held in his regard. Baronio admits that he was "most impure, and rightly detested by all good men," and speaking of his death, which the *Continuator* ascribes to a direct intervention of Satan, the learned Oratorian says, "although he was warned by God with so many and so great vexations, he would not abstain from his wonted sins, and justly merited to be at length punished by God." (3). We must remember, however, that the *Continuator*, upon whom we principally rely for information, was thoroughly devoted to the emperor Otho and

(1) This fortress soon yielded, and Berengarius was sent a prisoner into Germany. The suzerain authority of Otho was soon recognized by the Lombard princes of Benevento, Capua, and Salerno, and by the year 969 he was master of Italy, save in such territories of the Duchy of Naples, the Puglia, Calabria, and Sicily, as were disputed by the Greeks and Saracens. In 963, he had exacted from the Romans an oath of fidelity and a promise to elect no Pontiff without his or his successors' consent.

(2) Gratian, in *Dist.* 63, *chap. Synod*, gives a Constitution of this pseudo-synod in which is conceded to Otho and his successors the privilege of choosing the Roman Pontiff, and that of granting the "investiture" to bishops. Baronio proves that this Constitution is supposititious, 1st, from the falsity of a singular concession here asserted as made by Adrian I. to Charlemagne (see Alexandre's *Synopsis of Cent. VIII.*, *chap. Rom. Pont.*); 2d, because it is not to be supposed that Otho, already emperor, would have been created patrician and king, as this document states; 3d, because the violators of the Constitution are not only excommunicated, but consigned to eternal flames, which style of language Leo, an archivist of the Holy See, knew well to be foreign to the usage of Rome.

(3) *Annals*, year 963, no. 25.

to the intruder Leo. His testimony, therefore, is not above suspicion. Sigebert wrote more than a century after the death of John XII., and probably derived much of his knowledge from the *Chronicle* of Liutprand and its *Appendix*. But we do not intend to write an apology for Pope John XII.; we grant that he was one of the very few wicked men who have sat in the Chair of St. Peter. Our Lord reminded us that the leaders in Israel are not personally impeccable: "The Scribes and the Pharisees have sitten on the chair of Moses. All things therefore, whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do; but according to their works, do ye not." Having succinctly narrated the events of his Pontificate, we merely propose to show that the deposition of Pope John XII. was null and void, and that therefore the intruder, known as Leo VIII., must be relegated to the list of Anti-Popes.

Many of the olden authors, especially the Germans, who were most favorable to Otho I., seem to regard Leo VIII. as legitimate. Among these are the *Continuator* of Liutprand, Sigebert, Platina, Trithemius, and Papyrius Masson. Among the eccentricities of the famous Launoy was an endeavor to uphold the legitimacy of Leo, and it is against his arguments that Alexandre principally contends in his apposite dissertation on this subject. (1). Speaking of the pseudo-Synod which pretended to depose Pope John XII., Baronio says that he "had never read of any Synod in which ecclesiastical law was more disregarded, the Canons more violated, tradition more despised, and justice more outraged." Very different from this was the impression produced by the imperial Synod on the mind of the German professor Neller (1766), whose courtier sensitiveness could perceive only the promptings and effects of religious zeal in its proceedings. However, his fellow professor in the university of Treves, Martin Bender, S. J., well refuted his arguments, as the reader may perceive by consulting Marchetti's *Critical Commentary on the Ecclesiastical History of Fleury*. (2). Baronio proves the nullity of the deposition of Pope John XII., 1st, from the fact that there was not a

(1) *Cent. X.*, diss. 16.(2) *Art. 2*, chap. iii., no. 99.

sufficient number of witnesses brought against him (1): 2d, the decree was issued after only two citations of the accused, while the Canons require three, nor were there granted any delays; 3d, the Synodals demanded of the emperor what a layman could not effect, that is, the deposition of a Pontiff and the election of another; 4th, sentence, properly speaking, was not pronounced; a short speech of the emperor pretended to settle so important a matter; 5th, an assembly of bishops convoked by an emperor, without the consent of the Roman Pontiff, is not a Synod, but a mere convention possessed of no authority. As we have seen, when treating of the cause of Pope Symmachus, the Roman Synod declared that, even in the Pope's own cause, no Synod could be held unless by his consent and convocation. "The aforesaid bishops," say the *Acts*, "suggested that he who is said to be accused should himself convoke the Synod, for they knew that a peculiar power over the churches had been given to his See, firstly, by the merit and principality of the Apostle Peter, and afterwards, according to the Lord's command, by the authority of the venerable Councils." But the chief argument against the legitimacy of the Othonian decree is found in the principle that a superior cannot be judged by an inferior. The bishops of the Roman Synod just quoted declared that "the bishop of the Apostolic See has never been subject to the judgment of his inferiors." And in the *Apology* which Eunodius wrote for this *Palmaris* Synod, and which the fathers stamped as possessing Synodical authority, we read: "God has wished men to decide the causes of other men, but He has reserved the rulers of that See to his own tribunal, without question. He has wished the successors of the Blessed Apostle Peter to answer for their innocence to Heaven alone."

In the letter which Avitus of Vienne, in the name of the bishops of France, sent to the Roman Senators, complaining of the Synodal action in the case of Pope Symmachus, they not knowing that the Pontiff had consented to the

(1) Alexandre thinks that Baronio is wrong in his argument (deduced from the supposititious Synod of Sinnessa, in the cause of Pope Marcellinus) that 72 witnesses were necessary. There were really, says Alexandre, no legitimate witnesses; accusers and witnesses were the same, and no single crime was attested by more than one.

holding of the Synod, we read: "While we were anxious and fearful for the cause of the Roman Church, feeling that our State tottered when its head was attacked, . . . there was brought to us a copy of a sacerdotal decree, which the bishops of Italy, assembled in the City, had issued concerning Pope Symmachus. Although the assent of a large and reverend Synod rendered this Constitution worthy of observation, we nevertheless knew that Pope Symmachus, if he had been accused in the world, ought to have received consolation from his fellow-priests, rather than judgment we cannot easily understand with what reason or law a superior is judged by his inferiors the same venerable Synod reserved for Divine examination the cause which, saving the reverence due to it, it had rashly undertaken Which being shown, as myself a Roman senator and a Christian bishop, I solemnly call upon you that you do not less respect the See of Peter in your Church, than you do the height of power in the City. . . . If anything weakens in other priests, it may be strengthened, but if the Pope of Rome is called into question, not merely a bishop, but the episcopate, seems to totter. . . . He who governs the fold of the Lord will give an account of his care of the lambs entrusted to him; again, it is the province of the Judge, not of the flock, to correct the shepherd."

It was in accordance with the principle that a superior should not be judged by an inferior, that St. Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, complained, in the Fourth *Action* of the Ephesine Council, of the decree of deposition issued against him by John, the inferior patriarch of Antioch; and the fathers did him justice. And because of the same principle, not on account of faith, said Anatolius of Constantinople, Dioscorus, who had pretended to excommunicate Pope St. Leo, was condemned by the fathers of Chalcedon. Since, therefore, this principle was ever held holy by the Church, a sentence of deposition pronounced against a Roman Pontiff by a handful of prelates at the bidding of a lay autocrat must be regarded as null and void. When Pope Leo III. willingly appeared before a Roman Synod,

in the presence of Charlemagne, to answer certain accusations, the bishops exclaimed: "We dare not judge the See of the Apostles, which is the head of all the Churches of God. By her and by her Vicar we are all judged; she is judged by no one—such is the ancient custom. As the Roman Pontiff discerns, we canonically obey." (1). Launey contends that the Roman Synod held by Pope John XII. after his restoration, and in which the Anti-Pope Leo was condemned, is supposititious; but he adduces only the negative argument, that the *Continuator* of Lintprand, Flodoard, Sigebert (in the Gemblours codex), Martin the Pole, Trithemius, Platina, and a few others, do not speak of it. But the ancient Vatican codex used by Baronio in editing the *Acts* of this Synod is beyond suspicion, as is evinced by the fact that the Centuriators of Magdeburg do not question its antiquity. Launoy also argues for the legitimacy of Leo from the fact that the St. Leo who reigned from 1049 to 1054 is styled in the *Roman Martyrology* Pope Leo IX., whereas, if the Leo substituted for John XII. was an Anti-Pope, the saint of the eleventh century should be called Pope Leo VIII. Launoy has reason on his side, inasmuch as the St. Leo in question was, strictly speaking, Leo VIII. But although this error has crept into the *Martyrology*, and the usage of centuries has sanctioned the enumeration of the Pontiffs now in vogue, the consequence which Launoy would fain derive from the custom is not a necessary one. Pope Felix (526-530), the ancestor of St. Gregory the Great, is generally styled Felix IV., as the Felix who mounted the throne in 483 is called Felix III., although it is certain that the Felix denominated Second, who was illegally substituted for Liberius (355), should be expunged from the catalogue of Pontiffs. Again, if the archivist Leo was not an Anti-Pope, then Benedict V., whom the Roman clergy elected on the death of John XII., certainly was one, for Leo was yet living and claiming the Chair of Peter when Benedict was chosen. It would follow then that the nomenclature of all the Popes named Bene-

(1) ANASTASIUS, *Life of Leo III.*

dict, since that time, is incorrect. Since then, both in the hypothesis of Launoy and in our own, an error in the *Martyrology* is manifest, it cannot be adduced as a proof that its compilers regarded as legitimate the chosen of the Othonian Synod.

Matthew Flaccius, when endeavoring to prove that the Holy Roman empire was transferred from the Franks to the Germans, without the authority of the Holy See, asserts that Otho deposed Pope John XII., and that he did so in the exercise of his imperial prerogative, which was the chastigation of unworthy Pontiffs. The following are his words: "As for the letter of the cardinals to Otho, it was nothing else than an accusation against John XII., a most impure man, and a petition that, having deposed him, the emperor would substitute another and better bishop or Pope in his place; which, indeed, Otho I. energetically effected, for then, as in all antiquity, the Cæsars possessed the authority to chastise impure Popes. The history of this fact is fully given by Liutprand, a writer most worthy of confidence." It is absolutely false that Otho deposed Pope John XII., and that of old it was regarded as part of the imperial duty to punish wicked Pontiffs. The Pagan emperors, indeed, put many of the Pontiffs to death; heretical and schismatic emperors, Christian only by baptism, often imprisoned, exiled, and tortured the successors of St. Peter, on account of their apostolic firmness, but the truly Catholic sovereigns always treated the Popes with veneration and submission. While innumerable testimonies can be produced to show that the first duty of the emperor was to defend the Holy See, that, indeed, such was the prime reason of his dignity, and its only reason of being, neither Flaccius nor any one of his modern imitators have produced one proof that, in the constitution of the Holy Roman empire, the emperor possessed the right to judge the Roman Pontiff, either as Pope, as king, or as man. Flaccius praises Liutprand as a reliable historian, and refers us to his chronicle in proof of many insolent assertions. But this author (1), and what is more, Flaccius himself (2), testify

(1) *B. vi., c. 6 and 7.*

(2) *Centuriators of Magdeburg; cent. 10, c. 9.*

that, guilty as Pope John seemed to be, Otho did not himself enter upon a judgment or even a trial, but called an episcopal convention at Rome, and to it submitted the cause of the Pontiff. Otho declared, says Lintprand, "let the Synod declare its judgment in this matter," and in the epistle of Otho to the Pope, given by the same historian, the emperor does not command, but respectfully entreats him to come to the Synod: "To the lord John, supreme Pontiff and universal Pope, Otho, by the divine clemency, August Emperor, together with the archbishops of Liguria, Tuscany, Saxony, and France, send greeting in the Lord. Coming to Rome for the service of God, when we questioned your sons, the Roman cardinals, bishops, priests, and deacons, and the whole people, as to your absence, and why you wished not to see us, the Defender of your Church and of yourself, they alleged against you such obscenities, as would be shameful, even if charged to play actors. And lest these accusations should be unknown to your Greatness, we will briefly describe some of them Therefore we earnestly entreat your Paternity to come, and not to hesitate in proving your innocence of these charges."

CHAPTER IX.

THE GREEK SCHISM : ITS REVIVAL BY MICHAEL CERULARIUS, AND ITS PRESENT CONDITION.

From the second deposition of Photius by the emperor Leo the Philosopher (y. 889), down to the reign of Constantine Monomachus—that is, for nearly a century and a half—the union of the Greeks with the centre of unity remained unbroken. Once, indeed, (y. 998), it had been endangered, when the patriarch Sergius, of the same family as Photius, assembled a Synod, and, having renewed all the calumnies of that schismatic against the Holy See, endeavored in vain to induce the other patriarchs to revolt (1); and the suc-

(1) Maimbourg asserts that Sergius erased the name of the Roman Pontiff from the diploms (*Schism of the Greeks*, b. III.), but Peter of Antioch writes to Michael Cerularius (in ALLATIUS, *Consent*, b. 2, c. 1.) that the accusation is false, and that he does not know who effected the erasure. The patriarch Veccus, *Orat. II.*, confirms the declaration of the Antiochian patriarch.

cessor of Sergius, though he persistently tried to obtain from Pope John XIX. the title of Œcumenical (1), did not revenge his disappointment by rebellion. Under seventeen successive patriarchs, after the extinction of the Photian schism (2), the Greeks continued to recognize the supremacy of the Roman See, until the patriarchate of Michael Cerularius, in the year 1053. At this period, the Byzantine throne was occupied by Constantine Monomachus, whom the empress Zoe, a worthy compeer of the many murderous and adulterous sovereigns who, for centuries, defiled the throne of the great Constantine, had married in 1043. During the reign of Michael of Paphlagonia, Zoe's second husband, the relations of Monomachus with the imperial adulteress had caused his exile to Lesbos, but after Michael's death the sexagenarian princess recalled her paramour, and placed him on the throne. The reign of Monomachus was rendered infamous by his shameless debauchery, and under his supine administration the empire lost Illyria to the Servians, the Puglia and Calabria to the Normans, while nearly all its Asiatic possessions were ravaged by the Turkish conquerors of Persia. Among the favorites of the imperial debauchee was Michael Cerularius, an ambitious nobleman, who, having conspired against the Paphlagonian, had been confined in a monastery, where, although he took the monastic habit, in order to avoid further punishment, he remained a layman, that he might be in position to profit by future contingencies. The similarity of their fortunes drew Cerularius and Monomachus together, and when, eight months after the coronation of the latter, the Constantinopolitan patriarchate became vacant, it was given to the former.

For ten years Cerularius gave no sign of hostility to the Holy See; but in 1053, having gained great influence over Leo, metropolitan of Acridia, and Nicetas (Pectoratus), a monk of the great monastery of Studius, and one of the most learned men in the empire, he made his first movement toward a revival of the schism of Photius. He caused

(1) Eustathius begged that, as the Roman Pontiff was Œcumenical for the whole world, so the Constantinopolitan patriarch might be styled the same for the East.

(2) *Manual Calceas: Against the Greeks*, b. iv.

Nicetas to write a pamphlet against many of the customs of the Latins, and especially against the use of unleavened bread in the Holy Sacrifice—a usage, we may remark, which even the virulent Photius had not thought of condemning. This document was circulated throughout the Greek empire, and as some of the dioceses of the Puglia were still in the Byzantine obedience, a copy was sent to John, bishop of Trani, with an order from Cerularius to publish it throughout the West. The bishop of Trani handed the diatribe to cardinal Humbert, who was then visiting Trani, and his Eminence translated it into Latin and laid it before Pope Leo IX., then a prisoner to the Normans in Benevento. The following are the terrible accusations against the Roman, and therefore against all the Latin churches, which the profundity and sincerity of Cerularius put forth as a justification of revolt against the See of Peter.

- I. By the use of unleavened bread for the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Latins communicate with the Jews, and, furthermore, adopt an invalid matter for said Sacrifice.
- II. The Latins eat the flesh of suffocated animals.
- III. They shave their faces.
- IV. They fast on Saturday.
- V. They eat the flesh of unclean animals.
- VI. They allow their monks to eat meat.
- VII. They violate the Lenten fast, by permitting the use of flesh on Quinquagesima and in the first week of Lent.
- VIII. They have added the clause “And from the Son” to the Creed, and they err in the doctrine as to the Holy Ghost.
- IX. They loudly proclaim, in their liturgy: “Our Holy Lord Jesus Christ, in the glory of God the Father, through the Holy Ghost.”
- X. They allow two brothers to marry two sisters.
- XI. At the time of Communion, the officiating and other clergy give each other the kiss of peace.
- XII. Their bishops wear rings, as though espoused to their churches.
- XIII. Their bishops go to war, and soil their hands with human blood.
- XIV. They immerse the subject, in Baptism, one only time.
- XV. They put salt into the mouth of the candidate for Baptism.
- XVI. They do not venerate the relics or the images of the saints.
- XVII. They do not sing the *Alleluia* during Lent.

Pope St. Leo IX. read this curious mixture

of puerilities, absurdities, and lies, a few days after he had received from Peter, the newly-elected patriarch of Antioch, a most submissive letter, begging for the confirmation of that prelate's new dignity. The holy Pontiff immediately wrote to the Constantinopolitan patriarch a lengthy and admirable reply, in which he strenuously insisted upon the God-given prerogatives of the See of Rome, and pointed out to the arrogant Cerularius the unreasonableness of some, and the absurdity of others, of his allegations against that See: he also showed how a diversity of customs may subsist, and yet the unity and essence of faith and of doctrine be not affected; drawing his attention also to the fact that, even in Rome, the Greeks were allowed—nay, even commanded—to observe their own peculiar rites and usages, since only a difference in faith, or a disobedience to the head of the Church, can rupture communion. When Cerularius had read this letter, he did not act as might have been expected, from the tone of his celebrated diatribe; perhaps he had been ordered to temporize by Monomachus, who was begging the aid of the Pontiff against the Normans; perhaps he had found too much opposition among the Greeks to his schismatic designs. Whatever may have been his reason, he addressed a conciliatory letter to the Pontiff, and St. Leo IX., anxious for the unity of the Church, sent as legates to Constantinople the cardinal Humbert, the cardinal-chancellor, Frederick, and the archbishop of Amalfi. These prelates were magnificently received by the Greek emperor, and during the following conferences, which lasted several days, the cardinal Humbert refuted the charges made by Cerularius. The monk Nicetas was convinced by the arguments of the cardinal, and having made a solemn retraction of the sentiments contained in his diatribe, was received into communion by the legates. The patriarch, however, now refused to submit, and after many efforts to overcome his obstinacy, the legates proceeded to the great basilica of St. Sophia, (Aug. 16, 1054), and there, before an immense congregation, they declared Cerularius and his followers excommunicated, and having laid the sentence upon the

high altar. they shook the dust from their shoes, and left the church, crying, "Be God our Judge!" Charged with valuable presents from Monomachus for the churches of St. Peter and of St. Benedict at Montecassino, they then departed from Constantinople. Cerularius now spread a report that the excommunication applied to the entire Greek nation, and when the mob had become sufficiently excited to warrant his supposing that the legates would be killed if an opportunity were afforded, he signified to the emperor that he was now willing to confer with them, if they would return to the city. Monomachus, however, suspected the design of the patriarch, and hurried the legates on their journey; indeed, fond of Cerularius as he had shown himself, and though he was too apt to yield to him on all occasions, this emperor did not directly abet the schism. But in a few months after the departure of the legates. Monomachus died, leaving the crown to Theodora, sister of the empress Zoe (who had died a short time before), and Cerularius became all-powerful; the efforts of the schismatics were also aided by a year's vacancy of the Holy See. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem did not at once join the party of Cerularius; indeed, Peter of Antioch ridiculed most of the charges made against the Westerns by the Constantinopolitan; but he could not endure the one immersion at Baptism, and the addition of "And from the Son" to the Creed; hence, in time, he joined the other patriarchs in anathematizing the Latins, and in erasing the name of the Pontiff from the diptychs. The schism thus inaugurated has endured, saving short periods of nominal and interested union, until our own day. (1).

In many minds the Russian, or, as it styles itself, the "orthodox" Church, is synonymous with the schismatic Greek Church; but it is not schismatic Greek in origin, nor is it Greek in language, polity, or government. The schismatic Greek Church is composed of those Christians who recognize the spiritual jurisdiction of the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, and is confined to the territories once embraced in the Byzantine (now known as the Otto-

(1) The remainder of this chapter appeared as an article in the *Ave Maria*, vol. xxiv., nos. 23 and 24.

man) empire (1) with its vassal (now only *quasi* vassal) states—Egypt, Nubia, etc. The Russian Church communicates with the schismatic Greek, and, in spite of its own liturgy, which stoutly asserts the primacy of the Roman See, (2) agrees with the schismatic Greeks in rejecting the authority of the Roman Pontiff; but it is, in every respect, a national church. (3)

The language of the Russian Church is not the Greek, but the Slavonic; and not the vernacular, but the Old Slavonic, with which the people are not familiar. Protestants are much mistaken when, reading that the Greeks, Syrians, Copts, etc., celebrate their services in Greek, Syrian, Coptic, etc., they imagine they discover an example for their own use of the vernacular. The languages used in the rituals of these peoples are very different from those in daily use. (4). Nor do the Russians owe their conversion to the Greek schismatic church. This conversion was effected by the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church; for whether, as we learn from Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the first missionaries to Russia were sent by the Catholic Patriarch Ignatius (867), or, as Nestor asserts, they were sent by the schismatic Photius (866), it is certain that no real impression was made upon the Russian masses until toward the end of the tenth century, (5) when the Grand Duke Vladimir, called "the Apostolic," embraced Christianity; and at the

(1) In 1833 the hierarchy of the new kingdom of Greece declared its independence of the patriarch, and in 1858 that prelate recognized its autonomy.

(2) The Russian liturgical books, written in Old Slavonic, are full of such testimonies. Thus, Pope St. Sylvester is called "the divine head of the holy bishops." Pope St. Leo I. is styled "the successor of St. Peter on the highest throne, the heir of the impregnable rock." To Pope St. Martin is said: "Thou didst adorn the divine throne of Peter, and, holding the church upright on this rock, which cannot be shaken, thou didst honor thy name." Pope St. Leo III. is thus addressed: "Chief Pastor of the Church, all the place of Jesus Christ." St. Peter is called the sovereign pastor of all the Apostles—"pastyr vshchynny tsich Apostolov."

(3) It recognizes no earthly authority over itself but that of the "Holy Synod," a body entirely dependent on the Czar. Originally, the metropolitan of Russia was nominated by the sovereign, and consecrated by the Constantinopolitan patriarch; but after the schism the czars began to act more and more, as heads of the church. In 1589 the patriarch Jeremiah II. recognized Job, metropolitan of Moscow, as patriarch of Russia, and as next in rank to him of Alexandria. In the reign of Alexis Michaelovitch, father of Peter the Great, Nikon of Moscow rejected the authority of Constantinople; and in 1667, Nikon having offended Alexis, he was deposed, and the power of his successors became nominal. Peter the Great finally, in 1721, placed the government of the Russian church in a "Holy Synod," every member of which swears obedience to the Czar as "supreme judge in this spiritual assembly."

(4) ASSEMANI: "*Oriental Library*," vol. iv., c. 7, § 22.

(5) About the year 945 Olga, Olga, or Elga, widow of a grand duke (or king) of Russia, made a journey to Constantinople, and was there baptized. Returning to Russia, she vainly endeavored to convert her countrymen. But her grandson, Vladimir, having married Anna, sister of the Greek Emperor Basil II., was baptized in 988, and in a few years nearly all the Russians received the Faith. Those authors who assign the conversion of Russia to the ninth century, remarks Bergier, confuse the reign of Basil II. with that of Basil the Macedonian.

time the Greeks were in communion with Rome. The revival of the schism, by Michael Cerularius, did not much affect the Russians. Not until the twelfth century were they entirely seduced from the Roman obedience. Then, with the exception of the Church of Galicia, (1) most of the Russians ceased to be Catholics. However, at the time of the Council of Florence (1439) there were as many Catholics as schismatics in Russia. (*Bollandists*: "*September*," v. 41.) About the middle of the fifteenth century, a second Photius, archbishop of Kiev, extended the schism throughout the land. (2)

The following remarks of the Russian Jesuit, Ivan Gagarin, than whom the reader will find no better authority on matters concerning the Russian Church, are worthy of attention: "It was only in a very indirect manner that the Russian Church was drawn into schism. The metropolitans of Kiev depended, in the hierarchical order, upon Constantinople. When the rupture between Rome and Byzantium took place, Kiev found itself separated from the centre of unity; but for a long time the Russians did not share the passions of the Greeks, and it may be said that, for a long period, merely a material schism subsisted between Rome and the Russian Church. But the clergy of Constantinople endeavored to imbue the Russians with their own prejudices and with their hatred of the Latins. They succeeded, and when the princes of Moscow manifested a design of attacking the independence of the Russian church, this body could rely on itself alone.

"As yet no one has written the sad and touching history of the struggle which this church, isolated from the West

1) Galicia, or Red Russia, returned to the fold of unity under Pope Honorius III. (1216-27.) The two millions of Ruthenians, as they are called, use the Slavonic liturgy, and their secular clergy may marry before receiving Holy Orders.

(2) Some authors opine that the schism of Cerularius did not affect the entire Greek empire in the 11th century. Certainly, Pope Alexander II. sent Peter, bishop of Anagni, as *Apoctisarius* (agent, not legate) to the emperor Michael Ducas in 1071, and he continued as such for a whole year. When, in 1078, St. Gregory VII. excommunicated Nicephorus Botaniates, it was only because that prince dethroned Ducas, who was in communion with the Holy See. Pope Paschal II. sent Chrysolanus (or, as some write the name, Grosolanus, or Proculanus) as legate to Alexis Comnenus. Alexandre and Mansi hold that there was communion between the West and East for some time after the excommunication of Cerularius and his pretended retaliation of the same. It is noteworthy that Euthymus Zygabenus, who, by order of Alexis Comnenus, collected the sayings of the Fathers against each and every heresy, makes no mention of the Latins as heretics. Even in the twelfth century there were many Greeks in communion with Rome, as we learn from the many narratives of the crusades, from the *Alexias* of Anna Comnena, from the *Life of Manuel* by Nicetas Choniates, and from the letters (b. iv., nos. 39, 4) of the Venerable Peter of Cluny to the emperor John Comnenus and to the patriarch of Constantinople.

and betrayed by the East, sustained against the growing ambition of the granddukes and czars of Moscow. And, nevertheless, that history has some beautiful pages. If the Russian Church succumbed, it was not without combat or without glory. Ivan III., if not from conviction, at least ostensibly, belonged to a sect which designed to substitute Judaism for Christianity. The metropolitan of Moscow had been seduced, but the Russian Church preserved sufficient strength and independence to condemn the impure doctrines. When Ivan IV., who much resembled Henry VIII. of England, shed the blood of his subjects in torrents, and trampled on ecclesiastical authority to gratify his passions, Philip, metropolitan of Moscow, spoke to him with apostolic liberty, and sealed his remonstrances with his blood. But the church continued to lose ground, and when Boris Godounov transformed the metropolitan of Moscow into a patriarch (1588), that elevation was, in his mind, for the purpose of furnishing the czar with a willing tool." (1)

Although the "orthodox" Russians and schismatic Greeks, like the Nestorians and Jacobites, are witnesses to the antiquity of many dogmas which Protestants regard as modern human innovations, Protestant polemics ever show much sympathy for the aversion cherished by these schismatics toward the Holy See. The children of the Reformation have often endeavored to enter into communion with these separatists, but their efforts resulted, each time, only in a formal condemnation of Protestant tenets by the progeny of Photius and Cerularius. Two of these attempts at union between the Eastern and Western opponents of Rome merit attention.

In 1574 Stephen Gerlach, a Lutheran, and preacher to the imperial embassy at Constantinople, was urged by many of his co-religionists to obtain from Jeremiah II., patriarch of Constantinople, an endorsement of the "Confession of Augsburg" as consonant with the faith of the schismatics. But Jeremiah combated the "Confession" as heretical, with tongue and pen. In 1672 Dositheus,

(1) *Will Russia become Catholic?* Paris, 1856.

schismatic patriarch of Jerusalem, convoked a Synod to consider the doctrines of Calvin, and the Synodals said of the Lutheran overtures to Jeremiah : “ Martin Crugius, and others well versed in the new doctrines of Luther, sent the articles of their ‘ Confession ’ to him who then sat on the throne of the Catholic Constantinopolitan Church, that they might learn whether they agreed in doctrine with the Oriental churches. But that great patriarch wrote to them—yea, against them—three learned discourses, or replies, wherein he theologically and Catholicly refuted their entire heresy, and taught them the orthodox doctrines which the Oriental Church received from the beginning. However, they paid no attention ; for they had bidden farewell to all piety. The patriarch’s book was issued, in Greek and Latin, at Wittemberg in Germany, in the year of salvation 1584 ; but before the time of Jeremiah, the entire doctrine of the Oriental Church had been more fully set forth by the priest John Nathaniel, procurator of Constantinople, in his ‘ Treatise on the Sacred Liturgy ’ ; and after the said Jeremiah, this was also done by Gabriel Severus Moreanus, archbishop of our brethren of Crete, in his book on ‘ The Seven Sacraments of the Catholic Church. ’ ” (1)

Another and more celebrated attempt to unite the Western innovators and the Eastern schismatics was made in the seventeenth century. Cyril Lucar, a Candiot, was sent to the University of Padua when a youth, where he studied under the famous Margunius, bishop of Cythera. After his graduation he traveled in Germany, and became infected with the new doctrines. Nevertheless, on his return to the Greeks he received the priesthood, and in time became patriarch of Alexandria. In 1621, having bribed the Grand Vizier with money furnished by the Calvinists of Holland, he was appointed patriarch of Constantinople. He began immediately to teach Calvinism ; the clergy revolted ; Cyril was exiled to Rhodes, and Anthimius of Alexandria was placed on the patriarchal throne. However, the intrigues of the English ambassador caused the Porte to recall Cyril, and he soon published a *Confession of Faith* of the most

(1) We have followed the Latin version of this Synod of Jerusalem (or of Bethlehem) made by an anonymous Benedictine of St. Maur, and first published at Paris, in 1676.

Calvinistic type. In 1636 the indignation of the Greeks compelled the Porte to again banish the innovator, but after three months he was once more recalled—only to be bow-stringed, by order of the Porte, in 1638. Lucar's *Confession* appeared in Holland in 1645, and was gladly welcomed by Protestants as a harbinger of their recognition by the historically venerable churches of the East; but the consequent publication of the justly celebrated *Perpetuity of the Faith of the Catholic Church concerning the Eucharist* demonstrated the fallaciousness of their hopes (1). They soon found that the Greeks admitted their agreement with Rome concerning most of the Catholic dogmas. Indeed, as soon as Lucar's *Confession* appeared in Constantinople, the author was synodically deposed, and Cyril of Berea was made patriarch. This prelate convoked a Synod in 1638, and a condemnation of Lucar was signed by the three schismatic patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, and by twenty-three bishops. Soon after, bribery and intrigue procured the patriarchal chair for Parthenius of Adrianople, who in 1642 held another Synod, which again reprobated Lucar's teachings. In 1672 Dositheus of Jerusalem celebrated the Synod already mentioned, which confirmed the decisions of the other assemblies.

In the *Acts* of this assembly we read that the Greek schismatics accused the Calvinists (whom they styled "liars, innovators, heretics, mendacious architects, apostates, who, like all heretics, are artificial explainers of Scripture and of the Fathers,") of calumniating the Orientals by the assertion that the said Orientals held Calvinistic doctrine. And this assertion was made, say the bishops, in spite of so many declarations of Greek patriarchs; in spite of the publication of the "orthodox" belief; in spite of the lucid

(1) In the five quarto volumes of which this work consists, are collected testimonies of all the Greek ecclesiastical authors who wrote after the schism of Photius; the professions of faith of many patriarchs and bishops; declarations of many Synods; the liturgies, etc., of the East. It is proved that in all ages, just as to-day, the Orientals admitted seven sacraments, and held that these produce grace; that, as now, they believed in transubstantiation; that, as now, they prayed to the saints, prayed for the dead. It is also shown that Lucar manifested, not the sentiments of his co-religionists, but his own opinions—a fact proved by himself when he proposed his doctrine as one he would like to introduce among the Greeks. In the last two volumes of the *Perpetuity*, the doctrine of the Catholic and schismatic Greek Churches is compared with that of the Nestorians, who were separated from Rome in the fifth century, and with that of the Eutychians, or Jacobites, who became schismatics in the sixth. Then follows an exposition of the belief and of the discipline of the Ethiopians, Egyptian Copts, Maronites, and of the Nestorians scattered throughout Persia and India.

treatises of many Greek doctors. Then follow eighteen chapters, in which the synodals declare that man's free-will was not destroyed by the fall of Adam; that faith alone will not justify; that there are seven Sacraments; that Baptism cleanses from original sin; that in the Eucharist the substance of the bread and wine is really changed into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ; that the saints are to be invoked as friends of God; that their images are to be venerated; that we must receive all traditions given us by the Church, which, being taught by the Holy Ghost, cannot err.

Disappointed in their hopes of union with some ecclesiastical body of comparative antiquity, the Calvinists accounted for the adverse action of the schismatic Synods by the supposition of Latin bribery. Thus, in 1722, appeared the book of Cowell, an Englishman, who tried to prove that fraud was behind the apparent agreement of the Roman and schismatic doctrines. Mosheim affects to discover, in the history of the Lucar affair, that Catholic polemics do not scruple at dishonesty when disputing with heretics. Now it is false that the Greek bishops who condemn the Western "reformers" were partial to the Latins. Cyril of Berea, like many other schismatic prelates and priests of his time, may have died, as Mosheim asserts, in the Roman communion, but the dominant spirits of the Synods in question would have rivalled a Scotch covenanter in hatred of Rome. Nectarius, an ex-patriarch of Jerusalem, composed an energetic diatribe *Against the Primacy of the Pope*; Dositheus, the president of the Synod of Jerusalem, published, in 1683, many works of Simeon of Thessalonica, in which this writer severely upbraids the Latins. Again, if these Greek adversaries of the "Reformation" were actuated by a desire of pleasing Rome, why did they, in these very Synods, so strenuously assert their peculiar dogma concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost? Finally, how is it that the Greeks, so bitter against the Holy See, so tenacious of their own distinctive doctrines, did not depose Dositheus, Nectarius, Parthenius, etc.?

From the day of her separation from Rome, the Greek

Church, once so active, has been in a state of lethargy, displaying none of that fecundity which Christ promised to His own spouse. "The prodigious ignorance and stupid superstition," says Feller, "in which the priests and people of this isolated church are involved, necessarily entail the great abuses and enormous disorders with which they are reproached. For centuries the Greeks can show no celebrated doctor, no council worthy of attention. Their latest sages—Bessarion, Allatius, Arcudius, etc.,—all belonged to the Church of Rome."

Again we call the reader's attention to some reflections by Gagarin:—

"Byzantism pretended to have for its object the exaltation and triumph of the Greek Church, empire, and nationality. It sacrificed the unity and independence of the Church to that object, and what has been the result of the conflict which it provoked? The ruin of the Greek Church, and consequently of the Greek empire and nationality. But God did not wish that this ancient and glorious church should perish. He raised up a new people, who seem to have the mission of re-establishing her in her pristine splendor. That people is the Slavic, and three-fourths of them belong to the Oriental rite, with this difference, that their liturgical language is the (Old) Slavonic. One can not avoid being struck by the contrast between the Slavonic and Greek branches of the Oriental rite. The former possesses numbers, force, vigor, while the latter exhibits only feebleness and decrepitude. Laying aside every other argument, the figures will make this difference palpable. It is estimated that all the Oriental Christians—Slavs, Greeks, Moldo-Wallachians or Roumanians, Georgians, etc.,—number about seventy million souls, of whom nearly sixty millions are Slavs. If from the ten or twelve remaining millions we deduct those who are not Greeks, we see to how small a number the Greeks are reduced. (1). Now the Slavs of the Oriental rite are nearly all subjects of the Russian Empire."

(1) By the term "Greek," Gagarin does not here indicate merely the subjects of the modern kingdom, but all of the old Byzantine nationality.

And now a few words as to the probability of a submission of the Russian "orthodox" church to the Roman jurisdiction. The czar may devoutly wish for union with Rome. If he is a statesman, he must realize that the activity and zeal of a Papal clergy would be a great check to the growth of Nihilism. The more learned and more pious of the "orthodox" clergy—too few, alas! in number—may yearn for unity. But there is one obstacle, which, apparently, neither the once powerful inclinations of a czar nor the fast-decreasing influence of a corrupt clergy can overcome. When England shall have learned the wisdom of doing justice to Ireland, there may be hope that Russia will commence to doubt the wisdom of her policy toward *her* Ireland—unfortunate, noble, and exhausted Poland. But as yet, to the average Russian mind, Poland is a subject only for the iron heel; and *Catholicism*, to this mind, means Latinism,—i. e., *Polonism*. The Russian "patriot," therefore, regards any progress of Catholicism in "Holy Russia" as a progress of Polish nationality.

Again, the Russian clergy have always systematically inculcated the idea that a reunion with Rome means the abolition of several institutions dear to the Russian heart—viz., Communion under both species, the use of fermented bread in the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Old Slavonic liturgy, and the marriage of the secular clergy. And here we must note that nothing can be more false than the idea entertained by most of the Eastern schismatics, that, whenever there has been a question of reunion with Rome, the Holy See has designed to force them to adopt the Latin rite and discipline. In refutation of this idea, Pope Benedict XIV., in his Bull *Allate sunt*, quotes the words of Pope Innocent IV., who cited two Constitutions of Popes Leo X. and Clement VII., in which these Pontiffs vehemently reprov'd those Latins who blamed the Greeks for their observance of certain customs approved by the Council of Florence.

The same Benedict XIV., speaking of those who were laboring for reunion, resumes their obligations as follows: They should disabuse the schismatics of those errors which their ancestors introduced. in order that they might

have a pretext for withdrawing from the obedience of the Sovereign Pontiff. In every endeavor to convert said schismatics, the greatest stress should be laid upon the writings of the early Fathers of the Greek Church, who are in perfect accord with the Latin Fathers. The Apostolic See has always insisted that the Eastern Schismatics must not be urged to follow the Latin rite. And in our own day Pope Pius IX., in an Encyclical addressed to the Orientals, under date of Jan. 6, 1848, uttered the same sentiments. Nevertheless, the idea is firmly fixed in Russian heterodox minds that union with Rome means the loss of their loved rite. This fact, added to the present sentiments of these minds regarding the burning question of Poland, would seem to indicate that there is little probability of a speedy submission of the Russian Church to the Holy See. (1)

CHAPTER IX.

ST. LEO IX. AND PIUS IX.—CIVITELLA AND CASTELFIDARDO.

In the year 1048, while the emperor, Henry III., was residing at Frisingen, deputies came to him from Rome, informing him of the death of Pope Damasus II., and asking

(1) In reply to the assertion that, in spite of the declarations of many Roman Pontiffs, the Catholic missionaries have always tried to bring their converts of the Oriental rite into the Latin rite, Gagarin, *loc. cit.*, says: "It is true that in the Ottoman Empire all the Catholic Greeks, excepting the Melchites of Syria, have passed over to the Latin rite. It is also true that in Poland the Latin rite has been adopted by many Catholic families who once belonged to the Greek rite. But we insist that these facts prove nothing against us, and that they are sufficiently explained by causes completely foreign to the actions of the Holy See and of its missionaries. In Turkey, until the *hatti-houmayoun* of Feb. 18, 1856, all the Christians of the Greek rite were placed under the (civil) authority of the patriarch of Constantinople; and when one of them renounced that prelate's communion to enter that of the Pope, it is evident that he was exposed to vexation by that personage, who, though no longer his spiritual, was still his temporal ruler. He had only one way of escaping persecution, and that was a withdrawal from the patriarch's civil jurisdiction when he left the schismatic communion. To effect this withdrawal, he had to join the Latin rite. These few words ought to explain how, in Greece and the Archipelago, all the Catholic Greeks have been led to abandon the Greek rite. The concession made by the Sultan Abdull Mijid, on Feb. 18, 1856, deprived the patriarch of his civil authority over the co-nationals; but it has not yet been shown that the Greeks who were desirous of joining the Roman communion, and who still preferred to cling to their old rite, could do so with impunity. Let us judge, then, whether they could have done so a century or two ago. In Poland the circumstances were different, but the United Russians passed to the Latin rite because of similar influences. In the Republic of Poland there were two rites, two languages, and two nationalities. The superiority was with the Poles; and when the convert adopted the Latin rite, he assumed Polish nationality and entered the ranks of the dominant people. Does not this state of things explain the facts opposed to us?"

N. B.—As a sequel to this disquisition, we would direct the attention of the student to our essay entitled, "Heterodoxies of Modern Russian Orthodoxy," in the Supplement at end of our Vol. VI.

him to give the Church a new Pontiff (1). Henry did not hesitate to arrogate this office to himself, but nevertheless he convoked the bishops and other grandees of the empire to consult concerning an election. The assembly was held at Worms, and its unanimous choice was Bruno, bishop of Toul, a cousin of the emperor Conrad, and an Alsatian. Undoubtedly Henry would have named a German, had he not feared to irritate the Romans.

The writers of the time differ as to the conduct of Bruno when he was notified of his nomination. According to Otho of Frisingen (2), Bruno proceeded to Cluny, clothed in the Pontifical purple, and the prior Hildebrand —afterwards Gregory VII.—“immediately rebuked him, saying that it was illicit for any one to receive the Pontificate from lay hands.” And Platina says that Bruno afterwards reproached himself “because he had obeyed the emperor rather than God.” But Wibert, who was Bruno’s arch-deacon at Toul, tells us that his lord declared to the assembly at Worms: “I shall proceed to Rome, and if the Roman clergy and people freely choose me as Pontiff, I will comply with your wish;” and the same is attested by St. Bruno, bishop of Segni, author of another *Life of St. Leo IX.* (3). At any rate, Bruno, accompanied by Hildebrand, whom the future Pontiff had providentially withdrawn from the solitude of Cluny, presented himself to the Romans in plain attire and barefooted, saying, “The choice of the clergy and people, as well as the authority of the Canons, is superior to any other nomination; if you do not elect me, I am ready to return to my own country.” Then, observes Otho of Frisingen, “by the advice of Hildebrand, all ancient usages were followed; Bruno was elected Pope, and was enthroned Feb. 12, 1049. In his first Synod the new Pontiff made Hildebrand cardinal deacon.

The attention of the new Pope was soon drawn to the miserable state of affairs in Southern Italy, where an enemy, scarcely less barbarous and ferocious than the Moham-medan hordes who were infesting the Greek Empire, had introduced a reign of rapine, sacrilege, and murder. The

(1) LAMBERT OF ASCHAFFENBURG; year 1019.

(2) B. vi., c. 33.

(3) See also LEO OF OSTIA, B. II., no. 81.

first establishments of the Normans in Italy had been very feeble, but by degrees they had extended their domination over Italian barons, Greek lieutenants, and Saracen intruders. At the time of which we write, Robert Guiscard had proclaimed himself duke of the Puglia and of Calabria; and, having turned his terrible arms against the Campagna—attracted more by lust of wealth than by desire of conquest,—he had spread devastation over a hitherto fertile and opulent province, and had usurped the Papal duchy of Benevento.

Moved with pity for the oppressed populations, who, to avoid the flames which destroyed their less fortified towns, had sought refuge in the mountain fastnesses, and fearful also lest Rome itself should fall a prey to a modern Alaric, Pope Leo remembered that he was a king as well as a Pontiff, and that his sceptre was meant to protect as well as to rule his people. He called upon his own subjects and the other Italians for volunteers. The inhabitants of Ancona, of the Puglia, and of the Campagna sent their quotas to his standard; but Leo well understood that their devotion would avail little against the disciplined forces of the Norman. Therefore he requested the Byzantine emperor, whose own interests were involved, to send him some veteran troops. In his letter to the sovereign, his Holiness says: "As we are told in Wisdom, no one can change him whom God rejects, and the fool is not corrected by words. So it is with the malice of this people: every day they grow worse. Therefore, not only wishing to use my temporal resources for the liberation of the flock of Christ, but also desiring to devote myself to that work, I have thought that nothing will more manifest the wickedness of these men, or more quickly repress their obstinacy, than the use of human weapons. For I learn from the Apostle that princes do not hold the sword without reason, and that they are the ministers of the anger of God, punishers of those who work evil." (1)

The Greek emperor answered with fair words, but no aid arrived. Then Leo journeyed into the wilds of Pan-

(1) MIGNÉ'S *Patrology*, vol. 143., p. 449.

nonia, where Henry III. was at the head of an army, and he besought that emperor's assistance. He obtained only five hundred veterans, but with this small reinforcement he led his army—otherwise composed of Pontifical infantry and Lombard pikemen—into the Capitanata, in June, 1053. On the approach of Leo, the Normans sent him an embassy, offering to become tributary to the Holy See; but the Pontiff would accept of no conditions short of their entire evacuation of Italy. (1) Then occurred the battle of Civitella, called by some Dragonara. The Pontifical army was nearly destroyed, and the Pope, who had watched the combat at a little distance, was captured by the victors.

Then was witnessed an extraordinary event—conquerors kneeling at the feet of the conquered. As the Pontiff, preceded by the cross, came forward to meet his captors, they prostrated themselves before him, imploring his mercy. (2). Then they conducted their prisoner to Benevento, where for the space of nine months he was honorably entertained by count Hunfrid. Profoundly afflicted at the loss of his faithful soldiers, many of whom were his own relatives and friends, Leo did not retire to his couch during the whole time of his captivity, but took his necessary sleep on the stone pavement of his chamber; he fasted beyond measure, and completely despoiled himself for the sake of the poor.

The Normans were soon glad to withdraw from their anomalous position, especially as they were surrounded by enemies—Italians, Greeks, Germans, and Saracens. Reflecting on the great advantages they would derive from the favor of the Roman Pontiffs, they not only offered peace and liberty to their venerable prisoner, but implored him to receive them as vassals to the Holy See, swearing to defend it against all enemies, in return for the Papal investiture of their conquest in the two Sicilies. St. Leo IX. readily accepted the offer, and on March 12, 1054, he departed from Benevento and arrived in due time at Rome, where he died April 19 of the same year.

The conduct of St. Leo IX. in the matter of the Norman

(1) According to Gaufridus Malaterra (*History*, B. i., 10), and Hermann Contractus (*Chronicle*) the Pontiff would have accepted the offer of the Normans; but the German auxiliaries arrogantly relied on their superior size, and thought it would terrify the enemy.

(2) SISMONDI, vol. i., p. 359; WIBERT, "*Life of St. Leo IX.*"

usurpation of his territories has been severely criticised; even St. Peter Damian reprov'd him for appealing to the temporal sword. However, history tells us of no Pope who voluntarily surrendered any portion of the patrimony of St. Peter because of a scruple to adopt material force in its defence. If Julius II. was the only Pontiff who himself led his troops to battle, many others have, from time to time, called renowned warriors to the service of the Holy See; and these *Gonfalonieri*, or captains of the Church, as they were styled, held their commissions as the most honorable that their profession could afford them. In 1084, Robert Guiscard, once the foe of St. Leo IX., was called by St. Gregory VII. to defend Rome against Henry IV. of Germany. In 1370, Louis I., of Hungary, aided Urban V. against the Florentines. Martin V. created the great Sforza *Gonfaloniere* of the Church. Frederick Malatesta fought for Pius II., Paul II., and Sixtus IV.; Robert Malatesta served the last named Pope, and when mortally wounded received the Sacraments from the Pontifical hands. Under St. Pius V. fought Marcantonio Colonna, the hero of Lepanto, and in our own days the Catholic world glorifies the memory of Léon Juchault de Lamoricière.

None of these leaders, and not one of the Popes who employed them, felt any of the scruples affected by the enemies of the Holy See. No such scruples were entertained by those Pontiffs who, during four centuries, were the soul of the resistance made by the civilized world to the inroads of barbarous Islamism; and precisely because those Pontiffs did use the temporal sword in defense of religion and of the right, the crescent does not shine to-day over every capital in Europe. From St. Leo IX. to Pius IX., each Pope who has drawn the sword in defence of his temporal dominion has done only what the world admires in all other kings. It is curious, therefore, that we should so often hear men counselling the Popes to answer the invaders of their territories with a benediction.

The idea of the Supreme Pontificate is as contrary to that of aggressive warfare, as is the idea of the priesthood to that of violence. Meekness is not only appropriate to the

successor of St. Peter; it is the duty of his office, and he should ever remember the saying that "the Church abhors blood." And meekness has ever been, as a rule, the characteristic of the Pope-Kings. But when his States, the patrimony of the Church, are attacked, meekness and inactivity on his part would be culpable. It is not our province to prove the necessity of temporal sovereignty, as an aid and guarantee for the liberty of the Church; that has been done so effectually by writers of every kind, and in every quarter of the globe, that he who now denies that necessity must be either woefully ignorant or wilfully blind to the truth. But this much we will say: in this matter there is not a mere question of maintaining a reigning dynasty, although even that may sometimes be a holy cause. In the cause of the Pope-King, is involved the question whether or not society is to fall under the domination of mere brutal force, for to such barbarism must society come, if the profession of Christianity is denied it. That the profession is only possible with a free, that is, sovereign Pontiff, is admitted by the more frank of the enemies of the Church, and is asserted by the entire Catholic episcopate (1). Why then should not the Pope defend his temporal rights, if necessary, even with the armed hand? He was not

(1) On the 18th June 1859, Pope Pius IX., in an Apostolic Letter addressed to all the bishops, notified the world of the robbery just consummated in the four Legations; on the 20th, in a Consistorial Allocution, he declared the robbers excommunicated; on the 26th Sept., in another Allocution, he protested against the pretended *annexation* of the Emilia to the Sardinian Kingdom; and on Jan. 19, 1860, in an Encyclical, he informed Christendom why, in his letter to Napoleon III., under date of the 31st December, he had rejected all offers of compromise. His revered and authoritative words were immediately echoed by the bishops of the World. In all ecclesiastical history, there is no such record of unanimity on the part of the episcopal body, in a matter not directly entering into the domain of faith, as the reader will find in the immense collection entitled *The Temporal Sovereignty of the Roman Pontiffs Defended in its Integrity by the Suffrage of the Catholic World, in the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of Pius IX.*: Rome, 1860. The proposition asserted by the bishops may be epitomised as follows: I. It is necessary for the liberty of the Church, at least in the present condition of society, that the Pontiff possess, in a temporal sovereignty, a perfect independence, and a mastership of his own acts; so much so, that, without such sovereignty, reversion and servitude would be the lot of the Church. Hence, although the matter of this question of the temporal power may be political, nevertheless, since that power is sacred in its object, the said question assumes a religious aspect. II. To this fitnessness or necessity, Providence has supplied, by means of a principality the most ancient, most legitimate, and least disputed, of all those of modern Europe—a principality constituted with the consent of peoples and of princes, as a patrimony of the Church, and a monarchy hereditary in the successors of Peter; nor, for any reason whatever, can any portion of it be violently usurped, without grave injury to the whole and a no less danger to the rest. III. The Supreme Pontificate, far from preventing the Popes from ruling their states properly, greatly assists them in so doing; and the pretended discontent of the Papal subjects, where not studiously excited by the spoliators, is a calumnious invention, unless, indeed, we are to regard as the people those few who abhor the Pontifical government, merely because it is Christian. In defending these propositions, the bishops, of course, did not mean to present a matter of faith; but, inasmuch as they have reference to the practical principles according to which the faithful should govern their thoughts and actions, we cannot see how the propositions can be questioned by any one unwilling to incur the note of rashness.

blamed when his police arrested, or his courts punished the ordinary criminals of society; why should he be reproved for resisting the enemies of society at large?

There is much similarity between the campaign of St. Leo IX. against the Normans, and the unfortunate yet glorious one which the Papal troops undertook in 1860. In both cases the enemy was composed of baptized persons, professing no heresy, but apparently glorying in the creed of Rome. However, in the case of St. Leo IX., the Pontiff himself marched against the invader; whereas in the campaign of Castel Fidardo the little Papal army, organized to deal only with the hordes of Garibaldi concentrated on the Neapolitan frontier, and expecting no attack from the regular troops of Sardinia, (1) were suddenly and treacherously assailed on their own territory. "Impious men!" said Pope Pius IX., "of whom the Almighty now makes use in order to punish the sins of all, but to disperse them and punish them in the day of his fury,—trampling on the law of God, cursing the voice of the Holy One of Israel, and ceasing not to wage most cruel war on the Church and this Apostolic See. Possessed by the spirit of Satan, they have excited the peoples of Italy to rebellion; they have unjustly expelled legitimate princes, and have disturbed all things human and divine; during the past year they have invaded our States, sacrilegiously occupying some of our provinces, and now they try to invade and usurp the rest." (2).

These aggressors, said the same Pontiff, "for a long time have waged war against the Catholic Church, her ministers, and her property; and, caring nothing for ecclesiastical

(1) The battle of Castelfidardo was fought September 18. It was only on the 10th that Lamoricière was informed by Capt. Farini, aid-de-camp of Gen. Fanti, the Sardinian war-minister and commander-in-chief, that, in certain described cases, the troops of King Victor Emmanuel would cross the frontier. In answer, the hero of Constantina replied: "What you propose to me is a shame and a dishonor—viz., to evacuate without combat the provinces which it is my duty to defend. It would have been more candid on the part of the king of Piedmont and his generals had they at once declared war on us. But, despite the numerical preponderance of the Sardinian army, we shall not forget that, on certain occasions, officers and soldiers must not count the enemy's numbers, nor spare their own lives in preserving the outraged honor of the government they serve." And, as late as September 13, the Duke de Gramont, French ambassador at the Vatican, telegraphed the following to the French Vice-Consul at Ancona: "The emperor has written from Marseilles to the king of Sardinia, that, if the Piedmontese troops enter the pontifical territory, he will be forced to oppose them. Orders have already been given to embark troops at Toulon, and these reinforcement will soon arrive. The Imperial Government will not tolerate the culpable aggression of the Sardinian Government; as Vice-Consul of France, you will regulate your course by this information." (See Lamoricière's "Report" to the Papal Minister of War.)

(2) Letter to the chaplain-in-chief of the Papal army, Sep. 10, 1860.

laws or censures, they have dared to imprison illustrious cardinals and bishops and most worthy members of both the secular and regular clergy, to expel religious communities from their cloisters, to appropriate the goods of the Church, and to subvert the civil principality of this Holy See. . . . They open public schools for the teaching of every false doctrine ; with abominable writings and theatrical representations, they offend and banish all modesty, chastity, honesty, and virtue ; they despise the holy mysteries and the Sacraments, the precepts, institutions, ministers, rites, and ceremonies of our holy religion, and try to banish all justice from the earth, and to destroy the very foundations of religion and of civil society." (1)

The use of military force, therefore, was a duty incumbent upon Pius IX., just as it had been on his predecessor, the Ninth Leo. But we must here remark that in the days of St. Leo IX. no one thought of reproving, still less of insulting, the soldiers of the Pope. No Norman knight threw the stigma of "mercenary" in the faces of the defenders of the patrimony of St. Peter ; such mendacious discourtesy was reserved for a Cialdini and a Fanti to display to a Lamoricière, a Pimodan, a Charette, and the hundreds of scions of the noblest blood of Brittany and Belgium, who abandoned wealth and comfort for the defense of the freedom of the Chair of Peter. (2)

They who were killed at Civitella, fighting under the standard of the Keys, were hailed as martyrs, alike by Pontificals and penitent Normans ; and when the holy Leo IX. was seized with his last illness, he said to his weeping attendants : "The time of my departure approaches. Last

(1) Allocution, Sep. 28, 1860.

(2) Read the following proclamation of the Sardinian minister of war : "Foreign bands from every part of Europe have carried into Umbria and the Marches the belted standard of a religion at which they scoff. Without country or roof, they provoke and insult the populations to have a pretext to master them. Such martyrdom must cease, and such insolence is to be suppressed by our succoring, with our arms, those unfortunate sons of Italy who have vainly hoped for justice and mercy from their government. We shall fulfil the mission confided to us by king Victor Emmanuel ; let Europe know that Italy is no longer the rendezvous and the prize of the most audacious or fortunate adventurer. From Headquarters in Arezzo, Sept. 11, 1861. *The Minister of War, commander-in-chief of the Corps of Occupation in the Marches and Umbria* : M. FANTI." The following morsel from Cialdini is exquisite : "Soldiers of the 4th Corps d'Armée ! I lead you against a herd of foreign drunkards, whom thirst of gold and lust of plunder have attracted to our country. Fight, destroy inexorably these hired assassins ; and let them feel, by your hand, the ire of a people desirous of their nationality and independence. Soldiers ! Unrevenged Perugia demands satisfaction, and though tardily, will have it. *The General Commanding the 4th Corps d'Armée* : ENRICO CIALDINI." *Civiltà Cattolica*, in its *News of the Day*, s. iv, vol. 8.

night I saw in a vision the heavenly land ; and among other things, I saw crowned as martyrs those who fell in the Puglia fighting for the Church. With one voice they all said to me : ' Come and dwell with us : for it was through thee that we attained this glory.' " (1)

It was not given to Lamoricière to crown with his death for Holy Church one of the most glorious military records which even the history of France can furnish. But he became the generous envy of every Christian soldier, and as a prisoner of war for the Roman Pontiff he was greater than when amid his triumphs at Medeah, Mascara, and Constantina. " I found myself," he wrote in his " Report " to Mgr. de Mérode, " before a question of duty and honor ; and if, in my resolutions, I had at all considered the gravity of the danger probably awaiting us, my old companions in arms of the French army would have disowned me."

CHAPTER XI.

THE PONTIFICATE OF ST. GREGORY VII.

Above all the historical personages of the eleventh century, there towers the figure of one person of such pre-eminent calibre, that certain historians have felt themselves compelled to designate that century by his name. As devout children of the Catholic Church, ready to accept any true glorification of her earthly head, we too would be willing to call that age the Hildebrandine ; but when Protestant authors and court-theologians use this term in regard to the century which was honored and fructified by Pope St. Gregory VII., they adopt it rather as a slur upon that period ; they imply, says Palma, that the name of Hildebrand should be assigned to that age which he " greatly afflicted," just as the names of Novatian, Arius, Nestorius. Photius, etc., are rightly used to designate the centuries accursed by their influence. If we may credit the opinion of Mosheim (2). Gregory VII. simply tried to

(1) Bollandists, April 11.

(2) *Cent. XI.*, p. 2, c. 2.

subjugate the universe to his temporal behests ; if we may believe the Anglican Potter (d. 1747), Gregory would have better consulted his reputation for sanctity, if he had only tried to be a learned and virtuous monk. (1). Of the justice of these views the reader will judge when he has read the short sketch of this Pontificate which we propose to give, and the following chapters on the questions in which Gregory took so prominent a part.

Alexander II. having died in May, 1073, the cardinals immediately elected to the Pontificate the cardinal Hildebrand, who, born in 1018 at Soana in Tuscany, had been taken from among the monks of Cluny by Leo IX. and attached to the immediate service of the Roman Church. His diplomatic and other labors during the reigns of Leo IX., Victor II., Stephen IX., Nicholas II., and Alexander II., had already shown him to be worthy of the encomium of St. Peter Damian, writing to Pope Nicholas II., that he was "a man of most holy and most pure counsel." A man of great intellect, of mortified habits, and inflexible in regard to the rights of the Roman See, and concerning everything pertaining to clerical discipline, he was scarcely settled in the Chair of Peter before he launched the lightnings of the Vatican on all simoniacs, and all married and concubinary priests. So widespread were the disorders of simony and concubinage among the clergy, thanks to the iniquitous system of princely investiture, which filled the ecclesiastical benefices with incumbents who possessed no other qualification than the good will of the great, that everywhere, more especially in Lombardy and in Germany, the decrees of the Pontiff were productive of tumults and even bloody outbreaks. Gregory's zeal for the temporal rights of his See, together with regard for the well being of the vassals of Roman Church, caused him to threaten with excommunication the Norman Guiscard, who had conquered a great portion of the Two Sicilies, a fief of the Holy See, and who delayed his due homage and oath of fidelity to the Pontiff. Guiscard finally obeyed, as did Philip I. of France, who consented, under the same threat of excommunication, to

(1) *Spirit of the Church, etc.*, vol. v., pt. 2, b. 2.

repair many injuries done to his own subjects and to certain Italian merchants in his dominions..

Eleven different Councils were held at Rome during the twelve years of Gregory's Pontificate. In the First, held in 1074, the Pontiff decreed (1): "That all who have been promoted to the grade and office of Holy Orders by the *heresy of simony*, that is, by the use of money, hereafter hold no place of ministry in Holy Church. Those who obtain churches by gifts of money, let them lose their positions altogether." In this Synod, married and incontinent priests were interdicted from the celebration of mass; deacons and subdeacons in the same condition were excluded from the sanctuary. Lambert of Aschaffenburg tells us that when these decrees reached Germany, the married clergy called Gregory "a heretic, who, forgetful of the words of the Lord, that 'all do not understand this word,' would compel men to lead the life of angels . . . that they would sooner abandon the priesthood than the married state." The Second Council was held in 1075, and in it Gregory prohibited all Christians from hearing the masses of married priests." The imperialist Sigebert, in his overwrought zeal for Henry IV., insinuates that the Pontiff forgot that the mass of even a married priest was valid; but Gregory's words show that he did not deny the validity of any ordained priest's mass; that he only wished "that those who would not be corrected by the love of God, and for the dignity of their office, would be influenced by the judgment of the world and by the reproof of the people." In this Synod, Gregory excommunicated several friends and counsellors of Henry IV., who were in the habit of selling bishoprics, etc., namely, the bishops Otho of Ratisbon, Otho of Constance, Burchard of Lausanne; the counts Eberhard and Udalric. Here also was issued the celebrated decree against royal investiture. The Third Council was celebrated in 1076, and herein were excommunicated king Henry IV., the archbishop Sigefrid of Mentz, the bishops William of Utrecht and Robert of Bamberg. Of this Synod we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. The Fourth Council was

(1) *Epistle of Gregory to the Bishop of Constance.* MARIANUS SCOTUS, *Chronicle*, year 1074.

held in 1078, and was composed of a hundred bishops and a large number of abbots and clerics. Herein the archbishops of Milan and Ravenna, who, as we shall see, incited Henry IV. to another outbreak after his simulated penance at Canossa, were deposed from every sacerdotal ministry. In this Synod a decree was issued for the protection of the shipwrecked, and for the condemnation of piratical wreckers. The Fifth Council was celebrated in the same year, 1078, and in it the legates of Henry and of his rival, Rudolph, swore that they would not interfere with the Papal legates sent into Germany to settle their respective claims. The Sixth Council was convened in 1079, and in it Berengarius, for the second time, retracted his heresy, and made a third Profession of Faith. Then the legates of Henry and Rudolph promised that a convention for the final settling of their masters' dispute should be held in Germany, in the presence of the Pontiff or of his legates. The Seventh Council met in 1080, and it condemned princely investitures, prohibiting any one to sit among bishops or abbots who had received his episcopal or abbatial investiture from a layman, and interdicting him from entrance into a church until he had resigned his benefice. The Eighth Council was held in 1081, and it confirmed the excommunication of Henry IV. and of all his abettors. The archbishops of Arles and Narbonne were deposed, and Ildimund and Lando, tyrants of Champagne, were anathematized. The Ninth Council met in 1083, and in it, as two of Gregory's epistles show (1), the Pontiff showed himself not unwilling to come to an accommodation with Henry; but, as we shall see, the wickedness of the king rendered hope of peace impossible. The Tenth and Eleventh Councils met in 1084, and both repeated the anathemas against the anti-Pope Guibert and Henry.

We shall devote a chapter to the treatment of the question of investitures. Here we merely observe that Gregory VII. was too far-seeing a man not to know that an endeavor to wrench so great a power from the hands of the usurping princes would be attended by apparently insurmountable

(1) *B. 9, epist. 3, to Altmann of Passau; and epist. 28, To All the Faithful.*

difficulties. He knew that Henry IV., the young king of Germany and expectant emperor, had triumphed over all his enemies at home, and was free to send his victorious troops into Italy. But, under God, he relied upon the greater part of the clergy, who were desirous of throwing off the yoke of this terrible usurpation, and upon the aid of the powerful Matilda, countess of Tuscany, as well as upon that of Robert Guiscard, who was bound by gratitude and vassallage to the Holy See.

Before the storm in Germany burst forth in its utmost fury, the Pontiff was greatly afflicted by disorders in Lombardy and by an outrage against his own person in Rome, both of which events were produced by his inflexible severity in the matter of ecclesiastical celibacy. Erlembald, archbishop of Milan, having adopted rigorous measures against the violators of the Canons, was attacked in the open street by these gentry and their friends, and after a bloody and obstinate resistance on the part of his cortege, was stretched dead on the pavement. In Rome, on Christmas eve, while the Pontiff was assisting at the divine office in St. Mary Major's, one Cencio, prefect of the city, burst into the sanctuary at the head of an armed band, dragged the Pope from the altar, and carried him prisoner to a fortified tower which the noble brigand possessed in the city. When the sacrilege was made known to the people, they rushed to arms, forced an entrance to the tower, and found the wretched Cencio kneeling before Gregory, begging him to save his life. The Pontiff forgave him and assisted him and his family to depart from Rome, imposing upon him, however, the penance of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. (1). In the year 1076 the question of investitures resolved itself into open war between the Pope and the German king. The Pontiff had tried every peaceful measure to induce the young Henry to renounce the usurpation of his predecessors, but the haughty monarch was inflated by his recent victories over the Saxons, and was, besides, not very scrupulous in religious matters. Hence he loudly proclaimed that the conceding of investiture to bishops, abbots,

(1) LAMBERT of Aschaffenburg and PAUL Briedensis.

etc., was an inalienable right of his crown, and he was eagerly supported by the many whose interest it was to perpetuate what was a source of immense revenue to both king and courtiers. At length, tired of advising, praying, and threatening, Gregory published the decree against investitures which had been issued in his Second Synod in 1075. Henry grew furious, and, in his turn, called a Diet at Worms, composed of his partisan bishops and many of the higher German nobles. By this convention the Pontiff himself was declared excommunicated; his election was pronounced null and void, as having been made without the consent of the king, and his deposition from the Pontificate was proclaimed. To this presumptuous and sacrilegious proceeding Gregory answered with a solemn excommunication of Henry and all his abettors, declaring him deposed from his throne, and pronouncing his subjects free from their obligation of allegiance. Henry now sent emissaries through Germany and Italy to excite the princes, bishops, and people against the Pontiff. He even sent an audacious ecclesiastic into the Pope's presence, who, in the name of the king, ordered Gregory, "the intruder," to make room for a legitimate Pontiff. The people would have torn this miserable man to pieces, had Gregory himself not protected him. But the censures of the Vatican soon told upon the princes, clergy, and people of Germany. Although many of the clergy were incontinent and simoniacal, the idea of being governed by an excommunicated monarch was horrible to them; and although Henry, rightly dreading the effect of their influence upon the people, now showered favors upon them, he experienced the mortification of beholding a Diet, convoked successively at Utrecht, Oppenheim, and Tribur, proclaiming his deposition from the throne. Immediately the great princes and the nobles, with few exceptions, abandoned the disgraced Henry; some even prepared to attack him and force him to an abdication. Then it was that the cowering monarch resolved to submit to necessity, and throw himself at the feet of the Pontiff. Disbanding his troops, and dismissing the few princes and nobles who still clung to his standard, he crossed the Alps

with a small retinue, in the midst of a most rigorous winter, and prepared to submit to his priestly adversary.

At this time Pope Gregory had left Rome with the intention of proceeding to Germany, at the request of the princes, to there pronounce sentence upon all points in dispute between the Papacy and the empire. He was resting in the strong fortress of Canossa, one of the strongholds of the "great Countess," Matilda, when an embassy from Henry appeared at the gates and besought an audience. The ambassadors were Amadeo, count of Savoy, Albertazzo, count of Este, and the abbot of Cluny. They informed Gregory that Henry had come, almost alone and without arms, to beg pardon of his spiritual father and to be reconciled with the Church of God. Henry then presented himself outside the fortress, dressed in sackcloth, bare-headed and bare-footed, in spite of the cold, and begged admission. After some delay he was introduced, entirely alone, but only into the outworks, and there he passed three days and three nights, no one approaching him even with a word of comfort. On the fourth day he was admitted into the presence of the Pontiff, and was absolved, on condition that he would conduct himself as an excommunicated person until the assembling of the Diet at Augsburg, when a definite judgment would be pronounced in his case. (1). When the tidings of this humiliation of Henry reached the ears of his partisans in Lombardy, who were far more bitter than the Germans against the Pontiff, they became so indignant at what they styled Henry's lack of firmness, that, on his passing through their country while on his return to Germany, he not unfrequently found the gates of the cities and castles shut in his face. Then it was that the monarch

(1) The historian Leo, a German and a Protestant, in his *History of Italy*, b. iv., c. 4, § 5, writes: "Some German writers describe the episode at Canossa as an insult of an arrogant prelate to the German nation. This blindness is unworthy of an enlightened people. Let us, for an instant, lay aside the prejudices born of Protestantism and national pride, and let us entertain a truly Protestant freedom of thought. We behold in Gregory a man issued from a class enjoying no political privileges, a man relying only on the force of his own genius and of his own will, raising a vilified institution, the Church, out of abjection, and giving to it a splendor hitherto unknown. In Henry, on the contrary, we see a man—if he merits that name—whose father bequeathed him an almost absolute power over a brave and rich people, and who, in spite of such plentitude of external means, has been drawn by his base character into the mud of the worst vices; we see this person become an abject suppliant, and, after trampling on all that men hold as most sacred, trembling at the voice of an intellectual hero. Of limited spirit, indeed, is the one whom national vanity can so blind, that he will not exult at the triumph, effected at Canossa, of a most profound genius over a vile and characterless man."

showed how insincere had been his submission at Canossa. In order to prevent his partisans from entirely abandoning him, he listened to the suggestions of the excommunicated archbishop of Ravenna, and openly and publicly violated the conditions of his absolution. He appeared before the army clothed in his royal robes, and declared himself ready to vindicate the royal dignity outraged by Gregory. When Gregory was informed of Henry's proceedings, he renewed the excommunication, and sending legates to Germany, convoked a Diet. Henry was there deposed, and the crown was offered to Rudolph, duke of Suabia. The Pontifical forces were then joined to those of the countess Matilda, and Gregory was fairly embarked in secular as well as spiritual war. In this struggle no part was taken by Venice, Genoa, or Pisa, which republics were too intent upon the development of their commerce and industries, to interfere, unless they found their monetary interest in jeopardy. Robert Guiscard also, for a time, remained neutral, as he found it enough to consolidate and extend his Sicilian dominions. The Norman, however, took advantage of Gregory's being fully occupied with Henry in the North, and invading the territories of the Church which lay in the southern Campagna, he besieged Benevento. It was then that Desiderio, the holy abbot of Montecassino and destined successor of Gregory, entered the camp of Guiscard and prevailed upon him to relinquish his ungrateful and sacrilegious enterprise. The war in Germany between the rivals Henry and Rudolph was waged with alternate success for three years, and in it there perished many bishops and ecclesiastics, who, according to the terms of their tenures as civil barons, owed military allegiance to the king, either personal or by substitute, for their domains, and who themselves were too frequently willing to don the cuirass. In his Seventh Synod, held in 1080, our Pontiff again declared Henry deposed from the German throne, confirmed the election of Rudolph, and sent the latter a golden crown, inscribed "The rock (*Petra*) gave the diadem to Peter, and Peter gave one to Rudolph." When Henry learned of this decisive step in favor of his adversa-

ry, he convoked at Brixen a pretended Synod, which was composed of both his Italian and German partisans; and he caused a proclamation to be made to the effect that Gregory was deposed, and that in his place was located Guibert, the excommunicated archbishop of Ravenna, under the name of Clement III. While Guibert was enrolling soldiers for a march upon Rome, Henry and Rudolph met, for the fourth time, in pitched battle, and Rudolph was slain. About the same time the heroic countess Matilda, ever true to the cause of the Church, saw her troops defeated by those of Guibert. Henry now descended into Italy, at the head of a large army, with the avowed intention of installing Guibert in the chair of Peter, and of receiving from him the imperial crown. Many of Gregory's counselors, seeing the present inability of Matilda, the Pontiff's great reliance, to assist the Holy See, advised him to come to terms with Henry. But the wise and determined Pope replied that, even if he could bring himself to so humiliate the Holy See, which he never would do, it would not be prudent to confide in the promises of the perjured Henry. He therefore sent legates into Germany, who convoked a Diet of bishops and princes, and Hermann of Lorraine was chosen king of the Germans. The news of this election showed Henry that the Pontiff was inflexible and implacable in his regard. He therefore detached part of his army to occupy the attention of Matilda, and ordered the rest to march on the Eternal City. When he arrived in the meadows of Nero, he found that the walls and towers of Rome were well-manned by an ardent citizen-soldiery, whom the harangues of Gregory had induced to aid his few regular troops in the defence. For a short time the monarch presided over the siege, but growing tired of inactivity, he turned over the guidance of this operation to his anti-Pope, and withdrew with a portion of his men, to join the army operating against Matilda. But he was able to do no more than devastate the outlying districts of Tuscany, for the countess, perceiving that her troops were too few to successfully cope with Henry in the open field, kept them within her castles and fortified cities. The enraged mon-

arch now returned to the siege of Rome. In vain he ordered many assaults. Always repulsed, he had made up his mind to await the slow effect of hunger upon the Romans, when treachery came to his aid during the Lent of 1084.

The emperor Alexius Comnenus, hardly pressed, not only in his Sicilian dominions, but nearer to home, by his enemy Guiscard, had offered Henry a large sum of money if he would direct his arms against the Norman. This money Henry had in his camp, and he resolved to use it to immediate advantage. He succeeded in corrupting some of the citizens, upon whom the horrors of a strict blockade had begun to tell, and on the Thursday before Palm Sunday the Lateran gate, now called St. John's, was opened. With his anti-Pope and army Henry entered the city, occupied the Lateran palace, the bridges over the Tiber, and most of the strategic points. Pope Gregory had shut himself in the strong castle of San Angelo: and Henry, having received the imperial crown from Guibert, awaited the reduction of the fortress. But the monarch now learned that Guiscard had suddenly left the theatre of his victories in Greece, and that, having entrusted the prosecution of his designs against Alexius to his son Bohemond, he was coming to the aid of his suzerain at the head of a powerful force. Henry felt that the previous campaign had left him too weak to meet Guiscard in the field, and he knew that Rome was not yet sufficiently provisioned to warrant its undergoing a new siege. Therefore, taking with him his precious anti-Pope, he evacuated the city, and directed his march to the north. Guiscard entered Rome the following day, and wickedly and unwisely allowed his soldiery to punish the treachery of a few of the Romans, by a wholesale sacking of the city. Gregory in vain tried to prevent the devastation, and as the Romans were naturally in a most irritated state of mind, he deemed it wise to accompany Guiscard into that prince's Sicilian dominions. Proceeding first to Montecassino, he finally made his residence in Salerno. In May of the following year, feeling that death was coming upon him, he summoned all the cardinals to his presence, and earnestly exhorted them to

recognize as his successor only a canonically elected person. Being asked whom he would prefer for that office, he suggested as his first choice the cardinal Desiderio, abbot of Montecassino; as his second, the cardinal Otho of Ostia, or Hugh, archbishop of Lyons. Fortified by the last sacraments, he passed from a stormy life, his final words being: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile."

Sigebert asserts that he "found it written," that, when Pope Gregory became aware of the approach of death, he rescinded his condemnation of Henry IV.: "The Apostolic lord Hildebrand, or Gregory, being at the point of death, called to himself one of the twelve cardinals whom he loved more than the rest, and avowed to God, and St. Peter, and the entire Church, that he had greatly sinned in the pastoral office committed to him, and that, by the persuasion of the devil, he had excited hatred and anger in the human race. He then sent the aforesaid confessor to the emperor and to the whole Church, that he might obtain pardon, for he saw the end of life approaching. . . . and he abrogated all his decrees against the emperor, etc." But this interested discovery of the imperialist Sigebert is shown to be valueless by the testimony of grave contemporary authors, such as Paul Briedensis and Hugh of Flavigny. The first writes: "The Blessed Pope Gregory, being asked whether he wished to absolve those whom he had excommunicated, replied: 'I absolve and bless all who, without doubt, believe that I have this special power in the place of the Apostles Peter and Paul; *all excepting the said king and Guibert*, the invader of the Apostolic See, and the principal persons who have aided their iniquity by counsel or assistance.'" Hugh, abbot of Flavigny, in the *Chronicle of Verdun*, says: "knowing that the day of his summons was at hand, long before it he called together the cardinals, bishops, and his other fellow-captives, and predicted the day of his death. Having arranged all the affairs of the ecclesiastical government, on the 15th of the Calends of June he urged the aforesaid brethren, in the name of holy obedience, to presume not to keep silence if

they knew of anything that he ought to correct. And when they commended his course of life and his holy teachings, his morals and the fervor of his holy zeal, he forced them, by his Apostolic authority, to give him, one by one, their hands, and to promise that they would never receive that heretical invader of the Holy and Apostolic Church, unless perchance he canonically repented, and, deprived of all dignities of the ecclesiastical order, should offer a pure confession to the cardinals and bishops ; affirming and attesting that all should be forever condemned who would presume to communicate with the arch-pirate Henry, the usurper of the empire, unless, having laid aside the dignity of king, he should, according to command, do penance."

Various indeed must necessarily be the judgments of critics upon such a Pontificate as that of Gregory VII. A modern author, much esteemed by the unitarians now at the helm in Italy, writes : "The Seventh Gregory was a Pontiff of pure life, austere virtue, and indomitable will. If human prudence can reproach him for an inflexibility which savors of excess, and for pretensions to a supremacy which may appear unlimited, we must not forget the enormity of the abuses that he was obliged to correct, and the unbridled tyranny that he strove to repress. From his attack on the imperial power in Italy came the completion of the establishment of the Italian communes, which, because the schism had enervated the authority of the imperial counts and of the prince-bishops of the cities, now commenced to elect their own magistrates." (1). Imperialist and Gallican writers generally hold that Gregory was so elated by his elevated views of his Apostolate that he wished everything, sacred and profane, to be prostrate at his feet. Alexandre is more moderate, when speaking of this Pontiff, than most authors of his school. For while he contends that "Gregory was the first Pope who claimed the power to depose kings, and this, also, against the teachings of the Fathers and of Scripture," he admits his sanctity and single-mindedness, and believes him to have been influenced, in his course toward Henry IV., by the

opinion, "held by Gregory, by certain other Pontiffs, and by some authors, that a change had come over the empire and the imperial dignity, when the empire was transferred to the Germans, and the confirmation of the imperial election devolved upon the Pontiff;" that, in fine, the empire was a fief of the Holy See. (1). That this opinion was as old as the Holy Roman empire itself, we have already seen when treating of that empire's foundation. Alexandre is unwilling to concede this, but though he did concede it, he would deny the application of the principle to the case of any other sovereign than the emperor; most especially, to the case of his Most Christian Majesty of France. We shall treat of this point when we come to our special chapter on the deposing power of the Pope.

Henke says of Gregory VII. that he was "a shameless and wicked man, full of tricks, and a rash innovator, although he had the prudence of a statesman and the courage, energy, and firmness of a hero. He was low and vile, although externally he presented a noble independence. He was a pretended saint, adored by his partisans and a man without religion, faith, or belief; one of his intimate friends called him St. Satan" (2). Schroek admires his perspicacity and his knowledge of the human heart, but reproaches him with dissimulation, an indomitable pride, unmeasured ambition, and obstinacy. (3). Bower says that our Pontiff tried to establish an absolute and universal despotism, and implies that he was a heretic, hypocrite, and impostor. (4). Sismondi says that he was dominated by an insupportable arrogance and an unlimited ambition, and that he sacrificed everything to these two passions. (5). After such judgments it is refreshing to hear the Protestant Voigt saying: "Gregory was profoundly convinced that religion alone can procure to the world safety, happiness, and universal peace; he was persuaded that the sole organ of religion is the Church, which, in his eyes, is the interpreter of the will of the Most High. But to attain this object the Church should have some means of subsistence; the more, she separated

(1) *Cent. ii., diss. 2, art. 9.*

(2) *History of the Christian Church, p. 2.*

(3) *History of the Church, p. 2.*

(4) *History of the Roman Popes, B. vi.*

(5) *Italian Republics, vol. i.*

herself from the state, or severed the ties hitherto binding them, the more urgent it became to provide for her existence in some other manner. Restored to her liberty, the Church could rely only upon herself, upon her own rights, and not upon the favors of the state. . . . Gregory was a Pope, and acted as one; in this aspect, he was grand and admirable. To form a right judgment upon his actions, one should consider his object and his intentions, and should see what was necessary for his time. A generous indignation may seize a German, when he beholds the humiliation of his emperor at Canossa. or a Frenchman, when he hears the severe lessons given to his king. But the historian, who regards the life of peoples from a general point of view, rises above the narrow horizon of German or Frenchman, and finds these things just, although others condemn them. . . . Gregory's has been the lot of all the great men of history; there have been ascribed to him motives of which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove the existence. . . . Nevertheless, even the enemies of Gregory are obliged to admit that his dominating idea, the independence of the Church, was indispensable for the propagation of religion, for the reform of society, and that, to obtain this effect, it was necessary to sever all the ties which had bound the Church to the state, to the detriment of religion; the Church had to be an entirety, one in herself, and by herself a divine institution, whose salutary influence over all men was not to be checked by any prince of the earth. . . . The genius of Gregory embraced, and had to embrace, the whole Christian world, because the independence of the Church was a general idea; his action was necessarily energetic, for he acted *in his century*: his faith and his conviction were what they were, because the course of events had given them birth. It is difficult to give him exaggerated praise, because he everywhere laid the foundations of a solid glory." (1)

(1) *Gregory VII.*, B. xii. We take pleasure in subjoining the following reflections of the Abbé Jager, taken from his *Introduction* to the work of Voigt. "The great men who appear in critical times, as instruments of Providence, do not always labor for their own epoch, but for the future. . . . So it was with Gregory. In spite of all obstacles, in spite of every effort of the imperial power, he died a conqueror; but he did not enjoy his victory. The Anti-Pope Guibert did not ascend the Pontifical throne; Henry did not die an emperor; investitures were abolished; the Church obtained worthy ministers; a new era was inaugurated—the twelfth century, so remarkable in history. This was entirely the work of Gregory, for when we compare the tenth century with the twelfth, we see the traces of a

There are several subjects of importance, connected with the Pontificate of St. Gregory VII., to each of which a special chapter must be devoted. These are the freedom of Papal elections, to restore which our Pontiff spared no labor; the question of investitures, the settlement of which may be regarded as the one object of his life; clerical celibacy, the enforcement of which excited in Gregory more zeal than had been shown by any of his predecessors. and the right exercised by the Roman Pontiffs, during the Middle Ages, to depose sovereigns. But before we treat of these questions, we would submit to the reader some passages from the *Epistles* of Gregory, which illustrate the spirit which animated his whole career. "The Church ought to be independent of every secular power. The altar is reserved to him who, through an uninterrupted series of Pontiffs, succeeds to St. Peter. The sword of princes is subject to the Pontiff, and is obtained from him, for it is a human thing; the altar, the Chair of Peter, came from God, and depend from Him alone (iii., 18; viii., 21). The Church is now buried in sin, because she is not free, because she is attached to the world and to worldly things (i., 42, 55); her ministers are not legitimate when instituted by men of the world; among the anointed ones of God abound cupidities and criminal passions, and hence we behold dissensions, haughtiness, and envy, where ought to reign the peace of God (ii., 11; i., 42; ii., 45; vii., 2; viii., 17). The Church ought to be free, and to become so, by means of her head, the first person of Christendom, the sun of faith. The Pope holds the place of God, and governs His kingdom on earth; without him, there is no kingdom; without him, government disappears, like a leaking ship. Things of the world pertain to the emperor; those of God to the Pope. Therefore the latter must relieve the ministers of the altar from the chains imposed on them by the lay power. The state is one thing, the Church another. As faith is one, so

great man. This great man was Gregory, the Hercules of the Middle Ages. He chained up their monsters; he destroyed the feudal hydra; he saved Europe from barbarism; and, what is still more praiseworthy, he illuminated Christendom by his virtues. The grateful Church has canonized him, and never was that homage more merited: for Gregory is covered with immortal glory, a glory without stain, which, in spite of prejudice, has always found some to appreciate it, and which, it is said, caused the most illustrious soldier of modern times to exclaim, 'If I were not Napoleon, I would wish to be Gregory VII.'"

the Church is one ; the Pope is one, the faithful members one. If the Church exists by herself, she ought not to operate by herself. Just as a spiritual thing is visible only by an earthly form, and as the soul operates by the body, so religion does not exist without the Church, and the Church does not exist without the possessions which assure her existence (i., 7). As the spirit is nourished by earthly things in the body, so the Church is maintained by temporal possessions. It is the duty of the emperor, who holds the supreme power, to see that the Church procures and preserves these possessions ; therefore, emperors and rulers are necessary for the Church (i., 75 ; v., 10 ; vi., 20) ; but she exists only through the Pope, and the Pope exists only through God (i., 39). If the Church and the empire are to prosper, the priesthood and the lay power must be strongly connected, and must unite their forces for the peace of the world (i., 19). The world is lighted by two luminaries ; a greater one, the sun, and a lesser one, the moon. The Apostolic authority can be compared to the sun ; the royal power to the moon. Just as the moon illuminates only because of the sun, so emperors, kings, and princes subsist only by the grace of the Pontiff, who comes from God. The power of the Roman See is immeasurably greater than that of princes ; a king owes obedience to the Pope (ii., 13, 31 ; viii., 21 ; i., 75 ; viii., 20, 23). As the Pope comes from God, every thing is subject to him ; spiritual and temporal affairs should be brought to his tribunal ; he it is who should teach, exhort, punish, correct, judge, decide. The Church is the tribunal of God (i., 62, 35, 15 ; ii., 51 ; vii., 21 ; ix., 9 ; i., 60 ; vii., 25) ; she is the finger of God. Great and tremendous is the dignity of the Pope, the representative of Christ (i., 53), for of him it is written, 'Thou art Peter, etc.' (vii., 6 ; viii., 20). The Church is composed of all those who profess the name of Christ and are called Christians ; hence all particular churches are members of the Church of Peter, that is, of the Roman Church. This Roman Church is the mother of all the churches of Christendom, all of whom are subject to her, as daughters to a mother (ii., 1 ; iv., 28). As a mother, the Roman Church

commands all churches, and all their members, archbishops, bishops, priests, emperors, kings, princes, and the rest of the faithful. By virtue of her authority, the Roman Church institutes and can depose all these; she confers their power, and not for their glory, but for the good of the many. Whenever they enter into the ways of sin, their holy mother is obliged to check them; otherwise, she would share their guilt (i., 60; viii., 21; ii., 18, 32; vii., 4; v., 5; ii., 5; iii., 4; iv., 1; *Appendix*, i., 3, 4). He who holds the place of Jesus Christ on this earth, may find much opposition; but he must stand firm in his position, and suffer, as did his Master (iv., 24). From the head of the Church must proceed all reforms; he, therefore, must declare war on vice, and he must aid all who are persecuted for the sake of justice and truth. He who threatens, or does violence to the Church, or who causes grief in her heart, is a son of the demon, and she must banish him from human society (*Append.*, ii., 15; iv., 37; vi., 1)."

Convinced of the truth of these conceptions, Pope St. Gregory VII. devoted his life to their actuation; and while his frankness and vigor may astound men of to-day, they were adapted to the needs of his time, just as his sentiments were conformable to the persuasions of that time. Therefore, says Cantù, "he claimed the right of high domain over Sicily, Spain, Sardinia, Hungary, and Dalmatia, the princes of which countries, recognizing the wisdom, justice, learning, and protecting authority of Rome, had made their crowns feudatory to her, thus assuring to themselves and their heirs a protection against foreign attack and domestic rebellion Our age, which styles itself liberal, bases its constitutions on the inviolability, or rather the infallibility, of kings, and it rages at the thought of their responsibility for their acts. Our ignorant ancestors saw infallibility only in that Church with whom Christ promised to ever abide; they thought that the Church possessed the right of watching the conduct of rulers, of correcting their sins, and of punishing their contumacy. The wisdom of to-day, in order to balance power, introduces a royal veto, and a refusal, on the part of parliament,

to vote the budget; and the Chambers not only call the ministers to account for their administration, but sometimes pretend to change dynasties and to send kings to the scaffold or into exile. Terms have changed; the substance of things remains. In the days of Gregory, no one had heard the maxim that ordinary morality and equity should not regulate government affairs. Then—and let it be noted by those who believe that liberty was born only yesterday—no man was born a king. He was elected a king, and merit was a condition of his election. Kings were not despots, but were limited by the Assemblies of the nation, and the supreme authority of the Pope was acknowledged, not only by the Canon, but by the civil law.” (1)

CHAPTER XII.

THE ELECTION OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF, AND HILDEBRAND'S DEFENCE OF ITS FREEDOM.

When Pope St. Gregory VII. ascended the Pontifical throne, many abuses claimed his immediate attention, but there was one the thought of which stirred his inmost soul, for often its exercise nearly annihilated the Apostolic liberty of Christ's vicar, and nearly neutralized his influence over the hearts of men. For a long time princes had more or less controlled the Papal elections, and the emperors “of the Romans” now claimed a right to exercise such control. Of the few “bad Popes” who have reigned, nearly all owed their elevation to the schemes of princes. When Hildebrand was elected, the Christian world yet blushed at the memory of John X., thrust upon the Papal throne by Theodora, his mistress (2); of Sergius III., who also owed

(1) *Illustrious Italians*, vol. i., art. *Gregory VII.* (Milan, 1873).

(2) In early life, John frequently came to Rome on business for the archbishop of Ravenna, his ordinary. Being possessed of great beauty, he touched the imagination of Theodora, a noble Roman dame, and she succeeded in seducing him. She soon procured for him the see of Ravenna, and finally, that she might keep him in Rome, intrigued with Landolph, prince of Benevento and Capua, to raise him to the Papacy, in 915. After his elevation, John emancipated himself from Theodora's influence and rendered great service to the Church and to Italy. In 928, Marozia, a daughter of Theodora and duchess of Tuscany, who had inherited her mother's power in Rome, fearing to lose her influence if Hugh of Provence, whom John favored, were made emperor, seized the Pope, threw him into a dungeon, and there had him assassinated. See LUTPRAND, B. III., c. 12. FLODOARD, *Chronicle*, year 929.

his elevation to the schemes of a mistress, Marozia ; of John XI., son of this Marozia, perhaps by Sergius III. (1). Four successive Pontiffs owed their election to Alberic, the son of Marozia and half-brother to John XI., whom he imprisoned ; and the influence of this family procured the tiara for Octavian, (John XII.), son of Alberic, when he was only eighteen years old. To obviate these evils, St. Gregory VII. used all his energy to restore to the Holy See its freedom of election. We now proceed to give a brief description of the various phases through which the system of elections passed, from the days of St. Peter to those of Hildebrand.

Down to the time of Constantine, the only relations between the Pontiffs and the emperors were those of persecuted and persecutors ; but for this very reason, while there was no external liberty for the Church, her internal liberty was inviolate. Receiving no favors from the state, the Holy See was forced to grant none, and the clergy and people of Rome were free to choose their pastor. Nor is it strange that, at that time, unworthy arts were seldom employed to secure the prize of the Papacy. Torture and death were the almost certain earthly rewards of the office. Nor was liberty of election infringed by the early successors of Constantine. In the schism of Ursicinus against Pope St. Damasus (367), and of Eulalius against St. Boniface I. (418), the emperors followed and defended the decision of the better and greater part of the clergy. Odoacer, king of the Heruli (476), was the first ruler who forgot his duty in this matter. His edict was recited in the fourth Synod of Pope Symmachus by the deacon Hormisdas, and from it we learn that Pope Simplicius (467—483) had requested that the prince would repress any tumults that might occur at the election of his successor, and that Odoacer thereupon decreed that no Papal election should be held without his advice and sanction. This decree was never put into execution, and the fourth Synod of Symmachus protested that "for a layman to interfere in an ecclesiastical election was plainly against the Canons."

(1) So says Luitprand, but other authors ascribe John's paternity to Marozia's second husband, Guy of Tuscany.

When, in 526, Theodoric the Ostrogoth had thrown Pope John I. into prison, there to perish, he compelled the Romans to receive Felix IV. As Felix was a reputable and fit man, the clergy deemed it best to acquiesce, and after a short time they consented to his elevation. Atalaric (526) decreed that the Pontifical election should be made, indeed, by the Roman clergy, but that a notification, accompanied by a donation of 3000 ducats, should be sent to the king of Italy. Here we may observe that neither the Western emperors nor the Gothic kings of Italy ever claimed an *originary and inborn* power of controlling a Papal election; they merely pretended to obviate discord. This originary and inborn right of princes is generally conceded by the olden Protestant jurists (1) and by Catholics of the stamp of Hontheim (Febronius) and Giannone. Their principle, "his is the religion, whose is the region," necessarily involves such a claim. But, says Muratori, "the kings of Italy never claimed (in a Papal election) the right of *eminent dominion* . . . the Western emperors never exercised that power." We may also note that, during the domination of the Western emperors and of the Gothic kings, there is no vestige of any recognition, on the part of the Church, of any princely right to interfere in a Papal election; when the clergy yielded, as in the case of Silverius, imposed upon them by Theodatus (536), it was under protest, and to avoid greater evils. When the valor of Belisarius had subverted the Gothic rule in Italy (536), and restored the peninsula and adjacent islands to the empire of Constantinople, the emperors insisted that the certificate of a Papal election should be sent to them; but they did this without any pretense of interference, and only for the sake of the donation which was to accompany the document. Cardinal Deusdedit speaks of this custom as follows: "While we read that the decree of election was frequently sent to the emperors, we never read that they contradicted the choice of the Romans. . . . After a time this custom came to an end, or at the most, it was only kept up by the exarchs of Ravenna. For we read that at

(1) See PUFFENDORF and GROTIUS, *passim*.

this period the *interpontificia* (1) were very short. The *interpontificia* are counted from the burial of the deceased Pope until the day of consecration of the new one. Three acts were performed in regard to a new Pontiff: the election, which was restricted to no definite locality; the enthronization, in the Lateran; the consecration, in the Vatican basilica. Sometimes the enthronization or legitimate 'possession' (2) preceded the consecration; hence the duration of the *interpontificium* is calculated up to the day of consecration. When, then, we see that there was a very brief *interpontificium*, we may conclude that the consecration was performed without the assent of the emperor, since there was not sufficient time to obtain it." (3). The emperor Constantine Pogonatus (668) remitted the odious tax on a confirmatory decree, although he at first insisted upon the imperial assent being obtained for the consecration; but finally, as we learn from Anastasius (4), he issued a decree, permitting that "the one elected to the Apostolic See should be consecrated without delay." Here again, then, just as in the case of the Western emperors and the Gothic kings of Italy, we find that the Eastern emperors claimed no right of eminent dominion in confirming a Papal election.

The emperor Charlemagne carefully abstained from any interference in Pontifical elections. Florus the Deacon, writing in the middle of the ninth century, says: "We observe that in the Roman Church, down to the present day, the Pontiff is consecrated after the manifestation of the divine judgment, and without any interposition of princely consent." (5). Equally just was Louis the Compliant, as is proved by Leo of Ostia, Anselm, and Ivo, who give his decree, ordering that Papal elections shall proceed, "according to the Canons, without contradiction; and when the Pontiff shall have been consecrated, he shall send unto us legates, who will confirm peace, charity, and friendship between him and ourselves, as was the custom in the times of our great-grandfather, Charles (Martel), of our grandfather, Pepin, and of our father, the emperor Charles, all of blessed

(1) This term corresponds to the "interregnum" of civil governments.

(2) In Italian, *il possesso*.

(3) *Against Schismatics*, B. i.

(4) *Lives of St. Benedict II. and John V.*

(5) *Election of Bishops*.

memory." But the emperor Lothaire (840-855), as we read in the *Bertinian Annals*, did interfere in Papal elections. He sent Hulderic to Rome, in 844, with orders that "hereafter, on the death of the Apostolic, no one shall be consecrated Pontiff without our consent, or in the absence of our ambassadors." Some critics deny the authenticity of this decree, but we know that at this time the *interpontificia* were unusually long; thus sixty-five days elapsed between the death of Valentine and the election of Gregory IV. Again, the interference of Lothaire is plainly shown by the *Bertinian Annals*, when they tell us that, on the death of Valentine, "the priest Gregory was elected, but not consecrated, until the imperial legate had come to Rome and inquired into the election." This move of Lothaire, however, was of little consequence. Sergius II. succeeded Gregory IV. fifteen days after the latter's death, and Anastasius says of St. Leo IV. (847) that "they consecrated him Pontiff without the permission of the prince." Again, down to 884. the *interpontificia* were very short; from Leo IV. to Benedict III., forty-four days; from the latter to Nicholas I., fourteen days; from John VIII. to Martin II., seven days; from Martin II. to Adrian II., six days. Here we must make mention of a decree of Pope Stephen IV. (1), which we find in Anastasius and in Anselm of Lucca: "Under pain of anathema we decree that no layman, whether of the civil or military order, presume to be found at an election of a Pontiff; let the election be made by certain priests and officers of the Church, and by the entire clergy."

We now approach the period when the liberty of the Church was to be attacked by those whose first duty, inculcated especially by their coronation oath, was its defense. It was reserved for the emperors of the German line to attempt to destroy that which the Byzantine sovereigns, the Gothic kings of Italy, and the French emperors, had scrupulously respected. In *Dist. 63, chap. Synod*, Gratian gives a decree of the anti-Pope Leo VIII., in which that intruder pretended, in return for his elevation, to concede to

(1) Some chronologists call him Stephen III., since they wish not to count Stephen II. (752), who died before his consecration, on the third day after his election.

Otho I. and his successors the right of choosing the Roman Pontiff. In our chapter on the *Pretended Deposition of John XII.* we have given the reasons for which Baronio regards this decree as supposititious (1), but here we will remark that, even though it be authentic, it can have no value, being the work, not of a legitimate, but of an anti-Pope. However, all the early German sovereigns interfered, more or less, in the Papal elections, and, on the Christmas of 1049, the deacon Hildebrand, the future Gregory VII., first displayed his invincible opposition to their usurpation. It was then that he persuaded Bruno, bishop of Toul, who had just been named Pontiff by a Synod at Worms, and who stopped at Cluny on his way to Rome, to doff the Pontifical robes, and to proceed to the Eternal City, dressed as a pilgrim, and to await his election by the Roman clergy. Hildebrand's second opportunity of combatting the imperial pretensions arrived in 1054. As we have seen, he had been for five years a cardinal-deacon, and was regarded as the right-arm of the Holy See. He was sent to Germany, on the death of Leo IX., to select, in the name of the Roman clergy and people, a new Pontiff. His choice fell on Gebhard, bishop of Eichstadt, a man of much prudence, and much loved by Henry III. (2); but when Hildebrand met Henry at Mayence, and mentioned his preference, the emperor again and again suggested another person for the Papacy. But Hildebrand persisted, and finally Gebhard departed for Rome, where he was formally elected by the clergy and people, and took the name of Victor II. And here we may observe that, while Hildebrand was determined that only the clergy and people of Rome should elect their Pontiff, he was too much of a statesman to unnecessarily excite the ill-will of the emperors. In his time, men had not excogitated the principle, nowadays so often badly applied, of a "free Church in a free state;" his idea was rather to preserve a harmony between Church and state, each being independent in its own sphere, but each helping the other. Thus, in the election of Leo IX. at Worms, he did not resist the emperor, but merely insisted that the Romans

(1) Bianchi and Catalani also reject it.

(2) LEO OF OSTIA, *Cassinese Chronicle*, b. ii., c. 80.

themselves should first signify their will ; in the election of Victor II., he preferred a person beloved by the emperor.

During the reign of Nicholas II., Hildebrand procured, in a Roman Synod, held in 1059, the publication of a decree which would define the limits of the two powers in the matter of an election. It reads as follows : " The cardinal-bishops will carefully consult together, and will immediately convene with the cardinal-priests and deacons ; then the remaining clergy and the people will approach to give their consent to the election. . . . they will select one from the bosom of the Roman Church, if one can be found fit ; but if such is not found, let him be taken from another church, saving the honor and reverence due to our dear son Henry, at present king, and, as is hoped, God granting, future emperor, as we have conceded this to him and his successors, *who will personally ask the Apostolic See for this right.*" (1) This decree was signed by eighty persons, archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons. " It is certain," says the Protestant Voigt, " that this Canon was a masterpiece of Pontifical wisdom, or rather of that of Hildebrand. It took from the emperor the right of approving of the election of Popes, a right until then uncontested. The Canon does not expressly state this, but it says sufficient when it exacts that the emperor shall ask the Pope himself for the right." The death of Nicholas II., in 1061, was to test the value of the above decree. On the invitation of Hildebrand, then archdeacon of the Roman Church, the cardinals assembled and chose Anselm, bishop of Lucca, a man of great learning and austere morals, who took the name of Alexander II. When the news of this election reached Germany, a number of imperialist prelates assembled at Basel ; most of them came from Lombardy, led by Gilbert of Parma, the royal chancellor, whom Nicholas of Aragon calls " a most wicked man." These bishops

(1) Muratori edited this decree from the Farfensan Chronicle, and it agrees with the testimony of St. Peter Damian, B. I., 20. But the cardinals Deusdedit and Baronio refuse to give it implicit credit, asserting that it was mutilated and corrupted by schismatics. Certainly no credence is to be accorded it, merely because Gratian gives it (dist. 23, c. *in nomine*), for he lived a century after, and records many apocryphal Canons and Pontifical elections. But it seems to be genuine, if we read St. Damian's *Dialogue* between himself and the royal advocate. The saint never denies the existence of the privilege which the king claimed as his by Apostolic concession, but he constantly insists that Henry IV. had rendered himself unworthy to exercise it.

resolved to recognize only a Pontiff taken from "the Paradise of Italy," as they styled Lombardy, and they inveighed most bitterly against the decree of Nicholas II. Shortly afterwards the bishops of Piacenza and Vercelli formed themselves into a Synod, and elected as Pontiff Cadalao, bishop of Parma, who assumed the name of Honorius II. Our limits will not permit of our entering into the details of this schism. While it was at its height, a Council of Italian and German bishops was held at Osbor (1) in 1062, as a means of reunion. Here was read a remarkable letter of St. Peter Damian, and as it throws much light upon the events of the day, and explains the plans of Hildebrand, we give a few extracts from it. It purports to be a dialogue between a defender of the Roman Church and a royal advocate. "*Defender*. This is a question which, if well settled, will settle the rest (2); but which, left uncertain, will cause all else to be dubious, since it is the basis of all other disputes. The king, or the emperor, or perhaps an irreproachable representative of each, used to arrange, according to their will and power, the sees of the patriarchs, the limits of the metropolitans, the jurisdiction of the bishops, the dignities of the churches, and of each order. They regulated, in a uniform manner, the extent of ecclesiastical prerogatives. But the Roman Church is founded and built upon the rock of faith, by no will or intention of man, but by that Word which made heaven and earth. On this power she relies. It is certain that he is unjust who deprives a church of any one of her rights, and that he is a heretic who takes from the Roman Church that supremacy which she received from the Head of all the churches. *Advocate*. I contend that, in naming a Pope without the consent of the king, the Roman Church has violated the rights, and dishonored the majesty, of the sovereign. *Def*. Before speaking of violated rights, let us see whether the Pope can be named without the king's consent. *Adv*. Clearly, the Pope ought to be elected by those who, according to the holy Canons, are to obey him;

(1) So the locality is designated by Damian; where it was, is now unknown.

(2) That is, whether the Pope should be chosen by the Church, or by the monarch, or by both in concert. In the above *Dialogue*, we give the synopsis of Voigt.

now, the Roman people, and the emperor, who is their head, are bound to obey him as their Sovereign Pontiff. The question then is, whether the people, without their head, can perform an election; whether the people should obey a Pope whom the emperor has not chosen. It is shown, then, that a Pontifical election is not complete unless it is confirmed by the king of the Romans." The *Papal defender* then shows, by many examples, that temporal princes have not exercised great influence in ecclesiastical elections, and he concludes that, since the head of Christianity was established by the King of Heaven, the king of the earth should not interfere with him. The emperor has no power in the Church; why then ought not the Pope be elected without his approbation? The *advocate* admits this proposition, but he advances another: "It cannot be denied that Henry III., father of our present monarch, was made 'Patrician of the Romans,' and received from them the first place in the election of a Pope. And what is more, Pope Nicholas confirmed, by a Synodal decree, this privilege which the king already had from his father." The *defender* does not contest the reality of the privilege, but falls back on the minority of the king. The Church, he says, is the young king's mother; he is merely a child, needing a tutor. How can he choose a Pope? *Adv.* "Defend what you please, but you cannot change what a Pope has established and confirmed. *Def.* Cannot a weak man change his arrangements, when even the Almighty does so? The *defender* then proves this assertion by Scripture, and concludes the *Dialogue* as follows: "We, counsellors of the crown, and servants of the Holy See, make common efforts for the union of the Priesthood and the Empire, in order that the human race, governed by these two powers, may never be divided, that they may sustain each other like the two poles of the earth, and that the peoples may not become indocile because of their differences; so that, as the Mediator between God and man has mysteriously united royalty and the priesthood, their two heads may be united by a mutual affection, and the king be found in the Roman Pontiff, and the Pontiff in the king; saving the

right of the Pontiff, which he alone can exercise. Let the Pope repress criminals by the law of the prince; and let the prince order, through the bishops, according to the holy Canons, what concerns the salvation of souls. Let the Pope, as the father, have the pre-eminence; let the king, as an only son, repose in the arms of the Pontiff's affection."

In this Synod of Osbor the infamous Cadalao was solemnly and effectively deposed. When Hildebrand became Pontiff, he continued, with greater zeal, his struggle for the independence of the Church, and his last act was a protest against princely interference in Papal elections. His victory was a lasting one, for, as Pagi says: "We have carefully examined, and we have found that Gregory VII. was the last Pontiff whose election was signified to the emperor before his consecration."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE QUESTION OF INVESTITURES.

According to ancient custom, the election of bishops had depended on the votes of the clergy, the testimony of the people, and the consent of the provincial prelates. But in course of time sovereigns arrogated to themselves, and with some show of reason, a right of interference in these elections. The piety of the great and wealthy had endowed the churches and monasteries with lands; the interest of sovereigns had caused them to give the rank of temporal lords to men upon whose fidelity they could depend. Nearly every bishop and abbot was a feudal dignitary, and subject therefore, as such, to the same obligations, either personally or by substitute, as the secular noble. Every possessor of a fief held it by virtue of an investiture from his lord or suzerain, and this investiture was conferred with certain ceremonies, more or less solemn and symbolical, according to the nature of the fief. Hence it came to pass that, when an ecclesiastic had been chosen as bishop for a vacant see, or a monk had been elected by his brethren

to an abbacy, the elect applied to the sovereign for his induction into the fiefs or *regalia* pertaining to his particular diocese or monastery. Before he received his investiture the elect gave *hominium*, or homage, for his fief, and swore fidelity to his suzerain. So long as the sovereigns were content with an exercise of the right of investiture within these limits, the Church did not complain. There were, doubtless, many inconveniences in the system, but it was considered that they were more than counterbalanced by the accession of dignity and influence which accrued from the elevation of the bishops and abbots to a position among the temporal rulers of the earth. But in time Cæsar became dissatisfied with the possession of only those things which belonged to him; he laid his hand upon the things of God. Under the pretext that he had a right to see that the *regalia* of his spiritual fiefs did not fall into the hands of his enemies, he did not always confer them upon the canonically elected person. Then he commenced to ignore the election altogether, and to nominate whom he would to the vacancy. Hence an opening to favoritism, to simony, and to every species of irregularity. In some countries, immediately upon the death of a prelate, his crosier and ring, the emblems of his spiritual jurisdiction, were taken to the sovereign, to be retained by him until he saw fit to confer them upon an acceptable candidate; too frequently this candidate had no merit beyond the love of the sovereign or a plethoric purse. In all countries where the feudal system had obtained, the granting of the *regalia* was effected by the suzerain's presenting the staff and ring to the beneficiary. Until that ceremony had been performed, whether he was canonically elected or not, whether he was consecrated or not, no bishop or abbot could enter upon the duties of his office. In taking a determined stand, therefore, against this method of investiture, the Roman Pontiffs derogated from no legitimate right of a sovereign; they simply insisted upon the inherent and divinely accorded right of the Church to elect her own pastors. They did not wish a prelate to obtain the fiefs annexed to his charge by any evasion of the temporal duties thereto attached:

they merely contended that those fiefs should not be accorded by the suzerain in a manner which would imply that the said suzerain was the source of the prelate's spiritual jurisdiction. For nearly half a century Rome fought this battle with the great ones of the earth, but principally with the German sovereigns. Finally, as we shall see, she was victorious.

In France the exercise of the right of investiture was as ancient as the monarchy itself. It is recognized in the tenth Canon of the fifth Council of Orleans, held in 549, during the reign of the great Clovis; and is claimed in an edict of Clothaire II., in 615. The ancient writer of the *Life of St. Romanus* of Rouen speaks of the Saint as receiving the crosier from Clovis II., and being "therefore" enthroned as bishop, in 623. Gregory of Tours and Fortunatus assign to the order or consent of Clovis II. the election of Quintian and of Gallus of Auvergne; to that of Childebert the episcopacy of Germain of Paris; to that of Clothaire II. the choice of Euphronius of Tours, and of other bishops. In the *Appendix* to the second volume of the *Councils of France*, edited by Sirmond, there are several ancient formulas used by the Merovingian kings in the granting of investitures. In one of them, the king says to the elected: "By the advice and will of our bishops and nobles, according to the will and consent of the clergy and people of the said city, we commit to you the episcopal dignity, in the name of God. Therefore, by the present precept we decree and command that the aforesaid city or things of its church, and its clergy, remain under your will and government." Under the Merovingians and Carolingians, the French church experienced but little trouble from the system of royal investiture; but under the Capetians, simony was quite frequent, especially during the reign of Philip I. St. Gregory VII., writing to the bishop of Chalons (1), says: "Among other princes of our time who have desolated the Church of God by simony, and have crushed their mother into the condition of a handmaid, Philip, king of France, has so oppressed the church of

(1) *Epistles*, B. I, n. 35.

France, as we have learned from reliable sources, that he seems to have arrived at the very depth of this detestable iniquity. We have been the more grieved because of this state of things in that kingdom, on account of its well-known prudence, religion, power, and devotion to the Roman Church. The desolation of the churches, and our general pastoral solicitude, have urged us to reprove most severely such audacious excesses; but since he has, through his private chamberlain Alberic, just now earnestly promised to change his life, and to arrange ecclesiastical affairs according to our judgment, we have delayed to exercise the rigor of the Canons. We wish, however, first to test the value of his promise in the affair of the church of Matiscon, long bereft of a pastor and reduced to extremity; that is, we desire that the archdeacon of Autun, already elected by the unanimous voice of the clergy and people, and as we have heard, with the consent of the king himself, be installed at the head of that church, having received *gratis*, as is proper, the episcopal position." According to the system permitted by the Holy See, therefore, a widowed diocese was to be provided for in this manner. The election by the clergy should first take place; then the approval of the king was to be requested; then the investiture was to be granted, but always *gratis*; finally, the consecration was to take place. It was only owing to the royal violation of these wise regulations that trouble arose in any country.

The system of investiture was very old in England. William of Malmesbury (1), speaking of the privileges of the monastery of Glastonbury, says that "King Edgar decreed that the monks should always elect their abbot; but he reserved, for himself and his heirs, the power of giving the pastoral staff to the brother elected." St. Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, received his investiture from king St. Edward, and when he was accused of "illiteracy and simplicity, and of being almost an idiot, and ignorant of the French language, and unable to assist at the royal council." (2) he refused to resign his crosier to William the

(1) *Deeds of the English Kings*, B. II., c. 8.

(2) MATTHEW OF PARIS, *year 1095*.

Conqueror, who had not given it to him, but, approaching the tomb of St. Edward, there laid down the emblem of his dignity (1). Ordericus Vitalis (2) gives a favorable picture of the conduct of the Conqueror in the matter of investiture, and says that he always deferred to the judgment of the wise "during the fifty-six years in which he held the reins of government either in Normandy or in England, thus leaving a good example to his posterity. He detested every kind of simony; and hence, in choosing abbots and bishops, he regarded the sanctity and wisdom of the person, rather than his wealth or power." But Ingulf, abbot of Croyland, talks in a very different manner of William's proceedings, saying that "for many years, there has been no really free and canonical election of prelates; all the episcopal and abbatial dignities have been given by the royal court, through ring and staff, just as it pleased." And Gervase, a monk of Canterbury, says of Lanfranc: "He asked the king to give him the abbey (Canterbury), as all his predecessors had possessed it. The king replied that he would like to have all the pastoral staffs in England in his own hand. At this, Lanfranc wondered; but, for the greater good of the Church, which he could not effect without the king, he held his peace for the time." The successors of the Conqueror exercised the right of investiture in a shameless manner; William Rufus (1087-1100) especially distinguished himself as a public auctioneer in conferring every ecclesiastical office that fell vacant. Under Henry I. (1100-1135) things came to a crisis, thanks to the zeal and determination of St. Anselm of Canterbury. This prelate had attended a Roman Synod, in which excommunication had been pronounced against all lay patrons of ring and crosier,

(1) Matthew records that Wulstan replied to Lanfranc: "I well know that I am not worthy of this honor, nor am I equal to the labor; but you should not demand my pastoral staff, since you did not give it to me. Obeying your sentence, however, I shall resign the crosier; but I will do what is more fitting, if I yield it to St. Edward, by whose authority I received it." Then going to the tomb, he thus apostrophized the saint: "Most holy king Edward, thou knowest how unwillingly I assumed this burden; how often I absented myself, when they sought me. Nor do I deny that I was unwise, but thou didst compel me. For although they were not wanting an election, the petition of the people, the will of the bishops, and the grace of the nobility, yet it was thy authority and will that turned the scale. But now there came a new king, a new law, and new prelates, and they issue new decrees. They charge thee with error, because thou madest me a bishop; they accuse me of arrogance, because I yielded. Not to those who demand what they did not give, but to thee, I resign the staff thou gavest; to thee I resign the care of those thou didst entrust to me."

(2) *History*, B. iv., year 1070.

and when he returned to England, in 1106, he firmly but respectfully informed the king that he would enforce the Synodical decrees. Henry was at that time at war with his brother Robert (1) and knowing how difficult it would be to carry out his projects without the aid of the prelates, he dissimulated, and suggested that a special appeal should be made to the Holy See. The result was that after a long interchange of letters between Rome and England, and a continued series of artifices on the part of Henry, Anselm was persuaded to journey to Rome and personally consult the Pope. He was then ordered by Henry to remain in exile until he had decided to obey the royal behests. For three years the aged and infirm prelate was the guest of the archbishop of Lyons, and during this time Henry was continually annoyed by the murmurs of his barons and people, and by the importunities of queen Matilda and of his sister Adela, countess of Blois, urging him to yield. Finally, having been warned by Pope Paschal that his excommunication was imminent, he met the primate at the abbey of Bec, and abandoned the claim to investiture by staff and ring; reserving, however, the claim of fealty and homage, as civil duties, on the part of bishops and abbots. (2)

St. Gregory VII. was not the first Pontiff to raise his voice against the abuse of investitures, although he was the first to ply the axe to the root of the evil, by decreeing the utter abolition of the system. Pope St. Leo IX. (el. 1049), in the first year of his reign, had decreed, in the Council of Rheims, that "no one should be promoted to the government of a church, unless elected by the clergy and the people." Alexander II., in 1063, had issued a Canon, in a Roman Synod of 110 bishops, declaring that, unless by canonical election, "no one should obtain a church through favor of laics, either for money, or *gratis*." Nicholas II. (el. 1058), had written to Gervase of Rheims "correct your glorious king; beseech him; admonish him;" because

(1) This prince was the inventor of a profitable improvement in the matter of investiture. He sold the reversion of bishoprics in favor of children, and frequently sold more than one see to the same buyer. So says Ivo of CHARTRES, *Epistles* 178, 179, 181.

(2) "On the whole," says Lingard, "the Church gained little by the compromise. It might check, but did not abolish, the principal abuse. If Henry surrendered an unnecessary ceremony, he still retained the substance. The right which he assumed of nominating bishops and abbots was left unimpaired, and though he promised not to appropriate to himself the revenues of the vacant benefices, he never hesitated to violate his engagement."

Henry III. had appointed a bishop without a canonical election. Nor did St. Gregory VII. at first wish to abolish the investitures. In an epistle to the Germans (1), he simply besought that no interference should be made with the freedom of elections: "Let him use counsellors who love God, and not merely their own gain; men who will prefer God to all worldly profit. Let him no longer think that the Church is, like a handmaid, subject to him; let him regard her as placed above him, as a mistress." Before he proceeded to the extremity of abolition, Gregory, says William of Tyre, (2) "seeing that the rights of the Church were down-trodden, again and again admonished the same emperor to desist from such detestable presumption." Only when he found that no other course was left, did the Pontiff, says William of Malmesbury, (3) "openly effect what others had threatened to do, excommunicating all who received investiture of their churches from the hands of a layman by means of staff and ring." Hugh of Flacigny, in the *Chronicle of Verdun*, gives us the decree which was issued in Gregory's Second Roman Synod, held in 1075: "If any one hereafter receives a bishopric or an abbacy from the hands of any lay person, let him not be received among bishops or abbots, or receive any hearing as a bishop or abbot. We also deprive him of the grace of Blessed Peter, and debar him from entrance into a church, until he shall have relinquished the position which he has occupied in ambition and in disobedience, which is the wickedness of idolatry. We decree the same in reference to the inferior ecclesiastical dignities. Also, if any emperor, duke, marquis, count, or any other secular power or person, presumes to give the investiture of a bishopric or of any ecclesiastical dignity, let him know that he falls under the same sentence." This decree was confirmed in the Roman Synods of 1078 and 1080.

The immediate successors of St. Gregory VII. imitated his firmness in the matter of investitures. Victor III. renewed the prohibitory decree in the Synod of Benevento, held in 1087; and Urban II. did the same in the Synod of

(1) B. iv., Epist. 3.

(2) *Sacred War*, B. i., c. 13.

(3) *Deeds of the English Kings*, B. iii.

Amalfi, in 1089, in a Synod at Claremont, in 1095, and in a Roman Synod, in 1099. While the German and English sovereigns persisted in the obnoxious system, king Philip I. of France readily obeyed, relinquishing the solemn delivery of the staff and ring, but receiving, as was perfectly reasonable, the oath of fidelity for the fiefs, into possession of which the newly elected was inducted. In fact, Ivo of Chartres (1) attests that the concord between the Holy See and the French monarchs was never disturbed by the question of investitures.

In the year 1106, Paschal II. held a Synod at Guastalla, at which were present the ambassadors of Henry V. of Germany. Another decree against investitures was issued in these words : " For a long time the Catholic Church has been oppressed by wicked men, both lay and clerical ; hence, in our days, many schisms and heresies have been born. However, by the grace of God, she now regains her proper liberty, the authors of this wickedness having departed. We must therefore take care that the causes of these schisms be entirely removed. Agreeing, therefore, with the Constitutions of our fathers, we absolutely prohibit the giving by laymen of ecclesiastical investitures ; and if any one braves this decree, let him, as guilty of injury toward his mother, be removed from his dignity, if he is a cleric ; be debarred from entrance to a church, if he is a layman." Pope Paschal had intended, after holding the Synod of Guastalla, to proceed to Germany, hoping that his presence would contribute to a settlement of all troubles ; but his counsellors persuaded him that it would be injudicious to trust himself to the courtesy of the young Henry. He accordingly journeyed into France, in 1107, to seek the aid, or at least the influence, of king Philip, in his struggle with the German monarch. Suger, then a monk, and afterwards abbot of St. Denis, gives us an interesting account of this visit (2). After the Pontiff had paid his respects to the shrine of St. Denis, " king Philip and the lord Louis, his son, gratefully came here to meet him, prostrating, for the love of God, the royal majesty at his feet ; just as kings

(1) *Epistle to Paschal II.*, 253.

(2) *Life of Louis the Fat*, c. 9.

are accustomed, having offered their diadems, to bow before the tomb of the fisherman Peter. The lord Pope raised them with his hand, and caused them, as most devout children of the Apostles, to come before him. He then conferred with them upon the state of the Church in a wise manner, and familiarly; blandly influencing them to give aid to Blessed Peter and his vicar, to take the Church by the hand, and to strenuously oppose all tyrants and foes of the Church, especially the emperor Henry. They gave the Pontiff their right hands, in token of friendship, advice, and assistance." The Pontiff having promised to receive the ambassadors of Henry V. at Chalons-sur-Marne, they came to the audience, "not humble, but rigid and obstinate; leaving behind (at St. Menge's) the chancellor Albert, through whose tongue and heart the emperor acted; the others coming to the court with an immense retinue, much pomp, and excessively bedecked. These were the archbishop of Treves, the bishops of Halberstadt and Munster, a great number of counts, and the duke Guelph, with a sword carried before him—a corpulent man, wonderful and boisterous through his whole extent of length and breadth—and all this noisy crowd seemed to have been sent to terrify, rather than to reason. The archbishop of Treves, an elegant and jovial man, well practised in the speech of France, then held forth, tendering greeting and service, saving the rights of his kingdom, to the lord Pope and the court, on the part of the lord emperor. Carrying out his instructions, he said: 'Such is the cause of our lord the emperor, in behalf of whom we are sent. In the days of our predecessors, the holy and apostolic Gregory the Great and others, it was acknowledged as a right of the empire, that, before an election could be held, the ear of the emperor should be sought, and if the person in view proved acceptable, the imperial consent should be given; then, according to the Canons, the petition of the people, the election by the clergy, and the assent of the great (*honoratorum*), should take place; finally, the consecrated person should go to the emperor for the regalia, that is, to be invested with staff and ring, and to swear fidelity and do homage. And no

wonder, for cities, castles, marches, etc., can be obtained in no other way. If the lord Pope agrees to these things, there shall be prosperity and peace in Church and kingdom, to the honor of God.' To these things the lord Pope considerably replied, through the bishop of Piacenza: 'The Church being redeemed by the Precious Blood of Jesus Christ, and established in freedom, cannot again be reduced to the condition of a handmaid. If the Church cannot elect a pastor without consulting the sovereign, the death of Christ is rendered null, and she is servilely subjected to that sovereign: if the ring and staff are used for investiture, the things of God are usurped by the prince, for the ring and staff are religious symbols; if the hands consecrated to the Lord's Body and Blood are subjected, in obligation, to the hands of a layman reeking with human blood, there is an insult to Holy Orders and the Holy Unction.' When the stiff-necked ambassadors had heard this answer, their rage became frenzy, and if they could have done so with impunity, they would have insulted the Pontiff. But, continues Suger, they replied: "'not here, but at Rome, the quarrel shall be settled by the sword' When they had departed, the lord Pope proceeded to Troyes, and celebrated the long-proposed Council; then he safely returned to the See of Peter, with the love of the French, who had served him well, and with the fear and hatred of the Germans." In the year 1108, Pope Paschal reiterated the condemnation of investitures in the Synod of Benevento, and in 1110 he did the same in a Roman Synod.

The question of investitures now assumed another and a bloody aspect. (1) Henry V. moved from Germany at the head of an immense army, passed through Savoy, and penetrated into Italy. The Lombard cities prepared to defend themselves, but, terrified by the fate of Novara, which Henry gave to the flames, they soon made overtures of peace. The great countess, Matilda, shut herself in her stronghold of Canossa, but promised Henry that she would not attack him in the rear, and as he had enough on his

(1) The events we are about to narrate are described by PETER THE DEACON, in the *Chronicle of Cassino*, B. iv., c. 37; SUGER, *loc. cit.*; JOHN OF TUSCULUM, *Epist. to Richard of Albano*; OTHO OF FRISIGNEN, B. vii.

hands, the monarch feigned to be satisfied, reviewed his army in the plains of Roncaglia, and marched on Rome. Pope Paschal looked vainly around for succor. Many of the Lombard cities had formally submitted to Henry, others thought only of their own affairs. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa were too busy making money out of the Crusades, furnishing provisions of all kinds to the heroes in the Holy Land. The strength of the Normans was enrolled under the cross; the duke of the Puglia, Calabria, and Sicily, was a child (Roger II.), under the regency of a timid woman. Abandoned by all, the venerable Pontiff, weakened by age, had recourse to negotiations. But Henry was firm in retaining his hold on the investitures, and Paschal just as firm in his design to abolish them. At length, after many proposals and rejections, the Pontiff, to the astonishment of the world, made the following proposition. All ecclesiastics, without exception, were to yield up to Henry all their fiefs and regalia, whatever they had received from the empire and the kingdom; and on his side, Henry was to renounce the right of investiture with staff and ring. It is easy to imagine the joy with which Henry acceded to this proposal. Here were the means of attaching more and more to his person a large number of creatures, who would be dependent upon him alone, and not hold an allegiance to Pope as well as to emperor. Hostages were immediately exchanged, and Henry prepared to enter the Eternal City. Toward Monte Mario proceeded the officers of the Papal court to meet him, and they were accompanied by crowds of the people, carrying garlands, palms, and olive-branches. Outside the Leonine city were stationed bands of Jewish youth, and in the arch of the gate were placed Greek boys and girls; and as the king approached, Hebrew and Greek hymns of praise saluted his ears. All the Roman clergy were within the gate, arrayed in their most gorgeous vestments, and flanked by bands of monks with lighted torches. In spite of all this peaceful appearance, the suspicious Henry would not enter within the walls, until all the gates and strategic points were handed over to his soldiers. On the steps of St.

Peter's, Pope Paschal, surrounded by the cardinals and a number of bishops, awaited the king. When Henry arrived, he fell at the Pope's feet, and when lifted, kissed the Pontiff "on the lips, forehead, and eyes: " hand in hand, the two then entered the basilica. But no sooner did it become noised about that all this festive and peaceful scene meant the loss, on the part of the ecclesiastics, of nearly all their temporal possessions, than there ensued a Babel of discord. Nor was Henry disposed to fulfil his part of the agreement, for when "the Pontiff requested him to restore the rights of the Church, as had been agreed in the treaty," the answer was returned that "the treaty could not justly and legitimately be fulfilled." Pope Paschal therefore refused to proceed to the coronation of Henry as emperor; whereupon the monarch caused the Pontiff and many of the cardinals to be confined under military custody. Immediately the Roman people flew to arms, and pouring into the great square of St. Peter's, attacked the German soldiery. The vestibule and steps of the basilica were drenched with the blood of the combatants; Henry himself was wounded in the face, and his horse was killed. The fight lasted several hours, and finally the German king drew off his troops, and, taking with him the captive Pontiff, retired into the Sabine province, where the main body of his army was encamped. During his imprisonment, the determination of Paschal was not shaken by any regard for himself, but after two months of resistance, regard for the Romans, who were suffering greatly from the hardships of war, and pity for his fellow-captives, prompted him to sign the following *Privilege* (1): "That privilege of dignity which our predecessors conceded to the Catholic emperors, your predecessors, we also concede to your Belovedness, and confirm it by the present page; that you may confer the investiture of staff and ring upon the bishops and abbots of your kingdom, who will have been freely elected, without violence or simony." The Pontiff and king Henry now came together to Rome for the latter's coronation as emperor, but it was probably the most melancholy coronation which

(1) *Chronicle of Cassino*, B. 17., c. 42.

Rome ever witnessed. During the entire ceremony, so much did the Germans fear another outbreak on the part of the Romans, that the gates of the city were kept closed, and the Leonine city, that is, the Vatican district, was shut up within itself. Immediately after the coronation, the emperor departed for Germany.

So hostile was the majority of the Sacred College to the concession made by Pope Paschal, that there wanted but little to cause an open schism. The Pontiff retired to Terracina, and wished to resign the tiara, but the Roman people and clergy sent him a deputation, begging him to return. He did so, but the reproaches he constantly endured became so painful, that he resolved to submit the question to a Synod. Accordingly, in April, 1112, three hundred bishops met in the Lateran Basilica, and the Pontiff humbly laid the affair before them. According to Godfrey of Viterbo (1), Pope Paschal laid aside the Pontifical insignia and offered to abdicate, if the Synod deemed it best. The result was that, on the last day of the Synod, the Pope issued his Profession of Faith, concluding: "And I receive the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs, especially those of my lord, Pope Gregory VII., and of Pope Urban of blessed memory; whatever they praised, I praise; what they held, I hold; what they confirmed, I confirm; what they condemned, I condemn; what they rejected, I reject; what they interdicted, I interdict; what they prohibited, I prohibit, in all things; and in that state, I shall always persevere." The following sentence was then promulgated: "That Privilege which is not and ought not to be called a Privilege, which was violently extorted by King Henry from the lord Pope Paschal, for the freedom of the Church and of certain captives, we all, met together with the lord Pope in this holy Council, condemn, by the judgment of the Holy Ghost; and we judge it to be null, and we cancel it entirely, and anathematize it as of no authority or power. And it is condemned, because in it is asserted that he who is canonically elected by the clergy and the people can be consecrated by no one until he has been invested by the

(1) *Chronicle*, part 17.

king; which is contrary to the Holy Ghost and the institutions of the Canons." In the year 1117, Henry V. determined to strike another blow in defense of investitures, and he entered Italy with a large army. The countess Matilda had just died, and the Pontiff knew that the emperor had many partisans in Rome. He therefore betook himself to Benevento, to implore the aid of the Normans. When Henry arrived in Rome, the Ghibelines received him with joy, but as there was no one with whom he could treat on the matter in question, and as he feared the effects of the climate on his army, he soon retired into Lombardy. Pope Paschal now returned, but he soon died. (1118).

Three days after the death of Pope Paschal II., the cardinals elected the Cassinese monk, the cardinal John Gaetano, who took the name of Gelasius II. Immediately after the election, the partisans of Henry, headed by Cencio Frangipane, rushed into the Lateran, dragged the new Pontiff from the sanctuary, covered him with blows and outrages, and carrying him half-dead to Frangipane's palace, thrust him into a dungeon. But the horrified people, although many of their leaders were in the emperor's pay, rescued the Pope by force of arms. Gelasius then prepared for his consecration, but before it could be effected, news arrived that Henry was making forced marches on Rome. The Pontiff and his court then embarked on galleys, and although a furious tempest was then raging, set sail for Gaeta. Here he was reverently received by William, duke of the Puglia and of Calabria, and by the principal Southern barons, and was solemnly consecrated. Henry, being now arrived in Rome, again and again sent embassies to Gelasius, inviting him to return to the capital of Christianity, but the Pope feared the fate of his predecessor, and remained within the walls of Gaeta. The furious emperor then called a convention of his ecclesiastical partisans, declared the election of Gelasius null, and caused the pretended election to the Papacy of Maurice Bordino, archbishop of Braga, in Portugal, who is known among the anti-Popes as Gregory VIII. Having obtained from his creature a pseudo-confirmation of the right of investiture,

Henry returned to Germany. Gelasius now re-entered Rome, but fear of the Ghibelines very soon caused another flight. At first he sought refuge at Pisa, then at Genoa, and finally made a pilgrimage to Cluny. Here he was taken with his death-sickness, and having caused himself to be laid upon the ground, and his suffering frame to be sprinkled with ashes, he yielded his soul to God, in February, 1119.

Three days after the death of Pope Gelasius II., the cardinals and Roman clergy who had accompanied him to Cluny met in that monastery, and chose for his successor Guido of Burgundy, archbishop of Vienne, in Dauphiny, son of the great William of Burgundy, and uncle of Adelaide, queen of Louis the Fat. The cardinals remaining in Rome having signified their assent, Guido ascended the Papal throne as Calixtus II. Having called a Synod of 213 bishops, and a large number of abbots, at Rheims, in November, 1119, he confirmed the anathemas pronounced against Henry and the anti-Pope Bordone, and re-asserted the abolition of investitures. Being recognized as head of the Church by all but a few of Henry's creatures, he left France in 1121, and entered Rome in triumph. Bordone had retreated and thrown himself into the strongly fortified city of Sutri, relying upon the fidelity of its Ghibeline citizens and confidently expecting aid from Henry. But in a few days the Sutrini, wearied of the state of siege maintained by the troops of Pope Calixtus, and being, besides, terrified by the anathemas which hung over them, seized the wretched Bordone and handed him over to the Papal commander. Conducted to Rome, he finished his days in a monastery. While in France, Pope Calixtus had, for a short time, flattered himself that the question of investitures was at length terminated. The legates of the Pontiff and the imperial representatives had met near Metz, and had signed a compact, whereby the emperor resigned all claim to investitures, and the Pontiff admitted Henry to communion. This convention having been reported to Calixtus, then at Rheims, he sent to the camp of Henry the cardinal John of Ostia and three other legates, to urge the emperor to immediately fulfil his part of the

compact. To their indignation, Henry hesitated and demanded delay, that he might consult the princes of the empire. Day after day the final settlement was postponed until, at length, nothing seemed to stand in the way of peace, but the comparatively unimportant question as to whether the emperor should publicly, and bare-footed, beg the Pontiff's pardon. The Pope had already advanced considerably on the way to the interview, when the legates began to suspect a trap on the part of the unscrupulous Henry. They found that he had collected a force of thirty thousand men and that the number was hourly increasing. Hurriedly returning to Calixtus, they prevailed upon him to turn aside and take refuge in the camp of the powerful count of Troyes. Henry then wrote to the count, asking him to detain the Pontiff for one day, that the peace might be concluded. The faithful noble refused to interfere, and before daylight Calixtus started for Rheims, making the journey of twenty leagues in time to celebrate mass the same day, and consecrate the bishop of Liege. Calling together the members of the Synod then sitting in Rheims, Calixtus re-excommunicated Henry. In 1121, as we have said, the Pontiff returned to his capital. He soon learned that Henry was, at length, sincerely desirous of peace. Profoundly discouraged by the fall of Bordone and by the reconciliation of the clergy and people of Lombardy with the Holy See, and finding that his own Germans were heartily sick of the long struggle with the Papacy, the monarch finally yielded to the prayers of the barons, and made overtures to Calixtus. The bishop of Spire and the abbot of Fulda were sent to Rome, with instructions to request the convocation of a general Council, "in order that whatever could not be settled by human judgment, might be arranged by the Holy Ghost." The Pope then commissioned the cardinal Lambert of Ostia and two other cardinals to receive Henry into the Church, after he had abandoned all claim to investiture, and to accord to him the right of superintending elections, and of giving the regalia, *by means of the sceptre*. The following agreement was presented to the Diet at Worms: "I, Henry, by the grace

of God, august emperor of the Romans, for the love of God and of the lord Pope Calixtus, and for the good of my soul, do yield to God and to his holy apostles Peter and Paul, and to the Holy Catholic Church, every investiture by staff and ring, and do grant that in all churches free election and consecration be held. I restore to the same Holy Roman Church all the possessions and regalia of Blessed Peter which have been appropriated from the beginning of this discord until to-day, and which I hold ; and as for those which I do not hold, I shall faithfully see that they are restored. I shall also faithfully help in the restitution of the possessions of all the other churches, of the princes, and of others, both clerics and laymen ; and I accord true peace to the lord Pope Calixtus, to the Holy Roman Church, and to all who are or have been on their side ; and I shall faithfully aid the Holy Roman Church in all she asks of me.—I, Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, do grant unto thee, beloved son Henry, by the grace of God, august emperor of the Romans, that in thy presence be held, without simony or any violence, those elections of bishops and abbots of the German kingdom, which belong to the kingdom ; so that, if any discord shall arise between the parties, thou mayest, by the advice and judgment of the metropolitan and provincials, give countenance and aid to the deserving side. The person elected shall receive the regalia from thee, by means of the sceptre, and shall effect what he owes to thee of right ; excepting all those things which are known to belong to the Roman Church. Any one, however, who is consecrated in other parts of the empire, shall receive from thee the regalia, by means of the sceptre, within six months. I shall grant my aid, according to the duties of my office, in all things of which thou mayest complain to me. I accord true peace to thee, and to all who are or have been on thy side during this discord. Given on the ninth of the Calends of October, of the year 1122.” With the signing of this compact the war of investitures came, for all practical purposes to an end. A finishing stroke was given to the dispute, in the Ninth General Council, the first of the Lateran,

but of that assembly we shall speak in a special chapter.

Some authors, hostile to the Holy See, have deemed themselves especially brilliant when they asserted that the struggle about investitures was merely a dispute as to whether the *regalia* should be conferred "with a crooked stick, or a straight one." (1). In this connection, the "crooked stick" or crosier was the emblem of spiritual power, and the Church would have stultified herself had she sanctioned its use by a secular ruler; "the straight stick" or sceptre, the emblem of temporal jurisdiction, was the proper insignia with which to invest a prelate with his temporal estate. This is admitted even by Mosheim (2): "Nor is this reason a foolish one, if we regard, not the opinions of our own day, but of an age when the staff and ring were signs of sacred things, and when he who delivered these signs was thought to give sacred power with them." No Catholic will deny that the Church has the right to defend her liberty against any potentate or society interfering with it. In the time of St. Gregory VII. bishoprics and abbacies were as much the subject of barter and sale as any goods in the public markets, and they were handed over to the highest bidder by means of the staff and ring, the emblems of spiritual power. Listen to St. Anselm of Lucca, the right hand of St. Gregory in this war: "Your king constantly sells bishoprics, publishing edicts to the effect that no one shall be regarded as a bishop, even though elected by the clergy and sought by the people, unless according to the royal pleasure; as though he were the keeper of this gate . . . you dismember the Catholic Church, attacking her throughout the entire kingdom, and having reduced her to vile slavery, hold her under your dominion, subjecting her liberty, divinely accorded, to your will, saying that to the emperor belong all things, bishoprics, abbacies, and all the churches of God: although the Lord says 'My Church, My dove, My sheep,' and St. Paul says 'Let no one take unto himself the honor, unless called by God, like Aaron' . . . Who is elected because of morals

(1) Thus, for instance, the authors of the famous *Art of Verifying Dates*.

(2) *Cent. XI.*, p. 2, c. 2, in note.

or honesty, or integrity? The wolves are to be attacked, etc." But the granting of investitures by staff and ring was an ancient custom, replied the German sovereigns. To this assertion, the holy bishop of Lucca replies: "We need not dispute about the length of time that this condemnable practice of the secular power, appointing bishops at its pleasure, has been in vogue. That custom is rather to be followed which was originated by our Catholic ancestors, treading in the footsteps of their fathers; namely, that sanctioned by the prelates of the Seventh and Eighth Councils, according to the statutes of the holy Roman Pontiffs, which were founded on the practice of all the churches from the times of the Apostles. The wickedness of secular princes is of no prejudice to that holy custom, no matter how long it has been manifested. Otherwise, the Lord our God is to be blamed because He freed the Jews, who had been a long time in bondage, and because, by His own death, He liberated man from the slavery of the devil, which had lasted for five thousand years. Again, while adultery is forbidden by the Old and New Testament, are kings allowed to commit it, because former kings did so? God forbid! . . . Any ecclesiastic whose zeal is not excited for the cleansing of God's house from this stain is not consumed with zeal for that house, and God will regard him as a mute dog who cannot bark. Who does not see that this plague is the cause of the heresy of simony, and the lamentable destruction of the whole Christian religion? When the episcopal dignity can be obtained from a prince, in spite of the bishops and priests, the Church of God is contemned; one man pours a large amount of money into the purses of the courtiers, that their influence may work his infamous promotion; another, at great expense, serves ten years at court, patiently suffering the rigors of the seasons and everything else; another constantly yearns for the death of the prelate to whose post he aspires. And alas! Often dignities are conferred upon slaves and fornicators. When such persons have obtained their posts by such means, they dare not reprove the powerful when they sin."

CHAPTER XIV.

CLERICAL CELIBACY.

One of the most difficult of the tasks imposed upon himself by Pope St. Gregory VII. was the enforcement of the law of clerical celibacy. According to Leo of Ostia (d. 1110), when Gregory ascended the Pontifical throne "one seldom found a priest without a wife or a concubine"; (1) and Lambert of Aschaffenburg (d. 1077), tells us that many of the clergy resisted the Pontiff's "insane teaching," as they styled the decrees on celibacy, and declared that if "he proceeded to enforce them, they would sooner abandon the priesthood than the conjugal state, and then let Gregory seek for angels to minister to the people of the Church of God." In such a state of affairs, says Baronio, speaking of the reformatory efforts undertaken, with the aid of Hildebrand, by Leo IX., the Pontiff must have felt as does a farmer about to free an immense field of a growth of thorns and weeds. But Hildebrand was not dismayed. Whether as a deacon of the Roman Church, and confidential adviser of several Pontiffs, or as himself the incumbent of the Papal Chair, he pursued his favorite object with unvarying fortitude. His zeal in this matter, as we learn from Otho of Frisingen, caused many bishops to urge Henry IV. to oppose his election. In 1074 Gregory held a Plenary Council of all the bishops of Italy, and decreed that "all ecclesiastical ministrations are forbidden to incontinent clergymen; under pain of deposition, no clergyman shall marry; no one shall receive Holy Orders unless he solemnly promises continency, according to the decrees of the ancient and holy Councils."

Mosheim (2), Potter (3), Ranke (4), and most Protestant authors, condemn the action of Pope Gregory VII. as an innovation upon ancient discipline. Among the writers

(2) *Inst. Hist. Eccl.*, cent. xi., p. 2.

(3) *Spirit of the Church*, vol. v., p. 2, b. 2.

(4) *Papacy*, vol. i., b. 1, § 3.

who have defended the Pontiff from this charge, proving the antiquity and propriety of clerical celibacy, the palm of success must be accorded to Zaccaria, in his *Polemical History of Holy Celibacy*. The reader may also consult with profit Gaume's *Ecclesiastical Celibacy in its Religious and Political Relations*; the *Celibacy* of Rosmini; the *Protestantism and Catholicism Compared* of Balmes; and the *Dictionary* of Bergier. We now proceed to show that neither St. Gregory VII., nor any of the Benedictine Pontiffs, to whom Ranke ascribes the design of making monks of the secular clergy, instituted the system of clerical celibacy; that, in fine, this system is quite as old as the Church herself. Such was the opinion of St. Jerome (b. 340); for he says that "Christ, a virgin, and Mary, a virgin, consecrated the love of virginity (*dedicavere principia*) in both sexes. The Apostles were either virgins, or, after their nuptials, were continent." (4).

In the Third Synod of Carthage (397) the primate Aurelius, speaking of celibacy, says: "Let us also follow what the Apostles taught, and what antiquity observed." Such is the testimony of the African church, which derived her discipline directly from Rome. In the year 385, Pope St. Siricius addressed to Himerius, bishop of Tarragona, a letter in reply to one sent by that prelate to the previous Pontiff, St. Damasus, in which the Pope had been consulted as to the course to be pursued toward certain clergymen who had married. Himerius had informed St. Damasus that some of the delinquents alleged ignorance as an excuse, while others justified their course by the example of the priests of the Old Law. In his answers to Himerius, St. Siricius declares the absolute obligation of ecclesiastical celibacy, and speaks of it in such terms as to leave no doubt as to the antiquity of the custom. After adducing arguments from the Gospel and from St. Paul, to show the propriety of the discipline in question, the Pontiff subjoins: "We all, priests and levites, are bound, by an irrefragable law, to devote our hearts and bodies, from the day of our ordination, to sobriety and purity . . . And since some

(4) Epistle 48, to Pammachius.

of those of whom we speak, according to your Holiness, lament their fall through ignorance, we do not deny them mercy, but on this condition, that, if they hereafter prove to be continent, they may officiate in their present dignities, but are to receive no further promotion. As for those who try to excuse themselves by the concessions of the Old Law, they are deprived, by the authority of the Apostolic See, of every ecclesiastical honor which they have so unworthily used, nor can they ever again handle those venerable Mysteries, of which, by clinging to obscene cupidities, they have deprived themselves. And whereas the present cases warn us to look to the future, every bishop, priest, and deacon, who shall hereafter be found like unto them,—and we trust none will—must know that every avenue to our mercy will be closed to them, for those wounds must be treated with the knife, which do not heal under the influence of milder remedies." The Pontiff then orders Himerius to communicate this Apostolic Letter to the Carthaginians, Boetians, Lusitanians, Gauls, and as many as he can reach. Here, then, is a Pontifical decree, enjoining that celibacy which Ranke and others would have us regard as an invention of Hildebrand, written seven hundred years before his time, and the language of the Pontiff plainly indicates the previous existence of the law he enforces.

In the year 405 Pope St. Innocent I. also was consulted on this matter by Exuperius, bishop of Toulouse, and the Pontiff replied as follows: "In such cases the discipline of the divine law is clear, and the commands of bishop Siricius, of blessed memory, went forth; that is, that persons enjoying such offices (the higher Orders), who proved incontinent, should be deprived of all ecclesiastical honor, and ought not to be permitted to exercise a ministry that ought to be conducted only by the continent." In view of these decrees of his early predecessors, St. Gregory VII. properly declared that he made no innovation in the matter of celibacy, and most reasonable was his decree, directed to Otho of Constance, that "if they condemn our behests, yea, those of the holy Fathers, the people must in no way receive their ministrations."

The custom of the Greek Church, united and schismatic, is adduced by the foes of ecclesiastical celibacy to show the futility of the reasons put forth by the Westerns in justification of their discipline ; to prove that married clergymen may fulfil their duties with zeal, etc. But there are several points to be noticed in the discipline of the Greeks, which our adversaries generally keep in the background. Firstly, the Greek Canons do not allow a priest or deacon to contract matrimony after his ordination. (1) Secondly, they have nearly always prohibited the use of matrimony to bishops. As a rule, the bishops are taken from the monasteries ; and when, perchance, a secular priest is chosen, his wife, if he have one, must enter a nunnery. The only recorded exception to this latter point of discipline is that of the learned Neo-Platonician Synesius (410), who, being forced into the see of Ptolemais, endeavored to escape by protesting that he could not forego the society of his wife, and therefore received permission to retain her. But this very fact proves the existence of the contrary discipline. Thirdly, SS. Jerome and Epiphanius, and Eusebius, show us that among the olden Orientals, at least in Egypt and Syria, there were instances of enforced sacerdotal celibacy. Fourthly, the 26th Apostolic Canon, though not authentic, was greatly respected by the early Greek Christians, and it allowed only lectors and chanters to be married. And the Council of Neo-Cæsarea (315) deposes a priest who marries after his ordination. When Pope St. Gregory VII. enforced the already existing law of ecclesiastical celibacy, he had

(1) These Canons are observed by the United Greeks, but, as is shown by Joseph Assemani (*Library of Oriental Law*, B. i., c. 13, no. 361), the *practice* of the schismatic clergy is to take as many successive wives as they wish, provided these be virgins; they call a widow, when again married, only "half a wife," but sometimes they marry such. The Russian "orthodox" church has, in modern times, forgotten the ancient Greek Canons, prohibiting priests and deacons from marrying after their ordination. Before the time of Peter the Great, a priestly widower was obliged to retire to a monastery, but in 1724 this head of the "orthodox" church allowed a second marriage to a priest, and permitted him to be employed in a seminary or episcopal chancery. The following is the celibitic discipline of the United Greeks, Ruthenians, Maronites, and such other followers of the Oriental rites as are in communion with Rome. I. Bishops cannot, after their consecration, either marry again or cohabit with the wives married before their ordination. If the newly consecrated has a wife living, she must retire to a distant nunnery, and there be supported by her late husband. II. Priests and deacons may, in accordance with the Trullan Canon XIII. (y. 692), keep the wives taken before their ordination, but they must abstain from marital intercourse for some time before officiating at the altar. Pope Clement VIII. (1592-1605), in his *Constit.* 31, ordered this abstinence to be, if possible, for seven, and at any rate, for three days. III. Priests and deacons cannot marry after ordination; such was the decree of Benedict XIV. (*Bullarium*, vol. 1., *Constit.* 57), issued May 6, 1742, and such attempt at marriage was pronounced null. But in the case of priestly converts from schism, the same Pontiff decreed (*Constit.* 129) that the Holy See might permit the retention of a wife taken after ordination.

no intention of interfering with the ancient custom of the Eastern churches. He simply fulfilled his duty, in insisting upon obedience to the Canons which he found, upon his accession to the Papacy, in force in the West. And here we may remark that no theologian pretends that clerical celibacy is a matter of divine law. The Holy See, if it sees fit, may abrogate the discipline at once. In fact, dispensations have frequently been granted in particular cases, as we shall soon show.

Mosheim finds an argument against the antiquity of the celibitic discipline in the fact that so many of the clergy resisted St. Gregory's enactments. So did the Arians resist the definition of the Church upon the Divinity of Christ, but Mosheim would not contend that their repugnance furnishes a proof that the early Church did not believe in that Divinity. It is not our province to enter upon a polemical discussion as to the advantages of clerical celibacy, but there is one assertion of certain of its adversaries that we ought not to disregard. They affect to discover in St. Gregory VII. a design to found a sacerdotal caste, by means of which his theocratic ideas might be disseminated and actuated. Celibacy, they say, segregates the clergy from the world to a great extent, and forms them into a body more amenable to central authority, more deeply penetrated by an *esprit de corps*, than a married priesthood shows itself to be. But, we ask, would not matrimony have been for the Pontiff a more powerful means whereby to perpetuate a priestly caste? Can a caste easily endure, without the principle of heredity? As Balmes rightly observes (1), had the Church been solely intent upon aggrandizing herself, by any and every means, she would rather have imitated those who instituted an hereditary class, and would have allowed her priests to marry.

We are frequently told that several of the Apostles were married men, and sometimes St. Clement of Alexandria (d. 215) is cited against us. This father says: "Will they condemn the Apostles? Peter and Philip had children, and the latter gave his daughters in marriage. Paul, in one of

(1) Loc. cit., c. 60.

his epistles, finds no difficulty in speaking of his wife ; he did not take her along on his journeys, because he had no need of much service, but he says in his letter : ‘ have we not power to lead about a woman, a sister, as well as the rest of the Apostles ? ’ ” In citing this passage of St. Clement, our adversaries cunningly omit the following words of the saint : “ But since they (the Apostles) gave all their attention to preaching, a task which does not admit of distraction, they were accompanied by these women, *not as spouses, but as sisters*, in order that they themselves might enter, without suspicion, into the apartments of women, and there communicate the doctrine of the Lord.”

(1). But is it true that several of the Apostles were married men ? And if they were, did they continue the marriage relation during their Apostolate ? Now, as to the remark concerning SS. Paul and Philip, made by St. Clement of Alexandria, it is certain that he erred, and his mistake has been noticed by ancients and moderns. (2). The Philip with two daughters was not an Apostle, but was one of the seven deacons. As for St. Paul, does the following language sound like that of a married man, or at least like that of one who kept up the marriage relation ? “ Defraud not one another, except, perhaps by consent, for a time, that you may give yourselves to prayer ; and return together again, lest Satan tempt you for your incontinency. *But I speak this by indulgence, not by commandment. For I would that all men were even as myself* ; but every one hath his proper gift from God : one after this manner, and one after that. But I say to the unmarried, and to the widows : it is good for them if they so continue, *even as I*.” (3). Nor can it be replied that St. Paul would not have this rule applicable to all time, for the reasons which he assigns for

(1) *Stromata*, B. iii., c. 6. St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, Isidore Pelusiot. Ecumenius, and Theophylactus—all Greeks—interpret the passage of St. Paul as alluding, not to *wives*, but to women who accompanied the Apostles as assistants, especially in household matters. All the Latin fathers understand the *mulierem sororem (adelphîn gunaika)* of St. Paul’s, I. Cor. ix., as indicating either a wife with whom there was no longer any cohabitation, or some worthy woman who aided the Apostles in their works of charity, and took charge of their domestic concerns : the first class of writers are represented by St. Avitus of Vienne in a letter to King Gundobald of the Burgundians (*BALUZE, Miscellany*, B. i.), and the second by St. Jerome (B. i., *against Jovinian*), St. Augustine (*Work of Monks*, c. 4), St. Leo IX. (*Can. Omnino*, dist. 31), and even Tertullian (*Monogamy*, c. 8) whose authority is adduced against our thesis.

(2) See the Critical Notes on the *Stromata*.

(3) I. Cor. vii. 5—8.

celibacy, in the same chapter, are valid at every period. As for St. Peter, he was undoubtedly, before his vocation, possessed of a wife, but he said to his Master: "We have left *all things* and have followed Thee." (1). Finally, in citing St. Clement of Alexandria, the opponents of clerical celibacy omit to mention that the saint is combating those heretics of his day who condemned marriage as an evil thing; he by no means wished all to enter into that state.

The opponents of clerical celibacy are fond of adducing the instance of Gregory, father of St. Gregory Nazianzen, as a proof that, in early times, bishops were not obliged to observe continency; St. Nonna, wife of Gregory, gave birth, they say, to the saintly prelate, some time after his father became a bishop. Even among Catholic writers are found some who hold this opinion—namely, Tillemont, Baillet, the Benedictine editors of St. Basil, and Ceillier. Baronio, Alexandre, and Tournely combated this idea, but its full and triumphant refutation is due to the Bollandist Stilling (2), and after him, to Zaccaria, in his *New Justification of Holy Celibacy* (3). In the first place, we may observe, with Baronio, that St. Jerome tells us that even Jovinian acknowledged that "he could not be a bishop, who begat children during his episcopacy; if this were found to be the case, he would be condemned as an adulterer" (4). How is it, then, that the Arians, who did everything possible to detract from St. Gregory Nazianzen's reputation, never thought of calling him illegitimate? And how do our adversaries show that St. Gregory Nazianzen was born during the episcopacy of his father? Their only argument is drawn from a distich, in which the saint introduces his father as saying to him: "Thou hast not yet lived as many years as I have spent in sacrifices" (5). Baronio thinks that the verses are hyperbolic; Papebroch conjectures that there is some error in them; Alexandre accepts both of

(1) Matth. xix. 27.

(2) *Dissertation on the Date of Birth of St. Gregory Nazianzen*, published in 1750, in vol. iii. for September.

(3) Foligno, 1785, p. 121.

(4) *Against Jovinian*. St. Jerome wrote this passage only thirty years after the death of Nazianzen, and a little further on he speaks of this discipline as obtaining throughout the East.

(5) The Greek text has: *Ουπο τοσούτον εκμεμετρικας βιον, οσος αλλιη θυσιον ενον χρονος*. (*On His Life*. i., c. 35).

these opinions; Tournely supposes that the father of the saint compares the years of his son with the time which has passed since he himself was baptized, and became, therefore, a participant in the sacred Mysteries. At any rate, the verses are sufficiently ambiguous to prevent any serious argument to be drawn from them. The word *thusion* does not necessarily mean the Christian Sacrifice of the Mass; nay, it is much more appropriate to signify the Pagan mysteries, to which, before his conversion, the father of Nazianzen was addicted. The word *ekmemetrikas* is also ambiguous, and if, as Stilling translates it, "thou hast not considered" is the true meaning, the whole passage would read: "Thou hast not considered my age; I am not able any longer to sacrifice." But there are good reasons for believing that St. Gregory Nazianzen was born before the conversion of his father from Paganism. I. It is certain that the father was converted in 325. Now, in one of his poems, the saint says that he and his bosom friend, St. Basil, had resolved to leave Athens, where they had been studying many years: "For much time had been spent in study; it was now my thirtieth year." That the words "my thirtieth year" do not mean his thirtieth year of age, but his thirtieth year of study at Athens, is the opinion of the Greek priest Gregory, who compiled his life. All critics admit that the saint left Athens in 355; he therefore commenced his Athenian studies in 326. Precocious though he was, he could not have begun the study "of eloquence," which was his object in going to Athens, before his tenth year; therefore, concludes Stilling, he was born about 316, while his father was yet a Pagan. II. In certain of their writings, both St. Gregory and St. Basil speak of their extreme old age. The former says that he is "oppressed by hoary age; his members are withered by long life and sickness;" (1) he appeals to the prefect Olympius to have mercy on the citizens, for the sake of his gray hairs. (2). Now it is certain that St. Gregory died in 389. Can we suppose that he would use such language as the above, when he was not sixty years old? Yet, according to our

(1) *Oration* 27.(2) *Epist.* 172.

adversaries, he would have so spoken, for they place his birth in 329, and the expressions noted were penned some years before his death. III. We know that, when the father of St. Gregory was ordained priest, he was fifty-five years old, and that his wife, St. Nonna, was of about the same age. (1) Are we to believe that St. Nonna gave birth to our saint at that period of her life? IV. St. Gregory himself is, at least implicitly, an authority for the assertion that his birth preceded his father's conversion. Narrating the life of his father, he is very particular in observing the order of events, and whenever he, for a moment, deviates from chronological sequence, he reminds us of it. But he speaks of his own birth before he mentions his father's conversion, and makes no sign of realizing that he has interrupted the order of time. (2) For the above reasons, and especially because of the testimony of St. Jerome concerning the discipline obtaining in his day, we must hold that St. Gregory Nazianzen was born before his father's elevation to the episcopal dignity.

Although we avoid discussing the economic, romantic, and sanitary reasons alleged against the celibitic life of the clergy, we deem it proper to direct the reader's attention to the following remarks of Lingard: "To calculate the probable influence of this institution on the population of nations has frequently amused the ingenuity and leisure of arithmetical politicians; of whom many have not hesitated to arraign the wisdom of those by whom it was originally devised, and of those by whom it is still observed. Yet, in defiance of their speculations, several Catholic countries continue to be crowded with inhabitants; and to account for the scanty population of others we need only to advert to the defects of their constitution, the insalubrity of the climate, the establishment of foreign colonies, and the barrenness of a parched and effete soil. Neither is it certain that to increase the number of inhabitants is, in all circumstances, to increase the resources of the state; but it is evident that the man who spends his life in promoting the

(1) *Oration 19 and 10.*

(2) *Oration 19.* Stilling develops this argument at some length.

interests of morality and correcting the vicious propensities of his fellow-creatures, adds more to the sum of public virtue and of public happiness than he whose principal merit is the number of his children. If it be granted that the clerical functions are of high importance to the welfare of the state, it must also be acknowledged that, in the discharge of these functions, the unmarried possesses great and numerous advantages over the married clergyman. Unencumbered with the cares of a family, he may dedicate his whole attention to the spiritual improvement of his parishioners; free from all anxiety respecting the future establishment of his children, he may expend without scruple the superfluity of his revenue in relieving the distresses of the sick, the aged, and the unfortunate. Had Augustine and his associates been involved in the embarrassments of marriage, they would never have torn themselves from their homes and country, and have devoted the best portion of their lives to the conversion of distant and unknown barbarians. Had their successors seen themselves surrounded with numerous families, they would never have founded those charitable establishments, nor have erected those religious edifices, that testify the use to which they devoted their riches, and still exist to reproach the parsimony of succeeding generations. (1). But it was not from the impolicy of the institution, that the reformers attempted to justify the eagerness with which they emancipated themselves from its yoke. They contended that the law of clerical celibacy was unjust, because it deprived man of his natural rights, and exacted privations incompatible with his natural propensities. To this objection a rational answer was returned: that to accept the priestly character was a matter of election, not of necessity; and that he who freely made it the object of his choice, chose at the same time the obligations annexed to it. The insinuation that

(1) "He that hath wife and children," says Lord Bacon, "hath given hostages to fortune: for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of the greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or the childless men, which, both in affection and means, have married and endowed the public. . . . Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, and best servants. . . . A single life doth well with churchmen, for charity will hardly water the ground, unless it must first fill a pool." *Essays*, p. 17, London, 1696. Seneca says: "Conjugal life breaks high and generous spirits, and draws them from great to the most debasing thoughts."

a life of continency was above the power of man was treated with the contempt that it deserved. To those, indeed, whom habit had rendered the obsequious slaves of their passions, it might appear, with reason, too arduous an attempt; but the thinking part of mankind would hesitate before they sanctioned an opinion which was a libel on the character of thousands, who, in every department of society, are confined by their circumstances to a state of temporary or perpetual celibacy." (1).

Many dispensations from the obligation of celibacy have been accorded to ecclesiastics, and Zaccaria gives a long list in his *New Justification*, already cited. He doubts as to the dispensation given, according to Volterrano, Claude Espenceus, and others, to a bishop of Vardin (year 1096), in order that he might marry and raise heirs to the Hungarian throne, offered to him after the death of St. Ladislaus. But Mariana (B. xiii., c. 9) gives as certain a dispensation accorded to Peter, archbishop of Seville, and son of Ferdinand III., king of Leon, to marry the princess Christiana of Denmark. In the *Metropolis Salisburgensis* and in the *Germania Sacra*, is recorded a dispensation given in 1322, to the archduke Albert of Austria, *parochus* of Vienna, and bishop-elect of Passau, to marry Jane, daughter of Ulric, last count of Pfird. Claude Espenceus (*Redemption of Vows*, B. v., c. 7) and the *Christian Gaul* (vol. v.), narrate that, in 1391, Burchard of Lutzelstein, bishop of Strasburg, was allowed to resign his see, and to marry. Caesar Campana speaks of two dispensations, one in the line of the counts of Flanders (p. iv., no. 40), and one in that of the counts of Holland (no. 50). The first was in favor of Peter, lord of Alsace and bishop of Cambray, allowed to marry Sybil, daughter of the count of Nevers. The second was given to John, son of Alberic, (or Albert), count of Holland, who, in 1418, was permitted by Pope Martin V. to resign the bishopric of Liège, and to marry Elizabeth of Luxemburg. The *Metropolis Salisburgensis* (vol. i., p. 180, no. 48) and the *Ecclesiastical History of Germany*, Brussels, 1724, (vol. ii., p. 24), narrate that Robert, count palatine and bishop of

(1) *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, c. 2.

Frisingen, resigned his diocese to his brother Philip, and by a dispensation from Pope Alexander VI., married Margaret, duchess of Landshut. In a memorial presented to Clement XI., for the prince de Vendôme, it is said that Gregory XIII. similarly dispensed a certain archbishop, but his name is not given. Alexander VI. allowed Cæsar Borgia, a cardinal-deacon and archbishop of Valencia, to lay aside the purple and marry Charlotte d'Albret. Gregory XIII. wished to dispense the cardinal Charles of Portugal, uncle of king Sebastian, that he might give heirs to the crown, but the cardinal, alleging that he was too old—seventy-seven—declined to marry. In 1648, Innocent X. granted two dispensations to the Jesuit father, John Casimir of Poland—then a cardinal. Having been elected king of Poland, he was allowed to resign the purple, and was permitted to marry Mary Louisa di Gonzaga, the widow of his brother Ladislaus. In 1709, Clement XI., allowed the cardinal Francis dei Medici to marry Leonora di Gonzaga, daughter of the duke of Guastalla. The above instances of dispensation in the matter of celibacy, the reader will observe, are all in cases of cardinals and bishops. Although Zaccaria secured the good offices of Gaetano Marini, the Vatican archivist at the time, to search for evidence, he procured no “particular documents” referring to similar dispensations in cases of simple priests. He tells us, however, that Latino Latini wrote to Pope Pius IV: “Your Holiness has the example of your predecessor, Paul III., of happy memory, who, by letters which now exist (but which Zaccaria could not find), gave to three bishops the faculty of dispensing, in the cases of such priests as had married, provided they were men of great learning.” In modern days, the only instance of a validation of priestly marriages is that by Pius VII., in the case of the French *Constitutionnels*, who had married during the Revolution. Many deacons have been allowed to marry. In 1040, Benedict IX. dispensed in the case of Casimir, a monk of Cluny, for the sake of the Polish succession; see Longinus (*Hist. Polon.*, B. iii.) and Cromer (*Origin and Affairs of the Poles*, B. iv.). In 1354, Clement VI. allowed Henry, brother of king Rudolph of Bohemia,

to marry Elizabeth of Wittemberg : see Espenceus, (*loc. cit.*, B. v., c. 7). In 1534, Paul III. dispensed in the case of James Jacovacci ; see *Register of Paul III.* In 1572, Gregory XIII. did the same with Francis, baron of Ghimes, chancellor of Transylvania. In 1620, a Brief of Paul V., addressed to the archbishop of Treves, allowed the deacon William von Ussbœck to marry. Several more dispensations for deacons are cited in the memorial of the prince de Vendôme to Clement XI. As to subdeacons, we find the following dispensations from celibacy. On Jan. 16, 1434, Eugenius IV. granted one to Christopher d'Héricourt of Amiens, a relative of the king ; see *Register of Eugenius IV.* Claude Espenceus speaks of one given to a canon of Passau, in the sixteenth century. On March 24, 1608, Paul V. writes to his nuncio at Cologne, dispensing in the case of Herman, of the counts of Salm, "that the many and great fiefs of this house may not revert to a heretical branch." On Sept. 13, 1612, the same Pontiff grants a dispensation to marry to John of Braccamonte, a subdeacon of Toledo, "because of the gravity and justice of the cause." In 1614, he also allowed marriage to Lupo de Mendoza, archdeacon (but as yet only subdeacon) of Compostella. Gregory XV. dispensed in the case of Francis Ciacco, subdeacon, and archdeacon of Toledo ; see Barbosa (B. i., on *Subdicconate*, c. 37, no. 28). On Dec. 18, 1625, Pope Urban VIII. allowed the subdeacon Leopold, archduke of Austria, to resign his many benefices and marry. On July 12, 1644, the same Pontiff dispensed in the case of John, count of Ritberg. and a subdeacon of Cologne, so that the estates of that family might not pass to a Calvinist heir. On Nov 9, 1655. Alexander VII. dispensed in favor of Everard of Schendelagen, of the diocese of Osnabruck ; on Oct. 31, 1656, he did the same for Henry of Savoy, duke of Nemours, a subdeacon of Paris ; in both these cases, the perpetuation of extensive estates in Catholic hands was the object of the concession. On June 30, 1685, Innocent XI. allowed the subdeacon Ferdinand Maximilian, of the counts of Ritberg, a canon of Cologne, to marry, to prevent his estates from passing to the Landgrave of Hesse, a Calvinist, and "to preserve the

bishopric of Paderborn from probable danger." Dispensations to monks, friars, and nuns are numerous. Among the most celebrated are the following: In 1134, the death of Alphonsus the Warlike having left the kingdom of Aragon without an heir, the prince Ramiro, a brother of the late king, and a priest and monk, was placed on the throne, and was allowed, by Pope Innocent II., to marry. So say all old Spanish writers, the *Art of Verifying Dates*, and Arnold Wion, in his *Wood of Life*, B. iv. In 1177, Alexander III. allowed the Benedictine, Nicholas Giustiniani, to marry Anna, daughter of the doge Vitale Micheli, in order that the great family of the Giustiniani might not die out; but on condition that, when heirs had been born, Nicholas should return to his monastery. So it was done; the wife imitating the husband, and founding the nunnery of St. Adrian, at Venice. Constance, daughter of king Roger of Sicily, and a nun, was dispensed from her vows in 1191, by Celestine III., to marry the emperor Henry VI., who was crowned as king of Sicily in 1194. Dispensations in cases of persons belonging to the Military Religious Orders are quite numerous.

CHAPTER XV.

THE RIGHT OF THE POPE TO DEPOSE SOVEREIGNS.

Comparatively speaking, there are very few modern authors who do not declaim against the power exercised by the Roman Pontiff, during the Middle Ages, in the matter of deposing sovereigns. We are told that the Popes had no right to judge sovereigns, in temporal matters; furthermore, that such a usurpation was pernicious to society. Nor is the declared enemy of the Holy See the only one to inveigh against the deposing power, claimed and exercised by so many holy Pontiffs; many writers, whose devotion to the Church is beyond suspicion, have been so influenced by national prejudice and by an exaggerated respect for monarchy, as to join in the outcry

against the "pretensions" of Rome. (1). The prodigious power over sovereigns exercised by the Pontiffs of the Middle Ages has given rise to many and various theories as to its origin, some of which are theological, that is, viewing the matter according to the principle of revelation and of divine right, while others are historical, that is, examining the question with an eye to the public law of the olden time. It was only in the beginning of the eighteenth century (2) that the theological theories commenced to be laid aside. It is not our province to here defend any one of them, but a brief exposition of their meaning is necessary. According to the system of the "direct divine right," the Pope has received, *immediately from God*, full power to govern the world, both in spirituals and temporals: the temporal ruler is only an official of the Pontiff, and as he receives the temporal sword to be used in conformity with the order of God, he may be deprived of it by the Pope, when he uses it against that order. Gosselin, whose excellent treatise is certainly the most exhaustive, clear, and impartial, of all modern works on the subject (3), thinks that the first to advocate this theory was John of Salisbury (1159). St Thomas à Becket certainly held it (4); so did the compiler of the *Laws of Suabia* (5). Henry de Suza (d. 1365) even asserts that "since the coming of Jesus Christ all the dominion of infidel princes was transferred to the Church, and is vested in the Pope as the vicar of Jesus Christ, the King of kings." (6). Besides these famous men, the principal defenders of the "direct divine right" theory were Augustine Triumphus (d. 1328), and Alvarez Pelayo (d. 1340). Another theory of the divine right is that said right is only indirect. According to this opinion, the Pope has received from God, immediately and directly, no power over temporals; nevertheless, his power over spirituals in-

(1) Among the eminent authors who have censured the Popes of the Middle Ages, and most especially Gregory VII. and his successors, for this reason, may be particularly mentioned FLEURY, *passim*, and BOSSUET (if, indeed, he wrote the work), in the famous *Defence*, B. i., sect. 1, c. 7; B. iii., c. 2, 9, 10. As to Fleury, see MARCHETTI'S *Criticism*, MUZZARELLI'S *Remarks*, and ZACCARIA, in *Anti-Febronio*, Introduction, c. 6., no. 11.

(2) FENELON was the first Catholic writer to defend the deposing power by the public law of the Middle Ages, in his *Authority of the Supreme Pontiff*; LEIBNITZ, though with less clearness, had done the same *passim*, but especially in his *Right of Supremacy*.

(3) *Power of the Pope, during the Middle Age, over Sovereigns*; Paris, 1839.

(4) *Epistles*, B. i., no. 64, to king Henry II.

(5) SENCKENBERG, *Body of German Law, Preface to the Suabian Law*.

(6) *Commentaries on Decretals*, B. iii., tit. 34, *Vou*, etc., c. 8, nos. 26, 27.

cludes, *indirectly*, a right to manage temporals when the good of religion demands such management; the Pope cannot, *ordinarily*, depose princes, but he can do so in extraordinary cases, when, that is, the salvation of souls is impeded by princes. Bellarmine, the principal advocate of this opinion (1), cites in its favor Hugh of St. Victor, Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventura, Durandus, Peter d'Ailly, John Parisiensis, John Torquemada, Gaetano (Cajetan), and many others of note. But Gosselin holds that many of these authors defend rather the "directive" power, in the sense explained by Fénelon. Gosselin also remarks that many others of the authors cited by Bellarmine as advocates of the indirect divine right are really defenders of the direct. They try, he says, "to soften down what appears extreme in that opinion, and sometimes seem to reduce it to an indirect power; but all of them hold, as a fundamental principle, that the Pope receives temporal as well as spiritual power, immediately from God, which is the very essence of the opinion of the direct power." Although Bellarmine's theory was soon adopted by nearly all "ultramontane" theologians (2), many of them so modified it as to reduce it to the solution of a case of conscience, concerning the binding force of an oath of allegiance. As explained by the celebrated cardinal du Perron, this modified system of the indirect divine right inculcates that the Pope cannot depose a sovereign, but that he can decide whether the prince has forfeited his throne, because of some offence against religion (3). When so presented, Bellarmine's theory differs but little from that of the "directive" power, defended by Fénelon. The theological opinion of the divine right is only an opinion; it has never been defined as an article of faith, nor has any Pontifical or

(1) When Bellarmine's theory (*Supreme Pontiff*, B. v., c. 6) appeared, it was so bitterly censured by the partisans of the direct divine right, that Pope Sixtus V. placed the work on the *Index*. The new edition of the *Index*, containing the prohibition, was about to be published, when Sixtus V. died; the new Pope, Urban VII., erased the book from the list. SACCHINI, *History of the Society of Jesus*, p. v., vol. 1.; FULIGATI, *Life of Bellarmine*, B. ii., c. 7; D'AVRIGNY, *Chronological and Dogmatic Memoirs*, cent. xvii., Nov. 1610.

(2) PERCEIRA DE CASTRO, *Royal Hand*, Lisbon, 1625; RONCAGLIA, *Notes on Alexander's* Diss. ii., cent. xi.; BIANCHI, *Power and Policy of the Church*, vol. 1., B. i., § 8; PEREZ VALIENTE, *Public Law of Spain*, Madrid, 1751, vol. 1., c. 14; MAMACHI, *Origins and Antiquities*, Rome, 1749, vol. iv., c. 2.

(3) During the session of the States General of France, in 1614, du Perron thus explained his mind. See D'AVRIGNY, *loc. cit.*, vol. 1., Oct. 27, 1614; LITTA, *Letters on the four articles of 1682*, no. 9.

Conciliary decree sanctioned it. Indeed, at present at least, the Holy See is very far from maintaining either the theory of the direct, or that of the indirect divine right. (1).

Fénelon thus presents his explanation of the conduct of the Popes in deposing princes: "An impression began gradually to take deep hold of the mind of Catholic nations, that the supreme power could be vested in none but a Catholic; and that a condition was implied in the tacit contract between princes and people, that the people should faithfully obey the prince so long as he remained faithful to the Catholic religion. This condition once supposed, it was the general belief that the oath which bound the nation to its prince ceased to be obligatory whenever he violated that condition and openly revolted against the Catholic religion. In these times it was usual that excommunicated persons should be deprived of all communication with the faithful, and should have no intercourse with them, unless for the necessities of life. It is not wonderful, therefore, that nations so devoted to the Catholic religion should shake off the yoke of an excommunicated prince. They had become subject to him only on condition that he also should be a subject of the Catholic religion (2). But a prince whom the Church had excommunicated, either because of heresy, or because of an evil and impious administration of his power, was no longer looked upon as that devout prince to whom the whole

(1) GOSSELIN, *loc. cit.*, *Confirmatory Evidence*, no. 8. In our day, says this author, the Holy See, "far from favoring the theological opinion of the direct or indirect power, embraces readily such opportunities as present themselves of showing the slight importance it attaches to that opinion, and of openly professing principles which subvert, or at least are not easily reconciled with, it."

(2) This contract will not surprise us, if we bear in mind that in most of the monarchies established on the ruins of the old Roman empire the crown was not purely hereditary. It was also elective, inasmuch as the sovereign could be chosen among all the princes of the reigning family; quite naturally, therefore, conditions were attached to the coronation of the elect. As De Maistre remarks, after Voltaire (*Essay on Customs*, vol. iii., c. 121), election necessarily implies a contract between the king and the nation, "so that an elective monarch can at all times be called to account and judged . . . in the Middle Age, elective sovereignty had no other firm stay but that derived from the personal qualities of the sovereign; let no one, therefore, wonder at its having been so frequently attacked, transferred, or subverted." (*The Pope*, B. ii., c. 9). John de la Chapelle, secretary of the prince de Conti, in his *Letters concerning the War of the Spanish Succession* (Basel, 1703, vol. iii., p. 146) says that "the emperor swears to observe all the articles of a contract. By a violation of them, he frees his subjects from their allegiance; he forfeits every right to the empire, because he received the empire only on condition that he observed said articles." In the old *Capitularies* (BALFZE, *Cap.*, vol. I); in the *Law of the Visigoths*, b. 12, tit. 2, no. 2, (CANCIANI, *Laws of the Barbarians*, vol. IV.); in the *Laws of England* (*ibid.*); and in the *Preface to the Saxon or German Law*, no. 21-24 (SENCKENBERG, *Body of German Law*, vol. ii.), we find it expressly determined that the sovereign shall be elected only on condition that he professes the Catholic faith, and swears to defend it, with all his power, against every kind of heresy and impiety.

nation had been willing to commit itself. The people therefore regarded their oath of allegiance as no longer binding. Again, the Canon law had decreed that an excommunicated person who did not submit to the Church within a certain period, and thus obtain absolution, was to be considered, if not a heretic, at least one suspected of heresy. Hence princes who contumaciously persisted in a state of excommunication were regarded as impious contempters of the Catholic Church, and, consequently, as heretics; and such were deposed by the nation, for having failed to keep their compact with it. The usage, however, was so far modified, that the deposition was not effected until the Church had been consulted . . . The Church neither deposed nor instituted lay rulers; she merely told the people, when they consulted her, what they could conscientiously do, in the matter of a contract and an oath. This is not a juridical and civil power, but only that directive and ordinative power which Gerson admits." (2). In another place, Fénelon says that the deposing power "consists only in this, that the Pope, as prince of pastors, and chief doctor and governor of the Church in all great questions of morality, is bound to instruct the people who consult him as to the binding force of their oath of allegiance. But the Popes do not wish to command princes, unless they have acquired the right by a special title, or by some peculiar prescription over such princes as are feudal vassals of the Apostolic See." (1). The deposing power, according to the bishop of Cambray, was not one of temporal jurisdiction, founded on the divine law; it was, however, both a directive power, of divine institution, and one of temporal jurisdiction, of human institution. The Supreme Pontiff, by divine institution, directs the consciences of men; and during the Middle Ages he received, by human institution, by the public law of the time, a power of temporal jurisdiction. When the Popes pronounced a sentence of deposition, contends Fénelon, they did not claim a divine right to do so; they merely declared that, by not having complied with the conditions implied

(2) *Loc. cit.*, c. 30.(1) *Ibid.*, c. 27.

in his election or coronation, a certain prince had forfeited his crown.

While authors may differ as to the origin and grounds of the belief, universally held during the Middle Ages, that the Pope possessed a right, in certain cases, to depose princes, the existence of that belief is indisputable. It is admitted by Gallicans like Bossuet, Fleury, and Michaud; by such Protestants as Leibnitz, Pfeffel, Hurter, and Voigt; and by that enemy of all religion, Voltaire. Bossuet observes that "the obligation of avoiding heretics had made such an impression on pious and enlightened men in the time of Gregory VII., that they renounced allegiance to Henry IV., when he was excommunicated by that Pope. It was the custom in those days to insist on an avoidance of intercourse with the excommunicated." (1). Fleury, who yields to none in opposition to "ultramontanism," admits that during the eighth and ninth centuries kings themselves acknowledged that the Church could depose them, as appears from the petition presented by Charles the Bald to the Council of Savonières, in 859 (2). The same author says that, "more than two hundred years before Gregory VII., Popes had commenced to decide authoritatively on the rights of crowns." (3). Michaud says that "the pretensions of the Popes, in this matter, were unquestionably favored by the common belief of the age. Occasional complaints there were of unjust decisions issuing from the tribunal of the heads of the Church; but their right of judging the Christian powers was never questioned, and their judgments were almost always received by the people without murmur." (4). Leibnitz holds that "it is certain that many princes were feudatories or vassals of the Roman empire, or at least of the Roman Church; that some kings and dukes were created by the emperor or the Pope; and that others were not anointed kings without, at the same, time doing homage to Jesus Christ, to whose Church they promised fealty, when they were receiving the unction from the hands of the bishop; and this it was that verified the formula

(1) *Defence of Declaration*, B. I., sect. 2, c. 21; B. III., c. 4.

(2) *Ecc. Hist.*, vol. XIII., discourse III., no. 10.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *History of the Crusades*, 4th edit., vol. IV., p. 166.

'Christ reigns, conquers, commands' (1), for all history attests that most of the Western nations submitted to the Church with equal promptitude and piety. I am not now examining whether these things were by divine right. The facts are that they were done with unanimous consent; that they could most properly be done; and that they are not opposed to the good of Christendom; for not unfrequently the salvation of souls and the public good are promoted by the same measure From the strict connection that exists between sacred and profane things, it resulted that people believed the Pope to have received some authority over kings themselves." (2). It is interesting to notice this great Protestant thinker sighing for the restoration of the Papal supremacy: "My opinion would be, to establish, yes, even in Rome, a tribunal (to decide controversies between sovereigns) and to make the Pope its president, as he really did, in former ages, figure as judge between Christian princes And since there is no prohibition against the planning of romances, what harm can there be in suggesting one which would revive the golden age?" (3). Voltaire observes: "It appears that the princes who had the right of electing the emperor, had also the right of deposing him; but to admit the Pope to preside in such decisions was to acknowledge him as the natural judge of the emperor and the empire." (4). The same malignant carper asserts that "every prince who desired to recover or to usurp a territory addressed himself to the Pope, as to his master. No new prince dared to call himself sovereign, nor would other princes recognize him as such without the consent of the Pope; and the fundamental principle of the entire history of the Middle Ages is that the Popes regarded themselves as lords paramount of all kingdoms, without one exception." (5). In the valuable work of Gosselin the reader will find many special

(1) This legend "*Christus regnat, vincit, imperat*" was on all the gold coins of France, from Louis VI. (year 1100) to Louis XVI.

(2) *Right of Supremacy*, p. iii.

(3) *Letter ii. to M. Grimaire* (*Works*, vol. v.). Pfeffel, in his *New Compendium of German History*, vol. i., year 1106, thinks that Pope Gregory VII. could not have acted toward Henry IV. otherwise than he did, for all his measures, he says, were the logical realization of principles then universally admitted.

(4) *Loc. cit.*, vol. ii., c. 46.

(5) *Ibid.*, vol. iii., c. 44.

proofs that it was universally admitted, during the Middle Ages, that the Roman Pontiff could depose, for certain reasons, any monarch in Christendom. We would here, however, only draw attention to a few proofs of the existence of that belief, with regard to the Holy Roman empire. By an examination of these proofs, the reader will be convinced that the said belief was not introduced by St. Gregory VII., and that the Popes of the Middle Ages have been falsely accused of usurpation in their conduct toward the empire.

Some of the olden authors speak of the empire as a fief of the Holy See, but that expression must not be understood as implying that the Pontiff held the same rights over the empire that he held over those countries, the rulers of which were, properly speaking, vassals of the Holy See. This is evident from the difference between the oath of fidelity taken to the Pontiff by the emperors, and that taken by the vassal princes, the kings of Sicily, Hungary, Aragon, and in at least one case, of England. The vassals, in their oath, plainly declare that they hold their domains by favor of the Pontiff; the emperor, in his, recognizes an obligation of protecting and defending the Roman See, from which alone he derives his title. But that the empire really depended on the Holy See, in the sense that the Pontiff could elect an emperor (or confirm an election by the prince-electors), and that he gave the title, and could take it away, is easily proved. During their conflict with Henry IV., the Saxon princes, and many other German lords, appealed to the Pontiff, and urged that "it is not right to tolerate so wicked a prince on the throne, especially as Rome has not yet conferred on him the royal dignity; it is proper to restore to Rome her right of appointing kings; it belongs to the Pope and to the city of Rome, in accord with the German princes, to select a man whose life and wisdom merit such an honor." (1). Godfrey of Viterbo, writing about the year 1184, represents the Pope as saying to the emperors: "We have given you the empire; you

(1) *Apology of Henry IV.*, in *CRISTITUS, Illustrations of Germany*, edited by VOIGT, Gregory VII., B. viii.; and by BOSSUET, *Defence*, B. I., c. 12.

have given us little; you are Roman emperors by our gift." (1). Arnold, bishop of Lisieux, speaking in a Council of Tours in 1163, says that the emperors, "according to all old histories, have no other claim to the crown, than the will of the Holy Roman Church." (2). Gervase of Tilbury, writing to Otho IV., about the year 1211, tells that emperor to consider that "Pope Innocent II. gave to Otho's great-grandfather that empire which he now holds from Innocent III.," and then he proceeds: "The empire is not yours, but Christ's; not yours, but Peter's; you have received it, not from yourself, but from the vicar of Christ, the successor of Peter. . . . When you give his own to Peter, you lose nothing of your own. . . . By favor of the Pope, and not of itself, did Rome revive the empire, in the time of Charlemagne; the favor of the Pope gave the empire to a king of the Franks; the favor of the Pope transferred it from the Frankish to a German king; nor does the empire fall to him whom Germany chooses, but to him whom the Pope appoints." (3). Ludolph, bishop of Bamberg, an eminent juriconsult of the thirteenth century, regards as unquestionable "that after Charlemagne's elevation all the emperors received the unction and the crown from the Roman Church; that from the time of Otho every emperor, at his coronation, swore fidelity to that Church. . . . that the German princes, who had the right to elect a king of the Romans, had acknowledged to Pope Innocent III. that the Roman Church possessed the right of examining the person chosen as king of the Romans, who was afterwards to be promoted to the empire." (4). John of Paris, a devoted adherent of Philip the Fair, and hence very averse to anything like pretension on the part of Rome, says: "To the objection that the Pope can depose the emperor, I reply that it is true: the Pope deposes him whom he has made—the emperor receives his fief from the Pope." (5). But let us

(1) *Univ. Chron., Paschal II.*, in PISTORIUS, *German Writers*, vol. ii.

(2) LABBE, *Councils*, vol. x.

(3) *Imperial Recreations*. This work was probably suggested to Gervase, remarks Gosselin, by John of Salisbury's *Polygeratien*, also written for the instruction of princes. It is worthy of note, continues Gosselin, that these writers, though differing in their explanation of the subjection of the power of princes to that of the Pope, both assert the general belief in that subjection. See LEIBNITZ, *Writers on Brunswick Affairs*, vol. i.

(4) *Zeal of the German Princes*, Strasburg, 1508.

(5) *Royal and Papal Power*, c. 16.

hear the emperors themselves. Louis II., writing, in 871, to his rival, Basil, says of his own predecessors that "not one of them assumed the imperial title, until, for that end, he had been anointed by the Roman Pontiff." (1). Lothaire I. writes to his father, Louis the Compliant, "I have received from the Supreme Pontiff, before the altar, and before the body of St. Peter, the prince of the Apostles, as you desired, the blessing, honor, and title of the imperial office; also the crown, and the sword, for the defence of the Church." (2). Muratori declares that, in the immense multitude of charters and diplomas which he had examined, he could not discover one instance of the title of emperor having been given to a king of Germany before his coronation by the Pope. (3).

Let us now read the oath of fidelity to the Popes taken by the emperors. In two copies of the *Sacramentary* of St. Gregory, preserved in the Vatican and Orbonian libraries at Rome, and proved by Muratori (4) to be of a date prior to the death of Pope Leo III. (816), the oath is given as follows: "I, N., king of the Romans, by the grace of God, to be emperor, promise and swear, before God and the blessed Peter, that hereafter I shall be the protector and defender of the Supreme Pontiff and of the Holy Roman Church, in all their necessities and interests, guarding and preserving their possessions, honors, and rights, as far as the divine assistance will enable me, with all my knowledge and power, in pure and sincere fidelity. So help me God, and these holy gospels of God." (5). Before Otho I. even entered Italy, Pope John XII. required the legates to administer to him, before a portion of the true cross, the following oath, which was afterwards inserted (6) in the *Body of Canon Law*: "I, king Otho, do promise and swear to the lord John, Supreme Pontiff, by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by this wood of the life-giving cross, and by these relics of the saints, that if, God per-

(1) BARONIO, year 871, no. 59. CENNI, *Monuments*, diss. 6, no. 19.

(2) CENNI, *loc. cit.*, no. 21. MABILLON, *Acts of the Benedictines*, cent. 17.

(3) *Annals of Italy*, years 1433, 1493, 1519.

(4) *Ancient Roman Liturgy*, vol. 1., dissert. on *Liturgical Matters*, c. 6.

(5) MURATORI, *ibid.*, vol. II.

(6) *Decree*, p. 1., dist. 53, c. 33, *Tibi Domino*.

mitting, I arrive at Rome, I shall with all my power exalt the Holy Roman Church, and thee its ruler; and I shall never injure, by my will, consent, advice, or persuasion, thy life, or members, or position; and I shall not make in Rome, in anything regarding thee or the Romans, any decree or law without thy counsel; and I shall restore to thee whatever part of the territory of St. Peter comes into our power: and whomever I shall place over the kingdom of Italy, I shall cause to swear that he will be thy ally in defending the territory of St. Peter, with all his might. So help me, etc." (1). The terms of this oath, says Gosselin, may have varied with time, but it was certainly taken by the emperors at their coronation, during the whole course of the Middle Ages. Having now shown that, contrary to the assertions of Sismondi, Michaud, Voigt, Guizot, and certain other modern authors, Gregory VII. was not the first Pontiff to regard the empire as a dependency of the Holy See, we proceed to defend the legitimacy of the deposing power, as exercised by the Popes of the Middle Ages.

We shall not consider the question of the Pontiff's divine right in the premises, whether that right be regarded as direct or indirect. It is not within our province, as historians, to do more than indicate that such a right has been defended by certain grave theologians, if not by the whole power of the schools. But we do contend that, when the Popes of the Middle Ages deposed sovereigns, they acted in accordance with the constitutional law of the day. (2) If

(1) BARONIO, year 960, no. 5.

(2) With regard to the meaning of what is called constitutional or public law, see SUAREZ, *On Laws*. In the Preface to his *Public Law*, John Dornat, whom Cauth styles, "by excellence, a philosophical juriconsult," says: "With regard to that part of the order of society which refers solely to persons united in one state under the same government, the matters arising from this order are of two kinds, which it is necessary to distinguish. The first consists of those which relate to the general order of the state: such as those that relate to government, the power of the authorities, the obedience due to them, etc. The second consists of those which regard the relations between private individuals, their various obligations to each other, whether with or without a contract. The first kind of matters, having reference to the general order of a state, is the object of *constitutional law*; and the second, which regards only what passes between private persons, is the object of that other class of laws, which, for that reason, is called *private law*. Of these two kinds of law there are two sorts, admitted in practice by all the nations of the earth. One consists of those which belong to the natural law; the other, of laws peculiar to each country; such, for instance, as customs sanctioned by long usage, and laws such as the reigning power may enact." In his *Civil Law*, prelim., tit. 1, sect. 1, nos. 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, the same author explains how these laws may be known: "Laws or rules are of two kinds: one belongs to the natural, and the other to positive, otherwise called human or conventional law, because enacted by men. Human laws are of two sorts; the first, such as from their very institution were written and promulgated by competent authority, as, for instance, the ordinances of the kings of France; and the other, those whose origin cannot be traced, but which are found sanctioned by the universal approbation and immemorial usage of the people. These latter rules, or laws, are called customs. Customs derive their obligatory

the public law of the time authorized the deposing power of the Popes, that power was legitimate. Now it is certain that, during the Middle Ages, it was stipulated in the election of all sovereigns, by the constitution of their states, that an heretical prince, or one who rebelled against the Church, incurred deposition. In proving that such was the public law of the time, we will not insist, with de Maistre, that the existence of this law is sufficiently shown by the fact of the universal belief of the day (1); we shall furnish direct proofs, founded on the constitutional law of Spain, of England, of Sicily, of France, and above all, of the Holy Roman empire. Firstly, then, in regard to Spain, the reader of Mariana, Ferreras, and Valiente will find that, as far back as the seventh century, the general assemblies of the nation insisted upon the Catholicism of the monarch. In the Sixth Council of Toledo (638), it was decreed that "hereafter, no king shall mount the throne until he has sworn, among other conditions, not to tolerate heretics in his states." The Jesuit Charenton, in his notes on Mariana, says that "it is not surprising that the Councils imposed new laws and conditions on the Gothic kings. All the grandees of the kingdom assisted at these Councils, for they were a kind of States-General. The bishop, it is true, had the exclusive management of ecclesiastical matters, but in civil affairs the barons, as well as the prelates, had a voice." Valiente tells us that the obligation of maintaining religious unity in Spain remained in force for all Spanish monarchs, and they were obliged to accept it at their coronation until the fifteenth century; and then it was no longer expressly mentioned, because it was no longer necessary for thoroughly Catholic Spain (1).

force from the people who have received them, whereas, in republics, the authority is vested in the people. But in monarchical states customs are not established, and cannot acquire the force of law, unless with the assent of the sovereign. Thus, in France, the kings have fixed and drawn up in writing, and confirmed as laws, all the customs, preserving for each province the laws which it had already possessed, either from the ancient consent of the people who instituted them, or of the princes who governed them." In *sect. 2, no. 19, ibid.*, Domat concludes from the above principles, that "if the difficulties arising in the interpretation of a law or custom are found explained by an ancient usage, which fixes its sense, and which is confirmed by an uninterrupted succession of uniform decisions, we must adhere to the sense as decided by custom, which is the best interpreter of laws."

(1) Generally speaking, says Gosselin, the sole fact of the universal belief will establish the existence of the law (GROTIUS, *Law of War*, B. II., c. 4. PUFFENDORF, *Law of Nature and Nations*, B. IV., c. 12, § 8; B. VII., c. 7, § 4; c. 8, § 9.), "but when there is question of proving a point of constitutional law in favor of the Holy See, it is not enough, in the opinion of the enemies of the Church, to appeal to prescription . . . we must prove, besides, that the Church had from the beginning, possessed this power legitimately."

(1) *Public Law of Spain*, vol. II., c. 7, no. 18.

Secondly, as regards England, the *Laws of St. Edward*, which were solemnly confirmed by the Conqueror in 1069, declare, in art. XIV., that "the king, as he holds here below the place of the Supreme King, is appointed to rule an earthly kingdom and the Lord's people, and above all, to venerate His Church, to defend her from those who would injure her, to expel from her all evil-doers, and to utterly destroy them. Unless he does these things, the name of king shall not cling to him; yea, as Pope John declares, he shall lose the name of king." (1). And then, after mentioning the duties of a king, the same article says: "The king, in his own person, placing his hand on the holy Gospels, and on the sacred relics, shall, in the presence of the priests and of his kingdom, swear to observe all those things before he is crowned by the archbishops and bishops." In the sixteenth century, the English Catholics confidently cited, against Elizabeth's claim to the throne, the ancient laws of England, which expressly excluded a heretic from the throne. (2). Elizabeth herself, though she affected to ridicule the Pope's sentence against her pretensions, tried every means to procure its revocation, and even sought the emperor Maximilian's intercession. Pope Pius V. asked the emperor, in return, "whether Elizabeth deemed the sentence valid or invalid. If valid, why did she not seek a reconciliation with the Holy See? If invalid, why did she wish it to be revoked?" (3). Thirdly, in regard to the Two Sicilies, there can be no question, for from the time of Charlemagne, the Holy See was suzerain of nearly all the peninsular part of this kingdom (4); Adrian I. having received, in 773, from Charlemagne, the sovereignty of the duchy of Benevento, which then included all of the peninsular domain, excepting the duchy of Naples and Gaeta. During the Pontificate of John VIII. (872-882), whether;

(1) WILKINS, *Anglo-Saxon Laws*, London, 1721. It is well here to observe that, according to the best critics, these laws were, properly speaking, not St. Edward's own, but a compilation, with amendments, of old Saxon laws, reaching back to the year 602, in the reign of Ethelbert of Kent.

(2) See ALLEN, *A True, Sincere, and Modest Answer of Catholics to the English Persecutors*, 1584, c. 4, 5, and the same cardinal's *Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland*, Antwerp, 1588. Also, DOLEMAN, *Conference on the Next Succession to the Crown of England*, 1593, p. 2, c. 7.

(3) LINGARD, *History of England*, vol. vi., c. 1.
(4) BORGIA, *History of the Temporal Dominion of the Apostolic See in the Two Sicilies*, Second Edit., Rome, 1789, *Dissert. Prelim.*, no. 18.

as the anti-Papal historian, Giannone, admits (1), by effect of another donation of Charlemagne, or by the voluntary submission of the people, Gaeta also became a fief of the Holy See. Under St. Leo IX. (1049-1054), the Holy See received from the emperor Henry III. a cession of the high dominion which the successors of Charlemagne had retained, subject to the Pontiff's rights, over these and the other Neapolitan territories; and we find the same Pope investing count Humfred with the sovereignty of the island of Sicily. From this period, down to our own day, the kings of Naples and of Sicily (or of the Two Sicilies) whether they were Normans, Suabians, Angevines, Aragonese, Austrians, Bourbons, have always solemnly recognized the suzerainty of the Holy See. (2). The following oath of fealty, taken by Robert Guiscard to Pope Nicholas II., in 1059, will sufficiently show the relations subsisting between the Roman Pontiffs and this kingdom. "I, Robert, by the grace of God and of St. Peter, duke of the Puglia and of Calabria, and by the same protection, duke-elect of Sicily, will henceforth be faithful to the Holy Roman Church, and to thee, *my liege Lord*, Nicholas. I shall take no part in any act or scheme against thy life, limbs, or liberty; nor shall I knowingly disclose, to thine injury, the plans which thou mayest entrust to me, and which thou forbiddest me to reveal. In all places, and with all my power, I shall aid the Holy Roman Church against all men, to hold and to preserve the property and domain of St. Peter; I shall assist thee to preserve in security and honor the Roman Popedom, the land, and the principality of St. Peter; I shall not try to invade, to acquire, or to seize, without certain license from thee or from thy successors in the dignity of St. Peter, any possessions other than those which thou or thy successors may grant to me. I shall try, in good faith, to pay annually to the Roman Church the tribute fixed for the lands of St. Peter which I hold or may hold. I shall place in thy power all the churches in my dominions, together with their possessions; and I shall de-

(1) *Civil History of the kingdom of Naples*, Naples, 1724, B. vi., c. 1.

(2) For dates of this solemn recognition, and payment of tribute, see the cited work of Borgia, p. xvi. When Borgia wrote (1789), this mark of vassalage had been exhibited to the Roman Pontiffs fifty-one times.

fend them in their fidelity to the Holy Roman Church. Shouldst thou die, or any of thy successors die, before me, I shall help toward the election and installation of a successor worthy of St. Peter, according as I shall be advised by the best cardinals, and by the Roman clergy and people. All the above things I shall observe to thee and to the Holy Roman Church, and I shall observe this fidelity to thy successors in the dignity of St. Peter, who may confirm to me the investitures thou hast granted to me. So help me, etc." (1).

Fourthly, in regard to France, as far back as the sixth century, we find French kings subjecting themselves to be deposed, in certain cases, by the authority of the Pope. At the request of queen Brunehilda, St. Gregory the Great, when granting certain privileges to the monasteries and hospital of Autun, decreed that "if any person, king, bishop, judge, or any secular whosoever, knowing this our constitution, shall try to violate it, he forfeits the dignity of his power and honor." (2). But whatever may have been the custom of France under her first race of kings, it is certain that under the Carolingians the king was amenable to a national Council, an assembly which was at once ecclesiastical and political—a kind of States-General. (3). When Lothaire had been deposed, in 842, by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, the bishops declared that his brothers could not take possession of his states unless they promised to rule according to the law of God; and when the princes so promised, the president said: "Then, by the divine authority, we advise, exhort, and command, that you receive the kingdom, and rule it according to the will of God." (4). Charles the Bald, having been deposed by the Council of Attigny, in 857, presented a petition to the Council of Savonnières, in 859, in which he thus admitted the competency of the ecclesiastical tribunal: "By no one could I be cast down from the height of royal power, without at least the consideration and judgment of the bishops, by

(1) BARONIO, years 1059, no. 70.

(2) *Epistles*, B. xiii., ep. 8, 9, 10.

(3) THOMASSIN, *Old and New Discipline of the Church*, vol. ii., B. iii., c. 44–57.

BERNARD, *Origin and Progress of French Legislation*, B. V., c. 3.

(4) NITHARD, *Dissensions of the Sons of Louis the Compliant*, B. iv., in Labbe, vol. 7. DANIEL, *History of France*, vol. 2. FLEURY, vol. x., B. xlviii., no. 11; B. xlix., no. 46.

whose ministry I was consecrated king, and who are called thrones of God, in whom God sits, and through whom He pronounces His judgments." (1).

And now, fifthly, for the public law of the empire. We have already seen, when treating of the revival of the empire under Charlemagne, that this prince owed his title to the Roman Pontiff, the representative and guardian of the Roman people. (2). Again, by the nomination and coronation of Charlemagne, the Pope did not renounce his right in future elections, as is proved by the exercise of that right during the Carlovingian period, and by the transfer of the empire, at the will of the Pontiff (John XII.), from the Franks to the Germans. These facts would, of themselves, demonstrate the special dependence of the empire on the Pontiff, but that dependence, and the emperor's liability, in certain cases, to deposition by the Pope, are clearly asserted in the ancient monuments of German law. In the *Swabian Code*, compiled in the thirteenth century, from the ancient laws and customs of the empire (3), we read: "The Church sword is given to the Pope, that he may pronounce judgment at the proper times, seated on a white horse (then a sign of pre-eminence). The emperor must hold the stirrup, lest the saddle should shift. (4). Thus it is indicated that whoever resists the Pope, and who is not induced to obey by an ecclesiastical judgment, is to be compelled by the emperor and other lay princes and judges, by proscription." (5). Concerning the election of an emperor we read: "The election of the *king* belongs by right to the Germans. . . . when he is consecrated, and crowned, and placed on the throne at Aix-la-Chapelle, with the consent of the electors, then he receives the power and

(1) DANIEL, *ibid.* BOSSUET, *Defence*, B. II., c. 43.

(2) It is worthy of remark that, in modern times, when the emperors were no longer crowned at Rome, the Popes did not style them emperors, but emperors-elect. See two Briefs of Pius VI. to Leopold II. and Francis II. in *Briefs of Pius VI.*, Paris, 1798, p. 557, 561. GOSSELIN, p. 2, c. 3, § 2.

(3) So says the title: "Here begins the Book of Imperial Provincial Law, established and ordained by the Roman emperors and electors, containing all the common articles of law—whatever is to be done or omitted. . . . for the sake of general peace, established by the Holy Empire, and seriously confirmed in ancient times." *Preamble to the German or Swabian Law*, in Senckenberg's *Body of German Law*, vol. II. For the opinion of eminent jurists as to the high authority of this Code, see Senckenberg, in *Preamble*, § 20, and Eichorn, in his *History of the German Empire and Laws*, vol. II.

(4) This custom was certainly older than the ninth century, for it is mentioned in copies of the *Sacramentary* of St. Gregory in use at that time. See Muratori's *Ancient Rom. Lit.*, vol. II.

(5) *Preamble*, 21-24.

name of *king*; but when the Pope has consecrated and crowned him, then he has the full power of the empire, and the name of *emperor* Deformed, leprous, excommunicated, proscribed, or heretical persons cannot be chosen by the princes; but if they should choose such a person, the other princes have a right to reject him, in the place where the imperial court assembles." (1). As to the excommunication of an emperor, it is decreed that "Only the Pope can put the emperor under the ban; but he should do this only for three causes: firstly, if the emperor doubts as to orthodoxy of faith; secondly, if he leaves his wife; thirdly, if he injures churches." (2). Concerning heretical princes, it is established that "any lay prince who does not punish heretics, and who defends and protects them, shall be excommunicated by ecclesiastical judgment; and if, within a year, he does not amend, the bishop who excommunicated him shall denounce his crime to the Pope, and shall state, at the same time, for how long a period he has, because of that crime, persevered in the state of excommunication. This having been done, the Pope should deprive him of his princely office, and of all his honors. Such shall be the judgment, in the cases of magnates, as well as in those of the lowly; for we read that Pope Innocent deposed the emperor Otho (IV.) from his throne, for other crimes. This the Popes do, of right, for God said to Jeremiah: 'I have appointed thee judge over every man and every kingdom.'" (3).

It is evident, therefore, that, whether or not the deposing power be of divine right, the Pontiffs of the Middle Ages were guilty of no usurpation, and of no presumption, when they exercised it. As to the practical results of this exercise, if the reader will refer to the valuable work of Gosselin (4), he will be convinced, firstly, that the Popes were always

(1) C. 18, nos. 1, 2, 3; c. 22, nos. 8, 9.

(2) C. 29.

(3) C. 351. Gosselin properly infers from those provisions of the ancient German law that "it clearly follows that the Papal sentence of deposition deprived an emperor, not only of the imperial title, but of his rank and of his honors, and consequently, of the title and rights of king of Germany. . . . these provisions will, doubtless, surprise many readers, and it is to be regretted that the majority of modern writers who have treated of the history of this period were ignorant of this ancient jurisprudence, which throws so much light on the history of the lamentable conflicts which so long divided the priesthood and the empire." *Loc. cit.*, p. ii., c. 3, § 3

(4) P. ii., c. 4.

moderate in the use of their power; secondly, that monarchical sycophants have falsely accused the Holy See of degrading, by their treatment of sovereigns, the royal authority in the eyes of the people; thirdly, that the blame for the wars caused by the collision of the spiritual and temporal power is to be assigned, not to the Pontiffs, but to rebellious and tyrannical, and sometimes heretical, kings. As to the real advantages accruing to society from the exercise of the deposing power, namely, the preservation of religion, morality, and public tranquillity, they are admitted by many Protestant, and even infidel, authors of eminence, who have been curious enough, and brave enough, to study the matter. Coquerel, (Athanasie) than whom modern French Protestantism has produced no more brilliant light, admits that "the Papal power, by disposing of crowns, prevented the atrocities of despotism; hence, in those dark ages, we see no instance of a tyrant like Domitian: a Tiberius could not exist; Rome would have crushed him. Great despotisms develop when kings believe that there is no power above them; then it is that the intoxication of unlimited power engenders the most atrocious enormities." (1). Ancillon (John), one of the best of Protestant historians, confesses that "during the Middle Ages, when there was no social order, the Papacy alone perhaps saved Europe from utter barbarism. It created bonds of connection between the most distant nations; it was a common centre, a rallying point for isolated states. It was a supreme tribunal, established in the midst of universal anarchy, and its decrees were sometimes as respectable as they were respected. It prevented and arrested the despotism of the emperors, and diminished the inconveniences of the feudal system." (2). Even Voltaire is compelled to acknowledge that "The interests of the human race required some check on sovereigns, and some protection for the life of the subject: this religious check could, by universal consent, be placed in the hands of the Pope. This chief Pontiff, by never meddling in temporal quarrels except to appease them,

(1) *Essay on the History of Christianity*, p. 75.

(2) *Tableau of the Revolutions of the Political System of Europe after the 15th Century*, Berlin, 1803, vol. 1., *Introd.*, p. 133, 137.

by admonishing kings and nations of their duties, by re-proving crimes, by inflicting excommunications on great offences only, would have been regarded as the image of God on earth." (1).

CHAPTER XVI.

THE HERESY OF BERENGARIUS.

Berengarius was born at Tours, toward the close of the tenth century. His education was received in the schools of Chartres, and his principal master was the holy and learned Fulbert. (2). Adelman, who was one of his companions, informs us that, while yet a youth, Berengarius manifested a petulant spirit and a craving for novelties, which frequently impelled Fulbert to warn him not to desert the beaten path, namely, the Apostolic faith and the teachings of the Fathers. (3). According to William of Malmesbury (4) and Henry Knighton (5), St. Fulbert, when on his death-bed, prophesied that Berengarius would destroy many souls, and ordered him to be expelled from the schools of Chartres. On the death of Fulbert, the future heresiarch returned to Tours, became rector of the academy of St. Martin, and soon acquired a great reputation as a professor. Certain manuscripts of the abbey of Lorris, Polydore Virgil, and other writers, accuse Berengarius of having been addicted to necromancy, but Alexandre observes that none of his contemporaries make such a charge. Before the year 1047 he was received into the diocese of Angers, and was soon made archdeacon and treasurer. In 1047 he began to propagate his errors on the Holy Eucharist, and many others. He condemned infant baptism, and asserted that promiscuous intercourse between the sexes was licit. Guitmund of Aversa, a contemporary, thus describes his

(1) *Essay on General History*, vol. ii., c. 60.

(2) Gerson asserts that Berengarius was a disciple of Abélard, but he evidently confounds the Sacramentarian with the Berengarius of Poitiers, who wrote an *Apology* for that great unfortunate. Abélard survived the heresiarch many years.

(3) *Epistle to Berengarius*.

(4) *English Kings*, B. iii.

(5) *English Affairs down to 1395*, B. I., c. 13.

error regarding the Real Presence: "He denied that the Eucharist is truly and substantially the Body and Blood of the Lord; and asserted that it is such only in name, inasmuch as it is a sign and significative figure of the Lord's Body and Blood." From the *Formula of Faith* which Berengarius subscribed in the Roman Synod of 1079, we find that he had denied "that the bread and wine are substantially converted, by the mystery of holy prayer and the words of our Redeemer, into the true and very Flesh and Blood of Christ." Hugh, bishop of Langres, writing to Berengarius, says: "You assert that the Body of Christ is in this Sacrament in such manner that the nature and essence of the bread and wine are not changed." Some have attributed to Berengarius the theory that in the Eucharist there are both the substance of the Sacred Body and Blood, and the substance of bread and wine; that Christ's Body and Blood are hidden in the bread and wine. Certain of his followers taught this doctrine; not so Berengarius. Guitmund writes: "All those who err in this matter do not follow the same path of error. All the Berengarians agree that the bread and wine are not essentially changed; but some assert that there is nothing whatever of Christ's Body and Blood, that the Sacrament is only a type and a figure; others, yielding somewhat to the teaching of the Church, without abandoning their error, say that the Body and Blood of Christ are, in effect, contained in the Sacrament, but hidden in a kind of *impanation*, for our reception. These latter pretend that their theory is the more subtle opinion of Berengarius himself. Others, again, hold that the bread and wine are partly changed. Some believe that they are entirely changed, but that, if an unworthy communicant presents himself, the Body and Blood of Christ resume the nature of bread and wine." (1).

Berengarius soon abandoned his errors on infant-baptism and the advisability of fornication (2), and bent all his energies to disseminate that on the Eucharist. Some have thought (3) that Berengarius imbibed his heresy from the

(1) *Against Berengarius* B. 1.

(3) *PAPIRIUS, Bishops of the City*, B. IV.

(2) *Ibid.*

work of the Jew, Joseph Albo, entitled *Foundations of the Mosaic Law*, but Alexandre observes that Albo wrote in 1425, nearly four hundred years after Berengarius, and that it is more likely that Scotus Erigena, to whose works the heresiarch was much addicted, is responsible for Sacramentarianism. Berengarius tried hard to gain the adherence of Lanfranc, then a simple monk, but of great reputation for learning; but he labored in vain, and the great Lanfranc was probably the most energetic of all the defenders of the ancient doctrine. Among the writers whom God raised up to combat Sacramentarianism during the life-time of its author, we may mention, besides Lanfranc, the heresiarch's fellow-student, Adelmann, bishop of Brescia; Hugh, bishop of Langres; Guitmund, bishop of Aversa; Durand, abbot of Troars; while after his death the cause of truth was admirably defended by Alger, a monk of Cluny. (1). It is an immortal glory of the Benedictine order, observes Alexandre, that it gave to the Church these four defenders of the Eucharistic doctrine. Although there are some minor errors (2) in the work of Alger, Erasmus thought it worth all the polemical treatises which appeared on the same subject in the sixteenth century. Berengarius admitted that he could not answer its arguments.

Mosheim (3), with his usual proclivity to adulation of all heretics, asserts that Berengarius was renowned for his learning and for personal sanctity. His holiness could not have been great, as he thrice perjured himself. As for his learning, it is not manifested by any of his writings, and Guitmund tells us that "he could not attain the secrets of the deeper philosophy; he was not sufficiently acute." He acquired a reputation in France, because at that period "the liberal arts had become, in France, nearly obsolete." (4). Mosheim also contends that, before the time of Beren-

(1) *Body and Blood of the Lord*.

(2) Alger agrees with Guitmund that the Sacramental species cannot be corrupted; that such corruption is only apparent, God so permitting, in order to punish the neglect of the priest or to try our faith; that the Body of the Lord is taken up to heaven when corruption seems to attack the species. He also attributes the error of the *Stercoranists* to the Greeks, while they were innocent of it. He asserts that Christ prescribed that the Eucharist should be consecrated in unleavened bread, which is not true.

(3) *Cent. 11, p. 2, c. 3, § 13.*

(4) *Body and Blood of the Lord*, B. i.

garius, the Church had not decided anything as to the manner in which Our Lord is present in the Eucharist ; that each person believed as he thought proper. We have already shown, in our chapter on the Eucharistic doctrine in the tenth century, the absurdity of this assertion. Mosheim insinuates that Pope St. Gregory VII. sympathized with the heresy of the Sacramentarians. The reader will judge of the truth of this charge when he observes the conduct of Gregory in the Synods held to condemn that heresy. The first Council called in this matter was held at Rome, in 1050, under the presidency of Pope Leo IX. It was occasioned by the letter written to Lanfranc by the heresiarch, reproving him for condemning Scotus Erigena, and giving a summary of his own views. Some had accused Lanfranc of sympathy with these views, and the holy Benedictine wished to clear himself of the aspersion. In this Synod the epistle of Berengarius was read and condemned ; he was excommunicated, and Lanfranc was vindicated. The Pontiff then ordered another, and fuller Synod, to meet at Vercelli. This body was convened in September of the same year, 1050, and the same Pontiff, Leo IX., presided over it. There appeared two clerics as representatives of Berengarius. His heresy was again condemned, as well as the book (supposed to be) by Scotus Erigena, on the Eucharist, which the heresiarch had alleged in justification of his own error. As Berengarius proved contumacious, a Synod of French bishops met at Paris, in the month of November, 1050, and, in the presence of king Henry I., the decree of Vercelli was solemnly received. After this Synod of Paris the heresiarch wrote to the abbot Richard, asking that prelate to obtain for him from the king some compensation for the injury done to him by the bishops, and saying that he was ready, at any time, to prove to the satisfaction of his majesty that Scotus and himself had been unjustly condemned. "The king should remember," he said, "that Scotus had written his book by command of, and at the expense of, the great Charles (the Bald). . . . that hence the king ought to vindicate him against the calumnies of men now living, unless he (Henry) wished to show himself

an unworthy successor of that magnificent monarch." In the year 1055, Pope Victor II. again condemned Berengarius in a Synod held at Florence; and in the same year, a Council was held at Tours for the same purpose, presided over by the subdeacon Hildebrand, then Pontifical legate in France. In this latter assembly Berengarius made and signed an abjuration of his heresy, and solemnly swore never to teach it again. This having been done, he was benignly received by Hildebrand. The conversion of the heresiarch was short-lived, and in 1059 Pope Nicholas II. held a Synod at Rome, composed of 113 bishops; and here Lanfranc so pressed Berengarius with argument, that he again abjured his doctrine, and threw his own and the book of Scotus into the flames. He also read and signed the following *Profession of Faith* · "I, Berengarius, an unworthy deacon of the church of St. Maurice, at Angers, knowing the True, Catholic, and Apostolic Faith. do anathematize every heresy, especially the one by which hitherto I have been disgraced, and which seeks to show that the bread and wine placed upon the altar are, after the consecration, only a sign, and not the true Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that they cannot, in the Sacrament, be sensibly handled by the hands of the priest, or be broken or crushed by the teeth of the faithful. And I agree with the Holy Roman and Apostolic See, and with tongue and heart I declare that I hold, in regard to the Sacrament of the Lord's table, that faith which the venerable lord Pope Nicholas and this holy Synod, by Evangelical and Apostolic authority, has given me to hold; that is, that the bread and wine placed upon the altar are, after the consecration, not only a sign, but also the true Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that not only in the sign, but in truth, they are handled by the hands of the priest, and broken, and crushed by the teeth of the faithful; this I swear by the Holy and Consubstantial Trinity and by these Holy Gospels of Christ. And I pronounce worthy of eternal anathema those who contradict this faith; them, and their teachings, and their followers. If ever again I presume to think or preach anything against the above, I shall be subject to the severity

of the Canons. Having read and re-read the above, I willingly subscribe to it." (1).

After this Synod, Berengarius returned to France, and upon the death of king Henry I. he took advantage of the minority of Philip I. and reasserted his heresy, issuing a book against the last Roman Council and violently attacking cardinal Humbert, the author of the *Profession* he had signed. Against this book Lanfranc wrote his famous treatise on the *Body and Blood of the Lord*. About this time Berengarius began to use a terminology very much in vogue with modern heretics. He styled Pope St. Leo IX., by whom he was first condemned, not a Pontiff, but a *Pompifex* and a *Pulpifex*; he called the Roman Church "the Church of the malignant," and said that she held, not the Apostolic Chair, but the "Chair of Satan." In 1063, a Synod held at St. Ouen, in the presence of William of Normandy, and in 1075, another, at Poitiers, condemned Berengarius; but he persisted in his obstinacy. In 1078 Pope Gregory VII. summoned the heresiarch to appear again before a Roman Synod. He begged a year's delay, and in the meantime sent a *Profession of Faith*, which did not satisfy the Pontiff. In 1079 he appeared before another Synod, over which Pope Gregory presided in person. The *Acts* of this assembly tell us that "Berengarius, the teacher of this error, frequently avowed his crime to the Council, and having begged pardon, merited it of the Apostolic clemency." He then made the following *Profession*: "I, Berengarius, believe in my heart, and avow with my tongue, that the bread and wine placed upon the altar are converted substantially, by the mystery of the holy prayer and by the

(1) In regard to the meaning of the words "not only in the sign, but in truth, it is handled by the hands of the priest, and broken, etc.," Catholic doctors differ. Some hold that these acts are exercised only on the sacramental species; others contend that they affect the Body of Christ. The former hold that the species or accidents remain, after the consecration, and that these are broken, etc. Among the assertors of this theory was Abélard, and because of it, he was styled by some "another Berengarius." Abélard says: "This breakage may well be said to take place, not in the substance of the Body, but in the form of the sacramental bread; then the breakage or partition would be *true*, though not in the substance, but in the sacrament, that is, in the species. . . . *Truly* indeed, but only in the sacrament." Walter, abbot of St. Victor's at Paris, accused Abélard of hereby "subtracting from the truth; saying that all these are done, not in the substance but in the visible species, and in the form of the bread." But this is unjust to Abélard, remarks Alexandre. Abélard contended against Berengarius that the Eucharist is the *true* Body of Christ, that the bread is changed into the substance of the Lord's Body; but that breaking, etc., is exercised, not in the Body, but in the "sacrament," (sign) or species. And certainly, for more than seven hundred years the Church has sung the words of St. Thomas Aquinas, "there is no partition of the substance: the fracture is only of the sign."

words of our Redeemer, into the true, real, and vivifying Flesh and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that, after the consecration, they are the true Body of Christ which was born of the Virgin, which hung from the cross for the salvation of the world, and which sits at the right hand of the Father, and the true Blood of Christ which flowed from His side; not only in sign and virtue of a Sacrament, but in property of nature and in truth of substance, as it is stated in this Brief, which I have read and you understand. Thus I believe, and never again will I contradict this Faith. So help me God, and these Holy Gospels of God!" Berthold of Constance, a contemporary, informs us that Pope Gregory then commanded Berengarius, by the authority of God Almighty, and of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, never again to dispute with any person, or to teach any person anything regarding the Real Presence, unless indeed it were to convert to the truth those whom he had perverted. In spite of this third recantation, it would seem that Berengarius again relapsed. But there is good reason for believing that he died in the orthodox faith. The ancient MSS. of Lorris record that, "Leaving Rome, Berengarius came to Tours, and in the Island of St. Cosmas renounced the pomps of the world, combating for the Lord nearly twenty-eight years. (1). And Clare of Fleury says: "The master Berengarius of Tours, an admirable philosopher, was a lover of the poor. He composed the prayer 'Jesus Christ, Just Judge,' and finished his life a faithful and true Catholic." (2). Finally, William of Malmesbury writes: "Although Berengarius stained his hot early youth with the defence of certain heresies, in his more austere age he so repented as to be regarded by some as a saint." (3). Mosheim quite naturally dislikes the idea of any return, on the part of a heretic, to the bosom of mother Church; hence he ridicules the above and other testimonies, which show that, after all his vacillations, the most distinguished of Sacramentarians died in the communion of Rome. But when this author himself admits, nay insists, that Berenga-

(1) The number 28 is evidently an error, for Berengarius died in 1088.

(2) Clare wrote his *Chronicle* in the beginning of the twelfth century.

(3) Book iii.

rius was regarded, after death, as a saint, how does he account for this opinion, if he believes this "saint" to have died in his old Sacramentarian belief? Mosheim says that in his day the canons of Tours performed an annual service at the tomb of Berengarius; and how could that be, if these canons were not persuaded that he died in friendship with the Holy See? The German historian points to the fact that Berengarius begged pardon of God for the "perjury" he had committed at Rome in renouncing his theories. But this pardon was asked in the work written shortly after the death of king Henry I. (1060), and during the twenty-eight years of life yet remaining to him Berengarius may have repented of that expression. (1)

CHAPTER XVII.

ABELARD.

In reference to the amatory phase of Abélard's life we shall say very little. It has been so frequently the theme of poets, that a general and crude notion of it is widely spread. Only the student, however, is aware that the "woes of Abélard and Héloïse" are by no means the chief things for him to consider in the career of this extraordinary man. In fact, if Abélard were celebrated only for the events of which Pope and others have sung, his career would find no place among the topics noticed by the ecclesiastical historian. But the errors which he taught from his professorial chair, and his peculiar relations with the great St. Bernard which thence ensued, are worthy of the student's attention. Bayle (2), Mosheim (3), and other Protestant authors, have shown great sympathy with Abélard; not because this philosopher was a contumacious heretic, for we shall show that he was not such, but because they would detract from the reputation of "the last of the fathers,"

(1) Bergier remarks that Mosheim seems to have taken all he says about Berengarius from Basnage (*History of the Church*, B. xxiv. c. 2.). We find in both "the same reflections, and the whole is founded only on the assertions of this heresiarch, convicted a hundred times of imposture and perfidy."

(2) *Dictionary*, art. *Abélard*, *Héloïse*, *Bernard*.

(3) *Cent.* xii., p. 2, c. 3., § 10.

St. Bernard, who was the ambitious professor's chief opponent. Before entering upon a narration of Abélard's aberrations and of the course of St. Bernard, we shall give a short sketch of our subject's life, for the popular version is in many respects inaccurate.

Peter Abélard was born in 1079, at Palais, a village about eight miles east of Nantes, in Brittany. His father was a soldier, but fond of letters, and hence the young Abélard was made, not a knight, but a scholar. When a mere lad, he became a real peripatetic, going from place to place, and disputing, wherever he found an opportunity, on dialectics. Arriving, at length, in Paris, he attended the lectures of the celebrated William of Champeaux, archdeacon of Paris, and one of the first philosophers of his time. William was at first greatly pleased with his new auditor, but he was soon vexed on finding that most of his scholars deemed the young Abélard more worthy than himself to occupy the chair. Already, in fact, the young man gave unmistakable signs of those qualities which were to prove the bane of his life. Not only his conduct, as we gather from his contemporaries, but his own writings, show him to have been vain, presumptuous, and jealous. He disputed, not so much for the sake of truth, as to enjoy the pleasure of conquering. Nothing pleased him so much as to weaken the reputation of other professors; to entice away their scholars. He was a handsome man, possessed a charming voice, and was a poet as well as a philosopher. But his own works show that he owed his success much more to his seductive externals, than to superior solidity of doctrine. He complains much, in his letters, of his many enemies and of their persecutions. Many cruel and unjust persecutors he certainly possessed, but it is too evident that many of these enemies were deliberately made such by himself, that he might defy and conquer them. Abélard was only twenty-two years of age when he opened a scholastic hall at Melun. His reputation became immense, and as he succeeded in combating the views of his old master, William of Champeaux, on certain scholastic questions, the lecture-hall of that unfortunate professor was soon deserted for the one at

Melun. After a while, Abélard removed to Corben, but hearing that William had resigned his chair in Paris, and had become a regular canon, he went to Mt. St. Genviève, and there began to lecture. After a few years, he intermitted his lectures, and attended the theological course of Anselm of Laon (1), a famous professor of divinity. Here he undertook to lecture in opposition to his professor, but, his proceedings being interdicted, he returned to Paris, where he soon acquired great fame and much money. And here we must succinctly but accurately narrate the events which have excited so much sympathy for Abélard. Up to his thirty-fifth year he seems to have led an exemplary life. His affections, like his ambitions, had been purely intellectual. But his inordinate pride needed a check, and it received a severe one. About the year 1114, Abélard made the acquaintance of the canon Fulbert, a beneficiary of the cathedral of Paris. Through the canon, he came to know the canon's niece, a beautiful young woman, and renowned throughout France for her learning. He soon fell a captive to the attractions of Héloïse, and deliberately designed her seduction. Knowing that Fulbert was proud of his niece's mental acquirements, Abélard offered to reside in their house, and, besides paying his board, to act as tutor to Héloïse. The offer was accepted, and Abélard himself tells us, in delicate and eloquent terms, of the result of his plot, namely, that Héloïse became a too willing victim to his and her own passions. (2). In time, her condition compelled her to secretly leave her uncle's house, and to betake herself into Brittany, to the care of a sister of Abélard. There she gave birth to a son, who was named Astrolabius. When Fulbert discovered the state of affairs, he naturally insisted that marriage should take place between the parties.

Abélard, the reader must know, was free to marry, for, though a cleric, he was not in Holy Orders. He would have married Héloïse from the beginning, but he was am-

(1) This Anselm must not be confounded with *the* Anselm, namely, the saintly archbishop of Canterbury and one of the most learned men of the Middle Ages. This confusion is sometimes made. Thus, in Appleton's *Condensed Cyclopædia*, we are told that Abélard "studied divinity at Laon, under Anselm, whom he also eclipsed." As there were only two Anselms of very great name at that period, viz., the saints of Canterbury and of Lucca, this non-qualification of the name and the glorifying of Abélard with the term "eclipsed" would mislead the ordinary reader.

(2) ABELARD, *Letter to a friend, on the History of my Misfortunes*.

bitious of ecclesiastical preferment, and his overweening vanity led him to aspire to any height. If the alleged *Letters* of Héloïse are genuine, she herself encouraged him in this conduct, preferring "to be his mistress, rather than his wife," (1) if she could only see him idolized by the multitude. Be this as it may, Abélard now asked Héloïse to marry him. Her answer shows that, learned though she was, passion had completely warped her mind, and that much of the sympathy extended to her has been misplaced. She told Abélard that even by marriage she would not pacify her uncle; that it would be inglorious for Abélard to unite himself to one woman, when nature had made him for all; that matrimony was full of vexations, and that Theophrastes and Cicero had both declared that no man could wed both a wife and philosophy; "there was nothing in common between scholars and servant-women, between writing-materials and cradles, between books and distaffs, between pens and spindles;" that, finally, Abélard was a cleric, and it was unfitting that he should marry. In spite of these strange reasons, Abélard persisted, and at length Héloïse yielded. Returning to Paris, she was married to Abélard, her uncle consenting that the union should be kept secret, for the sake of the professor's ambition. But the foolish Fulbert, proud of having the great philosopher for a nephew, soon began to boast of the marriage; the servants of the house also began to talk. Then Héloïse denied that she was married, great scandal ensued, and finally Abélard persuaded his wife to quiet things by retiring for a time to the convent of Argenteuil, where she had been educated. She might put on the nun's habit, he said, but she was by no means to take the veil. When this came to the ears of Fulbert and his kindred, they imagined that Abélard had tired of Héloïse, and had ridden himself of an encumbrance. Maddened at the fancied insult, and burning for revenge, they attacked the unfortunate professor, and barbarously mutilated him. (2). Shortly after his recovery, the humiliated Abélard, moved, as he

(1) HELOÏSE, *Epistle to Abélard*, n. 2.

(2) For this outrage Fulbert was deprived of his benefices, and the actual perpetrators are said to have been punished by the same mutilation they had inflicted.

himself testifies, more by shame than by devotion, took the monastic habit in the famous Benedictine abbey of St. Denis. Héleise took the veil at Argenteuil, and although, in the letters which she *is said* to have afterwards sent to Abélard, there are some expressions that savor of levity and even of a criminal hankering after the past, she seems to have finally settled into a contented and holy religious. In the course of time she became prioress of the convent at Argenteuil, and when the community was forced by the monks of St. Denis, who wished its house for themselves, to abandon Argenteuil, she took her nuns to the oratory of the Paraclete, which Abélard and his pupils, as we shall see, had constructed with their own hands, and afterwards ceded to Héloise. While abbess of the Paraclete, Héloise was visited by St. Bernard. The blessed Peter Mauricius, abbot of Cluny, greatly esteemed her, and in one of his letters he congratulates her as "a woman truly and entirely philosophical, who had chosen the Gospel instead of logic, the Apostle instead of physics, and the cloister instead of the Academy."

Had Abélard become a monk simply for love of quiet, although that would have been a merely human motive, and therefore unworthy, he might not have been totally disappointed. But having done so in pure disgust and in shame, without any supernatural impulse whatever, it is not surprising that for many years his life knew but little of peace. Again, he seems to have brought into the monastery all the worldly spirit which had ever actuated him. His terrible experience had not lessened his pride of intellect, and when contradictions came, he knew not how to bear them. When Abélard first entered the monastery of St. Denis, his shame caused him to keep withdrawn from the gaze of the world, but his reputation was so great that many demands were made upon the abbot Adam, his superior to order him to resume his lectures. This order was soon given, and once more the multitudes of students hearkened to their idol's oracles. But in the year 1121, the great master was accused of heresy before the Synod of Soissons; a book he had written on *The Trinity* was con-

demned, because of errors on the omnipotence of God, and he was ordered to himself cast it to the flames. He was consigned to the custody of the abbot of St. Médard at Soissons; but the Papal legate, Conon of Palestrina, released him and sent him back to St. Denis. In a short time he became involved in trouble with the abbot Adam, owing to his agreement with Ven. Bede that the holy Areopagite was not bishop of Athens, but of Corinth. This touched the monks of St. Denis upon a tender spot; so furiously did they resent Abélard's theory, that they excited against him the ire of king Louis VI., telling the monarch that the honor of their St. Denis was the honor of France, and it would have gone hard with the unfortunate master, had not Stephen, the royal steward, obtained for him the privilege of leaving his monastery. He sought the protection of Théobald, count of Troyes, and having obtained permission from his abbot, he constructed, in a beautiful solitude given him by some admirers, a little oratory of reeds, where he proposed to reside. His former pupils learning of this, they came from all quarters to dwell around him and listen to his lectures. They built huts for habitations, and lived as they best could. During the intervals between the master's discourses, they all labored at a larger oratory, which would contain the hundreds of scholars drawn thither by the magic of his eloquence. When finished, it was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and as Abélard had here found much consolation amid his vexations, he called it the Paraclete. After a residence here of a few years, he was chosen abbot by the monks of St. Gildas de Ruys, in the diocese of Vannes, in Brittany. By this time Abélard had advanced much in piety, and was therefore very zealous in the enforcement of discipline. The consequence was that he soon became an object of hatred to some of his monks, and several times they attempted his life. After his condemnation, in 1140, by the Synod of Sens, of which we shall soon speak, Abélard appealed to the Pontiff, Innocent II., and in the meantime claimed the hospitality of the venerable Peter, abbot of Cluny. He was cheerfully received, and for two

years edified that strict community by the manifestation of every monastic virtue. We shall have occasion hereafter to cite the letter which the venerable Peter of Cluny wrote to Pope Innocent II. in favor of Abélard, but we here give a portion of the letter in which the holy abbot informed the abbess Héloïse of "the master's" truly holy death: "I do not recollect of ever having seen his equal in humility; Germanus would not appear to the accurate observer more abject, or Martin poorer. When I compelled him to hold a superior position among our large number of brethren, he appeared to be the last of all. I was frequently thunder-struck when watching him in the processions, while he walked with the others, as is customary, before me, reflecting how so famous a man could so contemn himself. And while there are some religious who greatly desire that their dress should be sumptuous, he was very careless in such matters, and was quite content with simple garments, of any kind. He preserved the same system in his food, in his drink, and in every care of his body. And he condemned, in himself and in others, both by word and in practice, not only superfluities, but everything that was not really necessary. His study was constant, his prayer frequent; his silence never-failing, unless a conference of the brethren, or a sermon to them, compelled him to speak. He used to frequent the heavenly Sacraments, and as often as he was able, to offer to God the sacrifice of the Immaculate Lamb His mind, tongue, and actions were always occupied in divine things, or on philosophy, or on matters of erudition For recuperation, as he was troubled with an itch and other bodily evils, I sent him to Chalons, on account of its mildness of climate there, so far as his complaints would permit, he renewed his olden studies, and was ever at his books. As we read of the great Gregory, he allowed not a moment to pass unoccupied by prayer, or by reading, or by writing, or by dictation. The coming of the gospel visitor found him among these holy exercises, nor, like many, was he found asleep, but on the watch How devoutly, how holily, how like a Catholic, he made a confession of faith, and then of his

sins ; with what eager desire he received the Viaticum for his journey and the pledge of eternal life, the Body of our Lord the Redeemer ; how confidently he committed his body and soul to Him, for the present and forever, can be attested by all the religious of that monastery in which rest the body of the holy martyr Marcellus." With this truly consoling and edifying letter, the venerable abbot of Cluny sent to the abbess Héloïse the mortal remains of Abélard, and she interred them in her convent of the Paraclete. The letter of Peter of Cluny to Héloïse is sufficient testimony to the repentance and holy end of Abélard, but the reader will not be uninterested with the following, the first of two epitaphs which the holy abbot sent to be engraved on the tomb : " Abélard was the Socrates of France, the Plato of the West, our Aristotle ; equal, if not superior, to all the logicians who have ever lived ; known as the prince of learning throughout the world ; of varied genius, subtle, and acute ; mastering all by strength of reason and by artistic diction. But he triumphed the most, when he became a professed monk of Cluny, and cultivated the true philosophy of Christ. Here he happily completed the days of a long life, leaving us the hope that he is now numbered among true philosophers."

There is much sickening sentimentality abroad in connection with the names of Abélard and Héloïse ; thousands, who know nothing of the theologian and philosopher, sympathize with the unfortunate lover. Even certain serious historians play the school-girl, and manifest symptoms of hysteria when they touch on the " woes of Abélard and Héloïse." Listen to the grave Henri Martin ; declaiming how Héloïse offers to the world an example of real love, " of an entire surrender of one's self ;" insisting that the importance of Héloïse " in the moral history of humanity " is not due to her extraordinary learning ; telling us how, when buried in a nunnery, respected by the entire Church, she does not change " interiorly," does not undergo the mystic death of the cloister, never repents of her love, accepts not monastic asceticism, but, " eternally " protests in her heart, " which is so well formed for divine love ;"

declaring that this Héloïse, "inconsolable and unsubmitting," appears like "a great veiled figure" at the entrance of the "moral world;" and finally flattering himself that "the just instinct of the French" has made of her "one of the national glories," because she is "the great saint of love." (1). Such ravings may suit the "Druidic school," of which Henri Martin was the head, but they are not to be encouraged by a Christian. And whence this deluge of tears? Whether shed by Colardeau, Mercier, Saurin, Pope, or Martin, they are caused by the "immortal" *Letters* of Héloïse—letters which the last named author regards as "bearing the characteristics of no epoch," but as "above all time;" as revealing "no accidental form of the soul," but its very "eternal depth." And yet, remarks a modern critic (2), it would seem that these *Letters* are no more genuine than those of Penelope to Ulysses, of Phædra to Hippolytus, of Briseis to Achilles, of Sappho to Phaon, of Helen to Paris, which Ovid has furnished to us. This prosaic truth has been well evinced by M. Lalanne (3), from whose essay we extract the following arguments: "These letters of Héloïse, so full of passion, contain many contradictions and impossibilities. Their tone is inexplicable. I can conceive how Héloïse could have said such things to Abélard during the first years following their separation; but fourteen years of religious life have passed before the first letter is written. And she speaks to a man now fifty-four years old; incapable, for fourteen years, of responding to her passion; exhausted by his theological combats, by his wandering life, by his persecutions, and who now aspires only to eternal repose. Nothing checks her; her passion is unspeakably vehement, and yet she is the woman of whom, shortly before the penning of the first letter, Abélard has said, in the *History of his Misfortunes*, that 'the entire world admired her piety, her wisdom, and her inconceivable sweetness of patience in all circumstances; she seldom left her cell, but there devoted herself to holy meditation and

(1) *History of France*, vol. iiii., p. 315, edit. 1855.

(2) LARROQUE, *Errors of M. Martin*, in his *History of France*, in the *Annals of Christian Philosophy*, Paris, Feb., 1856.

(3) In the *Literary Correspondence*, Paris, Dec. 5, 1856.

prayer.' But this is not all. Even if we admit—which is very difficult—that Héloïse, from the day of the catastrophe to the moment when, expelled from Argenteuil, she was welcomed by him to the Paraclete (1129), never met Abélard, it is certain that then she did converse with him, and not merely on one occasion, and that the consequent scandalous rumors caused Abélard to cease his visits. (1). How then can Héloïse complain that, from the date of their monastic profession, that is, from 1119 (or 1120), she has not enjoyed Abélard's presence or one letter from him? Nevertheless, she is said to have so expressed herself in 1133. Therefore I do not believe that she wrote these *Letters*. . . . Again, granting that Héloïse, and after her time, the nuns of the Paraclete, preserved the letters of Abélard to her; can we unhesitatingly admit that, during a wandering life and until his death, Abélard preserved her letters, which breathed a passion and an ardent sensuality which must have necessarily compromised that reputation for wisdom and holiness which she had acquired? Finally, these letters of Héloïse are very labored; everything is arranged in order; the vehemence of their sentiments never, for a moment, interrupts their method. Their extreme length, their erudite and very exact quotations from the Bible, from the Fathers, and from Pagan authors, all convince me that they were not penned by a correspondent, but were leisurely elaborated, and with infinite art." (2).

(1) In the *History of his Misfortunes*, p. 36, edit. Duchesne, 1616, Abélard defends himself from these charges.

(2) In regard to the famous tomb of Abélard and Héloïse at Père-Lachaise, an eminent archæologist, Guilhaume (in the *Archæological Annals*, Paris, 1846), says: "We must demand satisfaction from those who show, every day, so little consideration for historical iconography, in propagating errors which prescription will eventually raise to the rank of truths. Take, for instance, one of our most popular monuments in the cemetery of Père-Lachaise, the tomb of Abélard and Héloïse. How many illusions would vanish, if the pilgrims who here perform their devotions only knew that, in the construction of this elegant sepulchral chapel, there entered not one stone from that severe and learned abbey of the Paraclete which romancing troubadours have treated as a kind of temple of Venus. The columns, the capitals, and the decorations of the four facades, came from the cloister and some internal oratories of the monastery of St. Denis. The eyes of an expert are not required for the discovery that these sculptures were not originally destined for the same neighborhood. It was M. Lenoir, director of the Museum of French Monuments, who conceived the idea of uniting some of the fragments placed at his disposal, so as to form a tomb fit to receive the ashes of the two illustrious lovers of the twelfth century. For the men who had thrown to the winds the venerable and glorious ashes of St. Geneviève, of St. Marcellus, of St. Bernard, of Suger, were clownishly sensitive when they opened the tomb of Abélard and Héloïse; they were of the opinion that honors rendered to these 'victims of the cloister' would give a rude blow to a fanaticism which the axe was not extirpating quickly enough; therefore, a casket, sealed by the republican municipality of Nogent-sur-Seine, brought to Paris the ashes taken from the tomb of the Paraclete. But before the remains were placed in their last resting-place, the amateurs of a new kind of relics were to be satisfied. It is said that one of the soldiers at Valmy wore a talisman made from the moustache of Henry IV. Well, atheists and philosophers, probably older

It is certain that Abélard fell into several errors of doctrine, but there were many points in which his manner of expressing himself, rather than his teaching, was to be condemned. (1). The first condemnation of any error on the part of Abélard took place at the Synod of Soissons, in 1121 : he retracted what he was ordered to retract, and was sent back to his monastery by the Papal legate. But in after years, when he was endeavoring to discipline the unruly monks of St. Gildas, his adversaries accused him not only of teaching the already condemned doctrines, but of having put forth new errors. Abélard now saw in the ranks of his accusers the great St. Bernard, an adversary whose fame for sanctity and learning forbade his indifference. He therefore besought of Henry, archbishop of Sens, to afford him an opportunity of defending his doctrines in Bernard's presence. The prelate acquiesced, and a Synod was convoked at Sens, in 1140. Besides Henry of Sens and many other bishops, king Louis VII. and a large number of abbots attended. At first, the holy abbot of Clairvaux did not wish to be present, because it was improper, he said, to take up the consideration of opinions already condemned ; but finally he yielded, lest the partisans of Abélard should boast that their leader's position was impregnable. When the Synod had met, certain extracts from Abélard's books were being read, when, to the surprise of all, the author arose, appealed to the judgment of the Roman Pontiff, and left the hall. Out of respect for the Holy See, the prelates then took no action in regard to the person of Abélard ; nevertheless, they condemned his errors, and sent a report of their proceedings to Pope Innocent II., beseeching him to repress the innovator's audacity.

levelers of heads, seized upon the few teeth remaining in one of poor Héloïse's jaws, as safeguards in their lusts. A tooth of Héloïse cost a thousand francs ; Abélard's were not valued so highly. . . . The tomb was completed in the following manner : They took a bas-relief representing the funeral cortege of Louis, son of St. Louis, and they decided that hereafter it should represent Abélard's funeral procession. The soul of the young prince, being carried to heaven by an angel, became that of the great doctor. Two medallions represented Abélard as a love, with curled moustaches, and Héloïse as a half-naked woman, about as decent as a Messalina. In the sarcophagus, you see two recumbent statues ; one in clerical costume, and this is the Abélard so seductive above with his flowing hair and moustaches ; the other is of a woman of the fourteenth century, and was originally on a tomb in the chapel of St. John of Beauvais, in Paris. How much this unknown lady has gained by her assumption of the name of Héloïse ! The grisettes bathe her with their tears, and bury her in crowns of *immortelles*, for which they have paid ten cents at the gate of the cemetery ; then the pitying creatures sit down, and read, as though they were prayers, two or three of the parodied letters of 'Loïse and Bêlard.'"

(1) ALEXANDRE, Cent. xiii., diss. 7, art 6.

Samson of Rheims, Joscelyn of Soissons, and other prelates, now sent a letter to the Pontiff, the style of which, Alexandre well observes, indicates that St. Bernard was its author. We give a part of it, because it plainly shows the impression which Abélard had made upon men of undoubted zeal and learning: "Peter Abélard tries to nullify the merit of Christian faith, for he thinks that he can comprehend, with his human intelligence, all that God is. He ascends even unto heaven, and descends into the abysses; nothing is hidden from him, whether it is in heaven above, or in the depths of hell. In his own eyes he is a great man, disputing *de fide* against the faith, dealing with great and wonderful things above himself, an inquirer into majesty, a fabricator of heresies. Some time ago he composed a book on the Holy Trinity, but as errors were found in it, it was given to the flames by order of the legate of the Roman Church. Accursed is he who rebuilds the ruins of Jericho. That book has arisen from the dead, and with it, many heresies which had died have arisen and appeared to many. At last it extends its shoots even to the sea, and pushes them even to Rome. This man boasts that his book is received in the Roman court, and hence his error is strengthened and confirmed, and he confidently preaches the word of iniquity on all sides. And when, in the presence of the bishops, the abbot of Clairvaux, armed with the zeal of justice and of faith, would press him concerning these things, he neither avowed nor denied them; but, without any provocation, and merely that he might lengthen his iniquity, he appealed from the day, place, and judge, he himself had chosen, unto the Apostolic See. . . . We have gone on in this affair, so far as we may dare. It is now for you, most blessed Father, to provide that the beauty of the Church be not stained by any mark of heretical foulness."

In his own name, St. Bernard addressed two epistles (nos. 189 and 190) to the Pontiff. In the first we read: "Foolishly did I lately promise myself rest, as though the fury of the lion had been appeased, and peace would return to the Church. It indeed rested, but I did not. We have escaped a lion, but we have encountered a dragon, who is not less

dangerous in ambush than the other roaring aloud. But he is not altogether in ambush ; would that his virulent pages were hidder in his desk, and were not read at the cross-roads ! A new gospel, and a new faith, are proposed to the peoples. . . . Goliath advances his tall frame, equipped in all the panoply of war, and preceded by his squire, Arnold of Brescia. . . . While attacking the doctors of the Church, he gives great praise to the philosophers ; he prefers their inventions and his own novelties to the doctrine of the Catholic Fathers and the faith ; and while all fly from before him, he selects me, the least of all, for single combat At his request, the archbishop of Sens wrote to me, appointing a day for a meeting, in which he (Abélard), in the presence of the bishops, would establish, if possible, those wicked teachings against which I had dared to murmur. I declined, both because I am a boy, and he is a warrior from his youth, and because I judged it unworthy to submit to the agitation of petty human reason that faith which is surely founded upon certain and stable truth. I said that his writings were enough for an accusation against him ; that it was not my business, but that of the bishops, to judge of dogmas. Nevertheless, he, for this very reason, cried out the louder, called many together, summoned his partisans. . . . He reported everywhere that, on a certain day, he would reply to me at Sens ; every one heard it, and it could not escape me." The Saint then narrates the proceedings at Sens, and concludes : "You will judge, O Successor of Peter, whether he ought to find refuge in the See of Peter, who denies the faith of Peter. You, I say, friend of the Bridegroom, will know how to free the Spouse from wicked lips and from a deceitful tongue." St. Bernard also wrote on the cause of Abélard to all the Roman cardinals collectively, and especially to the cardinal Guido di Castello, who had been a disciple of that master. In his letter to this cardinal he says : "In his book master Peter introduces profane novelties of speech and of meaning. . . . he sees nothing as in a mirror and by enigma, but regards everything face to face. . . . When he speaks of the Trinity, he sounds like Arius ;

when of grace, like Pelagius ; when of the Person of Christ, like Nestorius." Writing to cardinal Ivo, the Saint thus depicts his adversary : " Master Peter Abélard, a monk without rule, a prelate without charge, neither holds any order, nor is held by order. He is a man dissimilar to himself ; within a Herod, without a John ; altogether ambiguous, having nothing of the monk but the name and the dress. . . . He passes the limits placed by our Fathers, writing and disputing on faith, the Sacraments, and the Trinity ; he changes, augments, or diminishes, just as he pleases. . . . He is ignorant of nothing in heaven or on earth, excepting himself. " If some of St. Bernard's expressions seem harsh, we must remember that he was defending the cause of the truth, the interests of Catholic dogma, and therefore the interests of imperilled souls. In the mind and words of the true Catholic, there can be no compromise with heresy, and in dealing with Abélard, St. Bernard would have been foolish had he regarded him as an ignorant layman or a delicate schoolgirl under instruction. He was a " Goliath, equipped in all the panoply of war," and it was only the sharp pebble, sent straight at his brow, that was to bring him down. It is ridiculous for Mosheim to affect to believe that St. Bernard was jealous of Abélard. The Saint was one of the last to enter the lists against the innovator, and it was principally because of the pressure brought to bear upon him by William, abbot of St. Thierry, that he moved in the matter. Before the Council of Sens he wrote amicably and urgently to Abélard, begging him to correct his books. Abélard was condemned at Rome, as well as at Sens and are we to suppose that the Pope and the cardinals were actuated by jealousy ? Bernard was simply actuated by zeal for the truth, and the moment he found that his antagonist had retracted, he gave him a brother's hand, as we shall now see.

When Pope Innocent II. had received a report of the proceedings at Sens, he confirmed the condemnation of Abélard's errors, and enjoined upon the master, " as upon a heretic," perpetual silence. After leaving Sens, Abélard, as we have seen, started for Rome, but hearkening to the

fatherly voice of the venerable Peter of Cluny, he stopped in that monastery. Here he was reconciled to St. Bernard, as we are informed in the following letter, written by Peter to the Pontiff: "The master Peter, well known, as I believe, to your Wisdom, coming lately from France (1), passed through Cluny. We asked him whither he was journeying. He replied that he was greatly vexed by certain parties, who styled him a heretic, a name which he greatly abhorred, and that he had appealed to the Apostolic Majesty. We applauded the design, and we advised him to fly to the known and general refuge; and we told him that the Apostolic justice, which never failed a stranger or a pilgrim, would not be refused to him. We promised that he should receive mercy, if reason there were for it. In the meantime there arrived the lord Cistercian abbot, and he talked both with Abélard and with ourselves, concerning peace between him (Abélard) and my lord of Clairvaux, because of whom he had appealed. We, too, did what we could toward this reconciliation, and we exhorted Abélard to go with him (the Cistercian) to Bernard. And we also admonished him to remove from his books and words anything he might have said or written offensive to Catholic ears; and this, in accordance with his (Bernard's) exhortation, and that of other good and wise men. And so it was done. He went and returned, having, by the mediation of the Cistercian, accommodated his olden differences with my lord of Clairvaux, and had a peaceful interview. Meanwhile, being advised by us, or rather, as we believe, being inspired by God, he abandoned the tumults of school and study, and chose a permanent abode in your Cluny. Believing this to be fitting to his age, his weakness, and his religion, and deeming his knowledge, not altogether unknown to you, to be of great advantage to our large community of brethren, we assented to his request; and so, if it be pleasing to your Benignity, we have graciously and joyfully allowed him to remain with us, your children. Therefore I, whatever I may be, yet ever yours, do ask; and this convent of Cluny, most devoted to you, also asks: and

(1) Cluny was in Burgundy, which was not joined to France until 1477.

he himself asks, by these letters which he has requested me to write, and by us and the bearers of these letters, that you will order him to spend his remaining days, which perchance are few, in your Cluny; and that, by means of no one, he be expelled or removed from the house which, like a sparrow, he has found, or from the nest in which he, like a dove, rejoices; but that, as you ever cherish the good, and have loved even him, you will protect him with the Apostolic shield."

With regard to the errors of Abélard, the reader is referred to Alexandre's apposite dissertation, if he is desirous of examining them in detail. We merely give a brief summary of them, as described by St. Bernard (1), by the abbot of St. Thierry (2), and by Otho of Frisingen (3). First, he placed degrees in the Trinity, "modes" in the majesty, and numbers in the eternity of God. The Father is full power, the Son a certain power, the Holy Ghost no power. The Son is to the Father as a certain power is to power, as a species is to a genus, as man is to animal. Second, he asserted that the Holy Ghost proceeds indeed from the Father and the Son, but not from the *esse* of the Father, or from the substance of the Son. Third, he denied that the devil ever had any right in man, and that the Son became man to redeem man from the dominion of Satan. The Son died merely to show His love for us. Fourth, the Holy Ghost is, according to Abélard, the soul of the world. Fifth, he asserted that Christ, God and Man, is not the second Person of the Blessed Trinity. Sixth, he contended that we can wish and do good, without the aid of grace. Seventh, he taught that in the Eucharist the form of the prior substance remains in the air. Eighth, he held that only the punishment, not the guilt, of original sin descends to us from Adam. Ninth, he asserted there was no sin, unless in contempt of God. Tenth, he contended that ignorance always excuses from sin. Eleventh, he taught that diabolical suggestions often come from physical impressions, contact, etc. Twelfth, he defined faith as the acceptance of things which are not seen. Thirteenth, he assigned limits to the

(1) *Epist.* 190 to Innocent II.

(2) *Dispute against Abélard.*

(3) *Deeds of Frederick I.*, B. i., c. 47.

Divine Omnipotence, asserting that God could do no more than He has done or will do. Fourteenth, he denied the descent of Christ into Limbo. Fifteenth, he said that the final judgment of men can be attributed also to the Father. Sixteenth, he doubted the power of binding and loosing. Seventeenth, he asserted that God never impeded evil, changing the will of man. Eighteenth, he contended that the executioners at the crucifixion did not sin. Nineteenth, he taught that the Spirit of the fear of the Lord was not in Christ, and that in the next world there would be no chaste fear of the Lord. Such were the propositions in reference to which St. Bernard wrote to the bishops and cardinals of the Roman court (1): "Read, if you please, the book of Peter Abélard, which he says to be on Theology. You have it at hand, for he glories that it is read by many in the court. See what he says therein about the Trinity, about the generation of the Son, about the procession of the Holy Ghost, and the many innumerable things he has foreign to Catholic ears and minds. Read also the other book, entitled his *Sentences*, and the one with the title *Know Thyself*, and observe how rank they are with the seeds of sacrilege and of error; see what he thinks of the soul of Christ, of His Person, of His descent into Limbo, of the Sacrament of the Altar, of the power of binding and loosing, of original sin, of concupiscence, of the sin of delectation, of that of infirmity and of ignorance, of the work of sin, and of the will of sinning. And if, indeed, you judge that I am justly moved, do you be moved, and lest you be moved in vain, act for the place you hold, for the dignity you possess, for the power you have received." In his *Apology*, or Confession of Faith, Abélard declared that these errors were all ascribed to him through ignorance or malice, and he denied that he ever wrote a book of *Sentences*; but if the reader will follow Alexandre, as he examines these nineteen propositions, one by one, he will find that many of them were distinctly taught by Abélard, although in some cases St. Bernard and the abbot of St. Thierry did not correctly apprehend the meaning of the

(1) *Epist.* 187.

master. As for Abélard's denial that he wrote a book of *Sentences*, he thereby descended to an unworthy and puerile equivocation, for though the book may not have borne that title, he did not disclaim the authorship of the passages to which St. Bernard objected, and which are found in that book. One great fault of Abélard was his proneness to the use of incongruous illustrations in explaining matters of faith. Otho of Frisingen (1) gives one instance, which will serve for many: "As the proposition, assumption, and conclusion are the same oration, so the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are the same essence."

Subjoined to the works of Abélard is to be found an *Apology* for the great master, written by Berengarius of Poitiers, who had been one of his disciples. The work of a young and ardent man, carried away by enthusiastic admiration for his teacher, it is extremely contumelious toward St. Bernard. Berengarius asserts that the Saint tried rather to discover occasion to rebuke Abélard, than to effect his conversion. But we are told by Godfrey (2) that Bernard, "with his usual goodness and benignity, desiring to correct the error, not to confound the man, privately admonished him: and so modestly and reasonably did he act, that Abélard was touched, and promised to correct all according to his wish. But he abandoned the good design." We are also told that Abélard, "whose mouth was the storehouse of reason, the trumpet of faith, and the lodging of the Trinity," was condemned at Sens, while absent and unheard. But he was contumacious, and had withdrawn himself from a judgment invoked by himself. Berengarius also attacks many points of doctrine which he alleges to have been put forth by St. Bernard, but in each case he misinterprets the Saint's meaning. In his more mature age, this enthusiastic defender of Abélard modified his opinions, condemned his master's errors, and acknowledged St. Bernard as "the Martin of our times, a shining light."

Abélard has often been stigmatized as a heretic, but unjustly. He did not pertinaciously adhere to his opinions, but ever professed himself willing to correct them, if

(1) *Loc. cit.*(2) *Life of St. Bernard*, B. III., c. 3.

erroneous; and he did, in fact, correct them. In the *Prologue* to his *Introduction*, he plainly avows his willingness to accept correction, "by force of reason, or by Scriptural authority," and declares that he will imitate St. Augustine in his *Retractions*, "that if he cannot be free from the vice of ignorance, he may at least not incur the guilt of heresy; for ignorance does not make a heretic, but obstinate pride does make one." In his *Profession of Faith*, sent to Héloïse, he says: "I wish not to so be a philosopher, as to resist Paul; to so be an Aristotle, as to be separated from Christ. There is no other name under heaven, by which I can be saved And in order that trembling anxiety and all doubt may be removed from your heart, you may be sure of this in my regard, that I have founded my conscience upon that rock upon which Christ founded His Church. . . . I believe the Son to be co-equal to the Father in all things, in eternity, power, will, and deed; nor do I hearken to Arius, who, moved by his perverse genius, yea, seduced by a demon, placed degrees in the Trinity, teaching that the Father is greater, and the Son less. . . . I declare that the Holy Ghost is consubstantial and co-equal to the Father and the Son in all things. . . . I assert also that in Baptism all sin is remitted; that we need grace, both to commence good, and to perfect it. . . . As for the resurrection of the body, why should I speak of it, when I would in vain glory in being a Christian, if I did not believe I would arise again?" And in the last of his works, the *Apology*, dedicated *To All the Children of Holy Church*, he wrote: "Well known is the saying that nothing is so well expressed that it cannot be distorted; and, as St. Jerome has remarked, he who writes many books creates many judges. And I, who have written only a few little ones, and in comparison with others, books of no moment, have not been able to escape censure; although, as to the things of which I am seriously accused, I acknowledge, God knows, no fault of my own, and if there were any I would not obstinately defend it. I may have written some things which ought not to have been written; but I call God to witness, as the Judge of my soul, that I have not presumed anything in malice or in pride. I have

spoken much in many schools, and my doctrine has never been a sluggish stream or a hidden loaf. I have spoken openly for the establishing of the faith or of morals,, what seemed to me to be salutary, and whatever I have written I have opened unto all, rather as to judges than as to disciples. If I have ever exceeded by much speaking, as it is written 'by much speaking thou shalt not avoid sin,' obstinate resistance has never made me a heretic, for I have been ever ready to give satisfaction, either by correcting or by destroying all wrong utterances, and in that mind I shall persevere to the end. . . . Therefore let fraternal charity recognize me, whatsoever I may be, as a son of the Church; one who entirely receives all that she receives, and who rejects all that she rejects; one who has never broken the unity of faith, although unequal to others in virtue." And then Abélard expressly professes the Catholic doctrines which are contrary to all his own errors, or to those imputed to him.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CRUSADES : THEIR JUSTICE AND EFFECTS.*

During the first years of Islamism the Christian nations felt little reason for concern as to their own future. Regarding the new religionists as a mere horde of children of the desert, they could not realize that their own peace, still less their independence in the political order, would ever be seriously threatened from that quarter. And even if they had foreseen the great spread of Mohammedanism, and all the baneful consequences thence, of necessity, to ensue, they were just then in no condition to forestall the enemy's attack. As yet Christendom was not united in the new Western Empire: and when, in time, that effort of Pontifical statesmanship opened a new era of strength and prosperity to Europe, the arrogance, and afterwards the schism, of the Greeks prevented any unanimous action against the en-

* This Chapter appeared as an article in the "Ave Maria," vol. xxvi., no. 24.

emies of the Christian name. But in the eleventh century, the invasion of the Seljuk Turks, who had abandoned the religion of Zoroaster for Islamism, infused a Northern ferocity into the comparatively soft nature of the Arabs, and during the Pontificate of St. Gregory VII. the Crescent was frequently seen from the towers of Constantinople. From time to time Europe was horrified by accounts of the fearful oppression endured by the Christians of Palestine ; of bishops and priests being dragged from the altar to prison ; of brutal outrages upon persons of both sexes and of every age ; of the circumcision of thousands of boys, some to be enrolled in the army, and others to be mutilated, and to be assigned as guards to the seraglio. The schismatic arrogance of the Greeks was compelled to yield, and the emperor, Michael Ducas (*Parapinax*) begged for aid from the detested Latins. St. Gregory VII. heeded the cry, and although he knew that the promise was extorted by dire temporal necessity, and not by regard for religious unity, he was disposed to believe that Ducas was sincere in the avowed intention to put an end to the schism. All Christendom was invited to raise an army for the service of God, and the Pontiff declared in a letter to king Henry IV. of Germany that he hoped, " having pacified the Normans, to proceed in person to Constantinople, in aid of the Christians." (1). Fifty thousand warriors promised to follow him, but other interests prevailed, and the great enterprise was postponed, until Pope Victor III. had the satisfaction, in 1088. of seeing the Genoese, Pisans, and other Italians, receive from his hands the standard of St. Peter, and set out to fight for the Cross and for civilization. This first expedition to check the inroads of Mohammedanism was comparatively successful. Landing in Africa, it destroyed or disabled more than a hundred thousand Saracens, burned a city, imposed tribute on a Moorish king, and returned to Italy with many rich spoils, which were used to decorate the churches of the victors. (2). But this inroad into the

(1) *Epistles of St. Greg. VII.*, ii., 30.

(2) LEO OF OSTIA. This Leo (Marsicanus), a Benedictine of Montecassino, and cardinal-bishop of Ostia, author of a valuable history of Montecassino, and other works, should not be confounded with another Leo, also a Cassinese Benedictine, who was secretary to Pope Urban II., and was made a cardinal-deacon by Paschal II. This mistake was made by Baronio and by Possevin.

domains of Islam was merely a prelude to the great Crusades.

The impulse to the first Crusade (1096-1100) was given by an obscure individual, rude in feature and in manner, but who had been raised by solitude and prayer to such sanctity that he was popularly supposed to enjoy direct communication with Heaven. Known only as Peter the Hermit, he left his native Amiens in 1093, and made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Touched to the quick by the melancholy condition of the holy places, he seemed to hear, while prostrate before the Holy Sepulchre, the voice of Jesus commanding: "Arise, Peter; go and announce to My people the end of their oppression. Let My servants come, and the Holy Land shall be freed." He returned to Europe, and falling at the feet of Pope Urban II., he urged that Pontiff to carry out the design of his predecessors. The Pope blessed him, and commissioned him to preach a Crusade; he did so throughout Europe, travelling barefooted and bareheaded, clothed in sackcloth, crucifix in hand, and mounted on a mule. William of Tyre (*ob.* about 1180) tells us that Peter was "insignificant in person, but his eye was keen and pleasing, and he possessed an easy flow of eloquence." Everywhere he astonished people by his austerities, and moved their sympathies by his graphic picture of the woes of Palestine. He cried to sinners: "Soldiers of the demon, become warriors of Christ;" and all who had crimes to expiate, or injuries to repair, seized on this means of reconciling themselves with God. The feudataries, the younger sons of reigning families (all trained to war, and having scarcely any other means of occupying their time), joyfully volunteered.

While Peter was thus engaged, there came from Constantinople letters from the Greek emperor, Alexis Comnenus, begging aid from the Latins, as the "new Rome" was in imminent danger of falling into the hands of its enemies. In 1095 Urban II. convoked a Council at Piacenza to devise ways and means. Over 200 bishops, 4,000 priests, and 30,000 laymen listened to the Pontiff's discourse, which was delivered in the open air. Another assembly was ordered

to convene at Clermont in Auvergne, and, on November 18 of the same year, 238 bishops obeyed the summons. Here the Pontiff made use of every argument, religious and political, to further the cause. From his discourse, not as embellished by Michaud, but as it was recorded in its simplicity by William of Malmesbury, (1) who was present at its delivery, we take the following passages :

“Go, my brothers, go with confidence to attack the enemies of God, who—O, shame to Christians!—are so long in possession of Syria and Armenia. Long ago they mastered all Asia Minor ; and now they have insulted us in Illyria and all the neighboring regions, even so far as the Straits of St. George. And they have done worse : they have robbed us of the tomb of Jesus Christ, that wonderful monument of our faith ; they sell to our pilgrims permission to enter a city which would be open to Christians alone, if we had only a small portion of our ancient valor. Ought not our faces to blush with shame ? Who, unless they envy the Christian glory, can suffer the indignity of not being able to share with the infidels at least half of the world ? Christians, put an end to your own misdeeds, and let concord reign among you while in these distant lands. Go, then, and in this most noble enterprise show the valor and prudence you now display in your intestine contests. Go, ye warriors. and your praises will everywhere be heard. Let the well-known bravery of the French be shown in the van ; followed by the allies, their very name will terrify the enemy If necessary, your bodies will redeem your souls. Do you, men of courage and of exemplary intrepidity, fear death ? Human wickedness can invent nothing to injure you which is to be weighed against celestial glory. Do you not know that life is a misery to man, and that happiness is in death ? The sermons of priests have caused us to receive this doctrine with our mothers’ milk ; and the martyrs, our ancestors, sustained this doctrine with their example The sanctuary of God repels the spoiler and the ribald, and welcomes the pious man. Let not the love of your relatives impede you : principally to God does man

(1) *Deeds of the English Kings*, B. iv., year 1095.

owe his love. Let not your progress be arrested by your affection for your native land ; for the entire world may be regarded as a place of exile for Christians, and their real country is, just now, the entire world. Let no one remain at home because of his riches ; for greater wealth is promised him—a wealth composed, not of those things which soften our misery only with vain expectation, but of those which perpetual and daily instances show us to be the only true riches These things I publish and command, and for their execution I appoint the end of the coming spring.” Throughout the assembly was then heard the cry which the Crusaders were to render famous, “God wills it !” A cardinal recited the formula of general confession ; all repeated it, and received absolution. Ademar de Monteil, bishop of Puy, received the Cross as Papal legate, and this emblem of the Crusade was then given to nearly all the barons and even to many bishops.

In the First Crusade, two different classes rushed toward the Holy Land—an enthusiastic, fanatical mob of worse than useless men, women, and children, and an equally enthusiastic, but disciplined, army of warriors. Pope Urban II. had vainly tried to temper the ardor which prompted the old, the infirm, and even childhood, to remain unsatisfied with aiding the holy cause with prayer ; he had vainly ordered that women should not embark in the enterprise unless accompanied by husbands or brothers ; in vain he had commanded that no monks or other ecclesiastics should don the cross without permission of their bishops. The hermit was convinced that prayer and zeal were sufficient, and in disordered ranks, carrying a cross before them, thousands set out, feeding on charity, for the goal of their hopes. So long as these hordes were in Western Europe, their indigence was not remarkable ; but when they arrived at the Danube, they found the Hungarians and Bulgarians hostile, and they were obliged to use force in order to obtain food. Finally, 100, 000 starvelings reached Constantinople, where they committed such disorder, that Alexis was glad to transport them across the Bosphorus. Very soon they fought among themselves, and

nearly all of the survivors were slaughtered by the Islamites. But the Crusading army was of far different material, and was guided by competent persons.

The first Crusade lasted from 1096 to 1100 ; the second, from 1147 to 1149 ; the third, from 1189 to 1193 ; the fourth, from 1202 to 1204 ; the fifth and sixth, from 1218 to 1239 ; the seventh and eight, from 1248 to 1270. Frequent attempts were afterwards made to renew these Holy Wars, and many isolated expeditions were undertaken ; but, as Pomponne, minister of Louis XIV., remarked to Leibnitz, "since the time of St. Louis, such things have been out of fashion." Bacon wrote a dialogue on the Holy War. Mazarin left 600, 000 livres to help a Crusade. The famous friar Joseph, the Franciscan counsellor of Richelieu, composed on this subject a Latin poem, which Pope Urban VIII. called the Christian *Æneid*. In 1670 Leibnitz tried to induce Louis XIV. to conquer Egypt, and in his design, reduced to writing, he said : "Then Europe will rest, will cease to tear her own bowels, and will fix her attention where she may find honor, victory, advantage, and wealth, with a good conscience, and in a manner pleasing to God. Then men will not rival one another in robbery, but in reducing the power of the hereditary foe ; each one will strive to extend, not his own kingdom, but that of Christ Let us suppose that the emperor, Poland, and Sweden, proceed together against the barbarians, and seek to widen the limits of Christendom, having no other designs, and fearing no enemies in their rear : how the blessing of God would show itself in favor of so just a cause ! On the other hand, England and Denmark would find themselves in front of North, and Spain before South America ; Holland, before the West Indies. France is destined by Providence to be the guide to Christian armies in the East, to give to Christendom her Godfreys, her Baldwins, and especially her SS. Louis, who will invade that Africa just opposite her shores, to destroy a nest of pirates and to conquer Egypt—she wants neither the soldiers nor the money necessary to become the mistress of that land Behold a way to acquire a lasting glory, a tranquil conscience, universal ap-

plause, certain victory, immense advantages. Then will be attained that hope of the philosopher, that men will make war only on wolves and other wild beasts, to which the barbarians and infidels may now be compared." (1)

Those who desire, in the matter of the Crusades, details of fact, causes, and effects, should consult the *Deeds of God through the Franks*, by William of Tyre, and the *History* written by the imperial Anna Comnena. Among moderns, he may read with profit the *Spirit of the Crusades*, by De Maillet, and the *History of the Crusades*, by Michaud, which, although full of prejudice, is the most complete of all works on this subject. Much information may also be gained from the *Life of Innocent III.*, by Hurter; and from Prat's *Peter the Hermit and the First Crusade*. The French Academy of Inscriptions published, in 1841, a collection of all the Latin, Greek, and Oriental historians of the Crusades; the Greek portion being composed of fragments from the writings of Nicephorus Briennus, Anna Comnena, Nicetas Coniates, John Phocas, and Michael Attaliates. As for the modern English authors who have written on the Crusades, some are pretentious, few recommendable. Of all who, in any language, have treated this subject, Cantù is the most impartial, and by far the most appreciative of the spirit which prompted and sustained one of the most salient features of the Middle Ages; he will also fully satisfy the reader's curiosity as to chivalry, tournaments, "courts of love," the oaths customary at the time, the military religious orders, the *trovatori*,—an acquaintance with all of which matters will greatly facilitate a comprehension of the events of the Crusades.

Many causes have contributed to an unjust appreciation of

(1) Dissertation by Guhrauer, in *Memoires of the Institute of France*, Vol. I.—Cantù agrees with Leibnitz: "Suppose that the lion of St. Mark and the dragon of St. George had made a permanent home on the banks of the Bosphorus, the Jordan, and the Tigris. A civilized population would now enjoy that beauty which of old made them envied centres of culture; Seleucia, Antioch, Bagdad, would be the London and Paris of Asia; where now a pasha, with flail and scimitar, bends the peoples before the caprices of a despot, and where the Bedouins practise robbery and piracy with impunity, would now flourish governments founded in order and liberty; from the most beautiful city under the sun would flow streams of culture and of love over Asia and Europe, united in affection and in progress to improve the North, and spread the light of truth in the heart of Africa and in the farthest regions of the East. If a hermit had not raised that cry, if the Popes had not taken it up, the growing civilization of Europe would have succumbed to the Arabs; the religion of love and of liberty would have yielded up our countries to one of blood and of slavery, and over the beautiful lands of Italy and France would reign a brutal domestic and political tranny, a haughty immobility, a fatal indifference, a systematic ignorance."

the value of the Crusades, but they may all be referred to the difficulty experienced by the average modern mind in appreciating the spirit of the Middle Ages. Add to this the fact that these Holy Wars were pre-eminently the work of the Roman Pontiffs, and therefore a natural object of carping criticism to all the foes of Catholicism, and you will be surprised when you find, now and then, a Protestant or an infidel writer who can see in them aught else than cruel injustice to both Christian and Islamite : or at best, anything better than sublime folly. In defending the policy that prompted these Crusades, in upholding their justice, in contending that they were necessary, humanly speaking, to the very existence of Christianity, we do not apologize for each and every action of their leaders, or of the rank and file of their participants ; it is but too true that, as in other noble designs, many of the instruments were found to be full of flaws. We must distinguish the motives of the Crusaders. The Popes, most of the kings and princes, and nearly all the leaders who took part in these expeditions, were impelled by the desire of banishing the infidel from the places sanctified by the life and death of the God-Man,—by the desire of freeing a Christian people from a slavery that was cruel to the body and threatening to the soul. They felt the necessity of arresting the progress of an inexorable and barbarous enemy, who menaced that Christian civilization which the Catholic Church had developed in nearly the whole, and was then planting in the rest, of Europe ; they knew that the most efficacious means of doing this was by carrying war into Asia and Africa, by convincing Islam that Christendom could fight as well as pray. These motives were certainly noble. But among the masses, while the religious motive undoubtedly predominated with the immense majority, so that it may truly be said to have furnished the life and soul of the expeditions, other motives were sometimes mingled—some of them base, some indifferent. Many who groaned at home under the feudal system hoped to find another lot awaiting them in the East : some were impelled by a curiosity to see those lands about which pilgrims had told

such wonderful stories; some, undoubtedly, were incited by mere love of adventure. If these latter classes were guilty of excesses—nay, if even some of the leaders acted more like *condottieri* than like soldiers of Christ,—the good name of the cause should not suffer.

Those who affect horror at the sacrifice of two millions of Christian lives during the two centuries of the Crusades, do not, as a general thing, descant upon the great loss of life that purely secular wars have entailed, and yet entail, upon mankind. And how great is the difference between these and the Holy Wars, both as to causes and effects! In the former, in nearly every case, men are taken from their firesides to kill and be killed, without knowing the reason for it; in the latter, they knew, thoroughly appreciated, and heartily applauded the reason. But, we are told, this knowledge, this appreciation, was that of superstition, and the hope of success was a folly. The Crusaders were certainly guilty of superstition, if a vivid and life-sacrificing devotion to one's faith, if a hearty reverence for everything connected with that faith, be superstition—we need not here pause to show that Christianity, felt and outwardly professed, is not superstition.

But what about the folly of these wars? Not that supernatural effervescence which is known as the folly of the Cross—for if that be understood, the Crusades *were* a folly—but a sheer absurdity is here intended. Well, now that the holy fever is at an end, and we can calmly criticise each and every one of its symptoms and consequences, many errors of management are discoverable; but at the time the attack on the strongholds of Islam was decreed, every reason, military and political, could be adduced for the success of the project. Common sense assured the Western nations that the Byzantine sovereign, bearing the first brunt of the Mussulman attack, would cordially and gratefully assist the enterprise; who could have foreseen the insane treachery of the entire schismatic tribe?

But what of the justice of the Crusades? The Islamites were pronounced religious and political enemies of the European nations. It was of the very essence of their

religion—and too well did they practise it—to spread their faith by fire and sword, to enjoy the earth and its fulness. They had already subjugated the once flourishing Christian states of the East, and in many of them had almost destroyed every vestige of the Christian religion ; they had conquered a great part of the Iberian Peninsula ; they had devastated a large portion of Italy, and, for a time, had even threatened France ; in fine, to the Mussulman every war against a Christian state or community was holy. Where was the injustice of warring against such a race of men ? Consider also that war, and war to the knife, was the only means by which Europe could save herself from barbarism, her women from degradation, her children from slavery.

Our age affects to detest mere sentiment, and is pre-eminently utilitarian. For this very reason it should admire the Crusades. The first great advantage they brought to Europe was frequent internal peace where intestine war had been the order of the day ; the Christian swords, that had so often crossed one another in unworthy strife, were now turned against the common enemy of the Christian altar and of every Christian government. The Normans and other ferocious Northerners, who would have impeded the progress of civilization along the shores of the Baltic and the German Ocean, found an outlet for their warlike enthusiasm in distant Asia : and “ this expedition ” (the second Crusade), says Krantz, “ at least effected the freeing of Germany from a set of men who lived by robbing others.” (1). Many a district hitherto living in awe of some petty tyrant, who, like an eagle from his eyry, had been wont to pounce down upon it on an errand of rapine, thanked the campaigns of Asia and Africa for affording such men an opportunity of satisfying their tastes away from home. Thousands of serfs, by taking the Cross, threw off the yoke of what was little less than slavery ; for the Crusader became a servant of God and of the Church, and a freeman. Strangers who took up their abode in the domains of some petty lord used to become his serfs : now the pilgrim was sacred.

(1) *Sax.*, c. 13.

Industry was advanced by means of the Crusades. The silks of Damascus were coveted by the Westerns, and Palermo, Lucca, Modena, and Milan became noted for the fabrics they wove for the lords and ladies who were no longer satisfied with the skins of beasts for clothing. The glassware of Tyre was introduced by the Venetians, and soon the ingenious sons of the Republic manufactured the beautiful and delicate crystals which have given its artisans celebrity to our own day. Windmills, till then not known in Europe, were copied from those in Asia Minor, where they were necessary, owing to the want of running waters. The goldsmith's art received an impetus from the numerous relics and gems brought from the Orient, and which had to be richly set and mounted.

Another advantage of the Crusades was the better administration of justice; when intestine war had become rare, order reappeared; the great ones of the earth commenced to consider their followers as their dependents, and not as their slaves; for these inferiors were now freed from local servitude, and began to unlearn the customs of hereditary selfdom. Government was better developed; communes and republics came into existence, and elevated public over private power. The common people, during the long absences of the lords, depended upon the superior power of the kings; and thus was prepared, for the ultimate good of the nation, the fall of feudalism.

Still another good effect of the Crusades is thus described by Cantú: In the fragmentary society of feudalism, each one's country was bounded by the hedge that enclosed his field; it was expensive and dangerous to cross the bridge that spanned the neighboring little torrent, in sight of the castle of the next proprietor. But suddenly the barriers fall, and whole nations enter on roads hitherto closed. Then the Northerners beheld in Italy the relics of ancient, and the commencement of a new, civilization; at Bologna they heard lectures on the *Pandects*; at Salerno and Montecassino they attended medical academies; at Thessalonica they visited schools of fine art; at Constantinople they inspected libraries and museums. James de Vitry expresses his

wonder at finding the Italians 'secret in council, diligent, studious of public utility, careful for the future, detesting the yoke of another, ardent defenders of their liberties.' In Sicily and in Venice, whither they came to embark, they found more regular forms of government, and their astonishment on seeing all the citizens of Venice convoked to give assent to the decrees of the doge, inspired ideas of a liberty very different from that known in the North. When they were established on the new soil, they gave attention to a proper jurisprudence, which should not be imposed by force, but should be discussed by the reason of nations who deemed themselves equal, and who desired their own real advancement. The 'Assizes' that were then compiled became models for princes and communes; St. Louis profited by them for his *Establishments*, and perhaps the English found in them the idea of their boasted jury. From the method of gathering tithes, then imposed by the Church, kings learned a regular system of taxes, which, if they became perpetual, at least ceased to be arbitrary and multifold.'

With reference to the effects which the Crusades produced on the arts and letters of Europe, the same author says: "Since it is certain that the Crusades retarded the fall of Constantinople, I believe that literature profited by them; for Europe was not yet sufficiently mature to receive the classics there preserved, as she did in the fifteenth century. In fact, of two rich libraries which then perished, no chronicler makes any mention, of so little account were they deemed; masterpieces of art were brutally ruined, unless when the Italians, especially the Venetians, preserved them to decorate their own cities. Look at Pisa, Genoa, and the Norman edifices in Italy, and you will find them rich in columns and statues transferred from the East,—a fact which reveals a resurrection of the sentiment of the beautiful, and explains the sudden development of the arts among us. Literature came forth from the sanctuary, when all took part in universal enterprise; style was elevated, when history passed from municipal events to prodigies of valor: poetry found in reality that at which, by mere imagination, it would never have arrived." (1).

(1) *Univ. Hist.*, B. xii., c. 18.

The Crusades were also of great benefit to commerce. The commercial cities of Italy made immense profits by transporting warriors and pilgrims ; and they obtained great privileges in the conquered lands, establishing banks in Syria and along the Ionian and the Black Seas. Then began the commercial prosperity of what are now Belgium and Holland, of the south of France, of Bremen and Lübeck. Citizens became wealthy, and were soon so powerful that they were able to exact rights and privileges. The sugarcane, used by the Crusaders at Lebanon to assuage their terrible thirst, was transplanted to Sicily, thence carried by the Saracens to Granada, and from there taken by the Spaniards to America. Europe became acquainted with alum, indigo, and many other valuable drugs and spices ; afterward, while engaged in a search for a quick passage to the land that produced them, an Italian navigator discovered a new world.

The Crusades failed of their main object—the freedom of the Holy Land,—but they checked the progress of Mohamédanism, and permitted the continuance of the work of civilization in Europe. They need no apology ; had they fully succeeded, Europe, Asia, and Africa would now, in all probability, be entirely Christian. Their main idea was both politic and just. It was certainly good policy to give rest to a state by transporting its disturbers beyond the seas, to turn this fury against the barbarians. It was certainly just to combat a ferocious people, an article of whose religion was to exterminate Christians, and who had already ravaged all Southern Europe.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TRUCE OF GOD.*

Among the many institutions of the Middle Ages which may well claim the attention of the student, one of the most interesting is the “Truce of God.” During the first period of feudalism—unless we except the reigns of the Gothic

* This Chapter appeared as an article in the *Arc Maria*, vol. xxv., no. 22.

Theodoric, the Lombard Liutprand, and the Frank Charlemagne,—the want of an arranging hand, of a competent ordaining authority, is plainly felt. Only this absence, says the judicious Semichon, can explain the terrible, even though exceptional, barbarities of that time. Heruli, Goths, Vandals, Lombards, Franks, Visigoths, Huns, Danes, Saxons, and Normans, had overthrown the Western empire, and the miserable populations knew no human power but that of the sword; they rejoiced, in fact, when some one barbarian was sufficiently strong to crush his rivals, and to give society that kind of rest which comes from the rule of a single tyrant. When one reads the horrible descriptions of such a chronicler as Glaber Rudolphus (1040)—narratives not only of wholesale murder and universal rapine, but of cannibalism and ghoulism,—he does not wonder that duels and private wars became the means by which society, in the first period of the Middle Ages, tried to preserve the rights which civil government failed to secure it. In the feudal system of that day, remarks Cantù, “there being no confidence, recourse was more willingly had to such guarantees as were conformable to the condition of society; and duels and private wars became a necessity in such a state of affairs.”

However, society benefited little by the introduction of such remedies for its woes. Brute force remained its guiding influence; and no matter under what guise it may be exercised, brute force is conducive neither to civilization nor happiness. On every side were anarchy and chaos, and not unfrequently men imagined that the days of Antichrist were at hand. But if the abomination of desolation was nearly everywhere visible, the mercy of God was about to cut short its work of destruction. There remained on earth one power which men really revered,—one power, the influence of which was moral, and was therefore felt not merely by the lower nature of man, but by his mind and soul. Lombard and Italian; Frank and Roman; Gaul, Vandal, and African; Visigoth and Iberian; Saxon and Norman and Briton; all alike—barbarous and cultured—respected the Catholic Church. In that period, which, despite

its failings, was pre-eminently an age of faith, the influence of religion was paramount over the most terrible warriors and the most unmitigated tyrants. This, then, was the power which was to bring order out of chaos; this Church of God, which had but lately converted the barbaric hordes, and had begun the work of forming a new society on the ruins of the old, was about to appeal to the Christian sentiments of her new children, and to give a new life to the world.

But how was the Church to insure obedience to her injunctions? In her mission of protecting society, of substituting government for anarchy, how could she hope to succeed where even the sword—that generally successful argument over the purely natural man—had shown itself to be of no avail? But the Church possessed a weapon more powerful than the sword—the power of excommunication,—an arm which, as Semichon rightly observes, has been the origin of all modern social progress; for it convinced the barbarian that force could not prevail over right. It must be admitted that individual prelates—generally those who were the products of that system of royal “investiture” which the mediæval Pontiffs combated—often launched ecclesiastical censure for their own unworthy purposes; but such were exceptional cases. Still, as a rule, whenever this weapon was adopted in causes not purely religious, it was used in the interest of humanity. The Church had determined to convince her converts from Paganism that men might be of various conditions in the social scale, but that they were all equally obliged to revere and defend the right, and to uphold the good of society. Starting on her mission to abolish the state of universal warfare around her, the Church of the tenth century continued to preach the Gospel of peace; but she also began to construct a social edifice, and she defended her work with her peculiar weapon.

The first step toward the introduction of the Truce of God was taken in 988. Gondebald, archbishop of Aquitaine, in a Council of his suffragans at Charroux, pronounced anathema against all who robbed farmers or the poor of

their flocks, or destroyed implements of husbandry. Many other Councils prosecuted the same object, and soon the prelates began to inveigh against the arrogance and tyranny which the lords, both great and small, were wont to exercise toward the weak, especially toward monasteries, peddlers, and rustics. Excommunication, and even interdict—that most depressing of all punishments to those who were not lost to all sense of religion (1)—were often launched against the titled ruffians who formed the higher society of the day. The influence of these clerical assemblies was exerted, too, against other social evils than robbery and like forms of license. Their efforts were also directed to prevent the recurrence of war. Our modern philanthropists, who periodically hold a Congress of Peace, in the vain hope of inducing rival governments to reduce their monstrous standing armies, and thus diminish the burdens of the taxpayer, should cease to extol the nineteenth century as having originated the idea of arbitration. At the time of which we write, the cities of Narbonne, Limoges, Suiclanges d' Auvergne, Poitiers, and many others, had Synods which put that idea into practice. The nobles were conjured and commanded to swear, on the relics of the saints, that, when differences arose between them, they would not have recourse to arms until they had first tried to arrive at a pacific understanding in the presence of their respective bishops.

Such movements, however, were only the first attempts to satisfy the aspirations of a society satiated with bloodshed. According to Glaber Rudolphus (b. 5, c. 1), the year 1051 saw Aquitaine in the full enjoyment of "The Peace and the Truce of God," and in a short time the institution spread throughout France. The "Peace" exempted from all the evils of war all churches, clergymen, monasteries and convents, cemeteries; women, children, pilgrims, husbandmen; all implements of agriculture, and all farmers'

(1) And to those, also, whose religious sentiments were dead or dormant: for during an interdict, says Hurter, "music and festivity, assemblies of all kinds, all ornaments, and frequently even the ordinary cares of the body, disappeared. A universal fast was observed, all business ceased, and no communication was held with those who were deemed unworthy to belong to Christian society." In such a state of affairs, it is no wonder that "the revenues of the suzerain suffered a notable diminution, owing to the paralysis fallen on every industry." — *Life of Innocent III.*, vol. i., B. 4.

cattle, fields, vineyards, etc. The "Truce" directly tended to habituate to a peaceful life men to whom war was as their life-breath; to give time, at any rate, for angry passions to subside; to allow sober second-thought entrance into minds which acted too readily on impulse.

Realizing the inopportuneness, nay the futility, of an entire prohibition of war (1), the Church contented herself with forbidding it during Advent, Lent, and on the greater festivals. Then, when men had formed the habit of checking their angry passions, and of suspending their satisfaction, the limits of the "Truce" were extended. Four days of the week were consecrated to peace; for the "Truce" went into effect every Wednesday evening, and terminated only with the Sunday. Nor was war entirely forbidden merely during Advent and Lent: the Christmas season was soon added to the former, and the whole Paschal time to the latter. The reader will perceive that this salutary "Truce" covered, if the feasts be also considered, more than two-thirds of the year. In carrying out this beautiful idea, the Church found a powerful auxiliary in the chivalry of Christendom—that association which, according to Semichon, has given us a synonym for much that is noble and grand in human relations. Christian warfare assumed a character of justice and humanity it had never before known, and then was recognized a right the existence of which Paganism ignored—the right of the weak to be respected by the strong.

Glaber Rudolphus, who had witnessed the development of the Truce of God, writes as follows: "At this period divine grace initiated a movement which was founded on the love and fear of God, first in Aquitaine, and by degrees in every part of Gaul. From the evening of Wednesday until the dawn of Monday, no man should presume to offer any violence to another, or to exact satisfaction from any enemy whomsoever, or even to demand forfeiture from a

(1) Modern philanthropists, forgetting that God often commanded war to be waged, tell us that war is the greatest of evils. God ordered a war of extermination in the case of the Canaanites, a civil war against the Benjamites, and a religious war against Antiochus. According to St. Thomas, the great evil of man and of society is not physical suffering, but moral disorder. In accordance with the claims of moral order, the ruler of a state protects the honor of God from insult, watches over the public weal, and shields the weak and the poor from the oppression of the great and strong. (2a 2æ, q. 40, art. 1.)

security. If any one did any of these things he was forced to compound for his life, or was banished from the land, and made an alien in Christian society. This system was commonly styled the Truce of God. It was upheld not only by human safeguards : very frequently it was sanctioned by the terrors of divine interference ; for quite often, when maddened audacity had transgressed the law, either God's indignation showed itself, or the sword of man punished the crime. It would be impossible for us to adduce all the instances of God's manifestations of His approval of this institution. And such manifestations might have been expected ; for as the Lord's Day is venerated because of His resurrection, so the fifth, sixth, and seventh days ought to be free from evil deeds, on account of reverence for the Lord's Supper and His Passion."

Orderic (Vitalis) informs us that in the year 1080 (1) William the Conqueror sanctioned a law passed by the bishops and barons at a Synod of Isle Bonne, whereby the "Peace and Truce" were promulgated in Normandy and England. The decree reads: "Let the 'Peace,' commonly styled the Truce of God, be strictly observed, as Prince William ordered in the beginning ; and let it be renewed in every parish, under pain of excommunication. If any person contemns it, or violates it in any way, the bishop will do justice according to the laws now in force. If any one disobeys his bishop, that prelate will inform the lord of the territory, and that lord will subject the culprit to the episcopal justice. But if the lord should neglect this, his duty, the bishop will recur to the viscount of the king, who will ignore every excuse, and will attend to the affair." In 1060 count Raymond Berengarius, of Barcelona, published the "Truce" in his dominions. In 1095 Pope Urban II. and the Synod of Clermont, and in 1102 Pope Paschal II., confirmed these decrees of William and Raymond. In 1102 William, archbishop of Auchel and apostolic legate, promulgated the "Truce" in his province, in accordance with the statutes of Urban II. Finally, in 1139, the Tenth General Council (Second of the Lateran) gave in its Canon

(1) Hist. Eccl., B. v.

XI., the official approbation of the Universal Church to one of the most beneficial institutions of the Middle Ages.

But, the reader may ask, in thus promulgating the Truce of God, did not the Church arrogate to herself a power which belongs only to the civil authority? Well, we reply, with Semichon, where and what was the civil authority at that time? The Church has never been disposed to encroach upon the province of legitimate and competent civil government, and she has always restrained her clergy when intemperate zeal has led them to pass the limits of their own jurisdiction. But at the time of which we write, human law was almost entirely ignored, and it became not merely the right but the duty of the Church to remind men of their obligations, and to use her God-given powers to secure their observance. For more than half a century illustrious men have been endeavoring, by appealing to justice, compassion, and *interest*, (1), to put an end to war; but in spite of their zealous apostolate, the latter half of this "thinking" nineteenth century has seen standing armies doubled in number, public debts increased beyond measure. The self-constituted, impartial arbitrators speak to the deaf; public opinion demands peace, but cannot obtain it. The impotency of mere philanthropy to effect lasting good in society is here made evident. And how much more easy is this modern task, which philanthropy has assumed, than the one essayed and executed by the Church when she abolished private warfare! Philanthropy vainly struggles for universal peace among nations already civilized and cultured. On the contrary, the abolition of private war was undertaken by the Church, during an epoch of barbarism and confusion, among thousands of haughty and untamed barons, whose sole wealth was booty, whose sole hope of aggrandizement was conquest; and nevertheless, the Church succeeded in this, as in all of her endeavors to mollify the dispositions of the human wolves whom she was appointed to save. It was the Abbé Saint-Pierre, in the last century, who first

(1) When some of these apostles of peace waited on King Louis Philippe, he characteristically encouraged them, saying, "War is so expensive nowadays that the civilized world may hope to soon see the last of it." And since his time!

inspired men with the conception of a "universal peace," and the famous cardinal Fleury styled his hope "a dream of a worthy man." Certainly, outside of the Catholic idea, independently of the idea of God—and the Congresses of Peace have hitherto ignored it—permanent peace among nations is a vain aspiration.

CHAPTER XX.

NINTH GENERAL COUNCIL : FIRST OF THE LATERAN.

When Pope Calixtus II. found that at length the emperor Henry V. was willing to relinquish his claim to investitures, he addressed him a congratulatory letter, and prayed him to send, as soon as possible, his "orators" to Rome, that they might represent him at the General Council then being prepared. "Come therefore, my dear son," he said; "mayest thou rejoice in us, and we in thee, in the Lord! May thy imperial excellency reflect upon the great harm that has been caused to the faithful of Europe by the discord between the Church and the empire, and upon the great increase of good that will accrue to them, with the help of the Lord, from our concord . . . In regard to those things that thou hast committed to thy faithful ambassadors, to be communicated to us by word of mouth, we shall inform thee, by the same means, of what seems proper to us and our brethren. Commending, then, to thy benevolence those our legates who are now with thee, we ask that thou wilt, the Lord granting, send them quickly to us, as the Council convoked by us is at hand. So instruct, however, thy own ambassadors, that, according to thy promise, they may fully restore her regalia to the Roman Church." Baronio assigns the year 1122 as the date of the Ninth General Council, but Cossart observes that the year 1123 must be the correct date, since Suger of St. Denis says that he attended the Council as abbot of St. Denis, "the year after his elevation," and we know that his predecessor, Adam, died in 1122. Again, Robert de Monte and Falco of Benevento give 1123 as the date.

All previous General Councils having been held in the East, the Roman Pontiffs had presided over them by means of their legates. In this Ninth Council, held in the Lateran basilica, and hence called "the First of the Lateran," Pope Calixtus II. presided in person. Over 300 bishops and nearly 700 abbots attended. (1). When the imperial orators had been heard, so great was the joy of the prelates on perceiving that the question of investitures was finally terminated, that many of them applied to Henry's ambassadors the scriptural words, "how beautiful the feet of those who announce good things." The Council then confirmed the compact of Worms, thus definitely restoring the concord between Church and empire.

The prelates then turned their attention to the formation and issuing of Canons for the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, and for the encouragement of the Crusades in Palestine and in Spain. The business of the Council was transacted in two sessions, and twenty-two Canons were promulgated. The *First* Canon prohibits all simoniacal ordinations or promotions, under pain of loss of the grade or dignity obtained, and is taken, word for word, from a Canon of the Synod of Toulouse, celebrated under Calixtus II., in 1119. The *Second* Canon, also taken from those of Toulouse, orders that provosts, arch-priests, and deans be taken from the ranks of the priesthood; archdeacons to be selected from among the deacons. The *Third*, taken from the Canons of Nice, interdicts to priests, deacons, and subdeacons all concubinage or use of married life, or residence in the same household with any woman not one's mother, sister, aunt, or such as concerning whom "there can arise no just suspicion." The *Fourth* prohibits, as sacrilege, all princes or any laymen from giving away the possessions of the Church. The *Fifth* condemns as infamous certain marriages of persons related by blood. The *Sixth* degrades all those who were ordained or consecrated by the anti-Pope Bordinio (Gregory VIII.), or by persons consecrated by him. The *Seventh* prohibits, under pain of excommunication, any provost, archpriest, archdeacon, or dean, from conferring a

(1) Suger says there were more than 300 bishops, and Pandulph says there were 997, partly bishops and partly abbots.

benefice without the sanction of his bishop. The *Eighth* excommunicates all invaders of the Papal principality of Benevento; that district, owing to its isolation from the Roman States, being liable to suffer from the periodical wars of Southern Italy. The *Ninth* ordains that no bishop shall communicate with a person excommunicated by another prelate. The *Tenth* and *Eleventh* grant indulgences to Crusaders and to all who aid their enterprise; they receive their families and properties under the protection of St. Peter, excommunicating all who injure them; they order all who have assumed the cross, and have neglected to join the Crusaders in Palestine or Spain, to do so within a year, under pain of anathema, and interdict all sacred offices, excepting baptism and penance, at the hour of death, in the dominions of all princes and lords who are delinquent in this matter. The *Twelfth* abolishes the right, hitherto exercised, and probably usurped, by the Prefect of Rome, to seize the goods left, at his death, by an intestate *Porticanus*. For many centuries there had been established, for strangers, a number of porticoes, in the district reaching from St. Paul's to the city walls, and in that now known as the *Borgo*, extending from St. Peter's to the castle of St. Angelo (1). These strangers were called *Porticani*, and the Prefect of Rome, a vassal of the emperor down to the time of Innocent III., had usurped a special jurisdiction over them. By the twelfth Canon Pope Calixtus took a step toward the relegation of the Prefect to his proper place, and Pope Innocent III. (el. 1198), took the last step when he forced the Prefect to receive, instead of a sword from the emperor, a mantle from his own Pontifical hands, by way of investiture, thus doing away with the last shadow of the imperial pretence to suzerainty. The *Thirteenth* excommunicates the violators of the "Truce of God." The *Fourteenth* prohibits laymen from appropriating offerings made to the Church, and from regarding churches as part of their domains. The *Fifteenth* anathematizes coiners and circulators of false money, as oppressors of the poor and disturbers of the state. The *Sixteenth* excommunicates all

(1) PROCOPIUS; *Gothic War*, B. II.

who molest pilgrims to Rome or other holy places, or who exact tolls from them. The *Seventeenth* prohibits monks from administering the Sacraments to the sick, and from singing public masses: "Following in the footsteps of the holy fathers, we establish by this general decree, that monks shall be subject, in all humility, to their respective bishops; and that they shall show, in all things, due and devoted obedience to the bishops, as to the teachers and pastors of the Church of God. They shall never celebrate solemn public masses. Let them entirely abstain from public visitation of the sick, from anointing, and from penance; for these things are not at all in their province. In the churches where they are allowed to officiate, they will receive, from the hands of their bishop, priests who shall be answerable to him for their care of souls." The *Eighth* orders that the bishops appoint all pastors; that they who receive tithes, or take charge of churches, at the hands of laymen, without the consent of their bishop, be visited with canonical punishment. The *Nineteenth* confirms the custom, originated in the time of St. Gregory VII., of monasteries and their churches contributing to the support of Church and state. The *Twentieth* excommunicates all who molest ecclesiastical persons or goods, or peasants and laborers attached to the service of churches or monasteries. The *Twenty-first* is a repetition of the Third Canon. The *Twenty-second* declares null and void all alienations of property belonging to the church of Ravenna, and reiterates the sentence already passed against the simoniacally ordained or consecrated.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE TENTH GENERAL COUNCIL: SECOND OF THE LATERAN.

This Council was convoked by Pope Innocent II. for three purposes: to remedy the evils caused by the schism of Peter *Leonis*, to condemn the heresies of Peter de Bruis and Arnold of Brescia, and to draw more tightly the reins

of ecclesiastical discipline. The Council was opened on April 8th, 1139, and was attended by about a thousand bishops. (1). We give a summary of the teachings of the Petrobruinsians, as recorded by the venerable Peter of Cluny, in a letter to the archbishop of Arles and other prelates. Peter de Bruis first disseminated his errors in the province of Arles, about 1120. He denied that baptism was of any use, when administered to a person not yet arrived at the use of reason ; for, said he, "he who *believes*, and is baptized, shall be saved." He contended that no temples be built for divine worship ; that those existing should be razed to the ground or devoted to other purposes, because "God hears one pray in a tavern as well as in a church ; as well before a stable as before an altar." He taught that the crucifix should be broken to pieces and burnt, because "that instrument by which Christ was so cruelly tortured, on which He was so cruelly killed, is unworthy of any veneration ; rather should it be treated with every contumely, cut with knives, given to the flames, in revenge for Christ's suffering and death." He not only denied the Real Presence of our Lord in the Eucharist, but he asserted that it is nothing whatever, and should not be offered to God." He ridiculed all sacrifice, prayer, alms, etc., offered for the dead, and said that "not in the least can they help a soul departed." He rejected tradition and the authority of the Fathers. These errors, and those of Arnold, were condemned by the Tenth Council in its Twenty-third Canon, couched in these terms : "Those who, simulating the appearance of piety, reject the Sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood, the baptism of infants, the priesthood and other Holy Orders, and legitimate marriage, we expel, as heretics, from the Church of God, and condemn them ; and we command that they be coerced by the civil power. We include their defenders in the same condemnation.

In its Thirtieth Canon, the Council decreed that all who had been ordained or consecrated by Peter *Leonis* (2) and

(1) OTTO OF FRISINGEN, *Chronicle*, B. vii., c. 23. *Chronicle of Benevento*.

(2) On the death of Honorius II., in 1130, a cardinal named Peter (styled *Leonis* after his grandfather Leo, a wealthy and influential Jew) compassed his own election by a faction, after the legitimate proclamation of the cardinal Gregory del Mattei as Innocent II. The

his followers should be debarred from the exercise of their order. The disciplinary Canons are twenty-eight in number. The *First* deposes all simoniacs. The *Second* condemns every kind of traffic in Sacraments and all holy things, especially reprobating that in ecclesiastical dignities. Those who simoniacally acquire honor or position are deprived of the fruit of their iniquity, and, together with the traders, are branded as infamous : "All custom to the contrary notwithstanding, nothing can be exacted or given, either before or after." The *Third* prohibits a bishop from receiving a person excommunicated by his own ordinary. The *Fourth* deprives of his benefice any cleric who, after being admonished by his bishop, shows himself a fop, or is otherwise extravagant or peculiar in his dress, hair, etc. The *Fifth* orders the observance of that decree of the Council of Chalcedon whereby it was sanctioned "that the goods left by a prelate, at his death, be seized by no man whosoever, but remain, for the use of the diocese and the successor, in the free power of the treasurer and of the clergy. Let there be an end to that detestable and cruel rapacity. If, however, any one presumes hereafter to exercise it, let him be excommunicated." The same punishment is decreed against those who seize the goods of the inferior clergy. This Canon, the Twenty-second of Chalcedon, had been already enforced by the Synod of Rheims, of 1131, under the presidency of Innocent II. The *Sixth* deprives of benefice, and of the right of officiating, all subdeacons, deacons, and priests, who marry or have concubines. The *Seventh* renews the decrees of Gregory VII., Urban II., and Paschal II., prohibiting attendance at the mass of a married or concubinary priest. It declares null the marriages of those in Holy Orders, and of Canons Regular and professed monks. The *Eighth* nullifies the marriages of nuns. The *Ninth* forbids to all monks and Canons Regular the practice of medicine or of civil law, if exercised for the sake of gain. If any bishop or abbot

intruder took the name of Anacletus II. ; Pope Innocent fled to the fortified palace of the Frangipani, and afterwards to France. After Innocent's restoration to Rome, the anti-Pope continued to hold the Leonine City until a miserable death overtook him, in 1138. Then his partisans gave him a successor, styled Victor IV., but St. Bernard, who was then in Rome, soon converted this anti-Pope and led him to the feet of Innocent II.

permits such practice, he is to be deposed and excommunicated. The *Tenth* anathematizes all who appropriate the tithes of a church. If the guilty do not make restitution, they commit sacrilege and "incur eternal damnation," even though they have been countenanced in their robbery "by bishops or by kings." This Canon also condemns the practice, which had become quite common, of conferring deaneries and archdiaconates on young persons, and commands that such offices be assigned only to persons of known prudence and merit. It also reprobates the custom of some bishops, who gave parishes to wandering priests. In reference to the first portion of this Canon, that relating to lay-appropriation of tithes, we may observe that many of the nobles of Normandy and England had been accustomed, for a long time, to take to themselves a third of all the church tithes collected in their domains. The Conqueror forced them all to make restitution, but after he had died the custom was resumed. Hence a Synod of Rouen, in 1096, had condemned the practice, and the decree was repeated by a Synod at Poitiers, over which the legates of Paschal II. presided. The Tenth Council confirmed these decisions, "because tithes were designed for the uses of piety;" and such has ever been the mind of the Church. When the state was in difficulty, the Church frequently offered it help in the shape of a concession of all or a part of her tithes, and sometimes the beneficiary neglected to resign a possession which was of so much profit. The *Eleventh* and *Twelfth* Canons regarded the celebrated "Truce of God," of which we have treated in a special chapter. The *Thirteenth* is very severe on usurers. It declares usury to be "prohibited by divine and human law, in the Old and New Testament," and deprives its votaries "of all ecclesiastical consolation." They are not to be absolved, "unless with great caution," but are rather "to be regarded as infamous, during their entire lives; and unless they repent, are to be deprived of Christian burial." The *Fourteenth* regards the custom to which soldiers were addicted, of frequenting fairs and such places and occasions, for an opportunity of exhibiting their skill and valor. These fairs, in fact, had

become so many gladiatorial shows, and combats to the death were not uncommon. By this Canon, a gladiator mortally wounded on one of these occasions was denied Christian burial, even though he lived long enough to confess, and to receive the Holy Viaticum. The *Fifteenth* excommunicates those who lay violent hands on a cleric or a monk, and reserves their cases, unless they be in danger of death, to the Holy See. From the most ancient times, persons guilty of the most heinous crimes had gone to Rome for an absolution denied them at home, but this Canon seems to have reserved expressly, for the first time, any particular crime to the sole judgment of the Pontiff. The *Sixteenth* denies that the possession of an ecclesiastical benefice can be a matter of hereditary right, "for the honors of the Church are given, not to a certain blood, but to merit; and the Church has no heirs by hereditary right, or according to the flesh, but rather seeks for honest, wise, and religious persons to occupy her posts of government and to fill her offices." St. Bernard, commenting upon the passage of the Gospel "behold, we have left all things," gives a fearful picture of this abuse, as not uncommon in his days. The *Seventeenth* condemns as incestuous marriages within certain degrees of kindred, and says they are "detested by the Fathers and by the Holy Church of God." The civil law of that time regarded the fruit of such unions as infamous, and debarred it from the rights of heredity. The *Eighteenth* excommunicates and deprives of Christian burial all incendiaries, this evil having greatly increased, owing to the prevalence of private feuds and vendettas. Absolution for this crime could not be accorded unless the injury was repaired, and only then on condition of a year's service with the Crusaders in Palestine or Spain. The *Nineteenth* suspends for one year, and obliges to a reparation of the injury committed by the culprit, any bishop who absolves an incendiary without insisting on the conditions of the previous Canon. The *Twentieth* declares that the Council does not wish to interfere with the secular power, in its actions against the crime of incendiarism. The *Twenty-first* forbids to the sons of priests all ministration at

the altar, unless they embrace the monastic life. The *Twenty-second* admonishes confessors against false or illusory repentance. "There is a false repentance when the penitent does not give up an office or a business which he cannot fill or conduct without sin, or when he bears hatred in his heart, or when he does not repair an injury or forgive one, or when he bears arms in an unjust cause." The *Twenty-third*, as we have seen, regards the Petrobruissians and the Arnoldists. The *Twenty-fourth* prohibits the exaction of money for the Holy Chrism and Oils or for Christian burial. The *Twenty-fifth* commands that no ecclesiastic receive a benefice from a lay hand, and deprives such a recipient from his position, since, according to the decrees of the holy Fathers, laymen, be they ever so religious, have no right to dispose of the goods of the Church." In the previous century, many Synods had condemned this abuse. By this decree, however, the Council did not interfere with the legitimate "right of presentation" enjoyed by certain lay patrons, and which was derived from their (or their ancestors) having founded and endowed the benefice in question. The Council merely denied the right of absolute collation, without any approval of ecclesiastical authority, which certain magnates had arrogated to themselves. The *Twenty-sixth* anathematizes those women who, living in private houses and wearing the habit of religious, although professing no recognized rule, receive men as guests. The *Twenty-seventh* prohibits nuns and monks from chanting the Office together, in the same choir. The *Twenty-eighth* provides that no episcopal see remain vacant for more than three months. The *Twenty-ninth* prohibits the use of cross-bows against Christians.

The decrees of the Tenth Council were eminently wise, and Pope Innocent II. was justified in expecting that great good would accrue to the Church by their means. But the evils of the time were so deeply seated, that most of the Council's designs were frustrated.

CHAPTER XXII.

POPE ALEXANDER III. AND THE LOMBARD LEAGUE.

Conrad III. having died in 1152, the German throne was mounted by his son Frederick, called, on account of his red beard, Barbarossa. At this time Pope Eugenius III. was experiencing great trouble with the Romans, who were powerfully agitated by the teachings of Arnold of Brescia, and were ambitious to restore the ancient glories of the S. P. Q. R. Eugenius in vain implored the assistance of the French in restoring order in his turbulent capital, and albeit unwillingly, now turned to Frederick I. The German king was but too glad to avail himself of the Pontiff's request as a pretext for his own aggrandizement, for the imperial claims in Italy were just then nearly entirely ignored. He eagerly promised to restore Eugenius to his temporal throne, and accordingly that Pontiff departed from France, where he had taken refuge, and advanced as far as Tivoli, where he hoped to be met by Frederick. Here he suddenly died, in July, 1153. The next Pope was Anastasius IV., but after a short reign he was succeeded, in December, 1154, by Adrian IV. Adrian renewed his predecessor's application to Frederick, and promised him, as a reward, the imperial crown. Having arranged his German affairs, the Red Beard now descended into Italy at the head of a formidable army, and before he gave any aid to the Pontiff, proceeded to restore the imperial power in the North. His first venture was made against Milan, but finding it impossible of reduction, he spent his fury upon the surrounding country, and having sacked and burnt Asti, Chieri, and Tortona, he entered Pavia, where he received the iron crown of Lombardy. Pope Adrian and Frederick met at Viterbo, and were there waited upon by a deputation from Rome, promising obedience to the Pontiff. A few days afterward, having peacefully entered the city, Adrian placed the imperial crown upon the head of Frederick. The peace of the city was soon disturbed, for the Romans,

indignant at the contempt which Barbarossa showed for them, and disgusted with the brutality of the German soldiery, arose in arms, and after a long and bloody fight the emperor, accompanied by Adrian, withdrew his army to Tivoli. Sickness soon decimated his forces, and he ordered a retreat to Germany. Attacked on all sides by the infuriated Lombards, whom he had injured, he finally, almost alone, crossed the frontier. But in 1158, Frederick took his revenge. With more than a hundred thousand men he laid siege to Milan, hunger finally caused a capitulation, and the heroic bulwark of Lombard independence was compelled to swear fidelity to the German. With the acquisition of Milan and the consequent reduction of all Northern Italy, Barbarossa flattered himself that the imperial power was better consolidated than it had been since the days of Charlemagne. But dissensions now arose between Pope Adrian and the conqueror. The Pontiff had many grievances against Frederick, and to obtain redress of these, he commissioned as legates the cardinals Octavian, Henry, William, and Guido. Through them Adrian insisted, firstly, that the emperor should desist from all communication with the Romans, unless through the Pontiff, because the government of the Roman states belonged only to the latter. Secondly, he demanded a cessation of the contributions of hay and straw, levied on the Romans for the imperial cavalry, contending that such could be permitted only on the occasion of an imperial coronation. Thirdly, he required that Italian bishops should be asked to give no homage, but only an oath of fidelity, to the emperor. Fourthly, he protested against the custom of lodging and entertaining imperial messengers, which had been forced upon the bishops. Fifthly, he demanded the cession to the Roman See of the territories of the Countess Matilda, donated by her to that See, and of all the territory between Aquapendente and Rome, of the duchy of Spoleto, and of the islands of Sardinia and Corsica. Adrian also complained that Frederick had broken his promise not to cede any Italian territory to the Greeks, also his agreement to make no peace with the king of Sicily without the consent of the

Pope. (1). To these demands and complaints the emperor gave no satisfaction. With regard to the inheritance of Matilda, he said he would leave that to the decision of wise and impartial men, and to this the legates replied that the dignity of the Pontiff permitted no recourse to an inferior's judgment. Foreseeing a struggle, and realizing that the imperial power was waxing too strong in Italy, Pope Adrian negotiated with Milan, Piacenza, Cremona, and other cities which were impatient of a foreign yoke. The enraged Frederick now rushed into Italy to crush this alliance, but he had scarcely arrived, when he heard of the death of Adrian.

At this time the Sacred College, then numbering thirty cardinals, was divided into two parties. The larger and more influential, led by the cardinal Roland Bandinella, chancellor of the Roman Church, was very averse to the German emperor, and had constantly urged the late Pontiff to make peace with William of Sicily, regarding him as likely to prove a faithful defender of the Holy See against the machinations of Frederick. The other party, under the guidance of the cardinal Octavian, was devoted to the emperor, and so pronounced had this devotion become, that Pope Adrian IV. had besought the cardinals not to elect any of that faction to the Papacy, since its servile regard for the imperial crown was a treachery to the Church. When the Conclave was held, twenty-three cardinals voted for Bandinella, and five for Octavian. The former was accordingly proclaimed as Alexander III. Octavian, however, relying upon the aid of the Roman senators, Ghibelines to the core, dragged the Pontifical vestments from Alexander, and presented himself to the people as Victor IV. Fearing for his life, Alexander fled to the castle of San Angelo, and for nine days was besieged by the schismatics. But the people soon learned the truth, and led by Hector Frangipane, they routed the insurgents and freed the Pontiff. Both parties having notified the emperor of their accession, Barbarossa presumed to convoke a Diet at Pavia to decide the question, and Alexander having refused to attend

(1) RADEVIC, *Epistle of Eberard Bamberg to the Archbishop of Salzburg* in R. xl., c. 30.

it, fifty bishops satisfied the emperor by recognizing Octavian as legitimate Pontiff. (1). In a Nazarene Synod held in 1160, the Eastern churches recognized Alexander, and in 1161, the English bishops did the same at Newmarket, and the French acquiesced at Beauvais and Toulouse. In the meantime, the cities of Milan, Crema, and Brescia, indignant at the Redbeard's violations of the terms of their capitulation, and driven to fury by his extortions, had commenced another war. The emperor resolved to make a terrible example of the rebellious cities. First came the siege of Crema, the faithful narration of which causes horrible repulsion to the reader. Exhausted at last by six months of fatigue and inexorable hunger, the Cremaschi were obliged to open their gates. All the inhabitants were expelled, and in a few hours Crema was a smoking ruin. When the news of the imperial action at Pavia reached Pope Alexander, he was residing at Anagni. He immediately excommunicated the anti-Pope, Frederick, and all their abettors. Then he proceeded to Terracina, from which place he tried to influence William of Sicily to draw the sword in defence of the Holy See. That prince, however, had forgotten his warlike youth, and was loth to forsake the lap of luxurious indolence, unless for his own immediate interests. Alexander therefore sailed to Genoa, where he was received with great respect and joy. He afterwards went to France. The Milanese, undeterred by the frightful fate of the Cremaschi, were now in full insurrection against the German power. The imperial army, and such Italian cities as favored Barbarossa, suffered immense losses, and in one battle the emperor was wounded. But by force of gold and fair promises, Frederick greatly augmented the number of his Italian allies, and the Milanese were finally compelled to withdraw within their own walls. Famine at length brought about their surrender, and the entire population was driven forth, literally beggars for a crust of bread to sustain life. Ten days afterwards, a heap of stones and bricks showed the traveller where had stood the proud and magnificent Milan. (2). The spectacle of so many thousands of people,

(1) RADEVIC, *Deeds of Frederick I.*, B. ii., c. 64.

(2) Of the innumerable monuments of the ancient Roman, and of their own more modern

all the Milanese and a great number from Piacenza, Brescia, and Bologna, reduced to absolute mendicancy, did more than anything else to bring forth and nourish that celebrated Lombard League, which was destined to crush for a time, and to diminish forever, the imperial power in Italy. When Frederick learned that most of the Lombard cities were uniting to oppose him, he marched on Verona, but growing suspicious of the fidelity of the Italian allies yet following his banner, he suddenly raised the siege and returned to Germany for a new and larger army.

Pope Alexander III. had now returned to Rome, the anti-Pope having died, in 1164, and had been received with joy by the Romans, whose imperialistic tendencies had been greatly modified by the excesses of Barbarossa. He exerted all his influence to develop and confirm the Lombard League, and aided the scattered inhabitants of Milan and Crema to settle amid the ruins of their homes, and to commence the rebuilding of their cities. Enraged at the patriotic efforts of the Pontiff, Frederick recrossed the Alps and marched on Rome to enthrone his anti-Pope, Paschal III., whom he had caused to be chosen as successor to the defunct Victor. He took the Leonine City by assault, reduced the fortified basilica of St. Peter's by fire, and renewed the ceremony of his coronation. The new anti-Pope was then enthroned, and Frederick turned his attention to the Romans. Flatteries, fair promises, and above all, gold, were given in profusion to both nobles and people, and many of them were corrupted. Pope Alexander, on the approach of the emperor, had fled to the strongly fortified palace of the Frangipani, which was well calculated to withstand a siege, even from the imperial army. The princely head of the Frangipani was faithful and brave, but the Pope's counsellors, nevertheless, advised him to retire to the Papal principality of Benevento. Having disguised their persons, Alexander and his cardinals stole out of the city by night, rode to Terracina, where they embarked for Gaeta, and finally were safely housed in Benevento. But Barbarossa

artistic and architectural grandeur, the Milanese could now rejoice in the possession of only one, and that endures to this day. It stands in front of the church of St. Lawrence, is a portion of a majestic marble portico, formed by a row of sixteen immense columns. How it escaped the otherwise universal destruction, is not recorded.

could not remain long in Rome. The climate was not favorable to the brutal intemperance of his soldiers, and immense numbers of them were buried. He therefore returned to Germany with the wreck of his army. The Lombard League, solemnly arranged on Dec. 1, 1167, was now firmly cemented, and, under the active patronage of Pope Alexander, was an object of fear to Frederick. It united together the cities and territories of Venice, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, Milan, Lodi, Piacenza, Parma, Modena, and Bologna. Genoa and Pisa, however, were too embittered by their commercial rivalry to lay down their arms, and they continued their foolish struggle, involving also Florence and Sienna, on the side of Pisa, and Lucca and Pistoja, on the side of Genoa. Pavia also, and the powerful marquis of Monferrato, remained hostile to the League, and patiently awaited the next return of the Germans into the peninsula. This occurred in 1173. The Redbeard entered Piedmont by Mt. Cenis, stormed and burned Susa, and laid siege to the new city of Alessandria, founded, in 1168, in honor of the back-bone of the League, Pope Alexander III. A great number of houses had already been erected, but their roofs were as yet only thatched with straw. Rightly regarding the name of the city as having been given in token of defiance to the Germans, Frederick swore to so use fire and sword, that not a trace of Alessandria should perpetuate the memory of the Pontiff. His oath seemed easy of fulfilment, for the new city had no walls, and no other defence than a deep ditch. Nevertheless, his assaults were again and again repelled, and although he used all the military engines then known to offensive warfare, he found his army daily decreasing, and the city no nearer reduction. At length, taking advantage of a night of unusual darkness, the Alessandrini made a sortie, which resulted in an immense slaughter of the imperialists, and the destruction of nearly all their war machines and provisions. This blow, followed by the news that the Leaguers were advancing in force to the relief of the city, induced Barbarossa to retreat on Pavia. From this strong position,

while dispatching to Germany orders after orders for reinforcements, he tried to gain time by making overtures to the League. They were heeded, and for a long time Frederick prolonged the negotiations, but taking care to put forth such exorbitant pretensions as would insure their rejection. By the time the Leaguers had discovered their enemy's trick, and had cut short the parleying, the emperor had received his fresh troops, provisions, munitions, etc. Therefore, in the spring of 1176, he started for Como, while the Leaguers, then composed of troops from Milan, Lodi, Novara, Piacenza, Brescia, and Vercelli, marched toward the Ticino, and encamped near Legnano. On May 26, reconnoitring parties crossed swords, both armies came up, and then ensued one of the bloodiest and most important battles of the age. The Italians were victorious, and, leaving on the field his own lance, shield, banner, and cross, his military chest, and an immense spoil in arms, horses, etc., abandoned by his panic stricken troops, who scattered in every direction, Frederick barely succeeded in throwing himself into the arms of his faithful Ghibellines of Pavia. He now realized that the time had arrived for submission to the Pontiff. (1).

At the suggestion of the emperor, representatives of the Holy See and of the Lombard cities met the imperial legates at Bologna, to consider the conditions of peace. The congress was soon transferred to Venice, and Pope Alexander, escorted by a Sicilian fleet, arrived to take part. The emperor and the Leaguers could here agree only upon a truce of six years, but shortly after, a conference was held at Constance, in which the independence of the Italian re-

(1) The learned Benedictine historian, Tosti, in his *History of the Lombard League*, Montecassino, 1848, p. 346, thus comments on the battle of Legnano: "The battle of Legnano was one of those of which we often read, in both ancient and modern history, as having decided the destinies of an entire people. They are prepared beforehand by many circumstances of time and of men, as though by a special Providence of Heaven; and hence, when they are fought, men may expect to see some crown disappearing forever, or some people arising and writing, in the codex of justice, the date of its acquisition of freedom. As yet the Lombards had never contended, sword in hand and in pitched battle, against the emperor; a reverence for Cæsar was still written in their hearts—it was not yet wiped out by the tears of slavery. At Pontida they leagued together, and prepared to fight; but in their public documents of the day, there always appears a superstitious reverence for the emperor, in the words *salva tamen imperatoris fidelitate*. At Legnano they crossed swords with, and routed the imperialists; they despoiled Cæsar of everything, and carried off his standard; with all of his prestige, disappeared all the influence of the successor of Charlemagne and of Otho. That battle was not merely a victory of the Lombards over Frederick Barbarossa; it was a defeat of the empire by the Italian republics, and on that day was destroyed that which had made the people resigned to their servitude—a religious respect for the empire."

publics was acknowledged, on condition that their chief magistrates should receive their investiture from the emperor. As to his differences with the Holy See, Frederick now had too much at stake to allow him to give way to his native arrogance; above all things, it was necessary for him to break the union of the Guelphs, by separating from their cause that of the Pontiff. He therefore manifested much humility and docility in acceding to the demands of Alexander. He immediately procured the abdication of his last anti-Pope, Calixtus III. (1), whom he had caused to be substituted, in 1170, for the defunct Paschal; as to the territories donated to the Holy See by the countess Matilda, he promised to yield them. Certain imperialistic and many Protestant authors have shed a very theatrical light upon the audience in which Pope Alexander III. restored Frederick I. to the communion of the Church. They assert that, as the emperor prostrated himself at the feet of the Pontiff, Alexander placed his heel upon the monarch's head and cried out, in the words of the Psalmist, "Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk, and thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon;" that the humiliated Frederick protested that those words were said of Peter alone, and that the elated Alexander replied, "of me, and of Peter." The absurdity of this story is evident; that it is unfounded in fact, is proved by the silence of all the contemporaries and quasi-contemporaries of Alexander who wrote about his Pontificate. Thus, Romuald, archbishop of Salerno, who was present at the absolution of Frederick, and who wrote a *Life of Alexander*, says nothing of this scene; neither does Matthew of Paris (2), nor William of Tyre (3), nor Roger of Hoveden. (4).

The peace concluded at Venice had for result, so far as the Italian republics were concerned, a confederation very similar, apparently, to that which was formed, two centuries afterward, in the mountains of Switzerland; in substance, however, there was a great difference between the

(1) This intruder humbly begged pardon of Alexander, in 1178, and we are told by Romuald of Salerno that the Pontiff that day seated him at his own table. So much for the arrogance of Alexander III., a favorite theme of certain writers.

(2) *English History*, year 1177.

(4) *Annals of England*, year 1177.

(3) *Holy War*.

two. The Lombard confederation acknowledged as head, either elective or hereditary, a foreigner, who, aided by foreign troops and by almost inevitable internal discord, might, at any moment, become a tyrant. But Frederick obtained many advantages by the same treaty. He filled his exhausted treasury, and being hailed as sovereign *de jure* of Lombardy, he could patiently await an opportunity of becoming such *de facto*. His reconciliation with the Italians enabled him to delay the cession of Tuscany to the Holy See, if, indeed, he ever sincerely intended to obey the will of the countess Matilda, and to fulfil his own oath. Another great advantage accruing to Frederick from peace with the Pontiff and the northern Italians, was an opportunity to carry out a long designed scheme to establish a branch of his family on a royal throne in Italy. William II, king of Naples and of Sicily, had no children, and Frederick proposed a marriage between his son Henry (afterward the Sixth of Germany) and the princess Constance, aunt and sole heiress of William. Pope Alexander III., and after him, Pope Lucius III., and Urban III., being displeased with Barbarossa because of his tortuous policy and his contempt for his obligations, and unwilling that a foreigner, already on the way to become ruler of Northern Italy, should become sovereign of the South, opposed all their power against this marriage, but in vain. We shall notice its results, when we come to treat of the Pontificate of Innocent III. During the next few years after the peace of Venice, Frederick remained comparatively quiet; with the exception of a short war with the duke of Saxony, Henry the Lion, tranquillity pervaded his dominions. But in 1189, the fall of Jerusalem having caused Pope Urban III. to proclaim a new Crusade, Frederick received the Cross from the hands of the cardinal Henry, bishop of Albano, and led a considerable army toward Palestine. By June of the following year he reached the banks of the Calycadnus, in Cilicia, and while trying to ford the stream in his heavy armor, was drowned.

We cannot close this chapter without a few words in defense of the conduct of Pope Alexander III., in making a

separate peace with Frederick, without, it is said by some, more consideration for his allies. Many Italian historians have also blamed him for not taking advantage of the imperial misfortunes, thus assuring the independence of their country. But in his treaty with the emperor, Alexander III. entered into no arrangement which could reasonably displease the Lombards, and there was no likelihood that the confederates would have helped the Pontiff to the extent of annihilating the imperial power in Italy. It is certain that the Leaguers, even in their most prosperous moments, did not dream of absolute withdrawal from the empire; the ideas of those days were very different from those of the present time. The Italian enemies of Barbarossa merely contended for "home-rule," and they willingly acknowledged the supremacy or primacy of the suzerain created and anointed by the Holy See. This is well proved by the following passage of Romuald of Salerno, giving a Declaration made by the chiefs of the League to the Pope, in 1177: "Your Holiness and the imperial government must know that we will gratefully receive the peace of the emperor, if the honor of Italy be secured; and that we wish to recover his friendship, providing that he will guard our liberties. We desire to satisfy all the obligations of Italians toward him, according to the ancient usages; we do not reject any of the olden laws; but we will never consent to forego that liberty which we inherited from our forefathers, and we will lose it only with our lives, for the death of a freeman is sweeter to us than the life of a slave." Why then should Alexander have prolonged the war? Again, by an annihilation of the imperial power, the Pontiff would have undone the work of his predecessor, who had created that power, and had confided to it the temporal supremacy of Christendom. Even when an emperor became a rebel to the Pontiff, Rome never thought of abolishing his office, but only of substituting a more religious and more docile incumbent.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ELEVENTH GENERAL COUNCIL: THIRD OF THE LATERAN.

During the years 1177 and '78, Pope Alexander III. sent subdeacons to all the ecclesiastical provinces, summoning the bishops to a General Council at Rome in the following year. (1). Such was the manner, in those days, of convoking a Council. (2). The letter of convocation says: "As we see there are many things in the Church of God which need correction, many improvements to be made, and many things to be made known to the faithful which will help to their salvation; we have resolved to summon ecclesiastics from all parts, that, by their presence and counsel, what is healthful may be established, and what is good may be provided, according to the custom of the ancient Fathers, and be confirmed by many. If this were effected by each one individually, it would not easily attain its end. Therefore, by these Apostolic Letters, we command that you co-operate with this our arrangement, and, the Lord leading, that you come to the city of Rome on the first Sunday of the coming Lent, so that, with the aid of the grace of the Holy Ghost, we may decide, by our common care, what is to be done in the correction of abuses and in the establishment of what will be pleasing to God; that we may, with one shoulder, support the Ark of the Lord, and with one tongue, give honor to God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." The reasons for holding the Council were, first, to remedy the evils caused by the anti-Popes whom Frederick Barbarossa had sustained, and, in two instances, created; second, to condemn the Waldensian heresy; third, to invigorate ecclesiastical discipline. Pope Alexander, in person, presided over the Council. Matthew of Paris says there were present 310 bishops, but William of Tyre, who

(1) The year 1179 is assigned as the date of the Eleventh General Council by Otho of Frisingen (*Chronicle*, B. vii.), Matthew of Paris, William of Tyre, Roger of Hoveden, Helmold, and Albert Stadensis. And nevertheless, and although Alexander III. died in 1181, the abbot of Ursperg, in his *Chronicle*, says: "In the year of the Lord 1182, Pope Alexander held a General Council in the Lateran basilica, about the Calends of April; although some say the Council was held in 1179. But it may be that at this latter date he celebrated a Synod with some of the bishops of Italy."

(2) ROBERT DE MONTE, *year* 1179.

was one of the synodals, puts the number at 300. The Council was opened in the Lateran basilica, on March 5th, 1179, and its business was completed in three sessions.

In its *First Canon*, the Council decreed that hereafter a two-third's vote of the Sacred College would elect a Pontiff. It reads as follows: "Although our predecessors issued Constitutions which sufficiently guard against discord in the election of a Supreme Pontiff, the Church has frequently suffered grievous rupture on account of the audacity of wicked ambition; hence, to avoid this evil, we have decreed, by the advice of our brethren and with the approbation of the holy Council, to add something to those Constitutions. We therefore decree that if, by the enemy's sowing of nettles, there be not full concord among the cardinals in their choice of a Pontiff, and if two thirds agree, and the other third will not yield, but presumes to declare another Pontiff for itself, he shall be the Roman Pontiff who is elected and acknowledged by the two thirds. And if any one, not being able to attain his end, relies upon the nomination by one third, and usurps the name of 'Pontiff, he and all who recognize him are excommunicated, deprived of the exercise of their order, and even the Communion shall be denied to them, unless they are at the point of death. If they do not repent, let them have their lot with Dathan and Abiron, whom the earth swallowed alive. Again, if any one be chosen by less than two thirds, and no better agreement be reached, he will incur the above punishment, unless he humbly retreats. However, this decree imports no prejudice to the Canonical and other ecclesiastical Constitutions, in which the sentence of the larger and better part ought to prevail; because if any doubt arises in such cases, it can be settled by the decision of a superior. In the Roman Church there is a peculiar condition of things; in its regard, there can be no recourse to a superior." By a decree of Pope Nicholas II., in 1059, the election of a Pontiff had been confined to the cardinals, "the consent of the remaining clergy and of the people following; so that those most religious men are to be the leaders in the election, and the rest followers." From the

reign of Alexander III., the two thirds system has constantly obtained. The *Second* Canon declares the nullification of all appointments made by the late anti-Popes, Octavian, Guido, and John, and prohibits the exercise of their order to all ordained by them or theirs. It also prescribes the following form of abjuration, to be sworn to before a schismatic can be received into the Church : " I anathematize and reject every heresy which asserts itself against the Holy, Roman, Catholic Church ; especially the schism of Octavian, Guido, and John ; and I regard the ordinations of these as null, and reject them. (1). And I swear that hereafter I shall obey and prove faithful to, the Holy Roman Church and my lord Alexander and his legitimate successors ; that I shall serve them, without any evil mind, and according to my order, against all men. The counsels he may give me, in person or by writing, I will reveal to no man, even though my limbs or life be in danger ; I will honor the legates of the Roman Church, guide them and dismiss them, and contribute to their expenses. So help me God, and these His holy Gospels." (2).

The second reason for the celebration of the Eleventh Council was the condemnation of the Waldenses. As we shall devote a special chapter to these heretics, we here detain the reader only a few moments. While Pope Alexander III. was in France, he had held, in 1163, a Synod at Toulouse, the fourth Canon of which prohibited any one from harboring the Waldenses or Albigenses, and from holding any commercial relations with them. By its 27th Canon, the Eleventh Council confirms the decree of Toulouse : " As blessed Leo says : Although ecclesiastical discipline is content with the sacerdotal decisions, and takes no bloody revenge, nevertheless it is assisted by the decrees of princes, in order that men may seek a salutary remedy, when they fear an imminent corporal punishment. Therefore, since in Gascony, in the territory of Albi, and in the district of Toulouse, the condemned wickedness of those heretics who are variously styled Catharians, Paterines, Publicans, etc., has so developed, that they no longer

(1) Illicit, that is, not invalid.

(2) ALBERT STADENSIS, *Chronicle*. ALBERT KRANTZ, *Metropolis*, B. vii., c. 3.

manifest their iniquities in secret, as others do, but even openly avow their errors, and thus seduce the weak and simple ; we pronounce anathema on them, their defenders, and their harborers ; and under pain of the same anathema, we prohibit all persons from harboring them in houses or territory, and from cherishing them, or transacting any business with them. If they die in their sin, let no offering be made for them, or burial among Christians be accorded them, notwithstanding any privilege conceded by us to any one whomsoever, and notwithstanding any other pretext." With regard to the severity of this and similar Canons, we shall take occasion to vindicate their justice and necessity when we come to treat of the Albigenses. In another part of the same 27th Canon, the Council condemns the predatory bands of Belgians, Arragonese, Navarrese, Basques, Cotterels (1), and Triaverdins, who had joined the Albigenses for the sake of pillage and lust, "who respected neither churches nor monasteries ; sparing not orphans, women, or old age ; but looting and desolating everywhere ;" and orders that "for the remission of their sins, all the faithful courageously oppose these ravages, and defend Christians against such wretches." The Canon then grants indulgences "at the discretion of the bishops," of greater or less extent, according to their term and kind of service, to those who don the Cross in the Holy Wars.

The third object of the Eleventh Council was the invigoration of ecclesiastical discipline. Simony was rife in the churches and monasteries : the clergy were, to a great extent, stained with avarice, and addicted to pompous display : among the laity, usury had become a notorious evil. The Council therefore issued, besides the three Canons already noticed, twenty-four others. The *Third* prescribes "that no person be made a bishop, unless he is thirty years of age, born of legitimate matrimony, and is shown to be commendable in life and in learning." No one can be made a dean, an archdeacon, a parish-priest, or receive any care of souls, unless he has reached his twenty-fifth year, and is of approved knowledge and morals. In the twelfth

(1) De Marca says these were so called because their favorite weapon was a long knife, called by the Toulousans a *cotterel*.

century, the promotion of young persons, on account of court influence, to ecclesiastical dignity, had become a frightful abuse. St. Bernard (1) says: "Schoolboys, not yet arrived at the age of puberty, are promoted, because of their family dignity, to ecclesiastical offices; they are taken from under the master's rod, and assigned to govern priests." William of Newburg (2) reproves archbishop Roger of York because, "instead of the worthy persons who once shed light upon the church of York, he appointed beardless youths, better fitted to play at odd-and-even, or to straddle the hobby-horse." The *Fourth* protects the clergy and bishops from undue expenses, while their superiors are making a visitation. A cardinal may have twenty-five horses at such a time, if he is not also a bishop; an archbishop shall be content with forty or fifty; a bishop may be followed by thirty; an archdeacon will find five or seven a sufficiency; a dean must be satisfied with two. This programme, however, is only for the poorer places; if a very rich place be visited, the Council "toleratès" the visitor's exercise of discretion. The *Fifth* prohibits any ordination without a "title," whereby the ordained may live until he be provided with a benefice. In this Canon, occurs the first mention of the patrimonial title. A bishop who ordains a person without a title, whereby he may live, is obliged himself to support that person until he receives a benefice. In consequence of this Canon, Pope Innocent III. ordered the bishop of Zamora, whose predecessor had ordained a certain subdeacon, to support him until he assigned him a benefice, threatening to compel the bishop by ecclesiastical censure. The *Sixth* prohibits any suspension or excommunication before the issuance and reception of the formal canonical admonition. It orders a certain time to be assigned for the prosecution of an appeal, if the aggrieved party desires to make one; if the appeal is not made within that time, "the bishop may exercise his right." Monks and religious are prohibited to appeal "against the regular discipline of their superiors or Chapters." The *Seventh* condemns all charges for the administration of

(1) *Epistle 42 to Henry, archbishop of Sens.*

(2) *English Affairs*, B. iii., c. 5.

Sacraments, for the granting of benefices, and for the Sacred Oils. This Canon is transcribed in the *Decretals*, B. V., tit. iii., on *Simony*. It also decrees that if any person, being in danger of death, leaves his property to a religious order, his parish church shall receive its canonical share; if, however, a man in good health does the same, the will stands. The *Eighth* prohibits the promising a particular benefice, when it shall become vacant, "lest one may seem to desire the death of the occupant." A prebend or benefice must be conferred within six months of the day it becomes vacant. If the collation belongs to the bishop, and he neglects to confer it, the right devolves on the Chapter, and *vice versa*; if both neglect, the metropolitan must provide. The *Ninth* rebukes the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitalers of St. John, and some other orders, for exceeding the privileges conceded them by the Holy See, and decrees, first, that they receive no churches or tithes without the consent of the bishop; second, that they avoid all excommunicated or interdicted persons; third, that in all churches, not theirs by "full right," they present their priests for installation by the bishop; fourth, that, if they come to an interdicted church, they can only once in the year be admitted to the ecclesiastical Office, and not even then can they bury the dead in the said church; fifth, that those persons who live in religious houses, although not really belonging to the order, cannot partake of the immunities granted to the members. The *Tenth* forbids the reception of a monk or religious, "for money." It also decrees that a monk who keeps or possesses any money, "unless given him by the abbot for a definitely assigned purpose, be deprived of Communion, and if he be found, at his death, to have had money, he shall not be prayed for, and he shall not be buried with the brethren." The *Eleventh* regards the continency of the clergy, and is a repetition of previous enactments. The *Twelfth* prohibits clerics from conducting cases before secular tribunals, unless the case be of the Church, or their own, or for a miserably poor person. The *Thirteenth* condemns "spiritual polygamy," that is, the holding of more than one benefice by

one person. The *Fourteenth* treats of the same subject, and then forbids the clergy, under pain of degradation, from receiving churches from lay hands, without the authorization of the bishop. It also excommunicates any layman who compels an ecclesiastic to appear before a lay tribunal. The *Fifteenth* prohibits a cleric from transmitting to his heirs what he has acquired by virtue of his ecclesiastical office. What he has received "by inheritance, through his own labor, or by his learning," he may dispose of as he pleases. This decree is inserted in the *Decretals*, B. III., tit. 21, *Wills and Last Wishes*. The *Sixteenth* regards Capitular dissensions, and decrees that "unless something reasonable be alleged by the minority, the decision of the majority shall stand, without appeal." The *Seventeenth* orders that, when a right of presentation to a benefice belongs to many, and they cannot agree upon a candidate, the majority's opinion be respected. If this would cause any scandal, the bishop must arrange the matter. He will also take the affair in his own hands, if a dispute arises as to who possesses the right of presentation, and it is not settled in four months from the date of vacancy. (*Decretals*, B. III., tit. 39, *Right of Presentation*.) The *Eighteenth* decrees that in all cathedral churches a fitting benefice be assigned for the support of the master of the cathedral school, whose principal duty it is to give gratuitous instruction to poor scholars. The *Nineteenth* excommunicates magistrates and consuls who impose burdens on churches and diminish ecclesiastical jurisdiction, unless "the bishop and the clergy see that there is such great necessity or utility, that the church ought to come to the aid of the community. (*Decretals*, B. III., tit. 49, *Immunity of Churches*.) The *Twentieth* repeats the decree of the Tenth Council against tournaments where life is endangered, gladiatorial shows at fairs, etc. The *Twenty-first* and *Twenty-second* regard the *Truce of God*, of which we have already spoken, and are inserted in the *Decretals*, B. I., tit. 33, *Truce and Peace*. The *Twenty-third* establishes a pastor, church, and cemetery, for every community of lepers, and exempts it from tithes. The *Twenty-fourth* excommunicates all who furnish munitions of war to the

Mohammedans, or become navigators in their ships. The same penalty is launched against all pirates and wreckers. The *Twenty-fifth* is against usury. The *Twenty-sixth* excommunicates Christians who have become domestics, etc., in the service of Jews. The *Twenty-seventh* proclaims a Crusade against the Albigenses.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CAUSE OF ST. THOMAS A BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Henry II. mounted the throne of England in 1154. By the death of his father, he inherited Touraine and Anjou ; through his mother he was lord of Normandy and Maine ; in marrying Eleanor of Poitou, he received as dowry Poitou, Saintogne, Auvergne, Perigord, the Limousin, Angoumois, and Guienne. Thus, although a vassal of the king of France, he became, on his accession to the English crown, a more powerful prince than his suzerain (1). Six Popes, Adrian IV., Alexander III., Lucius III., Urban III., Gregory VIII., and Clement III. occupied the chair of St. Peter during the reign of Henry II., but we shall have occasion, in this chapter, to allude only to Alexander. The other principal sovereigns contemporary with Henry were the emperor Frederick I. ; in France, Louis VII. and Philip Augustus ; in Spain, Alphonsus VIII., Sancho III., and Alphonsus IX. When Henry II. commenced to reign, there was no one to whom he owed so much as to Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and he soon promoted that prelate to the first place at the council-board. Worn out by age and sickness, Theobald wished to retire from political life, but his great love for Henry prompted him to leave his place to some one capable of guiding the young king, and he chose his own arch-deacon, Thomas à Becket.

(1) We are told by Gerald of Cambrai, Peter of Blois, and William of Newburg, that Henry II. was comparatively well read, and that he was generally well-mannered ; but the cardinal Vivian, after a long interview with him, said : " I have never witnessed the equal of this man as a liar," and king Louis VII. told Henry's ambassadors that it was impossible to put faith in their master.

Henry became greatly attached to the arch-deacon, and appointed him chancellor, (1) made him preceptor of the heirs apparent, warden of the Tower, castellan of Berghamsted, and assigned to his service one hundred and forty knights. Becket was a warrior, at this time, as well as a counsellor. During the French campaign of 1159, he fought at the head of seven hundred knights and their retinues; at the close of the war, he was maintaining twelve hundred knights and four thousand cavalry. In 1161, the highest dignity in the English church became vacant by the death of archbishop Theobald. For thirteen months Henry allowed the vacancy to continue, as the revenues of Canterbury were welcome to his pocket. At the end of that time, the Chapter and the prelates met at Westminster; every vote was cast for Becket, and prince Henry, in his father's name, gave the royal assent (2). The ostentation of the chancellor henceforth gave place to the modesty of a Christian bishop; he immediately resigned his secular offices, and dismissed his large train of noblemen, keeping near his person only a few of his most virtuous and most learned priests. (3). It was on account of his care for the poor, as well as for the sake of the sacred principle involved, that he now insisted upon the restitution of those revenues of his diocese which had been appropriated by laymen. It is not easy to determine whether this action of Becket was the first cause of dissension between him and the monarch; but it is certain that, for more than a year before the open collision, Henry had cooled toward his former favorite, and that the envious noticed a change, and misrepresented his actions. An opportunity was offered to these gentry in 1163, by a dispute regarding the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. (4). The first attack on these tribunals was made on their

(1) The chancellorship was one of the few offices that could not be bought. It was a sure stepping-stone to a bishopric, and hence its occupier avoided incurring the impediment of simony. LINGARD, *History of England*, vol. ii., c. 3.

(2) When the king informed Becket of his intention to promote his election, the chancellor smilingly pointed to his armor, and said that such was not the dress of a bishop. He then declined the honor, saying that he could not do his duty as archbishop and, at the same time, retain Henry's favor; but, at the entreaty of the legate Henry of Pisa, he accepted the nomination.

(3) Protestants have called this change hypocrisy; but, remarks Lingard, had Becket been a hypocrite, he would have been both chancellor and archbishop, would have flattered the king, and would have been absolute in church and state.

(4) "When the Imperial government ceased in other countries," says Lingard, "the natives preserved many of its institutions, which the conquerors incorporated with their own laws; but our barbarian ancestors eradicated every prior establishment, and trans-

criminal jurisdiction. Because of the presumed light sentence of one Philip de Brois, a canon of Bedford, convicted of manslaughter, and condemned to a money indemnity to the relations of his victim, and afterwards punished by whipping for insulting a judge, Henry summoned the bishops to Westminster, and demanded that hereafter, in all similar cases, the culprit should be punished by the secular tribunals, if convicted by the spiritual court. The prelates refused, and the king then asked if they would promise to observe the ancient customs of the realm. As these customs had not been defined, the archbishop replied affirmatively, "saving his order." Henry then put the question separately to each bishop; with the exception of the bishop of Chichester, all repeated the answer of Becket. The prelates soon realized that the word "customs" was meant to cover an attack on most of the clerical immunities. But the archbishop of York, Roger de Pont l'Eveque, who had always been jealous of Becket, proposed to temporize; Becket refused, and wrote to Pope Alexander about the state of affairs. The Pontiff, who was then at Sens, answered with a most encouraging letter, bidding the English prelate not to yield one iota of the Church's rights. But before the Pope's missive arrived, the zealous archbishop had found himself deserted by nearly all the clergy. He was pressed on all sides to yield, and finally, knowing that Henry had sworn never to attack the Church immunities, he promised to withdraw that obnoxious reservatory clause:

planted the manners of the wilds of Germany into the new solitude which they had made. After their conversion, they associated the heads of the clergy with their nobles, and both equally exercised the functions of civil magistrates. It is plain that the bishop was the sole judge of the clergy in criminal cases (*Saxon Laws*, 83); that he alone decided their differences (*ibid.*, 51), and that to him appertained the cognizance of certain offences against the rights of the Church and the sanctions of religion; but as it was his duty to sit with the sheriff in the court of the county, his ecclesiastical became blended with his secular jurisdiction, and many causes, which in other countries had been reserved to the spiritual judge, were decided in England before a mixed tribunal. This disposition continued in force till the Norman conquest, when the two judicatures were completely separated, and in every diocese 'courts Christian,' that is, of the bishop and his archdeacons, were established, after the model and with the authority of similar courts in all other parts of the Western church . . . The proceedings of the former (ecclesiastical courts) were guided by fixed and invariable principles, the result of the wisdom of ages; the latter were compelled to follow a system of jurisprudence confused and uncertain, partly of Anglo-Saxon, partly of Norman origin, and depending on precedents, of which some were furnished by memory, others had been transmitted by tradition. The clerical judges were men of talents and education; the uniformity and equity of their decisions were preferred to the caprice and violence which seemed to sway the royal and baronial justiciaries; and by degrees every cause which legal ingenuity could connect with the provisions of the Canons, whether it regarded tithes, or advowsons, or public scandal, or marriage, or testaments, or perjury, or breach of contract, was drawn before the ecclesiastical tribunals. A spirit of rivalry arose between the two judicatures, which quickly ripened into open hostility. On the one side were ranged the bishops and chief dignitaries of the Church, on the other the king and barons." *loc. cit.*

"saving his order." Henry then declared that, as his honor had been publicly injured, the reparation should be made before the estates of the kingdom.

The bishops, barons, etc., met the king at Clarendon, on January 25th, 1164. Henry immediately demanded that the prelates should fulfil their promise, and Becket once more requested that the reservatory clause might be retained. The answer of Henry was a threat of exile or of death; a door was thrown open, revealing to the astonished bishops a party of knights with drawn swords. Two Templars then knelt before the primate, and begged him to yield; the bishops joined with their entreaties, and finally Becket promised to observe the "customs," but quite naively asked to be told what they were. A committee of inquiry presented sixteen Constitutions as the customs of England. "The care of all vacant dioceses, abbeys, and priories, was to be given to the sovereign, and all their revenues, during the vacancy, to be paid to him; the election of a new incumbent could be made only in pursuance of a royal writ, and should be held by the chief clergy in the royal chapel, with the royal consent, and by the advice of such prelates as the king might summon." The first portion of this Constitution refers to a custom introduced by William Rufus, but renounced by him and all his successors, including Henry II. himself. It was ordered, by the *third* Constitution, that, when a cleric was a party to a suit, the royal justices should decide in what court it should be tried; if it was decided to send the case to an ecclesiastical court, a civil officer would make report of the proceedings, and the defendant, if convicted, could claim no "benefit of clergy," that is, exemption from punishment by the secular authority. This, says Lingard, ought not to have been called an "ancient" custom, for it was an innovation, overturning the law as it had stood since the days of the Conqueror, and not restoring the judicial process of the Anglo-Saxons. The *fourth*, also derived from the Conquest, ordered that "no archbishop, bishop, or other person, should leave the kingdom, without the royal consent;" before going, they were to give security that they would work

nothing against his majesty or his kingdom. The *seventh* Constitution prescribed that "no chief-tenant of the king, no officer of his household or demesne, could be excommunicated, or his lands interdicted, without the king's permission, or that of the grand-justiciary." The pretext of this custom, introduced by the Conqueror, was that, as all men were obliged to avoid an excommunicated person, the king would lose the services of an excommunicated vassal. By the *eighth*, appeals were ordered to proceed "from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop;" if the metropolitan did not decide the cause, it was to be carried "to the king," that he might command it to be terminated "in the archiepiscopal court," and no other judge was to be had, "without the royal assent." King Henry I. had tried to prevent appeals to the Pope, but Henry II., some time after the Clarendon affair, denied that such was his intention. His creature, Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, said that "the king claims that no one shall leave the kingdom, *for a civil cause.*"

Of these Constitutions three copies were made, and they were signed by Henry, the bishops, and thirty-seven barons. On the king's demanding that the prelates should affix their seals to the documents, Becket said that he had fulfilled his promise, and would do no more. "His conduct on this trying occasion," says Lingard, "has been severely condemned for its duplicity. To me he appears more deserving of pity than of censure. His was not the tergiversation of one who seeks to effect his object by fraud and deception; it was rather the hesitation of a mind oscillating between the decision of his own judgment, and the opinions and apprehensions of others. His conviction seems to have remained unchanged; he yielded, to avoid the charge of having, by his obstinacy, drawn destruction on the heads of his fellow-bishops." Scarcely had the Clarendon convention been dissolved, when the primate became the prey of remorse. Immediately after his arrival at Canterbury he voluntarily ceased to officiate as bishop, and despatched a report to Pope Alexander, begging absolution from any censures he had incurred. In his reply the Pontiff encour-

ages Becket, grants the absolution from censure, and orders him to resume his functions. In vain king Henry now tried to work on the fears of Alexander, causing it to be reported that he was about to recognize Barbarossa's anti-Pope. But being foiled, Becket was finally summoned before a council at Northampton, to answer a series of charges. When the archbishop appeared, Henry accused him of contempt for the royal authority, because he had answered a citation of the royal court, not in person, but by attorney. The court "amerced" the archbishop, that is, put him "at the king's mercy" to the extent of his entire property. After many iniquitous and absurd demands had been made by the king, the zealous archbishop thus protested against the decisions of the court: "Future ages will pass judgment upon your sentence; it is a new kind of decision, but perhaps in conformity with the new Canons of Clarendon. It has never been heard that an archbishop of Canterbury could be judged, for any cause whatsoever, in a court of the king of England; that is forbidden by the dignity of his church and by his personal authority, and because he is the spiritual father of all the rulers in the kingdom, and is to be always obeyed by all." The bishops now consulted together. Foliot of London urged Becket to resign his see, saying: "If you remember, father, whence the lord king lifted you up, and what he has conferred upon you; and if you consider the evil state of the times, and what ruin you are preparing for the Catholic Church and for us, in case you resist the king in these things, you will resign, not only the archbishopric of Canterbury, but ten of them, if you had them. Then, perhaps, if the king sees you so humble, he may give everything back to you." Henry of Winchester bravely sustained the primate: "Such advice, so pernicious to the Catholic Church, affects and confounds us all. If our archbishop, the primate of all England, sets us the example of yielding up, at the beck, and because of the threats of the king, the care of souls entrusted to him, what will be the condition of the Church? Nothing will be done according to law; everything will be in confusion." The bishop of Lincoln, whom the chronicler well styles "a

simple man, and rather imprudent," gasped out: "It is evident that they seek the life of this man. He must yield up his diocese or his life. What good the archbishopric will do him without his life I cannot see." The other bishops followed, all urging Becket to yield.

On the morning of October 13th the primate celebrated mass, and then proceeded to the court. The bishop of Exeter soon entered, and kneeling, begged Becket to have pity on both himself and his brethren. The primate answered: "Fly, if you wish; you do not appreciate the things of God." The other prelates then came to the primate, and Hilary of Chichester, in their name, delivered himself of this speech: "Once you were our archbishop, and we were bound to obey you. But since you, having sworn fidelity to the king, that is, having promised to guard his life, members, and earthly dignity, and to observe the customs adduced by him, now try to destroy them; therefore we pronounce you a perjurer, and a perjured archbishop we will not obey. We place ourselves under the protection of the lord Pope, and call you to his presence to answer for these things." Becket simply answered, "I hear." The lay barons then entered the hall, and Leicester, reluctantly compelled to deliver the sentence of the court, told the primate to hearken to the decision. Becket arose, and said: "My sentence? Son and earl, first hearken to me. You know how faithfully I have served the king, and how hesitatingly I accepted this office in order to please him; you know how I was declared free from all secular claims. I ought not, and will not, answer for what occurred before my consecration. As the soul is more worthy than the body, so you are bound to obey me rather than an earthly monarch. Neither law nor reason permits children to condemn or to judge a father; hence I decline the tribunal of the king, yours, and any other, being amenable, under God, to the lord Pope alone, to whom, before you all, I now appeal, placing the church of Canterbury, my order, and my dignity, with all pertaining to them, under God's and his protection. As for you, my brothers and fellow-bishops, who obey man rather than God, I summon you all to the

presence and judgment of the lord Pope; and, strong in the authority of the Catholic Church and of the Apostolic See, I depart hence." He immediately left the castle, and the people, who had heard that he had been murdered, accompanied him with shouts of joy to his quarters. Here, however, his knights and pages tearfully begged to be released from their fealty, and to be dismissed; and he cheerfully granted the prayer. At midnight, disguised as a monk, he left the monastery, with three companions, and after three weeks of perilous adventure, he reached Gravelines, in France, and hastened to pay his respects to king Louis VII., and to Pope Alexander, then at Sens.

When Henry found that Becket had fled, he wrote to Louis, begging him not to allow "the late primate" to remain in France. When Louis read the epistle, he remarked: "He is king of England, and I also am a king; but I would not depose the least one of the clerics of my kingdom. It has ever been a glory of the French crown to defend exiles, especially ecclesiastics, from persecution." Becket soon visited Pope Alexander at Sens. He found that a number of English bishops and barons had worked so well for Henry, that not a few among the cardinals were prejudiced against the primate. Having handed the Pontiff a copy of the Clarendon Constitutions, Becket delivered to him the episcopal ring, and declared he would long ago have resigned his diocese, had he not considered it unbecoming to do so at the whim of a king. Alexander returned the ring, and exhorted him to persevere in the good fight. Having read the Constitutions, the Pontiff said: "Among these abominable things, there is nothing good; but there are some which may, in some way, be tolerated by the Church. The greater number of them, however, have been already condemned by ancient Councils, as directly opposed to the sacred Canons." From the Vatican Codex in which, after the famous *Quadripartite Life of St. Thomas*, the Constitutions are recorded, we learn that ten of them were absolutely condemned. With regard to the eighth, which prohibited appeals to Rome, St. Anselm had already told William II. that "to swear to that is to abjure St. Peter;

and he who abjures St. Peter, undoubtedly abjures Christ, who made him prince of His Church." Even Henry II. was glad to recognize the Pontiff's right to receive appeals when, a short time after the exile of Becket, he dreaded lest the primate would excommunicate him, "and was compelled," says Becket (*Epistles*, B. i., no. 135), "to have recourse to the See of Peter and to invoke the name of the lord Pope, which he had before commanded not to be invoked." When Pope Alexander dismissed the archbishop of Canterbury, he recommended him to the hospitality of the Cistercian abbot of Pontigny, and it was gladly accorded. During the year 1165, Henry was occupied in a disastrous campaign in Wales, and could pay no attention to Church matters. But when, covered with infamy (1), he re-entered London, he turned his mind to vengeance on Becket. All the primate's estates were confiscated; all the clergy who had countenanced his late actions were deprived of their revenues; all of his relatives and friends, without distinction of age or sex, were banished, and compelled by oath to visit the primate, and recount to him their sufferings. We may imagine the anguish of Becket when four hundred of these unfortunates, among them his own sister and her infants, upbraided him as the cause of their woes. (2). Henry also wreaked his vengeance on the hosts of the archbishop, by threatening to expel all the Cistercians from his dominions, both British and French, if they continued their hospitality. To save them, Becket left their monastery, and King Louis assigned him a residence in Sens. In June of 1166, he resolved to bring things to a crisis, and accordingly issued a decree, excommunicating the ministers of Henry who had communicated with the anti-Pope, and those who had framed the Clarendon Constitutions, or who had appropriated Church property. He also wrote a strong, though affectionate, letter to Henry, from which we take the following passages: "Christian princes have been accustomed to obey the Church, not to

(1) As a consolation for his failure in this war, Henry satiated his thirst for blood on his hostages, the children of the first families of Wales. The eyes of all the males were plucked out and the noses and ears of all the females amputated.

(2) Pope Alexander, King Louis VII., and the queen of Sicily amply relieved the necessities of all these people. The sister of Becket found an asylum at Clermont, for which the Pontiff thanked the abbot. *Epistles of St. Thomas*, ff., n. 112.

think first of their own power ; they have always bowed their heads to bishops, and never presumed to judge them. Two powers rule the world, namely, the sacred authority of the Pontiff, and the royal power ; and of these the priestly authority is of the greater weight, inasmuch as, at the divine judgment, priests have to render an account of the kings themselves. You should have known for certain that you depend upon the sacerdotal authority, and that it ought not be made to bend to your will. Many Pontiffs have excommunicated both emperors and kings I write these things only, for the present, my lord, passing certain others in silence, until I see what effect my words produce. If they excite in you a worthy repentance, I shall rejoice with those who will tell me that my son, the king, was dead, but now lives, that he was lost, but is now found. But if you do not hearken to me, who always pray for you, with abundant tears and deep moans, before the Majesty of the Body of Christ, I shall certainly there cry out against you, and shall call upon God to arise and to judge His cause, to be mindful of the injuries heaped daily by the king of England and his upon God and His Where are the emperors, kings, and princes, the archbishops and bishops, who have preceded us ? They have labored, and others have taken up their labors. Thus passes the world and its glory. Remember your last end, and you will never sin, or, if you do sin, you will repent, while yet alive." Pope Alexander now appointed the archbishop of Canterbury Apostolic legate for all England, excepting, however, the archbishop of York from the legatine jurisdiction, because, to please Henry, the Pontiff had, some time since, made that prelate legate to all, excepting the primate. When Becket had received this appointment, he at once commenced its functions. He condemned the Constitutions of Clarendon, especially certain six chapters which he recites in his condemnatory letters to the English bishops. He excommunicated all the observers and promoters of the Constitutions, and absolved the prelates from their oath to observe them. He also excommunicated by name those who had communicated with the German schis-

matics, and those who had invaded the property of the church of Canterbury. In these letters to the English prelates, Becket is especially severe on the following chapters of Clarendon. 1st, that no appeal should be taken to the Apostolic See, unless with permission of the king. 2d, that no prelate should visit the Supreme Pontiff without royal license. 3d, that no king's man could be excommunicated, and no royal domain or king's man's domain be interdicted, without the royal consent. 4th, that no bishop should prosecute any one for perjury or heresy. 5th, that clerics should appear before secular tribunals. 6th, that the king, or any layman, should treat of cases concerning tithes, etc. Pope Alexander confirmed the action of his legate and wrote a warning letter to Henry, in which occurs this passage: "We have not thought it proper to shut our eyes to your obstinacy any longer; nor shall we again close the mouth of the aforesaid bishop, but shall allow him to freely do his duty and to punish you, with the arms of ecclesiastical severity, for the injuries done to him and to his church." (1).

The mighty Henry affected indifference at the threats of the Pontiff and of the primate; but he gave orders for the searching of every person entering England, and for the seizure of all letters coming from Pope Alexander or Becket. (2). He also decreed the most terrible punishments for the bearers of such missives, and compelled all freemen to swear to obey no censure against king or realm. (3). He even threatened to recognize the new creature of Barbarossa, the anti-Pope Guido of Crema; but, bad as many of the English prelates were, they were not prepared for schism. Hence Henry disavowed the promise made to Barbarossa, and even prevailed upon his ambassadors to deny that they had given it. (4). The king now tried to purchase friends at Rome, and throughout Italy. The Pontiff spurned his gifts; a few of the cardinals, and some of the Roman barons, also some of the magistrates of the

(1) ROGER OF HOVEDEN. *Annals*.

(2) *Epistles of St. Thomas*, ii., 249.

(3) *Gervase*, 1400.

(4) John of Oxford, a favorite of Henry, and ever foremost in any dirty work for his master, was sent to Rome, and there swore to Pope Alexander that the king had done nothing contrary to the honor of the Pontiff. *BOSEHAM*, ii., 256.

republics, accepted them, but the money was thrown away. During the years 1167-70 Henry tried many expedients; he even gave audience to Becket on two occasions, during his own sojourn in France, but each time promised to respect the rights of the Church only "saving the royal dignity;" while the primate always professed himself willing to obey the king, "saving the rights of the Church." For several years the barons of Henry's continental dominions had been appealing, according to the feudal jurisprudence, to their own and Henry's suzerain, the king of France; and Louis, quite naturally, had not been slow to aid them; but in 1169, a peace was concluded, and in 1170, Henry promised king Louis that he would be reconciled with the archbishop of Canterbury. (1). Pope Alexander having at length resolved to excommunicate the obstinate monarch, Henry proposed that the primate should return to England. All his rights, lands, etc., were to be restored. The Pontiff consented, but sent to Henry the bishops of Rouen and Nevers, to inform him that if his promises were not fulfilled in forty days from date, their orders were to publish an interdict in all his continental dominions. In vain Henry threatened and fawned by turns; he finally consented to meet Becket at Fretivalle, on the Touraine frontier.

On July 22d, Henry and Louis were conversing in a meadow near Fretivalle, when Becket, accompanied by the bishops of Rouen and Nevers, was seen coming towards them. Putting spurs to his horse, Henry uncovered and advanced to meet his former friend. Immediately he commenced to chat familiarly, and when he said, "I shall treat as traitors those who have betrayed us both," Becket dis-

(1) In an interview betwixt Louis and Henry, at which the primate was present, Henry complained of Becket's constant use, in his profession of fidelity, of the clause, "saving the rights of the Church." He said to Louis, "Listen to this, my lord, if you please. Whatever displeases him is, he says, contrary to the honor of God. He claims all that is mine for himself. But, lest I may appear to go against God's honor, or to resist him too much, I make this offer: What the greatest and holiest of his predecessors accorded to the least of mine let him accord to me, and I am content." Becket still refused to yield the clause, "saving the rights of the Church," and for a time Louis was so displeased that it seemed he would withdraw his countenance from the primate. But he soon sent for Becket, and falling at his feet, exclaimed: "My lord and father, you alone see this thing rightly. We were blind when we counselled you, in your cause, or rather in that of God, to abandon God's honor to the whim of man. We are sorry, father; forgive us our sin. I offer to God and to you, myself and my kingdom, and from this hour, so long as God grants me life, I shall not be wanting in aid to you and yours." *Quadrip. Life*, B. II., c. 27 and 28. *Gervase*, 1406. *Epistles of St. Thomas*, B. III., no. 79.

mounted, and would have knelt, but the monarch made him remount, and continued, "My lord archbishop, let us renew our old affection, but do me honor before those who now watch us." It was then understood that the archbishop should remain for a few days in the court of Henry, that the world might be convinced of their reconciliation. But in spite of this parade of submission, Henry delayed the execution of his promises, and it was only on Nov. 12th, when the interdict was on the very point of being launched, that he restored the lands of Canterbury see; and then the rents had been collected, and the cattle and corn removed. Before Pope Alexander heard of the above reconciliation, he had issued letters of suspension against the English bishops who had lately officiated, in defiance of Becket's prohibition, at the coronation of young prince Henry. In the interests of peace, the primate resolved to make no use of the Pontiff's decree, trusting to Alexander's good sense for excuse. But it happened that the three prelates concerned were informed of its being in the hands of Becket, and they dispatched a body of soldiers, under Ranulph de Broc, to seize it when he should land. When the primate reached Whitsand, he heard of this proceeding, and sent the decree ahead of himself by a courier, who publicly handed it to the prelates involved, and they immediately departed for Normandy to excite the anger of Henry. On Dec. 3d, Becket was joyfully received by the clergy and people of his see of Canterbury; on Christmas he preached, and toward the end of his discourse he remarked that his enemies would soon be satiated with his blood. On the 28th, Reginald Fitzurse, William Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito arrived from Normandy, and assembling their followers at the Broc manor of Saltwood, prepared to silence forever the zealous archbishop. They had heard Henry, enraged because of the representations of the three bishops condemned by Pope Alexander, cry out, "Of all the cowards whom I have benefited, is there not one who will free me from this troublesome priest?" On the afternoon of the 29th, the four knights presented themselves at the archiepiscopal palace, saying that they had a message from

the king to the primate. When admitted to audience, they ordered the archbishop to absolve the prelates of York, London, and Salisbury. Becket answered that the king had consented to his publication of the Pontifical letters suspending these bishops; that the case of Roger of York was reserved to Rome; that he was ready to absolve the bishops of London and Salisbury when they swore to submit to the decisions of the Church. The knights then declared that he must leave England. Becket replied, "No. If I am allowed to perform my duty, well and good; if not, the will of God be done." Fitzurse then ordered all the household, in the name of the king, to watch lest their master should escape. The closing scenes of the tragedy are thus described by Lingard: "At the departure of the knights, the archbishop returned to his seat apparently cool and collected. Neither in tone nor in gesture did he betray the slightest apprehension, though consternation and despair were depicted in every countenance around him. It was the hour of the evening service, and at the sound of the psalmody in the choir, a voice exclaimed, 'To the church, it will afford protection.' But Becket had said that he would await them there, and refused to move from the place. Word was now brought that the knights had forced their way through the garden and made an entrance by the windows. A few moments later they were heard at no great distance, breaking down with axes a strong partition of oak which impeded their progress. In a paroxysm of terror the archbishop's attendants closed around him, and, notwithstanding his resistance, bore him with pious violence through the cloister into the church. The door was immediately closed and barred against the assassins, who were already in sight. Becket walked leisurely along the transept, and was ascending the steps which led to his favorite altar, when he heard the cries of the knights demanding admission at the door. Without hesitation he ordered it to be thrown open, saying that the house of God should not be made a military fortress. Immediately his attendants, monks and clergy, dispersed to conceal themselves, some behind the columns, others under the altars.

Had he followed their example; he might have saved his life; for it was growing dark, and both the crypts and a staircase before him, which led to the roof, offered places of concealment. But he turned to meet his enemies, and, stationing himself with his back against a column, between the altars of St. Mary and St. Bennet, waited their approach. The four knights and their twelve companions rushed into the church with drawn swords, and loud cries. 'To me, ye king's men,' shouted their leader. 'Where is the traitor?' exclaimed Hugh of Horsey, a military subdeacon, known by the characteristic surname of Maucclerc. (1). No answer was returned; but to the question, 'where is the archbishop?' Becket replied, 'Here I am, the archbishop, but no traitor. What is your will?' They turned to him, and insisted that he should immediately absolve all he had placed under ecclesiastical censures; to which he replied, that, until they had promised satisfaction, he could not. 'Then die,' exclaimed a voice. 'I am ready,' returned the prelate, 'to die for the cause of God and His Church. But I forbid you, in the name of Almighty God, to touch any one of my household, clerk or layman.' There seems to have been some hesitation on the part of the murderers. They would rather have shed his blood without the church than within its walls. An attempt was made by some of them to drag him away; but he resisted it with success, through the aid of a clergyman called Edward Grim (2), who threw his arms around the archbishop's waist. 'Reginald' said Becket to Fitzurse, 'how dare you do this? Remember that you have been my man.' (3). 'I am now the king's man,' replied the assassin, aiming a blow at the primate's head. Grim interposed his arm, which was broken and severed in two; still the sword passed through Becket's cap, and wounded him on the crown. As he felt the blood trickling down his cheek, he wiped it away with his sleeve, and having joined his hands, and bent his head in the attitude of prayer, said: 'Into Thy hands, O Lord, I

(1) That is, the wicked cleric.

(2) When John of Salisbury, Fitzstephen, and others, afterwards boasted that they had stood by their lord to the end, Grim declared that all but himself ran away.

(3) That is, he had been the primate's liege-man or vassal.

commend my spirit.' In this posture, with his face to his murderers, and without shrinking or speaking, he awaited a second stroke, which threw him on his knees and elbows. The third stroke was given by Richard Brito, with such violence that he cut off the upper part of the archbishop's head, and broke his own sword on the pavement. The murderers were retiring, when Hugh of Horsey, turning back, set his foot on the neck of the corpse, and, drawing the brain out of the skull with the point of his sword, scattered it around. 'Fear not,' he said, 'the man will never rise again.' They returned to the palace, which they rifled, taking away with them spoil, as it was estimated, to the value of two thousand marks."

William of Newburg (1), an author contemporary with St. Thomas of Canterbury, thought that the primate acted imprudently in sending into England the letters of Pope Alexander suspending the bishops of York, London, and Salisbury: "He was fervent in his zeal for justice, but whether it was prudent, God knows. It is not permitted to our littleness to rashly judge of the acts of so great a man. However, I think that the most blessed Pope Gregory would have been more lenient when the relations with the king were so strained, and that, for the sake of peace, he would have borne with what might have been tolerated, without danger to the Christian faith." With regard to the saint's prudence, there was scarcely any room for its exercise in the premises. The suspensory decree was issued by his superior, the Roman Pontiff, and it was his duty to promulgate it. He did, indeed, at first, intend to suppress the letters, but the infamous brigandage of the three prelates showed that justice, not mercy, had to be exercised. As for the danger of rekindling the ire of the king, we know that Henry had approved of the execution of the Papal sentence. This is attested by the authors of the *Quadripartite Life of St. Thomas*, viz., Becket's clerk Herbert, John of Salisbury, William of Canterbury, and the monk Alan, all of whom were intimate with the primate, and better informed than was William of Newburg. Nor, says

(1) *English Affairs*, B. ii, c. 25.

Alexandre, would the great St. Gregory have acted as this chronicler would have had the archbishop act, if his probable course can be conjectured from the rule he lays down in his *Morals*, B. xxxi., c. 14: "Often we could rest quiet and unshaken, if we avoided the exercise of justice against the wicked. But if our souls are filled with the desire of eternal life, if they regard the light of truth, if the flame of holy fervor is kindled in them, we will offer ourselves for the defense of justice, to the extent that the cause demands, and even though they do not seek us, we will oppose the wicked who work injustice."

The reader will not be displeased or uninterested, if we conclude this chapter with the beautiful apostrophe by Alexandre, which is placed at the end of his lengthy and exhaustive dissertation on St. Thomas of Canterbury: "To thee, most holy bishop and martyr, I now direct my words, and suppliantly beseech thee, that with the God whom thou enjoyest thou wilt intercede, that the Church, the Spouse of Christ, whom thou lovedst as He did, and for whom thou didst give thy life, may have perpetual peace; that the Roman Pontiffs and bishops may be endowed with sanctity, and with zeal for the liberty and discipline of the Church; that the secular and regular clergy may despise the world, and be pious and fervent; that the most serene king of Great Britain and the whole kingdom may return to the true faith and the communion of the Roman Church, which it enjoyed in thy times; that an overflowing abundance of heavenly gifts, a long life, and lasting happiness, may be granted to the most Christian king, the great Louis, rightly styled by the holy Pope Innocent XI. 'the extirpator of heresy;' that tranquillity and prosperity may ever be the portion of the French church and of the French kingdom, from which, while thou wast an exile in these parts, thou didst receive consolation, support, and protection." (1).

(1) St. Thomas of Canterbury was, said the late Frederick Faber, "the apostle of high principle, the saint whose every word and work was a condemnation of cowardice, of time-serving, of timidity, of pusillanimity, of all unworthy concession, of all trembling in the face of power, of all bartering of principle for peace or gain, of all circuitous roads to a rightful and a godly end; in a word, of every profane weakness that ever afflicted the Church from within or without, from her children or her foes. . . . While the men of St. Thomas's day found fault with his want of discretion, and blamed him because he allowed his rude, uncouth, grotesque austerities to appear amid the splendors of Henry's court,

CHAPTER XXV.

THE WALDENSES.

About the year 1160, a certain citizen of Lyons having suddenly fallen dead, one of the spectators, Peter Waldo by name, was so affected with terror, that he immediately gave most of his goods to the poor, and began to exhort his neighbors to lead a more perfect life. He soon formed quite a large association, the members of which practised voluntary poverty. At first, there seems to have been nothing reprehensible in the doctrine or conduct of the Waldenses, or "Poor Men of Lyons," as they were sometimes called; they seem to have regarded themselves as a kind of religious order in the Church, and were by no means hostile to her hierarchy or any of her institutions; in 1212 they even applied, but in vain, to Pope Innocent III. for an approbation of their rule, an imitation of that of the Friars Minor of St. Francis of Assisi, then commencing their apostolic career. In fact, even when they had fallen into doctrinal error, the *pure* Waldenses were noted for apparent integrity of morals, and an external manifestation, at least, of evangelical simplicity, which greatly added to their numbers. One of the first innovations of the Waldenses was the free and promiscuous interpretation of the Scriptures. According to Reinerius Saccho (1), who had been a bishop among them, they were thoroughly logical and consistent in their application of the new principle: "I knew a rustic who could recite the Book of Job, word for word, and I met

yet all the while they were allured and attracted by them . . . What was it, in the manner of his strife, whether with the crowned king upon his throne, or the rude barons, or even, which was harder still, with his courtly brother-bishops, what was it that so offended men? It was the seeming hypocrisy, it was the apparent double facedness of all that he did, it was that holy double spirit which the Church has in her, and which all the saints of God possessed; that he was humble, with what the world called an affectedly servile humility, to the poor, and lonely, and fallen, and little ones of Jesus; but in the face of the rude king, and in the face of human power and intellect, he seemed proud and arrogant and presumptuous, drawing himself up within himself, and not stooping to make the slightest concession . . . The ashes of St. Thomas, scattered to the winds far and wide, (by the Reformers, in 1538), brought down God's curse upon the land. They have brought down the curse of littleness, of pusillanimity,—a curse the very characteristic of which is lowering and degrading, even as the curse that came down on the Egyptians' land." *Notes on Doctrinal Subjects*, p. 3, sect. 2, c. 8.

(1) Reinerius Saccho abjured the Waldensian heresy about the year 1254, and entered the Order of Preaching Friars just founded by St. Dominic. He wrote a treatise *On Heretics*, in which an account is given of the Waldenses and of their numerous progeny of sects.

many who knew perfectly the entire New Testament ; but as they are ignorant laymen, they interpret the Scriptures falsely and corruptedly. Thus, that passage of John i., 'and His own received Him not,' they explain, saying, 'that is, the swine;' and that of the Psalmist (lxvii. 31), 'Rebuke the wild beasts of the reeds,' they read as 'Rebuke the wild beasts of *the swallow*.'" (1). When the Waldenses, or Poor Men of Lyons, were reproved for taking upon themselves the right of explaining the Bible without authority, they replied that they were sent by God. Pope Innocent III. in an epistle to the faithful of Metz (2), therefore wrote: "The office of teacher ought not to be indifferently assumed by any one; for, according to the Apostle, 'how shall they preach, if they be not sent?' And the very Truth commanded the Apostles, 'pray the Lord of the harvest to send laborers into His harvest.' . . . Since this interior mission is hidden, it is not enough that any one assert that he is sent by God; any heretic may assert this of himself." With regard to the French version of the Bible used by the Waldenses, Pope Innocent III. says that he has written to the bishop and chapter of Metz (3), ordering them to inquire: "Who is the author of said translation? What was his intention? What is the faith of those who use it?" But the Waldenses would not abandon their practice of independent teaching; and their leaders began to assert that the clergy, many of whom were leading far from blameless lives, were jealous of the Poor Men, and felt the purity of these to be a reproach to themselves. Reinerius Saccho says of the original Waldenses (4): "They present an appearance of piety; for they lead good lives before men, believe rightly about God, and hold all the articles of the Creed; but they blaspheme against the Roman Church and the clergy, and the multitude lend them ready ears. . . . In their habits they are composed and modest, with no vanity of dress, for they use no precious clothes, nor very abject materials. They do not trade, for fear of falling into lies, oaths, and fraud; they live, like artisans, by labor. Even their teachers are weavers. They do not accumulate

(1) That is, they read *harundinis* as *hirundinis*.

(3) *Epistle to the Cistercian and Morimond Abbots*.

(2) B. II., epist. 131.

(4) *Loc. cit.* c. 4 and 7.

riches, but are content with necessities, they are chaste, especially the Leonists, and are temperate in food and drink, going not to taverns, or dances, or other vanities. They refrain from anger. They are always working, learning, or teaching; hence they pray very little. They go to church, offer, confess, communicate, and hear sermons, but in order that they may trap the preacher in his discourse. They are known by the precision and modesty of their words; they abstain from scurrility, detraction, levity, lies, and oaths; nor will they say 'truly' or 'certainly,' for they deem such words to be oaths. Rarely will they answer questions; if they are asked if they know the gospel or the epistle, they will reply: 'Who would teach us them?' Or they may say: 'These things are for men of profound intellect.'"

But the Waldenses did not long confine themselves to malignant criticisms of the clergy, and a pretence of superior sanctity: very soon gross errors of doctrine began to circulate among them, denying, as they did, the exclusive magistracy of the teaching Church. We learn their errors from Saccho, their ex-bishop; from Claude Seyssel, archbishop of Turin in 1517 (1); from Bernard of Font-Cauld (2); and from Eberhard of Bethune. (3). They taught that the Roman Church was not the Church of Christ, but "a church of the malignant, which had been introduced by Pope Sylvester I., when he allowed the Spouse of Christ to be poisoned by the possession of temporal goods." The Waldenses alone were the children of Christ. The Roman church, was a sink of foulness, and the whore of the Apocalypse; the Pope was the head and front of all error, and the bishops were Scribes, while monks were Pharisees. God, not prelates, was to be obeyed. All in the Church are equal, for does not Matthew say (xxiii. 8), "All of you are brethren?" Tithes ought not to be paid, for the primitive Church had none. The clergy should have no possessions, for do we not read in Deuteronomy XVIII. 1, "The priests shall have no part or inheritance with the rest of Israel?"

(1) *Against the Waldensian Sect and its Errors.*

(2) *Against the Waldenses*, c. 1 and 2.

(3) *Anti-Heresy.*

It is a sin to endow a church or a monastery. All the clergy should labor with their hands. The Waldenses admitted only two Sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist. They did not regard the former as necessary for salvation. They denied the real presence, unless at the moment of Communion. Matrimony was not a Sacrament. The use of matrimony was prohibited, as a mortal sin, to a couple whom experience had taught that the wife was barren. Orders they admitted in no sense; any good layman, any good woman, could be a minister. They rejected the doctrine of Purgatory. There was no such thing as venial sin.

In a short time the pure Waldenses had nearly disappeared. Following the inevitable law of heresy, they gave rise to numerous sects, the chief of which were the Runcarii, Sciscidenses, Ortlibenses, Ordibarii, Cathari, Patarini, and Passagini. 1. The Runcarii had for a distinguishing error the doctrine that no sin could be committed by means of the body from the waist down, for, do we not read in the Bible, "From the heart proceed fornications?" 2. The Sciscidenses differed from the other Waldenses, in that they received the Eucharistic doctrine. 3. The Ortlibenses avowed a belief in all the articles of Faith, but gave them a mystic interpretation. They admitted a Trinity, but only as existing after the conception of Christ. From the seed of Joseph, Mary had a son, Jesus, whom she brought up in the sect of the Waldenses, and thus he became the Son of God. A third person afterward came into existence, namely, St. Peter, who, co-operating with Jesus, became the Holy Ghost. The world is eternal. There will be no resurrection of our bodies. The last judgment will be held when the Pope and emperor become Waldenses. They denied the passion and death of Christ; the cross which He carried was merely a life of penance, that is, a life spent as an Ortlibensian Waldensis, which life cannot admit of sin. Matrimony is good, if the parties lead continent lives; but the conjugal act is an evil thing. 4. The Ordibarii held that Christ was the son of Joseph and Mary, and he was saved only because he restored the Waldenses. 5.

The Cathari, themselves subdivided into Albanians, Cantorezenes, and Baganolese, held, as a fundamental principle, that the devil is the author of the world and all in it. All the Sacraments are of his invention. Matrimony and its use are sinful; all flesh is unclean, because of the sexual union. The souls of men are rebel spirits expelled from heaven. The Albanians, principally Lombards, were themselves divided into two factions, each with distinctive errors. The first, headed by Gelesinanza of Verona, were very clear in their profession of Manicheism; they taught that each Principle had created its own world and angels; that the devil and his angels had mounted to heaven, there fought with the archangel Michael, and pulled out of heaven a third part of the good Principle's angels; that these spirits are put into the bodies of men and brutes, pass through various kinds of existence, and finally return to heaven; that the Son of God became man, died, etc., only in appearance; that all the patriarchs and the Baptist were ministers of the devil; that the Old Testament was the work of Satan, excepting the books of Job, Psalms, Solomon, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and the Prophets, some of which were written in heaven; that the world will have no end; that the last judgment has already been held; and that, outside this world, there is no punishment. The second faction of the Albanian Catharian Waldenses, led by John of Lyons, held that the good Principle produced good creatures from all eternity, as the sun emits rays; the good God is not omnipotent, but finds His efforts frustrated by the evil Principle; that Christ could have sinned, but that the good Principle would not permit Him to do so; that all the Scriptures were composed in heaven, and that Adam and Eve were formed there; that the patriarchs and the Baptist pleased God, but were men of the other world; that Christ really died, but in that other world. The Cantorezene Cathari believed that God created the angels and the four elements from nothing; that the devil made all visible things, among them the first human bodies, into which he put angels who had sinned; that everything in the Old Testament, excepting what Christ and his Apostles

praised, was the work of the devil; that the nature of Christ was angelic, and (according to some of them), Mary was an angel; that Christ laid aside His body when ascending to heaven, but will resume it on the last day, when it will be resolved into matter; that the souls of Mary and the saints, like the body of Christ, remain in space until the last day, when, unlike Christ's body, they will enter into glory. The Bagnolese Cathari held that God created human souls before He created the worlds; that then they sinned; that Mary was an angel, and the body of Christ celestial; in other things they agreed with the Cantórez-enes. 6. The Patarini, who created much trouble in Northern Italy, differed from the pure Waldenses only in asserting that the devil created all visible things, and that matrimony was as bad as adultery. 7. The Passagini held that the Mosaic Law should be strictly and literally observed; that the three Persons of the Trinity are not consubstantial. The reader will bear in mind that, although the above-mentioned sectarians were offshoots of the pure Waldenses, yet, both in doctrine and morals, they differed much from the Poor Men of Lyons. These enthusiasts did not at once fall away from the faith, but only when they failed (as the abbot of Ursperg tells us) in obtaining the approval of Pope Innocent III. After the third Council of the Lateran, being contumacious, they became schismatics; the next step to heresy, was, of course, very easy. The Waldenses were condemned in various provincial Synods held between the years 1163 and 1179. In the latter year, the Eleventh General Council (Third of the Lateran), in its Fourth and Twenty-Seventh Canons, condemned the Waldenses and Albigenses, then split up into numerous sects, some of which had either themselves degenerated into mere predatory bands, or had furnished cutthroats with a cloak under which to follow their trade. Among the writers who defended the orthodox faith against the attacks of the Waldenses, the principal were the following: Egbert, the Abbot, brother of St. Elizabeth, abbess of Sconange, wrote, at the close of the twelfth century, thirteen sermons against the **Carthari**. At the same time, Eberhard of Bethune wrote his

Anti-Heresy, and Bernard of Font-Cauld his treatise. In the next century, Ermengard wrote a book entitled, *Against the Heretics who say and believe that this world and all visible things were not made by God, but by the devil*. Reinerius Saccho wrote his book *on Heretics* in 1254. Peter Polichdorf wrote against the Waldenses in 1444. (1). Claude Seyssel, archbishop of Turin in the sixteenth century, was the author of a valuable book on this subject.

Of modern authors who have treated the Waldensian heresy, the most satisfactory is Andrew Charvaz, bishop of Pinerolo in Piedmont. (2). Many Protestant authors, such as Leger (3), Munston (4), and Peyran (5), have endeavored to ascribe a very ancient origin to the Waldenses, thus hoping to connect their own sects with antiquity, for they claim that these heretics were the forerunners of the Reformation, that they were, in fact, a species of Protestants. If protesting against the authority of the Catholic Church constitutes Protestantism, then the spiritual progeny of Luther, Calvin, Zwinglius, Cranmer, etc., may claim kinship with even those heresies of the early centuries the teachings of which they would hesitate to mention before their wives, mothers, and sisters. Scarcely had the clouds shut off the ascending Body of the Saviour from the view of His disciples, when heresy commenced to rend the seamless garment of Christ, and from then to the sixteenth century not a dogma or usage of the Church escaped attack from one or another sect. One by one these sects had dissappeared, when the Lutheran movement was initiated, and, little by little, its followers embraced nearly every error of the past; excluding, however, God be thanked, the more disgusting and lunatical ravings, a revival of which would have shocked the then cultivated world. But although each and every error in the conglomeration known as Protestantism had been taught at some time by some particular heretic, it would be folly to ascribe to that heretic

(1) These authors were edited by the Jesuit Gretser, and are all found in the Library of the Fathers.

(2) *Historical Researches on the True Origin of the Waldenses and on the Character of their Primitive Doctrines*. Paris, 1836.

(3) *History of the Waldenses*. Leyden, 1667.

(4) *History of the Waldenses of the Valleys of Piedmont*. Paris, 1835.

(5) *Considerations on the Waldenses*.

the origin of a system which teaches many things that he believed, and rejects many things that he held. So with the Waldenses; many of their errors had been promulgated before; but their system, in its entirety, was a new one. So with the many sects called Protestant, which can trace their origin to the Reformers of the sixteenth century, or to some of their spiritual descendants. We have said that, one by one, the ancient heresies had disappeared, when the turbulent monk of Saxony disturbed the unity of Christendom. Some of the Waldenses, however, had taken refuge in the valleys of Piedmont, and the dukes of Savoy, by successive grants, allowed them the free exercise of their religion, on condition that they would remain within certain limits, namely, the four districts of Angrogna, Villaro, Bobbio, and Rorato; and here the Reformation found them, mixed up with other heretics, who had been known, before the time of Peter Waldo, as Vaudois or Valdesi, from the valleys they inhabited. These Waldenses or Vaudois, for they had become amalgamated, exchanged their doctrines for Lutheranism, at first, and then for the creed of Geneva. Other Waldenses, expelled from Germany, had found a home in Bohemia, "to which country all heretics were wont to fly," (1) and there the Reformation found them, with doctrines considerably different from those of their ancestors. (2).

In order to show that the Waldenses had their origin in the twelfth century, Charvaz adduces the testimony of the following authors: Bernard, abbot of Font-Cauld, who lived in that century; Alanus, abbot of Larivour and bishop of Auxerre, called "the universal doctor," of the same period; Eberhard of Bethune, and Peter of

(1) *History of Bohemia*, by DUBRAY, Bishop of Olmütz, B. 14.

(2) In their anxiety to effect a union with the Reformers, the Bohemian Waldenses re-arranged and mollified their system. In their Confession, offered to Ferdinand in 1535, we read in Art. XIII., "Concerning the Lord's Supper, it is to be believed and confessed that the Bread is the true Body of Christ, which was given for us, and that the Chalice is His true Blood, which was shed for us in the remission of sin, as the Lord Christ plainly said: 'This is My Body, this is My Blood.'" etc. In their Profession sent to Vladislav, king of Hungary, they say: "When a properly ordained priest utters the words of Christ, immediately the Bread is the Body of Christ, the natural Body, taken from the most chaste Virgin, which He was about to yield up." They denied, however, that the bread was changed into the Body of Christ *substantially*; it was, they said, only changed efficaciously and potentially. Luther, Melancthon, and Bucer approved of these documents; but not so Calvin, who answered two Bohemian messengers, applying for recognition: "We remain of opinion that your Confession cannot be accepted without danger." See Melancthon's *Epistle to Benedict*, and the other *Waldensian Brethren in Bohemia*, and Bucer's *Book entitled, Two Writings against the Robber*, etc.

Vaux-Cernay, also of the twelfth century; Stephen of Belleville, a Dominican and an Inquisitor of that time; the Dominican Moneta, who lived in the thirteenth century; Conrad, abbot of Ursperg, who wrote his book against the Waldenses in 1212; Reinerius Saccho, a convert from the Waldensian heresy and an Inquisitor in 1250; Peter Polichdorf, also of the thirteenth century, and many others. All of these authors agree with Stephen of Belleville, whose testimony Palma thus condenses. He testifies that the Waldenses received their name from one Waldo, and that afterward, on account of their profession of poverty, they were called the Poor Men of Lyons. Stephen says that what he writes concerning these innovators he learned from a Bernard Ydras, a Lyonese priest, who had transcribed the first books of the Waldenses, written in the Romance or French language. Waldo, a rich Lyonese citizen, induced Ydras and another priest, named Stephen Ansa, to translate the Bible into the vernacular. He then sold all his goods and distributed the proceeds to the poor; after which he commenced to preach, and gathering many followers, he commissioned them, women as well as men, to preach the Gospel. Reproved by John, archbishop of Lyons, they would not listen to him; then they were condemned by the Third Council of the Lateran, and, being contumacious, were declared schismatics. They then joined the heretics of Provence and Lombardy, and were declared heretics. Moneta says of their origin: "If they say they are from a time anterior to Waldo, let them give proof of their assertion; that they have never been able to do." And in their own petitions of the year 1573, 1585, and 1599, the Waldenses themselves say that their sect is only a few centuries old. Peyran endeavors to show that the Waldenses were in existence before the time of Waldo, by the citation of a *Treatise on Antichrist* bearing the date of 1120, in which are given the causes leading to the Waldensian schism. He also quotes a vernacular codex of 1100, entitled *La Nobla Leizon*, in which the term Waldensis is used to signify a good Christian. As to the first book, Munston shows that there is no proof that it is genuine; and Perrin,

the author of a *History of the Waldenses*, ascribes it to Peter de Bruis, the father of the Petrobruaisians. Charvaz proves that this *Treatise on Antichrist* contains the errors, not of the pure Waldenses, but of the Cathari. But the antiquity of the work is at once exploded when we observe that it cites the book *Milleloquium*, ascribing it to St. Augustine, when it was written by Augustine Triumphus, who was born in 1243. As for Peyran's second authority, the *Nobla Leizon*, experts testify, says Charvaz, that it belongs to the thirteenth century. Reinerius Saccho is adduced as admitting that the Waldenses come down from the days of Pope St. Sylvester I., if not from apostolic times. But Reinerius says no such thing. These are his words: "For firstly, *they assert*, the Roman Church is not the Church of Jesus Christ, but of the malignant; the former having fallen away in the time of St. Sylvester, when the poison of temporal possessions was infused into the Church; and *they say* that they are the Church of Christ, since they observe, in word and deed, the doctrine of Christ's Gospel and of the apostles." The same is said by Polichdorf, whose words Leger corrupts. Some Protestant authors have tried to trace the origin of the Waldenses to Claude of Turin, in the ninth century; but we know that Claude admitted all the Sacraments, rejected the private interpretation of Scripture, and accepted the authority of Tradition; that he had no other errors than those of Adoptionism, and of opposition to the invocation of saints. The Waldenses were sometimes called Leonists, and Leger asserts that they were named after a certain Leo, who resisted St. Sylvester's willingness to receive donations from Constantine. History makes no mention of this Leo; and Leger stamps his own story as a fable, when he assigns the said Leo to the eighth century, while Sylvester lived in the fourth. Even Mosheim admits that the Waldenses originated with Peter Waldo, when he says: "Those who assign to the Waldenses a different origin, and, in the first place, to the valleys they inhabited, many centuries before the days of Peter Waldo, have no authority for their opinion, and are refuted by all historians." And speaking of the olden heretics of the

Piedmontese valleys, he says : " These Vallenses are to be distinguished from the Waldenses, or followers of Peter Waldo, whom all writers derive from Lyons, and who received their name from that Peter." (1).

The Vaudois of the thirteenth century, inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, were a very different people from the Waldenses of France and other countries, and their doctrines were very different from those of the Vaudois of our day. The old Vaudois regarded the Roman Church as the true Church of Christ, but deemed her corrupted and disfigured ; they admitted the seven Sacraments, held that the Church could legitimately possess temporal goods, and would not separate from Rome, if they were allowed to retain their own belief. But the Waldenses called the Roman Church the whore of Babylon. Some authors have made the mistake of confounding the Waldenses with the Albigenses. These latter were true Manichæans, which the pure Waldenses never were, although in time some of their offshoots, such as the Albani and Cantorezene Cathari, became such. The Albigenses were known in France from 1021, and in 1147, before Peter Waldo appeared, St. Bernard had tried to instruct and convert them. Again, the pure Waldenses and old Vaudois of Piedmont were remarkable for simplicity and mildness ; but of the Albigenses, even in their infancy, Peter of Cluny wrote to the bishops of Embrun, Die, and Gap : " They profane the churches, overturn the altars, burn the crosses, scourge the priests, imprison the monks, and force them, by threats and tortures, to take women." (2). It is the fashion with Protestant writers to draw a beautiful picture of the simple Waldenses entering the hitherto uncultivated valleys which lie between Provence and Dauphiny, and, with incredible fatigue and patience, redeeming the waste around them, and enriching their lords with their labor. But even Hannibal found the valleys of the Alps, both on the Italian and French side, in a state of cultivation ; and the district has always been attractive for its isolation from the troubled life of

(1) Cent. XII., p. 2, c. 5.

(2) FLEURY, B. 69, n. 24.

the plains, and for its purity of air. When the snows have melted, the soil is excellent for farming.

Pope Innocent III. has been reproached with having cruelly persecuted the Waldenses, in spite of their innocence and simple habits. But the Crusade directed by this Pontiff, in 1208, was against the Cotterels, Triaverdins, and other robbers and murderers whose hands were against every man, wretches similar to, if not worse than, the Ribalds of the thirteenth century, and the Circumcelliones of the Donatists. (1). The pure Waldenses and the Vaudois of Piedmont were not persecuted, so long as they conducted themselves in a peaceable manner. The following remarks of Bergier are worthy of the reader's attention: "If we reflect a little upon the conduct of these sectarians, we will see that they were constant in nothing, save in a gross and blind hatred of the Catholic clergy; this was the only fruit they gathered from the reading of that Scripture which they were incapable of understanding. Not at all scrupulous in matter of dogma, they changed their doctrine when their interest seemed to demand a change, and they joined all the sects of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, without being at all embarrassed at a difference of faith. Supple, timid, hypocritical, when they felt themselves weak they covered themselves with a Catholic exterior; contending that swearing, for justice's sake, was wrong, they nevertheless perjured themselves, to hide their belief; condemning all war, they took up arms against their sovereign; often they stained their hands with the blood of the missionaries sent to instruct them." (2). Here we may remark that the cynical and ostentatious affectation of poverty, on the part of the original Waldenses, was the occasion of the institution of one of the greatest glories of the Catholic Church, those Mendicant Orders, which have done so much to confirm the spirit of true religion

(1) These sectarian furies of the fourth century pretended to revenge injuries done to society and individuals, and to establish equality among men, and were called by Donatus, "the chiefs of the saints." Their horrible crimes are narrated by St. Augustine and St. Philaster. See BARONIO, y. 331. The name of Circumcelliones was also given to certain German fanatics, who sustained the cause of Frederick II. after his excommunication by Innocent IV., and who taught that the bishops and priests of the Roman Church had lost their sacerdotal character, because of their wickedness, and that all those who took up arms for Frederick would alone attain salvation.

(2) Dictionary, Art. Vaudois.

in Christian lands, and to evangelize Pagan countries. St. Francis of Assisi, laying the first foundations of his Order in 1209, wished to show the Waldenses that a humble, austere, and laborious life could be led within the bosom of the Church, and without any ribald declamations against the clergy; how well he succeeded, is a matter of history, and may be seen, to this day, in every part of the Christian, and nearly every part of the Pagan world.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT III.

Like that of St. Gregory VII., the Pontificate of Innocent III. has been a target for the shafts of all those historians, whether Gallican, courtier, Jansenist, parliamentarian, philosophical, or rationalistic, who have beclouded or belied the true character of the civilization of the Middle Ages. We shall have occasion to notice the varied judgments of these gentry, but the reader must first take a rapid view of the principal events of Innocent's reign. By the death of Frederick Barbarossa, and that of William II. of the Two Sicilies, (1190) Henry VI. became the most powerful prince in Europe. He had, it is true, great difficulty in securing the dominion of Southern Italy, for Tancred, a natural son of Roger II., was well able to protect his own claims; but on the death of this prince, Henry received the aid of Genoa and Pisa, and was thus enabled to master Sicily, and to crush the barons of Calabria and the Puglia. The Sixth Henry was a man of beastly ferocity, and capable of the lowest kinds of perfidy. (1). His first victims were Sibilla, the widow of Tancred, and her young son William, who, having been induced by magnificent offers to capitulate, were robbed of everything, personally insulted, and doomed to a long and harsh imprisonment. Nor did he

(1) For instance, his treacherous conduct towards Richard the Lion-Heart. For this crime Henry was excommunicated by Pope Celestine III., and received as penance the task of an expedition to Palestine. When about to depart, he died at Messina (1197), and by his will, restored the ransom he had extorted from Richard, as well as the possessions he and his predecessors had stolen from the Roman Church. WILLIAM OF NEWBURG, B. v. c. 20.

keep faith with the Genoese and Pisans, to whose help he principally owed the conquest of Sicily; when their ambassadors demanded the fulfilment of his engagements, he replied with indecent jokes, and then scornfully showed them the door. He did not gain the good will of his Sicilian subjects; his insatiable avarice prompted him to invent conspiracies against his rule, that he might blackmail the wealthy barons, and many of these saw their patrimonies confiscated, and were themselves subjected to torture, and sent to the scaffold. Henry soon became an object of horror even to his own wife Constance. She was the daughter of Roger II. of Sicily, and it was as her husband that Henry claimed the Two Sicilies; she could not be other than indignant when she saw the most conspicuous families of her kingdom reduced to penury, and the treasures accumulated by her ancestors taken from their splendid palaces and packed off to Germany. But Henry did not long enjoy the imperial crown, which he had received (as Henry V.) from Pope Celestine III. He died, apparently repentant, in 1197, enjoining upon Constance, in his will, to beseech from the Holy See a confirmation of his son's rights to the Sicilies, and decreeing that, if that prince should die without heirs, those rights should accrue to the Roman Church. (1). Immediately after the death of her husband, Constance, anxious for her child's inheritance and knowing the horror of the Sicilians for the Germans, ordered the seneschal Markwald and all his countrymen to leave the island forever. She then sent three Neapolitan counts to bring the baby Frederick from Jesi (his birth-place), and in May, 1198, she had him crowned in the cathedral of Palermo as king of the Sicilies. She immediately sought for him the protection of the Holy See, sending ambassadors to the new Pontiff, Innocent III., to receive from him, in the name of Frederick, the kingdom of Sicily, the duchy of the Puglia, and the principality of Capua, under the conditions heretofore subsisting between the Holy See and its Sicilian vassals.

(1) GIANNONE ignores this will, but it is mentioned in the *Gesta*, c. 27. See BARONIO, *y.* 1197, no. 9. HURTER, however, doubts its authenticity: *History of Innocent III.*, B. I. It must be admitted that Innocent never invoked it, even when events seemed to demand such action.

At this time Northern Italy was being lacerated by civil war. The Guelph cities raged against the Ghibelline, and the communes were ferocious in their determination to no longer submit to the tyranny of the feudal lords, who, by virtue of imperial concession, rendered citizen and peasant life a torment. Little by little, the castles were reduced or stormed, and their noble owners forced to lead the life of private, though titled, citizens. In all upper Italy, the only nobles who preserved their dominion were the count of Savoy and the marquises of Este and Monferrato. Venice had become very powerful, owing to the development of her commerce by the Crusades, and was the only really independent state in Italy. Genoa and Pisa were better disposed toward the emperor than toward the Pontiff. Among the cities of the Lombard League, there now prevailed a feeling of hostility, rather against the Hohenstaufen family, than against the empire itself. In France reigned Philip Augustus, in the fulness of strength, and devoted to the consolidation of the royal power. In England reigned the half-savage hero, the lion-hearted Richard, trampling upon the rights of all, and not sparing even the clergy who had given the precious ornaments of their churches to procure his ransom. The Scandinavian kingdoms were just commencing a civilized life; Denmark alone, thanks to her strict relations with Rome, was pretty well advanced in culture. In Eastern Europe, but lately converted from Paganism, Poland and Hungary were entering the European family of states, which their heroism was one day to save from destruction. In the Orient, the only prosperous state was Armenia. The Byzantine throne, occupied by Alexis III., existed only by the sufferance of the Bulgarians and the precarious good will of the Varangian guards. The kingdom of Jerusalem had become a little district of a few square miles around Acre. Such was the situation of Christendom when, on January 10, 1198, the Sacred College chose, as successor to Pope Celestine III., the cardinal Lothaire Conti (1), of the counts of Segni. The first studies

(1) Although not so noisy as the Orsini, Colonna, Frangipani, and some other houses, the Conti were one of the oldest and most distinguished families of Rome. They became extinct in 1808, with the duke Michel Angelo. The last cardinal of the family was Innocent, secretary of Briefs to Pius VI.

of the young Lothaire were made in the schools of St. John Lateran ; his theological course at Paris ; he finally made one of the ten thousand students of law at Bologna. Returning to Rome, in his twenty-first year, he received minor orders, and soon afterward, the diaconate. When thirty years of age, he was made a cardinal-deacon by Pope Clement III., (1190). As cardinal he was simple in his habits, severe in his morals, a rigid censor of luxury, and absolutely free from cupidity ; some of his best works were composed while he wore the purple. When the cardinals met to choose a successor to Celestine III., they had many things to consider. "The power of the Hohenstaufen," says Hurter (1), "menaced the Church more than it had under Frederick ; in Italy it had developed more than ever. . . . The Pope, surrounded by the domains of this house, or by provinces held by the Germans to strengthen their pretensions upon those territories, would have been exposed, as indeed the last emperor had designed, to become a mere patriarch of the house of Hohenstaufen, and Christendom might have beheld him subject to the conqueror, as had happened at Constantinople. On account of the situation of Sicily, the complete separation of those provinces from the Holy See, or the preservation of the right of suzerainty over them, would depend as much on the energy of the new Pope, as upon the sort of relations he would establish with the empire. The Crusades had to be encouraged, to be prepared by a more solid union of the Western peoples, and by a firmer and more sustained direction of those who assumed the Cross. In every kingdom, many ecclesiastical interests were to be regulated, to be redressed, to be set aright." The cardinals thought of all these things, and the very first day of the Conclave their unanimous choice was the cardinal Lothaire, though he was only thirty-seven years of age. At first Lothaire resisted, but the dean of the cardinal-deacons, Gratian, approached and saluted him as Pope Innocent III. (2).

(1) *History of Pope Innocent III.*, B. 1. This work, written while Hurter was a Protestant minister, cannot be too highly praised, especially as an accurate and appreciative picture of the time.

(2) At that time, the name of the new Pontiff was given to him, not chosen by himself, *Roman Ordo*.

We shall now give a short sketch of Innocent's relations with Rome; with the empire and Sicily; with Philip Augustus of France, in reference to his divorce from Ingelburga; and with king John of England, in the case of the rights of the see of Canterbury. First, then, we draw the reader's attention to the actions of Innocent in the States of the Church. The new Pontiff found the greater portion of the patrimony of St. Peter in the hands of the foreigner; only in the Campagna was his temporal authority recognized, and even there the late emperor had seized many fiefs. The soldiers of Henry made excursions up to the very gates of Rome. This emperor had not restored the territories of Matilda; the seneschal Markwald ruled at Ravenna, in the March, and in Romagna; one Conrad of Lutzenhard called himself duke of Spoleto and ruled that duchy and Assisi; most of the Exarchate was divided among German barons, and some districts were independent; the Sabine provinces were held by Benedict Carissimi. The Romans had re-established the senate under Lucius III., and, seduced by Arnold of Brescia, had offered the emperor the sovereignty of the city; the people yearned for independence; the nobles favored the emperor, and the prefect of the city received his investiture from that monarch. The day after his coronation, Innocent summoned the prefect and made him swear "to neither sell, nor pledge, nor give in fief, any domains confided to him; to exact, and care for, all the taxes due to the Roman Church; to faithfully guard all fortresses, and to build no new ones without the Pope's permission; to be ever ready to give an account of his stewardship, and to lay down his dignity when ordered." Then the Pontiff gave him, instead of the sword which the emperor used to send him, a mantle, as a sign of investiture. Having thus abolished the last trace of imperial suzerainty in Rome, Innocent ordered that the senator, who had replaced, in 1197, the senatorial body, should hereafter exercise his functions only in the name of the Pope; he was to be changed every year. Many of the barons now came from the surrounding country to take the oath of vassalage, and the Pontiff sent all the cardinals then

in Rome to the principal provinces, to receive the oath from the legitimate feudatories and the free communes, and to expel the foreign adventurers. This last task was gladly undertaken by the people, overjoyed at the assurance of Innocent that they would not again be separated from the Holy See. The Pope now turned his attention to the German usurper of Ravenna and the Marches. Markwald procrastinated, promised, and retracted; finally, when many of the cities had sworn fidelity to Innocent, he issued from Ravenna, and, in the very presence of the cardinal-legates sent to him, burned the towns, ransacked the churches, and murdered right and left. Innocent then excommunicated him; the peoples and barons hastily formed an army and drove the miscreant to the frontier, whence he proceeded to Sicily. The Pope was at first disposed to accept the offer of Conrad of Lutzenhard, who promised to do homage for Spoleto and Assisi, to pay a large tribute, and to furnish at least 1000 men to the Papal army; but perforce he heeded the loud curses of his people against the detested stranger, whose name was synonymous with cruelty and rapine, and Conrad yielded his possessions. Perugia, Todi, and Rieti gained many privileges; in fine, says Hurter, "other cities preserved their ancient privileges and a constitution more free than that given by political institutions born on the barren soil of abstract doctrines. . . . Then, without any pretension on the part of (the central) authority to arrange everything and to extinguish every sentiment of life, the cities could make war, form alliances, regulate commerce, determine their own relations according to their customs and rights, and even their suzerain regarded these customs and rights as inviolable." In June of his first year, Innocent made a triumphal progress through the duchy of Spoleto and the contiguous regions, and allowed all the cities to join the Tuscan League against the Germans. (1). About this time, the Lombard League, re-

(1) Profiting by the example of the Lombard League, most of the Tuscan cities, then governed by the duke Philipp, brother of Henry VI., resolved to do what they could to realize the will of the countess Matilda. By the advice of their bishops they confederated, with the object of maintaining their municipal liberties, of amicably arranging any differences among themselves, of defending the Holy See, and of not submitting to any temporal sovereign not recommended by the Pope. The League was composed of elected deputies, who themselves chose a president. Innocent tried hard to make Pisa, a city of

newed for thirty years, received strength by the accession of the powerful marquis of Monferrato, hitherto an imperialist: and in a year from Innocent's accession, Northern and Central Italy, thanks to his activity and the co-operation of the people, were freed from the imperial preponderance. The emperor Otho IV. for a time occupied the greater portion of the Papal States, but when he was forced to recross the Alps the entire patrimony again recognized the sovereignty of the Pontiff.

As we enter upon the narrative of Pope Innocent's relation with the empire, we must observe that at the time of his accession Europe was agitated by the question whether the imperial crown was to be hereafter conferred, as, in theory at least, it had hitherto been conferred, upon the most wise, pious, and worthy prince of Christendom, or whether it should become an heirloom of a single family. For the latter idea contended the Hohenstaufen, who had mounted to the imperial dignity in the person of Barbarossa, and who had so consolidated their power, that, had it not been for the energetic interference of the Popes, they would have secured the prize. For the preservation of the electoral privileges, many of the German princes, under the guidance of bishop Adolph of Cologne, strenuously fought; and when Philip of Suabia endeavored to secure the crown for the young Frederick, the baby child of Henry VI. and Constance of Sicily, they successively pushed the cause of Richard of England and Barthold of Zehringen. The friends of the Hohenstaufen finally persuaded Philip to relinquish the idea of seating his nephew Frederick on the imperial throne, and to present himself for election, and they indeed elected him on March 6th, 1198. But Adolph of Cologne and his party were determined that the empire should not become an appanage of the Hohenstaufen, or of any single family, and they turned their eyes to Otho, the second son of Henry the Lion of Saxony. In the month of May this prince was elected emperor in the cathedral of Cologne. His chief partisans were the bish-

merchant-princes, and greatly favored by the Hohenstaufen, join this confederation, and even charged his legate not to launch the interdict he had prepared, if the Pisans would ally with their countrymen. SISMONDI, *Italian Republics*, ii., 313.

ops of Cologne, Munster, Treves, Paderborn, Minden, Cambrai, Utrecht, and Strasbourg; all the princes of the Low Countries, and the powerful landgrave Hermann of Thuringia, whose son Louis afterwards married "the dear St. Elizabeth" of Hungary. But Philip had in his favor the majority of the princes, and the richest of the German countries; a preponderance of military strength, and an abundance of treasure stolen from Sicily; the possession of nearly all the fortresses of the empire, and all the jewels and insignia of the imperial dignity. In the war which now ensued, one of the first endeavors of Otho was to get possession of the coronation-place, Aix-la-Chapelle, that he might there receive the royal crown of Germany, after which he would be free to apply to the Pope for the imperial diadem. After a three weeks' siege, and several assaults, the city surrendered, and the archbishop of Cologne crowned Otho as king of Germany, that prince crying out: "Philip has the insignia, but I have the rights of the empire." Pope Innocent was filled with consternation on account of this German imbroglio; it greatly jeopardized the Crusade; for a great many nobles had already summoned their vassals from Palestine to plunge into the struggle for the empire. But he was resolved to allow the Germans to elect their own king without interference; he would afterwards attend to the imperial crown. As Philip was crowned in Mayence, the parties seemed to stand on equal terms; but in 1199 the cause of Otho received a severe blow by the death of Richard of England, whose money had greatly contributed to the support of the Othonian army; a great many princes and nobles passed over to Philip, and Otho began to feel that he must look to the Pope for assistance. He had already applied to Innocent for recognition, whereas his rival had taken no such steps. Philip at length wrote to Innocent, and his letter was followed by one from Philip Augustus, naturally anxious for his success, simply because Otho was nephew and ally to the king of England. Innocent then sent legates to Germany, to try to induce one or the other of the claimants to abdicate; their efforts failed, and the war continued with alternate success and de-

feat for each party. Finally, toward the end of the year 1200, the Pontiff named as legate in Germany the cardinal Guido, bishop of Palestrina, a prelate remarkable for firmness and disinterestedness, and instructed him to publish the Papal recognition of Otho as king of Germany. From the Bull given to Guido for use in Germany, we take the following passages, as illustrative of the motives which actuated the Pontiff: "It is the duty of the Holy See to proceed with prudence and discretion in its care of the Roman Empire, for to it pertains the right of examining the election in the first and last instance. In the first, because by it and because of it the empire was transferred from the Greeks to the Germans; by it, as the author of that transaction, and because of it, that it might receive more efficacious protection. In the second instance, because from the Pope the emperor receives the imposition of hands for his elevation; he is anointed, crowned, and invested with the imperial dignity by the Pope. As recently there have been chosen three kings, Frederick of Sicily, Philip, and Otho, in each election three things must be particularly examined: what is allowable, what can be granted, and what is proper. At a first glance, the election of the child prince might seem above all attack, but yet there are objections to it. . . . Apparently there ought to be no objection against the election of Philip. . . . Nevertheless, we ought to oppose him. Our predecessor solemnly excommunicated him, and with reason. He had violently occupied and ravaged the patrimony of St. Peter. . . . Philip is a persecutor, a descendant of persecutors; and if we do not oppose him, we will arm a madman against ourselves." Here the Pontiff details the crimes of the Hohenstaufen against the Holy See, and continues: "Philip commenced by persecuting the Church, and he still persists in that course. He calls himself duke of Tuscany and of the Campagna, and raises pretensions to territories close to the very gates of our capital; he endeavors to steal our kingdom of Sicily. . . . Let us now speak of Otho. He will make a better emperor than Philip; the Lord punishes the crime of parents even to the third and fourth genera-

tion, and Philip marches in the footsteps of his ancestors. . . . Consequently, we publicly declare for Otho, who, himself devoted to the Church, descends from families equally true to her."

On June 8th, 1201, while at Nyon, Otho took an oath to respect the rights of the Holy See and of the Lombard and Tuscan Leagues, promising to repeat the same oath when called to Rome for the crown. Until the year 1208. Innocent exerted all his influence in favor of Otho, but that prince did not display the energy that his cause demanded, and finally the Pontiff concluded that his duty to Christendom called upon him to sacrifice his aversion to the Hohenstaufen for the sake of peace. The recognition of Philip was about to be completed, when suddenly that prince was assassinated by Otho of Wittelsbach. King Otho IV. was now recognized by all Germany, and, in order to conciliate the friends of the house of Suabia, he was betrothed to Beatrice, a daughter of Philip. In October, he went to Rome to receive the imperial crown. The ceremony was performed with the usual solemnity; but immediately afterward the Romans and the German soldiers were in battle. Otho lost many of his most distinguished officers and courtiers, and, according to himself (1), 1100 of his horses were killed in the fight, and he lost a great deal of other valuable property. When the Pontiff refused to indemnify him for these losses, he grew furious, and left the city. From this moment, Otho refused to fulfil his engagements with the Pontiff; he refused to yield up the territories of Matilda, and while passing through Spoleto, he gave it a duke in the person of one of his courtiers, named Berthold; in the year 1210, he gave the investiture of the March of Ancona to Azzo d'Este, and occupied Orvieto and Perugia; he tried to take Viterbo, but the inhabitants successfully resisted, while the emperor ravaged the surrounding country. He so guarded the roads that the outside world could not communicate with the Pontiff. Otho soon turned his attention to Southern Italy, and, with the assistance of a Pisan fleet, was able to conquer nearly all the continental domains of

(1) MURATORI, *Antiquities*, IV., 983.

the young Frederick. On her deathbed, Constance, the widow of Henry VI., had confided the guardianship of her infant son to the Holy See, and Pope Innocent had been an active and faithful protector since his accession. Frederick now governed by himself, though but sixteen years of age, and his inexperience and frequent imprudences caused Innocent much anxiety. In 1211, the Pontiff excommunicated Otho, "because he has degenerated from the sentiments of his ancestors; because he has violated his oaths; because he has taken territories of the Holy See; because he makes war on Frederick of Sicily." Innocent then demanded aid from Philip Augustus, and it was cheerfully promised. War again broke out in Germany; the landgrave of Thuringia, the king of Bohemia, and a great many bishops abandoned Otho and chose Frederick of Sicily as king of Germany. When the Pontiff was informed of this act, he might well hesitate as to his course. He knew that, on his father's side, Frederick was a Hohenstaufen; but, on the other hand, he might hope that the young king would prove grateful to the Pontiff, who had preserved his maternal inheritance; and therefore he finally gave his consent. Otho now returned to Germany, laden with Italian spoil, but only to meet a cool reception. Innocent summoned to his assistance the marquis of Este, who obeyed at once, and reduced all the Tuscan territory conquered by Otho. In April, 1212, Frederick arrived in Rome, and among other promises upon which Innocent insisted was one declaring that Sicily should not be united with Germany; that Frederick's possessions in South Italy should all be ceded to the son to whom his wife, Constance of Aragon, had given birth. When Frederick departed for Germany, the Pope furnished him with money for his journey. Otho managed to keep his hold upon the greater part of Germany until the great battle of Bouvines, gained on July 27, 1214, by Philip Augustus, over the united forces of Germany and England, shattered his prospects. From that day, if we except a short campaign against Waldemar of Bremen, Otho remained in his hereditary states until May 18, 1218, the day of his death. Frederick II. soon showed that he

was a Hohenstaufen, manifesting the utmost ingratitude to the Holy See, and finally incurring the usual fate of his family, excommunication. We shall treat of his career in a special chapter.

In the struggle to which we now draw the reader's attention, the question was whether the royal mantle so covered all sin, as to render the wearer exempt from obedience to the laws of God and of His Church. The first wife of Philip Augustus, Isabelle of Hainaut, had died in 1190, when he was twenty-three years of age; and in 1193 he sent an embassy to Canute VI., king of Denmark, to ask for the hand of that monarch's second sister, Ingelburga, then a beautiful girl of seventeen; the offer was accepted, and in a few months the princess landed in France; Philip conducted her to Amiens, and the marriage took place. On the day after the marriage, in the presence of all the ecclesiastical and secular lords of the kingdom, Ingelburga was crowned by Philip's uncle, the archbishop of Rheims; but it was observed, during the ceremony, that the king appeared terribly nervous; he could not look at the queen, and trembled and remained pallid until the close of the service. (1). He had already resolved to repudiate his young wife, as the world soon learned. In November, an assembly of bishops, most of them relatives of Philip, was convoked at Compiègne, to consider the validity of the marriage. A genealogical table, proving the consanguinity of Ingelburga with Isabella of Hainaut, the king's first wife, was brought forward, and the archbishop of Rheims pronounced the marriage null and void. The unfortunate queen was informed of the decision by an interpreter, for she knew no French. Bursting into tears, she cried, "France, wicked! wicked! Rome, Rome!" thus expressing her appeal to the only impartial judge on earth for those who wear a crown. As she refused to return to Denmark, a conventual residence at Beaurepaire was assigned to her. So little care did the king take of her support that, rather than be beholden to the charity of the nuns for her board, she sold, not only her jewels, but her very clothing, to

(1) WILLIAM OF NEWBURG, iv., 24; *Deeds*, c. 48.

defray her expenses. Ingelburga found means to appeal to Pope Celestine III., who declared the pretended divorce to be of no value. Nevertheless, Philip looked around for another wife, and after experiencing many rebuffs from royal ladies, who refused to confide in his honor, he married, in June, 1196, Agnes, daughter of Berthold, duke of Meranie, by Agnes, niece of the marquis Didier of Misnia, a descendant of Charlemagne. The king of Denmark had already complained to Rome, and when he heard of the marriage with Agnes, he called upon the Pontiff to excommunicate the royal concubinary. As soon as Innocent ascended the Papal throne, he wrote to the bishop of Paris to the effect that if Philip would put away Agnes, the Holy See would listen to the arguments which might be adduced against the marriage with Ingelburga, but not until that was done. "Think of the anger of God," he wrote to Philip, "listen not to evil advice, respect my paternal good-will, and do not injure your own reputation or mine." In October of 1199, Innocent wrote to all the French clergy: "From the commencement of our reign, we have vainly sought to convince the king by kindness, and to influence him to a reconciliation with his wife. Why does the king not prefer what is just and honorable? Why does he endanger his soul? Why does he give such scandal from his exalted station? Nevertheless, we do not yet despair of his salvation, nor shall we abandon what we have begun; our legate shall once more warn him, and if our counsel is unheeded, the interdict shall be proclaimed."

The terrors of an interdict on his kingdom did not weigh with Philip against the charms of Agnes, and the precise orders from Rome admitted of no delay. Hence the Papal legate convoked a Council at Dijon on the feast of St. Nicholas. The king sent two deputies to inform the prelates that he appealed from the sentence beforehand, and had already dispatched an embassy to Rome. Innocent had foreseen this, and knowing that nothing but delay could be gained by granting a hearing of such appeal, had given the legate formal powers to ignore it. After seven days of consultation, "the mournful tolling of the bells

announced, at midnight, a dying agony. The bishops and priests betook themselves, by torchlight and in silence, to the cathedral. For the last time the canons prayed to the Father of mercy, chanting: 'Lord God, have pity on us.' A veil covered the image of the Crucified; the relics of the saints were removed to the subterranean tombs; the remaining particles of the Eucharist were consumed. Then the legate, vested with a violet stole, as on the day of the Passion, presented himself to the people, and, in the name of Jesus Christ, pronounced an interdict on all the dominions of the king of France, so long as he maintained his adulterous intercourse with Agnes de Meranie. Moans and sobs echoed through the porticoes of the church; it seemed that the Judgment-Day had arrived; the faithful would now be obliged to appear before God without the consolation of the Church's prayers." (1). The misery of his subjects, the utter absence of anything like amusement on the part of an amusement-loving people, soon had a great effect upon trade, and therefore upon the revenues of the king. In his anger, Philip not only seized the benefices of the clergy, and expelled the bishops, but he attacked the possessions of the nobles, and farmed out the taxes to Jewish collectors. The people murmured, many of the barons flew to arms, the king's household servants fled his presence as that of one accursed by God. Fear that the Pontiff would now launch an excommunication, caused Philip to send an embassy to Rome, signifying that he was ready to appear before any judges the Pope would appoint, and to submit to their sentence. "To what sentence?" replied Innocent, "to the one pronounced, or to the one to be given? The king knows the first; let him put away his concubine, restore the queen, re-establish the expelled prelates, and indemnify them; then the interdict shall be removed." When Philip heard of this answer, he cried, "I'll become an infidel! Oh! but Saladin was happy, having no Pope!" The wretched monarch then turned to his uncle, the archbishop of Rheims, and asked him if the Pope had really written that the decree of divorce, pro-

(1) HURTER, B. IV.

nounced by that prelate, was a mere farce. When the archbishop admitted that the Pontiff had said so, Philip said: "Then you were a madman and a sot, to pronounce such a decree." The king now sent another embassy, and tried the effect of a woman's tears upon the Pope. In a letter to Innocent, Agnes spoke pathetically of her youth and inexperience, of her children, and of her great love for Philip: "The splendor of a crown does not attract me, but my heart is devoted to the king." But Innocent was inflexible. "It was a similar firmness," says Hurter, "which preserved the influence of Christianity in the West, which founded the rule of Rome over the world, and raised the Apostolic See, by the sole power of a superior idea, above the thrones of kings. Even to-day, it is ordinarily owing to the vigilance and severity of the Supreme Pontiffs, to their constant care of the unity of the Church, that Christianity has the happiness of not being pushed, like a mere sect, into a corner of the globe; of not being petrified, like the religion of the Hindoos, in vain formalities; and of not having allowed European energy to be paralyzed by oriental voluptuousness."

At length Philip yielded, and the cardinal Octavian, uncle of Innocent, was sent to receive his submission. On the eve of the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, Philip, accompanied by the legates, visited Ingelburga, who had been brought to the royal chateau of St. Leger. As they met, the king cried: "The Pope does me violence!" The queen replied: "He only wishes the triumph of justice." The cardinals then ordered three bishops to conduct Ingelburga, with royal honors, to the public assembly, and here Philip swore to acknowledge her as wife, and as queen of France. Then, to the inexpressible joy of the people, the interdict, which had lasted seven months, was raised. But Philip would not live with Ingelburga as his wife, still persisting that they were too closely related by blood. (1) At the beginning of March of the following year, 1201, an immense multitude assembled at Soissons, for the inquiry into the validity of the king's marriage. The discussion lasted

(1) She was sent to the strong fortress of Etampes as a residence, but the legates told Innocent that she received all due honor. This was true only for a time.

fifteen days, and the cardinal-legate was about to pronounce the decision, when Philip, foreseeing its nature, astonished the assembly by sending word that "he was about to recognize Ingelburga as his wife, and would never again be separated from her." He had already called at the abbey of Notre Dame, the residence of the queen, and having helped her to mount behind him, had ridden away. The Council dissolved, and Philip gained his object, a putting off of the evil day when he would be obliged to dismiss his beloved Agnes. Ingelburga was immediately sent to an old chateau, and things remained as before. But shortly after the above event Agnes de Meranie died, and the disconsolate Philip wrote to Pope Innocent, begging him to legitimate her two children, Philip and Mary, as his succession now depended on only one son, the child of Isabella of Hainaut. In replying to this request, Innocent had several things to consider. The reason alleged by Philip was a good one; the young son of Isabella might die, and the kingdom be disturbed by civil war. Again, a Synod of French bishops had, though illegally, really pronounced a divorce from Ingelburga, and Agnes was probably impelled thereby to yield to Philip. Finally, it was well to show that the Pontifical zeal was not directed against mere persons, and that death covers much. Hence Innocent legitimated the little Philip and Mary, and declared the former capable of holding his place in the line of succession. This considerate action of the Pontiff had no effect upon Philip, in reference to his treatment of his unfortunate wife; kept in strict seclusion, she was allowed to receive no news from home, and to write no letters to any one; she was never allowed to confess, was seldom permitted to hear mass, and no ecclesiastic was admitted to her presence; scarcely enough food was given her to sustain life; she could never consult a physician, and was never allowed a bath or any means of taking proper care of her person. In this extremity she found means, on several occasions during the next six years, to appeal for redress to the Father of the Faithful, but all the efforts of the Pontiff proved impotent to ameliorate her condition. In 1207,

Philip having alleged sorcery as a reason for his aversion to Ingelburga, the Pope wrote: "Although as yet you have not hearkened to our representations, the force of our love is so great that we cannot avoid renewing them. Even though the reason you allege for the non-fulfilment of your conjugal duty were believed by men, who do not penetrate hidden motives, yet we see no excuse for your depriving your wife of royal honors. You ought, if it is possible, give her conjugal love, in order that the holy spirit of chastity may not depart from you; but in case you cannot, you must nevertheless consider the disgrace you heap upon yourself by so unworthily treating the daughter, sister, niece, and wife of a king. To gain a victory over one's self is more glorious than to gain one over a large number of enemies." During all these years of difference with the Pontiff on the subject of his reconciliation with Ingelburga, Philip remained in accord with the Holy See on all other matters. Finally, in 1213, when he was about to depart for the war against England and Flanders, Philip surprised the Pontiff and the world by taking Ingelburga from her prison at Etampes, and establishing conjugal relations with her. Twenty years had elapsed since the marriage and separation. Until the death of Philip, in 1223, the union was not troubled in the least. (1).

We shall now consider the struggle for the freedom and rights of the Church in England, which Pope Innocent III. was compelled to make against the pretensions of king John. Among the Church immunities which every English monarch, at his coronation, swore to respect, was the right of the cathedral chapters to elect their own bishops. The kings, as a rule, respected the form of this claim, but not the spirit; they generally insisted upon the chapter's obtaining the royal license for an election, and then, after the election, upon their own right to approve of the choice. So far the practice of the English kings was about the same as that of the continental sovereigns; but in England a system had obtained which was peculiar to itself. Most

(1) Ingelburga survived Philip fourteen years and her body was interred in a church at Corbeil, founded and endowed by her with benefices for thirteen ecclesiastics, on condition that three masses should be daily offered for the souls of the royal couple. The condition was fulfilled until the Revolution, when the church was turned into a powder magazine.

of the cathedrals were outgrowths of monasteries, and were yet served by monks, who exercised capitular rights ; "a singular and incongruous institution," says Lingard, "since it referred the choice of the bishops to men who, by their utter seclusion from the world, were the least calculated to appreciate the merits of the candidates." The objections to this system were most manifest in the great see of Canterbury. The bishops claimed a concurrent right in the election to the primatial chair, but the monks fought hard for "their privileges." When, in June of 1205, archbishop Hubert died, the Canterbury monks assembled one night, and without any concurrence of the bishops, they chose their sub-prior Reginald as archbishop, and sent him at once to Rome to get the first word with the Pontiff. A deputation was sent by the bishops to protest against this election. Then the king, wishing to elevate John De Gray, bishop of Norwich, to the primacy, induced the bishops to resign their rights, for the nonce, in the premises, and proceeded to the monastery, where he asked the brotherhood to elect his nominee, De Gray. This was done, and a deputation went to Rome to inform the Pontiff. Innocent decided favorably to the claim of the monks, on account of its antiquity ; he pronounced both elections, however, invalid : that of Reginald, as made clandestinely, and that of De Gray, as made before the previous one had been declared null. Making the Pope understand that he wanted De Gray, king John asked him to appoint some one to the vacant primacy. Innocent immediately thought of Stephen Langton, a learned Englishman, who had been rector of the university of Paris, and whom he had called to Rome and made a cardinal-priest. The Pontiff recommended Langton to the Canterbury monks then in Rome, and as they were specially empowered to act in the name of their whole fraternity, they proceeded to the election, and chose the cardinal as their archbishop. But though John knew and esteemed Langton, he was determined to make De Gray primate, and the messengers of the Pontiff, announcing the election, were thrown into prison. Pope Innocent then consecrated Langton at Vi-

terbo ; whereupon John drove the Canterbury monks out of the kingdom. He also swore that Langton should never set foot in England, and sent the following letter to the Pope : " The archbishop-elect has sojourned among my enemies ; his election attacks and violates the rights of my crown. I cannot understand how the Pope and his admirers have not calculated the great value of the friendship of the king of England to the Apostolic See, seeing that this kingdom gives that See more revenue than it receives from all the countries beyond the Alps. But I know how to defend my rights, and I shall cease, in no case, to sustain the election of the bishop of Norwich. If the Apostolic See will not heed these considerations, it will be enough for me to prohibit all journeys to Rome, and to retain in my country the money I need for operations against my enemies." Such language, to a Pontiff like Innocent III., was mere wind. His answer is worthy of the reader's attention : " We have written to you humbly, amicably, and benevolently, exhorting and beseeching you ; you have answered with menaces, insults, and arrogance. We have addressed you with excessive courtesy, and you have observed no conventionalities. In similar circumstances, no prince has ever received from us such honor ; you have trampled on the honor of the Pope as no prince has ever done. The great distinction acquired at Paris by the archbishop-elect ought to conciliate your favor, to excite your joy on the promotion of this prelate to so great a dignity. You should have reflected that Langton is an Englishman, that his parents were faithful subjects, that he has a benefice in York. But the envoys let us see that you are opposed to him because your approval was not requested, and they asked us to accord this honor to you, by an order to the Canterbury monks to ask your consent. We granted their prayer, and although it is not customary to ask the royal assent to any choice made by the Apostolic See, we sent you two monks, and followed them with our own courier, charged with the same mission. After these efforts, it was not necessary to again ask the assent of the king ; but, regarding the ancient institutions of the Church, we

took care that the flock should not be long without a shepherd. We hope, then, that you will not be turned from the right path by evil advisers, but that you will follow our well-meant counsel. You will thus consult your own honor and glory. Your own father and brother swore to the Apostolic legates that they renounced that fatal 'custom' of which St. Thomas was the victim."

This and other remonstrances producing no good effect, Pope Innocent resolved, in 1208, to lay the kingdom under an interdict, and so severe did he deem it necessary to be, that he made no exception, as was usually made, for the Templars, Hospitalers, and some other congregations. The bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to whom the execution of the interdict had been intrusted, presented themselves before the king, and with tears begged him to yield. John replied: "If you proclaim the interdict, by the teeth of God, I shall pack off all the bishops and priests to the Pope, and take their property. Then all the Romans now in my dominions shall return to their country with their eyes plucked out and their noses cut off, so that the whole world may recognize them. As for you, if you care for your skins, you will take yourselves off at once." The bishops delayed the interdict for two weeks; then, giving up all hope of an accommodation, on the 24th March, they proclaimed it. John now ordered all the bishops to leave England; the only prelate who dared to remain was his favorite, the bishop of Winchester; De Gray had been already sent as lord-deputy to Ireland. The sentence of excommunication was pronounced in 1209, but without any deposition of John from his throne. Fearing that this latter sentence would soon be issued, he vainly tried to strengthen himself by an alliance with Mohammed al Nassir, the Saracen whose conquests in Spain were threatening the extirpation of Christianity in that country. Finally, in 1212, Pope Innocent absolved the vassals of John from their fealty, and exhorted all Christian princes to unite in dethroning him; he specially applied to Philip of France, only too willing to gratify his own ambition. War had already begun between France and England when,

in the spring of 1213, the sub-deacon Pandulph, a Papal messenger who had accompanied Langton from Rome to France, landed in England. By this time John had become convinced of the danger of his position; he therefore sent for Pandulph, and opened negotiations. After much hesitation, he finally agreed, on May 13th, to admit Langton to the see of Canterbury; to restore all confiscated Church property; to liberate all persons imprisoned for defending the rights of the Church; to never again outlaw an ecclesiastic; to make full indemnity for all injuries inflicted on account of the interdict. The next day was spent by the king, his council, and the Pontifical envoy, in secret consultations, and on the 15th, the following charter, subscribed by John, one archbishop, one bishop, nine earls, and three barons, was given to Pandulph: "In order to obtain the mercy of God for the offences we have committed against the Church, and not having anything to offer more precious than our own person and kingdom, and in order that we may be humbled before Him who was humiliated for us even unto death; by an inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and not compelled by violence or by fear, but of our good and free will, we yield up, with the consent of our barons, to God, to His holy apostles Peter and Paul, to our holy mother the Roman Church, to our lord Pope Innocent and his Catholic successors, in expiation of our sins and those of our family, living and dead, our kingdoms of England and Ireland, with all their rights and accessories, in order to receive them again as a vassal of God and of the Roman Church, in witness of which we take the oath of vassalage before Pandulph, as absolutely as though we were in the presence of the Pope, to place ourselves at the disposal of the Pope and of his successors; and our succeeding heirs will always be obliged to take the same oath; and in sign of vassalage, we and our successors will annually pay to the Apostolic See, besides the Peter's Pence, 700 marks for England, and 300 marks for Ireland, raised from the revenues of the kingdom; all under pain of forfeit of the kingdom by that successor who shall dare to violate this permanent disposition." Accompanied by his whole court John then

proceeded to the church, where he laid down his crown and other royal insignia, and took the oath of vassalage. It is impossible to believe that John was actuated in this matter by any other motive than that of disarming the Pontiff, and of obtaining his powerful protection against Philip of France and his own discontented subjects. When Innocent received the news of John's extraordinary submission, he wrote to him: "The Holy Ghost has inspired you to subject your kingdom to the Roman Church, that you may possess it with more solidity and honor, as a sacerdotal kingdom and a royal priesthood." He then appointed Nicholas, cardinal-bishop of Frascati, as legate to England, with extended powers, instructing him to make peace between John and Philip. To the latter he wrote: "If you have hitherto responded to our Apostolic prayers and invitations, you will continue to give the same proofs of devotion to the Holy See." On July 20th. John proceeded to Winchester, where he met Langton, the bishops of London, Ely, Hereford, Lincoln and Bath, and the prior and monks of Canterbury. Having repeated his oath of fealty to the Pope, and having sworn that he would abolish all illegal customs, and to receive the laws of good king Edward, he was publicly relieved of the excommunication at the doors of the cathedral. The interdict, however, was not raised until June 27th, 1214, when John had done what he could to indemnify the victims of his obstinacy and cruelty. (1).

When Innocent was raised to the Supreme Pontificate, the throne of Constantinople was occupied by Alexis III., the patriarchal chair by George Xiphilinus. Alexis immediately sent an embassy to Rome, declaring that he would be much pleased if the Holy See would send a legate to his capital. Innocent, like all his predecessors since the time of Cerularius, was daily hoping for an extinction of the Greek schism; he therefore welcomed this overture, and sent legates with a letter to Alexis, from which we take the following passages: "The Lord Himself laid the foundation of His Church when he said: 'upon this rock I

(1) We do not allude to the relations of Pope Innocent with king John and the barons in the Magna Charta affair, as that belongs to profane history, but refer the reader to Lingard's graphic and impartial narrative. As for the Pontiff's conduct in the matter of the Albigenses, that will be described in the chapter treating of their heresy.

will build My Church.' If the emperor desires his government to rest solidly upon this foundation, he must love God above all things, and honor His spouse, the Holy Roman Church, of which He is at once the founder and the foundation-stone. All Christian people murmur against the emperor, not only because he does not assist the armies fighting the enemy of the Christian name, but because the Greek populations have separated from the communion of the Holy See and have formed a church of their own, as though another Church could exist alongside of that Church which is one. . . . The emperor should strive to reunite the Greek church with the Roman Church, to bring back the daughter to the mother, that the sheep of the Lord may be guarded by one shepherd." Alexis having expressed a desire for a General Council, to consider the dogmatic differences between Rome and Constantinople, Innocent replied that "he rejoiced at the emperor's disposition toward reunion; his will was to call a Council for the consideration of urgent ecclesiastical affairs, and if the member wishes to rejoin the head, the daughter to come to the mother, and if the patriarch of Constantinople will show proper respect and submission to the Roman Church, he will be joyfully received as one of the principal dignitaries of the Church. The Pontiff begs the emperor to see that the patriarch and the chief prelates attend the Council." The patriarch John of Jerusalem having written to Innocent, denying that the Roman Church was the Mother Church, saying that the church of Jerusalem should receive that title, the Pontiff replied: "The church of Jerusalem may be the mother of the faith, for from her came the signs of the faith; but the Church of Rome is the mother of the faithful, because she was placed over them by pre-eminence of dignity. She is the mother, not as regards time, but in respect of dignity; Andrew was called to the apostolate before Peter, but Peter was promoted over him. The Synagogue may equally be called the mother of the Church, because she existed before the Church, and the Church came out from her; but still the Church is the universal mother, who ever conceives, bears, and nourishes." From

these initiatory steps, however; there was derived no beneficial result; the Greek schismatics remained obstinate. Finally, when, in self-protection, the Crusaders were compelled to take Constantinople (1204) and to found a new empire, the prospects of union grew brighter, and had the Latin emperors not been so persistent in naming Western ecclesiastics for all the chief dignities, and thus exciting the prejudices of the Greeks against the union as a foreign scheme, the long wished-for object might have been accomplished.

If Pope Innocent was doomed to disappointment in the matter of the Greek schism, he was consoled by the reunion of the Armenian church, and that of Bulgaria, with Rome. At that time, Armenia was an independent state, closed at the north by Mt. Taurus, bounded on the south by the sea, on the east by the Euphrates, and on the west by the Calycadnus. (1). A tradition exists that St. Bartholomew first preached the faith to these people, but St. Gregory the Illuminator, in the time of Constantine, seems to have been the successful founder of the faith in those parts. In 535, the Monophysite doctrines made great inroads among the Armenians, and they separated from the patriarchate of Constantinople long before the schism of Photius, founding a national church, a part of which has always remained in the Roman communion. The union of the entire Armenian church with Rome was perfected in 1199, by king Leo, called the Great, and was cordially supported by the Catholics or primate, and all the clergy. Since then, the union has been broken and renewed, again and again (2). The same is to be said of the reunion of the Bulgarians, which, as the event proved, was promoted by their king, Kolo-

(1) Since the conquest of Armenia by the Persians, the Armenians have nearly all been wanderers. They are now the Yankees, the Irish, and the Jews of Asia; they are found everywhere, and have all the persevering energy of the first, the buoyancy and undaunted bravery of the second, and the business tact of the third. When Richelieu was scheming to develop the commerce of France, he tried to influence the Armenians to settle there in great numbers; the chancellor Seguier established for them a printing-house at Marseilles. Their great monastery at Venice, now many centuries old, is one of the most celebrated in Europe for its library and the number of learned men it has produced. Neither the schismatic Armenians, nor the united (those in communion with Rome), use the vernacular in the liturgy; like all Easterns, they use their ancient (and dead) language, not the modern (and changeable) one. The Armenian schismatic monks follow the rule of St. Basil; but, in the time of Pope John XXII., (1316-1334), most of the united monks adopted the rule of St. Dominick.

(2) The united or Catholic Armenians have two patriarchs, one at Naksivan, in Armenia, and one at Kamnik, in Poland. The schismatics also have two patriarchs, one at Echmiadzin, near Erivan, and the other at Cis, in Cilicia.

Johannes, merely out of hatred for the Greeks, and to obtain the protection of the Western princes against the Byzantine emperor.

Pope Innocent III. died at Perugia, on July 16th, 1216, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, having sat in the Chair of St. Peter eighteen years, six months, and seven days. According to the superficial Hume, this Pontiff was despotic, and he encroached, not only on the domain of earthly princes, but upon the rights of the clergy; his object in exciting the "frenzy of the Crusades" was the acquisition of greater revenues; his interdicts were instruments of vengeance for the court of Rome; he was guilty of barbarism in exterminating the Albigenses, "the most innocent and pacific of men." (1). If we believe Gibbon, Innocent could boast of the two most signal triumphs ever gained over good sense and humanity: *the establishment of the dogma of Transubstantiation*, and that of the first foundations of the *Inquisition*. (2). Hallam, who expects to understand the Middle Ages without having any appreciation of, or, apparently, any intimate acquaintance with, the Catholic institutions of the time, declares that in all the annals of the Papacy there can be found no such instances of usurpation as in the Pontificate of Innocent III. (3). The author of the *Defense of the Declaration of the French Clergy in 1682*, supposed by many to be Bossuet, reproves our Pontiff for the depositions of Otho and John Lackland; making him responsible for the cruel wars which followed the first, and the misconceptions and hatred caused, in time, in the English mind, by the second. (4). After this, one is not surprised on finding that Fleury, who was a confidant of Bossuet, and had taken part in the famous conferences of the time, allows no occasion to pass without attacking Pope Innocent III. In his *History*, which is often a mere rehash of the calumnies of Matthew of Paris, Matthew Villani, Petrarch, and Theodoric of Niem, Fleury has furnished, in the present matter, welcome material to nearly all the Prot-

(1) *History of England*, vol. II.

(2) *Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. II.

(3) *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, vol. II.

(4) Chap. 20 and 21.

estant, and to a few Catholic historians of later days. He accuses Innocent of preferring his own interests and those of his See to those of the universal Church (1); he says that this Pontiff's interference in German affairs was consequent upon the *false* maxims of Gregory VII. (2); he reproves Innocent for so interpreting the constitution of the empire as to deny the right of the emperor to confirm the election of a Pope (3); he finds fault with Innocent's pretension to be an arbitrator between kings. (4). However, in spite of his reproach of Innocent for having, as he thinks, encroached upon the just rights of princes, Fleury is constrained to admit that the Pontiff's conduct was in accordance with the usages of the time. At the Fourth Council of the Lateran there were present 412 bishops, 71 metropolitans or primates, more than 800 abbots, and ambassadors from all the sovereigns; certainly, in such a gathering of the learning, virtue, and responsibility, of Europe, nothing would be decided contrary to the sentiments of the time. In this Council it was decreed that, if any temporal ruler, after being admonished, neglected to clear his domains of heretics, he should be excommunicated; that if he did not obey within a year, the Pope should be notified, in order that he might absolve that ruler's vassals from their oaths of allegiance, and thus open his lands to the conquests of Catholics. Speaking of this decree, Fleury says: "Here the Church seems to encroach upon the secular power; but it must be remembered that at this Council assisted the ambassadors of many sovereigns, who consented to these decrees in the name of their masters." (5). Why then, asks Saint-Cheron of Fleury, "do you find fault with Innocent for using a power the exercise of which, in so solemn a circumstance, after the decisive events of Germany, England, and France, did not call forth the slightest reclamation on the part of the representatives of the sovereigns of Christendom?" Fleury is positively malignant when he comes to speak of the death of Pope Innocent. He says that, after he had excommunicated Louis, the son of Philip Augustus,

(1) *Discourse on the state of the Church in the 11th and 12th centuries.*

(2) Vol. V., B. lxxv., c. 32.

(4) *Ibid.*, c. 58.

(3) *Ibid.*, c. 37.

(5) *Ibid.*, B. lxxvll., 147.

the Pontiff fell into a fever, which lasted some time, "he continuing to eat a great deal, as was his habit (1) . . . In many things, he was excessively rigorous, and for this reason his death caused more joy than sorrow to those who were subject to him. *Matthew of Paris says that John, king of England, knew this Pope for the most ambitious and proudest of all men, and that he was insatiable as regards money, and was capable of every crime to procure it.*"

After this complaisant citation of John Lackland as a witness to the character of Innocent, we are not astonished at Fleury's insinuation that the Pontiff had a narrow escape from hell. He recites a pretended vision of St. Lugaarde, who, after the Pope's death, saw him surrounded by flames, and asked him how he was so tormented, receiving for answer: "For three things, which would have caused my condemnation to eternal fire, had I not repented at the close of my life." (2). Sismondi, one of the most patient of investigators, and therefore one of the most reliable of historians when not overpowered by party spirit, is extremely hostile to Innocent III.; he goes so far as to accuse the Pontiff of having accepted the guardianship of Frederick of Sicily with the design of despoiling him. (3). Capecigüe, who reproaches all the Pontiffs with a tendency to "enclose everything within the limits of Catholic dogma," that is, with the habit of regarding things from a Catholic point of view, nearly always speaks of Innocent as actuated by a spirit of ambition and violence. (4). Nevertheless, he thus speaks of this Pontificate: "This Pope is the only Pontiff, contemporary with Philip-Augustus, who shows a vast and

(1) This insinuation of gluttony is not corroborated by the old chroniclers. According to them, Pope Innocent was very simple as to his table. Golden or silver vessels were never seen, unless on ceremonial occasions, such as royal visits, etc.; the service was not rendered by nobles, but by ecclesiastics. There were never more than three courses, and during the meal, a cleric read aloud some pious or learned book. The author of the *Deeds* disposes of the charge of money-loving. According to him, Innocent always defrayed the expenses of his journeys; never availing himself of the custom which allowed him to charge the churches, abbeys, etc., where he might be. He always resigned all gifts received, and one tenth of all his revenues, to the poor. During a famine at Rome, he fed, at his own expense, 8000 persons a day, besides those to whom he sent succor at their homes. Poor children were allowed, every day, to clear away the leavings of his table. Every Saturday of his reign, after having washed and kissed the feet of twelve pilgrims, he gave them each twelve pieces of silver. But the greatest of all his works of charity was the rebuilding, enlarging, and endowing of by far the most extensive and best furnished and equipped hospital that the world has ever seen to this day; that of Santo Spirito, at Rome, which gives attention, not only to Romans, but to all patients that come to it, and is, besides, an immense foundling and orphan asylum.

(2) B. lxxvii., c. 62.

(3) *Italian Republics*, vol. ii.

(4) *History of Philip-Augustus*, *passim*.

active capacity which embraces the Catholic universe. There is not a question concerning crowned heads, barons, or castellans; not a private or public quarrel between kings; not a difference between barons and monasteries, that escapes his vigilance. His vast correspondence is yet one of the great monuments of the Middle Ages. His legates and cardinals visit every province, prescribing laws, proclaiming interdicts, pronouncing anathemas, and every one bows the head before the Apostolic lightnings. He would raise armies by a Bull and by Indulgences; he directed the policy of states, interfering in the government of France, England, and the empire, and *merely by the ascendancy of opinion*. Wherever I come across a great ability, I like to recognize it; and, let us say it, Innocent III. ruled his century far more than did Philip-Augustus and the contemporary princes." (1). Michelet acknowledges the influence of Innocent upon his age, he admits the popular enthusiasm in the war on the Albigenses, he shows us the Pontiff trying to lessen the horrors of that struggle and protecting the count of Toulouse and his son; but he makes Innocent responsible for the "immense execration" heaped by many upon the Holy See, and represents him dying with an uneasy conscience. (2). Very different from this estimate is that formed by Du Theil, Lingard, Muller, and Hurter. In the year 1791, M. de la Porte du Theil published a *Collection of Charters, Acts, and Diplomas relating to the History of France*, and in it he gave to the world many hitherto unedited letters of Pope Innocent III. Incited by his studies, he then published, in the ninth year of the "one and indivisible French Republic," the result of his investigations into the reign of Innocent. From this work (3), Saint Chéron, in his *Introduction* to Hurter's great book, makes some lengthy extracts, of which we will give a synopsis: "The name of Innocent III. will always awaken the remembrance of one of the most remarkable personages of history; of one whose virtues and faults will with diffi-

(1) *History of Philip Augustus*, vol. ii.

(2) *History of France*, vol. ii.

(3) It was inserted in the *Notices and Extracts from the MSS. of the National and other Libraries*, published by the National Institute of France, vol. vi., and bore the title: *Biographical Memoir on Robert de Courçon, with Extracts and an Analysis of Ten Letters of Pope Innocent III.*

culty be exactly defined by an impartial philosophy. . . . Who can refuse praise to Innocent's Christian firmness, when he sees him occupied, for fifteen years, sustaining against a powerful king who is blinded by passion the cause of an unfortunate princess, innocently become the object of unjust disgust and of cruel persecution? Thanks to the inflexible Innocent, justice finally triumphed. When this unfortunate queen was again embraced by her spouse and replaced upon her throne, the king owed to the act of justice and of humanity the remarkable return of his subjects' affection, and therefore those incredible and generous efforts which, the next year, in the battle of Bouvines, secured him the victory. . . . If it is hard to totally excuse Innocent's conduct in the affairs of England, and if we avow that the temporal interests of the Holy See were the visible objects of his policy in regard to king John, we cannot deny that in England, on a thousand occasions, he sustained justice, and caused it to triumph, against the most detestable of princes. . . . It was not easy to arrange the difference which agitated Germany. To speak impartially, there was no real injustice, on the part of Innocent, in preferring the cause of Otho to that of Philip of Suabia. Immediately after the death of the latter, Otho lost the good will of his protector; but this was on account of his own ingratitude, and his unfaithfulness to his own engagements. . . . The temporal power of the Holy See in Italy increased during his reign, but if he soon saw the Roman people, for a long time indocile, become submissive; and if the provinces, stolen by the late emperors, soon returned to his obedience, almost without a compelling blow, is it not just to appreciate that ability which restored its ancient brilliancy to the Pontifical throne, and without a bloody revolution?" Lingard speaks as follows of Innocent's deposition of John Lackland: "At first, indeed, the Popes contented themselves with spiritual censures; but in an age when all notions of justice were remodelled after the feudal jurisprudence, it was soon admitted that princes by their disobedience became traitors to God; that as traitors they ought to forfeit their kingdoms, the fees which they

held of God ; and that to pronounce such sentence belonged to the Pontiff, the vicegerent of Christ upon earth. By these means the servant of the servants of God became the sovereign of the sovereigns, and assumed the right of judging them in his court, and of transferring their crowns as he thought just." (1). Speaking of John's becoming a vassal of the Pontiff, the same author says : " Every epithet of reproach has been expended by writers and readers against the pusillanimity of a prince who could lay his dominions at the feet of a foreign priest, and receive them from him again as his feudatory. It was certainly a disgraceful act (2) ; but there are some considerations which, if they do not remove, will at least extenuate his offence. Though the principles of morality are unchangeable, our ideas of honor and infamy perpetually vary with the ever-varying state of society. To judge impartially of our ancestors, we are not to measure their actions by the standard of our present manners and notions ; we should transport ourselves back to the age in which they lived, and take into the account their political institutions, their principles of legislation and government. Now, in the thirteenth century, there was nothing so very degrading in the state of vassalage. It was the condition of most of the princes of Christendom. The king of Scotland was the vassal of the king of England ; and the king of England the vassal of the king of France. . . . Henry (father of king John), powerful as he was, had become the feudatory of Pope Alexander III. ; and the lion-hearted Richard had resigned his crown to the emperor of Germany, and consented to hold it of him by the payment of a yearly rent. John, in his distress, followed these examples, and the result seems to have recommended his conduct to the imitation of the Scottish patriots, who, to defeat the claim of his grandson, Edward I., acknowledged the Pope for their superior lord, and maintained that Scotland had always been a fief of the Church of Rome. . . . To the king it offered this benefit : that the very power which had so

(1) *History of England*, edit. 1883, vol. ii., c. 3, p. 326, note.

(2) And almost immediately Lingard proceeds to show that it was not a disgrace. In his anxiety to placate his Protestant countrymen, this author often tends to a minimization of the truth, and sometimes verges on the inaccurate.

nearly driven him from the throne was now bound by duty and interest to preserve him and his posterity on it, against all his foes, both foreign and domestic. To the barons it offered a protector, to whom, as superior lord, they might appeal from the despotic government of his vassal. *From that moment they began to demand the grant of their liberties.*" (1). The celebrated Swiss historian, John Müller, says of Pope Innocent: "To great firmness of character he joined sweetness and amenity. Simple and economical in all his habits, he was benevolent even unto prodigality. He fulfilled, toward the young Frederick, his duties of guardian like a magnanimous prince and a loyal cavalier. (2). If the reader wishes to become familiar with the Pontificate of Innocent III., and hence with the spirit of a time so different from our own, he can do no better than to carefully read Hurter's admirable work. What the Protestant Ranke partly did in the way of lifting clouds of prejudice from our view of several Pontiffs; what the Protestant Voigt nearly entirely did for St. Gregory VII., that the Swiss Protestant minister fully did for Innocent III.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE ALBIGENSES.

The writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries gave the name of Albigenses to the inhabitants of Lower Languedoc, and hence the heretics who appeared in that part of France in the twelfth century, and who especially flourished in the city of Albi, came to be known as Albigenses. Many of these sectarians were originally Catharist Waldenses; hence we find, among other names of the Albigenses, that of Cathari applied to them. The basis of their doctrine was Manicheism, but variously modified by the different vagaries of the many heretical leaders, such as Peter of Bruis, Arnold of Brescia, etc.; hence we meet with

(1) We italicise the last sentence, as well worth the reader's particular consideration. *Ibid.*, p. 331.

(2) *Universal History*, vol. ii., c. 9.

the names Petrobruisians, Arnoldists, Henricians, etc., as well as such designations as Patarini, Passagers, Publicans, derived from their morals and customs. (1). The Albigen-
ses were a confused agglomeration of heretics, most of them too ignorant to be able to give an account of what they really believed, only agreeing in rejecting the Sacraments and external services of the Church, and in a violent hatred of the hierarchy. Hence we often find that the writers who treat of their errors, are not always concordant in their descriptions, though they sufficiently agree, while narrating the principal Albigensian doctrines, to enable us to understand the general system. Among the contemporary authors who combated these errors, the principal are Peter of Vaux-Cernay, a Parisian Cistercian, who, with his uncle, the abbot Guido, labored many years in this cause, and was present at the final Crusade (2); Vincent of Beauvais (3); William of Puyslaurens, chaplain to the younger Raymond of Toulouse. (4).

The errors of the Albigenes are summed up, as follows, by Peter of Vaux-Cernay. (5). There are two Creators: the good God, author of the invisible, and the evil God, author of the visible world. The latter was the author of the Old Testament, and was a liar, for he told our first parents, say the Albigenes, that they would die if they ate of the forbidden tree; the former was the author of the New Testament, and this part of Scripture alone the Albigenes respected, together with such passages of the Old Testament as were inserted into it. The evil God was a homicide, for he destroyed Sodom, Pharaoh's hosts, and the Egyptians; and he was the author of the deluge. The good God cures souls, the evil one bodies. (6). All the patriarchs, Prophets, etc., are damned; the Baptist was one of the greater demons. The Christ who was born in the visible Bethlehem, and crucified at Jerusalem, was a wicked man; Mary Magdalen was his concubine; the good Christ, who

(1) They were called *Pifres* and *Patrins*, because they were, as a rule, unrefined; *Publicains*, because they were supposed to hold their women in common; *Passagers*, because they were energetic proselytizers; *Cathari*, *Bons-Hommes*, because they affected to be pure, above all other men.

(2) *History of the Albigenes*, dedicated to Innocent III.

(3) *Historical Mirror*, B. xxix.

(4) *Chronicle*.

(5) *Loc. cit.*, c. 11.

(6) Roger of Hoveden, year 1176.

was born and crucified in an invisible world, was never in this world, unless spiritually in the body of Paul. The good God had two wives, Colla and Colliba, and from them many children. (1). The Roman Church is a den of thieves, and the whore of the Apocalypse. They denied all the Sacraments. Matrimony was whoredom, and no one who begat children could be saved. Our souls are the apostate spirits of heaven and after many transmigrations will return to their first bodies, which, after their rebellion, remained glorified in space; for this present body, there is no resurrection. There were two orders of Albigenses; the perfect led, apparently, an austere life, lived continently, and professed a horror for lies and oaths; the believers lived like other men, and were often of irregular morals, believing that they could be saved by the faith and the imposition of hands of the perfect. (2). The above account of the Albigensian doctrines is confirmed by the *Profession of Faith* signed by Bernard Primus, Durand of Osca, and other numerous converts, who were convinced of their errors at the Conference of Pamiers, in 1210, by Guido of Vaux-Cernay. (3).

Of the few princes who favored the Albigenses, the most powerful was Raymond VI., count of Toulouse. Under the reign of his father, who was nearly always at war, heresy had prospered in the large and wealthy principality, although Raymond V. was himself a devout Catholic. The young Raymond, owing to his father's almost constant absence from home, had passed most of his time with heretics, and had imbibed their errors; when his father died, in 1194, he extended his open protection to them, and even gave a hundred marks to every chevalier who would

(1) Some said that there was only one Creator, who had two sons, Christ and the devil.

(2) The morals of the Albigenses may be judged by the following passage from Luke of Tuy, a Spanish convert: "*Nulla est nociva delectatio, quam in pertransitu coram luxuria; abutitur filius matre, frater fratre, pater filia.*" Cæsarius of Heisterback says that at the siege of Béziers the heretics flung the Bible from the ramparts, "*mingentes super eam.*" Another went to the high altar of the cathedral of Toulouse, and *ventrem purgavit, et palla altaris immunditias deterisit. Quidam, scorto super altare collocato, Veneri intulserunt.*"—One of the most insulting epithets in the English language, indicative of a vice to which these heretics were addicted, is derived from one of their names—*Bulgari*, from which came the French *Bougres* and *Bougherie*.

(3) This conference was held with the Albigensian leaders by the holy Spanish bishop, Diego of Osma, who, with St. Dominick, had been preaching the faith in all the heretical districts. Raymond Roger, the heretical count of Foix, presided, and master Arnold of Campranhan, a priest favorable to the Albigenses, was made arbiter. The result was the submission of Arnold, and the conversion of many of the inhabitants of Pamiers.

embrace their doctrine. (1). His violence against certain monks caused his excommunication by Pope Celestine III., but Innocent III. absolved him. Raymond's most active ally, and the most cruel enemy of the Church in France, was Raymond Roger, count of Foix. The other protectors of heresy were Raymond Roger de Béziers, lord of Carcassonne; Gaston, viscount of Béarn; Bernard, count of Comminges; and Gerold, count of Armagnac. The cause of heresy was greatly helped by the negligence of the archbishop of Narbonne, Berengarius, who constantly resided in his rich abbey of Mount Aragon, and for ten years had not visited his diocese, disregarding the complaints of the Papal legate and the threats of the Pontiff. He was guilty of the worst kinds of simony; his priests frequently lived in concubinage, were addicted to dice and hunting, and became lawyers, jugglers, and physicians. (2). After many attempts to recall archbishop Berengarius to a sense of duty, Pope Innocent III. deposed him. (3). In speaking of the progress of heresy in the South of France, Hurter ascribes it partly, "among the great, to their free and luxurious life, which passed along in joy and in love, in tournaments and in play. The troubadours, who found welcome at every Provençal court, who wandered from castle to castle, who scattered their raileries on holy and profane things in promiscuous assemblies of men and women, not sparing bishops and priests, monks and nuns, excited and sustained at first an indifference, and finally, an aversion for the ministers of the Church. In the cities, the middle classes welcomed doctrines which flattered their ideas, their tastes, and that desire of enjoyment permitted them by their wealth." In 1203, the legates of Pope Innocent III. succeeded in obtaining the expulsion of the Albigenses from Toulouse, and in receiving from the principal citizens an oath of fidelity to the Church, but the resistance of the surrounding cities nullified this measure,

(1) He caused jugglers to deride and mimic the priest, during the Mass, thus publishing his want of all veneration. He despised the ties of marriage, and abandoned a woman so soon as she ceased to please. (See William of Puy Laurens, c. 5; *Christian Gaul*, xlii., 229). So violent did the Albigenses become, during the first years of his rule, that, whenever a bishop wished to visit a parish, he begged the lord of the place to accompany him.

(2) *Epistles of Innocent III.*, x., 68; lii., 24; vii., 75; vi., 242.

(3) Sismondi declares that the scandalous life of some prelates favored the growth of heresy, and yet he blames the missionaries for "arrogance" in trying to reform them.

and in the year 1204 the legate Arnold wrote to the Pontiff: "I do not dare to hope for success, for we have no help from the bishops; I wish therefore to be relieved of my mission." The other legates hearkened to the encouraging exhortations of Innocent, and marched through the country, exhorting, disputing, and reprimanding, but they, too, met with so little success and so much danger, that they were about to demand a recall, when the Spanish bishop, Diego de Osma, and Dominick de Guzman met them at Montpellier, and revived their courage. These penetrating minds had realized that nothing but simplicity would affect a people whose favorite excuse was the ostentation of the orthodox clergy. Taking off their shoes and dismissing their attendants, Diego, Dominick, and the legate Arnold (1), entered upon their apostolic mission, obtaining much success, and gaining the affection even of those they did not convert. At Montreal, they were joined by the Cistercians Guido and Peter of Vaux-Cernay, with thirty members of their order. The missionaries now divided into small bands, and resumed their work, living entirely upon alms, and making all their journeys on foot. In a short time, most of the Cistercians became discouraged, Diego de Osma was recalled to Spain, but Dominick de Guzman, the future founder of the Friar Preachers, persisted in his mission, obtained new co-laborers, and continued as before. (2). What would have been the result, had not the murder of the legate, Peter de Castelnau, precipitated severe measures against the Albigenses and their protectors, we cannot tell. A long and cruel war ensued, but as we are not bound to defend its excesses, or to write a panegyric upon Simon de Montfort, and to excuse his

(1) The other legate, Peter de Castelnau, being specially obnoxious to the Albigenses, was advised by Diego to withdraw. He did so, and in 1207 he reconciled the people of Montpellier with the king of Aragon, and re-established peace between the nobles of the two sides of the Rhone. Failing in his endeavor to make the count of Toulouse take severe measures against the heretics, he excommunicated him. Raymond then submitted, again prevaricated, and was again excommunicated. The next morning, Jan. 15, 1208, having celebrated mass, Peter was attacked by two unknown men, one of whom killed him by a thrust of his lance. The martyr's body was buried in the abbey of St. Giles, and in 1562 the "Reformers" burned his remains.

(2) During this mission, St. Dominick gained the esteem of many of the poorer nobles, and they confided to him the care of their daughters. For these he founded an establishment near the church of Pronille, assigning them a common rule, at first that of St. Augustine. Very soon this convent could boast of having been the cradle of the great Dominican Order.

ambition, we refer the reader to profane history for its details. (1).

But there is one alleged incident of this war which we cannot overlook. Velly, d'Anquetil, Sismondi, Michelet, Henri Martin, and nearly every encyclopedist, record a presumed act of barbarity, on the part of a Papal legate, which has no good historical foundation. Even Guizot, in full session of the French Academy (Jan. 24, 1861), in his *Reply to F. Lacordaire's Inaugural Discourse*, did not hesitate to tell the illustrious Dominican: "Six hundred years ago, Monsieur, if my comrades of to-day met you, they would have angrily assailed you as a hateful persecutor; and your brethren, zealously exciting the conquerors of heretics, would have cried: 'Strike, strike; God will distinguish his own!'" The event here designated is supposed to have happened at the storming of Béziers, in 1209. Now the contemporary narratives of this action are five; one by Arnald, abbot of Cîteaux, and Milo, a Papal secretary—both legates of the Holy See to the Crusaders; a second by Peter of Vaux-Cernay; a third by an unknown chronicler, styled the anonymous Provençal; a fourth by William of Puy Laurens; and a fifth by Cæsarius, a monk of Heisterbach, in the diocese of Cologne. The last author alone says anything of the alleged incident, and in these words: "The Crusaders arrived before a large city, called Béziers, which was said to have contained more than a hundred thousand inhabitants, and they besieged it. Before the eyes of the Crusaders, the heretics urinated on a volume of the holy Gospels, and threw it from the ramparts into the Christian ranks, accompanying it with a shower of arrows, and saying: 'Wretches, behold your law!' But Christ, Author of the Gospels, did not pass unpunished this outrage against himself. For some of the soldiers, burning with zeal for the faith, and like lions, similar to those warriors of whom we read in *Maccabees*, II., c. xi., 11, intrepidly scaled the walls, and forcing the gates, took the city, putting to flight the terrified heretics. But having

(1) CANTU, *Univ. Hist.*—PAP. MASSON, *Annals.*—BLANC, *French Revolution*, vol. 1., p. 16; vol. v., p. 369; vol. vi., pp. 160, 254; edit. 1847.—WITCHE, *The Albigensians in the Face of History*, 1878.—See also NICOLAS, *Relations of Socialism with Protestantism and all other heresies*, 1852.

learned from the heretics that many Catholics were in their ranks, the soldiers addressed the abbot, saying: 'What are we to do? We cannot distinguish the good from the wicked.' Then, *it is said*, the abbot and others, fearing lest their danger might cause the heretics to feign that they were Catholics, and that, after having saved their lives, they would return to their errors, cried: 'Strike, the Lord will know His own!' And therefore innumerable persons were put to death in this city." So speaks, indeed, Cæsarius of Heisterbach, a monk who was six hundred miles from the scene of action, and who can only report, "it is said." But the legates Arnald and Milo, Peter of Vaux-Cernay, the anonymous Provençal, and William of Puy Laurens, all either participants in the action or witnesses of it, make not the slightest allusion to the sanguinary order. Nor is the authority of Cæsarius so great, or are the restraining motives of the others so evident, that the negative evidence of these latter must yield to the positive testimony of the former. The four narratives which are silent as to the alleged command were written by persons who show that they were, by no means, men of moderation, that they were advocates of the utmost severity against the Albigenes, and that they would have been not at all unwilling to record an instance of what, though we now call it cruelty, would have been, at that time, regarded as a matter of course by both parties in the strife. (1). But it is easy to show that the dialogue between the legate Arnald and the soldiers, narrated by Cæsarius, did not take place. According to the four witnesses above mentioned, and all the old French chroniclers, the following were the circumstances of the taking of Béziers.

(1) Arnald coolly says: "The city of Béziers was taken, and our troops put to the sword nearly 20,000 persons, sparing neither rank, nor sex, nor age."—Modern authors have increased this number to 100,000, and cite Cæsarius as authority. Now this monk merely says that Béziers "was said to have contained 100,000 inhabitants before the siege," and he does not say that all were destroyed, but that "innumerable persons were put to death." But it is very unlikely that Béziers was so densely populated. In his *History of the City and Bishops of Béziers* (1854), Sabatier says: "If it is true, as I believe, that Béziers has never varied in extent, the estimate of 15,000 or 12,000 will be the most probable one. And all the inhabitants were not killed; many certainly departed before the siege, and many may have escaped before the assault. The city was not entirely destroyed, for in Aug., 1210, Simon de Montfort gave to the abbey of Cîteaux a house situated in Béziers. In our own day, we observe several mansions the architectural style of which indicates a date anterior to the thirteenth century." How, we ask, could 100,000 have dwelt in a space destined for 15,000 or less? In the *Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Béziers*, series II., vol. 2, may be consulted a topographical study, tending to prove that the victims of the celebrated massacre numbered less than 8000.

Some of the besieged made a sortie, and wounded one of the Crusaders who had advanced to the bridge. Then the Ribalds, as a certain kind of soldiers were called, rushed to repel the sortie, without even taking time to put on their armor. So impetuous were they, that they entered the town behind their foes. "They made the assault," says Peter of Vaux-Cernay, "without the knowledge of the gentlemen of the army, and instantly took the city." "The inhabitants of Béziers," says William de Puy Laurens, "could not resist the first attack of the common soldiers." The legate Arnald says that, while he was debating with the leaders as to how they might save the Catholics supposed to be in the city, "the *Ribaldi* and other inferior persons, without awaiting orders, invaded it." The anonymous Provençal attributes the beginning of the carnage to the *truands*, and says that the leaders had nothing to do with it. It is evident, then, that the impressive dialogue did not cause the slaughter. (1).

Protestant authors have always found plenty of material in the Crusade proclaimed by Innocent III. against the Albigenses for the charge of intolerance and cruelty against the Catholic Church, and were the present a question as to whether heretics ought to be converted or punished by fire and sword, we would ask to be excused from arguing it. But besides being heretics, the Albigenses were enemies of public order; the very existence of society was threatened by them. They taught that marriage was a crime. What government, even in the nineteenth century, would like to see that doctrine embraced and practically carried out by its subjects? They taught that all the pastors of the Catholic Church were devouring wolves, and that they should be exterminated; nor was their talk mere mouthing and idle declamation—wherever they could, they reduced it to action. They taught that all the ceremonies of the Church, all her external signs of worship, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, all things, in fine, which presented her as a visible

(1) The narratives of Casarius are regarded as grotesquely improbable by Possevin, Vossius, Dupin, Dufresney, and Fleury. In our own day, Hurter, Alzog, and an eminent critic, Daunou, hold the same opinion. The last author, in the *Literary History of France*, vol. xvii., gives a biography of Arnald of Cîteaux, and declares that he cannot receive the account by Casarius, concerning the part played by the legate at Béziers. It is to be noted that Daunou is very hostile to the Middle Ages.

mediator between God and man, were intolerable abuses, crying evils and impostures, which were to be destroyed and banished from the face of the earth. Were the faithful to quietly bow their heads, and allow the extirpation of all they held most dear? Were the Albigenses to be exempted from tolerating the belief of Christendom, and Christians to be made to tolerate their own destruction? Robbery, outrage, and murder, under the cloak of religion, were devastating society. What but the strong hand of power could remedy the evil? When a riot breaks out among us, do we shut up our police and military, and send a few preachers to talk to the mob? Again, we must remember that the Church did not recommend force until every other means had been exhausted, and then, in the Third Council of the Lateran, war was declared on "the Belgians, Aragonese, Navarrese, Basques, Cotterels (knifers), and Triaverdins, who respected neither churches nor monasteries; sparing not orphans, women, or old age; but pillaging and desolating everywhere." (1). A regular Crusade was finally preached by Innocent III., and the alacrity with which it was taken up is a strong argument for its necessity and its justice, unless we are willing to suppose that the chivalry of France were all either fools or villainous ruffians. But the civil wickedness and self-outlawry of the Albigenses is proved by the public confession of the count of Toulouse, made to the legate, in 1209, and by the testimony of contemporary historians who were ocular witnesses of the horrors they narrate. And what must have been the rank and file, in the matter of fanatical cruelty, when the royal count of Toulouse caused his own brother to be strangled, because he had returned to the faith? (2).

The excesses and crimes committed by the Crusaders of Simon de Montfort are not to be excused, but it is certain that Pope Innocent was far from favoring or excusing them; he would have punished them, could his voice have been

(1) Canon 27.

(2) Baldwin, brother of Raymond, had been reconciled with the Church, and fought afterwards under the banners of Montfort. Being betrayed into the hands of Raymond by the lord de l'Olme, he was given to the count of Foix to be dealt with. That nobleman, aided by some chevaliers, hung the unfortunate to a tree with his own hands.—PETER OF VAUX-CERNAY, c. 75.

heard. Such is the verdict of the impartial Du Theil, of whose erudite work we had occasion to speak in the last chapter. "Of all the ministers of the church, Pontiffs, bishops, abbots and monks, who, through mistaken piety, or imprudent zeal, or hypocritical ambition, nourished the germ, hastened the development of this bloody quarrel, directed its course, or prolonged its consequences, it is certain Pope Innocent III. had the least reason for self-reproach. . . . During the course of his Pontificate, he appears to have been always on his guard against any suggestions of worldly interest to mingle injustice with the work of the faith, especially after the ambition of Simon de Montfort had become the cause wherefore the war was so cruelly prolonged. . . . Not only the letters of the Pontiff, but history, and the original Acts, show that Innocent did not consent to a legitimatization of Montfort's conquests until the very last moment, and then he was deceived. For a long time he repelled the insinuations of the nuncio Thedius, a minister who was artful, miserly, cruel, I almost say ferocious and barbarous. Whenever Raymond could make his own voice heard, or cause his justification to reach the ears of the Pontiff, his complaints were heeded, and Innocent begged the chiefs, both lay and ecclesiastical, of the Crusade, to reconcile their fiery zeal for religion with the regards due to humanity. Vain exhortations! He could not moderate so strong an impulse. Innocent III. . . . believing, perhaps, little in the sincerity of the offers and protestations of Raymond, who had really never thoroughly abandoned the party of the innovators; or, perhaps, fearing that heresy would take firmer root, did not dare to exert an authority which, under the circumstances, might be compromised. Hence he was forced to sanction the spoliation of the unfortunate Raymond; but it must be admitted that it was in spite of himself."

Mosheim tells us that the heretics of the thirteenth century all agreed that Catholicism was a mass of superstitions, the rule of the Popes was a mere usurpation and a tyranny. Nor, he asserts, did they rest satisfied with the expression of these opinions; they refuted superstition and imposture

by arguments taken from Scripture, and they declaimed against the vices and power of the clergy with a zeal very pleasing to princes and magistrates, who were sick of the pretensions of Churchmen. (1). That the weavers, laborers, etc., of Languedoc and Provence, and their cut-throat friends of Navarre and Aragon, were not very subtle doctors of theology, or very accurate expositors of Scripture, the reader will perceive by a glance at their doctrines. Like the more modern Huguenots, their theological arguments were empty declamations, foul insults, indecent railleries, and reasonings by the strong hand; their use of a "free and open Bible" caused them to more than rival, in absurdity, iniquity, and blasphemous impurity, their spiritual ancestors, the Manicheans of St. Augustine's acquaintance. As for Mosheim's remark about the disgust felt by the civil powers at the usurpations of Churchmen, it is refuted by the prompt zeal with which these powers repressed the Albigenses, at the command of those Churchmen. Basnage and some other Protestants are desirous of establishing a spiritual descent from the Albigenses, but they forget that these gentry, without bidding farewell to their own theories, could not have signed any Lutheran, Calvinist, or Anglican profession of faith. And is there one Protestant sect ready to concur in the absurdities and blasphemies of the Albigenses?

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE TWELFTH GENERAL COUNCIL: FOURTH OF THE LATERAN.

In May of the year 1213, the sixteenth of his Pontificate, Pope Innocent III. convoked an Ecumenical Council to meet at Rome in November, 1215, to concert measures for the recovery of the Holy Land and for the reformation of Church discipline, and to condemn the heresies of the Albigenses. The Council met under the presidency of the Pontiff in the Lateran basilica, Nov. 18, 1215. There were present 491 bishops, of whom 77 were primates and metro-

(1) *Cent. XIII.*, p. ii., c. 5, § 2.

politans, and two patriarchs, those of Constantinople and Jerusalem (1), many procurators for absent prelates, and more than 800 abbots and priors. Also in attendance were the "orators" of Frederick, king of Sicily, and emperor-elect; of the emperor of Constantinople, and of the kings of France, England, Aragon, Hungary, Jerusalem, and Cyprus. (2). Pope Innocent opened the Council with a sermon on the words of Christ, "With desire I have desired to eat this pasch with you, before I suffer." (3) (Luke, xxii., 15). The following are the principal passages: "As Christ is my life, and death my gain, I do not refuse to drink from the chalice of suffering which is offered me for the defense of the Catholic faith, for the deliverance of the Holy Land, and for the liberty of the Church, although I have desired to continue in the flesh until the accomplishment of the work begun. . . . I wish to celebrate with you a triple pasch: a corporal, a spiritual, and an eternal one. A corporal one, a passage from one place to another, to deliver oppressed Jerusalem; a spiritual one, a passage from one condition of things to another, for the improvement of the universal Church; an eternal one, a passage from this life to another, to eternal glory. . . . My brothers, what ought we now to do? I defer entirely to your will; I open my heart entirely to you; I submit to your advice; I am ready, if you deem it good, to give myself all the trouble, to go to kings, princes, and peoples, even to journey to the Holy Land, and, if I can, to excite all with a loud voice to fight the battle of the Lord, to avenge the insults offered to Jesus Christ, who, because of our sins, has been expelled from His country and from the home He bought with His Blood, and in which he accomplished the means of salvation for our redemption. We priests of the Lord ought to attach a particular importance to the succoring of the Holy Land with our goods and our blood. . . . The

(1) The patriarch of Antioch sent a substitute, he being seriously ill: the Saracens prevented the patriarch of Alexandria from attending, but he sent one of his deacons.

(2) As an illustration of the ideas of the time, we notice that the prince-bishop of Liège appeared at the first session in the mantle and scarlet hat of a count; in the second, dressed in the green costume of a duke; in the third, vested as a bishop. Counting the bishops, abbots, representatives of princes, theologians, notaries, etc., the attendants at this Council numbered 2283.

(3) Eight months after, Pope Innocent died.

time has come when, as the apostle said, judgment should commence in the House of the Lord, for every corruption of the people comes principally from the clergy. When the priest, the anointed one, sins, he causes the people to sin. . . . Faith is perishing, religion is disfigured, liberty is threatened, justice is trodden under foot. Heretics are lifting their heads; also schismatics. Perjurers are venting their fury; the children of Hagar are triumphant."

One of the first acts of the Council was to condemn the errors of the Albigenes. Against their prime error, derived from the Manicheans, that there are two supreme Principles, the Council declares there is but one God, one Principle, one Creator of all things visible and invisible; the demons were created good, they became evil of their own accord; man sinned, yielding to the suggestion of the devil. Against the Albigenian error on the Eucharist, the Council teaches that "the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are truly contained in the Sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine; the bread being transubstantiated, by the divine power, into the Body, and the wine into the Blood." Against their error on Baptism, it is declared that the Sacrament avails for both infants and adults. Against the error on the use of matrimony, it is taught that virgins and the continent are not the only ones to merit eternal happiness, but that the married also, who lead a just life, please God. The Council then condemned the errors of the abbot Joachim of Flora and of Amalricus. (1).

But the principal object of the Council was to concert measures for a general Crusade. Hence Innocent ordered that, on the 1st June following, all Crusaders who wished to go by sea should be at Brindisi or Messina, ready to embark; those who preferred the land route should march, accompanied by a Papal legate, on the same day. Orders were

(1) Joachim introduced a quaternity in the Trinity, holding that the divine essence was something distinct from the three Persons. He was not, however, a heretic, for some time before his death he expressly submitted all his opinions to the judgment of the Church, and he died fifteen years before the Twelfth Council was held. The Council plainly recognizes the good dispositions of Joachim in its decree against his doctrine.—Amalricus, a clerk of Chartres, taught that no one could be saved who did not believe himself to be a member of Christ. His disciples added that the law of Christ, with its Sacraments, etc., had ceased, and that with themselves commenced the reign of the Holy Ghost; God was good, but they said nothing of His justice: all kinds of crime were consistent with charity.

given to all the bishops and priests who would accompany the troops to persevere in prayer and in preaching, to insist upon penance for all sin, to practise and inculcate modesty in dress, frugality, and abstemiousness. "In order that nothing may be neglected," said the Pontiff, "in this work of Jesus Christ, we command all the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and pastors of souls, to preach seriously the word of the Cross to those who are confided to their care, and to conjure, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the one and only true and eternal God, all the kings, dukes, princes, marquises, counts, barons, and other nobles, the citizens of all cities, towns, and villages, that those who themselves cannot depart will equip a proper number of warriors, and furnish them with necessaries for three years; and all this for the remission of their sins. All who will donate ships, or construct them, for this object, will share in the pardon. If there is any one so ungrateful to the Lord our God, as to refuse all contribution, announce to him, in the apostolic name, that one day he will render an account before the tribunal of the severe Judge . . . In all the churches, the faithful will pray the Lord of armies to grant prosperity to the Crusaders, and success to their great task." And that it might not be said that the Pope himself did nothing, Innocent pledged himself to restrict his expenses to the smallest amount, to give at once 30,000 livres, and a ship for the Roman contingent. All clergymen were obliged, for three years, to give to the cause a twentieth of their revenues; the cardinals to contribute one tenth. Proper provision was made for the families and properties of all Crusaders, and all interest on money loaned to them was forbidden.

The affairs of the empire also occupied the attention of the Council. Misfortune had made Otho more docile, and he had already tried to be reconciled with the Church. The Milanese sent a deputy to the Council to plead his cause, while the marquis of Monferrato spoke for Frederick. The marquis declared that no regard should be extended to Otho, who had violated his oath of fidelity to the Roman See, and had not given up the states stolen from it; at that

very moment, he was upholding an excommunicated bishop, and was keeping another prelate in prison; he had styled Frederick, "the priests' king," had destroyed a convent, and converted another into a fortress. The factions broke into mutual insults; therefore Innocent rose from the throne, and left the basilica. Then the Council confirmed the election of Frederick as king of Germany.

The mind of the Council was also directed to the late events in England. Deputies were present to plead the cause of John's revolted barons, but they were told that, being excommunicated, they could not be heard. (1). Louis, son of Philip I., to whom the barons had offered the English crown, and who was preparing to seize it, was excommunicated. The fathers also considered the case of Raymond of Toulouse. Accompanied by the counts of Foix and Comminges, count Raymond and his son appeared before the Pontiff, and threw themselves on their knees. Innocent kindly bade them arise, and then they formulated their complaints against Simon de Montfort, who, despite their submission to the Papal legates, had despoiled them of their dominions. These complaints, re-echoed by Foix and Comminges, showed Innocent that his legates in Provence had deceived him. A few prelates spoke warmly in favor of the counts, but Foulques of Toulouse denounced them, especially the count of Foix, with greater warmth. After many recriminations, the disputants were checked by the Pope, who said that, as the four counts had promised lasting obedience to the Church, it would be unjust to deprive them of their principalities. The French prelates did not welcome this remark, but a chanter of the cathedral of Lyons

(1) Some time before the meeting of the Twelfth Council, Pope Innocent had condemned the action of the English barons in revolting against a vassal of the Holy See. They ought, he said, not to have made themselves judges in the matter at issue. England had become a fief of the Holy See, and, even though the king had the will, he could not give away the rights of his crown without the consent of the suzerain. Innocent therefore concluded that he ought to annul the concessions made by John, as having been obtained in contempt of the Holy See, and to the impediment of the great design of the time, the Crusade. Writing to the barons, the Pope stated his reasons, and exhorted them to lay their claims before the Council about to meet at Rome, promising that he would look to the abolition of all grievances, and that the clergy and people would be confirmed in their ancient liberties. But the barons persisted, and they were strengthened by the active sympathy of archbishop Langton. The Pontiff ordered this prelate to excommunicate the refractory nobles, and on his refusal to do so, he was suspended. Langton attended the Twelfth Council, but he could not obtain from the Pontiff the restoration of his episcopal faculties, and only escaped deposition by promising not to return to England until the troubles were settled. MATTHEW of Paris; ALBERICUS; Anonymous Continuator of ROGER of Hoveden.

arose and said : " Yes, Holy Father, count Raymond has unhesitatingly given up his fortresses to your legate ; he has been one of the first to take the Cross ; since the siege of Carcassonne, he has fought for the Church against his own nephew, the count of Béziers. If you do not give him his domains, it will be a shame for you and the Church. As for you, bishop of Toulouse, you love neither your prince nor your people. You have kindled a fire in Toulouse which no one can extinguish. By your fault, ten thousand men have been killed : shall more perish ? You do not consider the Apostolic See. Is it right, Holy Father, that so many persons should be sacrificed to one man's hatred ? " The Pontiff then protested that he himself had never commanded the spoliation of Raymond. The bishop of Agde arose and defended Simon, who, he said, had spent himself, day and night, for so long a time, in the service of the Church. Innocent then declared that " he was forced to admit that he had received several complaints against Simon and the legates. But, even though the count of Toulouse were culpable, the son ought not therefore to be punished. Many of the French bishops then threatened that, if Montfort's conquests were taken from him, they would combine to restore them. But the friend of St. Dominick, the holy bishop of Osma, whom we have seen a bare-footed missionary among the Albigenses, took the part of the young Raymond. Innocent then said : " Rest easy regarding the young count ; if Montfort keeps his principality, I will give him another, providing he remains faithful to God and the Church." (1).

The Canons of the Twelfth Council are seventy in number. It has been asserted by some authors, following the footsteps of the apostate De Dominis of Spalato, and of

(1) After the dissolution of the Council, young Raymond remained forty days in Rome. When he went to bid farewell to Innocent, the Pontiff seated him beside himself, and taking him by the hand, said : " My dear son, if you follow my counsels, you will not err. Love God above all else, and serve him faithfully. Never extend your hand to another's domains, but defend your own against all comers. That you may not be without principalities, I give you the Venaissin, Beaucaire, and Provence ; with these, you can live conformably to your rank. If we have another Council, your complaints against Montfort will be heeded." The count replied, " Holy Father, be not angry if I retake my states from the count of Montfort and others who hold them." The Pope answered : " Whatever you do, may God give you grace to commence it well, and to finish it even better." Innocent then blessed him, and handed him the diplomas which guaranteed him the above provinces. —*Chronicles*.

John Barclay (1), that these Canons were not the work of the Council, but were issued by Pope Innocent III., without the assent of the Fathers. Thus Mosheim says: "In this Council, without asking the opinion of any one, Innocent promulgated seventy laws, by which he increased the Pontifical power and the dignity of the priesthood, and introduced several new dogmas, or, as they are commonly called, articles of faith." (2). Barclay even tries to show, from certain expressions in the Conciliary decrees, that these seventy Canons were introduced after the dissolution of the assembly. The following arguments are used by Alexandre (3) in refutation of this assertion. All writers of any name, who have treated of these decrees, have spoken of them as the work of an Ecumenical Council; this is especially true of the decrees on Transubstantiation, on the errors of Joachim, and on the Paschal Communion (at all of which Mosheim aims, as "new articles of faith"). In the Gregorian Collection of Decretals, these Canons are inserted as "by Innocent III., in General Council." Clement V., in diploma abrogating the decretal *Clericis Laicos* of Boniface VIII., ordered that all the decrees of the Lateran Council concerning customs-duties, tributes, etc., should be held inviolate; this action regards the Canon 46 of our Council. (4). In the *Defense of the Liberty of the French Church*, presented to king Louis XI. by the Parisian Parliament, article 33 speaks of the Canons 23 and 24 as edited "by the Council of Lateran, convoked at Rome by Innocent III." Even the Centuriators of Magdeburg, who would let no occasion pass without attacking an argument for Transubstantiation and Sacramental Confession, cast no doubt upon the Conciliary authorship of these Canons (5). But Barclay objects certain expressions of the Council, such as that in chap. 15: "It is known that it was forbidden in the Lateran Council to, etc.," which cannot, he says,

(1) John Barclay was the son of William, a Scotch jurist, and professor of law at Angers. Among other works, William wrote one on *The Power of the Pope*, which John afterwards edited, in opposition to the fifth book of Bellarmine's treatise on *The Roman Pontiff*. John Barclay died in Rome, in 1621.

(2) *Cent. XIII.*, p. II., c. 3, § 2.

(3) *Cent. XIII.*, diss. 1. art. 2.

(4) This decree of Clement V. is in *Clementines*, B. 3, tit. *Immunity of Churches*, cap. *Quoniam*.

(5) *Cent. XIII.*, c. 3.

have been said by the Council itself. Again, says Barclay, these Canons are not found in the old Collections, they were unknown until John Cochlée gave them to the world, in 1537. (1). But Barclay seems to have forgotten that the Fourth Lateran Council confirmed and re-issued many decrees of the Third Lateran, held under Alexander III. Thus, the 11th, concerning schoolmasters in every cathedral church, refers to the 18th of the Third Lateran; the 33d, on manner of Visitations, refers to the 4th of the same Council; the 29th, on Restitutions, refers to the previous Council's 13th; the 61st, concerning Regulars, refers to its 9th Canon. Therefore the words cited by Barclay refer to the Third Lateran, and not to the Fourth. As for Barclay's remark about Cochlée, it does not follow, because this critic had the Canons in question inserted in the Collection, that they were not edited by the Fourth Lateran, for they were found in the ancient MS. Codex, and in the Gregorian and Clementine Decretals.

We shall now give the principal Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council, making such comments as may appear necessary. The *First* and *Second* refer to the errors of Joachim and Amalricus. (2). The *Third* decrees excommunication and temporal penalties against heretics; also establishes penalties against such lords as do not purge their territories of heresy, excommunicating these lords, and decreeing that, after a year's obstinacy, the Pontiff shall free their vassals from the oath of allegiance. Those who condemn the temporal punishment of heretics in all circumstances would do well to read the opinions of St. Augustine on the matter. (3). The *Fifth* renews the ancient privileges of the patriarchal sees, and decrees that "After the Roman Church, which, as mother and mistress of all the faithful of Christ, has, by the Lord's disposition, the principality of ordinary power over all others, the church of Constantinople shall have the first place, that of Alexandria the second, that of

(1) See the Epistle of Cochlée in the edition of the *Councils* by the Franciscan, Peter Crabbe; Cologne, 1538.

(2) They are inserted in *Decretals*, B. I., cap. *Firmiter*, and cap. *Damnamus*, tit. *De Summa Trinitate* and *Fide Catholica*.

(3) Against the Epistle of Parmenian, B. I., c. 7; Against Gaudentius, B. I., c. 25; Epistle 33 (48) to Vincent; Epistle 186 (50) to Count Boniface. The Third Canon is inserted in the Gregorian Collection, B. v., tit. *Hereticis*, cap. *Excommunicamus*.

Antioch the third, that of Jerusalem the fourth." After the patriarchs have sworn obedience to the Pope, and have received the pallium from him, they may confer it upon their metropolitans. They may also have a cross borne before them, unless the Pontiff or his legates are present. They may receive appeals from their own provinces, "saving appeals to the Apostolic See." (1). The *Eighth* prescribes the course of proceeding in an "Inquisition." There must be accusation, denunciation, and inquiry. Before a person can be denounced as a heretic, he must have been fraternally admonished; before an inquiry, there must be notoriety in his crime. The inquiry must be made in presence of the accused, unless he is contumacious; the charge and names of the witnesses must be communicated to him, and his exceptions noted. (2). The *Ninth* orders that, when more than one rite (such as Latin and Greek, Greek and Slavonic, Greek and Armenian, Armenian and Coptic) are co-existent in a diocese, as occurs to this day, there shall be only one diocesan, but he may appoint another bishop to act as his vicar in administering the affairs of his particular rite. (3). The *Eleventh* orders the observation of the Third Lateran Canon regarding schoolmasters in every cathedral church, and adds that the same rule be extended to all churches where the revenue can afford it. (4). The *Thirteenth* prohibits the institution of new Religious Orders, and decrees that no monk shall belong to more than one monastery, or no abbot govern more than one. (5). The *Twentieth* orders that the Eucharist and Chrism be kept under lock and key; if he whose duty this is, neglects it, he shall be suspended for three months. (6). The *Twenty-first* reads as follows: "All the faithful of both sexes, when they have reached the age of discretion, shall, at least once a year, confess their sins privately (*solus*) to their own priest, and shall perform the enjoined penance as well as they can (*pro viribus*); reverent-

(1) *Decretals*, tit. *Privilegiis*.

(2) *Ibid.*, B. v., cap. *Qualiter*, tit. *Accusationibus*.

(3) *Ibid.*, cap. *Quoniam*, tit. *Officio Judicis Ordinarii*.

(4) *Ibid.*, cap. *Quia Nonnullis*, tit. *Magistris*. It also decrees that in every metropolitan church there be instituted a Theologian, whose duty it will be to instruct the clergy in what pertains to the care of souls. He must receive a canon's revenue, but will not necessarily be a canon.

(5) *Ibid.*, cap. *Ne nimia*, tit. *Rel. Domibus*.

(6) *Ibid.*, cap. *Statuimus*.

ly receiving, at least at the Paschal time, the Sacrament of the Eucharist, unless perchance, by advice of their own priest, it be deemed proper, for a reasonable cause, that they should abstain for a time from its reception; otherwise, they shall be debarred from entrance to a church, while living, and shall not receive Christian burial, when dead." If a priest should violate the sacramental seal, he is to be deposed, and for life confined in a monastery of the strictest observance. (1). In reference to the above decrees, as well as to the decree on the Eucharist, given against the Albigenses, Mosheim says (2): "Although as yet there was more than one opinion about the manner of Christ's presence in the Holy Supper, and the manner of belief had been defined by no clear and evident law, Innocent pronounced as alone true that opinion which is now held by the Roman Church, and introduced the hitherto unknown word *Transubstantiation*. He then prescribed the belief that it was ordained by divine law that every one should confess and enumerate his sins to a priest, which doctrine had hitherto been, not the public belief of the Church, but only an opinion of certain doctors. Down to this time, although confession of sins was deemed necessary, each one had been free to confess them either to God alone, and in his own mind, or to a priest, with the tongue. Both of these dogmas, being now received as divine, according to the command of Innocent, gave rise to many institutions unknown to the sacred books and to the first Christian age, and which were more apt to encourage, than to obviate, superstition." It is the province of the dogmatic theologian to prove that both the Eucharistic doctrine and that of Sacramental auricular Confession are of divine institution, but if the reader will refer to our chapters on "Canonical Penance," and on the "Eucharistic Faith in the Tenth Century," he will see how false is Mosheim's assertion that auricular confession and the doctrine of Transubstantiation were introduced by Pope Innocent III.

(1) *Ibid.*, cap. *Omnis utriusque sexus*, tit. *Pœnitentiis*. The eccentric Launoy, in a book explanatory of *The Tradition of the Church on the Canon "Omnis Utriusque Sexus,"* contended that by the words "to their own priest," the faithful were obliged to confess, for the Paschal Communion, to their parish-priest. For a refutation of this opinion, see Alexandre's *Diss.* iv., *Cent.* xiii.

(2) *Loc. cit.*

The *Forty-first* Canon declares that no prescription is valid, in either ecclesiastical or civil matters, in which good faith is wanting. (1). The *Forty-seventh* prohibits the launching of an excommunication without previous admonition. (2). The *Fiftieth* restricts the prohibited decrees of matrimony to the first of affinity and the fourth of consanguinity, (3), but by the *Fifty-second* Canon, hear-say testimony cannot be received as evidence of the existence of these impediments. The *Fifty-first* prohibits clandestine marriage, and declares its fruit illegitimate. The pastor who does not forbid any nuptials within the prohibited degrees is suspended from his office for three years. The *Sixty-second* forbids the veneration of any relics of saints, unless they have been approved by the Roman Pontiff. (4). The *Sixty-third* prohibits a bishop from receiving any money for a consecration, ordination, or benediction. (5).

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CAUSE OF FREDERICK II. AND THE THIRTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL.

Pope Innocent III. having died at Perugia, on July 16th, (or 17th), 1216, the cardinals, on the following day, raised to the Papacy the cardinal Cenci, Camerlingo of the Roman Church, and priest of the title of SS. John and Paul. Nothing was nearer the heart of Honorius III. than the conquest of the Holy Land, and he was deeply pained when the delay of Frederick II. to join the Crusaders, as he had promised Innocent to do, entailed the destruction of the Christian fleet and the capture of Damietta (1219) by the Saracens. Nevertheless, the Pontiff crowned Frederick as emperor, in 1220, and received his oath to depart with an army for Palestine. (6). Honorius, true to the traditions of

(1) *Decretals*, cap. *Quoniam omne*, tit. *Præscriptionibus*.

(2) *Ibid.*, cap. *Sacro*, tit. *Sententia Excommunicationis*.

(3) *Ibid.*, cap. *Non debet*, tit. *De Consanguinitate*.

(4) *Ibid.*, cap. *Cum ex eo*, tit. *De Reliquiis*.

(5) *Ibid.*, cap. *Sicut*, tit. *Simonia*.

(6) After his coronation, Frederick made many wise laws for the liberty of the Church etc., which are found in Goldastus' *Imperial Constitutions*, but they were not long enforced. He also promised to restore the legacy of the countess Matilda to the Holy See.

the Papacy not to allow Italy to be entirely absorbed by the empire, and for which principle his predecessor had so strenuously combated, exacted from Frederick, before his coronation, an oath to cede the two Sicilies to his son Henry, born of his union with Constance of Aragon; he also required an acknowledgment that the new king would be solely and entirely a vassal to the Holy See. Frederick promised all that was required; but he soon showed that he was more intent upon crushing the Italian Guelphs, who would not submit to his supreme will, than he was upon the conquest of Palestine. The Guelphs were now dominant in Northern Italy; allied against the emperor were Milan, Brescia, Padua, Mantua, Vercelli, Alessandria, Vicenza, Treviso, Bologna, and the powerful marquis of Monferato. Opposed to this league were the count of Savoy, and the Ghibelline cities of Pavia, Cremona, Genoa, Modena, Reggio, and Asti. The war might have gone on indefinitely, but as Frederick made it a pretext for delaying his departure for the Crusade, Pope Honorius bent his energies to terminate it. A peace advantageous to both parties was concluded, but still Frederick delayed to embark for the Crusade. In the year 1227, Pope Honorius III. died, and was succeeded by the cardinal Ugolino dei Segni, bishop of Ostia, as Gregory IX. The new Pontiff found Frederick immersed in voluptuousness, but he continually tried to excite him to military and religious zeal. Now the emperor alleged in excuse his weak health, and then he could not undertake the necessary extensive preparations. He was also occupied, he said, with his honeymoon festivities, he having just been married to Iolande, daughter of John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem. But at length he yielded, not so much, probably, because of the Pontiff's threat of excommunication, as because of a hope that he might obtain for himself a new kingdom by means of his wife's precarious rights. At Brindisi there awaited his arrival a large number of Crusaders from France, Italy, England, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden; but before he was ready to start, a plague broke out in the army, and the Landgrave of Thuringia and the greater part of the Crusa-

ders perished. Frederick's delay in the midst of the summer's heat was regarded as the cause of the calamity, and the Christian fleet had scarcely set sail, when the Pope launched an excommunication against him. Gregory IX. himself tells us the reasons for the sentence. First, Frederick had violated his oath to lead a certain number of troops to Palestine, and to contribute a sum of money to the Crusade; second, he had deposed the archbishop of Tarento; third, he had despoiled the Knights Templars; fourth, he had broken his treaty with Raynald of Aversa; fifth, he had robbed of his domains the Crusader, count Roger, who was under the protection of the Holy See, and had kept the son of the count in prison, in spite of the Pontifical protests. (1). Every place where the emperor would reside, was interdicted. The Pontiff gave the kingdom of Sicily to Frederick's father-in-law, John of Brienne, and that prince, having heard a rumor that Frederick had died, promptly accepted. In the meantime, Frederick had arrived in Syria, where he heard of the Pontifical action. He immediately made peace with the Sultan of Damascus, and returned to Italy; his army was too powerful for John of Brienne, and in a short time he recovered his Sicilian dominions. Gregory now issued another decree, freeing all of Frederick's subjects from their obligation of fidelity, whereupon the monarch made overtures of peace. Before the Papal legates he swore to obey the Pontifical mandates, and he was restored to communion. He now began to nourish vast projects; his son Henry managed affairs in Germany, and he was free to give all his attention to Italy. Master of Sicily and of all the southern part of the peninsula; influential in, though only titular sovereign of Tuscany; sustained by the Ghibelline cities, he would be sovereign of Italy, if he could crush the Guelph League of Lombardy. With this object he commenced, in 1236, a war upon the League, at the head of an army of Germans and Saracens (2), aided by troops from the Ghibelline cities, and even by Venice and Genoa, eager to take what appeared to be the

(1) *Epistle to the Bishops of Apulia*, B. I., no. 180.

(2) His Saracens came from Nocera, a settlement he had given them in the Puglia. This place was afterwards called *Nocera de' Pagani*.

safer side. In the year 1239 Pope Gregory again excommunicated Frederick and freed his subjects from their allegiance, "for so long a time as he persisted in his excommunicated condition." The Pontiff also offered the empire to Robert, brother of St. Louis of France, but the French barons objected to his accepting it. To revenge himself, Frederick commenced a violent persecution of the clergy on both sides of the Alps; despoiling the seculars, expelling religious from their monasteries, and imposing heavy tributes on all the churches. He also excited rebellion in Rome. In 1241, Gregory IX. died, and was succeeded by the cardinal Godfrey Castiglione, as Celestine IX; but in seventeen days he also died, and the cardinal Sinibaldo Fieschi, of the title of St. Laurence in Lucina, mounted the throne as Innocent IV. Frederick immediately sent an embassy to the new Pontiff, signifying his desire for reconciliation. The Pontiff sent legates to the emperor, offering to convoke a Council, as Frederick had often desired it, and saying that "if the Church has in any way, outside of her duty, injured the emperor, she is ready to make reparation . . . and to revoke her sentence, and to receive from him, with as much kindness and gentleness as the honor of God and of the Church will permit, satisfaction for the injuries she and her own have received. (1). On the feast of Holy Thursday, 1244. Frederick sent three ambassadors to Innocent, to draw up final conditions of peace. According to Matthew of Paris, the following conditions were accepted. 1st, Frederick would restore all territories taken from the Holy See and its allies. 2d. He would write to all Christian princes, saying that he had not spurned the authority of the Church or the sentence of Gregory IX., but as the latter had not been formally announced to him, he had been advised by his prelates and princes to ignore it; however, he recognized the full spiritual power of the Pontiff over all princes, clerics, and laymen. 3d. He would do penance, by fasting, alms-giving, etc., for his crimes, and, until his absolution, would respect the decree of excommunication, 4th, He would free all

(1) *Epistle 84, B. i.*

imprisoned bishops, and would obey the mandates of the Pope, saving the rights of the empire. 5th, He would revoke all edicts against the allies of the Holy See, would restore all prisoners, and would recall all exiles. However, Frederick soon repented of his acceptance of these conditions, and openly refused to observe them. Pope Innocent, deeming himself insecure in Rome, where the gold of the emperor excited frequent seditions, secretly withdrew from the city, and embarking in a Genoese squadron, proceeded to France. Here he immediately signified his intention of holding a General Council, to consider the state of the Holy Land and of the empire. The customary letters were despatched, the Council being ordered to meet on the Monday following, feast of St. John the Baptist, 1245, in the city of Lyons.

The Thirteenth General Council (First of Lyons) met in the monastery of St. Just, under the presidency of Pope Innocent IV. Besides the cardinals, there were present the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Aquileia, and 140 bishops. In attendance were also the emperor Baldwin of Constantinople, the count of Toulouse, Thaddeus de Suessa (procurator of Frederick) and the orators of the king of France, St. Louis, of king Henry III. of England, and other Christian princes. In an eloquent sermon on the text: "O all ye that pass by the way, attend, and see if there be any sorrow like to my sorrow!" (*Lam. i.*, 12.), Innocent laid open the objects of the Council, comparing the five troubles of the Church with the five wounds of our Lord. The Fathers were to consider, I. the aggressions of the Mohammedans in Christian lands. II. The Greek Schism. III. The prevailing heresies. IV. The rumored capture of Jerusalem by the Saracens. V. The crimes of Frederick II. When the business of the Council commenced, the imperial procurator, Thaddeus de Suessa, an eloquent lawyer, arose and vehemently perorated his master's cause. If Frederick were absolved, he said, he would at once compel the schismatics of the East to obey the Pontiff; he would attack the Saracens, Tartars, etc., with an army equipped at his own expense; he would restore to the

Roman Church all its lost territories, and would indemnify it for all the expense to which he had put it. The Pontiff remembered the value of Frederick's promises and answered that there was but one way for that prince to be reconciled to the Church, namely, to fulfil his already sworn agreements. Thaddeus then offered the kings of France and England as security for his master, but in vain. In the next session, the Pontiff recapitulated the crimes of Frederick. Besides those of heresy and sacrilege, he had given territories in a Christian land to Mohammedan colonists (1); he had made treaties of friendship with the sultan of Babylon and other Mohammedan princes; he had held impure relations with Saracen women; he had been guilty of perjury; he had imprisoned bishops. Among other excuses which Thaddeus made for Frederick, he said that Saracens had been introduced into the Sicilies to punish rebellion; the emperor had held no carnal intercourse with Saracen women, but had simply enjoyed their play, dances, etc.; at any rate, Frederick ought not to be condemned of heresy, before he made his profession of faith, and the orator demanded a delay of proceeding, that he might communicate with his master. A delay of two weeks was then granted, but when the Council again met, Frederick refused to appear, and Thaddeus, in his name, appealed from the present "to a *more general* Council." In answer to this appeal, Innocent replied, "it is your lord's fault that more bishops are not here; hence it is not right to defer sentence, for no one should profit by his own fraud." In the next Session, having recited the crimes of Frederick, the Pontiff issued the following sentence: We forever absolve from their oath all who are bound by an oath of allegiance to him; prohibiting, by our Apostolic authority, all from obeying him or regarding him as emperor; and decreeing that all incur excommunication, by the very fact, who shall hereafter extend to him, as emperor or as king, any counsel, aid, or favor. Let those to whom the election of an emperor belongs, proceed freely to elect one. As to the kingdom of Sicily, we will take care to

(1) The Saracens of the Puglia.

provide for it as, with the counsel of our brethren, may seem proper."

In commenting upon this sentence of deposition, Alexandre admits that Pope Innocent "justly deprived Frederick of the kingdom of Sicily, because he held it as a fief of the Roman Church, and especially because he abused his power to the detriment of that Church, and did not pay the accustomed tribute. But the case of the empire was different, for the empire was not subject to the Roman Church," and such is the opinion expressed by all imperialist and Gallican writers. In our chapter on the "Deposing Power of the Roman Pontiff," we have seen that the public law of the time subjected the emperor as well as other sovereigns to the judgment of the Pontiff, in all pertaining to his tenure of power, when religion suffered; but here we would remark that, if Pope Innocent IV. exceeded his duty and his rights in the matter of Frederick II., it is strange that his action received the approbation of a General Council. If, as Alexandre and other writers hold, the deposing power of the Pope is opposed by both Scripture and Tradition, how comes it that the assembled wisdom and sanctity of Europe, in the presence, too, of the representatives of the principal sovereigns, did not check the usurpation? But, reply the courtier-theologians, the sentence of deposition was issued, not by the Council, but by Innocent; not "the Sacred Council approving," but "the Sacred Council being present." This answer does not relieve the Council of the burden of responsibility which imperialists would place upon it; by its acquiescence, the Council shouldered that burden. We pass by the remark of Roncaglia (1) that "a change was made in the above title by a fault of the transcribers, as often happened," for even though that phrase should remain, there is abundant proof that the Council approved of the deposition of Frederick II. The Franciscan Nicholas de Curbio, confessor to Innocent IV., and an eye-witness of what he narrates, says (2): "This sentence was approved by all the prelates present in the same Council, as is made evident to present and future times by

(1) Note, § IV., to Alexandre's *Diss.* 2, in *Cent.* XI.

(2) *Life of Innocent IV.*, c. 14.

their signatures and seals appended." Matthew of Paris says: "Therefore, the lord Pope and the attending bishops, with lighted candles, fulminated terribly against the said emperor Frederick, who is now no longer to be called emperor. . . . When master Thaddæus heard of these things, he drew deep sighs, and said: 'I well know there is no help for it,' and weeping and groaning, he added: 'Truly, this is a day of wrath,' as he had before said when, in full Council, the bishops lowered and extinguished the lighted candles, deposing the excommunicated emperor Frederick."

(1). And the approbation of the Council is plainly indicated by these words of the sentence of deposition: "Having first carefully deliberated with our brethren, and with the Sacred Council, upon the aforesaid and many other detestable crimes, we show and denounce the said prince as deprived by the Lord of all honor and dignity, and by our sentence we do deprive him."

After the deposition of Frederick, the Council issued several Constitutions looking to the aid of the Latin empire of Constantinople, and to the success of the Crusades. It also received ambassadors from King Henry III. of England, complaining of extortions on the part of Martin, the Papal legate, and of other abuses. The Pontiff took the papers, and reserved his decision. After the dissolution of the Council, Pope Innocent influenced some of the imperial electors to proceed to an election, and Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, was chosen emperor. With the funds of the Church the Pope enabled Henry to equip his followers, and they all took the Cross as against a heretic. All the territories which obeyed Frederick were laid under an interdict, and legates were sent into Germany to compel, by Apostolic censures, the recognition of Henry. The opposing armies met, finally, near Frankfort, and the forces of Frederick, commanded by his son Conrad, were routed. But Henry died soon after, in 1247. William, count of Holland, was now elected, and the following year he cap-

(1) Matthew of Paris was an intense and blinded courtier, whose zeal for the court made him often show the utmost virulence towards the Pontiffs. Had the Thirteenth Council not approved of Frederick's deposition, he would have made a point of its opposition. To the above testimonies may also be added those of William de Nangis, Henry Knyghton, and the Monk of Padua, in their *Chronicles*.

tured Aix-la-Chapelle, and was there crowned by Innocent IV. In the meantime, Frederick was making preparations for an inroad into France, for the purpose of capturing Innocent, when disastrous news from Italy caused him to proceed at once to that country. For years the struggle between the imperialists and the Guelphs had been progressing with alternate fortune. Of all the Ghibelline cities, Parma had been for some time the most influential, but it happened that, in a moment of frenzy, the imperialists expelled all the Guelphs from the city. The exiles kept up communications with certain partisans within the walls, and one day they suddenly appeared in force. The imperial vicar, Testa of Arezzo, marched out to give them battle, but was defeated and killed. The conquerors occupied the city; in their turn, they expelled all the Ghibellines, and taking the citadel by storm, put the German garrison to the sword. The furious Frederick soon arrived, swearing that he would treat Parma as the Red-beard had treated Milan. In the immense army with which he surrounded the city were a large number of his favorite Saracens. This circumstance added to the determination of the Parmegiani, who believed that he had become a Mohammedan. The siege endured for two years, with constant assaults and sorties. Confident that famine, if not military success, would eventually enable him to sweep Parma from the face of the earth, Frederick had already commenced the erection of a new city, to be called Vittoria, which was to take its place, and shelter his partisans; the vast citadel was already finished, and famine was commencing its work in Parma, when one morning at daybreak the garrison made a sortie, assaulted and destroyed the citadel, and put the imperial army to flight. With difficulty Frederick reached Cremona, having left all his provisions of war and his military chest on the field. The Guelphs now everywhere arising, Frederick betook himself with the wreck of his army into the Puglia. He soon sent legates to Pope Innocent, begging for absolution, and promising to obey the Holy See in everything; especially, to depart at once for Palestine, with all the forces he could

raise, in company with St. Louis, then preparing to march. But experience caused the Pontiff to wait, and in 1250 death laid his hand on Frederick, at Firenzola, in the Puglia. According to Ptolemy of Lucca, Martin the Pole, Villani, St. Antonine, and Cuspinian, he was assassinated by his illegitimate son, Manfred, while on a bed of sickness. That he died impenitent, is asserted by his contemporaries, the Monk of Padua, Martin the Pole, and Recordano Malaspina, as also by the later authors, St. Antonine and Villani. However, William of Puy Laurens, Albert Stadensis, and Matthew of Paris, contemporaries, say he repented, and was absolved by the archbishop of Palermo.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE FOURTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL : SECOND OF LYONS.

After the death of Pope Clement IV., in 1268, the Holy See remained vacant, owing to the private ambitions and political discords of the cardinals, until the fall of 1271, when Tabaldo Visconti of Piacenza was elected as Gregory X. Tabaldo had been known as a man of extraordinary prudence and probity, although not very learned. He was not a member of the Sacred College, nor was he even a bishop. When elected to the Papal throne, he was archdeacon of Liége, and was with the Crusaders in Syria. He arrived in Rome in April, 1272, and was immediately consecrated and crowned. Pope Gregory X. found the empire vacant. After the death of William of Holland, the archbishops of Cologne and Mentz and the Palatine had chosen, in 1256, Richard, brother of Henry III. of England, as emperor; while the remaining electors, the archbishop of Treves, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the king of Bohemia, had elected Alphonse, king of Castile. Richard had been crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, on December 28th, in the presence of most of the princes of the empire (1), but his power was never more than nom-

(1) RYMER, I., 622. *Annals Burt.*, 376. *Ancient Laws*, 26.

inal, and he spent most of his time in England, where he died in March, 1272. Alphonse had vainly besought the Popes Alexander IV., Urban IV., and Clement IV., for recognition, and immediately after his own elevation to the Papacy, Gregory X. compelled him, by a threat of excommunication, to abdicate his claims. The Pontiff then convoked the electoral body, and by his influence, Rudolph, count of Hapsburg, was chosen as king of the Romans, Oct., 1273. However, Gregory did not confirm the election of Rudolph until he had sworn to respect all the rights of the Roman Church, and that the kingdom of Sicily should never be subject to the empire. (1). On the death of Frederick II., his natural son and probably his murderer, Manfred, had usurped the Sicilian dominions, but in 1265 Pope Clement IV. offered the crown to Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis of France, and this prince came to Rome, and was solemnly crowned king of Naples and Sicily, in 1266. After the final defeat and death of Manfred, Charles intrigued so successfully to extend his authority, or at least his influence, that Genoa and many other cities of Northern Italy, tired of civil discord, acknowledged his suzerainty. It was the ambition of this prince, plainly directed towards the mastership of all Italy, that furnished Pope Gregory X. with a powerful motive in reviving the dormant imperial dignity in the person of Rudolph.

From his accession to the Papal throne, Pope Gregory X. assigned himself three great tasks, each of which was well worthy of the attention of a Supreme Pontiff: the establishment of concord among all Christian people, and particularly among the Italians; the liberation of the Holy Land, again fallen into the hands of the infidels; and above all, the extinction of the Greek Schism, which had been somewhat weakened by the ephemeral Latin empire of Constantinople, but which had recovered its olden force, after the recapture of the city, in 1261, by Alexius Stratego-

(1) Rudolph afterwards solemnly renounced all claims to suzerainty over Bologna, and the whole Romagna, as well as all right to Florence and Lucca. See Blondus, Platina, Sabellicus, Trithemius, and Cuspinian. The founder of the House of Hapsburg was a prince of moderate possessions, but was warlike, just, and above all, pious; and although some of his line preferred to imitate the Hohenstaufen rather than their glorious progenitor, they have furnished the empire with its most respectable princes. Stero and Eberhard, contemporaries of Rudolph, give us many proofs of his piety and wisdom. See also the *Chronicle* of the Dominicans of Colmar, and the *Affairs of Mentz*, of Serarius, B. 5.

polus, Cæsar under the emperor Michael Paleologus. The union of the churches had been the object of strenuous exertions on the part of Popes Urban IV. and Clement IV., nor was the new emperor personally averse to it. He was rather favorable to it, for he regarded it as the best means of securing the Byzantine throne to himself and his posterity. The heirs of Baldwin II. had the sympathy of the Western princes, but if Michael could bring about an extinction of the Schism, these heirs would be deprived of a powerful weapon. Whether or not Michael was impelled rather by this motive than by a true zeal for unity and a conscientious respect for the rights of the Supreme Pontificate, it was the duty of the Pontiff to avail himself of all legitimate means to extinguish the Schism; and when Michael sent to Rome a Franciscan friar as legate, to negotiate a union, and when he besought St. Louis of France to act as an "arbiter" in the cause (1), Pope Gregory X. sent legates to Constantinople, in 1272, notifying the emperor that a General Council would be held in two years' time, and inviting him to be personally present, or to send his orators to represent him. Four Franciscans friars carried to Michael a *Profession of Faith*, to which the emperor, patriarch, bishops, and priests would be obliged to subscribe. The legates also bore letters of invitation to the Council, directed to the patriarch Joseph and the Greek bishops. The Fourteenth General Council met at Lyons, in the church of St. John, on May 7, 1274. Pope Gregory X. presided in person. (2). There were present the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, 500 bishops, 70 abbots, and about 1000 inferior prelates. In attendance also were the orators of the kings of France, England, Germany, and Sicily; and the legates of the emperor Mi-

(1) St. Louis replied that he could not usurp a right of judging in a cause of faith, but that he would use all his influence with the Apostolic See to bring the affair to a happy issue. So testifies the Pontiff in a letter to Michael, dated 9 Kal. Nov., 1274.

(2) Pope Sixtus IV., in the Bull of Canonization of St. Buonaventura, and Pope Sixtus V., in the Bull numbering that saint among the Doctors of the Church, say that he presided at the Council. But this is to be understood as referring to the private discussions of the Fathers, over which the holy cardinal, on account of his learning, was chosen by the Pontiff to preside. In the presence of the Pontiff, no one else could hold the first place in the public and official Sessions. During the fifth Session, St. Buonaventura died. This holy doctor was preceded to the grave, a short time before, by St. Thomas of Aquin, while on his way to the Council.

chael Paleologus. (1). The Council lasted three months, during which were held six Sessions. Between the first and second, the Pontiff decreed that one tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues should be given, for six years, to the cause of the Crusades. After the third Session, the Greek orators entered the Council and were most graciously received. High Mass was sung by the Pontiff, the Creed was sung in Latin and in Greek, the Greeks repeating thrice the words: "Who proceeds from the Father and the Son." In the fourth Session was read the Greek emperor's letter to Pope Gregory X., addressed "To the Most Holy and Most Blessed First and Supreme Pontiff, the Venerable Pope of the Apostolic See, the Common Father of all Christians, the Venerable Father of our Empire, etc." In this letter, the emperor professes the Catholic faith according to the *Confession* sent to him by the Pope, and when he comes to the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, he says: "The Holy Roman Church obtains the supreme and full primacy and principality over the Universal Catholic Church. . . . Voluntarily returning to the obedience of that Church, we confess, acknowledge, accept, and willingly receive the primacy of the same Holy Roman Church." Then were read letters of the same tenor from the Greek bishops; after which, George, great Logothete of the emperor Michael, in the name of his sovereign, abjured the Schism, professed the faith of the Roman Church, acknowledged the primacy of of the Pope, and solemnly swore never to break the unity of the Church. The same oath was taken by the legates of the Greek bishops.

After the dissolution of the Synod, the Pontiff appointed the abbot of Montecassino to accompany the Greek legates to Constantinople, and to deliver congratulatory letters to Michael, his son Andronicus, and the Greek bishops. The emperor seems to have lent all his energies to perfect the union begun at Lyons (2), but he experienced intense opposition. Nevertheless, in a general Synod held at

(1) Blondus, and after him, Trithemius, Platina, and others, assert that Paleologus himself was at the Council, but this is proved false by the presence and action of his legates; and by the fact that, after the Council, the Pontiff informed him, as one ignorant of what had been done.

(2) PACHYMERES, B. V. NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, B. V. Author of the *Life of the Patriarch Athanasius*, quoted by Leo Allatius.

Constantinople, the patriarch (John Veccus, successor of Joseph, who had been deposed as an obstinate schismatic) and most of the Greek bishops signed a *Profession of Faith* sent from Rome. (1). During the Pontificate of Nicholas III. (1277-1280), Michael sent the prothonotary Ogerius to Rome to deprecate the Pontiff's indignation because the work of union was not further advanced, saying that his throne was at stake, and that patience and prudence alone could entail success. Among the Greeks no one was more zealous for union than the patriarch, John Veccus. During his eight years of patriarchate he wrote several defenses of the Catholic dogma on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and in his last will and testament, drawn up in prison, he said: "On account of the true teaching of the Fathers concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, I have suffered exile and imprisonment, and with my own hand I subscribe to this doctrine in this, my testament." (2). Another zealous defender of unity was George Metochita, a companion and deacon of Veccus, who was imprisoned and exiled by Andronicus, when, after the death of his father Michael, that prince openly returned to the Schism. (3). In his testament, Veccus praises the labors of Constantine Meliteniotas, who "was as a son to him" in his sufferings. (4). That the emperor Michael was sincere in his endeavors to extinguish the Schism, is evident to any one who reads the *History* of Pachymeres, a contemporary author, who was, as Possevin remarks, by no means well disposed to Rome. (5). Michael deposed the schismatic patriarch Joseph, and for the sake of unity sustained a war with his own niece, the wife of Constantine, king of Bulgaria, who was incited to it by her mother Eulogia, the emperor's sister, and a bitter schismatic. Many of his own relatives and friends were imprisoned and otherwise punished for their obstinate adherence

(1) The Synodal Letters, sent to Pope John XXI., are given by Leo Allatius, and are to be read in the Collections of the Councils.

(2) Allatius gives several of his writings in *Orthodox Greece*.

(3) ALLATIUS. *Perpetual Consent*, etc., B. II., c. 15, no. 9.

(4) GREGORAS, B. VI., and PACHYMERES, B. XII., speak of this author as having written on *The Ecclesiastical Union of the Latins and Greeks*, and a treatise on *The Procession of the Holy Ghost*.

(5) Pachymeres assisted the schismatic Job Iasitas in writing a book against the Latins, and himself issued a treatise "To those who say that the Spirit is said to be of the Son, because He is Consubstantial."

to the Schism, and in some cases he was guilty of cruelties which called forth the reproofs of Rome. (1). Nevertheless, Pope Martin IV., who succeeded Nicholas III. in 1281, received Michael's legates in an ungracious manner, being persuaded that the show of severity against certain schismatics was only intended as a blind to the Westerns. In the same year, 1281, this Pontiff excommunicated Michael as a "favorer of schismatics" (2), and the emperor responded by ordering that the Pontiff should no longer be prayed for at mass, proceeding, however, to no further extremities. Michael Paleologus died in 1283, and the manner in which his remains were treated by his son and heir, Andronicus, shows that the Greek schismatics regarded him as a sincere friend of unity. The schismatic Nicephorus Gregoras says that Andronicus "would not honor his father with even a plebeian funeral; and he ordered that a few should remove the body by night, and cover it with much earth. . . . and this because, while living, he had departed from the right doctrine of the Church; which fact the son detested from his heart, although he greatly loved his father." And Andronicus himself confirms this in Pachymeres, B. 12. Metochita, whose testimony ought to be invaluable in such a matter, after praising the piety of Michael, says that he was indefatigable in pursuing "the object of his life, the restoration of the true faith; he made use of all that would conduce to that end, and in deed, thought, and advice, always had it in view, at every time and in every movement." Andronicus, his grandson of the same name, and John Cantacuzene, strengthened the Schism with all their power, although each made overtures of union whenever they anticipated trouble with the Western powers; indeed, from this time down to the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II., a wish for reconciliation with Rome was always a trick of state-craft with the Byzantines.

The disciplinary Canons of the Fourteenth Council were thirty in number, the first Constitution treating of the

(1) PACHYMERES, B. VI., c. 30.

(2) Jordan, and Ptolemy of Lucca, writers quoted by Odoric Raynald, say that Martin IV., a Frenchman who had been elected by the influence of Charles of Anjou, was impelled to this act by the prince, because Michael had made alliance with the king of Aragon against him.

Holy Trinity and the Catholic Faith. The *Second* Canon renewed the statutes of Alexander III. regarding the election of a Roman Pontiff, and made some additional provisions which experience had shown to be necessary. Accordingly to this Canon, the cardinals who are in the place where a Pope dies shall only wait ten days for the arrival of their absent brethren, before they enter upon an election. They then proceed to the Pontifical palace, each with only one attendant ; or, if necessity demands it in particular cases, with two. In the palace they will all be shut up in one room, under lock and key (hence the term *Conclave*) ; the only exception to this community of habitation will be the retiring room. No one shall enter or leave the Conclave, until after the election ; and no communication be held with the outside world, under pain of excommunication (by the very fact) for all parties concerned, unless the entire College deems the intercourse, in each particular case, necessary to the election. If a Pontiff is not chosen within three days, during the next five days only one dish will be furnished for each cardinal's dinner and supper ; if the election is not perfected on the eighth day, only bread, wine, and water will be served, until a conclusion is reached. During the Conclave, the members can derive no revenue from the Apostolic Chamber, or from any fund of the Roman Church ; the accruing revenues will accumulate, and be at the disposal of the new Pontiff. The cardinals will attend to the election alone, and will notice other matters only when the whole body deems them to be of sufficient urgency to justify attention. If sickness causes the departure of an elector, the election will go on, no attention being paid to him or his vote ; if he returns in time his right revives. Such are the chief provisions of this Canon. It did not please many of the cardinals, and they tried hard, but in vain, to prevent its adoption. (1). The *Third* Canon regards appeals from the result of ecclesiastical elections in general, and is inserted in *Sexto*, tit. *Election*, cap. *Ut circa*. The *Fourth* decrees that no one shall enter

(1) Boniface VIII. inserted it in *Sextum*, tit. *Election*, cap. *Ubi*. The *Glossa* observes that "it derives its force rather from the renewal by Celestine V., and its approbation by Boniface VIII., than from its original constitution by Gregory X., for it was revoked by Adrian V. and John XXI., and once was not read among the Gregorian Canons."

upon the administration of an office until his election is confirmed, under the pretext of "procuration" or any other title; he who violates this decree loses all right to his office; *Sexto*, tit. *Election*, cap. *Avaritie*. The *Fifth* provides against long vacancies, establishing limits thereto; *Sexto*, tit. *Election*, cap. *Quam fit*. The *Sixth*, *Seventh*, and *Eighth* regard the purity of elections. The *Ninth* restricts appeals, and regulates their abuse: *Sexto*, tit. *Election*, cap. *Quamvis*. The *Tenth* decrees that an examination be held as to any alleged defect, physical or mental, on the part of an elect; and if he be found free, the opponent is to be punished: *Ibid.*, cap. *Si forte*. The *Eleventh* excommunicates those who in any way molest ecclesiastics because of the way they have voted in an election: *Ibid.*, cap. *Sciant*. The *Twelfth* decrees excommunication, by the very fact, against all who "try to usurp the regalia (1), or custody, of churches, monasteries, or other pious places, under the pretext of advocacy or defense; or who presume to seize the goods of churches, monasteries, or of their vacant territories; no matter what be the dignity of the offenders, even if they be clerics or monks." The clergy who do not oppose these usurpations are deprived, during the time of their neglect, of their own revenues. (2). This Canon quite naturally displeased the princes and courtier-bishops of the day, nor was it easily enforced. William Durand, the "Speculator," who was present at the Council, says, in his Commentary on its Canons: "This Constitution was promulgated at the instance of the prelates of France and England; but thus far we see very little of its utility." It is inserted in *Sexto*, cap. *Generali*, tit. *Election*. The *Thirteenth*

(1) The "regalia," says Ruzaus, was the royal right of enjoying the revenues of a vacant ecclesiastical office, and of conferring its benefices when they did not involve the care of souls; which right certain sovereigns exercised until the new incumbent took the oath of fidelity, and received from the sovereign the investiture of the temporalities. In a very lengthy dissertation, Alexander defends this right, as such, especially of the French kings, and not as a privilege conceded by the Church. See *Diss.* 8, *Cent.* 13. His argument rests principally upon the royal office of defending the Church; but, as Roncaglia well observes, it is not a guardian's right to steal what is entrusted to his care. See *Animadversion* III. to Alexander's *Diss.* 8.

(2) One of the reasons why the sovereigns of the Middle Ages, especially those of France, England, and Germany, claimed the regalia during a vacancy, was the principle then in vogue whereby a fief reverted to the suzerain on the death or treason of the enfeoffed. But while this title might have been legitimate, in regard to certain of the feudal revenues, it could not obtain, unless by usurpation, in the case of revenues purely ecclesiastical, such as tithes and offerings. Again, this "*ius relevii*," whereby a vacancy caused a reversion of the fief to the superior, did not always and everywhere obtain. Finally, could the fiefs of the Church, things given to the Lord, ever become vacant?

is directed against usurers, and the *Fourteenth* against duelling and dangerous tournaments. The *Fifteenth* deals with clerical immunities, and the inviolability of churches and cemeteries. The *Sixteenth* absolutely prohibits hereditary right to ecclesiastical benefices. The *Seventeenth* forbids marriage within certain degrees of relationship. The remaining Canons are of minor moment.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE INQUISITION.*

Since the Church is the sole depositary and interpreter of revealed divine truth on earth, ought she not use every legitimate means to prevent the propagation of error? This is the most available argument wherewith to defend the Inquisition; and its force can be diminished only by insisting on the illegitimacy of the tribunal, and of its methods, as means to preserve the integrity of the Christian body. In the Middle Age every person who impeded the progress of religion, or who placed an obstacle in his neighbor's path to heaven, was regarded as an enemy to society. The civil law was supposed to protect the faith as much as, if not more than, life or property. The use of force to prevent a heretic from sowing the seeds of religious dissension in a united community, seemed to be no less legitimate than resistance to a foreign invader or a domestic highwayman. Nor did this idea first manifest itself in the so-called Dark Ages: from the day when Constantine gave liberty to the Church, we hear the Fathers insisting that repression of error is a proper defence against persecution and seduction. This repression was not always exercised in the same manner: it varied according to the exigencies of the public weal. We find instances of "contentious" and coercive jurisdiction enforced by the ecclesiastical authorities in the very first days of Christianity. The lying Ananias and Saphira fall dead at the imperious voice of St. Peter; and

* This chapter appeared as an article in the *Ave Maria*, vol. xxxii., No. 7.

incestuous man is consigned to the vexations of the demon ; St. Polycarp styles Marcion, who seeks his friendship, the first-born of Satan (1) ; and St. Ignatius commends the zeal of those Corinthians who so detested heresy that they would not allow its professors to pass through their territories (2). In the Code of Justinian we read many decrees of the early Christian emperors in defence of the integrity of the faith ; Constantine issued two, Valentinian I. one, Gratian two, Theodosius I. fifteen, Valentinian II. three. Constantine pursued the Donatists with fines and confiscations (3), and burned the books of the Arians. Theodosius banished heretics (4), and Honorius ordered the scourging and imprisonment of Jovinian and his followers, after their condemnation by Pope Siricius (5). St. Augustine speaks of having received from the deacon Quod Vult Deus a copy of the proceedings of an inquisition held at Carthage against certain Manicheans (6) ; and he himself proceeded against the subdeacon Victorinus, a Manichean, and after a formal trial degraded him and procured his banishment from Hippo (7). St. Epiphanius gives an account of the process instituted by the patriarch of Alexandria against Arius, which is interesting because of the close resemblance of its forms to those used by the modern Inquisition (8). The same saint tells us that he endeavored to discover Gnostics, and that hence "fifty were exiled, leaving the city free from their thorns" (9). In fact, there occur, during the first centuries of Christianity, so many instances of inquisitorial action against heretics, that the Franciscan De Castro, writing at the time of the Reformation, could well say that the system "was not introduced only three hundred years ago, as Luther asserts : it originated a thousand years ago, and we may infer that it came down from apostolic times" (10).

The Inquisition never attempted to force a profession of Christianity on infidels or Jews ; in order *that* heresy

(1) IRENÆUS, b. i. l. c. 3.

(3) OPTATUS O. MILLEVI, b. i. l.

(5) *Idem*, y. 390. no. 47.

(7) *Epist.* 236 alias 74.

(9) *Ib.*, 26. no. 17.

(2) *Epist. to Ephes.*

(4) BARONIO, y. 383, no. 34.

(6) *Heresies*, to Quod Vult Deus, c. 46.

(8) *Heresies*, 69.

(10) *Just Punishment of Heretics*, Paris, 1565.

should be punishable, it was necessary that a sufficiently instructed *Christian* should persevere in error, and manifest in action his opposition to the authority of the Church. St. Thomas of Aquin, asking whether infidels can be compelled to accept the faith, replies that "they are in no way to be forced to believe, for belief is from the will" (1); and he contends that the worship of heretics is to be tolerated, just as God tolerates certain evils, in order that man may not lose his liberty. Suarez gives as the common teaching of theologians the doctrine that "infidels *who are not apostates* ought not to be compelled to embrace the faith, even though they have acquired a sufficient knowledge of it." The Council of Trent declares that "the Church judges no one who has not entered her fold by Baptism" (2).

In the early ages of the Church the penalty of death was seldom inflicted upon heretics. The emperor Maximus was the first Christian prince to adopt this questionable method of preserving religious unity. In 385 he put to death Priscillian, bishop of Avila, two priests, two deacons, the poet Latronianus, and Eucrosia, a matron; and it is to be noted that the bishops who took part in this condemnation were reprovèd by their colleagues. Again, when the tribune Marcellinus was about to condemn certain Donatists who had shed Catholic blood, St. Augustine interceded for them; and when Honorius published a bloody law against Donatists and Jews, the same saint wrote to the proconsul that if any death sentences were executed, no ecclesiastic would ever again denounce heretics (3). However, this holy Doctor afterwards approved of the imperial rigor (4), and in his *Retractions* he wrote: "I composed two books against the Donatists, in which I said that I did not like to see secular force used to compel schismatics to communion; for I had not yet discovered how impunity adds to the audacity of evil, and how quickness of punishment helps to ameliorate" (5). And elsewhere: "See what they do and what they suffer. They kill souls, and suffer in their bodies; they produce eternal death, and complain of a temporal

(1) *Summa Theol.*, q. 10, art. 8.

(2) Sess. 4, c. 2.

(3) *Epist.*, 100.(4) *Epist.* 93.

(5) B. II. c. 5.

one. . . . If thou hast suffered affliction from the Catholic Church, oh, faction of Donatus! thou hast suffered like Hagar from Sarah. Return to thy mistress!" (1).

The first modern law decreeing death as penalty for heresy was promulgated by the emperor Frederick II., who, strange to say, was himself strongly suspected of infidelity, and is lauded by our contemporary liberals as a model for anti-clericals. In 1220, at the time of his coronation, this monarch declared that he "would use the sword received by him from God against the enemies of the faith;" and he ordered that all heretics in Lombardy should be burned, or deprived of their tongues. In 1231, publishing his *Constitutions for the Kingdom of Sicily*, the same Frederick placed heresy "among other public crimes," and ranked it as more grievous than high-treason.

It has been asserted that Pope Innocent III. founded the Inquisition; that he received the idea from St. Dominic, and that this holy man was the first inquisitor. Innocent III. certainly appointed Rainer and Guy as inquisitors of the faith during the Albigensian troubles; but the Inquisition does not appear as a recognized tribunal before the pontificate of Gregory IX., and in the year 1229. As for St. Dominic, he died in 1221, and the Preaching Friars were not entrusted with the Inquisition until 1233. Again, Theodoric of Apolda tells us that the saint opposed the Albigensians with "words, example, and miracles;" and, finally, those heretics needed no Inquisition; for they were not occult, but declaimed their errors in public. The origin of the Inquisition is found in the synod held at Toulouse in 1229, under the presidency of the cardinal Romano di Sant' Angelo, who had accompanied the reconciled count Raymond VII. to his restored capital, in order to see that he fulfilled his promises. The cardinal ordained that the bishops should appoint, in each parish, a priest and two or three laymen of good standing, who would swear to "inquire for" heretics, and to make them known to the magistrates; the harborers of heretics were to be punished, and the houses in which they were voluntarily received were to be

(1) *Tract on John*, no. 15.

destroyed. The institution of this tribunal was certainly an improvement on the previous system ; for henceforth an inquiry was conducted by ecclesiastics, more learned and less harsh than the civil authorities. The inquisitors admonished twice before they proceeded to arrests. Whoever abjured was pardoned ; frequently moral punishment only was inflicted, whereas the secular tribunals would inevitably have imposed corporal chastisement. At the instance of St. Raymond of Pennafort, Pope Gregory IX. deprived the bishops of the right of inquisition, and conferred it on the friars, whose power was felt not only by every layman, but by all the clergy. When the inquisitor arrived in a town, he convoked the magistrates and caused them to swear to execute the decrees against heresy ; in case of refusal, suspension from office was the lot of the recalcitrant ; and if the people interfered, an interdict was launched against the place. The denunciations could not be anonymous, and the accused was accorded a period within which to present himself at the tribunal ; if he did not, he was cited. In the preparatory examination, the witnesses were heard before a notary and two ecclesiastics ; if the accused appeared guilty, he was arrested, his residence was searched, and his property sequestered.

In the *Maestruzza*—a summary on the Sacraments and Commandments, written in 1338 for the use of the inquisitors, by the Dominican Bartholomew da San Concordio—we read : “ According to the civil law, soothsayers and witches should be burned ; but according to the Church, they should be deprived of communion, if their crime be notorious ; if it is secret, they should receive a penance of forty days (c. 42). The inquisitors cannot interfere with soothsayers and sorcerers, unless heresy is plainly to be feared. Those who relapse into heresy after having abjured it, should be delivered to the secular power (c. 91).” The crime, therefore, was a civil one. The Church mitigated its punishment ; for she absolved the penitent, and even tried to regain the relapsed. The inquisitor had to declare that the accused was really a heretic, and therefore separated from the Church ; from that moment he was a criminal be-

fore the state ; and the state did not execute the sentences of the Inquisition, but applied the penalties established by the law.

In 1255 Pope Alexander III. established the Inquisition in France, with the consent, or rather at the request, of St. Louis ; and the office of grand-inquisitor was conferred on the Dominican provincial and on the guardian of the Franciscans of Paris. According to the Bull of their institution, these inquisitors were independent of the bishops ; but so displeasing was the new jurisdiction to both the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, that the friars soon found themselves adorned with a useless title (1). In Venice the Inquisition was introduced in 1289 ; but it should not be confounded with the Venetian Inquisition of State, a purely political institution, founded in 1454. The Inquisition of Venice was, from its very commencement, dependent upon the civil authorities ; and in the sixteenth century it was prevented from undertaking any process whatever without the assistance of three senators. In English history this tribunal does not figure, although the English bishops, like all the other ordinaries of Christendom, frequently exercised inquisitorial power. In Germany it never obtained a foothold, and consequently heresy was left in that country, to the rigors of the imperial laws.

The "Supreme Roman Inquisition," or tribunal of the "Holy Office," was created on July 21, 1542, by a Bull, "*Licet ab initio*," of Pope Paul III., and at the suggestion of Cardinal Caraffa, afterward Pope Paul IV. At Rome it was composed of Dominicans ; but in some countries, of Franciscans. Paul IV. decreed that the Inquisition should thereafter depend, not from each bishop, but from this Congregation, which was authorized to judge definitively in all matters of heresy on both sides of the Alps. Sixtus V. re-organized the Holy Office, constituting twelve cardinals as

(1) Bergier, art. *Inquisition*.—Bergier complacently congratulates his countrymen upon their freedom from the obnoxious tribunal, but he omits to state that the civil authorities of France furnished the world with spectacular "acts of faith" in quite modern times. Thus, on Feb. 17, 1525, in the Place Maubert at Paris, the licentiate, Master William Joubert, after having made a public recantation in the Church of St. Genevieve, was given to the flames because of his former Lutheranism. Vanini suffered at Toulouse on Feb. 19, 1618.

its members, under the presidency of the Pontiff. It received faculties to inquire for heretics, or those suspected of heresy, and their abettors; to prosecute magicians, astrologers, etc.; also to prosecute all abusers of the Sacraments, all writers or possessors of prohibited books, all who abstained from confession or who ate forbidden food, polygamists, and many other offenders. That the methods of the Holy Office were only the customary ones of the time, and by no means secret, is evident from its Code. We have the *Directory for Inquisitors*, by the Dominican Eymeric (Rome, 1587); the *Duty of the Holy Inquisition, and its Mode of Proceeding in Causes of Faith* (Cremona, 1641), by Carena Cesare; and the *Compendium of the Art of Exorcism*, by Mengius. The *Directory* was translated in 1762, by Morellet, with intent to injure the Church; but the celebrated Malesherbes said to him: "You think that you have collected extraordinary facts, unheard-of proceedings. Know, then, that this jurisprudence of Eymeric and of the Inquisition is very nearly our own" (1). From these documents we learn that the Holy Office allowed to each of the accused a "procurator," who had full liberty to communicate with his client, and to conduct his defense; but we must admit that sometimes the inquisitors did "not allow the notaries to give copies of the *Acts* of the Holy Office, unless to the accused; and then without the names of the witnesses, and without any particulars which might indicate the names to the accused" (2). However, this now reprehensible secrecy was common to all the tribunals of those days; and the Protestant Jeremy Bentham admits that, in many cases, such secrecy may be absolutely necessary to public security (3). The Inquisition was extended also to the Jews, not to persecute them, but to prevent them from propagating their errors, and from committing the alleged crimes against which the credulous then raged, just as to-day the credu-

(1) Morellet says in his *Memoirs*, vol. i, 59: "I was confounded at this assertion, but afterward I found that he was right."

(2) *Short Account of the Manner of Prosecuting the Causes of the Holy Office*, by the Rev. Vicars of the Inquisition of Modena, cited by Cantù, in his *Heretics of Italy*, disc. 32, note 63.

(3) *Works*, vol. ii. p. 191; and *passim*.

lous fume on recalling the "atrocities" of the Holy Office (1).

There is a great diversity of opinion, even among Catholic authors, as to the severity or mildness of the *Roman Inquisition*. Bergier says that "no instance is known of an execution (for heresy) at Rome." The late Archbishop Spalding, in an admirable refutation of Prescott's allegations against the *Spanish Inquisition*, says that "though three hundred years have elapsed since the establishment of this court (the Holy Office), it would be difficult to point to an instance in which it ever pronounced sentence of capital punishment." De Maistre tells us that "it is impossible to ascertain precisely at what epoch the inquisitorial tribunal first pronounced a capital condemnation. It is fully sufficient for our purpose, however, to be convinced of an incontestable fact: that it never could have acquired this right until it became exclusively a royal or political institution; and that every judgment which affects life in any degree was, is, and must ever be, most conscientiously discountenanced by the Church. . . . The Inquisition never condemns to death." But Cantù gives many instances of capital punishment awarded by the Roman Inquisition. Tiepolo, Venetian ambassador at Rome, describes an "Act of Faith" (*auto da fe*, *atto di fede*) performed in that city on September 27, 1567, when the famous Mgr. Carnesecchi, and a certain friar of Belluno, having persisted in heresy, were decapitated, and their bodies burned. Averardo Serristori, Florentine ambassador, writes that the sentence of Carnesecchi was pronounced by the cardinals of Trani and of Pisa, Paceco and Gambura (2). Cantù cites another dispatch of Tiepolo, describing an Act of May 28, 1569, when, in presence of twenty-two cardinals, four impenitents were

(1) The good Sadoletto, called the Italian Fénelon, in a letter to Cardinal Farnese, laments that the Jews were treated too kindly at Rome, and protected by Paul III.

(2) *Embassy of Averardo Serristori, ambassador of Cosimo I. to Charles V., and at the Court of Rome, 1537-1568*; Florence, 1853.—Carnesecchi had been excommunicated as contumacious by Paul IV.; under Pius IV. he defended himself so well that he was absolved and acknowledged as a good Catholic. But he soon became notorious as a teacher of the Reformed doctrines, and Pius V. obtained his extradition from the grand-duke Cosimo I., whose subject he was. His process is very interesting, as furnishing many particulars concerning Cardinal Pole, Victoria Colonna, and others of the same school.

given to the flames. In a dispatch of February 24, 1585, the Venetian resident at Rome speaks of a "publication" of seventeen *inquisiti* by the Holy Office in presence of many cardinals; three of the accused were condemned to the stake. In fine, although many letters of the time narrate alleged atrocities of the Holy Office which are merely founded on the exaggerations of the mob (1), there seems to be no doubt that the Roman tribunal condemned many heretics to death. It is certain, however, that mildness was the general characteristic of the Holy Office. Cousin, in his *Mémoire on Vanini*, shows that the friends of this wretched hypocrite (2) tried to have his case transferred to the Roman Inquisition, feeling that thus he would escape capital punishment. And history furnishes many instances of criminals feigning guilt of heresy, sorcery, or similar crimes, in order to pass under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. The case of Campanella is celebrated. His clerical comrades in the Calabrian conspiracy against the Spanish crown escaped death by pleading guilty of heresy, and being therefore consigned to the Inquisition; while he himself, after twenty-seven years of confinement, was saved by the demand of Pope Urban VIII. that he should be tried for sorcery (3).

The word "Inquisition," as met in history, has three very different significations. It may mean either a religious, a political, or a mixed tribunal. All bishops, as inquirers into the purity of faith in their respective dioceses, exercise a religious inquisition. The political inquisition can meet with no opposition, unless from those who decry every species of government, even such as obtains among savages; for all governments employ some sort of police. But when there is a question of the mixed inquisition, such as Rome

(1) De Thou writes that during the reign of Sixtus V. Mureto told him: "Whenever I awake I dread lest I shall hear that such a one is no more." The assertion is false; for Mureto died in 1585, shortly after the election of Sixtus V., and De Thou was then residing in France.

(2) Leibnitz deemed him insane.

(3) The great mathematician was acquitted; he was enrolled in the Papal household, and an annual pension assigned him. But the Spanish residents having mobbed him several times, he repaired to France, where he was received with open arms by Cardinal Richelieu, and made a counsellor of state. He became president of the newly-founded Royal Academy of France.

sanctioned from the beginning of the Thirteenth Century, our ears are deafened with clamor. When the Inquisition is condemned by a Catholic, contending that the Gospel of love should have prevented violent proceedings, the idea may not be utterly unreasonable; but we must remember that intolerance seems to be inseparable from profound belief. In the Middle Age faith was the very life of society, the necessary and only tie which constituted it; it is not strange, therefore, that the guardians of society proceeded to the last extremity against the violators of the faith. Such is the explanation which we tender to the Catholic who condemns the Inquisition. But when a Protestant attacks this tribunal, he betrays either ignorance and misplaced complacency in his religious predecessors, or a desire to prescribe one code of morality for his own, and another for the Catholic Church. Luther, according to his enthusiastic apologist, Seckendorf, would have imprisoned, banished, and despoiled all the Jews, and would even have deprived them of the Bible. Calvin banished the Carmelite apostate, Bolsec, because this unfortunate proved that the heresiarch's doctrine made God the author of sin; and it was not Calvin's fault that the daring man was not capitally punished as a Pelagian. The death of Servetus at the stake; the condemnation of Gentile to death, which he avoided for a time by recantation; the banishment of Ochino; the persecution of Biandrata; and Calvin's own book on the errors of Servetus, in which, according to the title-page, "it is taught that heretics are to be coerced by the sword,"—all these facts should cause the Protestant polemic to be less bitter in his diatribes against the Inquisition (1). The "Gentle" Melancthon hoped that some brave man would merit glory by assassinating Henry VIII., and he himself approved the

(1) The reforming princes of Germany and Sweden were foes to toleration; they had arrogated to themselves all the power in religious matters, and would have but one religion in their dominions. Their motto was *Ejus religio cujus regio*. Calvin, most stubborn of foes to a separation of Church and state, invoked against dissenters the penalty of death, because, as he asserted, no one can refuse to acknowledge the authority of princes over the Church without injury to the government established by God. Those Protestants who would claim Savonarola as one of the precursors of the Lutheran revolt, should know that the friar was no friend to toleration. Disputing against astrologists, he exclaimed: "Oh, ye foolish and insensate astrologists! the only way to argue with you is the use of fire." (*Treat against Astrologers*, c. 3.)

execution of Servetus: "The magistracy of the republic of Geneva gave, by putting Servetus out of the way, a pious and memorable example to all posterity" (1). Beza wrote a book in defence of the thesis that "liberty of conscience is a doctrine of the devil;" and article 36 of the "Helvetic Confession" reads: "Let the magistrates draw the sword against all blasphemers, and coerce the heretics" (2). But we do not wish, in this matter, to reprove Protestants or to excuse Catholics; we rather say with Cantù: "We seek and explain the truth; and reflecting that persecution was peculiar to that time, as toleration is said to be peculiar to ours, and that the fury of the persecutors attests their sincerity, we lament the facts, and recur to that principle which is infallible. The Council of Trent speaks not of Inquisition or of stakes, though it pronounces anathema on the unbeliever; but whenever humanity carries out a great design, it becomes prodigal of blood."

We now approach the subject of the Spanish Inquisition, a tribunal which is often, and wrongly, confounded with the Roman, and about which, reprehensible though it was, there are probably as many popular misconceptions as upon any matter of history. The misstatements of all modern enemies of the Church concerning this tribunal are traceable either to Mme. d'Aunoy's Hispanophobic book, or to Philip Limborch, or to John Anthony Llorente. The falsehoods of Mme. d'Aunoy and of Limborch were admirably refuted by De Vayrac (3), and his work is one of the most valuable ever written on the subject. Hefele's book on *Cardinal Ximenes, etc.*, can not be too warmly recommended to the student. Cantù is by no means sparing of the Spanish tribunal; but the thoroughly Catholic tone of his philosophical reflections, and his evident impartiality, render an attentive study of his views on this subject more satisfactory, at least to our mind, than that of any other author.

After 780 years of combat, the Spaniards had saved their Catholicism and nationality—with them the two were

(1) *On Servetus*, 1555.—*Corpus Reform*, viii. 523; ix. 133

(2) At this day, says Cantù, they show at Dresden the axe which the Lutherans used against dissenters, and on it is inscribed: „Hüt dich, Calvinist!“

(3) *Present State of Spain*, Amsterdam, 1719.

thoroughly identified—from the Moors. At first the free exercise of their religion was allowed to the conquered; but after they had repeatedly revolted, and had made many attempts to procure another Mohammedan invasion from Africa, the Spanish sovereigns ordered, in 1501, that all the Moors should leave Castile and Granada, saving those who would embrace Christianity. Most of the Moors received baptism, but many secretly apostatized, while others adulterated their Christian rites with Mohammedan practices. At this time the Spanish government, which for more than a century had resisted the popular demands for the banishment of the Jews, resolved to acquiesce, alleging as a reason a league of all the foes of Christianity against the freedom of Spain. All good Spaniards yearned for a means of cementing the religious and political unity of the nation; and that means seemed to be offered by the Inquisition, which had been introduced into Spain in 1480 in the following manner: The island of Sicily having been added to the Spanish dominions in 1479, the Sicilian inquisitor, De Barbaris, asked Ferdinand and Isabella for a confirmation of the right, granted by Frederick II. to the Inquisition, to appropriate a third of all the property confiscated from heretics. While urging his demand, De Barbaris advised the sovereigns to introduce the Inquisition into Spain, as a measure against the Moorish and Jewish apostates, who, even at this time, long before the decree of banishment, were numerous, and about whom every infamy was narrated. Isabella opposed the project until she was persuaded that it would further the salvation of souls; Ferdinand saw in it a means to replenish his treasury, and immediately consented. When Pope Sixtus IV. heard of Ferdinand's action, he was so displeased that he placed the Spanish ambassador under arrest; in retaliation, Ferdinand arrested the Papal envoy, and recalled all his subjects from the Roman States.

The Pontiff afterward yielded, and allowed the Inquisition to be introduced into Castile and Aragon (1480); later on, however, touched by the complaints that reached him concerning the rigor of the tribunal, he declared that the Bull of institution was surreptitious. He admonished the in-

quisitors, ordering them to proceed only in accord with the bishops, and not to extend their inquiries into the other provinces; he also instituted a Papal judge to hear all appeals from the Spanish tribunal, and he quashed many of its indictments. Ferdinand and Isabella, as well as their successor, Charles V., constantly endeavored to elude these provisions of the Holy See; but even Llorente admits that the Papal appellate judges often restored property and civil rights to those whom the Inquisition had condemned; and that they often compelled the inquisitors to absolve the accused privately, in order to save them from legal punishment and public ignominy.

The Dominican friar Thomas de Torquemada (1), of Valladolid, was chosen to preside over the Supreme or Royal Council of the Inquisition of Castile and Aragon, the members of which had a deliberative voice in all matters of civil law, and a consultative one in affairs of canon law. Seville, Cordova, Jaen, and Toledo had dependent tribunals; and the inquisitors, with two royal assessors, published a code of procedure (2). From this time the cloak of religion

(1) Not to be confounded with his uncle, the great theologian, John, cardinal Torquemada, who died in 1468.

(2) The first three articles treated of the composition of the tribunal in cities; the publication of censures against heretics and apostates, who did not voluntarily denounce themselves; and prescribed a further term of grace by which confiscation might be avoided. IV. Voluntary confessions, made within the term of grace, were to be written in answer to questions of the inquisitors. V. Absolution could not be given in secret, unless the crime was secret. VI. A reconciled person was deprived of every office of honor, and could not use gold, silver, pearls, silk, or fine wool. VII. Pecuniary penances were given to those who voluntarily confessed. VIII. A voluntary penitent, presenting himself after the term of grace, could not be exempted from the confiscation incurred on the day of his apostasy or heresy. IX. Only a light penance was given to voluntary penitents who were not yet twenty years of age. X. The time of a penitent's first fall was to be particularized, that it might be ascertained what proportion of his goods should be confiscated. XI. If a heretic, confined by the Inquisition, should demand absolution, being touched by sincere repentance, it was to be granted; but his penance should be imprisonment for life. XII. The inquisitors were allowed to use torture in the case of a reconciled person whose confession they deemed imperfect, and whose penitence they deemed it necessary to stimulate. XIII. Torture was also permitted in the case of one who had boasted of having concealed crimes in his confession. XIV. A convicted person, persisting in a denial of guilt, was to be condemned as impenitent. XV. If a person under torture confessed, and afterward confirmed his avowal, he was to be condemned as one convicted; if he retracted, he was to be again interrogated. XVI. It was prohibited to furnish the accused an entire copy of the testimony against him. XVII. The witnesses were to be questioned by the inquisitors themselves. XVIII. One or two inquisitors were to be present at every examination. XIX. An accused who did not obey a formal citation was to be condemned as a convicted heretic. XX. If his conduct, while living, showed that any person, now dead, was a heretic, he was to be condemned as such; his body, if in consecrated ground, was to be disinterred, and his property

covered many acts of tyranny in Spain. The Roman Pontiffs frequently interfered; indeed, as far back as the pontificate of Nicholas V. (1447-55) all distinction between new and old Christians had been condemned. Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., and Leo X. received appeals from the decisions of the inquisitors, and reminded them of the prodigal son. Julius II. and Leo X. dispensed many from the obligation of wearing the *sambenito*, or penitential sack, which the tribunal imposed on all the reconciled; and these Pontiffs, in several cases, ordered the signs of reprobation to be removed from the tombs of the condemned. Leo X., in spite of Charles V., excommunicated the inquisitor of Toledo in 1519. Paul III. encouraged the Neapolitans to resist Charles V. when he wished to introduce the tribunal among them; and when the learned Vives was condemned as suspected of Lutheranism, the same Pontiff declared him innocent. Mureto, the great Latinist whom the Spanish Inquisition would have sent to the stake, was called to Rome and made a professor in the University.

Diego Deza, successor to Torquemada, persuaded the Spanish sovereigns to establish the tribunal also in Granada, but Isabella insisted that it should be confined to Cordova; afterward, following the advice of Ximenes, the sovereigns bought and emancipated all Moorish slaves who would become Christians, and thus were obtained fifty thousand "new Christians." Under Charles V. the Inquisition increased in activity, but under Philip II. it attained its greatest development. When dying, Charles V. had earnestly impressed upon the mind of his heir the necessity of preserving the tribunal, and so well did Philip fulfil his father's desire, that the power of the Inquisition became so great as to overshadow, in some respects, that of Rome. This antagonism is illustrated by the celebrated process of Carranza. Carranza was a Dominican, and had greatly distinguished himself in the Council of Trent. His merit caused him to

confiscated. XXI. The inquisitors were ordered to exercise their powers over the vassals of the lords, and to censure the latter if they resisted. XXII. A portion of all confiscated property was to be given, as alms, to the heirs of the condemned. The remaining six articles regarded the conduct of the inquisitors among themselves and toward their subordinates.

be promoted to the See of Toledo in 1557; but his genius drew upon him the jealousy of many, and he was accused of heresy. For this reason Charles V. received him rather coldly when he approached the monarch's death-bed to administer the last Sacraments. The accusers of Carranza insisted that after the death of the emperor, the archbishop lifted a crucifix and exclaimed: "Behold Him who has saved us all! Everything is forgiven through His merits; there is no longer any sin." For such expressions, as though he excluded the co-operation of man in the work of justification, he was arrested on August 22, 1559, and confined in the inquisitorial prison of Valladolid. The Holy Office had already placed on the Index his *Comments on the Christian Catechism*, although the book was dedicated to Philip II., and had been approved by a commission of the Council of Trent. Pius IV., rigorous though he was, disapproved of the conduct of the Inquisition, and called the case to Rome. Philip, however, declared that the first prelate of Spain should be tried only in Spain, and the Pontiff compromised by sending a legate and two other judges to conduct the examination. But the inquisitors contrived to prolong the investigation until St. Pius V. ascended the papal throne. This Pontiff repeatedly complained to Philip that he was not kept informed of the progress of the cause; and finally, by threatening the monarch with excommunication, succeeded in having Carranza sent to Rome. This was in May, 1567, after nearly eight years' imprisonment under the Spanish inquisitors (1).

Since the work of Llorente is generally adduced as an au-

(1) When Carranza arrived in Rome, the Holy Office assigned honorable lodgings to him in Castel San Angelo. Four cardinals, four bishops, and twelve theological doctors were deputed for his trial. The Pope plainly manifested his indignation at the conduct of the Inquisition; he declared that far from prohibiting the *Comments* of the Archbishop, he was much inclined to approve of the work by a *motu proprio*. But it appears certain that Carranza had at least rendered himself liable to suspicion. In 1539, he had assisted as "qualifier" of the Inquisition, at a general chapter of the Dominican Order at Rome, and had become very intimate with Flaminio and other suspects, and even with the noted heretic, Carnesechi. The process at Rome lasted three years; three more were spent in the law's delays, and only in 1576 was definitive sentence pronounced by Pope Gregory XIII. On his knees before the Pope, Carranza made an abjuration of all heretical doctrines, and withdrew fourteen "evil-sounding" propositions taken from his writings. He was suspended from episcopal functions, and ordered to reside in a house of his Order at Orvieto for five years, after having visited the seven basilicas of Rome. However, he died a few days afterward, and the Pope gave him a splendid funeral.

thority in all matters concerning the Spanish Inquisition, it is well to give some account of this famous writer. Born of a noble family of Aragon in 1756, he entered the priesthood in 1779, became vicar-general of the diocese of Calatorra in 1782, and was appointed secretary-general of the Inquisition at Madrid in 1789. From his early manhood he was a Freemason, and, of course, a "Liberal," which term was then—as even now it sometimes is—synonymous with anti-Catholic. When Napoleon commenced his experiment of planting his own dynasty on the throne of Spain, Llorente became an enthusiastic *Afrancesado*, as all patriotic Spaniards styled the adherents of the Josephine administration. It has always been a favorite trick with usurpers to ransack the archives of dispossessed princes, and to publish to the world whatever might turn, or might be twisted, to the discredit of the latter. In accordance with this idea, the intruding Joseph Bonaparte, in 1809, commissioned Llorente, the ex-secretary (he had been dismissed for sundry irregularities) to show up the secrets of the Inquisition, that the Spaniards might learn to love the tyranny-crushing rule of a foreigner. When the venal *Afrancesado's* work appeared, it was found to be an insult to Rome, to Spain, and to the Spanish Church. Hefele proffers the following judgment on Llorente: "A prominent feature in his writings is their great bitterness toward the Church, and this sentiment impels him to many inexact and even false assertions. The shallowness and inaccuracy of Llorente, as a historian, are no less evident than his hatred of the Church. In his *Portraits* he informs us that Paul of Samosata embraced the heresy of Sabellius; an assertion, the absurdity of which brings a smile to the face of the veriest tyro in ecclesiastical history. He also tells us that St. Justin (d. 167) wrote his works before the time of St. Ignatius of Antioch (d. 107 or 116); that Apollonius of Tyana was a heretic, etc. No less full of errors is his *History of the Inquisition*. However, this work is valuable, inasmuch as it furnishes us with numerous extracts of original documents of the Inquisition; and they enable us to form, concerning the Spanish tribunal, a more exact judgment than one could have formed before Llorente wrote.'

The Protestant Ranke says that Llorente "gave us a famous book on this subject; and if I may presume to say anything that contravenes the opinion of such a predecessor, let my excuse be that this well-informed author wrote in the interest of the *Afrancesados* of the Josephine administration. In that interest . . . he looks on the Inquisition as a usurpation of the spiritual over the secular authority. Nevertheless, if I am not altogether in error, it appears, even from his own facts, that the Inquisition was a royal court of judicature, although armed with ecclesiastical weapons."

Relying implicitly on the authority of the salaried sycophant of Joseph Bonaparte, many later writers regard the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition as due to the influence of the court of Rome. They assert that the severities of this tribunal were but consequences of Catholic intolerance and of the Roman mania for persecution; they depict the Inquisition in such lurid colors as to lead the reader to believe it the monster, without a rival in cruelty, among all tribunals, ancient or modern, civilized or barbarous,—Christian, Mussulman, or Pagan. Llorente is a great favorite with Prescott; consequently when the latter treats of the Inquisition, many of his facts are miscolored, and not a few perverted. Now, nothing is more certain than that the Spanish tribunal was mainly a political institution. The king appointed the grand-inquisitor; he confirmed the nomination of the assessors, two of whom were already taken from the supreme council of Castile; the tribunal depended from the sovereign, who thus became master of the lives and property of his subjects (1); the king reserved to himself a share of the funds of the Inquisition, and often the inquisitors had not enough for their expenses. The Protestant Schröck, in his *Universal History*, admits that this tribunal

(1) Anthony Perez, pursued for his life by Philip II., and escaping to France, published some *Relations*, in which he tells how the papal nuncio disapproved of this notion of the royal power, and adds: "While I was at Madrid, a certain party, whom I need not name, preaching before the Catholic king, asserted that 'kings have absolute power over the persons and goods of their subjects.' This proposition was condemned by the Inquisition; and the preacher was compelled, in the same place, and with all the juridical formalities, to retract it. He did so in the same pulpit, adding, 'Kings possess over their subjects only that authority which is accorded them by divine and human law, and not any derived from their own absolute will.' The delinquent was made to repeat these words by order of Master Fernan del Castillo, consultant of the Holy Office."

was secular, and wonders that the Pontiff allowed it to become such. But let us hear Ranke on this matter: "In the first place, the inquisitors were royal officers. The kings appointed and dismissed them; among the various councils at their court, the kings had likewise one of the Inquisition; the courts of the Inquisition, like other magistracies, were subject to royal visitation; the same men who sat in the Supreme Court of Castile were often accessories of the Inquisition. To no purpose did Ximenes scruple to admit into the council of the Inquisition a layman nominated by Ferdinand the Catholic. 'Do you not know,' said the king, 'that if the tribunal possesses jurisdiction, it derives it from the king?' . . . In the second place, *all the profit of the confiscations by this court accrued to the king.* . . . It was even believed and asserted from the beginning that the kings had been moved to establish this tribunal more by a hankering after the wealth it confiscated than by motives of piety. . . Segni says that the Inquisition was invented to rob the wealthy of their property, and the powerful of their influence (1). As Charles V. knew no other means of bringing certain punishment on the bishops who had taken part in the insurrection of the Comunidades, (2) he chose to have them judged by the Inquisition. . . . Under Philip it interfered in matters of trade and of the arts, of customs and marine. How much further could it go, when it pronounced it heresy to sell horses or munitions to France? . . . In spirit, and above all in tendency, it was a political institution. The Pope had an interest in thwarting it, and he did so as often as he could" (3).

In 1812 the Spanish Cortes, having assembled to arrange a new constitution for the kingdom, appointed a committee to report on the Inquisition. This document shows that its authors were no friends of the tribunal, but it asserts that

(1) Ranke might have stated that the Florentine historian adds: "It was based on the omnipotence of the king, and it worked everything to the profit of the royal power, to the detriment of the spiritual. In its first idea and in its object, it is a political institution. It is the interest of the Pope to put obstacles in its way, and he does so whenever he can; but it is the interest of the king to maintain it in continual progress."

(2) Alluding to the struggle of the Communes for their *fueros*, or privileges, a struggle in which the clergy sided with the people.

(3) *Loc. cit.*

the Inquisition "was an institution demanded and established by the Spanish monarchs in difficult circumstances;" and that, furthermore, the tribunal "could decree nothing without the consent of the king." Nay, according to this committee, "the Inquisition is a royal authority, the inquisitor is a royal agent, and all his ordinances are null and void unless they have the royal sanction. The king's power suspends and revokes at will every member of the tribunal; and the very moment royal authority would disappear, the tribunal would accompany it." The Calvinist Limborch, who is, after Llorente, the most bitter of all polemics who have written on the Inquisition, narrates a fact which also proves that the Spanish tribunal was a local political institution. When Philip II. sought to establish it in Milan, the people revolted, declaring that "in a Christian city, it would be tyranny to establish a form of inquisition designed for Moors and Jews." The conduct of the Neapolitans, ever adverse to the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition, though they willingly received the Roman, as well as the ordinary Inquisition of their own bishops, also proves that the Spanish tribunal was regarded as a royal one. Many attempts, met by insurrection and bloodshed, had been made by the viceroys of Charles V. and Philip II. to introduce it; and in 1564, when several of the friends of Victoria Colonna and Julia Gonzaga (1) had been cited by the archiepiscopal vicar, and when two others had been beheaded, the citizens demanded of the viceroy, the duke of Alcalá, whether he intended to force the obnoxious tribunal upon them. A negative answer reassured them; and a few years afterward the citizens sent deputies, "with orders to thank the illustrious archbishop for his many demonstrations against heretics and Jews, and to request him to inform his Holiness

(1) The princess Victoria Colonna, born 1490, at Marino, a fief of her family, was one of the most distinguished women of her day. Loved, after the manner of Petrarch, by Michelangelo, and intimate with Pole, Morone, Flaminio, and other great spirits of the time, she exercised more influence than any other one person of her circle. Her correspondence, redolent of mysticism, is orthodox; but she did not escape the suspicion of heresy. Julia Gonzaga, Countess of Fondi, another famous princess of the day, had to bear the same accusation; but, as Pompeo Litta says (*Celebrated Italian Families*, no. 33), this was common to all the learned personages who then contended for a reform of ecclesiastical discipline.

that the entire city is well pleased with the chastisement and extirpation of such persons by the hand of our own ordinary, as is quite proper ; this we have always prayed for : that the canons should be observed, and that there should be no interference of a *secular* court."

We must now say a few words in conclusion upon the severity of the Spanish Inquisition. Many of the apologists of this tribunal point to the words "Mercy and Justice" emblazoned on its banner, and insist on the fact that the consignment of a culprit to the secular arm was always accompanied by a strong recommendation to mercy. There is no doubt that mercy was generally shown to the repentant, and that, in their case, the *auto da fé* consisted in the burning of the candles which they held in their hands. But, in the case of the unrepentant, we lay no stress on the recommendation to mercy ; we agree with those who regard this phrase as a mere form. The inquisitors well knew that their condemnation and their abandonment of the accused to the civil power was equivalent to a sentence of death; that all hope of mercy rested with themselves alone. We prefer to confine ourselves to an inquiry into the truth of the popular estimate of the cruelites of the tribunal.

The reader may rest assured that in this exhibition, with which popular prejudice has long been regaled, there is nothing behind the curtain that might further satisfy the morbid ; everything that could contribute to render the scene more impressive has been artistically presented. Outside of Spain, few authors, Catholic or Protestant, have attempted to explain, still fewer to defend, the Spanish Inquisition. In France, for a long time after the days of Philip II., it was the fashion to ridicule everything pertaining to Spain. In England, commercial rivalry and religious rancor, aided by a consciousness of England's own superior cruelty in religious persecution, caused those writers, on whom moderns have relied for information, to misrepresent everything emanating from his Catholic Majesty. In Germany, until very recent times, the calumnies of the first "reformers" had so firm a hold on the popular and even on the cultivated mind, that no horror narrated of a Catholic

people or of a Catholic ruler appeared incredible. But even Voltaire, of course an implacable foe of the Inquisition, admits that "without doubt this justly detested tribunal has been charged with horrible excesses that it did not always commit; it is foolish to clamor against the Inquisition because of doubtful facts, and still more foolish to search for lies with which to render it hateful" (1). And hearken to the opinion of Bourgoing, Minister of the first French Republic to Spain, and from the very nature of his associations, an opponent of the Inquisition: "I publicly avow, in order to pay homage to truth, that the Inquisition might be cited, in our days, as a model of equity" (2). Even Limborch admits that during a very long period only fifteen men and four women were executed, and most of these for treason, witchcraft, sacrilege, or other crimes different from heresy (3). Llorente cites an *auto da fé* of 1486 at Toledo, when seven hundred and fifty were condemned, but not one to capital punishment; another of nine hundred, also without a death; another where three thousand three hundred were condemned, but only twenty-seven suffered death. And we must remember that, besides heresy, the Inquisition had jurisdiction over sins against nature, solicitation *in tribunale*, blasphemy, robbery of churches, and even over the furnish- ing of contraband goods to the enemy.

Let us examine the mode of procedure adopted and constantly followed by the Spanish Inquisition. According to Simancas (4), one of the first lawyers of the sixteenth century, no one was arrested until accused by three different witnesses, each of whom swore that he was not acting in collusion with any other, and that he was not actuated by malice (5). So careful was the tribunal to exclude malice, that both witnesses and inquisitors were subject to excommunication if they yielded to it. When the accused appeared, if he could disprove the charges, he was released; if he could not disprove them, but avowed his repentance, he was, even

(1) In the French *Dictionary of Sciences*.

(2) *A Voyage in Spain*, by M. Bourgoing, reviewed in the *Journal of the Empire*, Sept. 17, 1805.

(3) SPALDING, *loc. cit.*

(4) *Catholic Institutions against Heresy*, 1552.

(5) *Ibid.* tit. xlv.

then, released. Even if he relapsed, and being again committed, repented, he was again released (1). Only on the third conviction, and by three different sets of witnesses, each generally consisting of three (sometimes only two were required), the accused was finally consigned to the civil court for judgment. Much fault has been found with the Inquisition for sometimes admitting the evidence of disreputable persons, such as courtesans, etc.; but all tribunals do so to this day; and Simancas says that such testimony was received only "for what it was worth," and that, to condemn the accused, evidence "clearer than light" was required (2).

So far, we think, the reader will find no fault with the proceedings of the Inquisition, unless he is violently affected by the fact of the crime being a religious one, and therefore—as he may have been accustomed to think—one beyond the cognizance of a human tribunal. Let him remember, however, that positive law is conventional; that "to-day different crimes are punished, but this proves only that social interests are not always the same; those of to-day have the advantage of being actual, while those of the olden time have the disadvantage of having passed away" (3). But the reader will probably condemn the practice of torturing the convicted who would not confess their guilt. The more enlightened jurisprudence of our day recognizes the foolishness, as well as the cruelty, of such a practice; but at the time of the Inquisition the custom of applying the "question" (4) at the trial of imputed criminals was universal, and had been recognized from the days of Justinian. Men seem not to have perceived its absurdity and inhumanity until a very modern period; most of the European states continued its use until the end of the last century. But there are two points concerning the use of torture by the Spanish Inquisition which are too frequently ignored. Torture was applied by the civil, not by the ecclesiastical court; and if, as we learn from Art. 18 of the code estab-

(1) Limborch admits these two consecutive pardons.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, tit. II.

(3) CANTU, *Heretics of Italy*, disc. 5.

(4) There were two kinds of "question," the ordinary and extraordinary; the former being a mild use of the instruments employed "to elicit the truth," while the latter involved the utmost extreme of torment.

lished by Torquemada, one or two ecclesiastics were always present at the question, they were there merely to witness the avowals, and not—as popular fancy has pictured them—to gloat over the agonies of their victims. Again, a confession extorted by torture was of no avail to the prosecution, unless it was voluntarily confirmed three days afterward.

Concerning the number of the victims, whether by death or by exile, of the Spanish Inquisition, Balmes says that he defies England or France—the two nations who now claim to be at the head of civilization—to show, and to compare with the Spanish, their statistics on the subject of religious persecution: “We do not fear the parallel.” The Continuator of Fleury gives us a discourse of the celebrated chancellor de l’Hopital, who was strongly suspected of Calvinism, which indicates that, in the sixteenth century, the dreaded tribunal was not painted in colors so sombre as it wears at present. At the Colloquy of Poissy there was a debate on the propriety of establishing the Inquisition in France; and the chancellor avowed that he would vote for it “had not the evil of religious dissension already taken so deep a root in his country, and were it likely that France would secure that benefit of unity of faith which Philip had secured for Spain, at the cost (during his reign) of forty-eight capital executions.” Llorente contends that, during its career of three hundred and thirty years, the Spanish tribunal put more than thirty thousand persons to death; but when we analyze his details, we find that his figures are not to be trusted. Take, for instance, the assertion that during the first year of its existence (1481), the sole tribunal of Seville burned two thousand, all of whom, he says, belonged to the diocese of Seville and Cadiz. In support of this charge he cites Mariana; but a consultation of that historian will reveal that the number of two thousand includes all the persons executed under Torquemada, and throughout his entire jurisdiction—that is, in the whole of Castile and Leon during his fifteen years of inquisitorship. After narrating how Torquemada founded inquisitorial tribunals in Castile, Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, Pulgar, a contemporary historian, justifies

the remarks of Mariana: "These tribunals summoned all heretics to present themselves; and fifteen thousand having obeyed, they were reconciled to the Church by penance. As for those who waited for prosecution, the convicted were consigned to the secular authority, and about two thousand of them were burned at different times in various districts."

Llorente himself shows, in another passage, that his figures concerning the victims of the year 1487 are falsified; for there he states that, in that very year, the new tribunal executed two hundred and ninety-eight persons. He perceived the contradiction, and tried to escape by remarking that seventeen hundred and two other victims belonged to other places than Seville—"to the surrounding districts and the diocese of Cadiz." But the forgetful historian had already told us, and rightly, that before 1483 there was but one inquisitorial tribunal in all Andalusia, and that it was at Seville, whither the accused were sent from all parts. So much for Llorente's statistics of the first year of the Spanish Inquisition; and nearly all his other calculations are made with similar disregard for truth. Listen to the following argument: "When the number of tribunals was increased from three to eleven, the number of executions must have increased in the same proportion;" and then he builds up his figures. Must we suppose that eleven tribunals necessarily have eleven times the number of capital sentences hitherto pronounced by one? Again, the bad faith of Llorente is plain when he says that his thirty thousand victims were all heretics,—“unfortunates, who had committed, perhaps, no other crime than that of better interpreting the Bible, and of having a faith more enlightened than that of their judges.” According to his own admission, the Spanish tribunal took cognizance of many crimes besides heresy: of sins against nature; of ecclesiastical and monastic immoralities; of blasphemy, usury, and sacrilegious theft; of all crimes connected with the employees or affairs of the tribunal; of traffic in contraband of war; and of every kind of sorcery and superstition—which last crimes, thanks to the Moors and Jews, caused more trouble in Spain than all the others produced. Finally, Hefele shows that at Nordlingen

—a Protestant town of Germany, having then a population of six thousand—the Protestant authorities burned in four years (1590-94) thirty-five sorcerers. Applying these proportions to Spain, where sorcery was then at least as prevalent, there should have been, in four years, fifty thousand sorcerers executed in that country ; that is, twenty thousand more than Llorente assigns as victims of every kind to the Spanish Inquisition during its career of three hundred and thirty years. Let the reader reflect as to the probable proportion of heretics in Llorente's thirty thousand victims.

CHAPTER XXXII.

POPE BONIFACE VIII.

On the death of Pope Nicholas IV. on April 4, 1292, so great were the dissensions among the cardinals, that no election was effected until July 5, 1294, when the tiara was conferred on Peter Morone, the founder of a Benedictine Congregation afterward styled Celestines. The new Pontiff was a man of evident sanctity, but he was utterly ignorant of the world and its passions, and had never had any experience of men. Very soon after the accession of Celestine V., widespread confusion proved that a pontiff should have some idea of the wants and habits of the world. All the time of Celestine was passed in a little cell in the interior of the palace, and the curials abused his authority to sanction acts of simony. Charles II., king of Naples, realizing how much the House of Anjou might gain by manipulating so simple-minded a pontiff, prevailed on Celestine to promise at least a temporary transfer of the papal residence to Naples ; and he also obtained a release from his vow not to detain the Pope in his dominions. Thus did this holy, but injudicious pastor, subject the pontifical independence to the whims of a tricky sovereign. Very soon Celestine heard that it was whispered that the weal of Christendom demanded his abdication ; and a poem by the celebrated Jacopone da Todi, warning him of the tremendous respon-

sibilities of the tiara, completed his own conviction that he was unsuited to his position. But could a Pope abdicate? He consulted Cardinal Gaetani, one of the most learned men of his court; and that prelate, backed by many other cardinals, having pronounced in the affirmative, a full Consistory listened, on December 13, 1294, to the Act of abdication, and then the venerable ex-pontiff resumed his monastic habit. On the first day of the ensuing Conclave, the unanimous choice of the electors was Benedict Gaetani, who assumed the name of Boniface VIII.

Born at Anagni, Gaetani received his first education from the Franciscans, and, in time, he acquired the reputation of a consummate jurist. Martin IV. raised him to the cardinalate. When he donned the tiara, Boniface VIII. was in his seventy-eighth year; but he had the energy of youth. At that moment, Philip the Fair of France and Edward I. of England were entering upon that struggle which was, in a few years, to end in nearly the ruin of France. The contest between Albert of Austria and Adolphus of Nassau divided Germany. Sicily, yet red with the blood of the famous Vespers (1282), and submissive to the house of Aragon, defied the censures of the Church. Venice, Genoa, and Pisa were at war; Tuscany was a prey to the Whites and Blacks. The Eternal City was exhausted by the factious wars of the Orsini and the Colonna (1). In the East, the Christian

(1) In the Rome of the Middle Age there are ever visible three distinct political elements: 1, the republican, represented by the people, with its "Roman Republic," its prefect of the city, its consuls, patricians, senate, and all the forms of the ancient constitution (See CURTIUS; *Commentaries on the Roman Senate*, Geneva, 1769). 2, the feudal element, represented by the nobility, with their castles, fiefs, and all the customs of feudalism. 3, the ecclesiastical element, represented by the Pope-King. During the time of the first Carlovingian emperors, the Popes were dominant in Rome, but in the tenth century the feudal element nearly annihilated their authority, and a turbulent oligarchy governed the city, to the detriment of popular liberty. The Otthos repressed the Roman nobility, and the third of the line even tried to make Rome his capital; the emperor's effigy appeared on the Roman coins along with that of the Pontiff (MURATORI; *Italian Antiquities of the Middle Age*, vol. II, diss. 27), and the emperor reserved the right of exercising criminal justice by means of the prefect, whom he invested with the sword, etc. All this in spite of the fact that at the emperor's coronation he swore thrice (at the Ponticello, at the Porta Collina, and at the steps of St. Peter's) to respect the liberties of the Romans. In the twelfth century the power of the Roman Senate greatly increased; the S. P. Q. R. was resumed in all acts, and with the exception of criminal justice and foreign relations, the Senate was the government until the reign of Innocent III, who restored the Pontifical authority. In the thirteenth century, the Pontiffs who were the most respected abroad frequently trembled in their own capital, but this was owing, not so much to the turbulence of the Romans, as to the antagonism of

colonies, established by the Crusaders, begged the Western powers to save them from destruction. But it is not our purpose to narrate the entire history of this Pontificate; we shall confine ourselves to the events which have rendered famous the name of Boniface VIII., and which have been too often misrepresented.

When Boniface VIII. ascended the Papal throne, Philip IV. had occupied the throne of France for nine years. He had reduced the power of the chief vassals of the crown, and naturally entertained exaggerated ideas of his own importance. His political morality was of slight calibre, and he was the first French monarch who made it an art to be able in evil. The famous disagreement between Pope Boniface and King Philip may be traced to various causes. Shortly after his election, the Pontiff had erected the abbey of the canons-regular at Pamiers into a bishopric, and had given the new diocese to a person much disliked by the king. On Oct. 18, 1296, Boniface published the Bull *Clericis Laicos*, in which he ordered all ecclesiastics to pay, out of the ecclesiastical revenues, no tax, etc., to laics, without the express permission of the Holy See. This Bull was directed more especially against Edward I. of England, who exercised against the clergy an oppression which Philip had not yet attempted; but this monarch chose to be offended by it. In another Bull, *Ineffabilis*, dated Oct. 25, 1296, the Pontiff explains his prohibition, and shows the old affection of the Roman court for France: "If your kingdom—which God forbid!—were in imminent danger, far from prohibiting the French clergy from according subsidies to you, the Holy See would sacrifice its crosses, its chalices, its sacred vessels, rather than expose to danger so noble, so dear a kingdom which has been so long so devoted to the Roman Church." Pope Boniface has been greatly blamed for his Bull *Clericis Laicos*, but it merely gives the sense of Canon 44 of the Fourth Council of Lateran.

In 1298, Philip received, with great honor, several mem-

the Gueyps and Ghibellines. In Rome these factions were headed, respectively, by the Orsini and Colonna, two families whose origin is traced to the times of the old empire (CRESCENZI; *Crown of the Italian Nobility*, Bologna, 1639. MONALDESCO, in Muratori's *Italian Writers*, vol. XII.).

bers of the Colonna family, who affected to regard Boniface VIII. as an Anti-Pope, he having reduced them to subjection. In the same year the Pontiff displeased the king by ordering a truce with England and Germany. The authors of the *Art of Verifying Dates*, not at all favorable to our Pontiff, say : " Boniface VIII. having been chosen as arbitrator by the kings of France and England, rendered judgment in full Consistory on June 28, 1298, and afterward expedited it in the form of a Bull. This document, given in its entirety by Rymer, does honor to the impartiality of Boniface, although most French writers speak ill of it. But these authors are fully refuted by the text of the Bull, and by the docility with which the two kings obeyed the sentence." The decision of the Pontiff was carried to Paris by the English ambassador to the Holy See. This choice wounded the national pride of Philip. Again, the Pontiff had restored the *status quo ante bellum*, and Philip wished to retain the advantages of his victories in Flanders ; consequently, he did not object when the count d'Artois snatched the document from the hands of the bishop and cast it into the fire. As for himself, he protested that he would not observe one of its articles ; nevertheless, he afterward submitted.

In 1301 the Pontiff sent as legate to France the bishop of Pamiers, whom Philip detested, Bernard de Saisset, with instructions to urge the monarch to an expedition to the Holy Land ; to prohibit the use of clerical subsidies for any other purpose than the redemption of the Holy Sepulchre ; and to protest against many violations of ecclesiastical immunities on the part of Philip. Boniface might have chosen a more acceptable agent than de Saisset ; but when certain authors assert that this " insolence " and a threat to depose Philip caused the bishop's expulsion from the French court, they draw on their own imagination, and not on any one of the authorities of the time. Philip believed that he had many reasons for detesting de Saisset. The quarrels of that prelate with the count de Foix concerning the independence of his episcopal city ; his descent from the counts of Toulouse, and his supposed desire to

revive the kingdom of Languedoc: these sufficed to prompt Philip to seek a pretext for disembarassing himself of the legate. The count de Foix and others swore that Saisset had often declared that Philip came from bastards, and was a phantom; that the same Saisset had charged the king with adulterating the coinage of the realm. The prelate had even, according to his foes, fomented the war with England, and had incited the counts de Foix and de Comminges to revolt. On Oct. 24, the accused was tried; the chancellor, Peter Flotte, acting as prosecutor. The legate returned a general denial, but a verdict of guilty was rendered, and he was consigned to the custody of the archbishop of Narbonne. To justify his proceedings, Philip sent Flotte to Rome, and in full Consistory the chancellor defended his master with such audacity that the Pontiff reminded him of the spiritual sword. Flotte retorted: "Very well, your Holiness; but your sword is one of mere words, while my master's deals death;" an impudence which Philip would scarcely have authorized. Pope Boniface now sent into France another legate, James des Normands, who was charged to demand the liberty of Saisset, and to bring the king to reason in all other matters. The new legate took with him four Bulls, in the first of which the Pope suspended all the privileges accorded to the king. In the second, commencing *Ausculda fili*, the Pontiff concludes: "We have often tried to lead the king back to his duty, but in vain. Therefore, we now order the archbishops, bishops, abbots, chapters, and doctors in theology, to appear before us in November of next year, that we may provide, with their counsel, for reform in the kingdom, and for the re-establishment of good order." The two other Bulls were invitations to the clergy of France to attend the conference ordered above. The Bull *Ausculda fili* was retained by Flotte, and, as the great Gallican de Marca admits, he forged a Brief which was calculated to further irritate Philip, and to put the Pontiff into a false position. This Brief, although evidently false, is found in all the old histories of this dispute, and is even inserted in the *Glossary* of Canon Law. It says: "Boniface, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Philip,

king of France: Fear God and keep His commandments. We wish you to know that you are subject to us in both temporals and spirituals; that the granting of benefices and prebends belongs to you in no way; that you are bound to reserve their revenues for those who succeed to them; and that, if you have conferred any benefices, we pronounce such collations and all their consequent acts to be null and void. We regard as heretics all who believe otherwise." The proofs that this Brief is a forgery are as follows: I. Pope Boniface accuses Peter Flotte, by name, of the crime. II. The legate, des Normands, denies that he ever used such language to Philip, either in writing, or by speech. III. The affectation of brevity, the imperious tone, of the document are entirely foreign both to the style of the Roman Curia, and to the courtesy ever manifested in the correspondence of Boniface VIII. IV. The entire Sacred College protested officially against it. However, King Philip chose to call the document authentic, and so far demeaned himself as to parody it in the following letter to the Pontiff: "Philip, by the grace of God, king of the French, to Boniface, styling himself Sovereign Pontiff, little or no greeting: We wish your great Fatuity to know that we are subject to no one in temporals. The giving of vacant benefices and prebends, and the right to receive their revenues, is our royal prerogative. The provisions we have made, and shall make, are valid, both as to the past and as to the future, and we shall uphold their possessors against all persons. We regard as insensate all who believe otherwise." Unfortunately for the memory of this great monarch, while the little Brief is certainly false, there is full evidence that the royal reply is authentic. When James des Normands finally read the true Bull *Ausculta fili*, it was interpreted in the sense of the forged Brief, and on Feb. 11, 1302, in the presence of all the nobility then in the capital, the count d'Artois gave it to the flames, and news of the act was proclaimed by public crier through the public streets. The cause of Bernard de Saisset was now secondary, and, together with the legate des Normands, he was ordered to quit France.

To complete the iniquitous work, a counsellor of the

king, William of Nogaret, prompted by the Colonna refugees, presented to Philip the following accusations against Pope Boniface. I. He was not Pope. II. He was an open heretic. III. He was the worst simoniac the world had ever seen. IV. His other enormities were innumerable. Hence, Philip was entreated to assemble the estates of the kingdom to punish the monster. On April 10, 1302, the estates met in Notre Dame, under the presidency of the king, but Peter Flotte, now keeper of the seal, addressed them in the royal name. He accused Pope Boniface of pretending that France was a fief of the Holy See, and adduced as proof the Brief he had forged. He then asked the prelates, barons, and other lords, whether they held their fiefs from the Pope or from the king; and he insisted on an immediate answer, for he wished to know who were traitors to his Majesty. The temporal lords submitted at once; after some hesitation the spiritual ones followed. As for the Council convoked by Boniface, a royal prohibition prevented most of the prelates from attending it, but to the honor of the French clergy be it remembered that four archbishops, thirty-five bishops, and six abbots, obeyed the Pontifical summons, and their revenues went into the royal exchequer. The Pope and the Sacred College protested against the calumnies of the chancellor, and on November 1, 1302, Boniface opened his Synod, but we know little of its transactions. The Pontiff published his famous Constitution *Unam Sanctam*, in which some writers have found that he claimed to dispose, at his own pleasure, of all the kingdoms of the earth. But Fenelon explained the Pontiff's assertions in the sense of the simple "directive" power. The strongest expressions of the *Unam Sanctam* are taken from Hugh of St. Victor and St. Bernard, and Bossuet explains their meaning in the "directive" sense. Pope Boniface speaks of submission to the Pontiff as to the source or organ of Christian principle; he does not claim obedience in the purely temporal order. In the very Synod in which the *Unam Sanctam* was issued, the Pope said: "It is forty years since we were initiated in the science of law, and we know that there are two powers ordained by God. How

then can any one believe that such foolishness entered into our mind (as to assert that the French king holds his temporalities from the Pope)? We protest, therefore, that we have no intention to usurp, in any way, the jurisdiction of the king; but the king cannot deny, any more than any other Christian, that he is subject to us, by reason of sin."

That he might not neglect any means of bringing Philip to a sense of his duty, the Pontiff sent to him the cardinal Lemoine, much esteemed by the monarch, with the following eleven articles of agreement, the acceptance of which would have guaranteed a durable peace. I. The royal prohibition to the clergy to visit the Eternal City should be revoked. II. The Papal permission for the royal collation of a benefice was to be regarded as necessary. III. The right of the Pope to send legates where he might please, was to be acknowledged. IV. Only the Pontiff can legislate concerning the administration of ecclesiastical property. V. No prince can seize such goods of the clergy, as they do not hold from him in fief. VI. The crime of the king of France, in allowing a Papal Bull to be burnt in his presence, if not proved to be without foundation in truth, was to be punished by the loss of all the privileges accorded to the king by the Apostolic See. VII. During the vacancy of dioceses, etc., the king should put an end to the abuses sanctioned as rights of *regalia*. VIII. The spiritual sword was to be restored to the bishops, all privileges to the contrary notwithstanding. IX. The king should make restitution for his adulteration of the coin of the realm, and for all unjust exactions by his officers. X. An explanation was to be given for the discourteous reception of the legate, des Normands. XI. This article concerned the independence of the church of Lyons. The cardinal Lemoine presented these articles to Philip in March, 1303, and received instantly a categorical answer to each one. As to the first, only the circumstances of the time had induced the monarch to forbid the bishops' visits to the Holy See. As to the second, fourth, fifth, and seventh articles, which concerned benefices, the king would remedy all abuses. Concerning the third, he would never refuse to recognize a Papal legate,

unless he had good reason to suspect him. As for the sixth, the burning of the Bull was owing to the invocation, in a contest between the Chapter and some officers of Laon, of a Bull the nullity of which was proved, and that Bull was burnt with the consent of the bishop of Laon. The eighth he would not notice. He replied to the ninth and tenth that the example of his predecessors had led him to adulterate his coinage, as a means of aiding his treasury, and that some of his subjects' losses had been repaired; in future, he would avoid adulteration. As to the eleventh article, the independence of the church of Lyons would form a subject for future negotiation. No wonder if these replies were regarded by the Pontiff as "vague, equivocal, obscure, and evasive," and if he stamped the answer to the sixth article as an absolute falsehood.

Following the advice of Nogaret, King Philip soon resolved to proceed to the last extremities in his difference with Pope Boniface. On June 13, 1303, the estates met in the Louvre, and in the presence of Philip, William Plasian, lord of Vezénobre, accused the Supreme Pontiff of unbelief in the immortality of the soul, in a future life, and in the Real Presence. He also declared that Boniface favored idolatry; that he consulted a familiar demon; that he practised sodomy; that he was a simoniac; and that he forced priests to reveal the secrets of the confessional. Plasian then protested that in proffering these charges, he was actuated by no malice against the accused; and he swore that he would prove all his allegations in a General Council which he conjured King Philip to promote. Then Philip arose, and having declared his agreement with the conduct of Plasian, he requested the prelates to join him in procuring a General Council; then, as it was certain that Boniface would oppose such a measure, Philip appealed to the future Council against anything that the said Boniface might do or say. The Continuator of Nange and John Villani record that the abbot of Cîteaux alone dared to protest against these enormities. Alexandre, in his article on the manner in which "the king and the French church defended their rights and liberties against the attacks of Boniface VIII.,"

contents that the protest of the Cistercian abbot is uncertain; for he pronounces it contradicted by the Acts of the assembly as cited in the famous *Proofs of the Dispute, etc.* But while it is true that the name of the abbot of Cîteaux is read among the signatures, they who compelled the votes were capable of forgery, and hence we may credit the assertion of the Continuator and of Villani, and believe that there was one brave soul that day among the higher clergy of France. When the estates separated, Philip sent Plasian and two others, with ample powers, into all the provinces to obtain the approbation of the above proceedings from all the towns, churches, and communities. Over seven hundred adhesions were put into his hands, but many Italian monks, then residing in the kingdom, refused their signatures, as did also the abbots of Cluny, Cîteaux, and Prémontré, and these were all thrust into prison. When the news of these outrages reached Rome, the Pontiff, deeming it wiser to be out of the power of the Ghibellines, then dominant in his capital, proceeded to Anagni. There he protested his innocence of the crimes imputed to him by Philip, and expedited five Bulls, all under date of August 18, 1303. The first excommunicated all who prevented the publication of Papal documents, be the dignity of such parties the highest. The second suspended the archbishop of Nicosia for having favored the disobedience of Philip. The third deprived all the doctors of the University of Paris, who had counselled the king, of the right to confer degrees, until his Majesty obeyed the orders of the Holy See. The fourth took from every French ecclesiastical corporation the right of election, reserving all nominations to the Pontiff. The fifth concerned the royal criminal alone. It commences: *Nuper ad audientiam*, and in it the Pope recapitulates the proceedings at the Louvre on June 13, and repels the accusations, especially of heresy, made against himself. Then he reproaches Philip with his reception of the rebel, Stephen Colonna, and with his violence toward the Papal legates. He points out the absurdity of a General Council without the concurrence of the Pontiff. He does not excommunicate the king, but he warns him to beware lest he may draw this

punishment on himself. This last fact shows that the Constitution *Per processus nostros*, in which the excommunication is pronounced, was written only by way of provision.

The Bull *Nuper ad audientiam* arrived at Paris too late to obviate the final catastrophe. William de Nogaret had already proceeded to Italy. There he met Jacopo (called Sciarra, "dispute," owing to his irritability) Colonna, whom Philip, says Ferretti of Vicenza, a great authority among the foes of Boniface, had begged to help in the work entrusted to his minister. Sciarra was at the head of three hundred horse and some foot-soldiers, and he was soon joined by two hundred cavalry, a remnant of the army that Charles of Valois had commanded in Sicily, and by a number of friends of Ceccano (whom Boniface held in prison), of Maffeo d'Anagni, and of Rinaldo di Suppino, the Ghibelline governor of Ferrentino. Meanwhile, Pope Boniface, far from suspecting that the grandson of St. Louis could conspire against the life or liberty of a Roman Pontiff, was engaged on his Bull *Super Petri solio*, which was destined to give the final blow to the haughty monarch. On the morning of September 7, word was brought to the Papal palace that the streets of Anagni were filled with soldiers under the royal standard of France, and very soon the Pontiff heard shouts of "Death to Boniface!" and of "Live the King of France!" Nogaret and Colonna, aided by the treachery of the Ghibelline magistrates of the city, were undisputed masters of Anagni. The palace was soon attacked, and after a short and brave resistance by the Marquis Gaetani and a few retainers, an entrance was forced. At this moment there were with the Pope only two cardinals, the bishops of Ostia and of Sabina, but the grand soul of Boniface would have sustained him in greater desolation. Crying to the attendants: "Open my doors, for I desire to die a martyr for the Church of God," he hastily donned the Pontifical insignia, and when the noble ruffians burst into the apartment, they beheld the venerable successor of Peter seated upon his throne, with his face toward the altar, the tiara on his head, one hand holding a cross, and the other

grasping the symbolic keys (1). For a moment Sciarra and Nogaret were abashed, but soon the former gave vent to a torrent of insults (2), some writers asserting that he even struck the pontiff, while others make no mention of such an outrage. At any rate, Nogaret uttered this insulting remark: "Caitiff that thou art, note the goodness of my master, the king of France, who from a distance protects thee, by my means, from thy enemies" (3). The dignity of Pope Boniface remained unruffled, and he persevered in silence until the Frenchman threatened to put him in chains and to take him to Lyons, there to be deposed by a future Council. "Here is my head," cried the Pontiff; "for the liberty of the Church, I, a Catholic, legitimate Pope, and vicar of Jesus Christ, am willing to be condemned and deposed by Patarini; I desire a martyrdom for the faith of Christ, and for His Church." This allusion to the grandfather of Nogaret, who had been burnt as a Patarine, silenced the ruffian, and he put an end to the scene by ordering the imprisonment of his victim (4). For three days Boniface was kept in close confinement, and subjected to many outrages and privations. His palace was sacked, the relics of saints were dispersed, the archives plundered, and the bishop of Strigonium was put to death (5). Finally, the people of Anagni attacked the bands of Nogaret and Sciarra, beat them out of the city, and freed the Pontiff. The manner in which Boniface resented his injuries does not justify the generally received opinion that he was violent and implacable. He dismissed all his prisoners, excepting the robbers of the treasury, and he pardoned Rinaldo di

(1) JOHN VILLANI, b. VIII., c. 63; ST. ANTONINE, v. III., tit. XX., c. 8; PIPINUS, *Chronicle*, b. IV., c. 41; WALSINGHAM, *Hist. of England*; FERRETTI of Vicenza, b. III., p. 1002 — *Chron. Parma*, y. 1303 *Pistoiese Histories*, in MURATORI, v. XI.; RUBEO, *Process*.

(2) VILLANI; ST. ANTONINE; FERRETTI, all *loc. cit*.

(3) WALSINGHAM, *loc. cit*.

(4) Violently opposed though he was to Boniface VIII., this terrible scene caused Dante to allow the Catholic to banish the Ghibelline, and to write:

"Entering Alagna, lo the fleur de lis,
And in his vicar, Christ a captive led!
I see Him mocked a second time—again
The vinegar and gall produced I see;
And Christ Himself 'twixt living robbers slain."

—*Purgatory*, cto. XX., Wright's Translation.

(5) RUBEO, *loc. cit*.

Suppino, and the cardinals, Napoleon Orsini and Richard of Siena, implicated in the late outrage (1). He immediately proceeded to Rome, but was soon seized by an ardent fever, and seeing his last hour approach, he received the last Sacraments, and rendered his heroic soul to God on Oct. 11, 1303.

It has been the fortune of Pope Boniface VIII. to have made many enemies, and to have found very few apologists, even among Catholic writers. Most Protestant authors have ranked him among the "wicked" Popes. Very many Catholic authors would have acted, they think, in a very different way if they had occupied the Papal throne in circumstances like those that surrounded this Pontiff. Raynald tells us that "upon this same Boniface, who had caused kings, bishops, the clergy, religious, and the people to quake with fear, there suddenly came, one day, grief, fear, and trembling; in order that, by this example, the higher prelates might learn that they ought not tyrannize over the clergy and the people, but rather to care for their subjects, and to desire their love more than their fear." Cantù, to our great surprise, regards this judgment of Raynald as "Christian impartiality," and accepts the account of our Pontiff's death as given by his enemies: "Crushed, and out of his mind, he expired like a madman" (2). When authors so devoted to the Holy See utter such opinions with regard to Boniface VIII., we need not be surprised that Sismondi, the Magdebourg Centuriators, Mosheim, and the rank and file of Protestant polemics, can see no good in him; that while Popes Gregory VII. and Innocent III. have found a Voigt and a Hurter to proclaim their virtues and to defend their policies, and while a Ranke finds much to admire in many other Pontiffs, Boniface is nearly universally regarded as, at best, an unscrupulous intriguer. But he has found some apologists, and among them the first place is due to the learned Benedictine of Montecassino, Dom Louis Tosti whose *History of Boniface VIII.* would have been still more valuable, if the author had possessed the *Acts* published by Dupuy, and had not been obliged to rely upon simple ex-

(1) WALSINGHAM; RUBEO, *ibi*.

(2) *Univ. Hist.*, b. XIII., c. 6.

tracts from them. The concise and judicious Palma has deviated, while treating of this Pontificate, from his usual brevity, and has given a very satisfactory apology. The abbé Christophe, in his *History of the Papacy during the Fourteenth Century* (1853), has done much to clear the character of Boniface, and Cardinal Wiseman published, in 1844, a critical and exhaustive essay in his defense, which cannot be too highly praised.

The first accusation made against Pope Boniface VIII. coincides with his assumption of the tiara. He is charged with having used artifice to procure the abdication of Celestine V. Mosheim says that "several cardinals, and especially Benedict Gaetani, advised Celestine to abdicate the Papacy. . . . and they had the pleasure of seeing their advice followed with the utmost docility" (1). Sismondi tells us that "among the cardinals was Benedict Gaetani, who took care to excite their discontent, and to exaggerate in their minds the danger that threatened Christendom. In address and dissimulation this man had no equal; he knew how, at the same time, to flatter the cardinals who regarded him as the defender of their prerogative, and to rule the mind of Celestine, who acted only in accordance with his counsels, and who, perhaps, would not have fallen into so many errors, had not the treacherous adviser schemed to render him both odious and ridiculous. . . . Then he induced Celestine to resign a position for which he was not fitted. Some declare that he planned a speaking-trumpet to convey, as it were, an order from heaven, to this intent; but without recurring to this trick, he could influence in many ways the simple-minded man whose conscience he alarmed" (2). Ferretti of Vicenza is the *some* upon whom Sismondi relies to make us accept the tale of the speaking-trumpet, but even this bitter foe of Boniface introduces his story with a *ferunt*—"they say." And it is strange that Sismondi should accept the authority of Ferretti's *ferunt*, when he quietly ignores that partisan's assertion that Gaetani had himself made the nominator of the new Pontiff, and declares that

(1) *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. II.

(2) *History of the Italian Republics of the Middle Age*, vol. IV., ch. 24.

he was the unanimous choice of the cardinals. But did the cardinal Gaetani use any illegitimate means to procure the abdication of Pope St. Celestine V.? Was he justified in using all legitimate means for that end? As to the first question, the most reliable authorities of the fourteenth century ascribe no more influence in the premises to Gaetani than they credit to any other cardinal; in fact, he rather appears to have acted as the mouthpiece of the Sacred College. Ptolemy of Lucca (d. 1328), bishop of Torcelli, who was no friend to Boniface, says that Pope Celestine "was urged to resign by some of the cardinals, as his rule had caused confusion and danger to the Roman Church . . . certain cardinals persistently declared that the evils of his administration would ensure the loss of his soul" (1). Cardinal Stephanesius, who was a warm friend of Celestine, and who composed the prayers and responsories for his office, tells us that "in spite of the opinion of some, and especially of his olden fellow-religious, he appeared willing to abdicate when he found that to do so was in his power; and in December, on the festival of the virgin St. Lucy, he relinquished the honors and the weight of the Pontificate" (2). Stephanesius also says that when the burden of his responsibility seemed to be beyond his capacity, he consulted "a friend"; that this friend (who may have been, as Sismondi insists, Gaetani) tried to dissuade him, while admitting that the renunciation could be effected; that Celestine replied: "I feel the sufficiency of my reasons"; that having consulted with another with the same result, he made up his mind. The celebrated Aegidius Colonna, general of the Augustinians, and finally archbishop of Bourges, who was devoted to St. Celestine, and too much so to Philip the Fair, says: "Many persons yet living can testify that the lord Pope Boniface VIII., then a cardinal, urged the lord Celestine not to abdicate, insisting that the Sacred College could act in the name of his Holiness. This was heard by many" (3). In the archives of the Vatican is preserved a manuscript *Life of St. Celestine V.* which is noticed by Rubeo,

(1) *Ecccl. Hist.*, in MURATORI, *Italian Writers*, vol. XI., b. XXIV., c. 22.

(2) Poem entitled *The Abdication of Celestine*, in the *Introduction*.

(3) *Resignation of the Pope*, c. 23.

and which Cardinal Wiseman, in his researches concerning our Pontiff, transcribed. The author must have been an intimate of Celestine, and he confirms all that we have adduced from Ptolemy of Lucca, Stephanesius, and Aegidius Colonna. Having narrated how Celestine passed his time in his little cell, he proceeds: "He began to reflect on his burden, and to think of ridding himself of it, if he could do so without danger to his soul. He opened his mind to the lord cardinal Benedict, a man of great prudence and experience, who rejoiced greatly on hearing him, and told him that he could abdicate without scruple, adducing instances of such action on the part of other Pontiffs. Celestine then became so intent on his design, that no one could dissuade him." Having spoken of a procession, got up by the Angevine faction, which went to the Pope to beg him not to resign, the anonymous biographer continues: "The Pope would yield to no requests, tears, or clamors, although he kept in retirement for eight days, and all thought he had changed his mind. But after eight days, he summoned the aforesaid lord Benedict, and bade him prepare the act of abdication." To the above testimonies against Sismondi's assertion that Gaetani suggested Celestine's resignation, we may add those of Villani, Amalric Augarius—a bitter foe of Boniface VIII. and of Petrarch. Villani says that "Benedict Gaetani of Anagni, having heard that Celestine wished to abdicate, waited upon him, etc." (1). Amalric ascribes the resignation to the fact that "Celestine himself found himself incapable of administration" (2). Petrarch, after blaming Dante for attributing Celestine's action to cowardice, says: "I have heard persons who witnessed it, and they told how he fled with such joy, bearing in his eyes and on his brow such marks of spiritual gladness, when he retired from the Consistory, now restored to himself and free, that he seemed as though he had withdrawn, not merely his shoulders from a mild yoke, but his neck from the fatal axe" (3).

But even though we were to grant that the cardinal Gaetani procured, and even first suggested, the abdication of

(1) *Florentine Histories*, b. VIII., c. 5.

(2) *Lives of the Rom. Pont.*, in MURATORI, *Ital. Writers*, v. III., pt. 2.

(3) *Solitary Life*, b. II., sec. 3, c. 18.

Pope St. Celestine V., is he to be blamed for such action? That this Pontiff was utterly unfit to occupy the Papal chair, is fully shown by the authors of his time. James, the contemporary archbishop of Genoa, tells us that he "conferred dignities, prelacies, offices, and benefices, in defiance of the customs of the Curia....He did many other things contrary to the statutes and example of his predecessors, and although this was all without malice and in all simplicity, yet it caused great evils in the Church. Therefore, when he realized his inexperience and deficiencies, he followed wise advice, etc." (1). Stephanesius says that Celestine forced the Benedictines of Montecassino to adopt the dress of his own "Celestines"; that he allowed the king of Naples to nominate to the Sacred College; and that, out of twelve cardinalitial hats given in one day, seven were for Frenchmen, creatures of the Angevine interest, and not one was for a Roman subject. The *Milanese Annals* say: "He did many things which greatly scandalized the Church, and realizing his insufficiency he....abdicated the Pontificate" (2). Ptolemy of Lucca, while praising the piety of Celestine, tells us that "he was often deceived by his officers with regard to favors granted, of which he could have known nothing....hence the same privileges were found to have been granted to two, or three, or more persons, even on (originally) blank, but sealed parchments" (3). But even Sismondi admits that "very soon Celestine gave the most striking proof that he was absolutely incapable of governing the Church." Would not Gaetani, therefore, have been justified in procuring his resignation?

We now approach the subject of St. Celestine's confinement by order of Pope Boniface. Even Sismondi grants that many, especially if of the Angevine interest feigned to regard this Pontiff's abdication as invalid. He would have been a pliant instrument in the hands of unscrupulous parties, and a schism might very easily have been promoted; that there was imminent danger of such a catastrophe, was afterward proved by the conduct of the Colonna family.

(1) *Jannensian Chron.*, in MURATORI, *loc. cit.*, vol. IX.

(2) *Ibi.* vol. XVI.

(3) *Ubi sup.*

Dante shows us that this distrust must have been widespread when he dares to make St. Peter style Boniface a usurper ; and George Stella, an enemy of Boniface, plainly says that this Pontiff confined his predecessor because of a fear of schism (1). But if it be said that St. Celestine was harshly treated, and that his death was occasioned by wounds caused by the ferocity of his jailers, the foes of Pope Boniface draw upon their own perverted imaginations. Ptolemy of Lucca informs us that "Boniface sent couriers after Celestine, and he was put in custody, to avoid danger to the Roman Church ; for some persons doubted whether he could abdicate, and hence there was danger of a schism. Therefore he was kept in confinement, but respectfully, and he died in the Castle of Fumone." John Villani says that Boniface "caused Celestine to be held in courteous imprisonment, so that he might not, while living, be brought forward to contest his (Boniface's) election ; for many Christians regarded Celestine as the true and lawful Pope, since they thought that such a dignity could not be resigned." The cardinal Stephanesius declares that Celestine came to Anagni willingly, and that Boniface received him kindly and tendered every comfort to him, but he preferred to lead a penitential life. Sismondi ignores these testimonies, justifying his own account of Celestine's imprisonment with the assertion that it "is taken from a *Life of Celestine V.* by Peter d'Ailly, his contemporary." As Celestine died in 1296, and the cardinal d'Ailly was not born until 1350, this *Life* cannot properly be called the work of a *contemporary* of Celestine, and is not the result of d'Ailly's own personal knowledge, as are the remarks of the authors whom we have quoted. The death of Celestine is ascribed by nearly all his contemporaries to a fever, and the fact that d'Ailly, whose Gallican zeal allowed him to forego no opportunity of blaming Boniface, says nothing of any wounds on Celestine's person, is sufficient to stamp the story as a falsehood.

The adversaries of Boniface VIII. place much stress on his treatment of the Colonna family, and, as the struggle with this powerful faction was the direct cause of the catas-

(1) *Annals*, MURATORI, *loc. cit.*, vol. XVII.

trophe of our Pontiff's life, it would interest the reader if we were to sketch its origin and progress. But our limits warn us to rather refer the student to the cited paper of Cardinal Wiseman, where he will also find a refutation of the charges of cruelty and perfidy made, in this connection, by Sismondi. But one event of this struggle claims a brief observation. We are told that Boniface took Palestrina by treachery. The Pontiff, says Sismondi, having found it impossible to reduce the place, sent for the celebrated general, Count Guido di Montefeltro, who had become a Franciscan friar, to obtain his advice. "He ordered the count, by his vow of obedience, to find out how the city might be taken, promising him full absolution for anything he might do or counsel against his conscience. Guido obeyed, examined the fortifications, and finding that force could not reduce them, returned to Boniface, and requested more express absolution for any crime he had committed, or might commit, in giving advice in the matter. This absolution having been accorded, he said: 'I see but one way, and that is to promise much and perform little,' and then he returned to the convent." Having pondered on this perfidious advice, Boniface is said to have promised pardon to the Colonna if they would surrender in three days. They did so, but, continues Sismondi, they had been warned that Boniface intended to execute them, and hence they fled to foreign lands. None of these assertions are supported by sound testimony; some of them are contradicted by contemporary evidence. Three authorities are adduced, namely, Dante (1), Ferretti, and Pepino, all virulent enemies of Boniface. We would at once remark, with Christophe, that, if we can suppose the Pontiff to have been capable of following such perfidious advice as is attributed to Guido, we must also believe him to have been able to conceive it. It was not necessary to draw an old soldier from his cloister in order to hit upon such a plan. But of what authority is Dante in this matter? Because Raphael and other great painters have revenged themselves for real or fancied injuries, by placing

(1) *Hell*; cto. XXVII. The poet makes Guido attribute his damnation to his perfidious counsel to Boniface. Both Ferretti and Pepino derived the story from this source.

their cardinalitial or prelatical foes in ridiculous or painful positions, do we regard these pictures as sources of historical truth, when we wish to learn anything concerning these prelates? Dante, smarting from injuries received during the intestine wars of the Whites and Blacks, found a terribly effective way of revenging himself by casting perennial obloquy upon his enemies, in a poem which, he must have felt, was destined to be immortal. All were inexorably thrust into hell, and made to acknowledge the justice of their punishment, and thus to excuse the faction of the poet. That the tale of Guido's perfidy is but another instance of Ghibelline injustice, can easily be proved. This celebrated man, once a powerful enemy of the Church, was reconciled in 1286 (1). Boniface VIII. allowed him to join the Franciscans (2); and, according to the old biographer of the saints of Umbria (3), he "took the habit in 1296. He lived in constant prayer, humility, and example; and, on Sept. 23, 1298, while residing in the convent at Assisi, he passed holily to the Lord." Now Palestrina was surrendered in this very month; these two facts can scarcely be reconciled, in the supposition that Guido was at the siege shortly before the surrender. Again, the *Annals of Cesena*, Ricobald of Ferrara, and the *Bolognese Chronicles*, are silent as to the supposed trip from the convent, and the temporary assumption of the military life by Guido; is it likely that the chroniclers would not have noticed so important and unusual an event? Finally, Ferretti and Pepino, the only contemporary historians who relate the story, differ as to a very important fact. The former makes Guido come to Palestrina; the latter says that he refused to come on account of his age and his vows. The assertion that Palestrina was surrendered under promises which were not fulfilled, is easily refuted. The Colonna certainly charged Boniface with this perfidy, but how comes it that they cast themselves at his feet and sued for mercy, if, as they afterward contended, he had promised to be content with having his banner on their walls, while the town itself would remain under their rule? We are

(1) MALESPINI; *Florentine History*, ch., CCXXVIII., In MURATORI, *loc. cit.*, vol. VIII.

(2) WADDING, *Annals*, vol. V.

(3) Cited by TOSTI, *loc. cit.*, vol. II. p. 273.

told that they fled for their lives, rather than appear before the Pope; but the cardinal Gaetani, a nephew of Boniface, rebuked this falsehood in the Fifteenth General Council, and appealed to the evidence of the prince of Tarento, there present, and who had witnessed the humiliation of the Colonna family at Rieti, for the truth of his statement that they had "personally appeared before the aforesaid Supreme Pontiff... and confessed that they deserved punishment, and not favor. One of the same lords Colonna used the Gospel words: 'I have sinned, father, before heaven and thee; and am not worthy to be called thy son.' The testimony of Gaetani is corroborated by Pepino, Villani, the Chronicle of Orvieto, and Paolino di Piero.

We must now notice the account of the death of Pope Boniface, as transmitted to us by Ferretti of Vicenza, and which has generally been accepted by modern historians. Sismondi greedily swallowed so sensational a morsel, although, as Wiseman observes, he had, at the foot of the page he was quoting, the critical Muratori's point-blank declaration that the whole story is a downright lie. According to Ferretti, our Pontiff, in his last illness, became furious with impotent rage, turned his faithful servant out of the room, drew the bolt, gnawed a big stick to pieces (Sismondi omits the *baculo minutatim trito*, and that the stick was *satis procerum*), called upon the devil (also omitted by Sismondi), dashed his head against the wall, and with his gray hairs soaked in blood, strangled himself with the bed-clothes. Paolino di Piero was not content with Ferretti's assertion that Boniface gnawed his staff to bits; he increased the interest of the picture by making the raging Pontiff lacerate his own hands. Now this melodramatic scene, so entrancing to Sismondi and others of that ilk, loses all its horrifying features on critical inspection. It does not accord with the character of Pope Boniface, "great-souled and unterrified," as St. Antonine styled him, although it agrees with the prophecy attributed to St. Celestine V., that "he entered like a wolf, he will reign like a lion, and he will die like a dog." Platina, who cloaks the delinquencies of no Pope, and who accuses Boniface of ambition and avarice,

alludes to no such scene. Ciaconio believed in it, but he merely relied on Villani. Spondanus also credits the tale, but it is refreshing to find that Alexandre, determined partisan though he is of Philip the Fair, agrees with Vittorelli (1) in rejecting it as absurd. Those who were present at the death scene are more reliable witnesses than the malevolent Ferretti, and in the *Process* or posthumous trial of Boniface, it was proved that, when his death was imminent, "he made profession of all the articles of faith, according to the custom of the Roman Pontiffs, in the presence of eight cardinals. Concerning this fact there exist letters of our brother, the cardinal Gentili. . . . "He professed, in the presence of many cardinals and other honorable persons, that he had ever held the Catholic faith, and wished to die in it." Cardinal Stephanesius, who was in the chamber of death, says that the Pontiff departed placidly (2). But it pleased Providence to give a visible and tangible proof that the story of Ferretti and Paolino di Piero was a calumny, and of this evidence Sismondi, well-read as he was, could not have been ignorant. In the year 1605, three hundred years after our Pontiff's death, it became necessary to demolish the chapel in the Vatican, in which the body of Boniface was entombed. The sarcophagus was opened, and the body was found nearly entirely incorrupt, with an expression of extreme placidity. After a careful examination by medical men, a minute verbal process, describing the condition of the corpse, was drawn up by a notary, and it may be read in Rubeo. No trace of wounds could be found on the head; the skin was entire. The hands which have been represented as gnawed and torn by the despairing Pontiff, were found so beautiful "as to excite the admiration of all the beholders." As nature does not cicatrize wounds after death, this discovery completely refutes the lie which we have been discussing.

Much has been said about the arrogance of Boniface VIII. Sismondi adduces a passage of Stella (3), though he gives the tale on the authority of a greater name, Muratori, where

(1) *Lives of the Roman Pontiffs*; Rom. 1676.

(2) *Canonization of Celestine V.*, in MURATORI, *loc. cit.* vol. III.

(3) *Genoese Annals of George Stella*, in MURATORI, *loc. cit.*, vol. XVII.

we are told that Porchetto Spinola, archbishop of Genoa, having presented himself before the officiating Pontiff on Ash-Wednesday, was received with a shower of ashes in the eyes, and was further astounded by the unrubrical adjuration, "Remember, man, that thou art a Ghibelline, and with thy fellow-Ghibellines thou shalt return to dust." Perhaps the reader will be surprised to learn that instead of sanctioning this tale, as Sismondi would have us believe that he does, Muratori declares that "it smacks of the fabulous—*fabulam sapit*." Great must have been the arrogance of Boniface, thinks a modern publicist of some note (1), since, in his coronation procession, the king of Naples and the titular king of Hungary walked at his stirrups (2). It is strange that the men who carp Boniface and laud the humility of Celestine, find no fault with the latter for using the very ceremony so displeasing to them in the former. They also purposely forget that the sovereigns of Naples and Hungary were feudatories of the Holy See. Hallam says that our Pontiff appeared at the Jubilee clad in imperial robes, and wearing a diadem, and although this writer admits that he "has not observed any good authority referred to for the fact," nevertheless he is inclined to credit it, he says, because "it is in the character of Boniface." The cardinal Stephanesius, who knew Boniface well, held a different idea of his character. He says that "it has been so frequently repeated that Boniface was arrogant, haughty, violent, vindictive, and unjust, that I dread shocking the reader, when I declare that he was, on the contrary, good, pacific, and forgetful of injuries; and, nevertheless, this is the truth. In all the difficulties that he encountered, he counselled peace; he never punished, without having offered pardon, and he never refused this when it was asked" (3).

With reference to the "lamentable difference," as it is the fashion for French polemics to style the struggle between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair, it may be proper to note the judgment formed by our great Protestant adversary, Sismondi: "It was then that, for the first time, the nation and the

(1) REES; *Cyclopædia*, London, 1819.

(2) STEPHANESIUS; *loc. cit.* RAYNALD; year 1294.

(3) RAYNALD; y. 1303—1342.

clergy aroused themselves for the defence of the 'liberties' of the Gallican church. Greedy of servitude, they designated as 'liberties' the right to sacrifice their consciences to the caprices of their master, and to reject the protection which a foreign and independent head offered them against tyranny. In the name of these 'liberties' of their church, they denied to the Pope the right to take cognizance of the arbitrary taxes which the king imposed on the clergy, of the arbitrary imprisonment of the bishop of Pamiers, of the arbitrary seizure of the ecclesiastical revenues of Rheims, Chartres, Laon, and Poitiers. They denied to the Pope the right to direct the conscience of the king, to remonstrate with him about the administration of the kingdom, and to punish him, by censures or excommunication, if he violated his oaths.... Doubtless, the court of Rome had manifested a usurping ambition, and kings had to be on their guard against its omnipotence, but it would have been very happy for the people, if despotic sovereigns had still acknowledged that there was, above them, a power derived from heaven, which could check them in the path of crime" (1).

The action of Pope Clement V. and of the Fifteenth General Council concerning the memory of Boniface VIII. will be described in our chapter on this Council. We will now state, in conclusion, that religion owes to this Pontiff, the consoling institution of the Jubilee; ecclesiastical jurisprudence owes to him the Sixth Book of the *Decretals*; and general science owes to him the foundation of the *Sapienza* or Roman University. He composed the *Ave, virgo gloriosa*, and the prayer, *Deus, qui pro redemptione mundi*; and he left two fine orations on the *Canonization of Louis IX.* He is generally regarded as the author of the famous Bull *In cœna Domini*, although it was unknown in his time, and contains many additions of a posterior date. This constitution is the work of a far-seeing and all-embracing genius, and most of its articles are devoted to the prosperity of states and the well-being of peoples. Thus, in its fifth article, excommunication is pronounced on those "who impose new taxes, or increase those already in force, unless in the cases estab-

(1) *Loc. cit.*, vol. IV. c. 24.

lished by law." The Bull *In cæna Domini* was once published every year, but the sensitiveness of certain governments caused its abolition by Popes Clement XIV. and Pius VI.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE ALLEGED BARGAIN OF POPE CLEMENT V. WITH PHILIP THE FAIR.

The commonly received account of the election of Clement V. is based solely upon the narrative of John Villani (1). This author tells us that, after the death of Benedict XI., on July 27, 1304, the Sacred College found itself divided into two nearly equal factions,—one headed by Matthew Rosso Orsini and Francis Gaetani, the latter a nephew of the late Pontiff; and the other led by Napoleon Orsini dal Monte and Nicholas da Prato. After nine months of useless conclave, the cardinals da Prato and Gaetani agreed, says the Florentine historian, that the Gaetani party should select three capable Transalpine candidates (2), and from these the other factions should, in forty days, choose one on whom all could unite. In accordance with this compact, the choice of the Gaetani cardinals was Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bordeaux, who, although a friend of the defunct Pontiff, "and no friend of the French king, because of injuries which his family had received during the Gascon war, at the hands of Charles de Valois," brother of Philip, was known, nevertheless, as "one yearning for honors and power; and being a Gascon, as therefore by nature a covetous man," and one likely to come to terms with the monarch. The agreement of the two contending parties, continues Villani, was reduced to writing; and, without the knowledge of the Gaetani faction, the da Prato cardinals sent the document, in eleven days, to Paris, "warning the French king, in their letters, that if he wished to recover his standing in Holy Church, and to rehabilitate his friends the Colonnas, he

(1) *Florentine History*, b. 8, c. 80; Venice, 1562.

(2) An Italian cardinal would have been unacceptable to Philip the Fair.

should be reconciled to his enemy, Raymond (read 'Bertrand') de Got, seeking him and offering him great advantages.... The king dispatched amicable letters to the archbishop asking for an interview; and in six days, attended by a small and trusty retinue, he held a parley with the said archbishop in a forest near the Abbey of St. Jean d'Angély. Having heard Mass together, and having sworn fidelity on the altar, the king addressed fair words to the archbishop, trying to reconcile him to my lord of Valois." Then, according to Villani, Philip said to the prelate: "You perceive, archbishop, that I can make you Pope if I so desire. Now, I promise that this honor shall be yours if you pledge yourself to grant me six certain favors." Stupefied with joy, says our chronicler, Bertrand threw himself at the royal feet, crying, "My lord, now that I realize that you love me more than any other does, and that you propose to render me good for evil, you have only to command, and I shall obey." The monarch then raised the archbishop, kissed him, and said: "These are the six favors I request: Firstly, that you reconcile me entirely with the Church, and pardon me for the evil committed in the capture of Pope Boniface. Secondly, that you restore me and my followers to communion. Thirdly, that you allow me to take, for my Flemish war, all the tithes in my kingdom during the next five years. Fourthly, that you promise to annul the memory of Pope Boniface. Fifthly, that you confer the honor of the cardinalate on my lord James and my lord Peter Colonna, and restore them to their pristine state; also that you raise certain other friends of mine to the purple. The sixth favor I shall communicate to you on some other occasion; it is, at present, a secret, and is very important" (1). Bertrand agreed to grant these requests, even swearing, adds Villani, on the Body of the Lord to keep his word. The parties then separated; and Philip immediately wrote to Cardinal da Prato that their Eminences might proceed with the election of the archbishop of Bordeaux, said prelate being his "per-

(1) They who accept the narrative of Villani wander in conjectures as to the nature of this sixth favor. The Florentine himself (b. 8. c. 101) and Masson (*Life of Philip the Fair*) hold that Philip wished Clement to give the Empire to Charles de Valois; others believe that the Empire was to be restored to the French permanently.

fectly confidential friend." The Florentine historian then notes that this message of the king reached Perugia in thirty-five days (from the time of Gaetani's letter to Philip), and that Bertrand de Got was, therefore, elected to the pontifical throne.

The above narrative of Villani, certainly very coherent and calm, was repeated by all the olden historians. St. Antonine, Genebrard, Baluze, Pagi, the authors of *Christian Gaul*, those of *The Art of Verifying Dates*, Fleury, and even the great Muratori, receive it without any express questioning (1). No wonder, then, that such writers as Giannone, Duchesne, Sismondi, and Hallam greedily accept it, and adorn it with their own amplifications. But the prince of modern historians, Cantú, exposes its weakness when he asks whether Villani was a third party to the absurd colloquy. "The people simply reduced to fact the ideas generated by the sequel" (2). The judicious Mansi also rejects the story (3). The Abbé Christophe gives many good reasons for preferring the very different narrative of Ferretti of Vicenza (4). And now, we would ask, of what authority is Villani? His diction is certainly Tuscan in its purity, and he is an ingenuous chronicler when he is unfettered by prejudice; but his writings are not always to be received as Gospel truth. Muratori, than whom no better judge in matters like this can be desired, says that Villani "gives us not a few fables when he describes remote occurrences" (5); and that in regard to the time of Frederick II. and the following period "he is not always to be believed" (6). And we know that Villani was very bitter toward all the Avignonese Pontiffs, and that he was ever ready to suspect each one of them of culpable condescension toward the French monarchs. Therefore, when he is uncorroborated by even one contemporary or quasi-contemporary authority, we should not rely implicitly upon his assertions; especially when, as in the present case, they present intrinsic marks of inaccu-

(1) Raynald seems to have some misgivings as to its truth; for he says: "If these things are true, what else than trouble for Christendom was to be expected?"

(2) *Universal History*, b. XIII., c. 6.

(3) Notes to the *Annals* of Raynald.

(4) *History of the Papacy in the Fifteenth Century*. Paris, 1853.

(5) Preface to his edition of Villani. (6) *Writers on Italian Affairs*, Vol. XIII., pt. 3

acy, and perhaps of falsehood. His story of the forest interview is not even hinted at by any one of the many contemporary biographers of Pope Clement V., such as Ptolemy of Lucca, John of St. Victor, Bernard of Guido, Amalric of Rossillon, or the anonymous Venetian. Similar silence is displayed by Ferretti of Vicenza, who finished his *Chronicle* in 1330, and who narrates in detail the acts of the Conclave of Perugia; by Pepin of Bologna, who wrote down to 1314, and was a severe critic of the Popes; by the *Chronicle of Parma*; by Dino Compagni, Trithemius, Matthew of Westminster, and the Continuator of Nangy.

Certainly this argument is purely negative; but it acquires force when we consider the intrinsic evidences of unreliability presented by Villani's tale. For instance, if we are willing to believe that the Guelph cardinals quietly granted forty days of delay to their opponents without suspecting any snare, which we find it difficult to do, we can not believe that even the Ghibelline cardinals would have descended to such infamy as is implied in the alleged compact with Philip the Fair. The documents concerning these personages which have come down to us show that they wished, indeed, to elect a Pontiff who would be friendly to Philip, but not that they were capable of laying the tiara in the dirt. Consider, for example, Cardinal Nicholas da Prato, to whom Villani assigns all the wire-pulling in the intrigue. From all accounts, this learned Dominican was an honorable man. Raised by the severe and uncompromising Boniface VIII. to the See of Spoleto, made Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia by the discriminating Benedict XI., he had successfully filled the office of peacemaker in Tuscany and the Romagna when faction fury was at its height. Albertino Mussato, a writer much lauded by Muratori, calls Da Prato "a man of great learning and wisdom." Dino Compagni styles him a man "of humble parentage; but gracious, wise, and of profound science." Even Villani says that he was "very learned in the Scriptures, subtle, wise, foreseeing, and very practical." It is difficult to believe that such a man, who, both before and after the pretended bargain, was always devoted to the true interests of the

Church, would, for no advantage whatever, place the tiara at the disposal of so ambitious a sovereign as Philip the Fair. What had he to gain by such infamy? He had attained, as bishop of Ostia, and, therefore, dean of the Sacred College, the highest dignity in the gift of the Pontiff. What could he obtain from Philip? History does not record that he received anything; but Villani does record that Nicholas da Prato strenuously opposed Philip's two dearest wishes—the condemnation of Pope Boniface VIII., and the election of Charles de Valois to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire (1).

Another intrinsic proof of the unreliability of Villani in this matter is found in his assertion that Bertrand de Got had been a foe of Philip, and that the reason of enmity was to be found in the injuries suffered by the Got family at the hands of Charles de Valois during the Gascon war. Not only do the records of the time recount none of these injuries, but they show that in this struggle a brother of Bertrand combated on the royal side, and received as a reward from Philip the counties of Lomagne and Auvillars. Again, that there had been no dissension between Philip and Bertrand before the pretended interview, is evident from the fact that, during the five years of the tenure of the See of Bordeaux by the latter, he was covered with honors by the king, and obtained an increase of the privileges of his bishopric, as is manifested by the patents collected by Rabanis in the archives of the Gironde. And all these concessions bear dates between March, 1300, and April, 1304. We must conclude, therefore, that the cardinals who met at Perugia in July, 1304, regarded Philip and Bertrand as friends, and that they would not have felt any need to urge the monarch to be reconciled with the archbishop.

Again, we must remember that it is only in the pages of Villani that Bertrand de Got appears as “a grasping Gascon,” ready to swear on the Body of Christ that he will reduce God's Church to slavery. Everywhere else he stands

(1) Villani tells how the cardinal freed Clement from the importunities of Philip concerning the condemnation of Boniface VIII., by advising him to submit the affair to a general council; and how he settled the imperial aspirations of Charles by having the Pope ask the electors to elect immediately Henry of Luxembourg.

conspicuous as a virtuous prelate as well as a man of spirit ; and we are not obliged to recur to any such theory as that of Villani to account for his elevation to the Chair of Peter. His virtue was well known to the Roman court, especially his prudence, as evinced during his negotiations with the sovereigns of France and England, to each of whom he was a subject (1). It was not strange, therefore, when the electors deemed it wise to select a Transalpine prelate for the papacy, that they should think of Bertrand. While Pontiff, Clement V. was certainly over-condescending to King Philip the Fair, but he was never sacrilegiously vile, as Villani depicts him in the woods of St. Jean d'Angély ; nay, this same historian describes him as resisting those desires of the king which he is said to have wickedly promised to gratify. And since we are speaking of these wishes of Philip, it is well to note that from their very enumeration by Villani arises a reason for suspecting the worth of his narrative. Take, for instance, the first two requests. Their object had already been attained. In April, 1304, Pope Benedict XI., the successor of Boniface VIII., had absolved Philip, his followers, and all France, from every censure (2), excepting only the sacrilegious Nogaret, the prime author of the crime of Anagni (3), and the wretched Sciarra Colonna. It is absurd, therefore, to suppose that Bertrand and Philip incurred the guilt of simony in order to obtain things already legitimately granted (4). Another error in the recital of Villani must also be noted as militating seriously against its historical value. He asserts that the election of Clement V. was effected by "compromise," as it is technically termed, and by the unanimous consent of the electors to the vote of Cardinal da Prato. Now, the solemn decree of that election, preserved in the Vatican, and first published by Raynald, informs us that the choice was made by secret ballot ; that of the fifteen voters, all mentioned by name, ten voted for Bertrand ; that then the other five joined the majority by "accession" ; and that finally the result was proclaimed,

(1) Edward I., of England, was also Lord of Guienne ; and Bordeaux was its capital.

(2) Martene : *Collection of Old Monuments*, Vol. I., col. 1411.

(3) Nogaret was not pardoned, even by Clement V., until 1311.

(4) Strange to say, Villani admits this reconciliation in his 66th chapter.

not by Cardinal da Prato, but by the rival leader, Cardinal Francis Gaetani.

Strong as are the reasons already adduced for the rejection of the tale of Villani, they become almost trivial when compared with an argument presented by M. Rabanis in an opposite work on this subject (1). Had the documents which this investigator unearthed been earlier known, many painstaking and zealous polemics would have been spared much chagrin. While Rabanis was delving in the archives of the Gironde in search of documents which might elucidate the history of the English domination in Guienne, he came upon a record which threw light upon another subject of equal interest to him—namely, the Pontificate of Clement V. Bundled among a lot of parchments referring to the rights and possessions of the See of Bordeaux, was a Register of all the movements and acts of Archbishop Bertrand de Got during a pastoral visit through his entire province, made from May 17, 1304, the day of his departure from Bordeaux, to June 20, 1305, the day when he received, in the Priory of Lusignan, the announcement of his elevation to the papal throne. In those days such registers were accurately drawn up and jealously preserved; for the suffragans and parish priests had rights to guard, as well as duties to perform toward the metropolitan visitor and his retinue; and these registers were safeguards against extortions. The document discovered by Rabanis is a French translation, made in the sixteenth century, of the original Act known to Duchesne, who, writing his *Life of Clement V.* in 1653, styles it “an ancient Register still preserved in Bordeaux,” and cites it as an authentic account of a pastoral visit by Bertrand de Got. The authors of *Christian Gaul*, writing in the beginning of the eighteenth century, were also acquainted with this Register, and they quote it in their article on Bertrand. On examination of this document, Rabanis found that he possessed proof that the pretended interview, so particularly described by Villani, could not have taken place. Nor did he neglect to compare his discovered information with the Acts which referred to the movements of King

(1) *Clement V. and Philip the Fair. A Letter to M. Ch. Daremberg on the Interview between Bertrand de Got and Philip the Fair at St. Jean d'Angely.* Paris, 1858.

Philip at the time of Bertrand's pastoral visit. The results was a confirmation of the proofs obtained from the records of that journey (1).

Following the argumentation of M. Rabanis, we must first discover the precise date of the alleged colloquy between the two distinguished plotters. We find no trouble in this task, thanks to the excessive minuteness with which Villani endeavors to gain credit for his fable. He tells us that it took thirty-five days for the transmission of the message of Cardinal da Prato from Perugia to Paris, and for the arrival of the royal reply; and that then their Eminences immediately proceeded to the election. Now, it is certain that the election took place on June 5, 1305; therefore, thirty-five days back, the date of the courier's departure from Perugia for Paris, was the 1st or 2d of May. If we consider Villani's dates, and the nature of the business, eleven days (Villani's time) were consumed in the courier's trip to Paris; six days (Villani's time) then passed before Philip reached St. Jean d'Angély. One or two days ought to be added for preparations, accidents, etc. Therefore, it must have been the 18th or 20th of May when Bertrand and Philip met; and this date will appear the more probable one, if we reflect that the king had to return to Paris and then dispatch his reply in time for it to reach Perugia by the 5th of June. Where now were the two conspirators, we will not say on these precise days (the 18th to the 20th), but even about that time? As to the whereabouts of Bertrand, we are informed by the diary of the pastoral visit (2). After he had visited the dioceses of Agen and Périgueux, Bertrand found himself, in the middle of December, 1304, in that of Poitiers. He passed the beginning of 1305 in Maine, the Sevrés, and Vendée. On April 18 he celebrated Easter at Luçon; then, going along the coast from parish to parish, he was at Beauvoir-sur-Mer on May the 10th; he visited the Priory of Fontaines on the 12th, and the abbey of Frontenaux on the 13th; he then remained four

(1) Rabanis first published his thesis in a memoir in 1846; but, at the request of M. Daremberg, he amplified the original, and produced the book before us.

(2) The ecclesiastical province of Bordeaux then contained, besides Bordeaux, the dioceses of Agen, Périgueux, Poitiers, Angoulême, and Saintes.

days at the Priory of Chaise-le-Vicomte; on the 18th he was at the Priory of Les Essarts; on the 19th he went to Monchamp; the 20th found him at Segornay-le-Puybeliard, and the 21st at Chasteaumur; the 22d was spent at Treze-Vents, and the 23d at the Abbey of Mauléon; he then visited Mallièvre, and on the 27th he celebrated the Feast of the Ascension at Bressuire. We learn, therefore, from this Register, that from the 18th of May to the 20th Bertrand was in the priories of Essarts, Monchamp and Segornay, the nearest of which was twenty leagues from St. Jean d'Angély. In those days he could not have travelled such a distance and also kept his appointments, as we see he did. The roads of France were then no roads whatever; nor had they been such, any more than those of the rest of Europe outside of Italy, since the days of Charlemagne (1). And through the entire months of April and May, according to these Acts, Bertrand was not near the designated forest.

But where was Philip at this time? The public acts of his reign furnish irrefragable evidence as to his residences, and as to the time he had passed in each (2). During the whole of May he was never nearer to St. Jean d'Angély than Poissy, which was at a distance of one hundred and twenty leagues. In the latter part of April he was at Plessis, near Senlis, at Villers-Cotterets, near Soissons; and at Paris, which he left on the 3d of May. From the 3d to the 18th he was at Germigny in Brie, at Becoiseau, and Châtres-sous-Montlhéry. On the 19th he was at Poissy, and on the 25th at Cachant, near Paris. On the 1st of June he was again at Poissy. A partisan of the Villani theory may urge here that precisely during these six days—between the 19th, when the records place him at Poissy, and the 25th, when he was at Cachant

(1) Even in the time of Francis I., 1515-47, there were only three carriages in Paris, one belonging to the Queen, one to Diana of Poitiers, and the third to Rene de Laval. The first public conveyance is heard of in 1587, and it ran from Paris to Orleans. Travelling was performed altogether on horseback or in litters. Italy, of course, had fine roads; but in France the weak successors of Charlemagne had neglected the roads which that monarch had made out of the ancient Roman routes. In vain had Philip Augustus tried to introduce something like the old system. In England the first turnpike is found in the reign of Charles II. From all this we perceive the absurdity of supposing that Bertrand de Got travelled twenty-five leagues in a very few hours, as, according to Villani's story compared with the Register, he must have done in order to be supposed by his retainers to be during this time, enjoying the rest of the just in his ostensible lodgings.

(2) '*Mémoires of the French Academy of Inscriptions*,' Old Series, Vol. XX., cap. I.

—Philip might have spurred to St. Jean d'Angély, held the famous parley, and returned. But we must recollect that on the 20th Bertrand was at Segornay; on the 21st at Chasteau mur; on the 22d at Treze-Vents; on the 23d at Mauléon (certainly we may pause here; for Philip had to be back in Cachant on the 25th); and the nearest of these places was too far from the alleged rendezvous to permit of Bertrand's being there, unless we believe that some kind fairy substituted another man in his place, giving to that substitute the name and appearance of Bertrand, fitting him for the making of pastoral visits and the administration of Confirmation, etc. But, granting for the moment that Bertrand could have reached the forest at the supposed time, how could Philip have made what was really a cross-country ride of two hundred and forty leagues in less than six days? That would have been his task if he left Poissy on the 19th, held the alleged interview, and was at Cachant on the 25th.

But enough has been adduced to show that Villani's tale of the interview in the woods of St. Jean d'Angély is a fable; that the presumed intrigue of the cardinal-electors has no foundation; and that no compact existed between King Philip the Fair and Bertrand de Got. What, then, is the truth concerning the election of Pope Clement V.? We know of no olden author who vies with John Villani in portraying the hidden motives and actions of the great (modern times have given us a Duc de Saint-Simon and a Voltaire). But, in default of such contemporary aid in investigating the conduct of the conclave of Perugia, we are content to rely upon Ferretti of Vicenza, who at least agrees with all the monuments of the time that have reached us. According to Ferretti, Philip the Fair used every art, through the deposed cardinals, James and Peter Colonna, to secure the election of a Pontiff who would be favorable to his interests. Other monarchs also had their special views to forward; while the Orsini cardinals, Napoleon and Matthew Rosso, coveted the tiara, —the former undoubtedly for himself, and the latter either for himself or for a nephew. But the Perugians soon tired of the delay, and forced the roof from the quarters of the conclave, trusting that exposure to the elements would

compel the wranglers to come to a decision. The same citizens also blockaded the building, and prevented the introduction of any other sustenance than bread and water. Thus pressed, their Eminences, realizing that they could not unite upon an Italian, turned their eyes to the regions beyond the Alps, and the friends of Philip proposed the name of Bertrand de Got. This nomination pleased both Guelphs and Ghibellines; the former, because the prelate had been appointed by the heroic Boniface VIII., and had nobly defended that Pontiff; the latter, because he was friendly to King Philip. Accordingly, Bertrand was elected.

But why should Villani fabricate such a falsehood, and how could he expect that it would be received as truth? We do not believe that the Florentine historian told a deliberate lie. He believed as most of the Italians of his day believed, and he regarded their apparently well-founded suspicions as incontrovertible facts. The bribing proclivities of Philip the Fair were notorious, and the Italians became prejudiced against Clement V., because of his great condescension to that monarch. Above all, they blamed that Pontiff for transferring the papal residence to France, —an error which entailed much misery on their country, and was destined, as they speedily foresaw, to prove a source of agony to all Christendom. There were many tales current among the Italians of that period accounting for this reduction of their greatest glory to a "Babylonian captivity," and portraying Clement V., in no complimentary guise. Thus Bernardino Corio says that Bertrand de Got was chosen as Pontiff simply because the cardinals thought that he was dead (1); and there were narrated many curious tales which showed that the indignation of the Italian clergy, as well as of the Italian laity, rendered them prone to credit almost anything which would derogate from the personal merits of Clement V. (2). But we are pleased by the course of several

(1) In his *History of Milan*, Corio says that the cardinals had just heard of the death of Bertrand; and that they thought that by electing a dead man they would gain time, and evade the starvation regimen to which the Perugians were reducing them.

(2) Dante, in his *Hell*, canto 19, places Clement V. therein, because of the crime of simony. Villani tells how a papal chaplain had a vision of a fiery palace prepared in hell for Clement; and how, when the Pontiff was informed of the dream, "he was never again cheerful, and soon afterward died."

distinguished, though not Catholic, modern authors, in manifesting a disposition to do justice to the memory of this Pontiff. Thus Littré says: "No credence can be accorded to the anecdote narrated by the chronicler John Villani to the effect that the king and the future Pope met in an abbey in the depths of the forest near St. Jean d'Angély, and there entered into a bargain of sacred things, sealing it with an oath on the Host" (1). Renan admits that "the pretended interview of St. Jean d'Angély has been regarded as a fable for some time" (2).

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE FIFTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL.—SEQUEL OF THE CONTEST WITH PHILIP THE FAIR.

The decree of convocation for this Council was issued by Pope Clement V. in 1307, and in it the Pontiff assigns the following as his reasons for summoning the bishops together. Firstly; the cause of the Templars, who were accused of heresy, obscenity, and other crimes, was to be considered. Secondly; action was to be taken in reference to the teachings of the famous Franciscan, Peter John Oliva (3), and in regard to the heresies of the Fraticelli, Dulcinists, Beguards, and Beguins, to whom we have already alluded. Thirdly; means were to be devised for the recovery of the Holy Land. Fourthly; ecclesiastical discipline needed reformation. The original intention of the Pontiff had been to assemble the Council in 1309, but the meeting was postponed until

(1) In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for September 15, 1864.

(2) *Ibi*, March 1, 1880.

(3) Oliva was born in 1247, at Serignan, in the diocese of Beziers, and died in the odor of sanctity at Narbonne in 1297. He was firmly opposed to the right of Franciscan convents to possess property, and the friars of Provence, who belonged to the faction of the "Spirituals," rallied around him and formed the Congregation of Narbonne. He venerated St. Francis almost a superhuman personage, and pretended that the Pope could no more change the Franciscan rule than he could the Gospel. After his death, the general, John de Muro, prohibited the friars from reading his writings, but Pope Sixtus IV., himself a Franciscan, annulled this decree. Long before Oliva died, he had been charged with rashness, and in 1278 extracts were made from his book on the *Praises of the Holy Virgin*, to prove the charge, but Wadding says that the general, Jerome of Ascoli, obliged the compiler to burn his work. Oliva's opponents accused him of recognizing the whore of Babylon in the Roman Church, but his disciple, Ubertino of Casale, showed the falsity of the charge. He was a prolific author, but many of his works have perished.

Oct. 16th, 1311, when the first session was held in the cathedral of Vienne. According to the Continuator of Nange, there were present, besides the Latin patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, one hundred and fourteen bishops; Villani and St. Antonine put the number at three hundred. In the first session, Pope Clement laid before the members the business to be transacted, and there followed many deliberations, especially in regard to the cause of the Templars. The second session was held on April 3d, 1312, in the presence of King Philip, who sat, says the Continuator of Nange, "at the right of the Supreme Pontiff, but on a lower chair." The Pope preached, and then, "with the approbation of the Sacred Council," he promulgated the sentence of abolition of the Order of the Temple. We shall treat of this subject at some length in the following chapter. The third and last session of the Council was celebrated on May 6th.

In the Fifteenth Council, three doctrines of Oliva were condemned; namely, the assertion that the side of Christ was pierced while He was yet living; the opinion that the rational soul is not the "form" of the body; and the teaching that the "habit" of faith and of the virtues is not infused by baptism into infants. Against the first error the Council declared that "having emitted His spirit, Christ permitted His side to be pierced with a lance, that thence water and blood might flow, and thus be formed our holy mother the Church, the immaculate and virgin spouse of Christ, even as from the side of the first man, while he slept, Eve was formed as a wife unto him." Against the second error of Oliva, the Pontiff decreed that "with the approbation of the Sacred Council, we reprobate as erroneous and contrary to Catholic faith, the doctrine or position that rashly asserts that the substance of the rational or intellective soul is not, *per se* and essentially, the form of the human body: defining, that if any one hereafter presumes to assert, or defend, or obstinately hold, that the rational or intellective soul is not, *per se* and essentially, the form of the human body, he is to be regarded as a heretic." Against the third error of Oliva, the Pontiff, recognizing the existence of two theological opinions, one of which held that in baptism of infants guilt was ban-

ished, but grace not conferred, while the other taught that the virtues were infused "as a habit," though not for, that time, "as to use," receives the second opinion as more probable, declaring: "Considering the general efficacy of the death of Christ, which is applied by baptism to all the baptized, we, with the approbation of the Sacred Council, have deemed right to select as more probable, and as more consonant with the sayings of the saints and of modern doctors of theology, the second opinion, which holds that in baptism informing grace and the virtues are conferred both on infants and adults." In our own day the second of the above decrees has been opposed to the partisans of Gunther as a teaching of the Church contrary to their peculiar opinion, and it was in regard to the proper interpretation of the decree, that the Guntherites disputed. Dr. Clemens says (1) that the proposition "the soul is the substantial form of the body," signifies that the soul is the principle which vivifies the human body and gives it its form, and that this expression is familiar to all who know anything about the philosophical language of the olden time. The Guntherites thought that the proposition in question contradicts the necessary dualism of the soul and body; and Dr. Baltzer contended that the expression "*forma corporis*" is to be taken in the sense that the soul, in its union with the body, is not the vivifying principle of the body, but its living form, i. e., without the soul the body cannot be conceived as living. Pope Pius IX. in a letter to the archbishop of Cologne, in 1857, and in another to the bishop of Breslau, in 1860, censured the doctrine of the Guntherites, and especially that of Baltzer. Therefore their explanations are not to be received, when they tend to distinguish a living principle, proper to the body, and distinct from the soul—a vitalist dualism condemned by Pius IX. The Pontiff, certainly, does not formally pronounce that, according to the General Council of Vienne, the soul alone is the substantial "*formans*" of the human body, but he does say that it is the sole vital principle, the sole principle constituting the living humanity, the sole vital form.

(1) *The Speculative Theology of Gunther and Catholic Doctrine*, Bonn, 1858.

Many of the disciplinary Constitutions of the Fifteenth Council are inserted in the collection of *Clementines*, although in the same collection are found many which were not issued in this council. The most interesting are those which regulate the ministrations of mendicant friars. In the Clementine *Religiosi*, on *Privileges and the Excesses of the Privileged*, excommunication, with reservation to the Holy See, is decreed against religious "Who presume, without special permission of the parish priest, to administer to the laity the Sacraments of the Eucharist or Extreme Unction, or to solemnize marriages." They are allowed, however, according to the ancient privileges granted by Rome, to administer the Sacraments to members of their own households, and to the sick in their own hospitals. In virtue of holy obedience, and under pain of damnation, they are commanded, "In their sermons, not to calumniate ecclesiastical prelates, or to entice laymen from their own churches, or to pronounce indiscreet indulgences. And they must not, when they are present at the making of wills, interfere with proper restitution, or prevent testators from leaving legacies to the mother churches; nor shall they endeavor to obtain legacies for their own brethren or convents, to the prejudice of others." At one moment it appeared that the regulars were about to lose all their privileges. The archbishop of Bourges insisted that the Templars would not have become so corrupt and impious, had they been subject to the bishops; and the defenders of the exemptions of the regulars could scarcely reply to the argument. However, when both sides of the question had been discussed, the Council was content with interdicting to regulars the exercise of such functions as seemed to be the prerogatives of the secular clergy. One of the most noteworthy proceedings of the Council was its command that the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist should be administered to those condemned to death, and this in spite of such lay judges as cruelly prohibited said administration—another instance of the Church correcting the inhumane legislation of our ancestors. Those who believe that it was only in the sixteenth century that the Oriental languages began to be cultivated in Europe, should read the decree of this

Council concerning their study; it is ordered that in future, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean shall be publicly taught wherever the Roman court may be established, as well as in the universities of Bologna, Paris, Salamanca, and Oxford; in Paris, the professors are to be paid by the king of France, and elsewhere by the Pope and bishops.

In this Council an end was made to the "lamentable difference" between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair. One would have imagined that all obstacles to peace were removed by the death of Pope Boniface, but Philip was implacable, and avowed his determination to procure the condemnation of his adversary's memory. By the Bull *Quanto nos, fili*, Pope Benedict XI., the immediate successor of Boniface, absolved Philip from the censures pronounced by that Pontiff; by another, *Ut eo magis*, he revoked the reservation to the Holy See of the cathedral and regular nominations in France; by a third, *Sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ*, he absolved all the culpable ecclesiastics and nobles, excepting William de Nogaret; and by a fourth, *Dudum Bonifacius*, he annulled the absolution of the French from their allegiance to Philip, and re-established everything as it had been before the difference, the case of Nogaret alone excepted. Even the Colonna family were received into favor, although Benedict would not restore the cardinalitial dignity to James and Peter, and would not allow the rebuilding of Palestrina. But Philip soon found that Pope Benedict XI. could place a limit to his concessions. By a Bull dated at Perugia, June 7, 1304, the Pontiff declared that excommunication had fallen on all concerned in the horrible crime of Anagni, and he summoned all such to appear personally before himself. The name of Philip does not appear in this Bull, *Flagitiosum scelus*, but the world knew that the monarch had instigated the crime. After such a manifesto, there was no probability of a condemnation of Boniface by Benedict XI. But shortly after the publication of this Bull, the Pontiff was seized by a fatal illness, and on July 7, he was dead. So prompt a death, and in such circumstances, did not appear natural, and men only differed as to the authors of the murder. Ferretti of Vicenza names Philip, and certain-

ly this prince gained by the demise of Benedict, and he was fully capable of plotting the assassination of any opponent, while he had followers willing to execute his desires. But Ferretti is alone, and his historical accuracy is not of the highest order. With the advent of Clement V., a Frenchman and devoted to Philip, the success of the king's hopes appeared more probable. We have seen already that Bertrand de Got was not such a creature of Philip the Fair as Villani would have us believe; that the famous conference of St. Jean d'Angély never occurred. Nevertheless, Clement was very pliant in the hands of Philip; he had transferred the Papal residence to France; very soon he abrogated the Bull *Clericis laicos*, the origin of the difference with Boniface VIII.; he revoked all the proceedings against the king; and although he would not annul the Bull *Unam sanctam*, which contained a doctrinal definition, yet he so interpreted it, that the declaration of Boniface seemed not hostile to the pretensions of Philip (1); he even restored James and Peter Colonna to the Sacred College, and he promoted, in one Consistory, twelve of Philip's creatures to the cardinalate. With such grounds for hope, the king pressed his claim, during a conference with the Pontiff at Poitiers in June, 1307, but Clement deferred a definite reply, trusting that time would mollify the resentment of the monarch. As a token of his friendship, he quashed the proceedings against the criminals of Anagni. But with the march of time, the desire for revenge increased in Philip, and finally he demanded that Pope Boniface should be condemned as a heretic; that his name should be expunged from the catalogue of Pontiffs; and that his body should be exhumed, burnt, and the ashes thrown to the winds (2). At this insolent proceeding, the Papal court was horrified; Ghibellines as well as Guelphs, Frenchmen as well as Italians, wondered where such insensate pretensions would terminate (3). Thanks to the blunder of Clement V.—a blunder for which all Christendom was about to weep

(1) "We do not understand this Bull," says Clement V., "as at all prejudicial to France, or as importing that this kingdom is more subject to the Roman Church than it was. We wish things to be as they were before the publication of this decree." *Proofs of Difference*.

(2) VILLANI, b. VIII., c. 91.—NICH. TRIVETUS, *Chronicle*—DINO COMPAGNI, *Chronicles*—MURATORI; *Ital. Writers*, vol. IX.

(3) VILLANI, *loc. cit.*—ST. ANTONINE; vol. III., tit. 21, c. 1.

—the Pope and his court were settled in the midst of Philip's dominions, and were exposed to a violence that knew no scruples. To grant the demands of the monarch was impossible to honor, to justice, and to truth ; and if they were resisted ? Clement thought of flight, but the surveillance of Philip could not be evaded. At this juncture the cardinal Nicholas da Prato thus advised Pope Clement : "Holy father, I discern a remedy for the present evil. It is to convince the king, if it is possible, that his demand covers a difficult question—one concerning which the cardinals are divided ; that such a question can be treated only in a General Council ; that, finally, an examination into the charges against Pope Boniface will be more solemn, and therefore the king's satisfaction will be more complete, if it is made in so grave an assembly. If he objects that the prejudices of the fathers will influence their judgment, say that you will not mention this affair in your Bull of convocation ; that you will allege no other reasons for the Council than a reformation of morals and the general interests of the Church. The need of the Council having been shown and acknowledged, you will fix Vienne in Dauphiny as the place of meeting ; for, besides that its central position will make it convenient for all, its independence of the French kingdom will free you from any restraint on the part of the king." The expedient of the cardinal da Prato succeeded ; Philip could not well refuse to submit his cause to a General Council, for he had already requested one. But, strange as it may seem, the cause of Pope Boniface VIII. took up very little of the time of the Fifteenth Council ; so little trace of it do we observe in the *Acts*, that we are obliged to recur to contemporary writers to be sure that it was seriously discussed. Suffice it to note here that the memory of the great Pontiff was completely vindicated. The charges of illegitimate occupancy of the chair of Peter, and of heresy, were refuted by Gentile di Montefiore, a celebrated canonist, by John de Murro, by the cardinals Francis Gaetani, Peter of Spain, and above all, by the cardinal Richard of Siena, who thus partly expiated his treachery to Boniface VIII. at Anagni. The hideous calumnies of William Plasian were despised by the

fathers of the Council, and all declared that Boniface VIII. had been a legitimate and orthodox Pontiff (1).

Before closing this chapter we must notice the shrewdness of the cardinal da Prato, as exhibited in defeating a plan of Philip the Fair, which, if it had succeeded, would have greatly injured the independence of Italy and of the Papacy. After the assassination of the emperor Albert (May, 1308)—itself the punishment of the murder of Adolphus of Nassau—King Philip put forward, among the candidates for the imperial sceptre, his brother, Charles of Valois, and he caused him to be recommended by his partisans in the Sacred College. Everything seemed to favor his wishes; the electors could not agree; Philip was well informed of every intrigue; and it was evident that he intended to force the Pontiff to countenance the pretensions of Valois. When Clement learned all this, he realized the danger that the Papacy and Italy would incur, if such a man as Philip attained such enormous power. He sought the advice of the cardinal da Prato, and that diplomat at once counselled him to hasten the election of an emperor, ere the plans of the French monarch could be matured; and he suggested for the post Henry of Luxembourg, an ardent and religious prince and a valiant knight, of whom, however, no one had dreamt in connection with the empire. Clement appreciated the wisdom of the counsel, and the cardinal undertook to effect it—a task of no small difficulty. Surrounding all his actions with impenetrable mystery, he sent a trusty envoy to the archbishops of Mentz and Treves; these gained over two other electors, thus securing a majority of the electoral college, and on Nov. 27, 1308, Henry of Luxembourg was chosen king of the Romans. In speaking of this election, Sismondi falls into many errors. 1. He puts to the account of "the secret favor" reserved by

(1) We must here note that on April 23, 1311, Clement V., issued at Avignon, a Bull revoking all sentences not inserted in the text of the *Decretals*, so far as the said sentences prejudiced the rights, liberties, and honor of the kingdom of France; declaring that, in his conduct towards Boniface VIII. the zeal of Philip had been just, but mistaken; and decreeing that neither Philip nor his successors should ever be disturbed because of the "lamentable difference." He even ordered that the aforesaid sentences should be erased from the registers, and given to the flames. The Fifteenth Council approved of these concessions, and Simon Vigor, in his *Proofs of the Difference, etc.*, cites a detailed memorandum of the Bulls which, by order of Clement V., were corrected or erased.

Philip when he is said (by Villani) to have promised the tiara to Bertrand de Got, "the demand that the Pontiff should assist him in procuring the imperial crown for his brother." Now further on, Sismondi says that this favor, said to have been reserved at St. Jean d'Angély, was the establishment of the Roman court in France, the destruction of the Templars, and (which Villani puts in the fourth favor) the erasure of the name of Boniface VIII. from the Roman catalogue. 2. Sismondi says that "the election was published on Nov. 25 or 27;" the decree (see Baluze, vol. II.,) gives the 27th as the date. 3. Sismondi says that "the Pope hastened to confirm the election on the feast of the Epiphany, in the following year." But the letter of Henry, announcing his election to Clement, is dated in June of the following year (see Raynald, y. 1309, no. 10); the embassy could not have arrived at Avignon before the end of the month; the *Acts* show that the ambassadors were received in audience on the Calends of July, and that the Bull confirming Henry's election was dated 4 Cal. Aug.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TEMPLARS. *

Some authors have held that the first institution of Military Orders, particularly that of St. George, is to be ascribed to the emperor Constantine; but it is generally conceded that the idea of chivalry was a fruit of the Crusades, and that it originated at the close of the eleventh century (1). Like

* This chapter appeared as an article in the *Amer. Cath. Q'tly Review*, vol. xvi.

(1) It has been debated whether chivalry, as we fancy it, ever really existed, or whether it is not merely a pretty dream, like the Golden Age. If you read the authors of those days, says Canth, "you will find them all lamenting the bygone time, and deploring the decay of chivalry. . . . We may well believe that the chivalry of the romances, that is, an era of valor, of loyalty, of spontaneous order, of happiness, of disinterested sacrifice, of chaste love, no more existed than did the idyllic blessedness of the Arcadian shepherds; but that books have modified it, and substituted an ideal era for the true one. Nevertheless, there was considerable reality in chivalry, and its members formed an efficient organization, with initiatory forms, rights and prerogatives. . . . Its principal theatre was the south of France, whence

most of the institutions of the Middle Age, the idea of Military Orders came from the Church; it was her inculcation of religious devotion upon the soldier, even in the exercise of his profession, that gave birth to these organizations. As far back as the year 1022, in the time of the Fatimite caliphs, some Neapolitan merchants had established a hospital for pilgrims, under the patronage of St. John the Baptist, near the Holy Sepulchre. They assigned it to the care of certain religious who came to be known as Hospitalers. The rector of this institution was Gerald, a native of Scala, near Amalfi; he conceived the first idea of the Order of the Hospital of St. John, known in History, at first as Knights of St. John, then as Knights Hospitalers, afterward as Knights of Rhodes, and finally as Knights of Malta. Pope Paschal II. took the new Order and its possessions under his protection; Calixtus II. conferred upon Raymond Dupuy, the second provost, the title of Master, and he confirmed the statutes which Raymond had drawn up in 1104. This Order was composed of three classes of brethren (1), namely, ecclesiastics, for spiritual matters; laics, for menial service; and knights, whose duty it was to protect pilgrims. In 1252, Innocent IV. gave to the head of the Hospitalers the title of Grand Master (2).

Following the example of Gerald de Scala and Raymond Dupuy, two illustrious chevaliers named Hugh des Payens and Godfrey de St. Aldemar, with seven companions, founded in 1118, another Military Religious Order which, taking its name from the temple of Solomon, near the site of which King Baldwin II. lodged the first knights, came to be known as the Order of the Temple. For nine years the Templars

it spread into all Spain, already chivalrous by nature. Italy, devoted to commerce, science and religion, cared little for the punctilios of chivalry, unless in Sicily, where it was introduced by the Normans. The Suabians wondered that the Hungarians possessed no chivalry, and they sent a message to them, praying in the name of woman that they would fight in a more courteous manner, that is, with the sword; they replied by scourging the envoy. England, more aristocratic than chivalrous, shows us only Richard the Lion Heart, and he was formed to the arms and poetry of France; the heroes of the Round Table lived only in the pages of romance; Edward III. and the Black Prince arose only from contact with France. The Greeks and the Russians never knew the institutions of chivalry, but they penetrated into Poland."—*Universal History*, b. xl., ch. 4.

(1) From the French word *Frères* came our *friars*, and their name in every language. The Latin chroniclers style them *frerit*; the Greeks, *phreri*.

(2) *Lives of the Grand Masters of the Holy Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, by the Commander, Brother Jerome Marulli. Naples, 1636.

received no novices, and so poor were they, that one horse was made to serve for two knights ; whence, says Matthew of Paris, originated the representation on the seal of the Order. The Templars took, from the first, the ordinary religious vows, with a fourth, to protect pilgrims ; but in 1128, St. Bernard composed for them a special rule which was both mystic and austere. The Templar swore to dedicate his life to warring against the infidels ; to never decline battle unless the odds were more than three to one, to never ask for quarter ; and to never give up, as ransom, "one piece of wall or one palm of land." St. Bernard wished the community-life of the knights to be frugal but pleasant ; personal property there was none, and the will of the individual was to be merged in that of the superior. The Divine Office was, as a general thing, of obligation ; but on occasions of military duty, private prayer was substituted. Thrice a week the members ate meat ; two ate from one plate, but each had his own bottle of wine. When a knight died, his ration was given to the poor for forty days. Hunting, in the ordinary sense of the term, was forbidden ; but the knights might kill ferocious wild beasts. They were never to be idle, said St. Bernard ; when not on the march, their weapons and armor should claim their attention. Games, spectacles and buffoonery of every kind were prohibited to the Templars. Their horses should be spirited but plainly caparisoned. When battle was imminent, the knight should prepare cautiously for it, being armed within by faith and without with iron. He should charge the enemy with confidence, being secure of victory or of martyrdom. In every danger, continued the saint, the Templar should say to himself : "Living or dead, we belong to the Lord ; glory awaits the conqueror, heaven the martyr." Though not so aristocratic an Order as that of the Hospital (1), the Temple soon received among its votaries the scions of the first families of Christendom. From all parts of Europe the knights received money and provisions ; few wills were made without clauses in their favor ;

(1) The Knights of the Hospital were obliged, before admission, to show a noble descent of four generations by both parents ; the chaplains and servant-knights were also of noble birth, though not necessarily by four descents.

many sovereign princes donned the white mantle. At the close of the twelfth century the wealth of the Templars was so great that their landed estates numbered nine thousand; in the kingdom of Valencia alone they owned seventeen fortified towns. Their riches and privileges soon engendered corruption, and thirty years after they had adopted his rule, St. Bernard was forced to tell them: "You cover yourselves and your horses with silk; you paint your lances; your shields, saddles, and spurs shine with gold, silver and gems; your flowing tresses impede your sight; your long trains interfere with your walk; fine gloves cover your delicate hands. Discord is rife among you because of unreasonable anger, of inordinate desire of glory, and of love of earthly riches." The jealousy of the Templars in regard to the Hospitaller was a chief cause of the loss of Palestine to Christendom. Instead of regarding every Islamite as an enemy, they entered into an alliance with the Old Man of the Mountain; they gave refuge to a fugitive sultan; they warred on the Christians of Cyprus and Antioch, devastated Greece, and refused to contribute to the ransom of St. Louis. Indeed, public accusations were made against the Templars long before the time of Clement V. William of Tyre charged them with disobedience to the patriarch of Jerusalem, and with disturbing the churches in their domains (1). In 1200, King Leo I., of Armenia, complained to Pope Innocent III., that the knights had not only invaded his territories, but had refused to aid him in resisting the attacks of the infidels (2). Even Innocent III., who had given many privileges to the Templars, lamented, in 1218, that the knights "had no respect for the Apostolic See," and that "they merited to be deprived of privileges so fearfully abused" (3). In 1244, Frederick II. charged the Templars with receiving Mussulman princes into their houses and with allowing Mohammedan rites in their cloisters; and he adds that they were given up to the pleasures of the world (4). Gurtler gives many instances of Templar avarice in circumstances when religion needed their assistance. It is not surprising, therefore, that after the loss of the Holy

(1) *Deeds of God through the Franks*, vol. 1.

(2) In DUPUY, p. 137.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 141.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 152.

Land, the Templars were regarded as entirely useless. Nevertheless, like the Hospitalers, they would have been allowed to subsist, had not the world been horrified by their crimes. "While the common people were frightened at these accusations, the great ones of the earth charged the Order with an aspiration for universal dominion; with the intention of founding an aristocratic republic which would embrace all Europe—a very improbable design on the part of knights entirely dependent on the will of a grand master Philip hated the Order because it had refused to enroll him as a member, and would not sign the appeal against Boniface VIII.; he hated it because he wanted its riches." Such is the judgment of Cantù in regard to the suppression of this Order, and many other historians of merit hold the same opinion. The object of the present chapter is to show that the Order of the Temple deserved suppression: that, whatever may have been the motives which actuated Philip the Fair, Pope Clement V. performed his simple duty in putting an end to an organization which had survived its usefulness and had become a scandal to Christendom (1).

On the feast of the Annunciation, 1307, the Faculty of Paris, having been consulted by King Philip as to his powers in the premises, issued a doctrinal judgment, attested by the seals of fourteen doctors, in which it was declared, that unless requested by the Church, the secular magistracy could

(1) The following are the principal works on this subject: 1. *The History of the Military Order of the Templars*, by Peter Dupuy, in 4to, Brussels 1751. After one has read the many works that this suppression has called forth, he finds that he can come to no satisfactory conclusion, unless he examines the original documents. Hence he is grateful to Dupuy for the care with which, in 1650, he extracted many from the archives at Paris. 2. *The History of the Templars*, by Nicholas Gurtler, of Basel; Amsterdam, 1712; a work of some research but very hostile to the Church. 3. *A Critical and Apologetic History of the Knights of the Temple called Templars*, Paris, 1789; by M. J., a Premonstratensian canon; an enthusiastic, but not critical, apology for the Order. 4. *An Essay on the Charges Against the Templars*, by Fred Nicolai; Amsterdam, 1783. Nicolai was a Protestant, but impartial and judicious. 5. *Historical Memoirs on the Templars*, by Grouvelle; averse to the Order, but unsatisfactory as to proofs. 6. *Historical Monuments Relative to the Condemnation of the Knights of the Temple*, by Raynouard; Paris, 1813; the best defence of the Templars ever attempted, but too much like the author's tragedy on the same subject which caused much excitement in France. 7. The excellent work of the Abbe Christophe, *The Papacy in the Fourteenth Century*, vol. i., b. 4; Paris, 1853. 8. The incomparable *Universal History of Cantù*, b. xlii., ch. 6. All the Acts of the Pontifical Commission in the cause of the Templars were published by Moldenhauer in 1791; and the statutes of the Order were edited in 1794 by the Danish author, Munter. In his *Collection of Unedited Documents Concerning the History of France (Series 1, Political History)*, Michel et edited the *Process of the Templars*, of which Dupuy had given only extracts.

take no cognizance of the crime of heresy, or of the cause of a religious Order or of its members; but that, in case of imminent danger, the accused might be arrested, and then given over to the custody of the Church (1). In accordance with this decision, but not before October 13th, and after the grand master had complained to the Pope (August 24th), and demanded a juridical process (2), all the Templars in France were arrested. On the 14th the clergy of Paris, and on the 15th the people, were informed of the charges against the knights. Then William of Paris, of the Order of Preachers, and inquisitor-general in the kingdom, undertook the necessary investigations, and interrogated one hundred and forty knights of the house in Paris. From the Continuator of Nange and the *Acts* of this inquiry, taken from the Royal Archives in 1650 by Dupuy, we learn that the following were the accusations. 1. On their entrance into the Order, the knights were commanded to deny Christ and to spit thrice upon the crucifix; if the novice hesitated, imprisonment and torture forced him to yield. 2. Obscene signs of submission were made to the preceptors by the candidates. (*Al preceptum preceptoris, nec-non preceptorem ipsum—quod nominandum quasi turpissimum—inferius in posterioribus osculabantur immunde*). 3. Although they had foresworn the society of women, sodomy was a prevalent and permitted practice of the Templars. 4. They were in the habit of adoring an idol, in the shape of a golden head with a long beard and fiery eyes. According to Hammer, in his “Mystery of Baphomet Exposed,” this head was called “the head of Baphomet.” He says that he found twelve of these heads in the prison of Vienna, with Arabic, Greek, and Latin inscriptions entitling them *Metis* or Wisdom; hence he concludes that *Baphomet* is derived from *Baphimiteos*, which would mean a baptism of the spirit or of fire—a Gnostic or Ophitic idea. These superstitious signs, says Hammer, the Templars must have derived from their intercourse with the Ishmaelites, and they have been frequently found, he adds, in the houses and tombs of the knights. He declares that he himself discovered several in the Templar churches at Stenfeld and

(1) Cited by Dupuy.

(2) This fact explodes the charge that the arrest was secret and unexpected.

Wultendorf. Teleky, in his *Voyage in Hungary*, says that the same figures are found in the Templar church of St. Martin, in Muran. As for the obscenities ascribed to the knights, Hammer credits the charges, because of the many obscene anaglyphs found in the houses and sepulchres of the Order; and he comes to the conclusion that the principal members and a large number of the rest were guilty of apostasy, superstition and gross impurity (1). 5. The priests of the Order were accustomed, when pretending to celebrate Mass, to omit the words of consecration.

Among the knights questioned as to the truth of these accusations, were the grand master, James de Molay; Guy, the brother of the dauphin of Auvergne; and Hubert de Perault. There were one hundred and forty in all, and only three of them pronounced the charges false. Some protested that they had long since repented of having joined the Order, and had asked Rome for a dispensation; others insisted that they had already confessed their crimes to episcopal penitentiaries. The inquisitor, William of Paris, afterward held an examination of one hundred and eleven Templars at Troyes, and although these knights denied the adoration of the head of *Baphomet*, they admitted the truth of the other charges. At Caen, thirteen other knights admitted their guilt, when questioned by commissioners delegated by the inquisitor. At Pont de l'Arche, ten knights were interrogated by Peter de Hangest, governor of Rouen, with the same issue. At Carcassonne, John de Cassanhas, preceptor of the

(1) See Mignard's *Hidden Practices of the Templars*, Dijon, 1851. The latter work is a dissertation on a casket found in 1789 on the Essarois estate of the marquis du Chastenay. This casket is made of lime-stone, and is about 25 centimetres long and 20 wide. On it is an image in relief, which Mignard lithographed. The image is of a sort of masculo-feminine being, standing naked, wearing a crenulated crown, and holding in its hand a chain which is surmounted, on the right, by the moon, and on the left by the sun; at the feet of the image is a death's head, set in a star and a pentagon; Arabic characters surround the main figure. There are also three other masculo-feminine figures. From the records of the Chastenay family it is proved that the property on which the casket was found was once that of the Templars; and we know that the important priory of Voulaïne-les-Temple was near Essarois. Following the interpretative systems of Nicolai and Hammer, Mignard finds a Gnostic meaning in the picture. In the Arabic inscription are found the *Oydoagde* or Creator, and his seven *cones* or emanations; the fusion of the two sexes—the Gnostic *cones* were hemaphrodite; the denial of Christ: "If thou deniest, pleasure will environ thee." Basilides regarded this denial as the sign of true liberty; as to the Sodomitic habits, the followers of Valentine and Basilides were addicted to such vices. This chest, concludes Mignard, reveals the key of the *Cabal*, with which the Templars were reproached, and proclaims infamous mysteries.

house of Noggarde, also confessed the alleged crimes. At Cahors, forty-four Templars admitted their guilt to the royal commissary. The *Acts* of all these inquiries were preserved, at least in Alexandre's time, in the royal archives, and had been diligently examined by Dupuy.

Pope Clement V. did not approve the high-handed measures of Philip the Fair in the affair of the Templars. He suspended the authority of the Inquisition in France, and called the cause of the knights to the Holy See, requesting the king to surrender the persons and properties of the accused to the care of two cardinals deputed for that purpose. Indeed, so displeased was the Pontiff, that he complained, eight months afterward, to the minister William Plasian, and declared that nothing could excuse the illegality of commencing so grave a prosecution without the consent of the Holy See (1). Philip reluctantly complied with the papal request, and he sent many of the accused knights to Poitiers, where the Pontiff was residing, that Clement might himself inquire into their guilt. The Pope questioned seventy-two, and they all avowed the crimes charged by the French inquisitor. We present the following rather lengthily extract from the diploma of Clement V. to the king, commencing with the words, "Reigning in Heaven," as it throws much light on this entire subject.

"Some time ago, when we were first promoted to the height of the pontificate, and even before we went to Lyons, where we were crowned, and after that, in other places as well as there, we received secret information that the master, preceptors, and other brothers of the Temple, and even the Order itself, to which had been assigned the defence of the patrimony of our Lord Jesus Christ beyond the seas, had fallen into the horrible wickedness of apostasy against the same Lord, into the detestable crime of idolatry, into the execrable vice of the Sodomites, and into various heresies. But, taught by the example of our Lord, and by the doctrines of canonical Scripture, we wished not to lend our ear to such accusations; for, it seemed improbable, nay, incredible, that religious men who had shed their blood for Christ,

(1) *Baluze*, vol. i., p. 29.

and so often had exposed themselves to death for His sake, who had shown such signs of devotion in the divine offices, fasts, and other observances, should so far forget their salvation as to perpetrate such deeds. At length, however, you who had heard of these same iniquities, and moved, not by avarice—for you do not intend to claim or appropriate the property of the Templars, but have taken your hands altogether away from it, freely and devoutly yielding it up to us and to the Church, to be guarded and administered by our deputies—but excited by zeal for the orthodox faith, and following in the footsteps of your ancestors, having informed yourself, so far as you could, sent to us by messengers and letters many and extensive reports on these matters. Meanwhile, the infamy attaching to the Templars was becoming widespread, and we ourselves heard from a certain knight of the Order—a man of high nobility, and who was once of great influence in it, who swore to what he said, that a candidate to the Order, at the suggestion of the receiver or of his deputy, denied Jesus Christ; that he spat on a crucifix in contempt of Him crucified; that then, both candidate and receiver did things not befitting human decency; therefore, urged by the duty of our office we were compelled to hearken to so many great complaints. Finally, we learned from public report, from you, and the dukes, counts, barons, and other nobles, as well as from the clergy and people of your kingdom, what we announce with great grief, that the master, preceptors, and members of the said Order, and the Order itself, had been charged with the aforesaid and other crimes, and that the premises seemed to be proved by many confessions, attestations and depositions of the said master, preceptors, and members of the said Order, made before many prelates and the French inquisitor into heretical depravity, and shown unto us and our brethren. Since then, the aforesaid rumors and clamors have so increased against the Order, and against each and every one of its members, that they cannot be disregarded without grave scandal, nor tolerated without imminent danger: We, following in the footsteps of Him, whose place, although unworthy, we hold on earth, deemed it proper to inquire into the aforesaid things. Having called

into our presence many of the preceptors, priests, soldiers, and other brothers of the said Order, men of no light reputation, and they having sworn to tell us the simple and full truth in the premises, we interrogated and examined seventy-two of their number, many of our brethren diligently assisting. Their confessions were reduced to authentic writing, and were read in our presence and that of our brethren. After a few days we caused these avowals to be read in the Consistory, and before the accused, and to be explained in the vernacular of each one. Persevering in their confessions, they all, expressly and voluntarily, approved of them as they were read."

The Pontiff then recites how he had proposed to personally interrogate the grand master, and the preceptor of Normandy and others; but some of them being infirm and unable to travel, he had decided to take other means to discover whether they admitted the truth of the confessions made before the French inquisitor.

"Therefore," he continues, "we commissioned our beloved sons, the cardinals Berengarius of the Title of Sts. Nereus and Achilleus, and Stephen of the Title of St. Cyriacus *in thermis*, priests, and the cardinal-deacon Landulph, of the Title of St. Angelus, of whose prudence, experience, and fidelity we are sure, to diligently inquire from the aforesaid master and preceptors into the charges made against the members of the Order and against the Order itself, and to report to us whatever they could discover, referring also to us the confessions, reduced to writing by public authority, conceding to them the power to confer upon the said master and preceptors absolution from the excommunication which they had incurred, if the accusations were true, providing that they, as they ought to do, humbly and devoutly besought that absolution. These cardinals interviewed the master and preceptors, and explained the reason of their coming. And as *the persons and goods of all the Templars of the kingdom were in our hands*, the cardinals declared to them, by the Apostolic authority, that they might open their minds freely and without fear. Then, the master, and the preceptors of France, of the lands beyond the seas, of

Normandy, Aquitaine, and Poitiers, having touched the Holy Gospels of God, swore that they would tell the full and simple truth before the three cardinals, in presence of four public notaries, and of many other public men. Before these, each one freely and voluntarily, without any coercion or fear, deposed and confessed : Among other things, to the denial of Christ, and the spitting on the cross, when they were received into the Order of the Temple ; and some of them said that they had received many brethren with the same form, namely, the denial of Christ and the spitting on the cross. Some, also, confessed certain horrible and indecent things, about which, that we may spare their shame, we keep silence. They also avowed the truth of the confessions made some time ago before the inquisitor into heretical depravity ; and those confessions and depositions of the aforesaid master and preceptors, reduced to writing by four public notaries, in the presence of the said master and preceptors and of certain worthy men, after a few days were read to them, by order and in presence of the aforesaid cardinals, and explained to each one in his own vernacular. Persevering in them, they all expressly and voluntarily approved them as they were read. And after these confessions and depositions, they all, upon their knees, and with clasped hands, and with no slight flow of tears, besought of the cardinals an absolution from the excommunication which, because of the aforesaid things, they had incurred. Then, the cardinals expressly, and according to the form of the Church, extended the benefit of absolution by our authority, for the Church does not close her bosom to the returning one. Coming, then, into our presence, the cardinals presented to us the confessions and depositions, and all that had happened in regard to the said master and preceptors ; everything being reduced to writing by public authority. From which confessions, depositions, and relations, we find that the aforesaid master and preceptors were grievously delinquent in the aforesaid matters, although some in a greater and some in a less degree."

If any confidence is to be placed in the solemn assertions of a Roman Pontiff, we have now shown the truth of what we undertook to demonstrate, namely, that the Templars

acknowledged their guilt of the terrible crimes with which they were charged. But more light will fall upon the subject if we notice the following facts: In October, 1310, a Council of the province of Sens was held, and, according to the Continuator of Nange, "a diligent inquiry was made into the deeds of the Templars, and into everything regarding them; and their demerits having been weighed, and their quality and circumstances considered, with the approval of the Sacred Council, and with the advice of men learned in the Divine and Canon Law, it was adjudged and defined, that some of them should be simply dismissed from the Order; certain others, however, having performed an enjoined penance, were allowed to depart free and unharmed; some were detained in close confinement; and many, having relapsed into heresy, were delivered to the secular power" (1). Bzovius quotes a Vatican MS., from which it appears that the archbishops of Florence and Pisa made an inquiry into the charges against the Templars, embracing therein all Lombardy and Tuscany; and that it resulted in proving the accusations well founded. In England, says Walsingham: "By command of the king (Edward II.), all the Templars in the realm were arrested, because of imputed indecencies and enormities contrary to the Catholic faith" (2). Pope Clement V. appointed as judges for the trials in Edward's dominions, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the archbishop of York, the bishops of Lincoln, Chester, and Orleans; the abbots of Lagny and of St. Germain, in Paris; Richard de Vaux, canon of Narbonne, and Guy de Vichy, a London pastor. In 1309, a Provincial Council was held at Canterbury for the consideration of this question, but we have no documentary evidence as to its result. But that the English Templars were condemned is evident from the process, as found in Wilkins; although it appears that the guilt of the English knights was less general than that of the continental brethren. We shall notice this fact more particularly when we come to consider the arguments adduced by the apologists for the Templars. In Aragon, as we are told by

(1) At year 1310.

(2) *History of England*, by Rymer, b. iii., nos. 30, 34, 43, 301.

Zurita (1), there came from the French king, "on the 17th of the Calends of November, 1307, an embassy, such as he had sent to all Christian princes, requesting each of them to undertake the defence of the Catholic faith in his own dominions against the Templars. The king received this request while residing in the royal castle of Valencia; and on the 3d of the Nones of December he ordered the arrest of all those sectarians, and the sequestration of their property. John Lotger, of the Dominican Order, Apostolic inquisitor for the kingdom of Aragon, exercised the utmost severity in enforcing the law, repressing the guilty and their partisans. A large number of these shut themselves in the strong castles of Carthage, Montyon, Miravet, Villed, and Alfambra, hoping to escape the penalty following their indictments. In Catalonia, also, having no other hope, they acted in a similar manner. Then the king ordered them to be subdued by force." Pope Clement appointed the bishop of Valencia, the royal chancellor, as judge in the cause of all the accused Templars in Spain. We shall have occasion to notice the assertion that the Spanish Templars were pronounced innocent of the alleged crimes (2); but here we would remark that, according to Zurita, the knights were guilty of contumacy toward their legitimate judges, and of rebellion against their sovereign; which crimes, committed precisely because of the accusations brought against them, would indicate a consciousness of guilt.

All the above inquisitorial, pontifical, and episcopal *Acts*, as well as others of less importance (3), were laid before the Fifteenth General Council, and in its second session, held on April 3, 1312, Pope Clement V., having preached a sermon on the text, "The wicked shall not rise again in judgment nor sinners in the council of the just," and having adapted it to the existing circumstances of the Templars, promulgated the following decree: "With the approbation of the

(1) Jerome Zurita (b. 1512) was historiographer of Aragon, and private secretary to the king. He wrote a collection of *Annals of the Crown of Aragon* (6 vols. fol., 1562-79), commencing with the rise of the kingdom and ending with Ferdinand the Catholic.

(2) The authors of the *Catholic Dictionary* say that "in Spain and Portugal the knights were put on trial on the same charges, but honorably and enthusiastically acquitted."

(3) Such as the investigation in the province of Sens, that in the province of Ravenna and that in Castile.

Sacred Council, and not without grief and bitterness of heart, by our ever-valid and irrefragable decree, not by means of a definite sentence, since we could not, according to the inquiries and processes held in the premises, so pronounce *de jure*, but by way of provision and Apostolic ordinance, we have abolished the Order of the Soldiers of the Temple of Jerusalem, and its state, name, and habit; because of the master and brethren and other persons of the said Order, residing in every part of the world, being stained with various and diverse not only wicked, but even unmentionable obscenities, depravities, and foulnesses, on which we are now silent because of their filthiness. We subject the said Order to perpetual prohibition, especially commanding that no one shall dare to enter the said Order, or to receive or wear its dress, or to present himself as a Templar. If any one does so, he incurs, by the very fact, excommunication. By our Apostolic authority we have decreed that all the property of the aforesaid Order be held at the disposition of the Apostolic See. With the approbation of the same Sacred Council, we give forever, concede, unite, incorporate, apply, and annex, out of the fulness of our Apostolic power, to the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and to the Hospital itself, the house of the Soldiers of the Temple and all their other houses, churches, chapels, oratories, towns, castles, villas, lands, granges, possessions, jurisdictions, revenues, rights, all movable and immovable goods, with all their rights and appurtenances, on this side and beyond the sea, in any part of the world where they may be found whatever, at the time the master and certain knights of the Temple were arrested, that is, in the month of October of the year of the Lord 1308, the said Order and the said master and brethren of the Soldiers of the Temple, either by themselves or others, held and possessed . . . excepting such goods of the late Order of the Soldiers of the Temple as are found outside of the realm of France, in the kingdoms and dominions of our beloved sons, the kings of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, and Majorca; these we have deemed proper to especially except and exclude from the above donation, concession, union, application, incorporation and annexation; reserving

them, nevertheless, to the disposition of the Apostolic See"(1).

With regard to the clause, "not by means of a definitive sentence, since we could not, according to the inquiries and processes held in the premises, so pronounce *de jure*," it is to be observed, that these words by no means imply a deficiency of power on the part of the Pontiff to abolish, definitely and *de jure*, any religious Order or community whatever, when he deems such action conducive to the good of the Church. The only reason for the existence of any religious Order or religious institution is the good of the Church; it is only by a decree of the head of the Church that a religious Order attains a legal status, and only so long as he and his successors will that said decree shall retain its force, does that Order remain a legitimate organization. What then did Clement V. mean by the above clause? We must remember that the entire Order of Templars, as an Order, had not been called to judgment: (2) that in some provinces, the Order, as such, had been acquitted. Hence the Pontiff deemed it proper to abolish the Templars, as Durand of Mende is said to have put it, not "according to the rigor of the law" by a definitive sentence, but "by the fulness of his power," by way of Apostolic ordinance. Raynald (3) gives the testimony of one of the fathers of the Fifteenth Council, a "bishop conspicuous for piety and knowledge," whose name he omits, but whom Alexandre says many regarded as Durand of Mende, one of those delegated by Clement V. before the Council, to inquire into the cause of the Templars. This prelate informs us that in the process preliminary to the issue of the decree of abolition, some of the fathers thought that the Order ought not to be abolished without every observance of law, whereas others contended that it "should be destroyed without delay, both because of the grave scandals said Order had furnished Christendom, and because more than two thousand witnesses had shown its guilt of error and heresy." The bishop himself deemed it "ex-

(1) The property of the Templars in the Iberian peninsula was afterward appropriated to defray the expenses of the Crusades against the Mohammedan invaders of that land.

(2) Those who undertook the defence of the knights before the Apostolic commissioners at Paris, declared that they possessed no legitimate "procuracy," and that they could not act as procurators without the commission of the grand master.

(3) *Annals*, at year 1311, No. 55.

pedient for the Church of God and the Christian faith that the Pope, either by the strict letter of law (*de rigore juris*), or by the fulness of his power, should abolish that most infamous Order which, so far as it could, had rendered fetid the odor of the Christian name among the incredulous and the heathen, and had weakened the faith of some Christians . . . and without delay. I say, even though the Order was good at its first institution ; since we read in Dist. 63, cap. *Verum*, that if our predecessors effected anything which, though good in their day, lapsed into error and superstition, as is patent in the case of the said Order, it should be destroyed by posterity without delay . . . again I say without delay, lest this obstinate spark of error become a flame to fire the whole earth, and then there happen what Jerome spoke of, saying: 'Arius was only a spark in Alexandria, but not being extinguished, his flame scorched the entire world.' " Such is the interpretation of the qualifying clause in the Clementine decree given by two authors quoted by Alexandre ; namely, Walsingham (1) and the Continuator of Nange (2). The former says that when the members of the Council debated whether "the entire Order could be condemned because of the citations of particular guilty members, as it was evident that the said Order had not been cited, the said Council decided (it should be done) not *de jure* : therefore Pope Clement inserted this clause." The Continuator of Nange says that the Pontiff "condemned the Order of Templars, not by means of a definitive sentence, because the Order had not been convicted as an Order ; but merely by way of provision and ordinance. However, because the manner of reception, which hitherto they had refused to divulge, was suspected of old, and had now been revealed by many principal men of the Order, the Apostolic authority, with the approval of the Sacred Council, both wiped out the name of the Order, and abolished its habit ; for the Order was now useless, since no good man would wish to enter it, and other evils were to be removed and scandals to be avoided."

(1) *English History*, 7, 1311.(2) *Y.* 1310.

It is asserted by certain apologists of the Templars (1) that Pope Clement V. abolished the Order by his own authority, in a secret Consistory. When this objection is made by a Catholic, it may be met with the reply that the sole authority of the Pontiff was sufficient in the premises. But the assertion is untrue. The decree of suppression was drawn up on March 22, 1312, but it was published on April 3d, in full Council, the Pope declaring that it was issued *with the approbation of the Holy Council*. Against this declaration of the Pontiff a certain writer (2) alleges that the fathers, with only four exceptions, evinced a repugnance to the decree. It is impossible to avoid accusing this writer of bad faith in this matter. He appeals to the *Annals* of Raynald (y. 1311, No. 55), but if the reader will examine for himself, he will find that in the cited passage the annalist simply narrates how the fathers were divided as to the *manner* of condemnation, and how a bishop (supposed to be Durand, cited above) insisted on an immediate abolition, whether it were to be effected, as some wished, *de rigore juris*, or as others preferred, "by way of Apostolic provision." There is no mention or insinuation that the prelates disagreed with Pope Clement as to the necessity of suppressing the Templars.

Coming now to the arguments adduced by the apologists of the Templars, we first notice the one based on the authority of Villani, St. Antonine of Florence, Dante, Boccaccio, Trithemius, and Paul Emilius. Of what value is the authority of Villani in the subject-matter? His diction is certainly Tuscan in its purity, and he is a lucid and ingenuous chronicler when unfettered by prejudice; but his writings are not always to be taken as gospel truth. Muratori, than whom no better judge in such matters can be desired, says that "this historian gives us not a few fables when he describes remote events" (3), and that, in regard to the time of Frederick II., and the following period, "he is not always to be believed" (4). And we know that Villani could never

(1) Thus Voltaire in his *Essay on Universal History*; and C. G. Addison, in his *Knights of the Temple*, London, 1841.

(2) Addison.

(3) In Preface to his edition of Villani's *History*.

(4) *Writers on Italian Affairs*, vol. xiii., pt. 3.

forgive the blunder of Clement V., whereby the Italians had to lament the seventy years of the "Babylonian captivity." As for St. Antonine, we must respect his sanctity, admire his canonical and moral science; but as a historian we must place him in the same category with John of Salisbury—among those who feed upon popular rumors, but who cannot digest such deceptive morsels. Like Villani, Dante, Boccaccio, and most Italians of that day, he naturally regarded the papal residence at Avignon with a religious and patriotic aversion; and was ready to credit Clement V., the cause of the "captivity," with many foolish and wicked actions. Thus, he records the popular notion that this pontiff was guilty of lust, simony, and necromancy; although the most reliable records of his time show Clement to have been an upright, though, perhaps, too compliant a pastor. And it may be remarked that St. Antonine, when treating of the events of Clement's reign, is a mere transcriber of Villani; two-thirds of his sentences are literal translations from this author's Italian work. Seldom, indeed, does he seem inclined to venture an opinion which he is ready to defend as his own. Nearly every passage is introduced by a "they say," or, "it is believed," or, "many dignitaries assert." Therefore, since he must be regarded in the same light with Villani, we decline his authority in this matter of the Templars, especially because he is directly refuted, as we shall soon prove, by contemporary or quasi-contemporary authors of undoubted reliability.

Dante can be of little avail in defence of the knights; for, although he condemns Clement V. to hell (1), it is because of that pontiff's reputed simony that the poet so writes, rather than on account of the abolition of the Order. We may here observe that when Dante's politics required such obliviousness, he quite forgot his enmity to "the Gascon," as he often styled Clement in his letters; transcendent as was his genius, he was very human in his policy. Thus, when he heard that Henry of Luxembourg, just elected "king of the Romans," was about to descend into Italy, he wrote, in 1310, a letter "to the kings Robert of Naples, and Frederick of

(1) *Hell*, canto 19.

Sicily ; to the senators of Rome ; to the dukes, marquises, counts, and all the peoples of Italy " (1), in the interest of unity and peace ; in which letter, since hitherto Pope Clement had been favorable to Henry, the poet forgot his trick in the "Comedy," and tried to unite Guelphs and Ghibelines in honoring that pontiff. Encouraging his countrymen to obey Henry, Dante exclaims : "Open the eyes of your minds, and see how the Lord of heaven and earth has given us a monarch. This king is the one whom Peter, the vicar of God, commands us to honor ; he is the one whom Clement, the successor of Peter, illumines with the light of the Apostolic benediction." And in a letter to Henry, he thus vituperates rebel Florence : "With the cruelty of a viper she tries to wound the bosom of her mother, when she directs the horn of rebellion against Rome, who made her in her own image and likeness. With perverse obstinacy she tries to nullify the consent given in your favor by the Roman Pontiff, who is the father of fathers " (2).

Boccaccio is represented as favoring the innocence of the Templars, but he also merely echoes popular Italian rumor, naturally ready to second any report hostile to the pontiff who had transferred the papal residence to France.

Trithemius is also presented as an apologist for the Templars, since he tells us that Clement V. condemned them, "at the instigation of King Philip, by whose favor he had been made Pope ; the Templars were very wealthy, and that he might obtain their possessions, the king, falsely, as many think, charged them with heresy." But this author shows himself unworthy of credence in anything concerning the Fifteenth Council ; for he asserts that it lasted two years, whereas it is certain that it lasted only seven months. Again, he, like St Antonine, hesitates as to his position, for he inserts the qualifying clause, "as many think." Paul Emilius is also adduced to defend the knights. He asserts that the

(1) This letter of Dante's was known of old only by means of an anonymous translation into Italian, supposed to be by Marsilio Ficino. But in 1843, Torri published the Latin original from a Vatican MS.

(2) An Italian translation of this letter was first published by Dom in 1547, but it being suspected as not very faithful, the original Latin text was greatly desired by the learned and the curious. It was finally discovered by Moschini, prefect of the Marcian Library, in Venice, in 1837.

movable goods of the Templars were kept by Philip, and only the immovable handed over to the Hospitalers; but that this is untrue will be shown when we come to the defence of the king in this matter. Papire Masson is also quoted by the friends of the knights; but as he simply relies upon Villani, we reject his authority in the premises.

To the above authors, quoted by the Templarites in order that they may prove that the vile passions of Philip the Fair found ready instruments in a Roman pontiff and his court, and in nearly all the bishops, inquisitors, kings, and magistrates of his time, we now oppose some contemporary authorities of greater weight than any adduced against our position. The testimony of the Continuator of Nange has been already given. Bernard Guido, a Dominican, and for eighteen years an inquisitor at Toulouse, died in 1331, leaving a reputation for great learning and sanctity. Among many valuable works, he wrote a *Chronicle* reaching to 1330, which he dedicated to Pope John XXII. Speaking of the year 1307, he says: "On the feast of St. Edward the Confessor, the 3d of the Ides of October, by order of the king and Council, all the Templars in France were arrested; everybody wondered that this ancient Order of knights, so greatly privileged by the Roman Church, should be thus treated, for, excepting a few sworn secretaries, all were ignorant of the reason. However, the cause was finally manifested and given to public execration; namely, their profane rite of profession celebrated with a denial of Christ, and by a spitting upon the crucifix in contempt of the Crucified. Many of them, even dignitaries of the Order, acknowledged this abominable, execrable, and unmentionable ceremony of initiation, of which hitherto all (outsiders) had been ignorant. Some of them, however, though subjected to question and torture, would not confess. Finally, the Roman See, *which at first had regarded the accusation as incredible, and had been greatly displeased at the arrest* (1), became better informed at

(1) Here Bernard directly contradicts the assertion of St. Antonine that Clement V. had "conceded by Letters Apostolic that all the Templars, throughout the world, should be arrested on the same day." We may also passingly remark that these arrests did not take place on the same day. Those in the French dominions occurred on October 13, 1307: those in England, on January 10, 1308; those in Aragon, in November, 1307.

Poitiers, where the curia was residing ; for, several of the Templars, being brought before the Pope and some cardinals, there avowed that the previous confessions were true ; and therefore, it was then ordered, that the Templars should be arrested everywhere, and the truth be brought to light." The testimony given in the Fifteenth Council, by the "bishop renowned for learning and sanctity," supposed to have been Durand of Mende, may also be examined. Albertino Mussato (d. 1329) has the following : "About seventy-two of the masters, preceptors, and soldiers of the house of the knights of the Temple of Jerusalem having been convicted, and having confessed, awaited the Apostolic censures ; and, O shame ! although we ought not to relate such infamous things, yet, they are to be spoken of for the punishment of the transgressors, and that posterity may be more cautious in avoiding what our age has experienced ; these abominable beasts, endowed with human forms, these brothers—or rather enemies—armed with the sign of the cross, long ago devoted their souls to Satan in their reception into the Order, by a denial of Christ, by a spitting on the cross, and by other things not to be mentioned for the sake of human shame." Mussato, well remarks Alexandre, was an Italian, and therefore not likely to be sympathetic with the court of Avignon ; therefore, his testimony is of double weight. Walsingham, whose *English History* is one of the best sources of information for the historian, tells us in his *Life of Edward II.*, that "the Templars were accused and convicted of this, that when they received any one into the Order, all but the brethren having been removed, they led the candidate to a private place, *et totaliter denudaverunt et tunc unus accederet ad eumdem, et eum oscularetur in posteriori parte*. . . . Then, a cross was brought forward, and he was told that Christ was not crucified, but a certain false prophet, who was condemned by the Jews to death for his crimes. Then, the candidate was made to spit thrice upon the cross, and it was thrown to the ground, and they made him trample upon it with his feet. After this, they showed him the head of a certain idol, which they daily adored. Besides these things, it was deposed against them, that they were polluted with the vice of sodomy. . . . Hence,

when a Provincial Council was called at London, to consider these accusations, the accused Templars acknowledged the rumor, but not the fact, unless on the part of a few. Nevertheless, all finally admitted that they could not clear themselves of the accusations, and hence the Council condemned them to perpetual penance." When Walsingham says that the Templars admitted "the rumor, but not the fact," he evidently alludes only to the English knights; for at the moment he is talking of the Provincial Council, convened in 1309 by the English primate, Robert of Winchelsea, and when he speaks of the Templars in general, he says that the charges were proved (1). To these testimonies of authors contemporary, or nearly so, with the abolition of the Templars, we may add that of a more modern writer, one who is frequently quoted by the apologists of the Order, namely, the famous Jesuit historian, Mariani. After enumerating the charges against the knights, this author asks: "What will the reader now say? Will he regard these accusations as founded in fact, or rather as fictions, and not unlike the tales of silly old women? Certainly, Villani, Antonine, and others, reject them as calumnies; but the more general report, and a nearly universal consent, condemns the Templars. . . . That the Order so soon degenerated into every kind of wickedness, would scarcely be credible, unless the *Diplomas of Clement*, from which we have drawn these things, and which are extant among the archives of the great church of Toledo, were proof that the reports were not unfounded; for he affirms that sixty-two (seventy-two) of the Order when questioned before himself, admitted the mentioned crimes, and sought pardon."

The partisans of the Templars insist upon the comparative innocence of the English knights, and tell us that "in Spain they were honorably and enthusiastically acquitted. In Germany also they were acquitted"(2). That the English

(1) "*Depositum fuit contra Templarios et compertum*"—In his essay on the *Accusations against the Templars*, the Protestant Nicolai explains the contradictions of the witnesses, in reference to the initiations, by the fact that there were various kinds of receptions, and that all the knights did not receive the same secrets. Many of the depositions show this to have been the case.

(2) *Catholic Dictionary*, by Addis and Arnold. In this work we are told that "whatever confessions individual Templars made, were extorted by torture . . . and were invariably retracted when the victims found themselves out of the king's power. The Pope, Clement V., interfered so far as he dared, but too weakly and irresolutely to save them . . .

Templars showed a far better record than their continental brethren is true ; and " if it be fair," says Lingard, " to judge from the informations taken in England, however, we may condemn a few individuals, we must certainly acquit the Order " (1). But it would not be fair to so judge ; nor was Pope Clement V. guilty of any such unfairness. He did not form his decision from an inspection of isolated cases, nor should we so form one. Again, we must remember that the English Templars had three years in which to defend themselves, for so long did their trial last : that Archbishop Robert of Winchelsea, who presided, was one of the most inflexible and independent prelates who ever sat in the chair of Canterbury, and that neither he nor his suffragans had anything to expect or fear from Philip ; and yet, after mature deliberation, the English knights were condemned. We may well refuse, therefore, to believe, even with regard to this portion of the Order, that it was condemned " upon evidence so flimsy that in the present day a man could not be convicted on it of the most trifling offence " (2). As for the acquittal of the knights in the Synods of Salamanca and Metz, the innocence of some of the Templars does not acquit the entire Order, as was well understood by Mariana: " In the cause of the Templars it was decreed that their name and Order should be entirely abolished. To many this decree seemed cruel, nor is it probable that those crimes were found in every province, contaminating all the members. However, by the destruction of this Order, a warning to avoid similar iniquities was given to all, especially to religious, whose value and strength consist more in a reputation for virtue than in anything else " (3). It must be observed, however, that according to the same Mariana,

The Order was dissolved in France, and all its wealth seized by the king." The assertions as to torture and Philip's avarice are noticed by us in the text. The remark on Pope Clement's conduct is unjust to that Pontiff. So soon as he heard of the king's initiative, he reserved the cause of the knights to himself, and took their property under the protection of the Church. He " dared to interfere " just so long as justice demanded his intervention. He secured to the accused a fair trial before himself, in one case, and before his deputies, in all the others. To have gone further than this, to have shielded the impenitent, and to have continued the Papal sanction to so foully stained an institute, would have been worse than weak and irresolute.

(1) *History of England*, vol. iii., ch. 1.

(2) Thus in the *Catholic Dictionary*.

(3) B. xv., ch. 10.

the prelates assembled at Salamanca gave no final and positive decision of acquittal in regard to the Spanish knights; but "referred the ultimate settlement of the whole affair to the Roman Pontiff." The apologists of the Templars do not gain sympathy for their clients by adducing the action of the Synod of Metz. The German bishops there assembled to consider, by order of Clement V., the case of the Templars, did not acquit the knights; but referred the matter to the Holy See. And even that leniency was procured by violence; for Serarius and Mariana tell us that Hugh, count of the Rhine, and twenty armed Templars burst into the Synod, "terrifying the fathers by their ferocity;" whereupon, lest a tumult might arise, the archbishop received their protest, and promised to use his influence with the Pontiff to secure their not being disturbed (1).

Voltaire insists that King Philip, in his anxiety for vengeance on the Templars, many of whom had been outspoken against his oppressions, and in his covetousness of their great wealth, prepared in advance the mine which, in his own good time, he exploded. Villani tells us that the grand master had condemned the prior of the Templars of Montfaucon to perpetual imprisonment because of immorality and heresy; that during his confinement the prior became acquainted with one Nasso, a Florentine, also a prisoner; that this pair, with a view to obtaining their release, invented the famous charges against the Order. Such, says Voltaire, was the origin of Philip's scheme. But while this narration of Villani may be true, and Mariana receives it as such, nevertheless, the evidence of the worthy pair was not uncorroborated. "The first witnesses," says Mariana, "were two members of the Order; the prior of Montfaucon in the county of Toulouse, and Nasso, a Florentine exile—not sufficiently reliable, as was shown by the testimony of many. Then came others, among whom was a chamberlain of the Pontiff himself, who had joined the Order in his eleventh year, and who related what he had seen and done" (2). But the favorite argument of Voltaire and the other apologists is derived from the tortures which, they say, extorted the con-

(1) B. viii., ch. 92.

(2) B. xv., ch. 15.

fessions of the Templars. James Molay, the grand master, and others who were burnt at Paris, retracted these extorted avowals, and died protesting their innocence, and that of their Order. Even the Continuator of Nange, an author whom we often quote in favor of our thesis, gives the following melancholy picture. When treating of the year 1310, he says: "Outside the city of Paris, in the fields not far from the abbey of St. Anthony, fifty-nine Templars were burnt to death. All of these, with no exception, acknowledged none of the imputed crimes, but constantly and perseveringly declared that they were unjustly put to death." And at the year 1313 he writes: "When the aforesaid four, the general or transmarine master of the Order of the Temple, the visitor for France, and the masters of Aquitaine and Normandy; the final disposition of whose cases the Pope had reserved to himself, had without exception, publicly and openly confessed the imputed crimes, and had persisted in that confession, and had appeared to wish to finally persist in it, a council was held with great deliberation on the Monday after the feast of St. Gregory, in the vestibule of the great church at Paris, by mandate of the Pope, and the aforesaid four were adjudged to perpetual imprisonment by the lord-cardinal of Albano and two other cardinal-legates, the archbishop of Sens, certain other prelates, and other persons versed in Divine and Canon Law, specially summoned to Paris for this case. But behold, when the cardinals had thought an end had been put to the business, two of the aforesaid, namely, the transmarine master and the master of Normandy, suddenly and unexpectedly defending themselves against the cardinal who had delivered a sermon, and against the archbishop of Sens, returned to a denial of their confession, and of all that they had acknowledged, most irreverently and to the wonder of many. Then the cardinals handed them over to the provost of Paris, who was present, to be merely guarded until the morrow, when their case would be more carefully considered. So soon as the news of what had occurred reached the king, who was then in the royal palace, having counselled with his courtiers, but wisely (*prudente consilio*) calling no clergyman to the

conference, he commanded that both should be burnt at the same stake, on a little island of the Seine between the royal gardens and the church of the Hermits. They appeared to undergo the burning willingly and readily, and their final constancy in death excited the wonder of all the beholders. The two others were confined in the prison to which they were sentenced." Now Voltaire asserts that the confessions of the Templars were drawn from them by torture. While, on the one hand, we would not attempt to defend the use of "the question" in a law court, neither would we, on the other, assert with Voltaire that every confession so obtained is valueless. But granting the worthlessness of every evidence so evolved, is it true that the testimony because of which the Templars were abolished was extracted by torture from unwilling lips? We do not deny that the torture was applied in some instances, but certainly there was no such thing in the case of the hundred and twenty-four knights examined before the inquisitor at Paris, or in that of the seventy-two interrogated by the Pontiff at Poitiers; and yet these knights, and others similarly situated, admitted their guilt (1). This is shown by the *Acts* of the trial, by the diploma "Reigning in heaven" already cited, and by the other diploma given by Raynald at the year 1307, No. 12. As for the fact that the grand master and other Templars died asserting their innocence; that the former and the master of Normandy retracted their former confessions; such facts by no means prove that the Order was unjustly suppressed.

(1) Speaking of the prosecution of the Templars of Lombardy and Tuscany, conducted by the archbishops of Pisa and Florence and by a Roman canon, Cautu's love of truth forces him to say: "Here the accused had no fear, as they would have had in France, of being sent to the stake: for they were being tried by an ecclesiastical tribunal which assigned as punishment only repentance and retraction. This adds to the reliability of the deposition which they swore to have made, 'not out of hatred, or out of love; not for reward or because of fear; but merely for the sake of truth.' Some of the accusations were admitted by all; some others only by certain knights, and as regarding particular cases and persons, or as being matters of heresy, or as being customary beyond the sea. But, above all, they agreed in admitting the most jealous secrecy of the chapters, and the guilt of infidel blasphemy. *If, therefore, the wicked prosecutions instituted in France tempt us to regard the Templars as innocent, and as victims of Philip the Fair, the calm with which the Church proceeded, the processes instituted during many years in Italy and in other lands, and without violence, allow us to suppose that many of the knights were guilty, and that the king of France should not be compared with Clement V., who, by suppressing the Order, 'not de jure, but by way of provision,' saved innocent individuals, and disappointed the royal greed by assigning its wealth to the defence of the Holy Land.*"—*Heretics of Italy*. Discourse viii.

Criminals very frequently die with lies on their lips ; and that James Molay lied most solemnly, either at the stake or in his repeated and spontaneous confessions, is indisputably proven. We are not bound to explain his vacillations. It is well to know, however, that in the inquiry held at Chinon in Touraine on August 18-20, 1308, by three cardinals deputed by the Pope, the grand master was so astounded on hearing the many depositions which had been made at Paris and at Poitiers, that he kept silence on all the points saving that of the denial of Christ, which he expressly admitted to have been practiced. When interrogated at Paris on December 26, 1309, he disavowed this confession, and accused the commissioners of forgery ; demanding afterward to be judged by the Pontiff. Whom ought we naturally suspect of falsehood, the three cardinals or James Molay ? The Pope had insisted on the observance of the strictest equity in the premises ; the king had consulted the universities, the clergy, and the parliaments ; nor did he need any forgeries, as we have seen, to attain his end, the extinction of the Order. We would therefore suspect the grand master of falsehood, rather than the cardinals. When finally the Fifteenth Council had been held, and the Templars had been suppressed, Clement V. appointed new commissioners to close the process ; namely, three cardinals, the archbishop of Sens, several bishops, and many learned men. Before these, Molay, Guy of Auvergne, and two others again avowed their guilt, "and on March 18, 1313, they were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. A platform, on which they were to affix their confessions, was erected in front of Notre Dame," but at the commencement of the ceremony, Molay and Guy suddenly retracted their avowals. For the grand catastrophe the Papal commissioners were not responsible. That was consummated in obedience to an order from King Philip, after they had delivered the culprits to the custody of the provost of Paris, intending to deliberate as to the sentence on the following day.

The grand master and the brother of the dauphin of Auvergne retracted their confessions, but we must remember that thirty or forty thousand other knights, who had

been condemned to different kinds of punishment, survived the "persecuting" Philip and Clement, and did not retract or attempt to justify the Order. Again even Michelet admits that "in the interrogatories which we publish, the denials are nearly all identical, as though according to a settled formula; while on the contrary, the avowals are all varied by special circumstances, often very naive, which facts give them a peculiar stamp of veracity. Contrary, indeed, would have been the case, if the avowals had been extorted by torture; then they would have been nearly alike, and the diversity would have been found in the denials" (1).

In his zealous championship of the Templars, the prince of modern incredulists asserts that "seventy-four of them, who had not been accused, undertook to defend the Order, but were not heard." Bergier's reply to this absolute falsehood is worthy of the reader's attention: "In other places the apologist cites the *History of the Templars*, by Peter Dupuy. Now this historian relates that these seventy-four defenders of their Order were heard by the commissioners for the first time, on Saturday, March 14, 1310, and that they deputed four of their number to speak in the name of all. Not only were they heard, but they presented requests and memorials in writing. The verbal reports of their speeches were exactly drawn up, and the author of the *History of the Gallican Church* has copied them. They protested against the confessions made by the accused; like the apologist, they declared that these admissions had been extorted by threats and promises, or that those who made them were wicked persons; they demanded to be judged by the Pope, and by the Council of Vienne, then about to assemble. Now what follows from this defence? Simply that those seventy-four Templars were innocent, for they were not accused; that until then they had been ignorant of the crimes of their brethren, and that they found it difficult to credit them. But this is only a negative proof;

(1) The name of Michelet is dear to all well-informed Masons, and should be cherished by all Templarites. In the *Collection of Unedited Documents Concerning the History of France*, published by care of the Minister of Public Instruction, this writer gave to the world the verbal process of the Templars. Speaking of the interrogatory undergone by Molay and two hundred and thirty-one knights before the Pontifical commissioners at Paris, he says: "This inquiry was conducted slowly, and with much care and kindness."

ignorance proves nothing; they adduced nothing positive capable of destroying the confession of the accused." Voltaire endeavors to evade the charges of obscenity among the knights by pleading that "this infamy never could have become a law among them. I do not doubt at all that many of the Templars yielded to those excesses which have been, at all times, the inheritance of youth; but these are passing vices, which it were better to ignore than to punish." To this characteristic remark we again reply with Bergier: "Here the author confounds two methods of reception. It is to be presumed that the public reception, performed by the grand master or others, was decent; but there was another, a private one invented by the libertines of the Order, to which the new knights were subjected, and in which were committed those abominations and profanations already mentioned. Many witnesses declared that they had been forced into this latter rite by prison and torture. It is well known that wicked persons desire to have accomplices in their crimes. The majority of those who were executed were not young men; therefore their vices were not passing ones. It is but too true that aged libertines are more given to excessive lubricity than are young people." Voltaire pretends to find it difficult to believe that the Templars denied Jesus Christ, and asks what had they to gain by renouncing a religion which cherished them, and for which they had so gloriously combated? But many impious men, and among them Voltaire himself, blaspheme against the religion which has nourished them; and what they have to gain we do not know. As for the combats of the Templars in the cause of the faith, these had long been, at least for the French members, things of the past.

We now come to the assertion that the suppression of the Templars is to be ascribed to the covetousness of King Philip the Fair (1). Mosheim, Potter, Voltaire, in fine, all the apologists of the proscribed Order, assign this as the prime cause of the abolition. St. Antonine says that "many dignitaries asserted that the knights were innocent, and

(1) The *Catholic Dictionary* says that Philip "coveting their wealth, laid a deep plot for their destruction . . . all its wealth was seized by the king."

condemned without just cause, in order that their property might be confiscated. They were afterward despoiled of their goods by the Pope, and their revenues applied to the House or Hospital of St. John. But as the property had already been seized by the king of France and by other princes, it had to be redeemed at a heavy price; whence these latter religious were rendered very poor. . . . It was ordered (in the Fifteenth Council) that all the goods of the Templars should be assigned to the Hospital of Jerusalem, and as they had already been seized by the various lay lords, the Hospitalers were compelled to pay a large sum to the king and others who held the property." And we are told by Paul Emilius that Philip's treasury "retained possession of the movable property, while that affixed to the soil was given by a Pontifical decree to the Hospitalers of St. John." Even Walsingham inveighs against Philip, in this matter, although he admits that the king did not gain his point. He says that "Philip, king of France, thought to make one of his sons king of Jerusalem, and to obtain for him all the revenues of the Templars. . . . But he did not attain his wish in regard to the property, for the Pope assigned it to the Hospitalers." Now the innocence of Philip in this matter is proved, firstly, by the Diploma, "Reigning in Heaven," of Clement V. The Pontiff says to the king: "At length, however, you who had heard of these same iniquities, and moved, not by avarice, for you do not intend to claim or appropriate the property of the Templars, but have taken your hands altogether away from it, freely and devoutly yielding it up, to be guarded and administered by our deputies." The same is proved, secondly, by the letter sent in March, 1311, by Philip to the Pontiff, requesting that the property of the Templars be assigned either to some new Military Order, or to some old one engaged in the cause of the Holy Land. It is shown, thirdly, by the instrument of transfer of the property in question to the Hospitalers. In this document, dated August 24, 1312, we read: "Since the aforesaid properties, inasmuch as they are in our kingdom, are under our special care and protection, and it is known that we fully possess in them,

either mediately or immediately, the right of patronage ; and having been induced by you, together with the prelates united in Council, to give this consent : We, therefore, whose interest it is, accept this disposition, ordinance, and transfer, and give to it our consent ; perpetually reserving to ourselves, and to the prelates, barons, nobles, and others of our kingdom, all our and their rights such as hitherto obtained in said properties." The same is evinced, fourthly, by the agreement entered into between Louis X., the son and heir of Philip the Fair, and Villaret, the grand master of the Hospitalers, on February 14, 1315, in which it was arranged that the knights of the Hospital should pay the king 260,000 livres, for which sum, expended by the monarch in the prosecution of the Templars, the ceded property had been pledged ; not that, says the agreement, the Knights of Rhodes had not already been in the enjoyment of the Templar revenues, by virtue of the possession given them by authority of King Philip, but because there were many expenses to be liquidated, dating from the time when the Templars were arrested.

We would now observe in conclusion that much of the sympathy which has been manifested for the Templars is due to the connection supposed—whether rightly or not, is of little importance—to subsist between the unfortunate Order and Freemasonry. "We shall see," says Condorcet, "whether we ought not to number among secret societies this celebrated Order, against which Popes and kings so barbarously conspired" (1). In his valuable work on secret societies, Deschamps derives Masonry from four sources, Gnosticism, Manicheism, the Albigenses, and *the Templars* (2). "The Masons," he says, "and all the philosophical revolutionists and Jacobins had a great interest in defending the Templars," and then he proceeds to show, from Masonic authorities, how these sectaries claim a descent from the proscribed Order. Among the authorities cited by this zealous and indefatigable writer, we select one which will prove of interest to the reader. On April 8,

(1) *Historic Tableau of the Progress of the Human Mind*, epoch 7.

(2) *Secret Societies and Society, or the Philosophy of Contemporaneous History*, vol. i., b. 2, ch. i., § 5; Avignon, 1882.

1839, M. de Bauville, an ex-officer of the Grand Orient of France, spoke as follows in a Lodge of the Knights of the Cross : " The Masonic Order is an emanation from that of the Temple, with the history and misfortunes of which you are acquainted, and reasonably it can have no other origin. Masonry was born in Scotland, and originally it was a prudent and ably arranged disguise conceived by some knights of that country in order to hide the continuation of their illustrious Order from the keen eyes of its powerful enemies. The heroic William de Moure, grand prior of England and Scotland, directed from his prison the knights of his language in the creation, organization and development of the Masonic rite, destined to shield, from the eyes of the profane, the proscribed, and anathematized Order of the Temple. We may conceive how this local transformation, in the language of Scotland, of the Order of the Temple into that of Masonry, was enveloped in secrecy ; how the unfortunate Templars, calumniated by vile renegades, cowardly betrayed by ignoble apostates who tracked them like wild beasts in nearly every land of Christendom, forced to hide their names and quality under pain of the most frightful persecution and of the most horrible torture, innocent victims of a king's avarice and a Pope's jealousy ; succeeded in inventing, that they might recognize and aid each other *in all, for all, and everywhere*, in France, Germany, and Sweden, where Masonry soon penetrated, those sacred passwords, signs, and grips, which have come down to us from generation to generation. How can we otherwise explain, on the part of a vast philanthropic association, organized for the honorable purposes of giving to suffering humanity the consolations and alms of Christian charity, those severe commands to *say nothing, write nothing, signify nothing*, concerning the praiseworthy object of this secret society, under pain of incurring the certain effects of an atrocious vengeance, exposing the traitor to have his throat cut, his heart and entrails torn out, his body burnt and reduced to ashes, the ashes thrown to the winds, and his memory execrated by every Mason ? All this would become a revolting absurdity, without the explanation, so simple and satisfying to reason,

that the knights of the Temple had a powerful interest in hiding themselves under the mantle of Masonry, specially organized by themselves for that purpose. I therefore affirm that the Masonic Order was established in the fourteenth century by the knights of the Temple, in obedience to the grand prior of Scotland, and that this beautiful institution emanated from that centre, and easily propagated itself in the European countries, then covered by our proscribed predecessors. I could easily adduce numerous proofs, drawn from a comparison of the rituals in use in the two Orders, and at first it would astonish one to notice the same system of reception, proceeding by way of physical and moral tests" (1). This theory of the Templar origin of Freemasonry is well developed in the *Masonic Manual* or *Tiler* of Willaume, and in the *Philosophical and Interpretative Course* of explanations of the symbols and mysteries of Masonry, published by Ragon, founder of the celebrated Lodge of the Trinosophists—a work solemnly authorized on June 24, 1840, by the Grand Orient of France. In contradiction to the above theory may be adduced the opinion of Guyot, printer to the French "Templars," who published in 1825 a *Manual of the Knights of the Temple*, in which he contended that the Masonic claim is false; that Molay named his successor; and that the Templars continued to have an uninterrupted succession of grand masters down to Fabré-Palaprat, elected in 1804. As Philip d'Orleans was grand master of these "Templars" in 1706, it is amusing to read that they sign with their blood the oaths of obedience, poverty, chastity (!), fraternity, hospitality, and military service; and that each "knight" is obliged, if he can possibly do so, to visit the Holy Land once in his life. Lennox, in his *Origin of Freemasonry*, insists that St. Bernard, who gave their rule to the knights, was a Mason. If this impudent assumption surprises the reader, he should know that Ragon, whom the adepts of Square and Triangle uphold as a pre-eminently authoritative writer on Masonic subjects, declares that the chevalier (*sic*) Gerson, or Thomas A'Kempis, the author of the *Imitation of Christ*, was also a Mason.

(1) *The Globe*, a journal of Masonic initiations, Paris, 1839.

and that his book, "the masterpiece of one deeply initiated, undoubtedly gave rise to the mystic veil with which, under the titles of 'Rose-Cross,' 'Knight of the Eagle and of the Pelican,' the last mysteries of Masonry are covered" (1).

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE POPES AT AVIGNON.

While Pope Clement V. resided at Poitiers or at Bordeaux (1305-9), the pressure, and even tyranny, exercised toward the Pontiff by King Philip the Fair had demonstrated the necessity of a fixed residence of the papal court where the head of the Church could enjoy freedom of action. But Clement V., probably with little displeasure, did not deem it feasible to restore the papal residence to the Eternal City. The factions of the nobility, headed by the Orsini and the Colonna, held Rome in a state of chronic disorder; and therefore Clement decided to locate his court in the city of Avignon, which, although nominally subject to the House of Anjou, was, thanks to the spirit of its citizens, virtually independent, and which was nearly enclosed in the County of the Venaissin, a possession of the Holy See (2). Petrarch, like all the Italian writers of that day, could see no beauty in the rock-perched town, "little and disgusting." He knew of no place "so stinking," and declared that it was "a shame to make it the capital of the world." The Italian contemporaries of Clement V. manifest their indignation at the Pontiff's unfortunate action by such expressions as "scandal to the universe," "the exile of the Holy See," and the famous one, "the captivity of Babylon."

But while it is certain that Rome and all Italy suffered by the prolonged absence of the papal court, and by the consequent preponderating influence of the French kings in the affairs of Europe; while it is true that to the papal residence in France may be traced the causes that produced the Great

(1) *Loc. cit.*

(2) It became such in 1228, by a treaty between Pope Gregory IX., represented by Cardinal d'Ossat, and King Louis IX. with Count Raymond of Toulouse.

Western Schism, it would be unjust to Clement V. to suppose that he foresaw the many evils entailed by his determination, or that he realized that his immediate successors would persist in absenting themselves from their See. There were powerful reasons for his conduct. In France, his own land, where the affair of the Templars had detained him for six years, he saw himself respected and loved, while his own capital was a prey to anarchy, and many of his near predecessors had been compelled to fix their residence in Viterbo, Perugia, or Anagni; Tuscany could not afford the Sovereign Pontiff a refuge, for it was harassed by the feud of the Whites and Blacks; Venice was at issue with the Holy See, because of the claims of both parties to the marquisate of Ferrara; either of the Two Sicilies would have been a more precarious asylum than France.

The advent of the papal court was a happy thing for Avignon. She soon came down from her rocky perch, and extended herself over the plain; whole quarters of elegant streets, flanked by magnificent palaces, appeared; and the arts and taste of Italy soon made the city one of the most beautiful in Europe. In the year 1348 Pope Clement VI. bought Avignon from Queen Jane of Naples, heiress to the counts of Provence. In 1791 it was definitively annexed to France. Seven Popes resided at Avignon: Clement V., John XXII., Benedict XII., Clement VI., Innocent VI., Urban V., and Gregory XI.,—all, quite naturally, French, and all of whom did honor to their country, despite the assertion of Henri Martin that "Avignon was then a Gomorrah,"—a calumny which is refuted by its own exaggeration. Pope Clement V. died on April 20, 1314, and was succeeded by John XXII., whose pontificate was so eventful that we shall devote to it a special chapter.

BENEDICT XII.

On the death of John XXII., 1334, the cardinal Comminges seemed to be the most likely candidate for the tiara; but when the other French cardinals, so devoted to their monarch that they closed their eyes to the interests of the Church, demanded from his Eminence a promise to retain

the papal residence in France, the noble prelate declared that he would throw off the purple sooner than violate his conscience. He was convinced, he said, that the Papacy was incurring great danger by its transfer from its natural seat. Consternation seized upon the electors; whereupon some one suggested the cardinal Fournier, a Cistercian monk, and since his election appeared very improbable, many deemed it advisable to vote for him, while still looking for the coming man. This manœuvre made Fournier Pope, for, to the dismay of the intriguers, he received more than two-thirds of the suffrages. Although devoted to the court of France, Benedict XII. soon realized the necessity of withdrawing the Holy See from its painful and anomalous position in Avignon; but the French cardinals persuaded him to change his mind. One of the first questions considered by Benedict XII. was that of the Beatific Vision, which, as we shall see in the following chapter, was left undetermined by John XXII. Benedict greatly desired that the faithful should be provided with dogmatic certainty in so important a matter; hence he published, in 1336, the Decretal *Benedictus Deus*, defining, by Apostolic authority, that the souls of the just enjoy, immediately after death, the intuitive vision of God; *i. e.*, that they "see the Divine Essence, face to face." This pontificate witnessed another attempt to terminate the Greek Schism. It was undertaken by the celebrated Barlaam, abbot of the monastery of the Holy Saviour at Constantinople; but its sole result was the abjuration of the originator. It was during this pontificate that Petrarch was crowned as poet-laureate at Rome, on April 8, 1341.

CLEMENT VI.

Pope Benedict XII. having died on April 23, 1342, the cardinal Peter Roger, a Benedictine monk and archbishop of Rouen, was elevated to the papal throne on May 6, and assumed the name of Clement VI. During this reign an end was put to the schism of Louis of Bavaria, that prince dying in 1347. Clement had continued the severity of the two preceding Pontiffs towards Louis, and had procured the election of Charles of Luxemburg, son of King John of

Bohemia, after having threatened, in case of inaction on the part of the German electors, to himself choose an emperor by virtue of his apostolic authority. Shortly after his elevation, he received a Roman deputation headed by Stephen Colonna and Petrarch, now a Roman citizen. These deputies were charged to make the then usual request for the restoration of the Popes to their proper residence, and Petrarch supported the petition in pathetic and beautiful Latin verses (1). After a delay of two months, the Pontiff replied to the request that the times were not propitious.

INNOCENT VI.

When the cardinals went into conclave after the death of Clement VI., Dec. 5, 1352, men thought that the majority would vote for Birel, the general of the Carthusians. Were we in doubt as to the evil effects produced by the Avignon exile, it would be dissipated on learning that the leaning of their Eminences toward Birel was affected by the following frank remarks of the cardinal Talleyrand de Perigord: "I perceive, brothers, that you would like to elect the general of the Carthusians. Undoubtedly he merits the honor; but you forget one very important fact, namely, that we are much attached to the world and its glory, whereas your favorite despises them. If elected, he will reduce us to primitive simplicity, and will proscribe our sumptuous equipages, etc. Neither power nor nobility will terrify him; he knows no fear when the good of the Church is concerned" (2). Notwithstanding this telling argument, their Eminences did not elect an unworthy, or even a weak man. Stephen Aubert, bishop of Ostia, was not a remarkable personage; but he was upright, and as Pope Innocent VI., he proved worthy of his sublime office. His pontificate was chiefly remarkable for the obliteration of the petty tyrants who had nearly annihilated the political authority of the Holy See in the States of the Church—a conquest achieved by the skill and valor of Cardinal Ægidius Albornoz.

(1) *Songs*, B. 2, ep. 5.

(2) DORLAND; *Carthusian Chronicle*, B. iv., ch. 22. *Brief History of the Carthusian Order* in Martene and Durand's *Ancient Writers*, vol. vi.

BLESSED URBAN V.

When the conclave consequent on the death of Innocent VI., in Sept. 1362, had progressed for several days without any prospect of election, the cardinals resolved to depart from established usage, and to seek a candidate outside the Sacred College. They chose William Grimoard, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles, who took the name of Urban V. Matthew Villani tells us that Grimoard had publicly exclaimed, when he heard of the death of Innocent VI.: "If I could see a Pope seriously trying to restore the Holy See to Rome, I would willingly die to-morrow." Be this as it may, in 1366 the Christian world was informed that in the following year the Holy Father would enter his episcopal city. Naturally this decision produced great discontent in the French court; and King Charles V. sent to Avignon the learned and eloquent Nicholas Oresme, to persuade the Pontiff to remain in France. In full Consistory the orator pronounced a prolix discourse, garnished with Scriptural quotations and historical allusions, none of which applied to his thesis. His entire would-be argumentation was intended, and in good faith, it would seem, to show that the Roman Pontiff ought to remain under the sheltering wings of France: 1st, because that nation had always protected the Holy See; 2d, because ecclesiastical science was more honored in France than in any other land; 3d, because a French city, Marseilles, was then the geographical centre of Catholic Europe; 4th, because France was better governed than any of the Italian states; 5th, because France was the native land of Urban V., and our Saviour never left His own country; 6th, because a sea-voyage would be dangerous to the Pope and his court (1). It is not surprising that, as Petrarch informs us, this discourse hastened the pontifical preparations for departure. However, Urban did not effect his design without much opposition from the French cardinals; in fact, the only members of the Sacred College who did not formally refuse to accompany him were the cardinals Orsini, Capoccio, and the bishop

(1) DU BOUCLAI; *History of the University of Paris*, vol. IV.

of Viterbo—the only Italians then wearing the purple. But the Frenchmen valued their hats, and when the Pontiff threatened to take these away, the opposition subsided (1).

On April 30, 1367, the pontifical court bade farewell to Avignon; on June 3, the fleet anchored off Corneto, and on the 9th the Pontiff entered Viterbo. But not before October 16 did a successor of St. Peter, for the first time in sixty-three years, kneel at the shrine of the Prince of the Apostles. And, alas! in less than three years the chief pastor again sought a foreign residence, and no other reason can be assigned for this abandonment of his legitimate post than mere home-sickness. French writers try to palliate his weakness, but none can adduce any more probable reason for his return to France than that he yearned for home. He explained his resolution to the Christian world by the necessity of being on the spot while trying to reconcile the kings of France and England. In vain did the holy Swedish princess, afterward canonized as St. Bridget, threaten Urban with the anger of God and an early death if he effected his design (2); in vain the Roman Senate besought him to remain. On September 5, 1370, he embarked at Corneto, and on the 24th he re-entered Avignon. The menace of St. Bridget was soon accomplished; in the fulness of his strength Pope Urban V. was suddenly attacked by an illness which threatened his life. Then he swore to return to Rome, if Almighty God would permit it; but his hour had come, and, wrapped in his Benedictine habit, which he had always retained, he died on the 19th of December, 1370.

GREGORY XI.

On the first day of the conclave (Dec. 30) the unanimous voice of the Sacred College raised to the Papacy the cardinal deacon, Peter de Beaufort, nephew of Clement VI. While yet a student, his maturity of judgment was so pronounced, that Ubaldo Ubaldi, the first jurisconsult of the age, often consulted him, and would give his opinion, saying, "Our master thus pronounces." The new Pontiff was or-

(1) *Chronicle of Bologna*, in Muratori, vol. xviii.

(2) *Revelations of St. Bridget*. t. iv. c. 138. GOBELIN, *Cosmodromium*, c. 73.

dained priest on January 4, 1371 ; then consecrated bishop, and crowned as Pope under the name of Gregory XI. From the very beginning of his pontificate Gregory was resolved to restore definitively the Holy See to the Eternal City, and in October, 1374, he wrote to the emperor Charles IV. : " We wish to put off no longer our visit to the Holy City, and we have resolved, with the help of God, to set out next September." He announced his determination to all the European sovereigns ; but the commencement of 1376 found him still at Avignon, trying to make peace between France and England. His final departure is generally regarded as due to the influence of St. Catherine of Sienna.

On September 13, 1376, the Holy See bade a lasting farewell to Avignon. Marseilles was reached on the 20th, and the Pontiff found awaiting him twenty-two galleys, most of which belonged to, and were manned by, the Knights Hospitalers ; the most beautiful ship of the fleet, however, had been sent by Florence, although this republic was then at war with the Holy See. Sail was spread on October 2, and after a stormy voyage, and many forced delays at intermediate ports, the papal court disembarked at the port of Corneto on the 6th of December. Here the Pontiff remained until January 15, 1377, when he ascended the Tiber, and on January 17 landed at St. Paul's. On the 18th, the Feast of the Chair of St. Peter at Rome, he made his triumphal entry into the capital of Christendom, and the Romans rejoiced because " the captivity of Babylon " was at an end.

It is frequently asserted that on his death-bed Pope Gregory XI. avowed his regret for having restored the papal residence to its legitimate site. Gerson says that, holding in his hands the Blessed Eucharist, the dying Pontiff enjoined upon the attending cardinals never to be influenced by the imaginary visions of hallucinated men and women ; that Gregory admitted that his own facility in this regard, had brought the Church to the verge of a schism (1). Now, these words attributed to Pope Gregory reflect too seriously upon the veracity and good sense, to say nothing of the approved sanctity, of St. Catherine of Sienna, of St. Bridget

(1) *Examination of Doctrines*, p. 11. consid. 3.

of Sweden, and of the Blessed Alfonso of Aragon, to have been uttered at so solemn a moment by so wise and holy a man. Gerson is, in many matters, a grave authority ; but in this matter, unsupported as he is by contemporary testimony, we must decline to accept the many absurdities implied by his assertion. Whatever the great chancellor knew about the deeds and sayings of Pope Gregory XI. he had acquired from others ; at the time of the Pontiff's death he was a boy of fourteen in the schools of Paris, and we find no corroboration of the above assertion in any work by an author contemporary with the Pontiff. Gerson was a cultivator of the Avignon idea, and he would probably lend a credulous ear to any tale that would aid to put it in action.

And what must we think of Gregory's supposed foresight of the Great Schism? To one, like Gerson, living amid the troubles of that schism, it would be easy to trace it back to certain seeming causes ; but there was nothing in the circumstances of Rome or of the Church while Pope Gregory XI. was dying, except the obstinacy of the French cardinals, which could have justified the supposed gloomy forebodings of the Pontiff. And would this obstinacy, this home-sickness, this false idea of patriotism, in fine, this consummate and unmitigated selfishness, of the French cardinals have justified a Pontiff in lamenting his having performed an act which was praised (save in France) throughout Christendom as an act of common utility? Had the Romans no rights at all in the matter? Had they no right to insist that their bishop should reside among them? Had they no right to the personal protection and government of their Pope-king? Had the Universal Church no claims in the premises? Was the Papacy to continue to be an appendage of the French crown, a mere contributor to its convenience and glory, merely because of the ultra-nationalism of certain creatures of the French monarch, or because of their want of sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the Pope's temporal subjects, or because said creatures, forsooth, found the Roman Campagna less suited to their effeminate constitutions than were the beautiful plains of the Venaissin? Again, at the very time that Pope Gregory is said to have

expressed his disgust with the "hallucinations" which had contributed to his removal from Avignon to his proper residence, his principal "hallucinator," St. Catherine, was acting as his agent at Florence (1). And the Pontiff well knew that God had favored His servant with supernatural gifts; for, in the Bull of Canonization of St. Catherine, Pope Pius II. expressly certifies that she had acquainted Gregory with her knowledge of his secret vow to proceed to Rome.

That ultra-Gallican, Maimbourg, easily concludes that "when this Pontiff viewed the condition of Italy on the spot, he regarded it with an eye different from that with which he had judged it when in distant Avignon; and, finding himself at the point of death before he could prevent the evils which he foresaw, he deplored the horrors menacing the Church. Well did he see how the Romans, who, contrary to their promise of entire submission, had usurped sovereign authority over the city, leaving to the Pontiff only a shadow of power, would master the conclave, and would not suffer the election of a Pope from beyond the Alps, lest such a one would again transfer the Holy See from Rome. Well did he see, on the other hand, that the French cardinals, then composing more than two-thirds of the College (there were twenty-three members,—eighteen French, four Italians, and one Spaniard) would afterward protest against the violence used towards themselves, and that hence the first election would prove to have been not free and canonical. These considerations, together with the little power vouchsafed him in Italy, in spite of the fine words that had drawn him from France, made him believe that he had left the country at an unpropitious time, and caused him to take, some time before his death, the resolution to return to Avignon" (2).

In expressing such opinions, Maimbourg was true to the Anti-Gallican principles which were soon to entail the catastrophe of his life, but nothing that Pope Gregory XI. witnessed or experienced at Rome could have given to that Pontiff any foreknowledge of the embroglio that ensued af-

(1) BOLLANDISTS: *Life of St. Catherine of Sienna*, v. iii. c. 8, Nos. 420-425.

(2) *History of the Great Western Schism*, by the Rev. Father Maimbourg, of the Society of Jesus, Paris, 1678, b. I. p. 12.

for his death. But granting that he foresaw that his countrymen of the Sacred College would rend the seamless garment of Christ sooner than abandon their project of confining the papal residence to France, of making the pontifical dignity hereditary in the French family, would Gregory XI. have been justified in returning to Avignon? Were the wishes of a mere faction to be respected sooner than the desires of Christendom; the fancied interests of France rather than the real ones of the Pope's own temporal subjects—yea, rather than those of all other nations? Nor would a return to Avignon have obviated all danger of schism. The fact is, the exile at Avignon had prepared the way to a schism, which, if it arrived not in one way, was almost certain to come by another. Such was the temper of the Romans at the time—owing to the decayed grandeur of their city, and the terrible anarchy of which they were victims,—that a little encouragement would have caused them to resist the authority of an Avignonese Pontiff. In August, 1376, Luca Savelli arrived at Avignon, and informed the Pope that the abbot of Montecassino had already been asked whether he would accept the tiara if it were tendered him by the clergy and people of Rome; and that the prelate had answered that, as a Roman citizen, he could refuse nothing to the Romans. The papal legate at Rome had also informed the Pope of this manœuvre (1), and Gregory perceived that an aversion of the threatened danger was of sufficient importance to make him ignore the disturbed state of the peninsula.

As for Maimbourg's statement that Pope Gregory XI. foresaw that "the Romans would master the conclave," it is certain that the Romans did no such thing. The Pontiff may have foreseen, as Maimbourg says, the rebellion of the French Cardinals; that is probable, for he knew those prelates well. The French cardinals plunged the Church into the vortex of schism; and they were more than aided

(1) GONZALO ILLESCAS, *loc. cit.*, p. 40. BALUZE, *loc. cit.*, v. i. p. 437. *Idem*, note, p. 1194. —St. Catherine seems to allude to this plot, when she is so precise as to the time Gregory ought to arrive in Rome. "My amiable Father, you seek my opinion concerning your return. I reply, on the part of Jesus Crucified, that you ought to come to Rome as soon as possible. If you can, come in the beginning of September; if you can not, wait not for the end of the month." (*Letters*, epist. ii.)

by Charles V., whom Maimbourg deems "one of the most pious and one of the wisest of French monarchs, for whose sacred person the ultramontane continuator of Baronio's *Annals* (Oderico Rinaldi, commonly called Raynald) loses all respect when he asserts that this great prince 'was the author of the schism, into which he forced his subjects to enter by tyrannically oppressing the liberty of the bishops and doctors of his kingdom.' " Had Gregory XI. humored the French cardinals, he would have merely postponed the schism; the only reason for its birth would have subsisted, so long as the French desired to retain the Pope in France, while Rome and the rest of the world wished him to dwell in his own house; and such divergence would, of course, have been perennial. At the first check upon French vanity, in the shape of a definitive restoration of the papal residence to its legitimate site, the smouldering fire would have burst into flame.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE PONTIFICATE OF JOHN XXII.: THE QUESTION OF THE BEATIFIC VISION, AND THE SCHISMS OF THE FRANCISCAN "SPIRITUALS" AND OF LOUIS OF BAVARIA.

Pope Clement V. having died on April 20, 1314, the conclave assembled at Carpentras, the capital of the Venaissin in France. It soon became apparent that the twenty-three cardinals—fifteen French and eight Italian—were at serious issue on a very important question. The Italians declared that their votes would be cast only for him who would promise to restore the papal residence to the episcopal see of the Pontiff, the Eternal City; while the French electors, nearly all creatures of the French court, insisted upon a continuation of that residence under the shadow of the Gallic monarch. To add to the embroglio, bloody outrages on the retainers and friends of the Italian cardinals were perpetrated by the Gascon followers of two nephews of the late Pontiff, who were anxious to secure the tiara for one of their own family. These miscreants having threatened the Italian cardinals with death, their Eminences, French as well as Italian, made

an opening in the wall of the palace where they were debating, and fled, some to Avignon, and the others to Orange, where they had leisure to reflect on the consequences resulting from the transfer of the pontifical court from Rome. It was not until June, 1316, that the count of Poitiers, brother of Louis X., was enabled, by various pretexts, to unite the electors at Lyons, where he confined them in a Dominican convent, assuring them that their future liberty depended on their election of a Pope. After a debate of forty days, the choice was found to be James d' Osa, cardinal-bishop of Porto, who took the name of John XXII.

James d'Osa was, according to Villani, Ferretto, St. Antonine, Masson, and Muratori, of lowly origin,—some make him the son of a cobbler, others of an innkeeper. Of remarkably small stature, and very ugly of feature, his talents alone had made his fortune. Born at Cahors, he was attracted by the superior civilization of Italy, and went to Naples, where his pennilessness excited the sympathy of a Franciscan friar, and he procured a position in the household of King Charles I. (Anjou.) In time he was ordained; and, participating in the secret councils of the Government, he was employed in many embassies, exciting much admiration for his perspicacity and insinuating eloquence. He became successively ordinary of Frejus and Avignon, and he shone at the Council of Vienne. At the termination of this assembly, he was made cardinal and appointed to the See of Porto. Three events of this pontificate demand our attention: the question of the Beatific Vision; that of "the bread of the Franciscans" which culminated in the schism of the communistic "Spirituals," and the schism of Louis of Bavaria.

In three of his sermons, Pope John XXII. pronounced the opinion that the souls of the just do not enjoy the intuitive vision of God before the resurrection of their bodies on the Last Day; that until that event, they are under the protection and consolation of the Humanity of Jesus Christ. However, our Pontiff did not hold that the souls of the just are excluded from heaven until the Last Judgment; in his Bull for the canonization of St. Louis of Toulouse, as also in his Profession of Faith for the king of Armenia, he had

already declared the contrary. But the three indicated discourses of John XXII. (1), contradicting a generally received opinion, scandalized very many; although Mosheim greatly errs when he asserts that this Pope, because of his opinion, "incurred the public reproof of nearly the entire Church." That which is now an article of faith on this point, was then a matter of opinion. In 1333, Gerard Endes, general of the Franciscans, stopped in Paris on his way to Scotland, where he was to negotiate for a peace between that kingdom and England. During some leisure moments he defended the opinion enunciated by Pope John, and immediately the ever turbulent students of the University demanded his punishment. King Louis X. took up the matter, and heard the defence made by Gerard in the presence of ten doctors in theology, four of whom were Franciscans. These ten condemned the opinion in question; whereupon the royal zealot threatened to have Gerard burned as a heretic, adding, says Villani (2), that if the Pope held such a view, he also was unorthodox. We notice this episode, because it seems to have been the foundation for the assertion made by the famous Peter d'Ailly, seventy-three years after the death of John XXII., and during the heart-burnings of the Great Western Schism, that King Louis X. had threatened to burn Pope John as a Patarine, if he did not retract—an assertion corroborated by no author of the time, and which is in contradiction to the spirit of that period, as well as to the respect always manifested by Louis X. toward the Holy See. When our Pontiff heard of the excitement in Paris, he wrote to Philip de Valois, defending his own private views as conformable to Scripture and Tradition, and insisting upon perfect freedom being allowed to theologians in the premises, until the Apostolic See should deem it proper to pronounce definitively on the matter (3). He also ordered a commission of doctors and prelates to compile all that Tradition contained concerning the Beatific Vision (4). It is evident, therefore, that when Pope John sustained his

(1) They were delivered during the Advent of 1329, on All Saints' Day of 1331, and on the Eve of the Epiphany of 1332.

(2) B. x., ch. 230.

(3) RAYNALD, y. 1333, No. 46.

(4) *Idem*, y. 1334, No. 27.

theory, he did so as a private theologian and in the full exercise of his right. He had no intention to give an authoritative decision. This is confirmed by his conduct on his death-bed; for, on Dec. 3, feeling that his last hour was near (he was then ninety years of age), he sent for the cardinals then in Rome, and in their presence caused to be read a paper in which he professed his belief that "the purified souls of the just are in heaven with Jesus Christ, and in the society of the angels; that they see God and the Divine Essence face to face, so far as their condition allows. He declared that in whatever he had said or written on this subject, he had done so merely by way of conference, and not by way of decision; and that he submitted all his words and writings to the judgment of the Church and of his successors" (1).

When Pope John XXII. donned the tiara, the glorious Order of St. Francis had flourished for a century, and had given many saints and doctors to the Church. For thirty years, however, it had been suffering from one of those crises which, sooner or later, must attack all human organizations. Certain foes of the Order had decried the Franciscan rule as illicit and impossible; and Pope Nicholas III., in defence of the friars, had issued a constitution, in which he said that, in the voluntary renunciation of all property, "the disciples of St. Francis are neither suicides, nor tempters of God; because they confide in Providence, without rejecting the means employed by human prudence."

While this decision silenced the contemners of the Franciscan rule, it excited a diabolic pride in certain fanatics of the Order, the chief of whom was John d'Oliva, a friar of Bèziers. According to this zealot, the Roman Church was "the prostitute of Babylon;" the Franciscans renewed the evangelical life, and they should have merely the use, not the ownership, of the means of subsistence. By their firmness, the superiors of the Order prevented for a time a division in their ranks; but on the accession of Pope St. Cœlestine V., the malcontents obtained from the Holy See permission to follow the dictates of their "piety," under the name of

(1) *Idem, ibi*, No. 37.

"Hermits of Pope Cœlestine," in one of the isles of the Grecian Archipelago. Very probably they would have soon died out, had they not been made interesting by opposition. Pope Boniface VIII. refused to molest them, until he was wrongly led to believe that the Hermits recognized St. Cœlestine V., not him, as Pontiff (1). He then ordered the patriarch of Constantinople to compel the return of the Hermits to their pristine condition. But the majority of the zealots disobeyed the mandate, and settled in the Sicilies and in Southern France, where they assumed the name of "Spirituals."

John XXII. preferred persuasion as a means of reuniting the Franciscans; and in his decretal *Quorundam exigit* he reminded its members that "poverty and chastity are good, but obedience is better." Soon the evil assumed a phase in which the entire Franciscan family was to be involved. The friars began to doubt as to whether, when they were eating, the food could be termed their own. The reader may smile, but not one of the friars did so when this question was propounded; and the more fanatical advanced the theory that poverty is a universal precept, and that all temporal possessions, on the part of any individual whomsoever, must be regarded as a "species of idolatry."

At this juncture the general, Michael of Cesena, who had been notably stern toward his subjects, showed that he himself could not obey. In a general Chapter held at Perugia, he and seven provincials, among whom was the celebrated William Occam, declared that it is "a faithful expression of Catholic doctrine to say that Jesus Christ, the model of perfection, and the Apostles, His imitators, wishing to teach perfection to others, possessed nothing by right of property, either privately or in common." On November 12, 1323, the Pontiff issued a decretal pronouncing this proposition heretical; but Michael of Cesena, Occam, and a few others, rebelled against the sentence. Finally, having summoned Michael to his presence, the Pope declared him insensate and a rebel to ecclesiastical authority. The friar persisted in his obstinacy, and the Pontiff ordered that he should not

(1) St. Cœlestine V. had abdicated, and had been succeeded by Boniface VIII.

be allowed to depart from Avignon. Preparations were made for the prosecution of the recalcitrant ; but he contrived to escape, and made his way to Pisa, where he was joyfully welcomed by Louis of Bavaria, then in open revolt against the Holy See. Nicole and Sismondi smile at this matter of the *fraticelli*, as the Spirituals were called. They discern only an amusing folly in the obstinacy of these religious ; and they charge John XXII. with cruelty, especially in his having countenanced the execution, at Marseilles, of four of the delinquents. But while the error of the Spirituals was certainly eccentric, it was also disastrous. Many moderns in our day have smiled at the vagaries of Saint Simonism, Fourierism, etc. ; but now they tremble when these insensate theories menace society under the guise of Socialism, the child of *fraticelli* Communism. Again, the Spirituals had excited seditions in Sicily, Tuscany, and Narbonne. In 1315 they instigated an uprising of the populace against the Dominicans of Carcassonne, devastated the church and convent of those friars ; and then, turning on the Conventuals, expelled them from their homes, and installed themselves in their place (1).

We can here offer only a sketch of the struggle between Pope John XXII. and Louis the Bavarian. After the death of the emperor Henry VII. (Luxembourg) in 1313, the electors were divided into two factions—one desiring the elevation of Frederick, duke of Austria, and the other declaring for Louis, duke of Bavaria. Two coronations followed, and both were illegal: that of Louis at Aix-la-Chapelle, where that prince was crowned by the archbishop of Mentz, who had no right to perform the ceremony, and that of Frederick at Bonn, not the proper place, but at the hands of the archbishop of Cologne, the legitimate minister of the function. Both parties vainly tried to secure the approbation of Pope John XXII. He called both to his tribunal, in the meantime forbidding each to use the name and style of emperor. At first the contestants submitted to what was the public law of the time ; but, inspired by their confidence in the valor of their respective vassals, they appealed to arms, and Frederick fell into the

(1) WADDING: *Annals*, y. 1317, Nos. 11 and 12.

hands of his rival after the defeat at Muldorf, in 1322. The Pontiff then issued an admonition to Louis; and in 1327 the misguided prince, yielding to the suggestions of a horde of apostate friars, published the most infamous libels against Pope John; and having declared him a heretic, and having fallen into errors in matters of faith, he was formally deposed by the Pontiff even from his hereditary duchy of Bavaria. Louis now resolved to institute an anti-pope. In January, 1328, he entered Rome at the head of four thousand horse. Most of the clergy fled from the desecrated capital of Christendom; and when Louis convoked the Roman Senate and people to confer with him on matters of great import, only his Germans surrounded him. Enraged because of the disgust tacitly manifested by the Romans, Louis ordered Sciarra Colonna, the infamous insulter of Pope Boniface VIII., to compel such of the clergy as had remained to officiate in their usual sanctuaries. All refused to obey. On the 16th the same Sciarra Colonna, "in the name of the Romans," placed the imperial crown on the head of Louis; an excommunicated prelate, Albertini, bishop of Ellora, having given the unction. On the 18th Louis appeared in the grand Square of St. Peter's, in full imperial state; and, ascending an elevated throne, imposed silence on the spectators. An Augustinian friar, one Fabriano, then thrice demanded whether any one was present to defend "the priest James of Cahors, who calls himself Pope John XXII." There was no reply. A German priest preached a sermon on the text, "This is a day of good tidings;" and then Louis uttered a violent diatribe against the Pontiff, concluding with these words: "We, the prince, on the requisition of the syndics of the Roman people, and by consent of the clergy and the same people of Rome, as well as by that of the prelates of Germany and Italy, declare, pronounce, and publish that James of Cahors is a notorious and manifest heretic, and that he is therefore fallen from all ecclesiastical power, dignity, and authority; and is amenable to all the punishments decreed by the canon and the civil law. Hence we depose him, and declare him deposed, from the Supreme Pontificate."

But this ridiculous impiety did not pass unrebuked ; and if the too frequently rebellious family of Colonna incurred fresh disgrace by the participation of Sciarra in this sacrilegious farce, another Colonna now performed an act of heroism which merited and received the thanks of Pope John. Four days after the exhibition in the Square of St. Peter's, a son of Stephen Colonna (James, a canon of the Lateran) appeared in the Square of St. Marcellus ; and, having attracted a crowd of more than a thousand persons, he read the pretended sentence lately issued by the Bavarian, and then declared : "The Roman clergy have learned that a certain syndic has appeared, in their name, before Louis of Bavaria, who styles himself emperor, and that he has preferred certain charges against Pope John XXII. Now, this pretended syndic could have had no authority for such action ; for the canons of St. John Lateran's, of St. Mary Major's, and all the other religious bodies, had gone out of Rome, because of the presence of excommunicated men, and knowing that if they remained they themselves would incur excommunication. Consequently, I protest against all that Louis the Bavarian has done. I uphold Pope John XXII. as Catholic and legitimate ; and I declare that this man who styles himself emperor is not such, but is excommunicated, together with all his followers. All these things I offer to prove, either by reason or by arms, in a neutral place." The young Colonna then crossed over to the church of St. Marcellus, and affixed to its door a copy of the papal Bull despoiling the Bavarian of all his dignities. The arrogant Louis was at St. Peter's during this intrepid proceeding ; and when he heard of it, he sent troops to seize its author. But Colonna was already on his way to his family stronghold of Palestrina.

The work of Louis was not complete until he had found a creature willing to play the part of anti-pope. This person was a Franciscan friar, one Peter Rainalluccio da Corberia, whom Villani calls a wise and learned religious, but whom Pelayo (more reliable in matters pertaining to the Avignonese Popes) knew at Rome as a "real hypocrite." On May 12 the Bavarian led this wretched man to the Basilica of the

Apostles, placed a ring upon his finger, and proclaimed him Pope under the name of Nicholas V. Ere long, however, the Romans became tired of paying tribute to Louis; his own troops were constantly being seduced by the Guelphs, and deserted him in numbers. He therefore returned, almost alone, to Germany, where he vainly strove for a reconciliation with Pope John. Rainalluccio, who had been tolerated for a moment by the Romans, only because of their animosity toward a foreign and distant Pontiff, soon fled for his life. When, in 1330, he fell into the hands of John XXII., instead of having his head struck off, as would have been his lot had he been a rebel and a rival to any other sovereign than a pope-king, he received an apartment in the papal palace as his prison, and passed the remaining three years of his life in penance and study. Louis remained obstinate, and during the three following pontificates he prolonged the horrors of schism and of war until his death, in 1347.

Pope John XXII. died in 1334. Had this Pontiff been a monk, his life could not have been more simple. His table was never furnished with costly dishes, and he ate but moderately. During the nineteen years of his pontificate, he always arose in the middle of the night to recite the Office and to pass some time in study (1). Probably with the sole exception of Philip II. of Spain, no sovereign ever led so retired a life; during his entire reign he never took a walk for pleasure. His cabinet was his world. His business capabilities were immense, and he taxed them to the utmost; all affairs that came before him were decided by himself. His attainments were vast and varied: he was an adept in theology, jurisprudence, and history, and he was familiar with the natural sciences. One of his chief cares was that of the universities of Europe. He severely reproved such of these as conferred the doctorate too easily; and he condemned any waste of time in these institutions in conducting investigations which were satisfactory to curiosity rather than useful (2). The University of Cambridge owes its origin to him (3). As for his zeal concerning the purity of the faith,

(1) VILLANI, B. II.

(2) RENAZZI: *University of Rome*, vol. I.

(3) RINALDI, at year 1318, Nos. 2, 3.

it was unadmired only by Louis of Bavaria and a lot of apostate friars. He had no respect for the opinions of the crowd ; he thought that " all that it praises is blameworthy ; all that it meditates is futile ; all that it says is false ; all that it condemns is good ; all that it glorifies is infamous " (1).

Had he not been one of the Avignonese Pontiffs, John XXII. would have been praised by all historians ; but his reputation has suffered from the all but fatal blunder of Clement V. in establishing the papal residence in France. The Italian chroniclers, upon whom we must chiefly rely for any knowledge concerning that and kindred matters, were naturally enraged at that transfer, and hence they saw but little good in an Avignonese Pope. But there is no foundation for the accusations brought by Sismondi and other modern Protestant writers against our Pontiff. Sismondi asserts that John XXII. preferred to live at Avignon as a subject of the French monarch, rather than be a sovereign at Rome. It was not the fault of John XXII. that he found the seat of the Papacy in France ; and circumstances prevented his restoration of that seat to its proper home. This fact Sismondi himself eloquently narrates. And in what was John XXII., whatever may be truly said of some other Avignonese Pontiffs, the subject of the king of France ? With what show of justice can Sismondi insist that " John was less the head of Christendom than an instrument of the French monarch ? " This Pontiff owed the French sovereign nothing, not even his mitre of Frejus ; and he never regulated his actions by the royal wishes. Did he do so when he refused to place the revenues of the Holy See at the royal disposal ? Did he do so when he threatened the king with anathema, if he visited Avignon attended by other than a pacific escort of honor ?

Pope John XXII. has been styled luxurious. It is not the part of luxury to arise at midnight to pray, or never to leave a modestly furnished room unless for consistory or sacerdotal functions. He can scarcely lead a luxurious life who is always surrounded by theologians and canonists, and whose apartments are ever shut to women. And Sismondi

(1) In Bzovius, at year 1334, No. 2.

the author of this charge, offers not even one proof to sustain it. But John XXII. "disturbed the Empire by his extravagant pretensions." Sismondi was thoroughly cognizant of the falsity of this charge; for no one was better aware than himself that, according to the public law of the fourteenth century, as had been the case since the very foundation of the Empire in the person of the Frankish Charlemagne, no one could validly claim the imperial dignity unless certain legal forms had been observed, or without the pontifical confirmation of his election. Now, Louis of Bavaria had been chosen by a mere portion of the seven electors; and the Holy See quite properly, and in the full exercise of its acknowledged prerogative, declined to accord its confirmation of his faulty election. All usurpation, therefore, was on the part of the rebellious Bavarian; and the Pontiff advanced no "extravagant pretensions," but was rather the defender of the constitution of the Empire.

Sismondi tells his readers that John XXII. "permitted, and encouraged by his example, perhaps, a corruption of morals which rendered his court a scandal to Christendom." *Perhaps!* Well, this is mere assertion; but, granted that there were scandals at the court of Avignon during this reign, and omitting any stress upon the fact that they were grossly exaggerated by the Italian anti-Avignonese writers, what reason have we for the supposition that *perhaps* the Pope encouraged these aberrations? Sismondi will reply that "this man, so unworthy of the title of father of the faithful, named as his representative in Lombardy Cardinal Bertrand du Poyet, who was styled his nephew, but was believed to be his son." In order to prove this alleged paternity, Sismondi adduces the authority of Villani (1) and Petrarch (2). But these two authors merely allege vulgar rumor as the source of the criminating belief, and they even record that the report had its sole origin in a certain resemblance between our Pontiff and Poyet. We may well believe that the calumny had an exceedingly narrow foundation, when Villani and Petrarch, Italians by nationality, and therefore unrelent-

(1) B. ii., ch. 6.

(2) *Letters* No. 3, without title.

ing foes of every Avignonese Pope, did not dare to offer it to a too willingly credulous public as indubitable truth. And let us not forget that, with these two exceptions, all the olden writers extol the morality of John XXII. Thus, John, canon of St. Victor, says that he bore the reputation of a good life—"habens testimonium bonæ vitæ" (1). The Continuator of Nangis deems his life praiseworthy—"vitæ laudabilem" (2). Nay, Villani himself tells us that he was "modest, magnanimous, and of exemplary piety" (3).

Hence we conclude that the imitators of Sismondi would do less violence to truth were they to heed these words of Sismondi himself: "The partiality of John XXII. for the French, his weakness for the two courts of Paris and Naples (House of Anjou), his determination to keep the papal residence in Provence, so embittered the Italians against him, that we ought to doubt the truth of many scandalous stories told of him by his contemporaries."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE CHARGE OF HERESY AGAINST DANTE.*

Protestant polemics are so oppressed by the consciousness of the modern origin of their system, that they would fain seek relief in the idea that the Lutheran movement was foreshadowed, at least, long before its author's time; that during the centuries when Roman influence darkened the Christian world, there were always a few pure spirits, some clear intellects, to cherish devotion to the true and the good, and who may, therefore, be regarded as precursors of the "Reformation." Alongside of Arnold of Brescia, John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Wycklif, a place is given to Dante, child though he was, and pre-eminently, of Catholic theology and of Catholic philosophy. And it is remarkable that a few Catholic writers have also denied the orthodoxy of the first of poets. The most famous of these is the prince of

(1) In Baluze.

(2) At year 1316.

(3) B. ix., ch. 79.

* This chapter appeared in the *Amer. Cath. Quarterly Review* for Oct., 1887.

paradoxists, the Jesuit Hardouin, who, in 1727, styled Dante an impostor wearing the mask of orthodoxy. In the time of Bellarmine there appeared *An Advice to Beautiful Italy*, by a "French Nobleman," in which the author defended the thesis so flattering to the innovators. He was triumphantly refuted by the great controversialist; and also, in a reply to the *Mystery of Iniquity*, by the able Dominican, Cœffeteau. The skeptical Bayle warns us to bear in mind that there are good reasons for doubt as to both the orthodoxy and heterodoxy of Dante. In our own day Ugo Foscolo (1) and Gabriel Rossetti (2), men of much literary acumen, flattered the prejudices of their English hosts by proclaiming their great countryman "as desirous of reforming Christianity and Italy by means of heavenly revelations." But no author has shown more erudition in the ungracious task of aspersing the memory of the divine poet than Eugene Aroux, who arrives at the conclusion that Dante's works are socialistic, revolutionary and heretical (3). Cantù has ably refuted the arguments of Aroux, as, indeed, this author seems to have admitted (4). According to him, as well as according to Foscolo, Rossetti, etc., the Paterine sect was never entirely exterminated in Italy, but continued as a species of Freemasonry, preserving and transmitting certain doctrines—"mysteries of Platonic love," as Rossetti terms them,—which tended to subvert the authority of the Church and of civil governments. Aroux thinks that this heresy was cherished by all the chivalry of the day, and especially by the survivors of the Templars, who, he insists—and with some reason—established a new school of Masonry. Aroux thinks that Dante wished to show that the Papal supremacy was the visible kingdom of Satan, manifested in the "comedy of Catholicism." When Dante says that salvation will be his who follows "the pastor of the Church," he signifies that we must obey the head of that hidden sect of which he was an adept. That is, Dante

(1) *A Discourse on the Divine Comedy*. London, 1825.

(2) *The Anti-papal Spirit, which produced the Reformation*. London, 1832.

(3) *Dante a Heretic, a Revolutionist, and a Socialist*. Paris, 1854.

(4) "The system of Aroux was not received by the studious; he complained that I was the only one in Italy who paid it any attention. I wrote him an open letter against his system, and he recognized in it not only a friendly courtesy, but certain arguments which he could not answer."—CANTÙ, *Heretics of Italy*,—Discourse 7. Turin, 1865.

was a Templar, and devoted to a revenge of the suppression of his order. The word "love," says Aroux, is the key of all the mysteries in Dante's works. Francesca is something more than the mistress of Paolo; by her we must understand the poor little protesting church of Rimini, then a nursery of heresy. This is a strange theory. It is hard to understand how Dante would form so sublime a work, always wishing everything to be taken in a sense different from the plain and natural one. And even though Aroux had given us the key to the poet's meaning, we cannot understand why Dante so frequently comments on himself in such a manner that the Guelphs must suppose one thing, the Ghibellines another.

Now, it is certain that in the time of Dante men did not regard him as a heretic, socialist, or, (in the modern sense), a revolutionist. He died clothed in the habit of the Franciscans. His remains were lovingly laid to rest in a church, and a Papal legate—more recognizant than the poet's countrymen of his merit—erected a mausoleum to his memory. Immediately, all over Italy chairs were established and endowed for the explanation of the *Comedy*, and often in churches. Thus, by a decree of the Florentine government, dated August 7, 1379, Boccaccio was appointed to such a chair in the church of St. Stephen (1). By command of the fathers of the Council of Florence, the *Comedy* was translated into Latin prose by the Franciscan, John of Serravalle. In the Logge of the Vatican, our poet is depicted among the fathers of the Church. His portrait was hung in the church of Santa Maria del Fiore, in Florence, as it is now found in the façade of Santa Croce. "And when," remarks Cantù, "united Italy wished to celebrate, in 1865, the sixth centennary of his birth, the bitterness which has taken possession of our revolution manifested itself by proclaiming the hostility of Dante toward the Popes and religion. But while the official mob wallowed in such mud, the best thinkers and writers of Italy declared the truth, showing us Dante, the poet, angered against Bon-

(1) MANNI: *History of the Decameron*, p. I., c. 29.—Boccaccio occupied this chair three years, and was succeeded by Antonio Piovano in 1381, and by Philip Villani in 1401. Bologna soon imitated Florence, and for ten years Dante was explained by Benvenuto dei Rambaldi. Pisa assigned the same charge to Bartolo da Buti, in 1385. (SALVINI: *Consular Annals of the Florentine Academy*, in preface. MAZZUCHELLI: *Italian Writers*, v. II., pt. 4. MURATORI: *Writers on Italian Matters*, v. XX.)

iface VIII., the personal enemy of the Pontiff's faction, and indignant because of the abuses of the Papal court—then oppressed by kings and by demagogues; but ever reverent to the keys, and devoted to the faith of which Rome is the centre and the legitimate interpreter."

We propose to cite several of the many passages of the *Comedy* which prove Dante's orthodoxy. But before doing so, we would draw the attention of the reader to some facts which explain, though they do not justify, all the virulence which the poet manifests toward certain Pontiffs. Like nearly all unappreciated and persecuted men, Dante showed his humanity in peevishness and anger. Add to this that he was an intense Ghibelline, both by philosophy and in practice. He was heartily devoted to the idea of the emperor's universal monarchy, having nothing of the modern *Italianissimo* in his composition. All who opposed the emperor were mercilessly excoriated; witness his treatment of Lombardy, Genoa, Pisa, Pistoja, and his assignment of Brutus and Cassius to the lowest hell, alongside of Judas. He could condemn an emperor only when he would not visit "his" Rome, weeping because of her master's absence. Witness his curse on Albert. (1) Again, Dante was a "White."

(1) In his *Illustrious Italians*, art. Dante (Milan, 1873), Cantù asks whether the divine poet had any aspirations for Italian unity, and he replies: "Yes, but after his own fashion; and in accordance with his own philosophical, theological, juridical, etnical and political principles, which he always combined: Peace can be procured only when there is some person who will unite men according to their divisions in nations and states; a universal monarch, who is the principle of the unity, of the human race as a civil society, just as the Pope is that principle in the moral society. But earthly happiness is ordered toward eternal blessedness, the true end of society; hence the monarch ought to be subject to the Pope, as a son is to his father, and as the moon, a lesser luminary, depends on the sun, the greater luminary. There is no question, then, of an emperor according to the Ghibelline mind, but of a head unifying civil society, without violence, without interfering with the various states; one who will remove causes of disturbance and scandals; who will make the world more similar to God, by making it one; who will be above cupidity, and, therefore, a dispenser of justice to all, peoples and princes. This universal emperor is the continuator of the monarchy of the Romans, which was like a confederation of peoples preserving, under one head, their own institutions; a patronage rather than an empire ('*Patrocinium orbis terrarum potius quam imperium poterat nominari*')—*Mon.*, II., 5; and the world never was and never will be so perfectly ordered as when it was subject to the one prince and commander of the Roman people. So testifies the Evangelist St. Luke (*Conviv.*, IV., 5). Therefore, when Dante sees every Italian province at war, and even citizens of the same town in civil strife, he calls on the Roman emperor to come and restrain such ferocity, and to unify Italy in the peace of order, without any interference with the particular institutions of each province. Dante thought that such unity would ensure the greatest amount of liberty of life and movement; such unity was very different from the centralization advocated by modern medocracies, and very far removed from the servility of the Ghibellines of his day.

The expulsion of this faction from Florence had been caused by the favor shown by Boniface VIII. to Charles of Valois; consequently Boniface was to be treated as an enemy. Finally, Dante combated not so much the Pontiff-kings as he did the spirit of democracy. When he declaimed against Constantine, it was not because of the Romagna supposed to have been given to the Pope, but because of the imperial dignity which, according to the Guelphic pretensions of the poet's time, had been transferred to the Pontiff. He shows his mind in his *Monarchia*, b. III., c. 10. where he reproves Constantine for leaving to the Popes the imperial power, which was one and indivisible. Again, Dante greatly extolled Charlemagne, the asserter of the Pope's temporal sovereignty; and he also exalted the countess Matilda, the most profuse of all donors of dominion to the Holy See. No, the reason for Dante's imperialism must be sought elsewhere than in hostility to the Pope's temporal patrimony. "Dante wished for reforms," says Cantù, "but he felt that they would be sterile without one supreme master over all human society, who would cause it to progress, who would draw from Christian principles their practical consequences. In the mind of Dante, the emperor should rule all kings, and, therefore, he should rule even the king of Rome; while Boniface VIII. and John XXII. claimed for themselves the imperial authority, especially when it was disputed."

He who is familiar with the writings of Dante can scarcely avoid an impression that his invectives against certain Pontiffs are prompted by his intense devotion to, and his consummate respect for, the chair they occupied. Sometimes, indeed, it is evident that he is actuated by party spirit; but, as a rule, he attacks only such Pontiffs as he deems guilty of acts bordering, at least, on simony; only such as he regards as abusers of the excommunicating power. An Italian, he was naturally and rightly averse to a removal of the Papal residence from the legitimate seat of the Papacy. This sentiment of indignation was unshared only by those who saw no injury, no insult, to the tiara, in making it an appendage to the crown of a foreign ruler. All Italian authors of that day, from the saintly Catherine of

Sienna to the buoyant Petrarch, cursed the wretched blunder of Clement V., and begged the Pope-kings to return to their proper and only legitimate home. It is true that Dante locates Pope Anastasius II. in hell, because of alleged sympathy with the heresy of Photinus (*Hell*, cto. xi.); but the poet erred in accepting the authority of Martin the Pole, Gratian, and others, who asserted that Anastasius restored the Eutychian, Acacius, and communicated with the Acacian, Photinus. For it is certain, according to the testimony of Evagrius (b. iii., c. 23), Nicephorus (b. xv., c. 17), and Liberatus (*Nestorian Cause*, c. 18), that Acacius died before the election of Anastasius II. ; and that Martin the Pole, Gratian, etc., confounded Pope Anastasius II. with the emperor of the same name, who favored Acacius, and was killed by lightning. With this one exception, Dante's invectives against certain Pontiffs came from motives which have no relation with Catholic faith.

There is scarcely a heretical doctrine which Dante does not explicitly condemn ; not one does he even implicitly favor. There is not one apparently anti-Catholic passage in his writings which must not be interpreted in a Catholic sense. We would prefer to quote the Italian text, but as that is not familiar to every reader, we shall use the English version by the Protestant Cary, warning the reader that in many instances the Anglican minister very much weakens the Catholic force of the original.

I. Hearken to Dante speaking of the Roman Pontiff, *Parad.*, cto. 24 :

"O everlasting light
Of Him, within whose mighty grasp our Lord
Did leave the keys."

And in *Hell*, cto. 2 :

"It seems in reason's judgment well deserv'd;
Sith he of Rome, and Rome's empire wide,
In heaven's empyreal height was chosen sire;
Both which, if truth be spoken, (1) were ordain'd
And 'stablished for the holy place, where sits
Who to great Peter's sacred chair succeeds."

(1) Here Cary's Protestantism induces him to misinterpret, or at least to minimize, the poet's meaning. The text has "to tell the truth."— "*a voler dire il vero.*"

In *Hell*, cto. 19, Dante thus addresses Pope Nicholas III.:

"If reverence of the keys restrain'd me not,
Which thou in happier time didst hold, I yet
Severer speech might use."

In *Purgatory*, cto. 20, he thus speaks of Sciarra Colonna's insults to Boniface VIII., much as he hated that Pontiff:

"To hide with direr guilt
Past ill and future, lo! the flower-de-luce
Enters Alagna! in His vicar, Christ
Himself a captive, and His mockery
Acted again! Lo! to His holy lip
The vinegar and gall once more applied!
And He 'twixt living robbers doom'd to bleed!
Lo! the new Pilate, of whose cruelty
Such violence cannot fill the measure up.

* * * * *

Oh, Sovran Master! when shall I rejoice
To see the vengeance, which Thy wrath well-pleased
In secret silence broods?"

In *Parad.*, cto. 30, he thus recognizes the holy office even of Clement V., the cause of the "Babylonian Captivity."

"Nor may it be
That he who in the sacred forum sways
Openly or in secret, shall with him
Accordant walk; whom God will not endure
I' th' holy office long."

II. *Parad.*, cto. 5, Dante thus acknowledges the teaching authority of the Church:

"Be ye more staid,
O Christians; not, like feathers by each wind
Removable; nor think to cleanse yourselves
In every water. Either Testament,
The Old and New, is yours; and for your guide
The shepherd of the Church. Let this suffice
To save you."

And in the *Convivio*, tr. iv., c. 5, Dante thus reproves heretics: "Most vile and most foolish little beasts, who presume to speak against our faith, and who wish to investigate the ordinances of God; accursed be ye, and your audacity, and all who follow ye!"

III. In *Parad.*, cto. 25, he thus recognizes the necessity of good works:

" Hope, said I,
Is of the joy to come a sure expectance,
Th' effect of grace divine *and merit preceding.*"

IV. In *Purg.*, cto. 16, the free will of man is admitted :

" Brother, he began, the world is blind ;
And thou in truth com'st from it. Ye, who live,
Do so each cause refer to heaven above,
E'en as its motion of necessity
Drew with it all that moves. If this were so,
Free choice in you were none; nor justice would
There should be joy for virtue, woe for ill,
Your movements have their primal bent from heaven;
Not all; yet said I all; what then ensues?
Light have ye still to follow evil or good,
And of the will free power."

V. In *Purg.*, cto. 13, the souls in purgatory pray to the saints :

" And when we pass'd a little forth, I heard
A crying, ' Blessed Mary! pray for us;
Michael and Peter! all ye saintly host! '"

And in *Parad.*, ctos. 32 and 33, Dante represents Mary's
"own faithful Bernard" as exhorting him to pray to her :

" Grace then must first be gain'd;
Her grace, whose might can help thee, then in prayer
Seek her; and with affection, whilst I sue,
Attend, and yield me all thy heart."

Then the poet pours forth his praises to the

" Virgin mother, daughter of thy Son,
Created beings all in loveliness
Surpassing, as in height, above them all;

* * * * *

So mighty art thou, lady! and so great,
That *he who grace desireth, and comes not*
To thee for aidance, fain would have desire
To fly without wings."

Seldom, indeed, has Mary's intercessory power been more lauded than in this address, and if the reader will peruse it in its entirety he will probably agree with us in regarding it as not unworthy of a place in the liturgy of the Church.

VI. In *Parad.*, cto. 5, Dante thus evinces his respect for the monastic vows :

" Of what high worth the vow, which so is fram'd
That when man offers, God well-pleas'd accepts ;

For in the compact between God and him,
This treasure, such as I describe it to thee,
He makes the victim, and of his own act.

* * * * *

The matter and the substance of the vow
May well be such, to that without offence,
It may for other substances be exchange'd,
But at his own discretion none may shift
The burden on his shoulders, unreleas'd
By either key, the yellow and the white."

Here, as in *Purg.*, cto. 9, l. 118, Dante alludes to the golden key of science and the silver one of power, which the mediæval artists always placed in the hands of St. Peter. The idea, taken from the *Glossary in cap. 16 Matth.*, was that, before using the absolving or dispensing power, the Pontiff should use the golden key of science to discover the true state of affairs.

VII. The whole *Purgatory* is a proof of Dante's belief in the Catholic doctrine of a middle state of suffering for sin, and of the efficacy of prayer for the dead. But we would ask the reader's attention to the following passages. In *Hell.*, cto. 1, Virgil promises to consign Dante to the care of a more worthy spirit, who will lead him, after his visit to hell, to a region where he may view those

" who dwell
Content in fire, for that they hope to come,
Whene'er the time may be, among the blest."

In *Purg.*, cto. 26, a suffering soul begs the poet

" say to Him
One ' Pater Noster ' for me, far as needs
For dwellers in this world, where power to sin
No longer tempts us."

And in cto. 11, our relations to the souls in purgatory are thus noticed :

" Well beseems
That we should help them wash away the stains
They carried hence, that so, made pure and light,
They may spring upward to the starry spheres."

VIII. Hear Dante's encomium on Sts. Francis and Dominic, the founders of the two great mendicant orders. In *Parad.*, cto. 11, he says :

"The Providence that governeth the world,
 In depth of counsel by created ken
 Unfathomable, to the end that she
 Who with loud cries was spous'd in Precious Blood,
 Might keep her footing toward the Well-Beloved,
 Safe in herself and constant unto Him.
 Hath two ordain'd, who should on either hand
 In chief escort her; one seraphic all
 In fervency; for wisdom upon earth,
 The other splendor of cherubic light.

* * * * *

Forth on his apostleship he (St. Dominic) fared;
 Like torrent bursting from a lofty vein;
 And, dashing 'gainst the stocks of heresy,
 Smote fiercest, where resistance was most stout."

Two passages, above all others, are confidently adduced as indicative of Dante's heresy. In *Hell*, cto. 19, the poet addresses Pope Nicholas III. in these bitter terms :

"Your avarice
 O'ercasts the world with mourning under foot
 Treading the good, and raising bad men up,
 Of shepherds like to you, th' Evangelist ("Apoc.," 17)
 Was ware, when her, who sits upon the waves,
 With kings in filthy whoredom he beheld,
 She who with seven heads tower'd at her birth,
 And from ten horns her proof of glory drew,
 Long as her spouse in virtue took delight."

Nevertheless, Dante acknowledges Nicholas III. as supreme pastor :

"If reverence of the keys restrain'd me not
 Which thou in happier time didst hold, I yet
 Severer speech might use."

In *Purg.*, cto. 33, Dante is said to exult in the coming of Luther :

"Without an heir forever shall not be
 That eagle, he, who left the chariot plum'd,
 Which monster made it first and next a prey,
 Plainly I view, and therefore speak, the stars
 E'en now approaching, whose conjunction, free
 From all impediment and bar, brings on
 A season in the which, one sent from God,
 Five hundred, five, and ten, do mark him out,
 That foul one, and the accomplice of her guilt,
 The giant both shall slay."

Here Luther is supposed to be predicted in the "five hundred, five, and ten," the Roman numbers, D. V. X., forming the word *dux* (leader). And in the following passage the aspersers of Dante's name see the Roman Church in the "beast," and Luther, (*Lutero*), in the *veltro*, "greyhound."

"This beast

At whom thou criest, her way will suffer none
To pass, and no less hindrance makes than death;
So bad and so accursed is her kind,
That never sated in her ravenous will,
Still after food more craving than before.
To many an animal in wedlock vile
She fastens, and shall yet to many more,
Until that greyhound come, who shall destroy
Her with sharp pain, He will not life support
By earth nor its base metals, but by love,
Wisdom, and virtue, and his land shall be
The land 'twixt either Feltro."

Much as we admire Dante, we are not disposed to credit him with the gift of prophecy. "Most of our poet's interpreters," says Lombardi, (1) "hold, either as certain or as probable, that the indicated leader is the Emperor Henry VII." But Lombardi himself contends that Can Grande, lord of Verona, is signified. And certainly the passage applies more naturally to Can Grande than to Luther. Dante shows us, in *Parad.*, cto. 22, that he relied on this great baron, the chosen leader of the Ghibelline league, to reform the world. Again we know that Dante had received many favors from Can Grande, and it is quite likely that he would adopt this poetical and easy method of showing his gratitude. Finally the indicated birthplace or residence of the leader cannot be assigned to the German friar; whereas Verona, the fief of Can Grande, was midway between Feltro of Romagna and Feltro of the Marca Trevigiana—"the land 'twixt either Feltro."

The passages above quoted are as strong as any adduced to show the heterodoxy of Dante. In fact, the only argument worthy of attention is the one based upon a supposition which is purely gratuitous; namely, that the "Comedy," like many other Italian and Provençal compositions, was

1) In his *Notes on the Comedy*, 3d Rom. edit., 1821, p. 484.

conceived and executed according to a metaphorical system, in order to deceive the Inquisition. Such is the theory of Rossetti and of Aroux ; and as the reader may be curious to know how it is developed, we shall show, by way of example, how the latter author interprets the interview between the poet and the spirit of the unfortunate Francesca da Rimini (*Hell*, cto. 5). We must imagine Dante writing as follows, in the midst of his presumed grief for the persecution of the Waldensians of Rimini :

“ How many sweet thoughts of peace and evangelical charity, how many hopes of a brighter future—‘ *quanti dolci pensieri, quanto desio*,’—have our brethren nourished ! And this has brought them to so fearful a fate—‘ *menò costoro al doloroso passo !* ’—Oh, daughter of the valleys (*l’aldese*), buried in grief, humble church so cruelly treated, thy martyrs inspire me with pity, and force me to feign orthodoxy—‘ *Francesca, i tuoi martiri a lagrimar mi fanno tristo e pio*.’—But tell me ; when thou wert timidly desired by the noble hearts of Rimini—‘ *al tempo dei dolci sospiri*,’—how did they manifest their trembling yearnings—‘ *i dubbiosi desiri*,’ for the religion of love ? Then Francesca replies : If thou wouldst know the first germ of our love—‘ *la prima radice del nostro amore*,’—I, a poor Vaudoise obliged to feign orthodoxy, will tell you—‘ *come colui che piange e dice*.’—Thou knowest that our propaganda was effected by means of Provencal sectarian poems and romances. One day, while we were enjoying a reading—‘ *lettura* ’—the text of which was taken from the Albigensian romance of *Lancillotto*, and which narrated how that knight of the Holy Grail embraced the religion of love—‘ *come amor lo strinse* ’—we thought that no profane eyes were watching us—‘ *solì eravamo e senza sospetto*.’—Frequently, this teaching—‘ *quella lettura* ’—(in French freemasonry *instruction*) enthralled us—‘ *gli occhi ci sospinse* ’—and at the same time, frightened us—‘ *scolorocci ’l viso*,’ but one passage of that book triumphed over our hesitation—‘ *un punto fu quel che ci vinse*.’ ”

When we read how the lover of the faith gave her the kiss of fraternity, and in exchange received from her the “ consolation ” (*consolamentum*)—“ *il disiato riso esser bacciata da*

cotanto amante " (1).—"Then this people of Rimini—' *cotanto amante* '—kissed me on the lips, adored me, and received from me the 'consolation,' although trembling for fear of Rome—' *la bocca mi baciò tutto tremante.*'"

Let the reader compare this paraphrase with the original. Undoubtedly he will proclaim it ingenious, but just as surely will he deem it far-fetched and unwarranted. The strain to which the inventor subjected himself is evident in his work as a whole, and in every detail; its utter gratuitousness, its natural belonging to its native region of the "perhaps," is shown by an absolute and ever persistent absence of anything approximating to proof. Rossetti exercises his imaginative faculties over a larger field than that of Aroux; he devotes five volumes to convince us that the mediæval Italian poets were not at all erotic; that they were constantly engaged in manifestations of supernal truths—that their Beatrices, Lauras, etc., were not flesh and blood women, but symbols of a free and pure Church, unencumbered by the errors of Rome. But, says Cantù, "without descending to particulars, the slightest notion of æsthetics would cause

(1) Speaking of the Waldensian Cathari, Aroux says that, in times of persecution this ceremony of consolation, "the most imposing in their ritual, was performed at night, and with great mystery. Numerous lighted torches symbolized the baptism of fire. The assembly was arranged in a circle (the perfect figure), and around a table covered with a white cloth, and serving as an altar (VAISSETTE: *Proofs*, III., 224, 387). *The brethren assemble around the altar, and form a circle, leaving a space for the most excellent master (Light on Masonry, 116). The minister, placed in the centre, gave to the neophyte the doctrinal instruction, blessing him thrice (as did St. Peter to Dante—tre volte cinse), and receiving from the new brother a promise of fidelity to the rules of the Cathari—an engagement similar to that of the Masons. Among other obligations, he bound himself never to sleep 'without shirt and drawers'—sine camicia et braciis, as did the Templars, and to be ever accompanied by his companion—socius (MARTENE, New Anecd., F., 1776; Arch. Inq. Carcass., 1243, Dt. 22, f. 110 a). The minister then gave the brother the Gospels to kiss, and invoked upon him the Paraclete. Then all the brethren recited the Lord's Prayer, and the service ended with the reading of the first seventeen verses of the Gospel of St. John,—a reading reproduced in certain degrees of Masonry. In token of his initiation, the brother received a linen or woollen cloth for a garment, 'to be worn over the shirt' (Lib. Sent. Inq. Tolos., 247). Women wore a cord under the breasts (Arch. Inq. Tolos., 1273, Dt. 25, f. 60 a). It is remarkable that, in our day, the Masonic apprentice is introduced into the lodge of reception with one foot bare and the other sandaled, with a cord around the neck (Light in Masonry, 8), and the Mark Master wears the cord in four coils around his body (Ibid., 96). The new Perfect received on his lips the 'kiss of fraternity,' and it was then passed around. The perfect ones, men and women, called each other brothers and sisters; Dante uses these terms, and with *frate* and *suora* instead of *fratello* and *sorella* (and so could any Italian, without incurring the suspicion of Catharism). All these ritualistic usages are perpetuated in Masonry, and are found in the *Comedy* with the most minute details."—*Proofs of the Heresy of Dante drawn from the fusion, about 1311, between Albigenian Masonry, the Templars, and the Ghibellines.* Paris, 1857.*

one to reject a system which would make of poetry an allusion, not an inspiration; which would celebrate persons and charms which had no reality. And to what purpose? The multitude, for whom poetry is written, would not understand it; only the initiated would appreciate such allegories, and they are supposed to have already received a revelation of the mystery. And if they so carefully disguised their hatred of Rome, why did they afterwards burst into open invectives? It is very well to say that Dante calls upon sound intellects to admire the doctrines hidden under the veil of his verses, but why proclaim the illusions if they were to remain a secret? And if he dared not declare the truth, how could he boast of a voice which "reached the highest summits," and vaunt himself as "no timid friend of truth," how could he hope, thereby, to be famous in the minds of those who would look upon his times as ancient? Would he not merit rather a place among the "ill spirits both to God displeasing and to His foes," or among the hypocrites who are "in the Church with saints, with gluttons at the tavern's mess" (1)?

(1) In the *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, 1836, p. 400, vol. vii., series 4, Schlegel remarks: "The Middle Age had a great taste for allegory. It was manifested in painting, and dramatic poetry commenced with allegory. The personification of a general or abstract idea has nothing equivocal; but in poetry, despite its clearness, it is always somewhat cold. In order that an ideal being may appear real, it must assume individual traits.... Dante, in his personification, so combined the ideal and individual character that they cannot be separated. It is the natural man who travels through the three regions where souls dwell; but it is also the poet Dante Alighieri, with all his biographical peculiarities. Virgil represents reason, unenlightened by revelation, but yet he is the Latin poet whom the Middle Age revered as a great sage. Beatrice represents the science of divinity, but she is the same Beatrice Portinari whose chaste beauty made so profound an impression on Dante's youthful heart. Is there anything unlikely in this combination? The beautiful is a reflection of the divine perfections in the visible world, and, according to Platonic fiction, a pure admiration moves the wings of the soul towards the heavenly regions." Probably no modern author was better constituted, both by nature and by study, to appreciate Dante than Silvio Pellico. In one of his unedited poems, cited by Pianciani (*Ragionamenti*, 1840), and called *La Morte di Dante*, he says: "I have never been able to understand why Dante, simply because a few of his magnificent verses are animated by an angry spirit, appears to anti-Catholics to be one of their coryphees; that is, to be an enraged philosopher, not believing in Roman Christianity, or, at least, professing another faith. If the poem of the Florentine is read in good faith, and without party spirit, it will show that he was a thinker who was an enemy to schism and heresy, and submissive to all Catholic teachings."

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE GREAT WESTERN SCHISM. *

On the death of Pope Gregory XI., March 17, 1378, the Sacred College was composed of the following: *Italians*: Peter Corsini, bishop of Porto, generally styled the cardinal of Florence; Francis Thebaldeschi, archpriest of St. Peter's; Simon di Brossano, archbishop of Milan; James Orsini; *Frenchmen*: Anglie Grimoard, bishop of Albano; Giles Ayselin de Montaigu, bishop of Tusculum; John de Blauzac, bishop of Sabina; Peter de Montereuc, vice-chancellor; William de Chanac; Hugh de Saint-Martial; John de Lagrange, bishop of Amiens; John de Cros, bishop of Palestrina, styled the cardinal of Limoges, grand-penitentiary; William d'Aigrefeuille; Bertrand de Lagery, bishop of Glandève; Hugh de Montrelaix, bishop of Saint-Brieuc, styled the cardinal of Brittany; Guy de Malésec, bishop of Poitiers; William Noellet; Peter de Verruche; Peter Flandrin; Gerard du Puy, abbot of Montmajour; Robert of Geneva; Peter

* CONTESTANTS DURING THE SCHISM.

URBAN VI. (Barthol. Prignano, Neapolitan) April 9, 1378. Chosen by sixteen cardinals, fifteen of whom afterwards elect.....		CLEMENT VII. (Robert of Geneva) Sept. 21, 1378.
BONIFACE IX. (Peter Tomacelli, Neapolitan) Nov. 2, 1389.		BENEDICT XIII. (Peter de Luna, Aragon) Sept. 28, 1394.
INNOCENT VII. (Cosmo Meliorati, of Sulmona) Oct. 17, 1404.		Deposed by Council of Pisa on June 5, 1409, and by Council of Con- stance on July 26, 1417.
GREGORY XII. (Angelo Corrario, Venetian) Nov. 30, 1406.	ALEXANDER V. (Peter Filargo, Candiote) June 26, 1409.	CLEMENT VIII. (Giles de Munoz, Aragon) chosen by two cardinals June, 1424.
Deposed at Pisa, June 5, 1409; abdicated, July 4, 1415.		Abdicated, July 26, 1429.
	JOHN XXIII. (Balthazar Cossa, Neapolitan) May 17, 1410.	
MARTIN V. (Otho Colonna, Roman) Nov. 11, 1417.	Deposed by Council of Con- stance May 29, 1415. Abdicated, May 13, 1419.	

de Sortenac, bishop of Viviers; *Spaniard*: Peter de Luna. The first six Frenchmen were at Avignon; the cardinal Lagrange was in Tuscany; sixteen therefore entered the Conclave. From the very commencement of the deliberations, the Romans could be heard outside, shouting: "We want a Roman, or at least an Italian"; the thirteen bannerets, or chiefs of the *rioni* (wards) had already declared, before the Conclave, their wishes in the matter (1). After some hesitation, and after a stormy colloquy with the prefect of the *rioni*, their Eminences decided upon choosing an Italian; and the cardinal of Limoges, seeing that Thebaldeschi's age and infirmities rendered him unavailable, turned to the other Italians, and said: "Cardinal of Florence, you cannot receive the tiara, for your city is now hostile to the Holy See. Cardinal of Milan, neither can you, for you are a subject of Bernabo Visconti, who combats the rights of the Church. Neither can you, Cardinal Orsini, for you are too young to be Pope, and again, you are a Roman, and therefore partial. Consequently, I give my vote for Bartholomew Prignano, archbishop of Bari." The other cardinals, Orsini alone excepted—he announcing his intention to cast no vote, were convinced by the arguments of de Cros (which we shall notice hereafter), and they declared for Prignano. But they hesitated to publish the result, lest the Romans might not be satisfied. However, the people soon learned that a Pontiff had been chosen, and they clamored for the announcement of the personality of their Pope-King. In order to prevent the crowd from forcing the doors of the Conclave, the bishop of Marseilles devised the expedient of telling

(1) The words of the deputation, which was headed by the Senator of Rome, are given in the *Relation* of James de Seva, and in the *Conatus* of Papebroch. As they serve to illustrate the natural indignation of the Romans because of the late "Captivity of Babylon", we subjoin a brief synopsis. The deputation wished, said the Senator, to represent to their Eminences how much Rome had suffered, both spiritually and temporally, by the transfer of the Papal residence to France. The Eternal City had experienced greater woes from the absence of the Sovereign Pontiffs, than it had ever endured from the barbarians. The Papal States had been victims of war and sedition; the provinces had been nearly all usurped by tyrants; the neighboring republics still retained part of the Roman territory; fire and sword had been brought to the very gates of Rome. This capital of Christendom had no longer even a semblance of that Holy City, once revered by the whole world; it was now a desert. The Romans were therefore persuaded that it was absolutely necessary that the Supreme Pontificate should not be couched to men from beyond the Alps, to men who had kept the Holy See away from Rome for so long a time. It was necessary, in fine, that a Roman, or at least an Italian, should be placed on the Chair of St. Peter.

them to "go into St. Peter's where they would learn who was Pontiff." His language was misunderstood, and gave the impression that Cardinal Thebaldeschi, styled the cardinal of St. Peter's (he being archpriest of that basilica) was elected. The mistake was confirmed by Montelaix, who replied to the cry of "The Pope, the Pope!" by asking: "Have you not the cardinal of St. Peter's?" Accordingly, in spite of himself, Thebaldeschi was vested in the Pontifical robes, and the overjoyed Romans began to pay him homage. Finally, the infirm old man succeeded in making the people understand that it was the archbishop Prignano who had been elected, and they rushed off in search of the real Pope. Nearly all the cardinals had profited by this mistake, or trick, to escape from the Vatican; only Corsini, Brossano, de Luna, and du Puy had the courage to remain. When the Romans had found the archbishop of Bari, they hastened to render him homage, but he checked them, saying that his election had not yet been published, and it was necessary to know whether the canonical forms had been respected. During the night that ensued, Prignano remained in the palace, and uncertainty reigned in every mind. On the following morning, eight cardinals who had fled to Castel Sant' Angelo came to the Vatican, and joined the four who had remained; all twelve then proceeded to the chapel of the Conclave, and declaring that the archbishop of Bari had been canonically elected, besought him to accept the burden. Prignano assented, and assumed the name of Urban VI.

During the eight days that preceded the coronation, the new Pontiff was assisted in the ceremonies of the Holy Week by all the cardinals of the late Conclave, for the four fugitives from the city (1) had returned, and had paid homage to him. All were present at the coronation when Orsini placed the tiara upon the head of Urban VI., and all joined in the solemn cavalcade from St. Peter's to the Lateran basilica. During three months all treated Urban as a legitimate Pope, naming him in the public prayers, and receiving benefices and favors from him. But in the month of June, all the

(1) Robert of Geneva had fled to the Colonna stronghold of Zagarolo; Noellet to the castle of Ardea; Orsini and Flandrin to the Orsini fortress of Vicovaro.

French cardinals were in open revolt, and three out of the four Italians were of dubious fidelity. From the moment of his election, Urban seems to have displayed, as a general rule, the more repulsive side of his character. His measures, however, were calculated to produce good effects, and had the French cardinals not been disposed to seek any excuse for undoing the work of the late Conclave, they would have patiently borne with the Pontiff's haughty manners (1). On the day following his coronation, Urban turned abruptly to certain foreign prelates who had come to assist at Vespers, and said: "You are perjurers; you have deserted your churches, in order to reside at the court of Rome" (2). Two weeks afterward, he pronounced, in full Consistory, a discourse against the luxury of the curials, and very soon he ordered the cardinals to diminish their retinues, and to be content with one course for their dinners (3). These sumptuary regulations greatly displeased the Frenchmen, most of whom were men of high lineage, and used to external magnificence. However, such restrictions might have been tolerated, but the Frenchmen were cut to the quick when they perceived that the Pontiff was about to put an end to the dictatorship of France in the counsels of the Church. One day the bannerets of Rome waited upon Urban, and asked him to signalize his elevation by a number of promotions to the cardinalate. The Pope replied that he intended to give the hat to a certain number of Romans, or at least Italians. Anger was visible at once on the countenances of the Frenchmen; the face of Robert of Geneva grew white; all immediately left the room (4). A crisis was reached when the Pontiff received the Cardinal Lagrange, who had been deputed by Gregory XI. to assist at the Congress of Sarzana. In full Consistory the Pontiff styled Lagrange a traitor to the interests of the Church; whereupon the cardinal retorted, with a menacing gesture: "Archbishop of Bari, you lie," and immediately left the hall (5). Toward

(1) THEODORIC OF NIEM, *Schism*, b. 1, c. 1.

(2) *Idem*, b. 1, c. 4.

(3) PAPEBROCH: *Conatus*—THOMAS DE ACERNO, *Creation of Urban VI.*, in Muratori's *Italian Writers*, vol. iii., pt. 2—ILLSECAS, p. 42.

(4) DE ACERNO, *loc. cit.*

(5) WALSINGHAM, *Richard II.*

the end of June, the French cardinals asked and obtained permission to spend the hot season at Anagni, and here they met Onorato Gaetani, count of Fondi, a bitter enemy of the Pontiff. They immediately leagued with this noble and with the prefect of Viterbo, Francis de Vico. They also assured themselves of the friendship of Rostaing, the French commander of Castel Sant' Angelo (1). Fully determined on revolution, the Frenchmen now took into their service twelve hundred Bretons, the remnant of the Breton free-lances whom Gregory XI. had employed in his war against Florence. Pope Urban tried to conciliate the disaffected Frenchmen, and sent the Italian cardinals Orsini, Corsini, and Brossano, with offers of accommodation. Then he transferred his court to Tivoli, that he might the more easily observe the enemy's movements. Orsini and his companions could effect no change in the state of affairs, and Urban soon realized the need of preparing for open war. He received from the cardinals at Anagni a manifesto which declared that the late Pontifical election was null; that the archbishop of Bari was an apostate, an Antichrist, and excommunicated (2). On August 9, their Eminences of Anagni issued a circular to all the faithful, in which they insisted that the Holy See was vacant (3). The university of Paris and the different sovereigns all received special letters, in which the disaffected admitted, strange to say, that they had really elected the archbishop of Bari, but insisting that they had so done, because they believed that he himself would regard the election as illusory (4). The cardinals Orsini, Corsini, and Brossano, now retired to Vicovaro, where they continued, for a time, in a kind of neutrality (5). Thebaldeschi remained outspokenly faithful to Urban VI.

(1) One of the first cares of Urban VI. had been to demand of Rostaing the surrender of the castle; but the Frenchman said that he had sworn to Gregory XI. never to do so, unless so commanded by the cardinals whom that Pontiff had left behind him at Avignon. Very soon these cardinals ordered Rostaing to yield his charge to Urban, but their Eminences of Anagni prevailed on him to retain possession. See *Relation* of James de Seva.

(2) DU BOULAI, *University of Paris*, vol. iv., p. 467. See also a MS. of Liège, in MARTENE and DURAND, *Act. Vet. Coll.*, vol. vii.

(3) DU BOULAI, *loc. cit.*, p. 468.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 476 & 479.

(5) It is likely that Urban wished this, for the sake of communication with the cardinals of Anagni.

until death called on him in 1380. But though Orsini, Corsini, and Brossano remained at Vicovaro, refusing to follow the Frenchmen when they removed to Fondi, they now ceased to communicate with Pope Urban (1). Their retirement from the Papal court was the signal for a general desertion; nearly all the French curials, and some of the Romans, joined the cardinals at Fondi. The Hungarian, English, and German prelates remained. On Sept. 18, the Pontiff created twenty-nine new cardinals. The revolted cardinals had already resolved to give a rival to Urban, but they hesitated to do so without the concurrence of their Italian brethren. Thebaldeschi was unapproachable, but the three others might be influenced. For some time Orsini, Corsini, and Brossano resisted the allurements of ambition, but they were conquered by Nicholas Spinelli, the chancellor of Queen Jane of Naples, and a personal enemy of Pope Urban. This diplomat waited upon each of the three, assuring each one that the Frenchmen were resolved to raise him to the Pontificate, if he would definitively abandon Urban. The ruse succeeded, and all three joined the pretended Conclave at Fondi on Sept. 20. Great was the astonishment of the Italians when, on the very first ballot, Robert of Geneva was announced as elected, but they acknowledged him as Pontiff; separating, however, from him at once, and retiring to the castle of Tagliacozzi. Orsini soon afterward died, refusing to recognize Clement VII., but remaining outside the obedience of Urban VI. Brossano lived some time, and died at Nice, while on his way to Avignon. Corsini died at Avignon, protesting that Clement VII. was the true Pope.

Robert of Geneva came of a very old family which was allied with many of the royal houses of Europe. His own talents and personal courage were undeniable; but his

(1). At this period occurred the visit of St. Catharine of Siena to Urban. He had already received many letters from her, containing the wisest advice and much consolation. Urban had made the acquaintance of Catharine at Avignon, and had learned to esteem her. When she returned to her cell, after the reconciliation of Florence with the Holy See, he called her to Rome, and before his entire court he asked her to express her views on the imminent schism. When she had complied, the Pontiff said: "How reprehensible must we be before God, if we are timid! This little woman shames us." The saint spent her few remaining days in Rome, encouraging Pope Urban, but her grief carried her to heaven on April 29, 1380. See *Life of Urban VI.* in Baluze.

habits were thoroughly secular, and he was ostentatious, prodigal, frivolous, and indolent. The Italians quite naturally detested him, for it was he who, in the war with Florence, had led the free-lances of Brittany to the sacking of Cesena. When he first claimed the Popedom, Clement VII. had around his person nearly all the members of the old Roman court; but, while Urban VI. was nearly universally recognized as Pontiff, his adversary was acknowledged only by Naples, Savoy, and Provence. It became, therefore, a matter of essential importance to Clement to extend his obedience (1), and for this purpose he sent the cardinal de Cros, styled the cardinal of Limoges, to France; Aigrefeuille to Germany and Bohemia; Malésec to England and the duchies of Hainaut, Flanders, Brabant, and Gueldres; de Luna to the Iberian peninsula. Aigrefeuille persuaded the dukes of Austria, Lorraine, and Bar to acknowledge Clement VII., but he failed in Bohemia and Germany. Malésec exerted himself vainly in England; and the lord of Flanders, remembering that, immediately after the election of Urban VI., he had received from this same Malésec a letter declaring its canonicity, menaced the prelate with imprisonment if he did not leave his dominions. But in France, the cardinal of Limoges succeeded in procuring the patronage of King Charles V. and of the university of Paris. At first, indeed, the English and Picard "nations" of the university declared for neutrality, while the Faculties of theology, canon law, and medicine, and the French and Norman "nations" pronounced for Clement; but on May 26, 1379, the university officially entered the obedience of Clement. Charles V. at once sent embassies to all his allies, urging them to recognize Clement, but Scotland alone responded. In Spain, the genius of the cardinal de Luna finally triumphed over all obstacles; when John I. ascended the Castilian throne, in 1379, a conference of prelates and doctors was ordered to consider the great question at Medina del Campo. The discussion lasted from Nov., 1380, until the following May, and it resulted in the recognition of Clement. Six

(1) The states which recognized a certain claimant to the Popedom, during this unfortunate period, were said to be in his "obedience."

years afterward Aragon and Navarre came to the same decision. But de Luna had no success in Portugal, owing to the influence which England then exercised in that kingdom. Christendom was now divided into two obediences. Urban VI. was recognized by all northern and nearly all central Italy; by the emperor Wenceslaus; by Hungary, Poland, England, Brittany, Flanders, Denmark, and Sweden. Clement was obeyed by the kingdoms of France, Castile, Aragon, Naples, Cyprus, and Scotland; by Genoa, Savoy, Geneva, Lorraine, Bar, and Rhodes. During the forty years that the schism lasted, there were some variations in these obediences, some of the powers declaring for neutrality until a General Council could settle the lamentable controversy.

We do not propose to follow this schism through all its details; whatever of controversy arises from it can be settled solely by a study of its origin. If the election of Pope Urban VI. was canonical, it follows that his successors, Boniface IX., Innocent VII., and Gregory XII., were legitimate Pontiffs; that the so-called Clement VII., Benedict XIII., and Clement VIII., in spite of the sensitiveness of certain French writers as to the use of this term in the present connection, were Anti-Popes. With regard to Alexander V., elected after the Council of Pisa pretended to depose Gregory XII., and with regard to his successor, John XXIII., it would seem, if we note the usage of the Holy See, that they should be classed as dubious; for while certain undoubted Pontiffs, coming after the termination of the schism, have taken the names by which Robert of Geneva, Peter de Luna, and Giles Munoz, were known, and thus have manifested the mind of the Holy See as to the proper qualification of Clement VII. and his line, the undoubted Pontiff, Alexander (Roderick Borgia), called himself the Sixth of that name.

Before we enter upon a discussion as to the validity of the election of Pope Urban VI., a few reflections are to be made on the nature of the Great Western Schism. It has been well remarked that this most afflicting of all the dissensions which have ever troubled the Church was unique, inasmuch as it was a schism without schismatics.

We shall show that the election of Urban VI. was canonical, and that therefore they who rebelled against his authority were guilty of schism; but it is certain that, owing to the artifices of the original culprits, the masses of Christendom were led to doubt as to who was, or was not, the legitimate Pontiff; that, therefore, in following the obedience which seemed to them proper, they were not schismatics, properly speaking, even when they acknowledged as Pope one who was not such. The Catholic doctrine of there being one supreme head of the Church on earth was never denied by our ancestors of the fourteenth century during these days of trial; nay, it was because of their attachment to this article of faith, that they would not hear of a compromise. There was no question of dogma, but one of persons; hence it is that certain grave theologians have held that the division ought not to be styled a schism. "Although it is necessary," says St. Antonine of Florence, "to believe that there is but one supreme head of the Church, nevertheless, if it happens that two Popes are created at the same time, it is not necessary for the people to believe that this one or that one is the legitimate Pontiff; they must believe that he alone is true Pope who has been regularly elected, and they are not bound to discern who that one is; as to that point, they may be guided by the conduct and opinion of their particular pastor" (1). During the entire tempest of the Great Western Schism, the dogma of Catholic unity, under one earthly shepherd, shone vividly above the darkness of lies and treasons; and we may say with M. de Maistre that this very schism served to prove that the throne of Peter is indestructible. Mosheim thinks that this schism gave a mortal blow to the Papal power (2), and he lays particular stress upon the immoralities and irregularities of the time, as depicted by contemporary authors, especially by Nicholas de Clemangis. Five hundred years have passed since this "mortal blow" was inflicted upon the Papacy, and many more such, in the minds of its adversaries, have been dealt it since that time. As for the irregularities prevalent

(1) *Chronicle*, pt. iii., tit. 22, c. 11.

(2) *History*, Cent. xiv., pt. 2, ch. 2, § 15.

during the schism, Protestants exaggerate them, and thus attack their own system, for such a state of affairs only goes to prove the necessity of a wise and virtuous head in the Church.

But what must we think of that picture drawn by Clemangis of the Church of his day? He tells us that "it is useless to speak of literature and learning, since we know that nearly all priests can scarcely stammer through what they are obliged to read, and they have no conception of the meaning of the words. . . . Nowadays, any lazy man who hates labor, but who wishes to luxuriate in idleness, rushes into the priesthood." Nicholas de Clemangis, rector of the great university of Paris, and private secretary of Peter de Luna (Benedict XIII.), is certainly a grave authority. "He formed," says Scharpff, "with Peter d'Ailly, his master, and Gerson, the triumvirate of Catholic reformers of discipline and of theological science, toward whom the Sorbonne, all France, aye, the entire Church, turned their attention with confidence at the end of the fourteenth, and at the commencement of the fifteenth century." But are not the quoted sentiments of Clemangis a mere oratorical declamation? Could the mass of the clergy have been thus ignorant and debauched at a time when flourished, not only this triumvirate, but that crowd of doctors in theology and in law, that great number of learned and zealous bishops, who composed the Councils of Pisa and Constance? However, Clemangis himself shows us that, in the above passage, he abuses an orator's privileges. Bonnechose, and others of that ilk, carefully refrain from observing that a little further on in his text, Clemangis apologizes for his exaggerations, saying: "Notwithstanding what I have said above concerning ecclesiastics, I would wish no one to think that I include all clerics in my censures. I am not ignorant that in each and every country, some, and perhaps the majority (*aliquos, et forte plurimos*), are good, innocent, just, and not affected by the aforesaid evils." The fact is that Clemangis wrote this book on *The Corrupt Condition of the Church* at a time when his heart was surcharged with bitterness, and his brain afire with indignation. He had been intensely loyal to the

cause of Peter de Luna, and had remained faithful to it, even after the court of France had (although only for a time) abandoned it (1398). During the next few years Clemangis labored for a return of France to the obedience of de Luna, and when it had been effected (1403), he was one of those who believed that de Luna was sincere when he proposed to resign his claims. When, finally, Charles VII. declared that if the schism did not end in 1408, he would recognize neither Gregory XII. nor Benedict XIII., the latter issued a Bull of excommunication against Charles, and that monarch definitively abandoned his cause. Clemangis was now believed to have been the author of the Bull of excommunication, and to avoid trouble, he retired to a Carthusian convent. With his eyes opened to the deceptions practised by de Luna, and not perceiving any hope for immediate peace in the Church, he composed his celebrated book, and in a vein of hypercriticism and quasi despair.

We now come to a discussion of the principal question excited by the Great Western Schism. Was the election of Prignano valid? The sole argument originally adduced against its validity was based on the supposition that it had not been free. Therefore, if it can be shown that the election was not effected by intimidation, it is evident that Urban VI. was a legitimate Pontiff, and hence Robert of Geneva was an Anti-Pope. We shall merely allude to the eloquent fact that during three months the cardinals, separately and collectively, privately and officially, recognized Urban VI. as Supreme Pontiff; that they discovered his oppressiveness only when they had become dissatisfied with his reformatory measures, and especially when they had found that he was about to weaken the hold of France upon the Holy See. But proceeding to an examination of the election of his Grace of Bari, we must first indicate the principal treatises, composed during the schism, to illustrate the question from the canonical point of view. I. We have the narrative of James de Seva, edited by Cæsar du Boulay in vol. IV. of his *History of the University of Paris*. II. An anonymous relation published by Papebroch in his *Conatus Historicus*. III. An account of the *Election of Urban VI.* by Thomas de

Acerno, bishop of Nocera (1). IV. The famous *Four Books on the Schism* by Theodoric of Niem, who died in 1416. V. Thirty manuscript volumes in the Vatican Library, plentifully quoted by Raynald in his *Annals*. VI. Two *Lives of Gregory XI.* annotated by Baluze. VII. The *Declaration of the Cardinals against Bartholomew, Archbishop of Bari*, the authors of which were the French Cardinals Malésec, Sortenac, Flandrin, and Noellet. VIII. The treatises, favorable to Urban VI., of John Lignano, of the university of Bologna; of Ubaldi of the university of Perugia. Both of these are given by Raynald. XI. The treatises, favorable to Clement VII., by Cardinal de Barriere, bishop of Autun; by the prior of Chartres, in answer to Lignano. These are edited by du Boulai in his work on the university of Paris, in the fourth volume. X. Much information can be gathered from the *Epistles* of Coluccio Piero Salutato, secretary of Urban V. and Gregory XI. (2), and from Gerson's treatises on the *Unity of the Church*, and on the *Removability of the Pontiff by the Church* (3).

Now for the election of Urban VI. In the first place, the name of the archbishop of Bari was not sprung suddenly, and as a last resource, upon the Sacred College. It had been seriously considered before the electors entered into the Conclave. The reader must know that after the death of Gregory XI. great discord prevailed among the French cardinals. The Limousins (4), who numbered seven, wishing to make of the tiara an attribute of their own country,

(1) In MURATORI, in his *Collection of Writers on Italian Matters*, vol. 3.

(2) Florence, 1742.

(3) At first, Gerson suggested the voluntary abdication of Peter de Luna; then he was willing to recognize him, with certain restrictions favorable to the Gallican church; finally, he advocated force as the only means of ending the schism. Both claimants, said he, seem to have equal rights; therefore let us depose both, and elect a third. He contended that whenever a schism occurs, the Church should reform herself "in the head and members;" that as every free nation can depose an incorrigible prince, so can the Church; that when the head of the Church obstinately refuses to call a Council, she can do so. A General Council, according to Gerson, was "an assembly of the whole Catholic Church, comprising every order of the hierarchy, and without excluding any of the faithful, who might wish to be heard." We shall have occasion hereafter to speak more fully of the great chancellor, and of his many curious and untenable theories.

(4) The Limousin (now forming parts of the departments of Haute-Vienne, Correze, Creuze, and Dordogne), with Limoges for its capital, although under the suzerainty of the French king, had been ceded to the English by the treaty of Bretigny in 1360, and was not definitively restored to France until 1451.

first put forth the cardinal Malésec as their candidate ; and when he declined, they rallied around Peter de Sortenac. The four cardinals who were subjects of the French crown had resolved, of course, to elect a Gallic Pontiff, but they thought, to use the words of Cardinal Flandrin, that "the world was tired of Limousin Popes" (1). During the nine days' funeral services for Gregory XI., the Italians and the properly so-called Frenchmen perceived that they might indeed succeed in preventing the election of a Limousin, but that their own real and ultimate object, the triumph of their own special candidate, was yet to be fought out among themselves. At this period of doubt, Marino, archbishop of Brindisi, asked his intimate friend, the cardinal Robert of Geneva, if he thought that the Limousin influence would eventually triumph ; and in his book on the schism, Marino says that Robert replied : "More votes will agree with mine than with those of the Limousins," and, adds Marino, "taking his Breviary in his hands he swore : 'By these holy Gospels of God, we shall have no one for Pope but the archbishop of Bari, or another whom, at present, I wish not to name to thee ;' and many times during the *novendiales* of the aforesaid lord Gregory of blessed memory, when he would ride to visit the said cardinals, he reiterated the same." This fact is confirmed by Robert Straton, an auditor of the Apostolic palace, who says that : "Since the cardinals who were present in the city could not determine upon one of themselves before they entered the Conclave, it is said that two-thirds of them resolved to elect the most reverend father, the archbishop of Bari ; and some of them privately intimated this to him, whereupon, as I have heard, he grieved much." This previous consideration of Prignano is confirmed by the death-bed testimony of Cardinal Thebaldeschi, declaring that before the opening of the Conclave, the French cardinals had greatly extolled to him the merits of the archbishop of Bari, and had urged him to vote for that prelate (2). It appears evident, therefore, that when as yet the cardinals were subject to no pressure from the Romans, they had nearly, if not quite, determined to elect Prignano.

(1) Clement VI. and Innocent VI. were both Limousins.

(2) RAYNALD, year 1378. No. 2 and 3.

A most conclusive argument for our thesis was advanced by the bishop of Faenza, representative of Pope Urban VI. in the assembly of the Castilian clergy, at Medina del Campo, in Nov., 1380. Had the cardinals chosen the archbishop of Bari because they feared the ire of the Romans, would they have abstained from immediately publishing the election? The following are the bishop's words: "The said election having been made, the said lords deliberated as to whether it would be expedient to proclaim their choice, and they concluded not to do it. The opposing advocate may reply that they dared not proclaim the election, because of the furious people. Wonderful indeed it would have been, if they did not dare to publish the election of the archbishop of Bari, after having chosen him, as our adversaries say, because of the demand of the people, and to avert the danger of death. Who has ever heard of one who wished to avert death concealing what would, if manifested, free him at once from anxiety? But the real reason for not publishing the election was that the cardinals believed that they had not satisfied the people. Therefore, they had not been influenced in the election by the fear now pretended, nor had any such fear destroyed their liberty of action." We may here draw an argument from this fear of the cardinals that they had not satisfied the people (an allusion to the fact that the Romans had demanded a Roman for Pope, and had received a Neapolitan). The action of the cardinals in allowing Thebaldeschi, the archpriest of St. Peter's, to be dressed in pontificals, and exhibited as Pope, shows that they dreaded the effect of their election of Prignano; therefore, again, their choice of this prelate had been voluntary, and not caused by fear of the Romans. But it is from this very fact that the choice of the Sacred College was a Neapolitan, not a Roman, that is derived one of the most convincing proofs that the election of Pope Urban VI. was free, as we now proceed to demonstrate.

In an epistle written to the king of Aragon by the abbot of Sistri, we read that the prefect of the *rioni* of Rome entered the Conclave, and thus addressed the cardinals: "You are aware, my lords, that at the commencement of the Con-

clave, many insisted that you should give them a Roman, or at least an Italian. Now, however, I am sent to your Paternities by the whole people, and on their behalf I make known to you that they will not be satisfied with an Italian, but ask that a Roman be given to them. They fear lest some agreement may be secretly made between you and any Italian who is not a Roman, to transfer, after the election, the Papal court to Avignon." Notwithstanding this categorical demand of the Romans, the cardinals elected, not a Roman, but a Neapolitan; therefore they were not desirous of pleasing the Romans to the point of sacrificing every wish of their own. Nor can it be said, observes Palma, that the electors chose Prignano only because there was but one Roman, Orsini, in the Sacred College; for they went outside of their own number for a Pontiff, and they could have found many worthy subjects among the Roman clergy. But the reply of the cardinals to the prefect of the Roman *riani* plainly shows that they were determined not to elect a Roman, simply because they wished to avoid all danger of being charged with having yielded to coercion. The abbot of Sistri tells us: "The following was the reply of the cardinals to the prefect of the *riani*, as given, in the name of all, by the most reverend father, the cardinal of Glandève (de Lagery): 'My lords and I do much wonder that you so trouble us, for the replies already given, concerning this business, ought to satisfy you and the Roman people. Depart therefore, for we now say as we have ever said, and you will receive no other answer;' that is, that they would conduct the election for the honor of God, the salvation of the Christian peoples, and the good of the Catholic Church. But the prefect replied: 'God grant that you give us a Roman, or certainly you will experience something besides words.'" Again, that the cardinals were resolved not to yield to the Romans is shown by the following remarks of Cardinal de Cros in the Conclave, after the prefect had withdrawn. They are thus given by the abbot: "You perceive, my lords, that these Romans first asked us for one who would be acceptable to God and the world, and they made no exception of country or of persons; afterward, at the beginning of the Conclave, they restricted this gener-

al proposition to one nationality, the Italian ; now, however, they are not content with even that restriction, but confine us to the Romans. I do not see how we can elect a Roman, for such a choice would be judged by God and the world to be the result of intimidation." According to de Cros, therefore, the election of a Neapolitan was not the result of intimidation, but the effect of a free and untrammelled choice.

After the cardinal de Cros had insisted that the selection of a Roman was altogether out of question, if the Sacred College desired to escape the charge of having yielded to force, he proceeded, in a most tranquil manner, to detail the reasons which militated for the election of Prignano. These were six ; namely, maturity of age, probity of life, great learning, experience in the business of the Roman court, courtesy toward his colleagues, and (strange admission for a French cardinal of the Avignonese school), Prignano was "an Italian, and through an Italian the patrimony of the Church might be recovered, whereas no foreigner could effect that recovery." Such, according to de Cros, and not any intimidation by the Romans, were the reasons for choosing Prignano as Pontiff. "These six qualifications," said he, "are found, my lords, as far as I can see, in no other one person than the archbishop of Bari. He is more than fifty years old, and is so virtuous, that for more than fourteen years, during which he has been attached to the Roman court, nothing has ever been heard against him, either as to word or deed. His learning is indubitable ; he is a great teacher in the Canon law, as is shown by his Collections . . . Besides, we all know him well, for he is our creation, a creation especially by us Limousins, since he was made archbishop of Bari by the lord Gregory of blessed memory. Finally, he is an Italian ; and being a Neapolitan, is a subject of a French house (Anjou), and hence ought to be acceptable to the king of France and his brothers." Here is another proof that in voting for Archbishop Prignano, the cardinals were actuated by other reasons than a desire to avoid offending the Romans. We may also note that, according to Marino, the election of Prignano was effected before the tumultuous conduct of the Roman people. "This election was

concordantly made immediately after the departure of the prefect of the *rioni*, without any lapse of time, unless that in which the cardinal of Limoges was making the above remarks ; indeed, the election took place before Vespers, six hours before any tumult of the people."

We shall strengthen our defence of the validity of the election of Pope Urban VI. with an extract from the *Relation* of James de Seva. This author admits that the Romans surrounded the Papal palace, both before and during the Conclave, and that they continually shouted, "We want a Roman Pope ;" but his picture of the proceedings after the deliberations had begun shows that the cardinals, to the very end, were determined not to yield to dictation. After informing us that the Conclave had been "everywhere well closed and locked," de Seva says that the cardinals Aigrefeuille, Malésec, and de Cros sounded Thebaldeschi as to his views concerning Prignano, and that this cardinal assented to Prignano's election, "just as he had previously assented ;" that Aigrefeuille and Malésec then went among the others with the same object. He then represents Aigrefeuille as complacently addressing his brethren: "My lords, let us sit down at once, for I firmly believe that we shall choose a Pope without delay." Then the cardinal Orsini, who was intriguing for his own election, tried to defer the imminent ballot, saying: "My lords, if it pleases you, let us postpone our choice, and play a trick on those Romans who are crying for a Roman Pope. Let us take some Franciscan friar, vest him with a cope and a Papal mitre, tell the people that he has been elected, and then let us leave this place, and somewhere else elect another person." Now if the cardinals had been made of the material which many French authors supposed them to have been made of ; if they were led to violate their consciences in the election, and into three months of hypocrisy after it, and all this through fear ; they would have eagerly entertained this or some similar project. But mark how Orsini's idea was received, and then believe, if you can, that these cardinals were about to elect a man whom they believed to be, as Maimbourg asserts, willing to acknowledge the invalidity of their proceedings. "The cardinal of Limoges

and his followers answered the said Orsini in these or equivalent words : ‘ My lord of Orsini, we shall certainly not do as you advise, for we do not wish to deceive the people, nor to damn our own souls ; indeed, *we intend now to elect a true Pope, and we care not for the words or clamors of the people.*’ Then, the Conclave being well closed and locked on all sides, the said cardinals sat down to the election. The cardinal of Florence (Corsini) wished to prevent the elevation of the archbishop of Bari and named the cardinal of St. Peter’s (Thebaldeschi), urging the others to vote for him. But the cardinal of Limoges said that although the cardinal of St. Peter’s was a holy man, there were two things against him : firstly, he was a Roman, and *the Romans demanded a Roman, and therefore should not have a Roman* ; secondly, he was weak and infirm, and could not sustain the burden.” Then de Seva narrates how the cardinal of Limoges “ named the most holy lord Urban, who was then archbishop of Bari, in these words : ‘ *I freely vote for, and receive as Pope, with a mind and will that he be true Pope, the lord Bartholomew, archbishop of Bari.*’ ” The chronicler then speaks of the voting, and of the resolve to withhold the announcement of the election, and continues : “ The archbishop of Bari and certain other prelates having been called to the palace, and the Conclave being still well closed and locked, and all being quiet, the cardinals again met in the chapel ; and for the better expression of their free will and consent, and by way of greater precaution, they again freely, simply, concordantly, and unanimously, consented to the aforesaid, then archbishop of Bari, and again elected him Pope, saying expressly that they chose him freely, and with the mind that he should be true Pope.” Then de Seva narrates the violent scenes that followed, and which caused the flight of most of the cardinals, and finally he describes the coronation of Urban VI.

The arguments already presented seem to us to fully justify the saying of Pope Benedict XIV. that “ to-day it is evident that Urban VI. and his successors were legitimate Pontiffs ;” but we would draw the reader’s attention to certain other proofs, which are furnished by letters written by the very cardinals who revolted against the authority of the

Pontiff whom they elected First in importance is a private letter of Robert of Geneva, written a few days after the election of Urban, to the emperor Charles IV., and which John Dominick Mansi transcribed from a Vatican manuscript, and first published in his *Notes to the History of Alexandre*(1). If the future rival of Pope Urban was aware of any flaw in that Pontiff's election, surely here was an excellent and a most natural opportunity for publishing it to the world. "Most Serene prince, and most dear relative: After the death of our lord, Pope Gregory XI., of blessed memory, which event I tearfully announced to your Serenity in a previous letter, my lords the other cardinals here present, and I myself, being shut up in Conclave, ten days after the death, according to the regulations of the Canon law, unanimously gave our votes to the archbishop of Bari, now Supreme Pontiff, a Neapolitan by nationality, and deputy in the curia for my lord, the cardinal of Pampeluna, Apostolic vice-chancellor; and we elected him to the Apostolate on the eighth day of this month, after a Conclave which lasted only one night, because the Romans would not consent to its being any longer protracted. He is now styled Urban VI. While he was yet in Minor Orders, he was my friend and very familiar with me; now he is raised from the lowest to the highest grade, and his coronation has been ordered for the feast of the Resurrection of our Lord, now at hand. He hopes for much from your Serenity, and as you were a son to his predecessors, and a particular arm of strength to them, so your Serenity ought to persevere in his regard. And as he is now occupied in affairs which concern your Serenity and your most Serene son, things about which I have often conversed with him in private, I have found him very well disposed; so much so, that if his deeds correspond to his words, as I trust they will, the affair of your most Serene son will be happily expedited(2). I shall not cease to use all my energies in urging him to settle that business; and master Conrad, secretary of your Serenity, is working commendably, with all zeal, for

(1) Cent. xiv., c. 2, art. 9.

(2) This affair was the projected coronation, as future emperor, of the young prince Wenceslaus, who, with the consent of the late Pope Gregory XI., had been declared king of the Romans in 1377.

the same end. I ever commend myself to your Serenity, whom may the Omnipotent happily preserve. Written at Rome, the fourteenth day of April, (1378). Your cardinal of Geneva." This letter needs no comment. The next epistle which we would ask the reader to examine, is that of the cardinal-electors, written on April 30 to their six brethren of the Sacred College residing at Avignon: "*We freely and unanimously gave our votes to the person of the reverend lord Bartholomew, archbishop of Bari, a man conspicuous by the light of his great merits, and illustrated by his manifold virtues; concordantly raising him to the height of Apostolic power and announcing this our election to the multitudes of Christendom. On the ninth day of this month the same lord, the elect, before an immense assembly of the faithful, and elevated on the throne of Apostolic dignity, took to himself the name of Urban; and on the day when the Supreme Pontiff Jesus Christ restored our life by His resurrection, he was magnificently and solemnly crowned in the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, as is the custom of the Roman Church, amid the joyful manifestations of an innumerable congregation of the Christian people. . . . In Him whose place the same our lord holds on earth, we have a firm hope and confidence that the Roman State and the Universal Church will flourish, and that the orthodox faith will reach its desired happy development.*"

Having presented the arguments which militate for the legitimacy of the line of Pope Urban VI. during the Great Western Schism, historical justice requires us to pay attention to the reasons advanced by the defenders of Clement VII. No writer has more energetically, or more bitterly, presented the claims of Robert of Geneva, than Maimbourg; so thoroughly partisan is the spirit with which he illustrates the Avignon side of the question, that his *History* of the schism might have been more reasonably styled a *Defence of the Avignon Idea*. He protests that he does not imitate the Urban historians "who rely only upon testimonies drawn from the *Informations* laid by Urban" before the sovereigns of the day; but during the entire course of his narrative of the origin of the schism, he studiously avoids the slightest

evidence in favor of any possibility of right on the part of Urban VI. To Maimbourg, the recognition of Urban VI. by the clergy and people of Rome, whom history shows to have been always averse to Anti-Popes, means nothing. He can perceive no argument for Urban's legitimacy in the recognition extended by the cardinals to that Pontiff during a period of nearly three months, that is, until they discovered that the Avignon idea was in a fair way of being exploded forever by a creation of several Roman cardinals, who certainly would not tamely acquiesce in a resubjugation of the tiara to France. This recognition, he says, was forced ; so soon as the cardinals could withdraw themselves from the surveillance of Urban, they endeavored to undo the work to which they had perforce lent themselves. And he insists that before the cardinals went into Conclave, some of them had put on record their protests against the validity of the election, if an Italian were chosen. Even the Italian cardinals, according to Maimbourg, had already declared that if one of themselves was elected, they would regard the act as null, owing to the violence of which the Conclave was a victim. And when the Sacred College finally leaned toward Prignano, persists Maimbourg, it did so because he "being a doctor in Canon Law, knew well that such an election could not be upheld ; and because, as he had the reputation of being a man of conscience and of probity, the cardinals had reason to believe that if he accepted the dignity in order to deliver them from the danger of being massacred, he would not hesitate to renounce it, when once they had been located in security, and could hold a free election." As for the letters written by the cardinals, testifying to the validity of the late election, Maimbourg would deny them any value, because some of their Eminences "found means to write to King Charles V., that he should believe nothing that they might write in favor of Urban, so long as they were in Rome, because they were obliged to do all that this elect and the Roman magistrates demanded of them, for if they refused, they ran the risk of their lives." Now all of these assertions of Maimbourg, namely, that the three months' recognition of Urban was forced upon the cardinals ; that their

Eminences had protested, before the Conclave, against the validity of the election of any Italian ; that they voted for Prignano, only because they thought that he would not deem his election canonical ; and that the durance vile in which Urban held the cardinals, after the election, took all value from the letters in which their Eminences spoke of that Pope as legitimate ; are easily refuted, and by their refutation the only resources of the defenders of Robert of Geneva are destroyed.

Maimbourg asserts that the cardinals were forced to recognize Urban VI. as Pontiff, although " they prayed him to leave Rome, in order that they might freely ratify his election," and that " he employed the authority of the magistrates and bannerets to compel their immediate return to the palace, and those who were in the city did return. And although those who had shut themselves in Castel Sant' Angelo sent to him their written procuration, that their names might be used at his enthronization, he wished, nevertheless, that they should attend in person, and should, conjointly with those who had left Rome, seat him on the Pontifical throne." Now this " authority of the magistrates and bannerets " might have availed to compel the attendance of the cardinals who were living in the city, although we very much doubt whether the Roman officials, who had just been disappointed in their fond hope of having a Roman for their Pope-King, would have shown much zeal in forcing the opponents of the Neapolitan Prignano, unless they had been well satisfied that their own turbulence had not affected the validity of the election ; that, therefore, the unwelcome Neapolitan was to be obeyed. But no physical power, then at Pope Urban's disposal, could have compelled an unwilling return, either of those cardinals who had left Rome, or of those who had taken refuge in Castel Sant' Angelo. Robert of Geneva was secure in the stronghold of Zagarolo, under the protection of the proud and perennially rebellious Colonna ; Noellet was in the fortress of Ardea, which belonged to the Frangipani ; Orsini and Flandrin were in the castle of Vicovaro, a possession of the former's house ; eight others were in Sant' Angelo, the commander of which for-

tress, Rostaing, was a Frenchman sworn to preserve his post in the interest of the cardinals at Avignon, and the event proved that he was a foe to Urban. The military operations which afterward ensued showed that our Pontiff could not have undertaken offensive measures against Zagarolo, Ardea, and Vicovaro; and even if he could have done so, but a short march away were the savage free-lances of Brittany, ready to make common cause with their rebellious fellow Gauls, as they soon proved, even before Robert of Geneva had donned his mock tiara. Secure, therefore, as the absent cardinals were from the physically weak arm of Pope Urban, what could have induced them to return to Rome? Perhaps they were as yet devoted sons of the Papacy; perhaps their projects had not yet assumed any definite shape, and they deemed it advisable to bide their time. Excogitate, however, what reason you will, it is absurd to imagine that their return was compelled by Pope Urban. When they rejoined the Pontiff, it was of their own free will, if not from a sense of duty, and their ensuing homage to Urban VI. was as thorough a ratification of the late election as it would have been, if conducted amid all the solemnities of a new Conclave.

Maimbourg asserts, secondly, that some of the cardinals had protested, before the Conclave, against the validity of an election of any Italian; that such protests had been drawn up before a notary. He also asserts that when the cardinals heard the Romans hammering on the doors of the Conclave, ‘nearly all, and especially the transalpine-cardinals, protested that the election of an Italian, which they were about to effect, would receive their assent merely because they wished to escape death.” As for any protests before the Conclave, we do read of one by the cardinal of Glandève. A document was drawn up on Dec. 10, “in the first year of our lord Pope Clement VII.” in which this cardinal (de Lagery), then bearing, by Clement’s appointment, the title of bishop of Ostia, declares that on the previous 6th of April he had sworn, before one Stephen Bernard, a notary public, and five witnesses, that if, in the election about to take place, he, de Lagery, “were to elect or name as Pope any Italian from outside the College of the lords cardinals, it would be be-

cause of fear of death, and entirely contrary to his mind, intent, and will." The original protest, continued de Lagery, had been lost, and the notary had died in the previous November; de Lagery therefore had requested that the testimony of the aforesaid five witnesses should be taken as to the fact of the said protest. The document then gives the attestation of the five. Now, granting the veracity of de Lagery in this matter, what does the above protest prove? Simply that, before the election, his mind was intensely averse to the selection of an Italian; so averse, in fact, that he thought that nothing short of fear of death could extort his consent to the elevation of one. But he did consent, and in spite of his protest he signed the decree of election, as did the cardinal of Limoges before him: "I freely name and elect as Pope the lord archbishop of Bari." Passing this fact, however, the eloquent one remains that, after all tumult had subsided, de Lagery left his place of refuge and did homage to Pope Urban VI. As for the protests made, according to Maimbourg, when the cardinals heard the Romans hammering on the door of the Conclave, neither hammering nor protests are mentioned as occurring at the time of the nomination of Prignano, save by the interested cardinals in their great protest of Aug. 2, "against Bartholomew, archbishop of Bari." But granting that all was as their Eminences declare, the stubborn fact remains that for three months they did homage to Urban VI.

Maimbourg asserts, thirdly, that the cardinals voted for Prignano only because "he, being a doctor in Canon law, knew well that such an election could not be upheld; and because, as he had the reputation of being a man of conscience and of probity, the cardinals had reason to believe that if he accepted the dignity, in order to deliver them from the danger of being massacred, he would not hesitate to renounce it.... Indeed, Simon de Cramaud, patriarch of Alexandria, who lived at that time, assures us, in his little book on the schism, that Pontius Veraldi swore to him that being, together with the archbishop of Bari, in St. Peter's, while the cardinals were entering the Conclave, that prelate, of whom Veraldi was a great friend, told him, when he saw the hor-

rible violence of the people, that he who would be chosen in such a tumult would not be truly Pope, and that he would never acknowledge such a one." But in the protest of Aug. 2, upon which Maimbourg implicitly relies, the cardinals say nothing of the above supposed understanding. They do say, however, that some of their number declared that "they elected him (Prignano) *with the mind and intent that he should be a true Pope.*" They might have said that not "some of their number," but more than two-thirds of them, used this phrase, for they are very precise in mentioning the four who did not, and in giving their alleged reasons for dropping it. And further on the cardinals say that "some of them said to each other that it was their intention to do what, as history informs us, has been done heretofore, that is, to retire, when convenient, to a safe place, and there elect him (Prignano) again." There is no mention of any wish or thought of electing anyone else than Prignano; they speak of electing him (*eum*) again (*de novo*). This would certainly indicate that, even though there had been no "hammering at the door of the Conclave, etc.," the archbishop was, for other reasons, and though his election was contrary to their Gallic prejudices, the acceptable candidate of the cardinals. This new election was not held, but the posterior conduct of the electors must certainly be regarded as a voluntary ratification of their action in the Conclave. The sole escape from this conclusion is by supposing that when the cardinals paid homage, during nearly three months, to Urban VI., they were living under a reign of terror, and Maimbourg readily grasps the idea. We shall soon prove that such a supposition is purely gratuitous. As for the testimony of Cramaud, to the effect that Prignano expressed to Veraldi his conviction that a Pontiff chosen in circumstances of violence would not be legitimate, that does not prove that the election in question really took place amid such circumstances.

Maimbourg asserts, fourthly, that no value attaches to the letters written by the cardinals in attestation of the legitimate election of Urban VI. Some of their Eminences, he says, had written to the French king that he should give no credit to anything they might say while they were under the influ-

ence of Prignano. But if these cardinals could "find means" to thus communicate with King Charles, why did they not, then and there, reveal to him the inner history of the late Conclave? In the absence of these letters to Charles, we know nothing as to the nature of the warning said to have been given, but since their Eminences did not avail themselves of their opportunity, we are justified in supposing that there was no inner history to relate; at least, nothing that would invalidate the late election. And where does Maimbourg learn that the cardinals were kept in such duress, or under such surveillance, that they could not communicate, for three months, the truth to the outside world? Only in the protest of Aug. 2d, in which the rebels say that after the election, "the lords cardinals, at least those who were from beyond the Alps, never deemed themselves secure; yea, they regard it as probable, and it is commonly believed, that if they had called his promotion into doubt, or had criticised it, they would all have been killed, since the violence still lasted. While they were in Rome, they never dared to converse on this subject, even among themselves; and he, although often requested, would never leave the city with the lords cardinals, nor would he locate them in a secure place. After the transalpine cardinals, with the utmost caution and a few at a time, had come to Anagni, wishing to deliberate on the above matters, and to avoid the dangers which threatened them while they lived among the Romans, etc." But if we consult Niem, de Seva, and other writers of the time, even those not partial to Pope Urban VI., we find that the cardinals were not forced to withdraw to Anagni, "with the utmost caution" and "a few at a time," in order to avoid detention. They received full permission from the Pontiff to retire to Anagni, because they complained of the heat in Rome. Had Urban been so distrustful of their fidelity, as Maimbourg would have us believe, is it likely that he would have allowed them all to withdraw themselves out of his power? As to the closeness of the Pontiff's surveillance of the cardinals, and their trembling in his presence, several events that happened at this time show that the cardinals enjoyed not a little freedom of action. For instance, when

Cardinal Lagrange gave the lie to the Pontiff in full Consistory, he was allowed to leave the palace and the city. Would a Pope who permitted such insolence to go unpunished, be likely to exercise such surveillance, and to inspire such terror, as the rebellious cardinals declare that they experienced at his hands?

Having demonstrated, as we believe, the legitimacy of the election of Pope Urban VI., we now give a brief account of the happy termination of the schism, referring the reader to the pages of history, if he desires to follow it in its many and terrible phases. In 1408, Charles VI., king of France, wishing, as he said, to hasten the inauguration of a unanimous and perpetual obedience to one only vicar of Jesus Christ, resolved to obey neither Gregory XII., the third successor of Urban VI., nor Peter de Luna, who, with the name and style of Benedict XIII., had succeeded to the pretensions of Clement VII. Following the example of France, several other countries observed neutrality. In spite of the two competitors, a Council assembled at Pisa in 1409 for the purpose of extinguishing the schism. Under the presidency of the cardinal de Malésec, then bishop of Palestrina, there assembled twenty-three cardinals of both obediences, ninety-two bishops, eighty-seven abbots, many superiors of religious Orders, the deputies of the great universities, representatives of more than a hundred cathedral chapters, and about three hundred doctors in theology and in Canon law. There also attended the ambassadors of England, France, Sicily, Poland, Bohemia, and Portugal. Both Gregory XII. and Peter de Luna refused to attend, and each created new cardinals to replace those who had abandoned him; and each convened another Council, the former at Friuli, and the latter at Perpignan. Each contestant objected against the authority of the Council of Pisa, that it was irregular, not having been convened by the Apostolic See. To this the prelates replied that such was the situation of the Church, that ordinary rules had to be laid aside; that the Apostolic See itself was involved in clouds of obscurity which were to be dissipated, that a Council could depose a dubious Pope; especially when, as in the present case, both claimants, at the time of their elec-

tion, had promised to resign, if the cardinals should deem it proper. We shall treat of this Council, as well as of that of Constance, in another place ; here it is sufficient to say that the prelates of Pisa having found that neither Gregory XII. nor Peter de Luna would abdicate, issued a decree of deposition against both, and then the cardinals elected as Pontiff the cardinal Peter Filargo, a Candiote, and archbishop of Milan, who took the name of Alexander V. But, as St. Antonine of Florence says : “ a great many good people, fearers of God, and enlightened men, continued to regard Gregory XII. as the true Pope.” Bavaria, Naples, and many cities of Italy continued in his obedience, while Castile, Aragon, and Scotland remained attached to de Luna. The Church now found that the Pisan measures had only increased the difficulties of the schism ; there were now three claimants to the tiara (1). On Nov. 16, 1414, was held the first session of the celebrated Council of Constance. John XXIII., the successor of Alexander V., presided over the first two sessions, and then left the city, after having signed a promise to abdicate ; taking refuge in Schaffhausen, he issued a vindication of his flight, and complained bitterly of his treatment by the Council. The prelates, however, continued their sessions ; Peter d’Ailly, Cardinal of Cambrai, presiding over the third, Cardinal Giordano Orsini over the fourth, etc. The emperor Sigismund wrote to King Charles VI. of France, requesting him to do his utmost for the success of a Council “ assembled to determine which one of the three claimants ought to be recognized as legitimate Pontiff.” John XXIII. and his friends declared that an injury was thus done to the Council of Pisa, for it was insinuated that the said assembly was neither legitimate in itself, nor prudent in its choice of a new Pope. To this Peter d’Ailly replied that the Council of Pisa and the election of Alexander V. were canonical, and therefore the election of John XXIII. was legitimate ; but the followers of the rival claimants had probable reasons for their opposition, and there was, consequently, as much embarrassment among Catholics as there had been before the Pisan

(1) But if the monster of the Great Schism, says Bossuet, was not entirely destroyed at Pisa, it at least received a blow which was the prelude of its total extinction by the Council of Constance, held five years afterward.

Council. And d'Ailly went on to say that a triple abdication was now necessary; to which conclusion the entire Council of Constance soon arrived. After many efforts and many failures, all three of the obediences were brought to adopt the plan; and at length John XXIII. approved and ratified the sentence of deposition pronounced by the Council against himself. In the fourteenth session Gregory XII., through his ambassador, Charles Malatesta, lord of Rimini, voluntarily abdicated. De Luna remained obstinate to the last, and there was given to him a phantom of a successor, in the person of one Giles Munoz (Clement VIII.); but this last relic of the Great Schism finally abdicated on July 26, 1429. On Nov. 11, 1417, the election of Cardinal Otho Colonna, who assumed the name of Martin V., was followed by a solemn *Te Deum*, sung by the representatives of the three former obediences, and the Papacy emerged triumphant from a combat which, had it not been the work of God, must have inevitably destroyed it.

CHAPTER XL.

RIENZI.

Pope Benedict XII., third of the seven Pontiffs who resided at Avignon, having died on April 23, 1342, the cardinal Peter Roger, a Benedictine monk and archbishop of Rouen, was elevated to the Chair of Peter on May 6, and took the name of Clement VI. At this period the royal authority of the Pontiff in the Roman States was purely nominal; the pontifical vicar, usually the bishop of Orvieto, saw his power confined almost entirely to spirituals. Outside the city, the country was at the mercy of petty barons, where it was not ravaged by the mercenaries of Charles of Luxemburg or of the Visconti. The people of the capital had divided it into thirteen wards—*rioni*,—each under its own banneret; but in reality the Romans were the victims of brute force, now uppermost in the persons of the Colonna, and then dominant under the sway of the Orsini. There was no guarantee for property, no security for life; iniquity

sat in the tribunals, immorality was rife in the sanctuary, and misery weighed down every family (1). Petrarch eloquently describes the misfortunes entailed upon the queen of the world by the unfortunate mistake of Clement V.; and shows us the utopian schemes for her restoration which were cherished by many of his enthusiastic contemporaries, who hoped to see Rome again the head of universal empire under the rule of concordant Pope and emperor. A beautiful dream indeed, remarks one of the most intelligent of modern polemics (2); but which, if realized, would have reduced the Poppedom to as servile a condition as that of the Constantinopolitan patriarchs of the Lower Empire. One of these dreamers was Nicholas Gabrini, known to history as Cola di Renzo, or simply Rienzi (3). His mother was a laundress and water-carrier; his father a tavern-keeper, although Cola himself boasted of being an illegitimate son of the emperor, Henry VII. Like most young Romans even in our day, Rienzi was made familiar with the olden heroes of Rome, but his enthusiasm was more than ordinary; and, after a youth passed in assimilating the aspirations of the classic writers of his country, his early manhood found him living almost exclusively among the monuments of an irrevocable past, murmuring to himself, "Shall I ever see such men in Rome?" All his studies impelled him to an attempt which must ever be impossible even to the greatest genius (4)—namely, the withdrawal of a people from its tomb. He possessed qualities apt to make him a successful revolutionist. His figure was beautiful yet majestic; his features were exceedingly mobile and his smile magical; his voice sweet but sonorous; his conversation passionate and entrancing; his style of writing highly colored, though elegant. But he was inconstant, vain, and weak in judgment; and often his romanticism

(1) *Fragm. Hist. Rom.*, in Muratori's *Antiq. Ital.*, vol. iii., b. 2, c. 5.—ZEFERINO RE, *Life of Cola di Renzo*, Forlì, 1828. This *Life* is based on the famous one by Fortiflocca, Bracciano, 1624.—The chronicle published by Bzovius, in his *Annals*, vol. xiv., and entitled *Diarium ex MS. Vaticano*, is only an abridgment, and an inaccurate one, of the *Life* by Fortiflocca.

(2) CHRISTOPHE, *The Papacy in the Fourteenth Century*, Paris, 1853.

(3) His father's name being Laurence (Lorenzo), he was styled Nicholas, son of Laurence, Cola di Renzo.

(4) "Nil actum fore putavi, si quæ legendo didiccam non aggregerem exercendo."
—*Epist.*

prompted him, even at the most serious crises of his enterprise and of his life, to play the mountebank.

Rienzi made his entrance into public life in 1344, having been chosen by the Romans to urge again upon Clement VI. the propriety, nay necessity, of his coming to his See. At Avignon he made a great impression on Petrarch; and his friendship with that poet, then at the height of his fame, influenced the Pontiff to accord him so much favor that a daily audience was granted him during several weeks. With the exception of a short interval of coolness, brought about by Cardinal John Colonna because of Rienzi's eloquent denunciation of the Roman nobility, this favor was continued to him until his dismissal, when he was rewarded with the then lucrative office of notary of the Apostolic Chamber. History is silent as to the date of his return to Rome, but we find him in 1347 arisen to such a height in popular estimation that he dared to publicly upbraid the nobles as "drinkers of the blood of the people," and to call upon the "good estate" to provide for its own safety against the "dogs of the Capitol." On this occasion a Colonna struck him in the face, but generally the patricians simply ridiculed his demonstrations; even when, one day, while dining with Gianni Colonna, he declared that he would yet be emperor, and would send the barons to the scaffold, the guests were convulsed with laughter. His exhibition of pictures on the walls of Sant' Angelo and before the Capitol, showing the woes of Rome and the imminent justice of God; his own appearance in St. John Lateran's, vested as a stage monarch, and weeping because of Rome's having lost "her two eyes: the Pope and the emperor,"—such, and other demagogic tricks excited smiles even in many who desired the accomplishment of his promises. But the multitude was profoundly impressed.

And meanwhile Rienzi added the part of conspirator to that of demagogue. Among the middle classes he soon counted a large number who swore to co-operate with him in raising up the "good estate," and who awaited only his signal to act. Chance afforded an opportunity on the first of May,—Stephen, head of the house of Colonna, and most of the barons, having left the city in quest of grain, there

being scarcity of food within the walls. Rienzi sent trumpeters to every quarter, proclaiming that at nine on the next morning, all the citizens, without arms, would meet at the Capitol to debate on the amelioration of the "good estate." From midnight until the appointed hour Rienzi prayed in the church of San Agnolo in Peschiera, where he had caused thirty Masses to be offered in honor of the Holy Ghost. As the clocks struck nine, a curious procession left the temple. First came Rienzi, bareheaded, but otherwise in full armor, accompanied, strange to say, by the papal vicar, Raymond, bishop of Orvieto, whose ostensible duty would have been to repress such demonstrations, but whose weak nature had yielded to the ascendancy of superior genius. Next marched four standard-bearers,—three displaying the emblems of liberty, justice, and peace, and the fourth carrying the time-worn remnants of the flag of St. George. Then came a hundred men-at-arms, and nearly all Rome fell into line as the procession joyfully wended its way to the Capitoline. From this historic hill the "liberator" made one of his fervent addresses, and then deliberately read his new constitution. The citizens were to be guaranteed from all oppression by the barons; a citizen militia was to be enrolled, and a navy was to protect the coasts; the nobles were to keep the roads safe, but no patrician could have a fortress or stockade within the walls; justice was to be prompt: no trial was to be prolonged beyond a fortnight; the government would establish granaries for the benefit of the poor; widows and orphans, especially, if made such by war, were to be at the charge of the state; each commune was to send two representatives to a general congress in Rome, and an Italian confederation was to be promoted; above all, the Pope-King was to return to his See and capital. The people gladly acclaimed these provisions; the two senators, Sciarra Colonna and John Orsini, were chased from the Capitol; and Rienzi, joined ostensibly in authority with the papal vicar, at once assumed a dictatorship. Quick work was made with the barons. When Stephen Colonna, then at Corneto, heard of the revolution operated by a person whom he had regarded as merely a buffoon, he

rushed back to Rome, only to receive an order to withdraw at once. He tore the missive to shreds, exclaiming, "If this fool makes me mad, he shall be pitched from the windows of the Capitol!" But Rienzi caused the great bell to be rung: the people rushed to arms, and Stephen was lucky in saving his life by a precipitate flight to his fortress of Palestrina, accompanied by only one retainer. The dictator immediately ordered all the barons to retire to their castles in the country,—a command which was gladly obeyed, after the discomfited nobles had sworn not to disturb the roads, not to harbor malefactors, and not to do any injury to the "good estate."

Rienzi at once notified the Pontiff, the emperor, the king of France, and the Italian powers, of his accession to the tribunate. The two rivals, Louis of Bavaria and Charles of Luxemburg, and Queen Jane of Naples, received his ambassadors with honor; Florence, Siena, and Perugia sent him troops; the cities of Umbria sent deputies for his congress; Gaeta gave him 10,000 golden florins—a very large sum at that time—and the sovereignty of the city; Venice and Luchino Visconti declared themselves his allies; but the Pepoli of Bologna, the Esti of Modena, the Scala of Verona, the Gonzaga of Mantua, the Malatesta of Rimini, and other sovereign princes, at first regarded him as a lunatic. Philip VI., of France, wrote to him as if writing to a trader, and sent the letter by a common soldier. The court of Avignon was somewhat disturbed when it received the couriers of "Nicholas the severe and clement, the illustrious liberator of the Holy Roman Republic, the tribune of liberty, peace and justice," swearing fidelity to the Holy See, and begging for pontifical recognition; but prudence bade Clement VI. to send letters to Bishop Raymond and to the Roman people, accepting the new constitution, although condemning its irregular and revolutionary origin, and reserving to himself future liberty of action.

News came to Avignon of the comparatively contented state of Rome; justice reigned, for crime was punished without exception of persons. The tribune had created a "chamber of justice and peace" for the enforcement of the ancient

and now revived law of retaliation—*lex talionis*,—and its judges were chosen from among the most irreproachable of the plebeians. This method of satisfying for injuries was so enthusiastically accepted by the Romans that, according to the *Life* by Fortificocca, its exercise became a fanaticism (1). Once more, however, the peasant cultivated his fields in security; again the pilgrim made his unmolested journey to the tomb of the Apostles. The hitherto truculent barons could rage only in secret. One alone, John de Vico, lord of Viterbo, dared to resist Rienzi; but his towns were taken, his property confiscated; he was forced to swear, on the Body of Christ, submission to the Roman people, and only then was he allowed to resume his lordship under the tribunitial suzerainty. Facts such as these made a good impression at Avignon, and Petrarch took up his pen to felicitate Rienzi.

Some critics have denied that the poet had the tribune in his mind when he wrote that most beautiful of his works, *Spirito Gentile*; but, be that as it may—and the affirmative arguments are by far the stronger,—the letters of Petrarch to Rienzi show that he regarded the tribune's enterprise as restorative of that Roman grandeur which was the unique object of his own aspirations: "Your letters are read by every prelate of the court; every one copies them. One would think that they had come from heaven, or at least from the antipodes; for when the courier arrives there is a struggle to obtain his missives, and the oracles of Apollo were never so variously interpreted. Your enterprise is wonderful, and you are free from all blame; for you have shown at once your own great courage and the majesty of the Roman people, without any want of respect to the Supreme Pontiff. It is incumbent on a prudent man like yourself to reconcile these things, which apparently are contradictory . . . You have shown no craven fear, still less any mad presumption

(1) When the adversaries were brought to this "chamber of peace," each swore to leave it reconciled. Then the offended party rendered injury for injury to the offender,—literally, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." An embrace followed, and enmity was at an end. Once a man, who had just gouged out another's eye, ran to the tribunal voluntarily; and when his victim appeared he fell on his knees, turning up his face for the retaliatory treatment. The injured man refused the proffered satisfaction; then ensued a struggle between "justice" and charity; and finally the culprit left with both eyes, a fast friend of the other.

... We know not which to admire the more, your deeds or your style of speech. Men say that you act like Brutus and talk like Cicero. . . . Do not abandon your magnanimous undertaking. . . . You have laid solid foundations—truth, peace, justice, and liberty. . . . It is well known that I warmly defend the justice of your tribunate and the sincerity of your intentions. . . . Romulus founded Rome, Brutus gave her liberty, Camillus raised her from her ruins; you, illustrious man, have done more than all this! Romulus surrounded Rome with weak walls, but you give her inexpugnable ramparts. Brutus delivered her from one tyrant; you have freed her from innumerable oppressors. Camillus raised her from smoking ashes; you have raised her from ruins under which even hope had perished. Hail, then, our Romulus, our Brutus, our Camillus! Hail, restorer of our freedom, peace, and concord!”

Wiser men than Petrarch had observed that Rienzi was merely a child of capricious fortune and not her master; that “his enterprise was fantastic, and could not last (1)”; and that his own affectations were fast alienating from him his only sure trust, the love of the Roman people. This plebeian, who had discoursed eloquently on the simplicity of the ancient Quirites, on the sublime devotion of the Conscript Fathers, manifested more selfishness than any baron of them all, and displayed a luxury more fastidious than that of any contemporary monarch; even his wife never showed herself unattended by ladies of honor, whose chief duty was to fan the flies from her face. To the title of “severe and clement tribune” he soon joined, even in his correspondence with the Pontiff, those of “august,” “knight of the Holy Ghost,” and “*zelator Italiae* (2).” He even usurped the prerogative of a supreme ruler by coining money with the stamp of his own effigy. His ambition was overweening, but his common-sense soon became infinitesimal. There was no absurdity, perhaps, in his notifying the independent cities of Italy that he had conferred Roman citizen-

(1) JOHN VILLANI, *History of his Own Times*

(2) Under date of August 5 1347, he signs himself, *Candidatus, Spiritus Sancti miles, Nicolaus æverus et clemens, liberator Urbis, zelator Italiae, amator Orbis, et tribunus augustus, se ad pedum oscula beatorum.*

ship on all their inhabitants, and that on the feast of the Assumption they would be called on to exercise their right of suffrage in the election of an emperor. Such a studied ignoring of the pontifical authority—the only reason for the existence of the Holy Roman Empire—might not have been, to some minds, insanely extravagant; but when he doffed the mask, and showed that the end of all his patriotism was the imperial crown for himself, he should have demeaned himself with becoming dignity.

Tricks of the theatre may not be necessarily displeasing in a leader of men, but they must not be their own end. The great Napoleon relied much on this species of adventitious impressiveness—witness his smashing the vase at the feet of the dismayed Austrian agent; and his exhibition before Pius VII., moving the gentle Pontiff to comment, “How well he acts!” But Napoleon had an ever-present ulterior object, which his histrionic efforts were calculated and intended to unfold; the exhibitions of Rienzi were simply destructive of his most intimate hopes, and in their manifestations he received the same kind of applause that cheers the mountebank or the clown. Commodus performing in the ring was no more of an anomaly than Rienzi was in his reception of knighthood or in his citation of Louis of Bavaria. On the eve of the former ceremony, celebrated with unprecedented pomp in the Lateran Basilica, he bathed in the famous porphyry vase in which Constantine was said to have bathed after his cure from leprosy by Pope St. Sylvester I. Of a piece with this extravagance for its mock solemnity was his citation of the rivals, Louis of Bavaria and Charles of Luxemburg. While Mass was being celebrated in the chapel of Pope Boniface, he advanced toward the people and cried in a loud voice: “Know ye that we hereby summon before ourselves Louis of Bavaria and Charles, king of Bohemia, who style themselves emperors; as well as all the electors of the empire; in order that the former may allege the foundations of their claim, and that the latter may prove that right of nomination to the empire which has always belonged to the Roman people alone.” A notary immediately drew up the citations in

form, and they were sent to the princes concerned. Then Rienzi drew his sword, and, striking the air thrice toward various parts of the earth, exclaimed: "This is mine, this is mine, this is mine!" In the MS. *Life* published by Bzovius it is asserted—and most historians repeat the assertion—that the tribune summoned also the Pope and the Sacred College; but the original act contains no such citation; and, what is more convincing, among the charges at the trial of Rienzi such folly is not mentioned. When the dazed Raymond had recovered his senses, he endeavored to undo the work of his "colleague" by a notarial protest; but the infatuated tribune ordered the trumpets to blare, and soon afterward told the weak prelate that his occupation was gone. It is perhaps needless to state that neither the imperial rivals nor any of the electors noticed this ebullition.

The tribunitial *regime* had been in force only a few weeks when the diminished enthusiasm of the people prompted Rienzi to inaugurate a reign of terror. Such a course could be more safely pursued with the barons as victims, and their wealth was necessary to so luxurious a system as he followed. Accordingly, on September 14, he invited Stephen Colonna to dine with him at the Capitol; and having, on various pretexts, induced many of the principal nobles to meet the old baron, he seized their persons and thrust them into separate dungeons, charging them with conspiracy against the "good estate." A friar was sent to each with the intimation that death would be his portion the next morning, and all prepared for the solemn change, excepting old Stephen, who said that he was not ready to die. But influential persons represented to Rienzi the foolishness of his conduct, and he fancied that he might retract and yet profit by the situation. When, therefore, an immense multitude had assembled to witness the execution, they were treated instead to another of the tribune's theatrical pettinesses. He ascended the red-covered platform, preached a sermon on the text, "forgive us our trespasses," and declared that he not only forgave the culprits, but intended to bind them by ties of gratitude to the "good estate," making this one duke of the Campagna, that one duke of Tuscany, another consul, and so on. The

proceedings terminated with a splendid banquet. But the barons were not deceived by this affectation of clemency. The Colonna hastened to Marino, then a powerful fortress, and were soon joined by their ancient foes, the Orsini. Rinaldo Orsini took Nepi by assault, and his brother Giordano ravaged the Campagna even to the walls of Rome. Rienzi was no soldier, but the murmurs of the people led him to make a pretence of taking the field. He confined his operations to a parade around the walls of Marino, a devastation of its outlying territory, and a return to the capital to receive the honors of a "triumph." On November 20, Stephen Colonna suffered a defeat at Porta San Lorenzo; but, instead of following up his advantage, the tribune took another "triumph," exhibiting himself at the Capitol with crown on head and sceptre in hand; and having drawn his bloodless sword, he wiped it on his skirt and exclaimed: "I have cut the ears from heads which neither Pope nor emperor has dared to touch!" And the next morning he visited the scene of the late engagement, and observing a pool of water yet tinted by the blood of Stephen Colonna, who had there perished, together with his son Gianni, he beckoned his own son Lorenzo to his side, and made him the centre of another theatrical tableau. Telling his officers to strike the young man on the shoulder with the flats of their swords, he dipped his own hand in the bloody pool, and, sprinkling Lorenzo, thus knighted him: "Be thou hereafter the knight of victory!" To the credit of the knights in his retinue, be it remembered that nearly all of them immediately left his service.

While Rienzi was thus trifling with his fate, the Holy See had been content with giving him full liberty, subject to the surveillance of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux, the legate at Naples. But the good impression he had made on the pontifical court was short-lived, despite his reformatory pretences and his protestations of fealty to the Pope-King. Even Petrarch, who had so extravagantly deployed his pompous phrases in eulogizing his *protege*, was compelled to admit, in a letter written to his friend Lælius on November 22: "I have read a copy of the tribune's letter, and I am dismayed

at his conduct (1). Patience having ceased to be a virtue in the premises, Pope Clement VI. wrote to the legate, instructing him to order Rienzi to withdraw his absurd citation of the imperial rivals, to dissolve his league with the king of Hungary against Queen Jane of Naples, to cease in his disrespect to the papal vicar, and to protect the barons as well as the people in their rights. If he obeyed, he was to continue in the tribunate, but conjointly with the vicar Raymond, or some other to be chosen according to circumstances; if he resisted, he was to be deposed from office and excommunicated; and if the people persisted in his support, the city was to be interdicted.

Bertrand proceeded to Rome and interviewed Rienzi, but received only insolent replies; whereupon he retired to Montefiascone and launched the decree of excommunication, publishing at the same time an address from the Pontiff to the Romans, exhorting them to throw off the yoke of an extravagant adventurer and a rebel. Then Rienzi yielded, abandoning his pretensions concerning the empire, renouncing all sovereignty over the Romans, and resigning all his grandiloquent titles (2). The legate reinstated Rienzi and the bishop of Orvieto in the tribunate; but the enthusiasm of the people was a thing of the past, and the barons had planned a counter-revolution. On the night of December 16, there resounded throughout the city cries of "Live the Colonna! Death to the tribune!" Rienzi caused the great bell of the Capitol to be rung; but, although it rang all night, the people remained unmoved. A few of his devoted retainers attacked Minorbino, palatine of Altamura in Naples, who had placed himself at the head of the baronial forces; but they were defeated. Then Rienzi lost all heart, save for impressive appearances—which spirit, indeed, was to actuate him to his dying hour,—and he went through the farce of resigning his office. Addressing the few who were with him as well as his tears would permit, he said: "I have governed justly, and it is only envy that blames me. Resume the sovereign power which you gave me seven months ago."

(1) *Rer. Fam.*, epist. vii.

(2) JOHN VILLANI, b. xii., c. 104.—RAYNALD, *ibid.* nos. 18, et seqq.—PAPENCORDT, *loc. cit.*

Then he mounted his horse, and, followed by his body-guard, with flying banners and playing musicians, he rode to Castel San Angelo. After trying in vain to revive the faith of the Romans in his destiny (1), he fled to Naples, where his ally, the king of Hungary, had just defeated Queen Jane, and who was the more willing to protect him, since the Pontiff had honorably welcomed the vanquished princess.

But the plague forced the Hungarian to retreat to his own country, and the ex-tribune returned to Rome toward the end of 1348. He was not disturbed; but he soon sought an asylum among a community of Franciscans "of the strict observance," at Monte Majella in the Apennines. This community was a remnant of that rebellious portion of the Franciscan family which had separated from the Order to follow their whims concerning religious poverty, and which had been anathematized by Pope John XXII., both for this reason and for their profession of the errors of Oliva. Here he was visited by a certain friar Angelo, a personage whom the "Spirituals" held in great esteem for sanctity, and who, although Rienzi had communicated his name to none of the community, at once pronounced it, and told him that God had resolved to regenerate the world through the work of the emperor Charles IV. and his own; that therefore he should at once consult the emperor. Rienzi resolved, as he told Charles in a letter written in July, 1350, to obey the divine commands. But before manifesting this intention, the ex-tribune tried his independent fortune by two attempts in Rome during the first part of that year. The immense multitudes thronging to the Eternal City for the Jubilee (2) seemed to promise many favorable occasions for a resurrection of the tribunate; but Rienzi's two *coups de main*—an attack on the palace of the legate, Cardinal Ceccano, and another against that prelate's person—ended only in his re-excommunication and flight. Then he set out in disguise

(1) He exhibited on the wall of the Church of the Magdalen a picture representing an angel with the arms of Rome, treading on a lion, a dragon, and a basilisk. But the populace covered it with mud.

(2) Matthew Villani (b. l., c. 56) says that during the Paschal season there were at one time over 1,200,000 pilgrims, and at Pentecost 800,000; on no day during the year were there less than 200,000 foreigners. These pilgrims nearly all camped in the streets, and with perfect order.

for Prague, where the emperor Charles was residing. Having obtained an audience, he unfolded the prophecies of Friar Angelo, to the effect that a great persecution against the clergy was imminent; that the next Pope, chosen from among the poor, would erect at Rome a temple to the Holy Ghost, more beautiful than that of Solomon; that after fifteen years the entire world would profess one faith under one pastor; that the Pope, the emperor, and Rienzi formed an image of the Trinity on earth, and therefore the emperor should rule in the West and Rienzi in the East. Then Rienzi offered to return to Rome, to open the way for Charles. The monarch penetrated his visitor's incognito, and Rienzi, having admitted his identity, was ordered to reduce his views to writing. When this was done, the prelates and many theologians, who examined the document, declared that it at least smacked of heresy, whereupon Charles consigned Rienzi to the custody of the archbishop of Prague until the pontifical pleasure should be signified. According to the will of Clement VI., the ex-tribune was sent to Avignon in July, 1351. "This once redoubted tribune," writes Petrarch to the prior of the church of the Holy Apostles in Florence, "now the most unfortunate of men, has been brought here as a captive. He who from a distance once caused the wicked to tremble, who filled the good with hope, has entered the Roman court humiliated and despised; he to whom the greatest lords of Italy paid honor walked between two jailers."

During the consideration of his case, Cola di Rienzi was confined in a cell in the upper part of the tower of Trouillas. His food was the same as that of the Pope, and books were furnished him in abundance (1). It would appear that Charles IV. communicated none of Rienzi's plans or *fraticelli* doctrines to the Pontiff; and, says Christophe, "we must not confound the real errors of these friars (which Rienzi's letter to Friar Angelo shows him to have certainly embraced) with the one charged to him toward the end of his tribunate, and which Clement VI., in his address to the Romans, reduced to this proposition: 'The city of Rome and the Universal Church are one and the same thing.' But a matter of so

(1) *Fragments*, b. II., c. xiii.

little importance would not have been seriously regarded as a heresy." Petrarch informs us that the judges examined only two charges—that of having tried to withdraw the Roman States from the papal domination, and of having sustained that the Holy Roman Empire, as well as the election thereto of its emperor and its suzerainty, belonged to the Roman people. Only the clemency of the Pontiff saved Rienzi from a traitor's death. Petrarch says that the culprit's escape was due to the discovery that he was a great poet, and the judges could not bring themselves to condemn a poet. This singular discovery might deceive the populace; but no sensible person, not even Petrarch himself, would credit it. Rienzi never composed a single verse. We can only suppose, therefore, that his acquittal was due to the Pope's kindness. He was restored to freedom, but was forbidden to leave Avignon.

Meanwhile the Eternal City had again become the scene of factions. The government instituted by the legate, Bertrand de Deux, very soon vanished, and once more brigandage was the order of the day. On December 26, 1350, the disgusted people, guided by a few wise men, assembled in the basilica of St. Mary Major, and determined to vest authority in an absolute hand. Having selected one John Cerroni, a man of integrity, they rushed to the Capitol, expelled the senator, Luca Savelli, and forced all the nobles to recognize their choice; while he, in turn, swore fidelity to the Holy See before the papal vicar. But Cerroni held office only twenty months; he felt his own weakness, he could not bear the derision of the nobility, and hence resigned. The factions now resumed their sway. On September 14, 1351, the people again seized the Capitol, and, seduced by the eloquence of Francis Baroncelli—called *lo schiavo*, or "the slave," a senatorial scrivener,—restored the tribunate in the person of this demagogue. For a time there was order, but the new master soon played the tyrant; riots followed, and in one of them he perished. But while yet in power, Baroncelli was the unconscious cause of Rienzi's restoration to the tribunate.

Pope Clement VI. was called to his reward on the 5th of December, 1352; he was succeeded by Stephen Aubert,

bishop of Ostia and Velletri, and grand penitentiary of the Roman Church, who took the name of Innocent VI. At that moment the temporal authority of the pope-kings in the Roman States had become, thanks to the blunder of Clement V., almost a thing of the past (1). To remedy this state of affairs, the new Pontiff dispatched the celebrated cardinal Albornozy into Italy with extraordinary powers: he was to repress heresy, restore the honor of the priesthood, elevate the dignity of worship, banish political and social disorder, succor the poor, force a restitution of all territory stolen from the Holy See, and restore its sovereign and suzerain authority. How well he succeeded, after a struggle of fifteen years, is detailed by secular historians; we wish only to allude to his connection with Rienzi (2).

While Albornozy was resting at Montefiascone, and superintending the fortification of that place—which he intended to make a base of operations for an aggressive campaign against the usurpers of the Papal States,—a deputation of Romans waited upon him, begging his immediate aid in preventing some other Baroncelli from again seizing on the Capitol. At this juncture the legate was informed that Rienzi was entering the camp, bearing letters from the Pontiff. Having learned of the usurpation of Baroncelli, Innocent VI. had resolved to oppose the old tribune to the new one; he thought, said he to the vice-legate Harpajon, that Rienzi, taught by adversity, would abandon the romantic for the practical, and would sincerely direct his talents for the good of the Roman Church and the Roman people. Albornozy had now no need of Rienzi, Baroncelli having fallen; and, besides, he had little confidence either in the ex-tribune's talent or his sincerity. Hence he did not send him to Rome, but to Perugia; taking care also, while assigning him a comfortable revenue, that it should be one which would furnish small resources to ambition. However, accident aided Rienzi. For several years one of the most famous *condottieri* in Europe, Fra Moreale, a Knight Hospitaller of St. John—leading, however, a life in no way

(1) The only cities where it was fully recognized were Montefiascone, in the Patrimony, and Montefalcone, in the Duchy of Spoleto. See Baluze, *Vitæ Paparum*, vol. i., p. 323.

(2) See Note in our vol. i., p. 517.

conforming to his religious profession,—had been amassing an enormous fortune by pillaging throughout Italy (1). Just about this time he had deposited his capital in the banks of Perugia, and his two brothers, Arimbaldo and Brettone, were engaged in its investment. Rienzi formed their acquaintance, and, taking advantage of a romantic disposition on the part of Arimbaldo, he seduced his imagination with the prospect of immortal glory, to be attained by a revival of the majesty of ancient Rome. Rienzi would at once make him a Roman citizen, and appoint him grand captain of the Roman forces. Arimbaldo therefore, loaned the adventurer 3,000 florins, and prevailed on Moreale to advance 4,000. Then Rienzi donned an ermine robe, knightly spurs, etc., and, accompanied by the two brothers, waited on Albornoz again at Montefiascone, and demanded the senatorship of Rome. In the legate's camp there were a great many Romans, who now seemed to remember only the favorable side of Rienzi's former administration; again, the cardinal had experienced the inability of Guido d'Isola, the senator whom he had appointed (2). Rienzi was therefore made senator; and, followed by about five hundred soldiers, whom Malatesta of Rimini had just dismissed, he set out for Rome.

Had Rienzi been another Scipio Africanus, he could not have been received by the Romans with more idolatrous enthusiasm. Nearly all the inhabitants went out as far as Monte Mario to meet him. Olive-branches, sign of victory and peace, were in every hand. The entire route to the Capitol was decorated with triumphal arches; and, as time had not permitted that degree of ornamentation which their hearts would have furnished, the women covered these arches with their daintiest robes. The soil trodden by the procession could not be seen, so thickly was it strewn with flowers; and hundreds of choirs sang the glories of the "liberator." Arrived at the Capitol, Rienzi pronounced one

(1) His first reputation was gained in the service of King Louis of Hungary in Naples. Forced to surrender Aversa, where he was royal vicar, in 1352, he served a while under the papal standard against John of Vico, and then became a freebooter.

(2) Epistle of Albornoz to Innocent VI., in the archives of the Albornoz College at Bologna, cited by Christophe.

of his grandiloquent harangues, named Arimbaldo and Brettone leaders and standard-bearers of the Roman armies, and dispatched news of his accession to all the cities and feudatories of the papal dominions. Never had ruler a more promising prospect than that now open before Rienzi; but a few days showed that experience had taught him nothing. Armed guards constantly accompanied him; his profuse expenditures exhausted the treasury, and he levied new and exorbitant taxes; he became a glutton and a drunkard, and ere long his inflamed visage and ungainly frame excited disgust. Not only did he neglect to pay Moreale the money advanced, but he extorted further sums, and reduced Arimbaldo and Brettone to penury. When Moreale himself came to Rome to insist on his dues, he was arrested, tried, and decapitated, under pretext of his many depredations. The undoubted guilt of the ex-Hospitaller might have neutralized the indignation felt by the Romans because of Rienzi's ingratitude; but while the scaffold yet reeked with the blood of the brigand, it received another victim in the person of Pandolfuccio di Guido, a citizen universally esteemed for probity and wisdom, whose only crime was his popularity.

The once loved Rienzi now inspired only hate and fear. But his vanity led him to regard the sombre silence around him as indicative of unlimited submission, and not as the token of popular anger. Every day saw some new victim dragged off to the Capitol there to lose life or fortune; and scarcely two months from the day of his restoration, horror lost its stupefying influence on the people, and they arose in their might to administer punishment. On the morning of October 8, 1354, says Matthew Villani (1), the tribune, yet in his bed, was washing his face with Greek wine, when he heard shouts of "Live the people!" Soon great numbers of armed men invested the Capitol, and the cry went up, "Death to the traitor Rienzi!" At first the tribune scorned to notice the rioters; he would not order the great bell to be rung, to summon such of his partisans as remained faith-

(1) Fortioccoa ascribes the awakening of the people to even an earlier date—September 8, --but the best critics follow Villani in this matter.

ful (1). When he realized his danger, he found that of all his council and even of his body servants three alone remained with him. It may have been true courage, or his ever dominant love of the theatrical, or even a mixture of both, which now inspired Rienzi; but he put on his armor, and, taking the standard of the people in his hand, he went out onto the main balcony of the palace. Raising his hand to command silence, he once more essayed the magic of his eloquence; but a shower of missiles fell around him, his right arm was wounded, and the redoubled yells of the furious multitude rendered his voice powerless. Returning to his room, Rienzi excogitated and abandoned many plans to retain his position, or at least secure his safety; and the palace was already in flames, and the outer doors forced, when he threw off his armor and all the insignia of his dignity, cut off his beard, stained his countenance, put on the dress of a peasant, and, throwing a mattress on his shoulders as though he were one of the pillagers now at work in the palace, he mixed in the crowd, and was already out on the square, when his golden bracelets, forgotten in the excitement, attracted attention. Being questioned as to his identity, he admitted that he was the tribune. Rough hands dragged him to the Steps of the Lion, where he had pronounced so many sentences of death; but during an entire hour, while he was exposed to the scoffs of the mob, no violence was offered him. At length one Francis del Vecchio plunged his sword to the hilt into the abdomen of the unfortunate man; a notary named Trejo cut off his head; the crowd fell on, cut the body to pieces, and finally cast them into the flames.

Thus perished Cola di Rienzi,—a warning to all who would fain resuscitate ideas which are repugnant to those of their age, or unadapted to the spirit of the society in which they move. It were unjust to Rienzi to compare him to the Red Shirt of modern Italian demagogism; although, like that filibuster, he could excite a revolution, while unable to

(1) The insurgents were principally from the quarters of Castel Sant' Angelo, Ripa, and Colonna, where the Savelli and Colonna families had great influence. In the other *trioni*, Rienzi's friends were more numerous.

direct it. He was a learned man, but was wanting in policy. Character he had, and yet he was a braggart. However, his figure will always be prominent in history; for in his enterprise there was a grandeur which must ever distinguish it from the common run of revolutions.

CHAPTER XLI.

WYCLIFFE.

In the year 1365 a priest named John Wycliffe obtained from Archbishop Islip the wardenship of Canterbury Hall, lately founded at Oxford by that prelate; and he excluded from the establishment the monk Wodehall, who had enjoyed the position since 1363. Islip died a few months afterward, and the new primate, Simon Langham, ordered Wycliffe to make way for Wodehall, contending that the appointment of a secular priest was contrary to the original charter of the Hall. Wycliffe vainly appealed to Rome; and to this defeat his contemporaries attribute his bitterness toward the Roman court and the monastic Orders. He soon received the living of Lutterworth, but continued to lecture at Oxford. His first onslaught on the friars was to the effect that a mendicant life was contrary to the Gospel; and when the religious replied that Christ was supported by alms, he answered that our Lord received, but did not ask. Soon he declared that the entire clergy "were choked with the tallow of worldly goods, and therefore were hypocrites and Antichrists" (1). The priests being sinners, it was the duty of the laity to seize their possessions. To propagate these and other errors, which we shall soon describe, Wycliffe organized a band of fanatics whom he styled "poor priests," men with bare feet, coarsely clad, whom he sent over the land as preachers. In 1377 Pope Gregory XI. ordered Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, to summon Wycliffe before his tribunal, and when the mandate was issued, the agitator presented himself, accompanied by the royal duke of Lancaster, and Percy, the lord-marshal. That Lan-

(1) RYMER, vii., 41.

caster's object was the intimidation of the bishops, was at once manifested by his ordering them to allow Wycliffe to sit down (1). Courtenay, bishop of London, had sufficient spirit to refuse the demand, and Lancaster became insolent; whereupon the spectators rushed to the defence of their pastor, and only Courtenay's interposition saved the life of the duke. But the court evinced very little zeal and courage; it simply reprimanded Wycliffe, and ordered him to be silent thereafter on such matters as had caused trouble.

This impunity encouraged the innovator to broach new errors. He attacked the ceremonies of worship, the monastic vows, the devotion to saints, the free will of man, the authority of Councils, etc. Nineteen propositions, taken from his teachings, having been submitted to the Holy See in 1377, they were condemned. A court met on Dec. 28, under the presidency of the primate, and Wycliffe read his defence, first signifying his readiness to submit to the decisions of the Church. He then took up the propositions condemned at Rome, explaining and qualifying them with quibbles. Thus, whereas he had taught that "charters of perpetual inheritance were impossible; that even God could not give to man civil possessions forever," he declared that by "forever" he meant "after the day of judgment." Again, having contended that "if there is a God, temporal lords may lawfully and meritoriously take the possessions of a sinful Church," he explained that in such a case the secular lords would not act of their own authority; they would act by command of God (2). The innovator was again dismissed, with an injunction to abstain from ambiguous language; and quite naturally he regarded this farce as a triumph, and even presumed to forward the propositions censured by Gregory XI. to that Pontiff's successor, offering to sustain their orthodoxy. In the meantime the Great Western Schism caused the Wycliffe affair to be dropped for some

(1) Lancaster's object in espousing the cause of Wycliffe was to so embarrass the bishops as to prevent them from insisting that justice should be done to the bishop of Winchester, whom Judge Shipworth, a creature of the duke, had deprived of his temporalities. For some time, owing to the age of Edward III. and the illness of the prince of Wales, Lancaster had held the reins of power, and had given signs of that policy which, in the following reign, was to cause the "Wars of the Roses."

(2) WALSINGHAM, 206.

years, and gave the agitator opportunity to increase the number of his followers. The famous insurrection of the Commons occurred in 1381, and the "poor priests" of Wycliffe were not backward in fomenting the discontent. The peasants were naturally pleased with the doctrine that all right to property is founded in grace alone; and that no sinful man can claim the services of another. In June nearly all the men of Essex arose in revolt under the leadership of an itinerant priest who called himself Jack Straw; the men of Kent followed, under the command of Wat Tyler and a preacher named John Ball (1). The insurgents, a hundred thousand strong, listened eagerly to the instructions of the Wycliffite chaplain, which were to rid themselves of all office-holders, from the archbishop and all nobles, down to the last of the magistrates. Promising to make Ball primate and chancellor of the state, the mob set about their work of destruction. Every judge, lawyer, etc., whom they captured was decapitated; so was Archbishop Sudbury, and his head fixed on London Bridge. When finally the insurrection was crushed, men began to realize the necessity of repressing the doctrines which had been mainly responsible for its excesses.

One of the the first measures of Courtenay, the new primate, was the convocation of a synod to take action in regard to the new heresy. Twenty-four of the Wycliffite propositions were condemned, and Wycliffe himself was deprived by the king of all right to teach. An appeal of the agitator to parliament only alienated many of his partisans; even Lancaster urged him to submit to the synodical decision. He yielded and retired to his rectory of Lutterworth. Here, on Dec. 29, 1384, while assisting at Mass, he was stricken with apoplexy, and died two days afterward. Lingard says of the character and sentiments of Wycliffe: "Exemplary in his morals, he declaimed against vice with the freedom and severity of an apostle; but, whether it were policy or prejudice, he directed his bitterest invectives almost exclusively

(1) Knighton styles Ball the precursor of Wycliffe, for he had become an itinerant some years before the latter began his innovations. He had been excommunicated by archbishops Islip, Langham, and Sudbury, and when Wycliffe started on his heretical career, Ball adopted most of his ideas. WILKINS, *Councils*, iii., 64, 152. WALSHINGHAM, 275.

against the clergy. His itinerant priests formed, indeed, an honorable exception; they were true evangelical preachers; but the rest, the Pope, bishops, dignitaries, and the whole body of the 'clerks pensioners,' were no better than liars and fiends, hypocrites and traitors, heretics and Antichrists. . . . He contended that they were bound to lead a life of poverty, like their Master (1) It will not excite surprise if doctrines so prejudicial to their interests, alarmed and irritated the clergy. They appealed for protection to the king and the Pontiff; but though their reputations and fortunes were at stake, they sought not to revenge themselves on their adversary, but were content with an order for his removal from the university to reside on his own living. If the reader allot to him the praise of courage, he cannot refuse to them the praise of moderation."

The following are the twenty-four Wycliffian propositions condemned by the synod of London in 1382. The qualification of heretical was affixed to: I. The substance of the bread and wine remains after the consecration in the Sacrament of the Altar. II. After the consecration, in the same Sacrament, the accidents do not remain without a subject. III. Christ is not identically, truly, and really present in body in the same Sacrament. IV. Bishops or priests who are in mortal sin do not confer Sacraments. V. If a person be properly contrite, auricular confession is superfluous. VI. There is no Scriptural proof that Christ instituted the Mass. VII. God must obey the devil. VIII. If the Pope is a prestidigitator and a bad man, and hence a limb of Satan, he has no power over the faithful, unless perchance that given him by Cæsar. IX. After Urban VI. no one is to be recognized as Pope; like the Greek schismatics, we are to live under our own laws. X. Temporal possessions are forbidden to ecclesiastics by Scripture. The following propositions were censured as erroneous: I. No prelate should excommunicate a person unless he knows that God has so done. II. He who does this becomes a heretic. III. A prelate who excommunicates a cleric who appeals to the king or the royal council, is, by the very

(1) In his *Trialogue*, iv., 15, Wycliffe says that the man who first taught it to be lawful to endow churchmen was the worst of heretics and Antichrists.

fact, a traitor to God, the king, and the nation. IV. They who, because of excommunication by men, cease preaching or hearing the word of God, are themselves excommunicated. V. Any priest or deacon may preach without permission of Pope or bishop. VI. No person is a lord in civil matters, or a bishop or prelate, while he is in mortal sin. VII. Temporal lords may take away, as they will, the goods of delinquent ecclesiastics; and the people may correct, as they will, their delinquent superiors. VIII. Tithes are merely alms, and parishioners may withhold them from sinful pastors. IX. Special prayers applied by prelates or religious to one person are of no more avail than general prayers, other things being equal. X. By the very fact of entering into a religious Order, a person becomes more incapable of obeying the commandments of God. XI. Those who founded religious Orders, whether mendicant or not, committed sin in so doing. XII. The members of religious Orders do not belong to the Christian religion. XIII. A friar should obtain his living by the labor of his hands. XIV. He who gives alms to a friar is excommunicated, as well as the recipient.

The following errors should also be noted. Every creature is God (1). God can produce nothing besides what He does produce (2). God cannot amplify or diminish the universe, nor can He create souls beyond a certain number (3). God cannot reduce any creature to nothing (4). The term *a quo* of creation is not mere nothing, but the most perfect *esse* of the thing created, that is, its ideal *esse*; for the power of God does not extend itself to nothing (5). God gives only to the just (6). All things happen from absolute necessity, and God necessitates every creature to its every action (7). The human nature of Christ, independent of the Word, is to be adored with *latria*; even if the Word were to relinquish it, it should be so adored (8). Peter and the Roman Pontiffs, of whom some were probably the devil, are not at the head of the Church (9). The election of the Pope by the

(1) *Jews*, c. iii.—THOMAS WALDEN, v. I., b. I., c. i.

(2) *Dialogue*, b. I., c. ii.

(3) WALDEN, c. xiii.

(4) *Idem*, c. xvii—*Universals*, c. xiii.

(5) *Trial.*, c. xi.—WALDEN, c. xx.

(6) *Idem*, b. ii., Art. 3, c. lxxxii.

(7) *Trial.*, c. xiii.—Council Const.

(8) WALDEN, v. I., b. I., Art. 3, c. xxxix.

(9) Conc. Const.

cardinals is an invention of the devil (2). The power exercised by the Pope is derived from Cæsar, and has no foundation in Scripture (2). An excommunication by the Pope or any prelate is not to be feared, for it is a censure by Antichrist (3). The Pope has no right to issue decrees (4). When human laws are not founded on the Bible, subjects are not bound to obey (5). The Church is the entirety of the predestined (6). The Chapter of Antichrist consists of the Pope, the cardinals, bishops, officials, canons, monks, and mendicant friars (7). The sacramental "character" is found neither in Scripture nor in reason (8). Baptism is not necessary (9). The Holy Ghost is not given in Confirmation (10). The Body of Christ in the Eucharist is a thing inferior to a flea, because it is bread (11). Confession was invented by Antichrist or his limb, in order to penetrate into secrets, and lay hold of the goods of seculars (12). The sins of the predestined to glory are only venial; the sins of others are mortal (13). Extreme Unction is a sacrament only when the virtue of the administrator merits that it shall be such (14). In the matrimonial contract the consent of the parties, without any visible sign, is sufficient (15). The impediments enforced by the Church are to be disregarded; there is no reason why we should not follow the system which obtained in the first days of the human race (16).

John Luke, an Oxford theologian, collected 266 errors from the works of Wycliffe; Thomas Walden 800; but the Council of Constance reduced them to 45 heads. It must be observed, however, that it is not always easy to discern Wycliffe's real sentiments. "In common with other religious innovators", says Lingard, "he claimed the twofold privilege of changing his opinions at will, and of being infallible in every change; and when he found it expedient to

(1) *Truth and Falsehood*, c. x.(3) *Conc. Const.*(5) *WALSINGHAM*, p. 283.(7) *Members of the Church*, ch. xvi.(9) *Ibi*, ch. xli.(11) *Apostacy*, ch. xviii.(13) *WALDEN*, vol. II., ch. clv.(15) *Ibi*, ch. xxii.(2) *Christ and Antichrist*, ch. vii.(4) *KNYGHTON*, b. v.(6) *Antichrist*, ch. i.—*Dowry of the Church*, ch. ii.(8) *Trial*, IV., ch. xv.(10) *Ibi*, ch. xlv.(12) *Trial*, IV., ch. xxiv.(14) *Trial*, IV., ch. xv.(16) *Ibi*, ch. xx.

dissemble, could so qualify his doctrines with conditions, or explain them away by distinctions, as to give an appearance of innocence to tenets of the most mischievous tendency." It is remarkable that Wycliffe, in spite of his invectives against the Pope and prelates, affirmed that "prelates and priests ordeyned of God comen in the stade of apostles and disciples, and that the Pope is the highest vicar that Crist has on erth" (1). Another inconsistency of this innovator was his condemnation of the voluntary poverty of the friars, in spite of his reduction of even the secular clergy to absolute indigence; for himself, however, he took good care to retain his living of Lutterworth, and died in its enjoyment. With regard to his doctrine on the Eucharist, although his language sometimes sounds orthodox, it is certain that his teaching was similar to that of impanation, afterward introduced by Luther: "It is verray Goddus Body in fourme of brede. . . . It is verray Goddus Body and verray brede" (2). And he contends that "the right faith of Christen men is this, that this worshipful Sacrament is brede and Christ's body" (3). He holds that "the sacrifice of the kirk is maad in two thingis togidre; that is, the visible spicis of elements and invisible flesch and blood of our Lord Jhu Crist, Sacrament and thing of the Sacrament . . . this thing that is seen is brede; but this that the faith askyth to be enformed, the brede is the Body of Crist" (4). As to matrimony, Wycliffe held that the usual form, "I take thee to wife," contains a falsehood; the learned Oxford doctor descended to the following petty quibble. No woman becomes a wife until her consent is given; but in the marriage ceremony the man says: "I take thee to wife," before the woman gives that consent; therefore he says what is false, and hence the marriage is void (5). However, he held that interior consent was sufficient. He also taught that a woman who had passed the time of child-bearing could not lawfully be married. Wycliffe believed in purgatory and in the efficacy of the Mass, although he taught that there is no Scriptural proof that Christ instituted the latter. He says that "the seying

(1) *MS. of Prelates*, in Lewis, p. 129, cited by Lingard.

(2) KNYGHTON, 2649.

(3) *MS. in Lewis*, 78—*Trial*. IV., 27.(4) *Apology*, p. 49.(5) *Trial*. IV., 20, 22.

of Mass with cleanness of holy life and brenning devotion full much, and neet hondz, most pleaseth God almighty, and profiteth to Cristen souls in purgatory" (1). Few of Wycliffe's outbursts are more eloquent of disgust than his declamations against some singing in the churches: "When there ben forty or fifty in a queer, three or four proud and lecherous lorels shullen knack the most devout service, that no man shall hear the sentence, and all other shullen be dumb, and looken on them as fools. And then strumpets and thieves praisen sire Jack, or Hobb, and William the proud clerk, how smallen they knacken their notes, and seyn that they serven well God and holy Church, when they despisen God in His face, and letten other men of their devotion and compunction, and stirren them to worldly vanity" (2).

The errors of Wycliffe, in regard to the power of God and the free will of man, are thus summed up by Bossuet: "Everything happens through necessity; all the sins committed in the world are necessary and inevitable. God could not prevent the sin of the first man, nor could He pardon him without the satisfaction by Jesus Christ; God, of course, could have done so, had He wished, but He could not wish things otherwise. Nothing is possible to God, save that which actually occurs; God can produce nothing, either within or outside Himself, which He does not produce necessarily; His power is infinite, only because there is no power greater than His own. Just as He cannot refuse being to anything that can have it, so He cannot annihilate anything. But although God acts necessarily, He is always free. What is called 'liberty of contradiction' is an invention of the schools, and our idea that we are free is a constant illusion. God has predetermined everything; hence it is that there are predestined and reprobate souls. God necessitates those of both classes to all that they do, and He cannot save others than those who are actually saved." Basnage, naturally an admirer of Wycliffe, seems to feel that this doctrine of absolute fatality is destructive of all religion, morality, and virtue; and he avows that the desire to reconcile the presence and concurrence of God with the lib-

(1) MS. in Lewis, 131.

(2) *Ibi*, 134.

erty of man, greatly embarrassed the English speculator. But then, says Basnage, many others have been lost in the depth and obscurity of this question. If he realized its obscurity, asks Bergier, why did he attempt to decide it by the absurd supposition that what is done necessarily is done freely ; that necessity and liberty are the same thing ?

It is generally, if not universally, believed that Wycliffe was the author of the first translation of the Bible into the English language. Not only Protestant, but Catholic writers of reputation, are responsible for this opinion ; but in our day the learned Benedictine, F. A. Gasquet, has conclusively shown that the opinion is without foundation (1). However, be this as it may, we must remember that before the time of Wycliffe, and for many years after it, there was no need of an English version of the Scriptures. Latin and French were familiar to all Englishmen who could read at all ; the English language was not that of the court or of the educated classes. Then the rolls of parliament, and all legal documents which were not written in Latin, were couched in the French tongue. Even pleadings in the courts were made in French exclusively until 1362 ; and then, although they could be made in English, the records of the same pleadings were preserved in Latin. Not until 1363 was parliament ever opened with a speech in English. When such was the condition of linguistic matters, it is evident that an English version of the Bible was a superfluity (2). Nevertheless, that such versions existed before the days of Wycliffe, is admitted by that famous Protestant authority, the "martyrologist" Foxe. Dedicating to Archbishop Parker his edition of the Saxon Gospels, he writes :

"If histories be well examined, we shall find both before the Conquest and after, as well before John Wycliffe was

(1) *The Pre-Reformation English Bible* ; in the Dublin Review, July, 1894.

(2) "It has been shown beyond the possibility of doubt that in Germany there existed in the Middle Ages some seventy-two partial versions of the vernacular Scriptures and fifty complete translations, all emanating from Catholic sources. The same numerous translations existed also in France, with this difference, that, whilst most of the French manuscripts are *livres de hure*, in Germany they appear to be small volumes, which point to their use as aids to personal piety rather than as books for mere library use."—GASQUET ; *loc. cit.*,—Pope Innocent III. (1198), writing to the bishop of Metz, speaks of many French versions of the Bible as then current. But the most famous early French version, that of Guyards des Moulins, appeared in 1294.

borne as since, the whole body of the Scriptures was by sundry men translated into our country tongue." And listen to Cranmer, in his prologue to the second edition of the great Bible :

"If the matter shoulde be tried by custome, wee might also alledge custome for the reading of the scripture in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe the more ancient custome. For it is not much above one hundred yeare ago, since scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue within this realme, and many hundred yeares before that, it was translated and read in the Saxon's tongue, whiche at that tyme was our mother tongue * * and when this language waxed olde and out of common usage, bycause folke should not lacke the fruit of reading, it was again translated into the newer language, whereof yet also many copies remayne and be dayly founde" (1). Blessed Thomas More says : "The whole byble was long before his (*i. e.*, Wycliffe's) days by vertuous and well learned men, translated into the English tongue and by good and godly people with devotion, and soberness, wel and reverently red."

We refer the reader to the cited article by Gasquet for convincing proofs that Wycliffe was not the author of that famous volume which is preserved in the King's Library at the British Museum as "The English Bible, Wycliffe's Translation;" and that the Sacred Scriptures, commonly known as Wycliffite, are really Catholic versions by our pre-Reformation forefathers.

Since Wycliffe is regarded by Protestant writers as one of the precursors of the Reformation, it may be interesting to notice how far, and in what important matters, this heresiarch differed from the Reformers, whether of the Lutheran, Anglican, or Calvinist schools. All the children of the Reformation, who admit any Sacraments whatever, regard only Baptism and the Eucharist as such; Wycliffe admitted seven. Commenting on *Mark XV.*, he compares the Sacraments to so many fortifications, and having described the seven, he says that "this entire series of fortifications was founded by Christ, giving to His vicars power to everywhere

(1) *Dialogues*, edit. 1530, p. 138. Strype's *Cranmer*, App., 212.

erect them " (1). He also says that our Lord "instituted all the Sacraments; some, indeed, which are the more difficult to believe, and the more necessary for salvation, He himself promulgated, as Baptism, the Eucharist, Orders, and Penance; others again through the Apostles, as Confirmation and Extreme Unction" (2). Protestants reject auricular confession; but although, in his fourth *Triologue*, Wycliffe calls the practice an invention of Antichrist, yet when commenting on *James V.* he says: "It is necessary to receive the Sacrament of Penance for the washing away of mortal sins: confiding them not only to God, but to man. And since they are specially to be confessed to a vicar of Christ, who mediates between God and man, the after-comers ordered auricular confession" (3). The last assertion of Wycliffe is false, but the context shows that he admitted the necessity of confession. As to his inconsistency, that is a vice of all innovators. Protestants regard Extreme Unction as a useless rite, but Wycliffe, commenting on 1 Cor., c. i., says: "Extreme Unction is a medicine to cure sin, and that it has a place in the New Law, appears from *James V.*; for Extreme Unction is an efficacious, final, and universal sign of the remission of sins." Protestants have no Mass, but Wycliffe calls it "excellent, and excellently declared," and tells us that all its ceremonies are praiseworthy, as they "excite a greater love for Christ" (4). Nearly all Protestant sects reject the rites and fasts of the Church, but Wycliffe writes: "They say that we do not read that the Apostles shaved their beards and heads, as we do. Nor did they recite the Office, as we do; nor did they fast, and use vestments and rites, while celebrating, as we do. Therefore all these are illicit. What fool does not see that this does not follow?.... If it was a principle with Paul that everything should be orderly done, then these rites, as they were ordered, are taught in that principle" (5). But they who look up to the pastor of Lutterworth as their father in the Lord should hearken to his sentiments on prayer to the Mother of God: "It seems to me impossible that we can be rewarded without the assist-

(1) *Postilla on the New Testament.*(4) *Apostacy*, c. 18.(2) *Ibi.*(3) *Ibi.*(5) *Scholastic Gradations*, c. 3.

ance of Mary. Nevertheless there are degrees in her help; some, even of those whom God foresees will be damned, she helps to avoid sin, and consequently to receive a mitigation of their eternal punishment; some she helps to the accumulation of the goods of fortune, of nature, of grace, and consequently to an avoidance of temporal danger or loss; some she helps to merit salvation. And so no one is without her superabundant assistance, whether he serves her much or little; yea, those who have merited nothing feel her help, since because of her humility and prayers for the human race they will be more lightly punished. She was, in a manner, the cause of the Incarnation and Passion of Christ, and hence of the salvation of the world. We must believe that no one merits blessedness unless by the grace of God, and by his consequent finding of God. Mary always interposes before the merits of our sins, because she obtains for sinners that they repent. Hence there is no sex, age, state, or condition in the human race that needs not to implore the aid of the Virgin" (1).

Mosheim admits that the doctrine of Wycliffe was not free from error; but he deems the changes advocated by the innovator wise, salutary, and useful in many respects (2). Was it wise and salutary to attempt to despoil the clergy of their legitimate revenues? Neither before Mosheim's time nor since has any state spoliation of the Church benefited the people one iota. It has been tried in nearly every land, but the people have not found their taxes any lighter therefor; nay, as a rule, their burdens have become greater, for the works of mercy once performed by churchmen have fallen perforce to the duty of an unwilling and merciless state, which generally squanders more money than it gives to the needy. As an illustration of what Mosheim calls useful and salutary, we need not go out of England, where, before the state had played the game recommended by Wycliffe, the work-house was unknown.

Basnage and other Protestant polemics deplore the severe punishments inflicted upon the Wycliffites, or Lollards, as they came to be called, and hold them up to the contempla-

(1) *Sermon on the Assumption.*

(2) *History*, Cent. 14, pt. 2, c. 2, § 19.

tion of the credulous as a proof of the savage intolerance of the Church of Rome. But it is certain that no Wycliffite was severely punished; that very few were punished at all before the sanguinary outbreak of Straw, Ball, etc., in 1381. The history of this insurrection—one of the most repulsive records of rapine, sacrilege, and murder ever penned—shows that its instigators deserved death for their crimes. In fact, they were not punished for heresy, but as subverters of the state. Ball had preached his inflammatory doctrines throughout England during twenty years, with no other punishment than a few months' confinement; and the prime author of all the trouble—Wycliffe—was allowed to retain his curacy, and was not deprived of those revenues which he would have taken from his opponents. Well may Lingard, by no means an enthusiast, say that the English clergy of that period deserve the praise of moderation. And in after years, although the Wycliffites persevered in their incendiary course, the clergy were content with obtaining from Richard II. their expulsion from the faculty of Oxford. Not until the year 1401, in the reign of Henry IV., after thirty-six years of a toleration at which an Elizabeth would have laughed (1), did there occur a capital execution for heresy, and that was the first instance in English history (2), though the death penalty had been, for many centuries, adjudged to persistent heretics by the common law in every country of Europe. Until the year 1413., in the reign of Henry V., we meet with no further persecution of the Lollards; but then occurred the famous insurrection of Sir John Oldcastle. This reformer had been pre-eminent in vice among all the dissolute companions of Henry's youth; and out of the ashes of his memory Shakespeare is said to have formed his character of *Falstaff* (3).

(1) Sir Edward Coke, the bright particular star of the English bar during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., and, for that day, a determined foe of arbitrary power, taught that heresy should meet with condign punishment, because it was a crime, not against human, but against divine Majesty—an infectious leprosy of the soul. *Institutes*, III., 5.

(2) The victim was a priest named William Sawtre, chaplain of St. Osith's in London.

(3) Originally the character was presented by the old dramatists under the name of Oldcastle, "the ruffian knight, as all England knows" (PARSONS, *Three Conversions*). In the old play of *The Famous Victories*, Oldcastle occurs as a low ruffian. On this matter Knight remarks: "Whether or not Shakespeare's *Falstaff* was originally called Oldcastle, he was, after the character was fairly established as *Falstaff*, anxious to vindicate himself

Under the auspices of this apostle the children of Wycliffe undertook to "reform the priesthood and the knighthood;" and as the Commons stated in their address to Henry, "to destroy the Christian faith, the king, the spiritual and temporal estates, and all manner of policy and law." They designed, as Henry afterward stated in his proclamation, and as is proved by the judicial records and parliamentary documents, "to destroy him, his brothers, and several of the spiritual and temporal lords; to confiscate the possessions of the Church; to secularize the religious Orders; to divide the realm into confederate districts, and to appoint Sir John Oldcastle president of the commonwealth." On the failure of the rebellion, Oldcastle escaped, but thirty-five of his followers were executed. He was taken four years afterward, and also put to death.

from the charge that he had attempted to represent the Oldcastle of history. In the epilogue to the Second Part of *Henry IV.* we find this passage: "For anything I know, *Falstaff* shall die of a sweat, unless already he be killed with your hard opinions; for Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man." This would show a consciousness of some necessity to apologize and atone for the past." However we may view the question of the identity of Oldcastle and *Falstaff*, the readiness of the playgoers to identify them shows a popular tradition that the Lancashire baronet was not a very apologetic man, whatever Mr. Foxe may say in his *Book of Martyrs*.

APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Of the Roman Pontiffs, Rulers of Principal Nations, Principal Councils, Ecclesiastical Writers, and Heretics.

NINTH CENTURY.

<i>Popes.</i> <i>Date of Election.</i>	<i>Western Emperors.</i> <i>Date of Death.</i>	<i>Eastern Emperors.</i> <i>Date of Death.</i>	<i>Ecc. Writers.</i>
Stephen V, 816	Charlemagne, 814	Irene, 802	St. Paulinus,
St. Paschal I, 817	Lonis the Com- pliant, 840	Nicephorus, 811	Aleuin,
Eugene II, 824	Lothaire, 855	Michael Curopala- tes, 813	Theodulphus of Or- leans,
Valentine, 827	Louis II, 875	Leo the Armenian, 820	S. Theodore Studita,
Gregory IV, 844	Charles the Bald, 877	Michael the Stut- terer, 829	Agobard,
Sergius II, 847	Charles the Fat, 887	Theophilus, 894	Jonas of Orleans,
St. Leo IV, 855	Guldo of Spoleto, 899	Michael III, 867	Amalarius,
Benedict III, 858	Lambert, 899	Basil the Macedon- ian, 886	Hilduin,
St. Nicholas I, 867	Arnald, 899		Walafrid Strabo,
Adrian II, 867			Rabanus,
John VIII, 872	<i>Kings of France.</i>		Florus of Lyons,
Marinus, 882	<i>Date of Death.</i>		Paschasius,
Adrian III, 884	Charlemagne, 814		Lupus of Ferrières,
Stephen VI, 885	Louis the Com- pliant, 840		Usuard,
Formosus, 891	Charles the Bald, 877		Theodore of Abucara,
Stephen VII, 896	Louis the Stutter- er, 879		St. Addo of Vienne,
Romanus, 897	Louis III, 882		Anastasius the Libra- rian,
Theodore, 898	Carloman, 884		Hincmar,
John IX, 898	Charles the Fat, dep. 887 Eudes, 898		Photius.

Councils.—About 200; Eighth General (4th of Constantinople).

Heretics.—Claude of Turin, Goteschalck, Photius, Scotus Erigena.

TENTH CENTURY.

<i>Popes.</i> <i>Date of Election.</i>	<i>Western Emperors.</i> <i>Date of Death.</i>	<i>Eastern Emperors.</i> <i>Date of Death.</i>	<i>Kings of France.</i> <i>Date of Death.</i>
Benedict IV, 900	Vacancy during 60 years; then Pope John XII. transferred the empire from the Franks to the Ger- mans, in the person of Otho I. who died in 973	Leo the Philoso- pher, 911	Charles the Sim- ple, 929
Leo V, 903	Otho II, 983	Constantine Por- phyrogenitus, 659	Jaoul, 930
Christopher, 904	Otho III, 1002	Romanus, 963	Louisd'Outre-mer, 954
Sergius III, 911		Nicephorus Pho- cas, 969	Lothaire, 986
Anastasius III, 913		John Zimisces, 976	Louis V, 987
Landon, 914			Hugh Capet, 996
John X, 925			
Leo VI, 929			
Stephen VIII, 931			
John XI, 936		<i>Ecc. Writers.</i>	<i>Kings of England.</i> <i>Date of Death.</i>
Leo VII, 936		St. Odo of Cluny,	Alfred, 901
Stephen IX, 943		Simeon Metaphrastes,	Edward I, 925
Marinus II, 946			Athelstan, 941
Agapetus II, 946			

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

<i>Popes.</i> <i>Date of Election.</i>	<i>Western Emperors.</i> <i>Date of Death.</i>	<i>Eastern Emperors.</i> <i>Date of Death.</i>	<i>Ecc. Writers.</i>
Honorius III., 1216	Otho IV., 1218	Alexis Angelus, 1203	St. Anthony of Padua,
Gregory IX., 1227	Frederick II., 1250	Baldwin I., 1205	James of Vitry,
Celestine IV., 1241	William of Hol-	Henry I., 1216	Alexander of Hales,
Innocent IV., 1243	land, 1256	Peter de Cour-	Vincent of Beauvais,
Alexander IV., 1254	Rudolph of Haps-	tenay, 1218	Robert de Sorbonne,
Urban IV., 1261	burg, 1291	Robert de Cour-	William de Saint-
Clement IV., 1265	Adolphus of Nas-	'tenay, 1228	Amonr,
Gregory X., 1271	sau, dep. in 1298	John de Brienne, 1237	St. Thomas Aquinas,
Innocent V., 1276		Baldwin II, dep.	St. Bonaventura,
Adrian V., 1276	<i>Kings of France.</i>	in 1261	St. Raymond of Pen-
John XXI., 1276	<i>Date of Death.</i>	Michael Paleolo-	nafort,
Nicholas III., 1277		gus, 1282	Albert the Great,
Martin IV., 1281	Phillip Augustus, 1223	<i>Kings of England.</i>	John Veceus,
Honorius IV., 1285	Louis VIII., 1226	<i>Date of Death.</i>	James de Voragine,
Nicholas IV., 1288	St. Louis IX., 1270		Roger Bacon.
St. Celestine V., 1294	Phillip III., 1287	John, 1216	
Boniface VIII., 1294		Henry III., 1272	

Councils.—About 300; 12th, 13th, and 14th General (4th of the Lateran, 1st, and 2d of Lyons).

Heretics.—Abbot Joachim, Almaricns, Flagellants, Orlva, Fratlicell.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

<i>Popes.</i> <i>Date of Election.</i>	<i>Western Emperors.</i> <i>Date of Death.</i>	<i>Eastern Emperors.</i> <i>Date of Death.</i>	<i>Ecc. Writers.</i>
Benedict XI., 1303	Albert I., 1303	Andronicus II., 1332	Raymond Lullo,
Clement V., 1305	Henry VII., 1313	Andronicus III., 1341	John Duns Scotus,
John XXII., 1316	Louis of Bavaria, 1347	John Paleologus, 1391	Durand de Saint-
Benedict XII., 1334	Charles IV., 1378		Pourcain,
Clement VI., 1342		<i>Kings of England.</i>	Augustine Triumphus
Innocent VI., 1352	<i>Kings of France.</i>	<i>Date of Death.</i>	William Ockam,
Urban V., 1362	<i>Date of Death.</i>	Edward II., 1327	Egidio Colonna,
Gregory XI., 1370	Phillip IV., 1314	Edward III., 1377	Alvarez Pelayo,
Urban VI., 1378	Louis X., 1316	Richard II., 1399	St. Catharine of Si-
Boniface IX., 1389	John I., 1316		enna,
	Philip V., 1322		Nicholas Emeric,
	Charles IV., 1328		John of Paris,
	Philip VI., 1350		Guy of Perpignan,
	John II., 1364		Ptolemy of Lucca,
	Charles V., 1380		Adam Goddard,
			Henry Knygton,
			Gregory of Rimini,
			William of Coventry.

Councils.—About 200; Fifteenth General (of Vienne).

Heretics.—Dulcinus, Bégnius, Beggards, Lollards, Marsilio of Padua, Palamites or Quietists of Mt. Athos, Turlupins, Wyckliffe.

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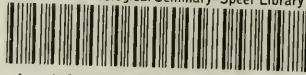
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STUDIES
IN
CHURCH HISTORY

BY
REV. REUBEN PARSONS, D. D.

VOL. III
CENTURIES XV-XVI

THIRD EDITION

“That a theologian should be well versed in history, is shown by the fate of those who, through ignorance of history, have fallen into error. Whenever we theologians preach, argue, or explain Holy Writ, we enter the domain of history.”—

MELCHIOR CANUS, *Loc. Theol.*, B. XI., c. ii.

JOHN JOSEPH McVEY
PHILADELPHIA

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STUDIES IN CHURCH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

JOHN HUSS.

This heresiarch was a native of Bohemia, and probably he derived his name from the village in which he first saw the light. At the time when the election of Alexander V. (1409) gave new virulence to the Western Schism, Huss was rector of the University of Prague, and had become distinguished for eloquence, subtlety, and love of novelty (1). The famous Jerome of Prague was a disciple of Huss; and when he returned from a finishing term at Oxford, he brought some of the writings of Wycliffe, insisting that the English innovator's doctrines were the very kernel (all others were the mere shell) of knowledge. More works of Wycliffe were soon introduced into Bohemia by an English refugee named Peter Payne. Devoured with avidity, these books furnished democratic ideas to political malcontents, but Huss became enamored of the new theology; and when, in 1409, Alexander V. issued a Brief prohibiting preaching in the minor churches of Bohemia, "because of the great number of persons infected with the Wycliffite doctrines," the innovator disobeyed, and publicly defended those teachings. The Pope now commanded Cardinal Otho Colonna to investigate the case of Huss, and as the citation was ignored by the preacher, he was excommunicated (Feb., 1411); and the cardinal threatened to interdict any place which would tolerate his presence. Influenced by King Wenceslaus, who dreaded the effects of an interdict, Huss soon made a profession of the orthodox faith; but in 1412, when John XXIII. published a crusade against King Ladislas of Naples, and offered indulgences to its participants, Wenceslaus encouraged Huss and Jerome to declaim against the Pontifical action, and their

(1) BALBINUS; *Bohemian History*, b. IV., c. v.—ÆNEAS SYLVIVS; *Bohemian History*, c. xxxv.

followers grossly outraged the publishers of the Indulgences (1). In the autumn of 1412, Huss was again excommunicated, and Wenceslaus allowed the publication of the decree. The heresiarch appealed to Christ; and retiring to Krakowee, composed his treatise on *The Church*. In the meantime his errors were being propagated throughout Poland by Jerome. The German throne was then occupied by Sigismund (2), a brother and heir of Wenceslaus, who, sincerely desirous of peace among his future subjects of Bohemia, agreed with the latter to have Huss tried at the coming Council of Constance. Huss made no objections to this project; and returning to Prague, he affixed placards on the city walls informing the citizens that he was ready to answer before the Council for all his teachings, and that if convicted of error, he was also ready to suffer merited punishment.

On Oct. 18, Sigismund signed a safe-conduct for Huss, guaranteeing him protection on his way to the Council (3). Abundantly supplied with money by his friends, accompanied by many of these, and protected by three Bohemian knights and their retinues, the heresiarch traversed Germany; and on Nov. 4, the Pontiff was informed that Huss demanded his protection. The Pope replied: "Even though Huss had murdered my own brother, I would not allow any injustice to be done to him in Constance." The Pontiff even modified the effects of the excommunication under which the innovator labored, so far as to permit communication with him. Huss, however, manifested anything but a proper spirit; in spite of his censures, he frequently celebrated Mass, and preached to his attendants. On Nov. 28 he was cited to appear before a congregation of cardinals, and after some hesitation he obeyed; protesting to their Eminences that he would abjure any error of which he would be convicted. He was then reconducted to his lodging; but from this date he no longer enjoyed his liberty; thanks

(1) Woksa, a knight, caused two prostitutes to carry the Bull to a stake, and it was publicly burnt.

(2) Sigismund became king of Hungary in 1386, of Germany in 1410, of Bohemia in 1420, and received the crown of the Holy Roman Empire in 1433 from Pope Eugenius IV.

(3) Palacky, in his *History of Bohemia*, vol. III., pt. 1, proves that this passport was not received by Huss until Nov. 5, after his arrival at Constance.

to an attempt at flight (1). A series of accusations against Huss was soon drawn up by the great Gerson and by Paletz, and the Pontiff appointed two commissions to examine them. These commissioners frequently visited Huss in the Dominican convent where he was confined; but their examinations were often interrupted by the negotiations then being held for the purpose of procuring the resignation of the three claimants of the Papacy, and their powers were finally annulled by the flight of John XXIII. from Constance on March 20, 1415. The Council, however, in its fifth session, held on April 1, designated a new commission, composed of the cardinals d'Ailly and of St. Mark, the bishop of Dole, and the abbot of Citeaux. These vainly tried to obtain from Huss a pure and simple submission to the decrees of the Council; and on June 5 he was called before a general congregation of that assembly. His writings were exhibited; and he avowed their authorship, declaring that he would retract whatever would be demonstrated to be wrong. By this attempt to draw the Council into a discussion with a subject whose duty it was to hear and to obey, Huss attacked the judiciary authority of the assembly. Naturally enough, therefore, he was ordered to answer simply whether he had taught such and such a doctrine. He replied so contemptuously that great excitement ensued, and the sitting terminated. A second interrogatory was held on June 7, in the presence of the emperor-elect, Sigismund. Cardinal d'Ailly and Michael de Causis insisted that Huss had erred in the Eucharistic doctrine; but the heresiarch firmly, and it would seem with reason, repelled the charge. When accused of propagating certain errors of Wycliffe, Huss protested that he regarded some of the condemned propositions as orthodox. As to the Englishman's doctrine that a priest in mortal sin could neither baptize nor consecrate, Huss qualified the assertion so as to signify that such a priest could not worthily officiate. When charged with declaring himself a saint, with advising recourse to arms against the "enemies of truth," with causing scandal, sedi-

(1) So say many olden writers, though Palacky discredits the assertion. As to his imprisonment, he was allowed to receive visitors and to write letters, and he himself did not regard his seclusion as very severe,—PALACKY, *loc. cit.*

tion, etc., he admitted some of the accusations and denied others. D'Ailly and Sigismund then urged him to submit, to the Council. The words of the sovereign throw much light upon the subject of the safe-conduct, upon the alleged violation of which Protestant polemics are prone to dwell. Sigismund said that "Huss had come to Constance under the imperial safe-conduct, which secured to him a public interrogatory; that he had been heard peaceably and publicly, and that *therefore the imperial promise had been kept*; that if Huss would submit to the Council, he would receive kind treatment, but that if he obstinately persisted in heresy, the sovereign himself would be the first to lead him to the stake." Huss uttered no protest against this interpretation of the safe-conduct. On June 8 were read twenty-six articles from the treatise of Huss on *The Church*; also seven from his pamphlet against Paletz, and six from his diatribe against Stanislaus of Znaim. The heresiarch avowed some, denied some, and modified others. Then, in the name of the Council, d'Ailly demanded from Huss, firstly, an admission of his errors in the aforesaid articles; secondly, a promise to teach them no more; thirdly, a public retraction of them. Huss refused to comply.

On June 9, Cardinal Viviers, president of the Council, laid before Huss a very moderate form of retraction; and several synodals encouraged him by the example of the learned Origen, of Peter Lombard, and even of St. Augustine, to submit his judgment to that of the Church. His obstinate refusal was met by a grant of a delay until July 6, that he might fully reflect on his position. The interval was spent by Huss in writing epistles to the Bohemians, and in repelling the earnest endeavors of d'Ailly, and other eminent persons, to convert him. On July 6 the Council of Constance celebrated its fifteenth session. Huss was placed on a raised seat; and by his side were laid the sacerdotal vestments with which he was to be clothed, preparatory to a final deprivation of them, if it became necessary to proceed to his solemn degradation from the priestly office. Then a detailed account of the previous proceedings was read. When Huss tried again to draw the Council into a discussion of his views,

he was ordered to merely declare whether he now abandoned them or not. Nevertheless the fathers entered on the record his protest that he did not deny Transubstantiation; that he had not proclaimed himself a divine person, and that he had not denied the validity of a baptism performed by a wicked priest. After these articles had been laid aside, there remained thirty, of which the Council decreed that "many of them were erroneous, some scandalous, some offensive to pious ears, some rash and seditious; others notoriously heretical, and already condemned by the holy fathers and General Councils."—As to the person of Huss, the Council declared him "a heretic, and wished him to be regarded as such; thus judging him and his appeal by the present decree—his appeal being scandalous and contrary to discipline, and he himself being a seducer of the Bohemians and a preacher of a false Gospel. Because of his obstinacy, the Council declares him fallen from the priestly dignity, condemns him to be degraded, and orders the archbishop of Milan, and five other archbishops to execute the sentence in presence of the Council" (1). Then Huss prayed God to forgive his enemies, and the ceremony of degradation was begun. When he had been fully vested with the sacerdotal habiliments, he was again entreated to have mercy on himself, and to bow to the decisions of Christ's Church. He remained immovable. Then, one by one, the sacred vestments were stripped from him, and he heard the words: "By the authority of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by our own, we take the clerical habit from thee, and we depose, degrade, and deprive thee of every order, benefice, and clerical privilege." He was declared excluded from the Church, and on his head was placed a paper cap inscribed "heresiarch." Then were pronounced the words which decided the worldly fate of John Huss: "Since Holy Church has nothing more to perform in the case of John Huss, this Holy Synod of

(1) At this juncture, Huss cried: "Why do you condemn my writings, when you cannot even read those which are written in Bohemian?" Nevertheless, remarks Hefele, in one of his letters Huss says that he is "much pleased because his enemies read his books, and he doubts not that they notice them more than they do Holy Writ" (*Works of Huss*, vol. I., epist. 14). And among the fathers of Constance were Paletz, Michael de Causis, and other Bohemian bishops, besides many Germans who had studied at Prague, and must have understood Bohemian. Finally, the greater part of the innovator's works were in Latin.

Constance decrees that he be delivered to the secular judgment and to the secular power." Sigismund now placed the heresiarch in the custody of the elector-palatine, who, in his turn, consigned him to the magistrates of Constance, to be dealt with according to the laws of the empire. Huss was asked to receive the ministrations of a confessor; but although he had never denied the necessity of sacramental confession, he refused the offer, and began to chant the *Miserere* and other prayers of the Church. When he had been fastened to the stake, the duke of Bavaria and the lord of Papenheim rode up to the pile, and besought him, for the last time, to recant. Their efforts were vain; the signal was given, the flames burst forth, and crying, "Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, have mercy on me!", Huss went to judgment.

The doctrine of Huss—at least, as it was in the beginning of his vagaries—may be styled a revival of that of Wycliffe, although the Bohemian was the more systematic of the two. Huss seems to have conceived a plan of "reformation," which would have worked a revolution in the constitution of the Church. According to him, the Church of the predestined (that of Abel, Noah, Moses), was very distinct from that of the reprobate (that of Cain, Ham, Ishmael, etc.). The true Catholic Church, theologized the Bohemian, is formed by all the predestined of all times, and being the Mystic Body of Christ, she can contain only the pure. Reprobates, therefore, are in, but not of the Church; they no more form a part of the Mystic Body than excrements do of the human body. Hence all priests, even the Pope, who do not lead virtuous lives, forfeit their pastoral authority. Christ is the sole head of the Church; the Pope enjoys no headship, for we know not that he is in the grace of God. It was Constantine who instituted the primacy of the Roman Pontiff; hence the Holy Roman Emperor is the Pope's superior. We should obey God rather than men, and therefore we should always examine whether the edicts of our superiors conform to the law of God; consequently no excommunication is to be feared, if it is found to be unjust. The Pope has no more power to bind and loose than any priest possesses, and

his censures are acts of tyranny. Although Huss declaims against Indulgences, he does not formally attack the Catholic doctrine. His disciples attacked the sacred mystery of the Eucharist, auricular confession, purgatory, and the veneration of saints; but we shall show that Huss left these dogmas intact. The favorite target of Huss is the Papacy; for, weakened though this tremendous power was by the Western Schism, the Bohemian innovator saw that no changes, such as he contemplated, could be effected so long as a Roman Pontiff directed the affairs of the Church (1).

Those Protestants who would fain add somewhat to the antiquity of their position by claiming religious kinship with Huss, should inform themselves, firstly, concerning that heresiarch's opinions as to the Eucharist. It is true that in

(1) The following are the thirty propositions inculcated by Huss, and anathematized by the Council of Constance: I. The Church is the society of the predestined. II. Paul was never a member of the devil, although he performed actions similar to those of the wicked. III. The foreseen (*præsciti*) are not a part of the Church, since no member of the Church can be finally lost. IV. The two natures of our Lord form one Christ (this proposition is orthodox in itself, but in the context of Huss it presents a false sense.—See *The Church*, c. 4.) V. The foreseen (*præsciti*) are never members of the Church; the predestined always are. VI. Inasmuch as the Church is the society of the predestined, it is an article of faith. VII. Peter was never the head of the Church. VIII. A priest who is in a state of sin has a false idea of the Sacraments. IX. The Pope and his prerogatives were instituted by the emperor. X. Without a special revelation, no one can say of himself or of another that he is the head of a particular church; with much more reason this is true of the Roman Church. XI. The Pope cannot be head of a particular church unless he is one of the predestined. XII. No one can be vicar of Christ or of Peter unless he imitates their virtues. XIII. The Pope is not the successor of Peter when his habits are contrary to those of Peter; the case of cardinals is the same. XIV. Those doctors who teach that a condemned and persistent heretic ought to be delivered to the secular power are like the Pharisees and the high-priests of the Jews. XV. Ecclesiastical obedience is an invention of the priests, and is contrary to the formal teaching of Scripture. XVI. When a man is virtuous, he always acts virtuously; when he is vicious, he always acts viciously. XVII. and XVIII. A priest should always preach, even when excommunicated; if the Pope or any other prohibits him, he should not obey. XIX. The clergy oppress the laity with ecclesiastical censures, which are of no other use than to encourage priestly avarice, and to cover priestly perversity. XX. When the Pope is wicked, he is a devil, like Judas, and is not the head of the Church, of which he is not even a member. XXI. The grace of predestination is the tie which unites and preserves the Church. XXII. When the Pope or any prelate is wicked, he cannot rightly be styled a shepherd; he is rather a robber and a ravisher. XXIII. The Pope ought not to be styled "His Holiness," not even because of his dignity. XXIV. If the Pope acts in a manner contrary to the spirit of Christ, he enters the fold by another way than that of Christ, even though he be regularly elected. XXV. The condemnation of Wycliffe's forty-five propositions was unjust. XXVI. A unanimous choice of the electors, or the consent of a majority of them, does not legitimately elect one as a true successor of the Apostles. XXVII. It is untrue that the Church must have a visible spiritual head. XXVIII. If there were no such pretended head, Christ would direct His Church by means of His true disciples scattered throughout the world. XXIX. The Apostles and faithful priests directed the Church before the institution of the Papacy, and could do so until the end of the world. XXX. Whoever is in a state of sin cannot be a temporal superior, a prelate, etc., while he continues in that state.

the Council of Constance, many witnesses swore that "he taught that after the consecration, the material bread or the substance of bread remained on the altar," but Huss called these witnesses liars, and to the charge by Broda he replied: "I said and I say that there remains in the Host that Bread who said: 'I am the Bread of Life,' . . . and of which every priest says in the Mass, 'I will take the Heavenly Bread, and I will call upon the name of the Lord.' . . . It is true that bread remains in the Host, but no mortal bread." Shortly before his death, certain of his alleged doctrines were quoted to him; and with his own hand he wrote replies to the charges, which replies were transcribed from the original autograph by John Przibram, once a famous Hussite, but afterward converted, and author of a work on the *Non-Subsistence of the Bread*. John Cochläus, a great adversary of Luther, had read this book; and he gathered from it that when Huss was charged with teaching that the bread remained after consecration, he answered: "It is not true" (1). In his treatise on *The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord*, written in his prison at Constance, Huss says: "By the power and institution of Christ, true God and true man, there is in the venerable Sacrament, by means of His priest, His true Body—that Body which was conceived and born of the most chaste Virgin Mary by the power of the Holy Ghost; that Body which lay in the tomb for three days; that Body which ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; that, and no other, is in the same venerable Sacrament without a new substantial inception of itself. For Christ said: 'This is My Body, etc.' . . . I have delivered this doctrine in my sermons, and I have never taught that the material substance of bread remains in the Sacrament of the altar, as the enemies of truth have falsely declared." In another treatise on *The Body of Christ*, Huss says: "Great was the heresy of Berengarius, who held that, before the consecration, the bread on the altar is unconsecrated bread, and after the consecration, merely consecrated bread, and not the true Body of Christ."

Huss did not deny the necessity of sacramental confes-

(1) COCHLÆUS; *History of the Hussites*, b. II.; Milan, 1549.

sion; nay, he expressly asserted it. In his treatise on Penance we read: "As the doctors say, there are three parts in perfect penance; namely, contrition, confession, and satisfaction. . . . Confession is the avowal of our sins before God and a priest, and it should be clear and entire—clear, that the priest may understand; and entire, lest the penitent may knowingly conceal some sin." Commenting on *James v.*, he concludes from the text: "Confess therefore your sins one to another," that "it is evident that confession is of precept. The Lord implicitly prescribed it in *Matt. iv.*, 'Do penance,' and the Apostles afterward explicitly commanded it."

Not one of the numerous sects which have resulted from the Lutheran rebellion admits the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. Huss admitted it as one of the seven Sacraments, divinely instituted to confer grace. Explaining the words of St. James: "Is any man sick among you?" he writes: "This Sacrament was instituted for the relief of the sick, and for the forgiveness of sin; hence there is in it both an anointing and prayer. Prayer, however, does not always succeed, because what is sought is not always for the sick person's good. . . . Extreme Unction may be repeated, but not so Baptism, Confirmation, and Orders, which impress a character in the recipient."

Huss admitted the doctrine of purgatory, and held that prayer, sacrifice, and alms aided the souls therein detained. In a sermon on *Obsequies*, he says: "There are three good reasons for funeral ceremonies. First, that we may think of the most painful and disgraceful death of Christ, and of our sins, the cause of that death. Second, that by noting the miseries of the dead, we may improve our own condition. Third, that by devoutly praying for the dead, we may assist the sleeping Church, that is, the saints who are in purgatory. . . . A second class of souls, although abounding in love of Christ, have their love shared with temporal things, and hence have venial sins to be expiated. . . . St. Augustine says that when sacrifices, either of the altar or of alms of any sort, are offered for the baptized, such are actions of thanksgiving for the very good; when offered for the not very bad, they

are propitiations ; if for the very wicked, they are of no use to them, but are consolations for the living."

Huss also taught the doctrine of veneration of the saints. In the explanation of his faith, he said : " I know that Christ taught that all members are of help to each other, when He cured the centurion's servant. . . . If, therefore, a man who is yet mortal can obtain the favor of Christ God for another, yea, for the whole militant Church, what fool will dare to say that the same cannot be effected by one who dwells with Christ in glory ? . . . The Virgin Mary is our advocate, our mediatrix, and, in a certain sense, the cause of the Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, and consequently the cause of the salvation of all who are saved."

And nevertheless, the man who so strenuously taught Transubstantiation, the necessity of Confession, the seven Sacraments, the existence of purgatory and the duty of praying for the dead, the veneration of the saints, is styled by Luther a man " adorned by the great and excellent gifts of the Holy Ghost, who taught Christian doctrine with pen and tongue, and suffered death for so doing. . . . If he is to be called a heretic, scarcely any man upon whom the sun has shone can be regarded as a Christian "(1). This same Huss was regarded by the " Bohemian Brethren," who rejected all the above doctrines, as a martyr to truth, as their own leader, and as the apostle of Bohemia. Nor is this strange ; for it accords with the genius of heresy to be inconsistent, and to destroy, with one hand, what it has constructed with the other.

After the condemnation and execution of Huss and of Jerome of Prague, the Council of Constance drew up a decree, the design of which was to compel the king of Bohemia to protect the freedom of the Church, to obtain the restitution of all property stolen by the Hussites from the orthodox, to exclude all heretics from the Faculty of the University of Prague, and to restrict the power of preaching to duly authorized persons. But Wenceslaus was not one upon whom the Church could rely in such emergencies. The vices which had entailed his loss of the imperial dignity caused him to

(1) At the end of the *Letters of John Huss*, edited in 1537.

neglect the most sacred duties of royalty. Violent and cruel, lecherous and a drunkard, he was utterly wanting in will (1). Again, the chief ecclesiastical authority in Bohemia was unfaithful to its mission. Archbishop Zbinko, who had resisted Huss from the beginning, had died while on a mission to urge Sigismund to come to the aid of the orthodox of Bohemia; and the metropolitan see of Prague was occupied by Conrad of Westphalia, a monster of avarice and an incarnation of inconstancy, who finally deserted openly to the Hussites (2). Hussitism had begun as a reform, and in the course of time had acquired a violent and sombre character; the extermination, not the conversion of sinners, was its object. The Church was to be rebuilt of new materials, rather than restored. Huss had contented himself with attacking the constitution of the Church: his disciples very soon made havoc with the Creed, and Bohemia presented as frightful a picture as religious discord has ever produced on the face of the earth. Churches and monasteries were pillaged; the orthodox priests were expelled when not murdered outright; and laymen pretended to administer the Sacraments. Cochläus informs us that a shoemaker of Prague parodied the celebration of Mass; and that in Guttenburg, a soldier snatched the chalice from the altar, and carried the Precious Blood to a tavern (3). The Hussites were addicted to pilgrimages to certain mountains, which they named Horeb and Thabor; and from these places were derived their designations of Horebites and Thaborites. The Calixtines were those who differed from the Catholics only in the custom of communicating under both species; although, being animated by much of the spirit of the others, they often made common cause with them (4). On the death of the ferocious John of Trocznow, better known as Ziska (5), the Thaborites were divided

(1) BALBINUS; *Epitome*, b. IV., ch. i.—*Kings of Bohemia*; sect. II., ch. iii.—COCHLÆUS; b. IV.—DUBRAVIUS; *History of Bohemia*, b. XXIII.—ÆNEAS SYLVIUS; *History of Bohemia*, ch. xxviii.

(2) DUBRAVIUS; *loc. cit.*—DLUGOSS; *History of Poland*, b. XI.

(3) B. IV.

(4) BALBINUS; *loc. cit.*, b. V., ch. v.

(5) Bonnechese, more than partial to the Hussites, says of Ziska's character and exploits: "Bohemia, from one extremity to the other, became one vast field of carnage; everywhere conflagrations displayed to view dreadful massacres. Woe to the towns, castles, and, above

into two factions, one retaining its old name, and led by Procopius Rasa, called by Ziska the "Hercules of his country;" the other assuming the name of "Orphans," because its members deemed no man worthy to succeed to their blind hero. The Calixtines were finally admitted to communion by the Council of Basel: being allowed to retain the use of the chalice on condition that they would admit that their practice was not of divine precept, and that they would not molest the followers of the other discipline. The instrument of union, called *Compactata*, was rejected by the Thaborites and Orphans; even the Calixtines soon violated its provisions by insisting on the necessity of all following their rite, and by depriving all who rejected it of Christian burial. Their leader in the new rebellion was John Rockizany, archbishop of Prague. Some of the Calixtines soon came to the

all, to the monasteries that closed their gates—all the inhabitants were put to the sword. . . . The sight of a monk or priest filled Ziska with a gloomy rage. . . . He smote, burned, and exterminated, coldly glutting his vengeance in the shock of combatants, the gleam of flames, the shrieks of victims, 'punishing,' as Balbinus expresses it, 'one sacrilege by a thousand.' Bohemia, Germany, all Europe, were soon filled with the name of this terrible man. Wenceslaus awoke from his shameful slumber at the noise of his falling palaces, the burning of his churches, the slaughter of his senate; he started up in a frightful fit of passion, which was injurious to himself alone, for it suffocated him. . . . In becoming blind, Ziska became still more terrible; his misfortune was a fresh stimulus to his rage as to his genius, and revealed almost incredible faculties in him. His memory of localities was prodigious; it was enough for him to have once passed through a land to be forever master of all its slightest peculiarities. Bohemia, with her waters, woods, valleys, and plains, was now as present to his thoughts as the reality had ever been to his sight. A spirit of fire in a body of iron, his activity knew no fatigue, and became exasperated at rest. His soldiers used to mutter: 'All seasons are alike to this blind man; he goes by day as by night.' Wherever there was a monastery to burn, a town to take, or an army to combat, he hurried to the spot, and was soon accomplishing the deed of blood with a superhuman force, as if impelled by an exterminating God. . . . He expired (of the plague) on Oct. 11, 1424, ordering his soldiers to make a drum out of his skin, that its noise might fill his enemies with terror; his body he left to the birds of prey." *John Huss and the Council of Constance*.—Aventinus, whose pen was one of the most unjust ever wielded against the Church, admits that the Hussites laid waste more than 550 ecclesiastical foundations, that priests and religious were often massacred, and their bodies burnt. *Annals of the Bavarians*; b. VII., no. 4.—It was the misfortune of Bohemia that the principal author of these ravages was the best general of his age. In 1420 Sigismund led 140,000 men against Ziska; but beaten in every battle, he returned home with merely the sterile honor of having been crowned king of Bohemia. In 1421 Albert of Austria helped Sigismund to return to Bohemia, and Prague meditated submission, when the Hussites offered the crown, first to Vladislav of Poland, and then to the duke of Lithuania. The latter prince accepted for his brother; but this offer to a foreigner, made without the consent of Ziska, embroiled the Thaborites with the Calixtines. Ziska himself had aimed at the crown, and now commenced between the factions a pitiless struggle, the end of which was that Prague was about to succumb to the fiery fanatic when death ended his ambition. So great had been the power of Ziska, that it is said that Sigismund thought of making him imperial vicar in Bohemia with an annual subsidy, and that Ziska contemplated an acceptance of the offer. SYLVIVS; *loc. cit.*, c. xlvI.—DUBRAVIUS; b. XXVI.—BALBINUS; c. viii.—COCHELAUS; b. V.

conclusion that their sect was entirely too Roman in its teachings, and therefore founded the "Bohemian Brethren," who, while affecting to be the sole real disciples of Huss, entered into communion with the Lutherans at the synod of Sandomir in 1570.

Several points in the matter of John Huss and his condemnation merit examination. Firstly, his death was ostensibly that of a man thoroughly devoted to the idea which entailed his fate. Had we no other testimony than that of his friends, we might doubt the reality of his constancy and the sincerity of his piety during the dread ordeal. But Æneas Sylvius, speaking of the deaths of Huss and Jerome, says: "Both met their fate bravely, and they hastened to the stake as though invited to a banquet, emitting not one sound which would indicate a weak spirit. We read of no philosopher who met death so bravely as they endured the burning." Hefele feels himself compelled "not to deny that Huss sincerely meant well, for an impostor does not die as he died." This point we will not discuss; but rather pass to a less problematical question—that of the safe-conduct given by Sigismund to the heresiarch. There is no need of commenting on the fable which narrates that, when about to suffer, Huss cried: "To-day you burn a goose (such was the meaning of *hus*), but after a century will appear a swan (Luther) which you will not burn." Not one contemporary of Huss mentions this prophecy; not until the time of Luther did it appear (1). So now to the safe-conduct. Mosheim insists that the condemnation of Huss was a violation of the public faith (2). Some Protestant authors have even asserted that the Council of Constance had given a safe-conduct to the heresiarch, and that it justified its perfidy by decreeing that no faith was to be kept with heretics. Now there is not a shadow of proof that the Council gave any such assurance to Huss; it did give one to Jerome, but it expressly stipulated that the due course of law was not to be frustrated (3). As for the Conciliary decree (Sess.19) which has been so maliciously interpreted, it mere-

(1) See PALACKY, *loc. cit.*—GIESELER, *Ecclesiastical Law*, vol. II., pt. 4.

(2) *Eccl. Hist.*, cent. XV., pt. 2, c. ii., 5.

(3) "*Salva justitia.*" Even Bonnechose admits this.

ly explains the safe-conduct of Sigismund in the same sense in which, as we have seen, its royal author explained it; that is, it was not intended to prevent the legal examination and conviction—if merited—of Huss. Bad faith would scarcely have been justified by that Council which had ordered, immediately after the election of Martin V., all suspects of heresy to be interrogated as to whether they held falsification to be allowable, in any circumstances whatsoever (1). But, confining ourselves to the nature of the safe-conduct in question, we must observe that Sigismund, in the face of Huss and his partisans, interpreted that document as a mere passport to the Council which was to judge the innovator. The Bohemian knights who accompanied Huss accepted the royal interpretation; even while complaining of their friend's imprisonment when as yet not convicted, they disclaimed any desire of impunity for him: "Nor do we wish him to go unpunished, if he is shown to have uttered false doctrine" (2). And in the bitter letters which the Hussite nobility addressed to the fathers of Constance after the burning of Huss, not a word is said of any violation of Sigismund's or of any other safe-conduct. But what better indication of the meaning of the document can be required than that furnished by Huss himself? In the first place, before his departure for Constance, he declared: "If they convict me of any error, and show that I have thought anything against faith, I will not refuse any punishment due to a heretic." Secondly, when Sigismund told the Council that he would be the first to lead a persistent heretic to the stake, Huss made no protest against such an interpretation of the safe-conduct.

Protestant authors represent the terrible carnage committed by the Hussites as a retaliation for the cruelties of the Council of Constance. But the Hussite excesses had devastated Bohemia long before the trial of Huss; just as, in the following century, the German Anabaptists committed

(1) Gieseler, *loc. cit.*, adduces two acts of the Council to sustain this hideous accusation, but Hefele notes that he mutilates the first by omitting this very pertinent clause: "He who gives a safe-conduct must do everything possible to insure its being respected;" and the second act is not a decree, but a design of one which was not adopted.

(2) VAN DER HARDT; *Council of Constance*, vol. IV.

similar barbarities before the execution of their leaders. Mosheim is particularly strong in this assertion (1); but we may reply, with Bergier, that this author's own admissions militate against his theory of injustice at Constance. I. He admits that in 1408 Huss endeavored to withdraw the University of Prague from the jurisdiction of Pope Gregory XII. II. He concedes that Huss, an enthusiastic Realist, bitterly persecuted the Nominalists, who were very numerous in the University. III. He says that Huss aroused against himself the indignation of the entire German nation by depriving them of the two or three votes which they had hitherto cast in University matters; and thus caused the desertion of two (some say five) thousand students to Leipsic, where they founded a rival establishment. IV. He admits that Huss publicly declaimed most virulently against the clergy. V. He acknowledges the contempt evinced by Huss for the excommunication launched by John XXII. Such are Mosheim's admissions, but he utterly ignores the following facts: I. Huss appealed to the Council from the Papal excommunication, thus submitting himself to its judgment. II. He publicly offered to undergo the punishment decreed by the public law against heretics, if he were convicted of heresy. III. He abused his safe-conduct by celebrating Mass and by preaching in defiance of his excommunication. Mosheim also admits that the Hussites rebelled against Sigismund, who had become their sovereign, and that this rebellion occurred simply because they would not submit to the decrees of Constance. They conceded that heretics deserved death, but they denied that Huss had been a heretic. Was an army of ignorant men, well asks Bergier, to judge of the orthodoxy of a doctrine?

We have seen that Hefele inclines to believe in the sincerity of John Huss. Whether or not the reader will admit that a learned and sane Catholic can "sincerely desire good" while resisting unto death the teaching authority of the Church, he will agree with the remarks with which this judicious author qualifies his opinion: "It is certain, however, that all the principles of reform (cherished by Huss) threat-

(1) *Loc. cit.*

ened ruin not only to the Church, but to the state and society; and Sigismund rightly said that there had never been a more dangerous heretic than Huss. Undoubtedly Huss hoped that a reforming council like that of Constance would approve of his efforts for reform, but while the reforms decreed by that assembly were very numerous in matters of discipline, the same fathers were rigorous in their maintenance of dogma; and the propositions of Huss appeared to the most enlightened of them—to Gerson, for instance—as so many rank and intolerable heresies. The Council had met in order to procure for the Church a peace long departed, and precisely, therefore, Huss, whose principles would again destroy that desirable peace, was to be rigorously judged. At Constance whoever troubled the peace of the Church was threatened with death; that enlightened personage, Gerson, even proposed that death should be inflicted on the Pope, if he interfered with that peace (1), and there were real fears for the life of the Sovereign Pontiff. Could Huss expect more lenient treatment than the Pope?”

Few authors have so extravagantly lauded Huss as Bonnehose (2). He seldom quotes any authority not openly Hussite, and—strange thing for one professing to write history—he sometimes relies on John Fox, the Protestant “martyrologist.” The reader will be interested by some of this writer’s admissions: “It was impossible not to acknowledge the moral authority, the very serious ascendancy, which John Huss had acquired over the minds of men. . . . The magistrates of Prague blamed him, and joined with the heads of the University, the court, and the clergy, against him. So many elements of discord portended fresh troubles of a more serious character than those which had already caused the voluntary exile of Huss, but no apprehension shook his resolution. . . . On the appointed day (of a public discussion to which the innovator had challenged all priests and monks), the concourse was prodigious, and the alarmed rector endeavored vainly to dissolve the assembly. A doctor of Canon Law defended the Pope and the Bulls, and then turning to John Huss, he said: ‘You are

(1) *Deposition of the Pope—Methods of Union.*

(2) *John Huss and the Council of Constance.* Abp. Martin Spalding’s valuable essay is mainly directed against this work.

a priest, subordinate to the Pope, your spiritual father ; only filthy birds defile their own nests ; Ham was accursed for having exposed his father's shame.' . . . The magistrates deliberated (when Huss had led a mob against the prison wherein some of their fellow-rioters were confined) in trouble and consternation, and the town council replied, in the name of all : ' Dear master, we are surprised at your kindling a fire in which you run the risk of being burnt yourself. It is very hard for us to pardon persons who do not spare even the sanctuary, who fill the city with tumult, and who, if not prevented, will stain our streets with slaughter.' . . . The minds of all men seemed in a blaze ; the city was the theatre of bloody scenes every day ; in Prague there was no longer security for personal safety ; even the king deemed it prudent to depart. . . . Huss had the powerful support of the nobility, several of whom were sincerely touched by the elevation and purity of his doctrines, while many adopted them either through opposition to the court, or through jealousy of the higher clergy, or through the hope of sharing the spoils. . . . Some of Huss's opinions, particularly those borrowed from Wycliffe, concerning titles and Church property, were much to the taste of Wenceslaus. ' Secular lords,' he was wont to say, ' have the right to take away, when they please, the temporal possessions of those ecclesiastics who live in sin.' . . . Wenceslaus adopted these ideas, *which were those of most of the reformers, and which rendered many princes favorable to them.* He made himself the judge as to how Church property was to be used ; and as he cared nothing for the poor, the badly employed wealth of the clergy fell into his coffers, and when he openly supported the new teachings, his severity and exactions increased the Hussite party. Several wealthy ecclesiastics declared themselves Hussites ; with the view of saving their own property, they adopted the doctrines which enjoined a good employment of it. . . . In a paper affixed to the palace gates, Huss announced that he was about to justify himself before the Council, ' so that if any one suspects me of heresy, he may proceed thither and prove, in presence of the Pope and doctors, that I ever held or propagated false or mistaken doctrine. If any man convicts me of having taught

anything contrary to the Christian faith, I consent to bear every penalty to which heretics are liable.'”

CHAPTER II.

THE COUNCIL OF PISA.

Rendered desolate by the Great Western Schism, the Church had long vainly sought to terminate it. Gregory XII., third successor of Urban VI., and Peter de Luna, who, under the name of Benedict XIII., had inherited the pretensions of the so-called Clement VII., were both obstinate, and the latter manifested very little good faith. In 1408, Charles VI. of France, tired of their broken promises of cession or of compromise, resolved to obey neither; and imitating him, many powers declared for neutrality. Some of the cardinals of both obediences now decided to meet at Leghorn, and there debate as to the best way of securing a way out of the great difficulty. Under date of June 30, 1408, thirteen cardinals published in Leghorn a document according to which they had sworn, firstly, to prosecute the work of union unto a happy end, and meanwhile to adhere to neither one of the competitors; secondly, in case of the death of one of these, to elect no successor until the Church had pronounced on the right of the survivor, and in case of the death of both, to proceed to no election without the consent of two-thirds of the cardinals of each obedience; thirdly, to approve of no election which might be made by those cardinals who then remained in the obedience of Gregory or of Benedict; and fourthly, to treat of no other business, until the consummation of union, unless all the cardinals consented. This agreement was afterward ratified, by special adhesions, by all the cardinals of both Colleges who were not present at its original signature. On July 1. the Roman cardinals announced to Christendom that they had abandoned Gregory, and exhorted all anti-schismatics to do likewise, and to pay no more revenues into the Apostolic Chamber. Both claimants vainly tried promises and threats to break the concord of the Leghorn cardinals; their Eminences seized the reins of government, confirmed

Balthassar Cossa as legate at Bologna, sent the cardinal of Bordeaux as legate to Paris and London, and Maramaur into Germany; and finally, on July 14, they sent to all the prelates of Christendom a summons to a General Council to be held at Pisa on March 25, 1409. At the same time the cardinals of each obedience notified their respective Pontiffs of their intentions, praying them to consent, and either to come to the Council, or to send nuncios with full powers. Neither claimant paid any serious attention to the invitation.

But had the cardinals any right to convoke a General Council? Perplexity soon agitated not only the outside world, but many of the cardinals themselves. The Faculties of Bologna, Florence, and Paris were consulted; but they gave no complete solution of the question. At this juncture Gerson issued his famous treatise on the *Deponibility of the Pope*, in which there are some blunders unworthy of so great a theologian, but which, like many other extravagancies of the time, may be explained by the disturbed state of the Church. "In such perturbed times," remarks Christophe, "the wisest intelligences, involved in the tumult of disorder, lose some of their rectitude and precision" (1). Worldly policy also entered into the question. France, England, Castile, Genoa, and Florence were with the cardinals; Venice affected neutrality; Aragon, Naples (2), Hungary, Poland, Dalmatia, Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Russia, and Scotland declared against holding the Council. In the empire, although Cardinal Maramaur was received with extraordinary honors, and although he gained Austria, Bohemia, and the great princes to his cause, Robert of Bavaria, the king of the Romans, persisted in the obedience of Gregory.

On the appointed day, March 25, 1409, the Council was opened in the cathedral of Pisa. There were present twenty-four cardinals, four patriarchs (those of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Grad), ninety-two bishops, one hundred and seventy-five procurators of bishops, eighty-seven abbots, one

(1) *Papacy during the Fifteenth Century*, b. XVI.: Paris, 1863.

(2) Ladislas of Naples had everything to lose by the deposition of Gregory, who had given to him Rome, the March of Ancona, Bologna, Faenza, Perugia, Forlì, nearly all the Patri-nouev, and the duchy of Spoleto—all for the petty annual sum of 25,000 florins. *PIERRE MARGUET*; v. 1408, ch. xxii.—*Spec. Hist.*—*SOZOM.*; *Pistor.*, p. 1193.

hundred and eight procurators of abbots, more than three hundred doctors in theology or Canon Law ; deputies from the Universities of Bologna, Florence, Paris, Oxford, Cambridge, Orleans, Toulouse, Angers, Montpellier, Cracow, Vienna, Prague, and Cologne ; the orators of France, England, Poland, Sicily, Bohemia, Portugal, Cyprus, Burgundy, Brabant, Cleves, Lorraine, Brandenburg, and Thuringia ; the grand-master of Rhodes, and the procurator of the Teutonic knights. Guy de Malésec, cardinal-bishop of Palestrina, a creation of Gregory XI., and dean of both Colleges, was chosen president. On the second day, by request of the president, two cardinals, two bishops, the advocate of the Council, and two notaries proceeded to the doors of the cathedral, opened them, and called in a loud voice upon Angelo Corrario, Peter de Luna, and the cardinals of Todi, Auch, Fieschi, and Chalant to appear. None of the cited answering, the assembly was asked whether any one present was empowered to represent them. Returning to their places, the accusers asked the Council for a declaration *in contumaciam* against the delinquents. In the next two sessions this ceremony was repeated, and on the fourth, held on March 30, after due deliberation, the president pronounced the cited persons contumacious ; granting, however, a respite to the four cardinals until April 15. On that day a further delay was granted, pending the arrival of some important ambassadors. Toward the end of April there arrived at Pisa, as advocate of Gregory, Charles di Malatesta, lord of Rimini, a man famous in literature, an eloquent orator, and a renowned knight. In a series of fifty articles he urged the postponement of the Council, and a change of place. Consideration for Malatesta caused the Council to confer with him ; but his requests were finally refused, and he was about to depart, when Thomas of Fermo made him an offer on the part of the assembly. If Gregory would resign the tiara, he would be made life-legate for Forli and the Trevesine March, and would receive, also for life, the government of the March of Ancona ; if he preferred a residence at court, he would be assured the first place in the Sacred College, and the lordships of Montefiascone, Orvieto, Faenza, and other places would be settled upon his nephews. When Malatesta, on the part of Gregory.

rejected this proposition, the Council yielded to his original demands so far as to promise to transfer its sessions to Pistoja or San Miniato. Malatesta now returned to his fief of Rimini, where Gregory was residing, and made every effort to induce the feeble old man to yield. Lamentations and tears ensued, but as yet Gregory remained resolute in his hold on the tiara.

On May 9, the Council declared itself œcumenical; and on the following day, at the instance of the bishop of Salisbury, the cardinals of the obedience of Peter de Luna dissolved what little of connection, in hopes of influencing him to resign, they had continued to hold with him. Until June the prelates were occupied in hearing testimony concerning the conduct of the rival Pontiffs; when all was ready, the fifth was fixed as the day for definitive sentence. This eventful day was that of the fifteenth session. Again two cardinals, Colonna and Sant' Angelo, accompanied by two bishops and many doctors and notaries, went to the doors and cited Angelo Corrario and Peter de Luna; then the procurators of the Council demanded definitive sentence. All the members consented to the demand, the doors were thrown open, and the patriarch of Alexandria declared that Angelo Corrario and Peter de Luna, styled by their followers Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., having been shown to be schismatics and abettors of schism, and having been guilty of enormous crimes, notably, of violating their oaths and scandalizing the Church, were declared by the Council to be unworthy of the Supreme Pontificate, and were therefore deposed. This sentence, hitherto without example, was hailed with acclamations of joy, and a *Te Deum* was chanted.

A new Pontiff was now to be chosen. Some of the prelates wished the election to be made by the Council; but the majority, following the judgment of the patriarch of Alexandria, wished for no derogation from established usage, and that the cardinals should enter into Conclave, notwithstanding the doubtful source of many of their titles. While the Council was considering this point, three knights and a royal chancellor, ambassadors of the king of Aragon, informed the fathers that their master was now willing to assist them in the work

of union, and that nuncios of Benedict XIII. demanded an audience. Certain cardinals were appointed to receive the nuncios in the church of St. Martin, and these latter, having run the gauntlet of a hooting populace, entered the church, and the doors were shut. No honors were accorded to the messengers; and they were asked whether they came from Peter de Luna. When they replied that they were "nuncios of the holy father, Pope Benedict XIII.," they were saluted with cries of "nuncios of a schismatic and heretic." When silence was restored, the archbishop of Tarragona, the head of the embassy, asked whether he was free to speak his mind. The cardinal of Aquileia replied that the nuncios knew of the sentence launched against the two pretenders, and of the legal penalties incurred by those who attacked that sentence. The nuncios consulted a moment with the Aragonese deputies, and then retired, as they averred, for reflection. The next morning revealed that they had secretly left the city (1).

On June 15, the guardianship of the Conclave was entrusted to the grand-master of the Hospitalers; and amid the prayers of nearly all Christendom the cardinals entered upon their important task. If we except the suspicious testimony of Boniface Ferrier, there is no reason for believing that the proceedings were influenced by extraordinary intrigue. There was one cardinal, Balthassar Cossa, who had acquired great influence over his colleagues by his eminent services in the cause of union, and whose election seemed probable from the beginning; but he worked in the interest of Peter Filargo, and by a unanimous vote that cardinal was proclaimed as Pontiff on June 26, 1409. He assumed the name of Alexander V. On July 7, the new Pontiff was crowned by the cardinal of Saluzzo; and the world flattered itself that the Great Schism was

(1) According to the Carthusian monk, Boniface Ferrier, one of the nuncios, who wrote an account of this embassy (see *Thes. Anecd.*, v. II., c. lviii.), this flight was caused by the threatening attitude of the Pisan mob. The nuncios would have been stoned, he says, on their exit from St. Martin's, had they not been escorted by the marshal of the court and many influential citizens. Boniface says (*ibid.*, c. lxiii.) that, wishing to confer with Gregory, they applied for a safe-conduct to Balthassar Cossa, then legate at Bologna (afterward Pope John XXIII.), and that he sent them word that if he met them with a safe-conduct or not, he would burn them alive if he could seize them. Perhaps Cossa would have been capable of such an action; but the passionate style of Ferrier merits little confidence. It was the general impression among the synodals that the nuncios had come to Pisa, not to further the cause of union, but as spies and intriguers for de Luna. NIEM; *Schism*, b. III., c. xlv. —MONSTRELET; *Chronicle*, b. I., c. lv.

at an end. But Spain and Scotland persevered in the obedience of de Luna; Naples, Hungary, Bavaria, and the northern kingdoms remained faithful to Gregory XII.; and ere long the election of Alexander V. was generally regarded as a mistake.

When the Pisan prelates relied upon the Christian world to rally around the banner of their new Pontiff, they ignored the deep root that the schism had taken in the passions and interests of peoples as well as of kings. Peter d'Ailly had doubted the success of the proceedings at Pisa. Shortly before the opening of the Council, he had written a treatise in which, while avowing the legitimacy of the proposed depositions, he said: "If the conduct of the two claimants permits a new election, it should not be held unless it is clear that all Christendom will accept it, or at least that there will be such a majority for it that the pretenders will have but a few followers; otherwise a fresh schism will be added to the old one" (1). Many other Catholic writers showed more repugnance for the acts of the Pisan assembly than that evinced by d'Ailly. Theodoric de Vrie says that it is doubtful whether the spirit which animated the Council was that of Moses and Aaron, or rather that of Dathan and Abiram (2). Clemangis is of opinion that if the synodals did not deceive the Church, they deceived themselves (3). St. Antonine of Florence declares that, "according to common opinion," the assembly was a *conciliabulum*, and could not make Alexander V. a legitimate Pontiff (4). In our day the facts may be discussed with more impartiality; but, as Christophe says, "we may be allowed to think that the attempt at Pisa to terminate the schism was unhappy." It cannot be denied, however, that the obedience of Alexander extended rapidly; and if, to use the words of Bossuet, "the monster of the Great Schism was not entirely crushed at Pisa, at least it there received a blow which was the prelude to its total extinction, five years afterward, at Constance."

From the readiness with which Theodoric de Vrie, Clemangis, St. Antonine—and to them may be added the cardinals

(1) *Collection of Old Writers*, p. 916.

(2) IN VAN DER HAEGT, vol. I.

(3) *Disputation on the Matter of General Councils*

(4) *Chronicle*, pt. III., tit. 22., c. v.

Cajetan, Turrecremata, and many other celebrated authors—denied the authority of the Pisan Council, the reader will see that the œcumenicity of that assembly was, from its very beginning, at least dubious. And since it is the custom of Rome to style the Council of the Vatican the Nineteenth General Council, that of Trent the Eighteenth, the Fifth Lateran the Seventeenth, that of Florence the Sixteenth, and that of Vienne (y. 1311) the Fifteenth, an additional argument is now furnished for the denial of the character of a General Council to the assembly of Pisa. In the palmy days of Gallicanism, nearly all French authors fought strenuously for the œcumenicity of that assembly which first applied the great Gallican principle of the superiority of a General Council over the Pope. Chief among these writers are Alexandre, and his imitator, or rather his abbreviator, Amat de Graveson. The learned Gerson, by his work on the *Deponibility of the Pope*, and because of his persistent exaltation of the Pisan Council, furnished the Gallican school with the authority of a truly great name; but no one has better defended the œcumenicity of the Pisan assembly than the Dominican historian (1). It must be admitted that the arguments of this school, whatever may be thought of their general value, are exceedingly specious in this matter; even Bellarmine, although he regarded Alexander V. and John XXIII. as legitimate Pontiffs, was led to pronounce on the œcumenical character of the Pisan Council that it was “neither approved nor rejected.” We now proceed to lay before the reader the arguments adduced on each side of the question.

1. *For the œcumenicity of the Pisan Council*: St. Antonine and Cardinal Cajetan refused to recognize the legitimacy of this assembly, firstly, because it was not convoked by a Supreme Pontiff; secondly, because it did not terminate the schism, but rather intensified its bitterness. These authors add that the Council of Constance could not have regarded the Pisan fathers as possessing power to depose Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., since it allowed the resignation of the former. Other writers add that many kingdoms and provinces did not recognize the Council of Pisa, since they continued

(1) Cent. XV., dissert. 2.

in obedience either to Gregory or to Benedict. Now, as to the necessity of convocation by Papal authority, such necessity can exist only when the Pontiff is undoubtedly a legitimate one. But when two or more rival Popes refuse to give peace to the Church by resignation, especially when they have already sworn to do so, if called upon; then to deny that the Church has remedial power in the premises is to assert that Christ did not provide sufficiently for the security of His mystic Body. As to the action of the Council of Constance in receiving the resignation of Corrario, it does not follow therefrom that the Council regarded his deposition at Pisa as invalid. The fathers of Constance merely deemed it more prudent to obtain as much security as possible from any future disturbance. As for the failure of the Pisan assembly to extinguish the schism, such an argument would militate against the œcumenicity of nearly every General Council, since the heresies against which they pronounced did not always immediately collapse. As to the refusal of many countries to recognize the Pisan decrees, the recalcitrants were comparatively a small portion of the Christian world, while the fathers of Pisa represented the universal Church.

2. *Against the œcumenicity of the Pisan Council:* Although unknown, one of the two claimants, Gregory XII. or Benedict XIII., was the legitimate Pope. Neither one convoked the Council of Pisa; nay, each firmly opposed it, and each convoked a Council of his own—Gregory at Friuli, and Benedict at Perpignan. But without Papal convocation, no Council, be it ever so well attended, can be œcumenical. Undoubtedly the cardinals of Leghorn were in good faith when they ex-cogitated the Council of Pisa as a remedy for the tremendous evil of their day. But all the good faith in the world could not give to them a power which Christ gave only to the Roman Pontiff. Nor was the attendance at this Council of a very œcumenical character. There was no attendance from Spain, which, as the cardinal of St. Mark remarked at Constance, was then “as large a portion of Christendom as Christian Greece.” All the bishops of Scotland were absent, and a great many Italians and Germans. Bossuet should not have contemned this fact; for when it suited him to do so, he denied

the œcumenicity of the Sixth General Council because of the absence of the Spanish bishops. It is true that in some of the General Councils celebrated in the East there was almost a total absence of Western prelates ; but then the confirmation by the Roman Pontiff supplied this defect. At Pisa, however, this confirmation was wanting ; for it cannot be said that the approval by Alexander V. effected it. When Alexander was elected, the Pisan Council enjoyed an authority at best uncertain ; his own authority, therefore, was uncertain. Finally, the Council of Constance was careful not to style the Pisan assembly a General Council ; it used the term "congregation," or "assemblage": "there was held a large assemblage, which they called a General Council of both obediences" (1). John XXIII., successor to Alexander V., endeavored to induce this Council to declare the Pisan œcumenical, lest his own title to the Papacy should be questioned. But he failed ; chiefly because of the exertions of d'Ailly, who, although addicted to the super-exaltation of General Councils, admitted that the Pisan assembly had left as much difficulty as it had found, and that nothing certain accrued from its proceedings.

CHAPTER III.

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.

The Council of Pisa had decreed that another Synod should assemble within three years, for the purpose of considering measures of reform, and for the consummation of unity. Accordingly, John XXIII. convoked a Council to meet at Rome ; and in April, 1412, its sessions were begun in the Basilica of the Apostles. There were present a small number of bishops from Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, England, Scotland, and from such parts of Germany as recognized John XXIII. as Pontiff ; deputies of the clergy and of the king of France ; and representatives of the University of Paris. The doctrines of Wycliffe and Huss were condemned ; but it was evident that Pope John desired no discussion of the points for the treatment of which the Council had met. In a contemporary *Life of John*

(1) See the articles proposed by the Conciliar commissioners concerning Benedict XIII.

XXIII., published by Muratori, we are told that whenever a synodal would broach any such matter, Cardinal Zabarella would arise, and in a prolix discourse contrive to defeat the endeavor. Finally, the Pontiff prorogued the Council until December ; but indicated no place of reunion. The emperor Sigismund, however, was determined to put an end to the schism, in order that more energy might be employed against the innovators in the empire. Pope John was urged to resume the Council ; and he reluctantly appointed a commission to negotiate with Sigismund as to the place of meeting. To the great chagrin of the Pontiff, the legates agreed upon Constance, an imperial city, and for that very reason, thought Pope John, no favorable place for his future fortunes. Leonard of Arezzo, an eye-witness, tells us that John cursed his destiny (1) ; he even undertook a journey to Piacenza, where Sigismund was residing, hoping to persuade the emperor to a change of place. But after Sigismund had so remonstrated with the Pontiff that he must have foreseen the humiliations in store for him at the Council, it was finally agreed that the assembly should be held at Constance on November 1, 1414. The Papal letters of convocation were issued, and Sigismund wrote to Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII.; begging them to attend the Council, and satisfy their consciences. Neither of the claimants deemed it wise to accept the invitation ; Gregory empowered Cardinal John Dominick of Ragusa, and Contarino, patriarch of Constantinople, to represent him ; while Benedict sent a few prelates, who soon departed. The authors of the day inform us that the Council brought more than a hundred thousand strangers to Constance ; between bishops, doctors, and other clergymen, there were eighteen thousand directly or indirectly connected with the Council. The bishops numbered over three hundred.

John XXIII. presided over the first two sessions ; but, as we shall see, his fears led him to flee from Constance. The presidency then devolved on Cardinal d'Ailly for the third session ; on Giordano Orsini, cardinal-bishop of Albano, in the fourth ; on John de Brogny, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, during the fifth, and all the other sessions held until the election

(1) *Commentary*, in Muratori, vol. XIX.

of Pope Martin V.; and for the final sessions, on the newly-elected Pontiff. We shall now give a succinct account of the forty-five sessions of this Council. SESSION I.—Pope John tried to procure from the Council a declaration that it was a continuation of the Council of Pisa; for as such he had formally announced it in his Bull of convocation, in his Bull of prorogation, and on the opening day. Had such a declaration been made by the Council, his position as legitimate Pontiff would have been strengthened. On December 7, the partisans of Pope John XXIII. having insisted on the above declaration, and on a proclamation of the canonicity of all that had been effected at Pisa, Cardinal d'Ailly objected, contending, in the first place, that the Council of Pisa needed no confirmation from that of Constance, and that such procedure would excite scruples as to the authority of the former; secondly, that no coercion should be used in regard to Gregory XII. or Benedict XIII., and that their causes should not be touched until their nuncios had arrived; thirdly, that while it was probable that the Council of Pisa had been œcumenical, it was not necessarily to be concluded that it had not erred in its decrees on the schism (1). Sigismund arrived on December 24, and at his suggestion particular congregations, over which Pope John could exert no influence, held meetings under the sovereign's immediate protection, and the Pontiff intrigued to thwart their efforts. Having gained over some of their members, he was informed, every day, of every proceeding; but the spies were detected, and ordered out of the Council (2). Meanwhile, the synodals learned that nuncios of Gregory and Benedict were approaching Constance. The Pontiff insisted that the cardinals among them should receive none of the honors of the purple; while the emperor, d'Ailly, and other sincere promoters of the union, declared that such honors ought to be accorded. The latter party carried its point. The first to arrive were the nuncios of Benedict; and they at once proposed an interview between the king of Aragon, Benedict's chief protector, and Sigismund. Answer to this proposal was indefinitely postponed. Then came the nuncios of Gregory; namely, the cardinal of Ragusa, the patriarch-elect

(1) VAN DER HARDT; vol. II., pt. 8.

(2) NIEM; *Life of John XXIII.*, b. II., c. li.

of Constantinople, the duke Louis of Bavaria, the bishops of Verdun, Worms, and Spire, and representatives of the archbishop of Treves. A general congregation was held, the emperor assisting, and the nuncios were asked if their powers were full; if they recognized the Council; and if they would unite with it. The cardinal of Ragusa replied that their powers were plenary, and he exhibited a Bull whereby Gregory offered to abdicate, on condition that his rivals did the same, and that Balthassar Cossa (*sic*) did not preside over the Council. The duke of Bavaria further said that if Cossa would withdraw from the presidency, he himself would warrant that Gregory would either attend the Council or would send plenipotentiaries to assist in his name. The fathers replied that John XXIII. would preside over their sessions, but that they would gladly welcome the arrival of Gregory. The opinion was gaining adherents every day that the Pisan proceedings ought not to be ratified; that they should be studiously ignored. Such a view necessarily implied the resignation of John XXIII.; and as the liberalities of Pope John had gained over a large number of the bishops, d'Ailly hit upon an expedient whereby to neutralize the Pontiff's influence. He proposed to accord, in the matter at issue—not one, he said, of faith, Sacraments, or discipline, in which bishops alone could have a definitive voice—votes to the numerous doctors, as well as to the sovereigns, and even to their ambassadors. Cardinal Filastro followed in another memorial, advocating the same views, and the result was that the Council adopted them. This action was a severe blow to Pope John; but he still possessed a powerful resource in the vote *per capita*. The Italian synodals were nearly all devoted to him, and they were very numerous; his own household would wield fifty votes, on the part of so many chamberlains; and his gifts had secured the sympathies of many poor bishops of other nationalities. Owing to the late resolution of the Council, the number of voters, if the votes were to be taken *per capita*, was over eighteen thousand; hence to prevent confusion, and especially to deprive Pope John of a strong weapon, it was decided that the members should vote by nations. There were then present the four nationalities of Italy, France, England,

and Germany ; that of Spain was afterward added. This resolution of the Council almost discouraged Pope John ; but he now received a still more severe blow. An anonymous pamphlet suddenly appeared, charging him with the most revolting crimes(1). He admitted his guilt of some, denied others, and would have thrown himself on the mercy of the Council, had not the members refused to notice the anonymous accusations. New courage, however, was infused into the hearts of the opposition ; and on February 15, 1415, the French, English, and German nations sent a deputation to the Pontiff to beg him to resign. John affected to be willing, but none of the formulas which he offered were acceptable. Finally, the German nation openly proclaimed that, in the circumstances, the Council could invoke the secular arm against the Pope. On February 28, the four nations drew up a formula couched in these terms : “ I, John XXIII., Pope, for the repose of the entire Christian people, do declare, promise, agree, and swear to God, to His Church, and to this Holy Council, that I will freely and voluntarily give peace to the Church by my simple renunciation of the Pontificate, and that I will effect this renunciation whenever the present Council deems proper, and whenever Peter de Luna, styled Benedict XIII., and Angelo Corrariorio, styled Gregory XII., give up their claims to the Supreme Pontificate.” The patriarch of Antioch conveyed this document to Pope John, and in the presence of the Sacred College, the Council, and the emperor, the Pontiff declared that he would sign it on the morrow, when the second session of the Council was to be held.

SESS. II.—March 2, 1415, was the day that was to witness the formal promise of John XXIII. to lay down the tiara when the Council would demand that session. He celebrated Mass, and then ascending his throne, he read aloud the formula we have given, and then kneeling at the foot of the altar, he laid his hand over his heart, and said : “ Thus do I promise.” The assembly fairly shouted its congratulations ; the emperor arose, thanked the Pontiff, and laying aside his crown, prostrated himself and kissed the Apostolic feet. In the name of all the nations, the patriarch of Antioch did the same, and

(1) NIEM ; *loc. cit.*, b. II., c. iii.

the *Te Deum* was chanted. Amid the joy caused by this event, the Council sent a message to the nuncios of Peter de Luna, accepting the offer of an interview between that claimant and Sigismund, and fixing the month of June as the time. On March 5, the nations demanded that the Pontiff should issue a Bull, confirmatory of his late promise; and after some hesitation he yielded. As, however, in the instrument given he had spoken only of a personal cession, the nations now insisted that the emperor and other delegates should be made procurators of Pope John in this matter, and that, if deemed advisable by the fathers, the said procuratory powers should be exercised at the imminent imperial colloquy with Peter de Luna. Pope John rejected this idea, and he was upheld by the whole Italian nation. Even many influential synodals of the other nations began to think that they were infringing on the necessary liberty of the head of the Church; and when there arose, on March 11, a debate on the propriety of choosing a new Pontiff, the archbishop of Mayence firmly announced that if John XXIII. were not elected, he would obey no other. The opponents of Pope John now had recourse to the defamatory pamphlet above mentioned; and the English and German nations held particular congregations for its examination, the French taking no part (1). Under the influence of the emotions produced by this investigation, the two nations demanded of the Pope, on March 15, that he would promise not to dissolve the Council before the accomplishment of union; that he would not transfer the Council; that he would not depart from Constance; that he would appoint Sigismund as his procurator in the matter of the abdication; and that he would issue Bulls confirmatory of these pledges. This schedule was approved by the Italian and French nations, although the former protested against urging the last article. On March 16, the patriarch of Antioch presented these demands to Pope John, and Cardinal Zabarella replied in the Pontiff's name, that there was no intention of prematurely dissolving the Council, or of transferring it against its own will; that the Pope would accord no procuration, since he intended to take the more sure and honorable way of going to

(1) LENFANT: *History of the Council of Constance*, vol. I., p. 118.

Nice (1), and there abdicating in his own person. Meanwhile, Pope John had resolved to flee from Constance, trusting that so much confusion would ensue, that the Council would dissolve. But it was difficult to leave the city without the permission of Sigismund, as guards were at the gates, and already the cardinal of Sant' Angelo had been turned back. The Pope essayed flattery, sending to the emperor, on *Lætare* Sunday, that prize so much coveted by princes—the golden rose. When this failed, he tried the power of money, knowing that Sigismund was in need. Succeeding no better, he loudly complained to the magistrates that their city was his prison. All was in vain; and his intentions transpiring, the English nation proposed to seize the pontifical person; and only the opposition of the French prevented the adoption of this course (2). Pope John now consulted with Frederick, duke of Austria, the intermediary being the archbishop of Mayence. Before the Council, in return for an annual pension of six thousand florins, and the title of Captain-general of the Roman Church, Frederick had already promised to aid the Pontiff in such an emergency (3). A solemn tournament was being held on March 21, and while the duke of Austria and the count of Cilley were breaking lances, Pope John, disguised as a groom, and mounted on a miserable jade, went out of the city. In a few hours he was safe in Schaffhaus, where he was joined by the duke. Many of the bishops, thinking the cause of union lost, prepared to return home; but Sigismund mounted his horse and scoured the city to detain them, giving his royal word that the Council should continue until its end was attained. Frederick of Austria was placed under the ban of both Council and empire. The courage of many of the synodals now became audacity, if no harsher name should be assigned to their sayings. Gerson went so far as to declare, in a discourse pronounced in full session, that the Pontiff could not change the decrees of a General Council; that a Council could regulate the use of the Apostolic power; and that in a General Council none of the faithful should be excluded (4).

(1) Nice had been chosen as the place for the interview between Sigismund and Peter de Luna.

(2) GERARD DE ROO: *Austrian Affairs*, b. IV.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) In VAN DER HARDT, vol. II., pt. 11.

SESS. III.—This session was held on March 26, and was begun in the absence of all the members of the Sacred College, excepting d'Ailly, who presided, and Zabarella; some had gone to Schaffhaus, and the others insisted on the presence of their colleagues. The following decrees were published: I. That the Holy Council was properly and legally convoked and opened. II. That by the departure of the Pope, the Council had not been dissolved, but still retained all its authority, in spite of any ordinances to the contrary, either already issued or to be issued. III. That the Holy Synod could not be dissolved until the schism was healed, and the Church reformed in faith and morals, in head and members. IV. That the same Holy Synod could not be transferred to another place without its own consent. V. That those who ought to be present at the Council should not depart, unless for good reason—said reason to be examined by a commission deputed by the Council. A synodal who was allowed to depart should leave a procurator in his place. Scarcely had these decrees been issued, when three cardinals, who had been sent to the fugitive Pontiff, returned to Constance, reporting that Pope John still promised to be faithful to his pledges, and that he requested that nothing should be undertaken against the duke of Austria for some time. This message was regarded as a ruse to gain time, and to suspend the synodal deliberations; therefore instructions were issued to a particular congregation to prepare apposite decrees for the next session.

SESS. IV.—On March 30, Cardinal Zabarella read the following proposed decrees: I. The Synod held its power immediately from Jesus Christ, and every person—no matter how great his dignity, even the Pope—was obliged to obey it in all that concerned faith, the healing of the schism, and the reformation of the Church in head and members. II. The penalties by law established would be visited upon all—no matter what their dignity, even upon the Pope—who would disobey its decrees or those of any other General Council. III. Pope John XXIII. and all members of the Council had always been free. IV. The authority of the Holy Council being necessary for the unity of the Church.

to faith and morals, the flight of the Pope should be regarded as scandalous, destructive to his promises, ruinous to the Council, and as redolent of schism and heresy (1). The cardinals discussed these articles outside the Council; and it was only when the nations withdrew the last one, that all but four entered the hall and accepted the three others. The Council now learned that on the previous day, March 29, Pope John had suddenly moved to Lauffenberg, and that he had declared that his promises at Constance were valueless, since they had been given under coercion.

SESS. V.—In this session, celebrated on April 6, the three decrees read in the preceding session were confirmed; and commissaries were appointed to examine the doctrines of John Huss. On April 10, Pope John removed from Lauffenberg to Fribourg, hoping to pass into the territories of Duke John of Burgundy, a bitter foe of the Council. Therefore the synodals drew up an act of procuration, to be sent to the Pontiff, and by which he was to declare that he voluntarily resigned the tiara, and to promise never to insinuate any doubt as to the validity of the present abdication.

SESS. VI.—On April 17, the Council approved the act of procuration drawn up in the previous session, and it was sent to the Pontiff. The nuncios found him at Brisach; but he made only promises until April 30, when he heard that Frederick of Austria, his mainstay and last hope, was about to go to Constance. He then signed the act of procuration; but with a proviso that it would be valid only in case that his full liberty and maintenance were secured for the rest of his life, and that Frederick found full grace with the emperor. The Council regarded this clause as another subterfuge, and resolved to cite him canonically in the next session.

SESS. VII.—On May 2, the Council decreed that: Seeing that Pope John XXIII., contrary to his promises to labor for the extinction of schism and for the reformation of the Church, had fled in a scandalous and clandestine manner, and in one injurious to the cause of union; seeing that he constantly moved further away from the Council; seeing that he

(1) The last article was added on motion of Gerson. In giving this decree we follow the printed editions of the synodal acts, but we shall see that it is very probable that Zabarella did not read the words "faith" and "head and members."

was charged with many grievous crimes ; he, with all his adherents, was cited to appear within nine days to answer for his flight, and to the accusations against his person.

SESS. VIII.—On May 4, the doctrines and memory of Wycliffe were condemned, his writings ordered to be burnt, and his remains to be removed from consecrated ground. Frederick of Austria was admitted to peace, and he promised to advise Pope John to submit. The cardinals Brancaccio, Colonna, and of Tricaric, who had hitherto clung to the fortunes of Pope John, joined the Council. On May 9, the Pontiff received the Conciliar citation ; but he simply ordered the cardinals Zabarella, Filastro, and d'Ailly to plead his cause, and said that he would await the term of the summons.

SESS. IX.—On May 13, after the reading of the passage of Scripture : "There shall be signs in the sun and the moon," the promotor demanded that as the term of the Pontiff's citation had expired, he should now be pronounced contumacious, and be suspended from his functions. Cardinal Zabarella, in his own name, and in those of his colleagues, Filastro and d'Ailly, announced that the conduct of Pope John was indefensible. A commission of thirteen, at the head of which were the cardinals Orsini and Filastro, was then named to formulate the process of the accused.

SESS. X.—On May 14, the fathers published their sentence whereby Pope John XXIII. was suspended "from all administration, spiritual and temporal, of the Papacy," because it was evident from good sources that "to the notorious scandal of himself and of the Church, he had badly administered, ruled, and governed the popedom and the polity of the Church ; that he had furnished the peoples with bad example by his condemnable life and bad morals ; that he had been guilty of notorious simony in conferring cathedral churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical benefices for a stated price ; that he had wasted the goods and rights of the Roman and other churches ;" and that, when charitably admonished, he had persisted in his iniquity. On May 18, the bishops of Asti, Toulon, and Augsburg informed the Pontiff of this decree. The bishop of Toulon demanded the leaden seal, the

ring of the fisherman, and the book of supplications. Pope John handed over these objects in silence.

SESS. XI.—For three weeks before this session, which occurred on May 25, an investigation had been going on into the charges against Pope John made in the anonymous pamphlet already mentioned; so bitter against him had the synodals become, that they now eagerly dragged into light a book which they had already rejected with just indignation. Many witnesses, mostly officials of the Roman court, had been heard, and the testimony had been arranged in seventy articles. The *Acts* give only fifty, but they tell us that the honor of the Holy See required the suppression of twenty. These articles were now read; and on the same day the Council sent a deputation with them to the Pontiff. On approaching the Pope, the messengers attempted to kiss his feet; but the guards not allowing that homage, the cardinals among them kissed his mouth and hands, and addressed him as “your Holiness.” Having heard the charges, Pope John replied that he would not defend himself, but would submit to the decisions of the Council. He would receive the sentence, he said, with uncovered head; but he recommended his honor, as far as the good of the Church permitted, to the consideration of the fathers.

SESS. XII.—On May 29, after a formal citation of the Pontiff, the promotor announced that the moment of justice had arrived. Then the bishop of Arras read the following sentence: “In the name of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Council of Constance, having invoked the name of Jesus Christ, and having examined in the presence of the Living God, the charges presented against Pope John XXIII., and having heard the proofs of said charges; decrees and declares that the flight of said Pontiff, in disguise and indecent clothing, was culpable and scandalous to the Church of God and to the Holy Council, and was undertaken in order to interfere with the work of union, and to prolong the schism; that the said Pope John XXIII. is guilty of simony, and is a notorious squanderer of the goods of the Church; and that the scandal of his life and morals has dishonored the Church and the Christian people. Therefore, the Holy Council declares John

XXIII. deposed and deprived of the Sovereign Pontificate, frees all the faithful from their obligation of fidelity to him, and prohibits any recognition of him as Pope." This unprecedented sentence was heard amid the silence of death ; the cardinal Zabarella alone arose to speak, but he was not allowed to proceed. All the fathers uttered "placet," and then the Pontifical seal was broken. When the sentence was made known to its victim, he told the deputies that he had already removed the Pontifical cross from his apartments, and that if he had possessed other garments, he would have put off all those bearing any Papal insignia. Not only did he not wish to be Pope any longer, but he wished that he had never been elected, for he had not passed one happy day since his elevation. Laying his hand over his heart, he said : "I swear to never utter, publicly or privately, any complaint against this sentence, and now *I freely renounce any right I may possess to the Pontificate.*" As we must here take leave of John XXIII., we shall briefly trace the later career of Balthassar Cossa. He was transferred to the fortress of Gottleben, whence he was sent to Heidelberg, to be guarded by the palatine of the Rhine ; after some time he was taken to Mannheim. After four years of confinement, he conquered the count-palatine with thirty thousand golden scudi, and regained his freedom. Then he showed the world a good example ; for he went at once to Florence, where his successor, Martin V., was residing ; and prostrate at the feet of his former subject, he besought the blessing of the true vicar of Jesus Christ. Pope Martin V. was moved to tears ; he made the humiliated Cossa bishop of Tusculum and dean of the Sacred College ; and ordered that his seat, placed next to the Papal throne, should be more elevated than those of his colleagues.

SESS. XIII.—On June 15, the Council issued a decree concerning the administration of the Holy Eucharist under one species. This was directed against the Calixtine Hussites, and it declared that the custom of giving only the species of bread to the laity was introduced solely for convenience, and that it is of faith that "the entire Body and Blood of Christ is truly contained both under the species of bread and under the species of wine. Hence, as this custom, reasonably in-

troduced by the Holy Church and by the fathers, has been so long observed, it must be regarded as a law which ought not to be despised, or be changed without the permission of the Church."

SESS. XIV. This session, held on July 4, is famous on account of the voluntary abdication of him who, of the three claimants, had possessed—to put the matter very mildly—at least the best titles to the Pontificate. On June 15, Charles Malatesta of Rimini, the generous host of Gregory XII., arrived at Constance with the joyful information that Pope Gregory was ready to resign the tiara, and that he, the lord of Rimini, had received full powers to actuate the abdication. A conference was held at once; and as Gregory did not recognize the legitimacy of the Council, Malatesta offered to do so for him, if he were allowed to reconvoke the assembly in the name of Gregory XII., and if, at the moment of Gregory's resignation, all persons of the late obedience of John XXIII. were excluded from the presidency. All was readily granted, and everything was arranged for the happiest session of the Council. For the nonce, the cardinals of the obedience of the deposed Pontiff were regarded as non-existent. The emperor, assisted by the cardinal of Ragusa and by Malatesta, took the presidential seat. The prothonotary of the duke of Bavaria read the Bull of Gregory appointing a procurator, and another authorizing the Council of Constance. Then the cardinal of Ragusa convoked, authorized, and confirmed the Council. The proceedings of the two obediences were reciprocally annulled, and the cardinal of Ragusa having received the kiss of peace, the cardinal de Brogny resumed the presidential chair, and Malatesta read Gregory's renunciation of the Papal tiara. A solemn *Te Deum* was then sung. When Gregory heard of the action of Malatesta, he summoned his council, informed them that he was now Cardinal Angelo Corrario, and to make things more sure, again renounced the Pontificate, at once laying aside all the Papal insignia. He was made cardinal-bishop of Porto and perpetual legate in the March of Ancona; and two years afterward he died at Recanati.

SESS. XV. On July 6, the matter of John Huss was again resumed, and the heresiarch was delivered to the secular arm,

as we have already described. In this session the doctrine of John Petit concerning tyrannicide was also condemned. After the assassination of Louis, duke of Orleans, brother of King Charles VI. of France (1407), this Petit, a Norman priest and a doctor of Paris, had written a *Justification of the Duke of Burgundy*, in which he contended that it was licit for any one to kill such a tyrant as, according to him, Louis had been; and that if the duke of Burgundy—the instigator of the murder—had not caused the death of the prince, he would have been guilty of sin. The Council declared this doctrine “erroneous in faith and morals, heretical, scandalous, seditious, and calculated to lead to lies, perjury, and treason” (1).

SESS. XVI., XVII., XVIII. The deposition of John XXIII. and the abdication of Gregory XII. had greatly simplified the task of the fathers of Constance. But Benedict XIII. was still recognized by Spain, Scotland, Sardinia, Corsica, and Majorica and Minorica; and his own indomitable will gave but little hope that he would abandon his pretensions.

Cherishing, however, an infinitesimal spark of hope, the Council resolved to further the interview between Benedict and Sigismund which the Aragonese ambassadors had proposed. Accordingly, in the sixteenth session, held on July 11, fourteen legates were appointed to accompany the emperor to Perpignan, where both Benedict and Sigismund wished the meeting to be, instead of at Nice, as originally suggested. In the seventeenth session, celebrated on July 15, prayers were offered for the success of Sigismund's endeavor; and with a numerous es-

(1) The following passage in Cantù surprises us: “Master John Petit, professor of theology in the university, showed in twelve arguments—according to the number of the Apostles—that the duke did what was right for God, for the king, and for the realm; and that it is licit, even meritorious, to kill a tyrant in any manner whatever. Although Gerson, chancellor of the university, and the archbishop of Paris, refuted this proposition, they could not obtain the condemnation of John Petit by the Council of Constance—so powerful was the protection of the duke of Burgundy.” *Univ. Hist.*, b. XIII., ch. vii. Here is an implication that the Council did not condemn the *doctrine* of tyrannicide. If the great historian alludes to the non-condemnation of the person of Petit, he must know that the foolish man was dead at the time, and that it was by no means the custom to exhume from consecrated ground every heretic's bones. The allusion to the influence of the duke of Burgundy is, for Cantù, far-fetched. This prince contended that John Petit, his protegee, was not the author of the obnoxious teaching; that it was drawn from works forged by the prince's enemies; and he begged the Council “not to dishonor the royal blood of Most Christian France which ran in his veins” by an inference that he would countenance heresy. The Council condemned the mischievous *doctrine*, and that was all that it was called upon to do.

cort of princes, and attended by four thousand horse, the imperial negotiator departed. On Sept. 19, Sigismund arrived at Perpignan, and immediately waited upon Benedict. The interview lasted two hours, and Benedict was very courteous, very warm in his protestations of a desire for unity, and he shed tears when speaking of the desolation of the Church; but nothing definite was arranged. In another interview Benedict had recourse to all kinds of subterfuges (1); and in a third he tried to exhaust the patience of Sigismund and the legates by a speech of seven hours' duration, at the end of which, in spite of his age, he appeared perfectly cool and fresh (2). After five weeks of similar proceedings, the legates proposed that Benedict should imitate Gregory by convoking the Council of Constance in his own name, and that then, having given to that assembly what authority he could, he should tender his abdication through a procurator. The obstinate old man promised to reply on Oct. 30, and when the day came, he pronounced one of his tedious discourses, finishing with this declaration: "I have fought the good fight, I have kept the faith, and a crown of justice awaits me. Now I alone am Pontiff. In present circumstances it is by the Council at Constance, not by me, that the schism is prolonged; let that assembly recognize me as Pope, and the schism is ended. Let no one expect me to ever desert the bark of Peter, at the helm of which God has placed me!" (3) From this day Sigismund saw Benedict no more, but the legates persevered until hope was exhausted. Meanwhile, Ferdinand of Aragon had resolved to withdraw from the obedience of Benedict, and the ambassadors of Castile and Navarre were entrusted with the same mission by their sovereigns. The act of withdrawal was drawn up on Jan. 6, 1416, and was published by St. Vincent Ferrer.

SESS. XIX., XX. While the negotiations above narrated were being held, the Council proceeded with its sessions. In the nineteenth, held on Sept. 23, Jerome of Prague abjured the errors of Wycliffe and Huss. The Council declared that a safe-conduct from a secular prince secured no person from

(1) RELIGIOUS OF ST. DENIS; vol. V., b. XXXVI., ch. xxxvi.

(2) MARIANA; *Spanish History*, b. XX., ch. vii.

(3) SURITA; b. XII. — Vat. MS. in MURATORI, vol. III., pt. 2.

punishment, if convicted of heresy and persisting obstinately in the crime. In the twentieth session, held on Nov. 21, Frederick of Austria was admonished for having usurped rights of the church of Trent.

SESS. XXI.—On May 30, 1416, Jerome of Prague, having withdrawn his retractation, was adjudged a relapsed and obstinate heretic, and was delivered to the secular arm.

SESS. XXIII.—On Nov. 5, 1416, a commission was appointed to examine the charges made against Peter de Luna. All were found to turn on his obstinate pretensions to the tiara; nothing was alleged against his character; the very abuses in his administration were due to his want of power.

SESS. XXIV.—On Nov. 28, Benedict was cited, by means of two deputies sent to him, to appear before the Council.

SESS. XXIX.—On March 8, 1417, the deputies sent to Benedict made their report, saying: "Peter de Luna gave us audience (at Paniscola) on Jan. 21. We found him surrounded by three cardinals, and about three hundred prelates, clergymen, and laics. We honored him only with a bow. Having procured silence, we read the synodal decree in a loud voice. At first, the Pontiff appeared to listen peaceably enough, but when he heard himself styled a heretic and a schismatic, impatience seized him, and he cried out: 'That is false; they lie.' His trouble was so great, that although he had announced four points in his reply, he touched only three. However, he grew more calm, and discoursed at length on the various ways of giving peace to the Church, declaring that he deemed the method of discussion and justice to be the best, and that he would not adopt that of abdication until he had exhausted the other. Then he said: 'Because I do not yield to the demands made at Constance, it does not follow that I am a heretic; the true Church is not where those prelates are, but here at Paniscola, where I am. Behold the ark of Noah!' he cried, striking his throne." After hearing this report, the Council declared, for the first time, the contumacy of Peter de Luna. This declaration was repeated in the next two sessions, and in the thirty-sixth he was summoned to hear his sentence. In the thirty-seventh session, held on July 26, 1417, Cardinal Filastro pronounced,

in the name of the Council, the deposition and excommunication of Peter de Luna.

Taught by the evils following the precipitate election of Pisa, the fathers at Constance showed no haste in electing a Pontiff. They feared that Peter de Luna might recover the sympathies of the peoples who had so long obeyed him; but so many testimonies of the fidelity of Europe to the Council were received, that the prelates resolved to put an end to the widowhood of the Church. Thirty deputies, taken from each nation, were joined with the Sacred College to take part in the Conclave. These were the patriarch of Constantinople; the archbishops of Milan, Tours, Bourges, Riga, and Guiesen; the bishops of Meaux, Aix, Cuença, Feltri, Badajoz, Penna, Traw, London, Bath, Litchfield, Norwich, and Geneva; the abbots of Cluny and St. Mary's of York; the general of the Dominicans, the dean of York, the archdeacon of Boulogne, the prior of Rhodes, and six doctors from the different nations. These deputies, with the twenty-three cardinals then at Constance, entered into Conclave on Nov. 8. At first each nation manifested some inclination to prefer a Pontiff taken from itself, but the world had seen enough of cismontane Popes; the evils of the residence at Avignon were recent; and it was evidently proper that the Pope-King should be of the nationality of his immediate diocesans, and of his temporal subjects. The first to relinquish their pretensions were the Germans; then the English followed the good example; and after some hesitation the French and Spaniards resolved to elect an Italian. On Nov. 11, every vote was cast for Otho Colonna, cardinal-deacon of the Title of St. George of the Golden Veil; and the Great Western Schism was ended. The Council continued its sessions until the end of April, 1418, but its mission was accomplished when it had restored peace to the Church.

We now approach the once vexing question concerning the proper interpretation and the value of the famous decrees of the fourth and fifth sessions of this Council. It is well to know whether or not a *General* Council really decreed the supremacy of such bodies over the Roman Pontiff. One would vainly seek, before the fifteenth century, for any differ-

ence among Catholic polemics as to the infallibility of the Pontiff and his supreme authority over the whole body of the episcopate ; before the fifteenth century, theologians, when treating of the Papal authority, knew no distinction between the bishops *collectively* considered, and the same *distinctively* regarded. Even though the contest between Pope Boniface VIII. and King Philip the Fair had greatly exasperated the French clergy—so extravagantly loyal to their imperious sovereign—we read in the document presented, in the name of the whole French nation, to Pope Clement V.: “There is no question of the heresy of the late Pope as Pope, but of his heresy as a private person ; for *no Pope, as Pope, could ever be a heretic*. Hence when we inquire as to the heresy of the late Pontiff, a General Council need not be assembled. For it is you, Holy Father, who are the vicar of Jesus Christ, and who represent the entire body of the Church, and who possess the keys of the kingdom of heaven ; nor can a General Council be congregated without you, *nor can it know anything unless through you*.” Even Gerson admits the modern origin of his theory : “Before the celebration of this Holy Synod of Constance, this tradition (of the Papal supremacy over a Council) had so penetrated the minds of many, that the teacher of the contrary doctrine would have been either condemned or noted as a heretic ” (1). After Gerson the most strenuous defender of the same theory was Peter d’Ailly, but—more moderate than his disciple—he regarded it as only a probable opinion, and one to be followed only in extreme cases. It is needless to remark that not only the Gallican school, but all the factious—Richer, the Jansenists, all court-theologians, Febronius, Eybel, etc.—patronized the seditious doctrine, and lauded to the skies the wisdom of the fathers of Constance as apparently illustrated in the decrees of their fourth and fifth sessions.

We have said that the opinion of Gerson dates only from his own time. Bossuet endeavored to prove the contrary, and was most diligent in his search among the monuments of the past. He was rewarded by the discovery that examinations of Pontifical definitions had been made by certain Coun-

(1) *Ecclesiastical Power*, consid. 12.

cils; but how little that fact militates for his theory we have already shown when treating of the Fourth and Sixth General Councils. The case of Pope Honorius, as we have seen, is of no help to the cause of Conciliar supremacy; the very fact of the famous anathema having been directed against him when dead shows that the Sixth Council attempted no real jurisdiction in his regard, since it is certain that a Pope loses his primacy with his life. It is well to note, with Peter Ballerini (1), the words of Pope Adrian II., which were read in the Eighth Council: "We read that the Roman Pontiff has judged the pontiffs of all churches, but we do not read that any have judged him. For even though an anathema was pronounced against Honorius after his death (when he was no longer Pope), this was because he had been charged with heresy, the only thing which justifies inferiors in resisting their superiors or in rejecting corrupted doctrine. And even in this case, not one of the patriarchs or bishops could pronounce any sentence whatever, until the authoritative consent of the Pontiff of the first See had been obtained" (2). From the early ages to the time of Gerson, the ecclesiastical records constantly furnish testimonies against his theory. We lay no stress on the famous saying ascribed to the synod of Sinuessa ("The first See is judged by no one"), because it appears more than probable that the *Acts* of this synod are apocryphal (3). But as far back as the Pontificate of St. Sylvester I., we read in the last Canon of a Roman Council that "no one can judge the first See." We have seen how the letters sent to the Council of Chalcedon all begin with the address, "To Leo, the Most Holy and Most Blessed Universal Patriarch of great Rome, and to the Holy General Council met in the city of Chalcedon;" how that Council recog-

(1) *Roman Pontiff*, pt. 2, ch. v., § 1.

(2) Session 10.

(3) The genuineness of these *Acts* is defended by Bellarmine, Labbe, Ciaconio, and Schellestrat. Baronio, in his first edition, hesitates; in his second, he favors them. The Bollandists, in the Appendix to vol. III., defend them; but in treating of the saints of May they retract, and admit the validity of the adverse arguments of Papebroch. The *Acts* are rejected by Alexandre, Francis Pagi, Mansi, Graveson, and Basnage. Ruinart, Fleury, and Palma omit the subject. The critical Zaccaria appears to regard them as apocryphal; for in his *Collection of Dissertations on Ecclesiastical History*, he receives the adverse dissertation of De Marco. The chief importance of the question of the authenticity of these *Acts* is due to their bearing on the controverted question of Pope Marcellinus and the idols. The best dissertation on the subject is that by Galimberti (now Cardinal), entitled an *Apology for Pope Marcellinus*, Rome, 1876.

nized Pope St. Leo I. as its head ; and how it anathematized Dioscorus and his "Robber-Synod" because they had dared to condemn the Pontiff. And yet Dioscorus was patriarch of Alexandria, the first see after Rome, and he was at the head of a Council claiming to be œcumenical. The fifth Roman Council, under Symmachus, adopted as its own decree the book of the deacon Ennodius, in which we read : "God wished the causes of other men to be settled by men ; but He reserved, without question, the bishop of this See to His own judgment." The reader will also remember the large synod called by Charlemagne in reference to the charges brought against Pope St. Leo III. (1). Even in the Council of Constance there was edited a Bull of Pope Martin V., in which it was decreed that all suspected heretics should be asked whether they held that the Roman Pontiff possessed supreme power in the Church. From innumerable testimonies by Popes, we select one from an epistle of Gelasius I. (y. 492) : "Every church in the world knows that the Holy Roman Church has the right to judge all, and that no one can pass judgment on her decision" (2).

Coming now to an examination of the famous decrees of Constance, we may observe, in the first place, that the words which give so much comfort to our adversaries are not of certain authenticity. The learned Netherlander, Schelestrat (3), contends that in the decree of the fourth session, the words "the reformation of the Church in head and members" were added by the prelates of Basel ; he also casts doubt on the authenticity of the word "faith" in the same sentence, insisting that it is not found in the editions of the synodal *Acts*

(1) PLATINA ; *Life of Leo III.* PAULUS ÆMILIUS ; *History of the Franks.*

(2) *To the Bishops of Dardania.* In another part of this letter the Pontiff says that "appeals can be made to the Apostolic See from every part of the world, but no one is allowed to appeal from it." Already Athanasius of Alexandria and Paul of Constantinople, synodically deposed, had appealed to Pope Julius and been restored (SOZOM., *Hist.*, b. III., c. vii.) ; Flavian of Constantinople had appealed from the second Council of Ephesus to Pope St. Leo I. (ST. LEO I. : *Epist. to Theodosius*) ; and St. Chrysostom to Pope St. Innocent I.

(3) Emanuel Schelestrat, born at Antwerp in 1648, died at Rome in 1692 while filling the position of sub-librarian of the Vatican Library. Besides other valuable works, he published at Antwerp in 1683 the *Acts of the Council of Constance, in Explanation of the Decrees of the Fourth and Fifth Sessions* ; and at Rome in 1683 a *Treatise on the Meaning and Authority of the Decrees on Ecclesiastical Power, Edited by the Council of Constance.* It was against this latter work that Anthony Arnould wrote his *Light on the Authority of General Councils.*

published at Hagenow in 1500, at Milan in 1511, and at Paris in 1524, and charging the Franciscan, Peter Crabbe, with its first production, in his edition of the Councils issued at Cologne in 1551. If the opinions of Schelestrat are correct, the decree of the fourth session should read: "Every person, no matter how great his dignity, even the Pope, is obliged to obey the Council in all that concerns the extinction of the schism," and as we shall show that the clause, "even the Pope," must be applied only to a dubious Pontiff, it is evident, in the supposition of Schelestrat, that the Council of Constance did not assert the subjection of the Roman Pontiff to a General Council. Alexandre, Maimbourg, the Continuator of Fleury, Du Pin, and other Gallican authors affect to condemn the arguments of Schelestrat; but the famous Protestant theologian, Dr. Burnet, reflects Zaccaria (1), "tells us (2) that Schelestrat showed him some Vatican MSS., two of which were evidently of the time of the Council, and in which these words were not found." Burnet adds that these MSS. must have been as old as the Council, for he says that he knew the style and caligraphy of that century too well to be deceived. Besides these two codices, Schelestrat adduces three which were drawn up by notaries, and were used by the prelates at Basel; and in these three the questioned words are absent. He also speaks of two others, of which one was of about the time of the Council, and the other was written in old Italian characters; in both the disputed words are wanting. The Protestant historians of the Council, Van der Hardt and Lenfant, corroborate Schelestrat. The former cites two codices of Vienna, one of Wolfenbuttel (mentioned also in the *Greek Library* of Fabricius, vol. XI.), one of Brunswick (which he believes to have been written in the Council), one of Gotha, and one of the Pauline Library of Leipsic. Lenfant adduces a Parisian codex of St. Victor. Hardouin declares that he met no writer who found the doubtful words in approved codices.

Alexandre endeavors to elude the force of Schelestrat's argument by recurring to many codices which contain the dis-

(1) *Anti-Febbrinæ*, p. 2, b. IV., ch. iii., no. 8.

(2) *Journey in Switzerland and Italy*.

puted words ; certainly a more logical proceeding than that of the author of the *Defence of the Gallican Clergy*, and that of Cardinal La Luzerne, who would have us regard the codices of Schelestrat as of no value in the premises, because of their comparatively late introduction into the field of discussion. It frequently happens that long after works have been edited, more authoritative MSS. of the same works are drawn from their hiding-places, and the learned world is forced to accept readings different from those to which it has been accustomed. As to the superior value of the codices adduced by Schelestrat, it is recognized by such critics as Lenfant, Van der Hardt, Hardouin, Burnet, Roncaglia, and Zaccaria. Cardinal Orsi confirms the argument of the Netherlander by proving that Zabarella, whose province it was to read, in the fifth session of Constance, the decree of the fourth, did not read the famous words, because of the opposition already evinced by the Sacred College to their insertion in the decree. La Luzerne accounts for the existence of the Schelestratian codices by the presumed fact that "a few years after the Council of Constance, the court of Rome exerted every nerve to withdraw itself from the authority of that Council's decrees," and he concludes his attempted refutation of Orsi's defence of the Schelestratian theory with these words: "These manuscripts, said to have been found by Schelestrat in the Vatican Library, and cited so frequently and so emphatically by the ultramontanes, are miserable writings without authenticity or authority, fabricated by party interest, and they should be returned to an oblivion from which they should never have been drawn" (1). La Luzerne smiles at Orsi's introduction of the Zabarella reading in the fifth session, and insists that "this anecdote proves that the decree was really issued in the fourth session. The nations reproached him for his faithless omission, and thus attested that they had worded the decree just as we possess it" (2). The astute bishop of Langres certainly presents the strongest of arguments against the Schelestratian theory, when he reminds us that "the authenticity of the decree of the fourth session alone is contested ; the decree of the fifth session is univer-

(1) *On the Declaration, etc.*, c. xx., art. 1, no. 7.(2) *Ibid.*, no. 6.

sally acknowledged as authentic. The question (raised by Schelestrat) is therefore useless, and the difficulty presented is without object. Even though we grant that the decree of the fourth session was falsified, it is still certain that in its fifth session the Council declared that every General Council is superior to the Pope" (1). From this argument there is but one escape; and that is by proving that our adversaries misinterpret the meaning of the decree of the fifth session.

Laying aside, therefore, the theory of vitiation, we shall nevertheless prove that the Council of Constance does not furnish an instance of a General Council asserting the supremacy of such assemblies over the Roman Pontiff. In the first place, the Council of Constance labored under many defects, so far as the famous decrees are concerned; and principally under that of want of Apostolic confirmation. Secondly, the decrees of the fourth and fifth sessions were issued, not as dogmas of faith, but as Synodal Constitutions. Thirdly, they were meant to apply, not to a certainly legitimate Pontiff, but to a dubious one. Fourthly, unity was finally restored to the Church without any recourse to the theory of the supremacy of a General Council.

I. The asserters of the absolute œcumenicity of the Council of Constance ought to show that John XXIII., the convoker of the assembly, was possessed of a better right to the tiara than that of Gregory XII. or Benedict XIII.; also that during the fourth and fifth sessions, when the Council was composed only of prelates belonging to the obedience of John XXIII., the assembly was truly universal. They should also show the futility of the objections made by John XXIII.—the Pontiff recognized by the Council—complaining of the division of the Council into four unequal nations, and the consequent counting of votes, not *per capita*, as the Canons required, but by said nations—a system which gave the same weight to the three votes of England as to the hundred of Italy or of France. But, above all, ere it can be concluded that a General Council asserted the subjection of a Pontiff to itself, it should be proved that such a decree received the Apostolic approbation—not an ambiguous one, but one so clear and

(1) *Ibid.*, no. 4.

certain that said decree, otherwise of such uncertain authority, must necessarily be regarded as emanating from the Catholic Church. John XXIII. gave no such approbation, for he fled from the Council before its third session; and so long as he was free, he showed himself averse to all the synodal proceedings. At one time he appeared to respect the actions of the Council, but then he was a captive. Nor was the necessary confirmation granted by the certainly legitimate Pontiff, Martin V. This Pope expressly approved the proceedings against Wycliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague; and in one of his Constitutions given before the end of the Council, he declared that he supplied, in these matters, all the defects of the assembly. But there is not a trace of his approbation of the decrees in question. On the contrary, he declared to the Polish orators at the Council that, in no case whatever, could an appeal be made from the Holy See to a General Council; and he issued a special Bull to that effect, thus "entirely destroying the very foundations" of the Conciliar decrees, as Gerson complained (1). In the forty-fifth session, Martin V. certainly declared that he "wished the inviolable observation of each and every thing synodally (*conciliariter*) determined, concluded, and decreed by the present Council in matters of faith (*in materia fidei*), and that he approved and ratified the said things *synodally* done, approving nothing otherwise or in another way (*et non aliter, nec alio modo*)."

But this approbation can apply only to the decrees concerning Wycliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague; for, as we shall now show, the decrees of the fourth and fifth sessions, read them as we may, were not issued with the forms usual in dogmatic definitions, but after the manner of Synodal Constitutions (2).

II. In the fifth session, according to the *Acts* of the Council, "by order of the entire Holy Synod, the reverend Father Andrew, (bishop) elect of Poznanian, arose and published certain chapters which had already been deliberated

(1) *Dialog. Apolog.*

(2) No argument for Conciliar supremacy can be deduced from the fact that Martin V., in his Bull to the emperor Sigismund, designated as "canonical" the deposition of John XXIII. This claimant had subjected himself to the judgment of the Council, and since he afterward coincided with that judgment, as he had promised to do, he may be said to have freely abdicated, rather than to have been deposed by the Council.

and concluded by way of Synodal Constitutions." In some codices the word "Constitutions" is repeated after the decrees, and the use of this term shows that the Council did not intend to propose a dogma of faith. As Peter Ballerini and Melchior Canus remark, just as all the decrees of the Supreme Pontiffs, even when on dogmatic matters, do not constitute dogmas of faith, so neither do all the statutes of Councils. "When a matter is declared to be believed or condemned *ex fide*, an anathema or similar form of censure is pronounced against those who contradict. If no such note is found, then, even though the matter may pertain to faith, the decree is not a certain dogmatic definition. Among Catholics there are many questions which refer to faith; such, for example, as pertain to the form, matter, or minister of certain Sacraments; and which, so long as the Church gives no definition, form no dogma of faith. In these matters, so long as they are debated among Catholics, Pontiffs and Councils do not easily render dogmatic judgment; and until the subject is clearly decided, if something is decreed which circumstances appear to demand for the good of the Church, it is not always and at once to be numbered among dogmas and definitions" (1). When the Council of Constance, influenced by the necessity of finding and actuating a remedy for the direful schism, issued its decree enjoining compliance upon the rival Pontiffs, it used no such terminology as it adopted in condemning the errors of Wycliffe, etc. Even Gerson, whose audacity would have led him to condemn his opponents in this matter as heretics, admitted that the doctrine of Conciliar superiority was *openly* opposed by many who were not therefore regarded as heretics by the Council (2). And an event occurred in the Council, shortly after the publication of the famous decrees, which plainly shows that the fathers did not regard said decrees as other than remedial Constitutions. When the condemnation of Wycliffe's errors had been prepared, there was a debate concerning the name in which the decree should be pronounced; whether it should be that of the Pontiff or that

(1) *Ibid.*, c. viii., no. 4.

(2) *Ecclesiastical Power*, consid. 12—*Sermon for the Feast of St. Anthony*.

of the Council. Cardinal d'Ailly strenuously urged, before the congregation of theologians called to consider the matter, the claims of the Council; but out of the forty doctors only twelve favored his view. How would the twenty-eight defenders of the Papal prerogative have dared to vote for its assertion, if the famous decrees had been proposed as decrees of faith? Is it not evident that, even after the publication of these constitutions, the synodals regarded their subject-matter as open to dispute? But Gerson himself, the very head and front of the cismontane host, admitted that the Constitutions were not of faith. In a lengthy treatise, issued during the Council, he does not accuse his adversaries of heresy, but concludes his advocacy of Synodal supremacy in these words: "However, these things are presented not as by one definitively determining, but as by one persuading doctrinally; for I submit the matter to the consideration of the Holy Council."

III. In the General Council of Florence (y. 1438), Cardinal Turrecremata contended that the decrees of Constance were intended to be applied only in the case of a dubious Pontiff. In those decrees, said he, in his *Apology* for Pope Eugenius, "the Council does not speak of any schism whatever, but only of that schism which existed when the decrees were published." He then demonstrated that the Pope ought to enforce such decrees of reformation, not because the Council so ordained, but because of the natural fitness of things (1), for, said he, unless in case of heresy, an undoubted Pontiff cannot be subjected to a Council. When

(1) This idea is well expressed by Peter Ballerini (*loc. cit.*, nos. 10 and 11) as follows: "In the case of schism, in which the Supreme Pontiff, above all others, ought to use every means to extinguish it and to restore the unity of which his primacy makes him the guardian, should he not abdicate, because of that very law of charity which commands that private should yield to the public good? If he has bound himself by oath to do so, he is obliged, by natural and divine law, to yield. He is then obliged by a law superior to any Synod, by that natural and divine law to which even the Supreme Pontiffs are subject. For the same reason he would be obliged in the case of reformation in head and members. Who can doubt that the Supreme Pontiff is bound, by natural and divine law, to reform whatever needs reformation, either in himself or in the other members of the Church? If a General Council were to propose and demand this, he ought to do it, not because of the Council's right, but because of the natural and divine law urged in the Council's decree. Here the coercive force is not in the Council, but in the natural and divine law. And if the decree is issued in a truly General Council, where there is the assent or confirmation of the Pontiff, then by such assent he freely subjects himself to the same decree, and is voluntarily bound by it, all coercion excluded."

Turrecremata thus spoke, he was heard by many whose memory would have enabled them to contradict him, had his interpretation of the decrees been wrong. Pope Eugenius IV., in his Constitution beginning *Moses*, given at Florence in 1439, interpreted the decrees of Constance in the same manner. When the prelates of Basel declared that Conciliar supremacy was a doctrine of faith defined at Constance, the Pontiff, with the approbation of the Council of Florence, condemned the proposition as "contrary to Scripture, to the Fathers, and to the same Council of Constance." No Catholic, remarks Roncaglia (1), will hold that the subjection of a dubious Pope cannot be numbered among the truths of faith; therefore the doctrine of Basel, condemned by Eugenius IV., in the Council of Florence, was the one that subjected a certainly legitimate Pontiff to a Council—a teaching, defined Eugenius, which was foreign to the minds of the fathers of Constance. Again, the very decrees of Constance show that they were meant to affect only a dubious Pope. It is expressly stated that "in order to procure union and the reformation of the Church more easily, the Council ordains, etc." Just before these words we read this passage: "This Holy Synod, . . . legitimately assembled for the extinction of the present schism, and for the union and reformation of the Church of God in head and members," and, remarks Zaccaria (2), the word "this" or "aforesaid" is evidently understood before "union," as Maimbourg himself admitted when he translated the text thus: "In order to the more easily procure *this* union, etc." But this union and this reformation were nothing else than the extinction of the schism. Finally, from a protest of the Italian, French, and Spanish "nations," which is found in the *Acts* of the Council before the fortieth session, we learn that these nations had a serious discussion with the German nation as to which work should be first undertaken, the election of a certainly legitimate Pontiff, or the task of reformation. The Germans wished to give precedence to the latter work, but the others carried their point. But the Germans in-

(1) *Animadversions on Alexandre's Dissert. iv., cent. XV., § 2.*

(2) *Loc. cit.*, no. 9.

sisted that the Council should guarantee to begin the task of reform before the coronation of the new Pope. Various decrees were composed, but "it was finally declared that a Pope-elect could not be bound" (1). But if the Council, in its fourth and fifth sessions, had already attempted to bind a certainly legitimate Pontiff, why did not the German nation continue to press its demand, and quote the decrees as a justification of the proceeding? It should also be observed that on this same day, September 11, 1417, the Italian, French, and Spanish nations, in their protest commencing "Hear these things," insisted that nothing further should be done until a Pontiff was chosen, for otherwise "it would follow that the Church of God was without a head or law; that the Church would remain in danger, for in the absence of a head whose province it would be to convoke a Council, an undoubted Council could scarcely be assembled." From this fact also, therefore, we must conclude that the fathers of Constance had not declared that, even when the Pontiff was certainly legitimate, the Council possessed authority immediately from God.

IV. Divine Providence so disposed that the Great Schism was healed without any recourse to the theory which we combat. Gregory XII., whom we contend to have been the legitimate Pontiff, voluntarily abdicated the tiara. John XXIII., whom the partisans of the Pisan assembly regarded as Pope, was indeed deposed, but with his own consent; and if it be said that this consent was extorted by fear, and that this fear was unjustly caused (which is false), then at least it is certain that Balthassar Cossa afterward venerated Martin V. as Pontiff. The obstinate Peter de Luna refused to yield, and was deposed; but he had become a schismatic, and hence was declared deposed rather than really deposed. By the very fact of his separation from the Church, this prelate lost the Primacy, if he had ever possessed it. Therefore he was amenable to the Council (2).

(1) "*Tandem fuit dictum quod Papa electus ligari non poterat.*"

(2) Peter Ballerini thus speaks of the situation of Peter de Luna: "Since it is certain that a schismatic is not in the Catholic Church, it is equally certain that he cannot have any primatial jurisdiction, for all jurisdiction is in the Church (See ANTONINUS, pt. II., tit. 3, c. xi., § 7, conclus. 3). A schismatic is not only he who separates from the Roman Pontiff, the

CHAPTER IV.

JOAN OF ARC.

In the year 1411, in the little village of Domremy, on the confines of Champagne, Burgundy, and Lorraine, was born a peasant girl to whom, although until her womanhood "unable to handle a sword or to mount a horse," modern Frenchmen probably owe the fact that the sovereign of England does not now wear the crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, Ireland, and France. No purely secular heroine has attained to such celebrity as Jeanne, or, as she is styled in our language, Joan of Arc. At the commencement of this century, more than four hundred works, not counting, of course, the fly-sheets of prose and poetry circulated among the crowd during the solemn annual processions at Orleans, had treated of her career (1). Some of these works have aimed at the coronation of the Maid with the halo of canonized sanctity; others have been content with advocating her claim to the lasting gratitude of her countrymen, and to the admiration and sympathy of all humanity; a few have derided her memory.

King Charles VI. of France (1380-1422) was subject to attacks of insanity. His queen, Isabella of Bavaria, a shameless princess, an unfaithful wife, and a heartless mother, caused Henry V. of England to be named regent of the kingdom, with future succession, to the prejudice of the dauphin, her own son. The princes of the blood-royal and the great nobles of France, instead of supporting the tottering throne, warred upon each other. John of Burgundy caused the as-

head of the Church, but also he who is divided from the body and unity of the Church, and does not communicate with it. . . . The body of the Church which, because of the schism, had been divided into three parts or obediences, was made one when the three obediences united in the Council of Constance. This did not occur at the commencement of the Council; but when, after the union of the obediences of Gregory XII. and John XXIII., the others, and principally the most obstinate, the Spaniards, returned to unity—all except a very few who continued to adhere to Benedict XIII. in Paniscola, a remote corner of Spain, and who certainly could not be called the Catholic Church. When, therefore, after the union of all the obediences and of the whole body, Benedict was disjoined from the body and unity of the Catholic Church, he became a real schismatic, even a heretic, pretending that the Church of Christ was to be found only in his partisans at Paniscola." *Loc. cit.*, no. 17.

(1) CHAUSSARD; *Joan of Arc, an Historical and Complete Collection*, Orleans, 1806.

sassination of the duke d'Orleans, brother of the king ; Tanegui du Chatel then slew the duke of Burgundy ; and the whole kingdom became a prey to fire and sword. On the death of Henry V. in 1422, the duke of Bedford assumed the regency of France in the name of the infant Henry VI., while the legitimate king, Charles VI., died in the hands of the Burgundians. The armies of the young Charles VII. were everywhere defeated by his rebellious subjects and the English invaders ; only the provinces south of the Loire remained in his power, and his insolent enemies styled him the " little king of Bourges." He had already thought of seeking refuge in Spain or in Scotland ; and according to all human foresight, the throne of Charlemagne and of St. Louis was a thing of the past, when the Maid came to its succor. Joan always insisted that her mission was from heaven, and as no other human being participated in her visions, we must recur to her own testimony for an account of them (1).

Thus she testified before her judges : " Whatever good I have worked for France, I have performed by the grace and command of the King of Heaven, as He enjoined upon me by means of His angels and saints ; and all that I know came to my knowledge only by the revelation and command of God. . . . By His order I went to King Charles VII., son of King Charles VI. ; I would have been torn to pieces, sooner than have gone to him without the divine command. All my deeds are in the hands of God ; in Him, and in Him alone, all my trust has been placed. With all my strength I have executed whatever the voices of His saints enjoined upon me, if I rightly understood them. . . . Were I to wish to narrate all that God revealed to me, eight entire days would not suffice ; but I will tell you how the saints first appeared to me. One day about noon, in the summer of seven years ago, when I was about thirteen years old, I was in my father's garden ; and then I heard for the first time, at my right hand, and toward the church, a voice ; while there appeared to my eyes a figure surrounded by unearthly splendor, having the aspect

(1) QUICHERAT ; *The Process of the Condemnation and of the Rehabilitation of Joan of Arc, Called the Maid ; Published for the First Time from the MSS. of the National Library. Followed by All the Historical Documents Obtainable, and Accompanied by Notes and Explanations* ; 5 vols., 8vo ; Paris, 1849.

of a good and virtuous man, but with wings, and entirely immersed in light. He was followed by heavenly angels ; for very often the angels come among Christians, who are not at all aware of such a presence. I myself have often seen angels in the company of Christians. The one who appeared to me was St. Michael ; his voice seemed very venerable to me, but as I was then a little girl, I felt great fear because of the apparition, and I doubted whether it was really of an angel. . . . I saw him and the other angels with these my eyes as I now see you, my judges ; and I believe all that he said and did, as I believe in the passion and death of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. I am led to such faith by the aid he gave me, and by his good counsels and lessons. . . . That angel told me that, above all, I must be a good girl, and go often to church ; that then God would help me. He told me of God's great pity for France, and that I should fly to the aid of her king. He also told me that SS. Catharine and Margaret would visit me, and that I should do whatever they bade me do. . . . Afterward SS. Catharine and Margaret appeared to me, and ordered me to go to Robert de Vaudricourt, an officer of the king, at Vaucouleurs. They said that he would repel me several times, but that finally he would do my will, and would furnish me an escort to the king in the interior of France ; then I would raise the siege of Orleans. I replied that I was only a poor girl, unable to mount a horse and to lead in war. Then they said that I should carry my standard bravely ; that God would help me, and my king would receive his whole kingdom, in spite of his enemies. 'Be consoled,' they added, 'and when thou shalt be before thy king, thou shalt give him a good sign, which will cause him to confide in thee, and to bid thee welcome.' These saints have guided me during seven successive years, and have succored me in all my fatigues and miseries ; even now they visit me every day. I have never asked them for any other thing than protection in my undertakings in war, and for God's help for the French ; for myself I have asked only the salvation of my soul. When I first heard their voices, I voluntarily promised God that I would remain a virgin, pure in body and soul, if, of course, such were His will ; and then they promised to lead

me into paradise. . . . These saints did not order me to keep their appearance secret ; but I feared to reveal it, thinking that the Burgundians, and above all, my father, would prevent my going to the king. I was allowed to speak of the apparitions to my father, but I would not have done so for the world. As for other things, I have always been obedient therein to my father and my mother ; if I was not in this matter, and if I departed without their knowledge, I believe that I was not in fault ; for I went in obedience to the command of God, and when such a command was issued, I would have obeyed, though I had a hundred fathers and a hundred mothers, and though I were the daughter of a king. . . . From the time that I knew that I was to journey into the interior of France, I abstained, as much as I could, from the plays and recreations under the tree of the Fates. In fact, I think that I never danced under that tree after I reached the age of reason (1). . . . The saints generally appear to me surrounded by splendor ; I see their faces, garments, hair, and arms, but whether they have other members I know not. I always see them under the same appearance, and I have never noticed any contradiction in their remarks. I have learned to distinguish them, one from another ; I recognize them by their tone of voice and by their salutation of me, for they always call me by name when they begin to speak. SS. Margaret and Catharine have rich and precious crowns on their heads, as is but right. I understand all that they say to me ; for they speak French well, and have soft, tender, and

(1) Here Joan alludes to an old beech tree which grew near a medicinal spring in the neighborhood of Domremy, and which was said to have sheltered the Fates in Druidical times. Under this venerable tree many of the village feasts were held ; and especially in Spring, on the Sunday when the Church sings *Latare Jerusalem* at the Introit, the lord of Domremy there met the festive villagers, and distributed refreshments to them. According to the testimony of many who knew her, Joan preferred to sing rather than to dance on such occasions ; and if she sometimes helped to decorate the tree, most of her flowers went to a little image of the Blessed Virgin near-by. The enemies of the Maid afterward charged her with having practised magic under the tree of the Fates, and with having thus acquired the ability to defeat the English. She thus repelled the accusation : " My brother has said that in my native place some thought that I received my mission under the tree of the Fates. But I protest that this is false. I do not know that any saint ever appeared to me under that tree. When I stood before the king, some persons asked me if there was such a tree in my native place, because various prophecies had announced that from such a one a virgin would come and perform wonderful things. But I had no faith in this, and I never have had any book on magic in my hands." At the time the Maid thus spoke, and for centuries afterward, very learned men believed in magic.

loving voices. . . . Now and then SS. Catharine and Margaret order me to go to confession. . . . They come to me without my calling them, and if they did not come often, I would pray God to send them to me. They have always come when I needed them. Great is my joy when St. Michael, the angels, and the two saints come to me, for then I know that I am not in mortal sin; were I in such a state they would abandon me at once. . . . I have embraced SS. Catharine and Margaret in my arms. Even now I hear their voices every day, and indeed I need to hear them; were I not so encouraged, I would be dead. . . . I believe in them as I do in the existence of God." This account of her mission to save France was never varied or denied by Joan, even when in the midst of devouring flames.

With great difficulty the Maid prevailed on one of her uncles to visit the governor of Vaucouleurs, and to unfold to him her design. The sturdy soldier advised the uncle to cure his niece with a good thrashing; but Joan persisted, and after a few months of struggle she induced Vaudricourt to further her journey. Donning male attire, by the advice, as she declared, of her heavenly visitants, for her protection among a lascivious soldiery, and girding on the sword which Vaudricourt had given her, the Maid started on her perilous journey on Feb. 13, 1429. She had to travel for a hundred and fifty hours through districts occupied by the enemy, and infested by assassins; but she comforted her dissuading friends with the assurance: "If the enemy holds the road, my Lord will clear it. For this task I was born." She was accompanied by one of her brothers, by two gentlemen and their pages, and by a royal messenger and a royal equerry.

At this time Talbot was besieging Orleans, and deputies from the suffering city had informed King Charles that its surrender was daily expected. When Joan arrived at Fierbois, then the residence of the French court, she sent a letter to Charles, telling him that she brought help by the command of God. After examinations by the royal counsellors, she was led to the audience-chamber, where the king had mingled with the courtiers, and was disguised in ordinary garments. Joan proceeded at once to Charles, and falling to her knees,

embraced those of her sovereign, crying: "God grant you a happy life, my liege!" Charles replied: "I am not the king; he is beyond." Joan answered: "In the name of God, you are the king." Charles then led her apart, and conversed with her for some time. Then she gave to the young sovereign the sign which was to inspire him with confidence in her mission, and which her enemies vainly tried to force her to reveal. Joan afterward said that when she had answered many of the king's questions, she declared to him "in the name of the Lord, that he was the son of Charles VI., and the true heir to the French throne." In these words lies the whole secret. In the National Library of Paris is an autograph containing narratives of famous deeds of kings and emperors. The author was one Sala, and he lived shortly after the Maid. Charles VIII. having entrusted to him the education of his son, he heard the secret from an old knight, who himself had heard it from Charles VII., of whom he had been a favorite. Sala ingenuously says: "When Charles VII. had so fallen that he possessed only Bourges and a few other strong places, our Lord God sent to him a rude maiden; . . . and as some may be disgusted with the king's attention to her words, know that she gave him a message from God upon a matter which he had mentioned only to God in his prayers. When, therefore, the Maid told him what she could have learned only from divine inspiration, he abandoned himself to her guidance." Owing to the wickedness of his mother, Isabella of Bavaria, Charles VII. had feared that perhaps he was illegitimate; and once he had prayed to God that if he was indeed the lawful heir to the French crown, it might be preserved to him. To this secret prayer corresponded the words of Joan, that he was the son of Charles VI. It was natural that Joan should conceal this secret, for if the English had learned that Charles himself doubted his own legitimacy, they would have used that doubt to destroy what little influence he still possessed over the French. In the *Chronicle of the Maid*, which is the document *par excellence* upon Joan, and which was first published by Denis Godefroy in his *History of Charles VII.*, we are told that "one day the Maid said to the king in private: 'Gentle dauphin (Joan

always thus addressed Charles until after his coronation), why do you not believe? I tell you that God pities you, your kingdom, and your people. St. Louis and Charlemagne are on their knees before Him, praying for you; and I can tell you, if it pleases you to hear it, something which will make you believe me.' Nevertheless, she was willing that a few of the gentlemen of the king should be present, and at her request the king caused an oath of secrecy to be taken by the duke d'Alençon, the lord of Treves, the lord Christopher d'Harcourt, and his confessor, master Gerard Machet; and in their presence she told the king of something important, though secret, which he had done." One of the most interesting documents concerning the Maid is a *Diary of the Siege of Orleans*, printed in that city in 1576, but written by one Soubsdan in 1467 in illustration of a far older MS. In this work we are told that Joan "declared to the king, in presence of his confessor and a few of his privy counsellors, a vow which he had made, and which God alone had heard." This revelation of the Maid is given in more detail by an Orleanese chronicler cited by Gorres, but whose work we do not find among the "determinative pieces" edited by Quicherat in his edition of the *Process*. According to this writer, Joan asked the monarch whether he would credit her mission if she revealed to him a secret known only to God and himself. Charles replying in the affirmative, she said: "My lord, do you remember that on the last feast of All Saints, while you were alone in your bed-chamber in the castle of Loches, you made a triple prayer to God?" Charles replied that he had indeed done so; and then the Maid asked him whether he had mentioned those prayers to any one, even to his confessor. Receiving a negative response, Joan said: "My lord, the first prayer you then made was that God would take from you all desire for the crown, if you were not its rightful heir. The second prayer was that if the misfortunes of France were due to your sins, God would free your people, and punish you alone, either with death or any chastisement He might select. The third prayer was that if the people's own sins had brought their miseries on them, God would avert His anger from them."

The deputies from Orleans now returned to the city, full of hope that the siege would soon be raised. But the royal advisers opined that the Maid should be entrusted with no military expedition before she had been examined by the most learned and authoritative prelates and by doctors well versed in Scripture and law. She was conducted to Poitiers, where a tribunal of examiners was convoked under the presidency of the archbishop of Rheims, as chancellor of the kingdom. One after the other, the learned doctors tried to show that Joan labored under hallucinations; Holy Writ and famous works were quoted, while the Maid patiently listened. At length she replied: "In the books of the Lord God there are more things than in yours." She predicted the defeat of the English, and the delivery of Orleans; the coronation of King Charles at Rheims; the restoration of Paris to his obedience; and the recovery of his liberty by the duke d'Orleans, then a prisoner in England. Christopher d'Harcourt, bishop of Castres, was the first to proclaim his belief in the heavenly mission of the Maid; finally, the assembly pronounced that the king could safely accept the offered service. The celebrated Æneas Sylvius, who ascended the Papal throne as Pius II., thirty years after the murder of Joan, speaks as follows of this examination: "Interrogated concerning matters of faith, she answered in accordance with Christian doctrine; her morals having been investigated, she was found to be most pure and honest. Nothing was found to be feigned, and nothing ascribable to malign art. When asked why she had donned a man's clothing, which was forbidden to a woman, she replied that she was a virgin, and that both dresses befitted virgins; furthermore, since she was to wield a man's weapons, God had ordered her to wear a man's garments."

It having been decided that the fortunes of the Lilies should be entrusted to the Maid, she now put on the insignia of a king's officer; her armor was a gift from Charles, but she claimed that her banner and sword came from God. She declared that her saints (thus she always styled her celestial visitants) had told her to use a sword which would be found buried near the altar of the church of St. Catharine in Fier-

bois. She had a letter written to the priests of that church, begging them to search for the weapon; excavations were made, and a sword inscribed with five crosses was found. Cleared of its rust, it was placed in a scabbard of red velvet embroidered with lilies; but the citizens of Tours gave her another sheath, made of cloth of gold. However, Joan would use neither; she always carried one of common leather. Her banner was white, and covered with lilies, and on it our Lord was represented as judging the world; at the Lord's feet were two angels, one of whom held a lily which He was blessing. The motto on the standard was "Jesus, Maria." The retinue of the Maid consisted of the knight John d'Aulon, whom the noble Dunois styled the first of his chevaliers, two pages, two heralds, two footmen, and a master of the household. Her confessor and chaplain was an Augustinian friar. Before setting out for Orleans, Joan predicted that she would be wounded before that city, but that nevertheless she would complete her task. This prophecy is narrated by the lord de Rotslaer, writing from Lyons to the court of Brabant on April 22; Joan did not enter Orleans before the 29th, and she was wounded on May 7. The Maid raised her standard on April 21; and followed by the archbishop of Rheims, by the grandmaster of the royal household, and by a small army, she marched on Blois. Here she dictated the following letter to the English commanders: "King of England; and thou, duke of Bedford, who stylest thyself governor of the French kingdom; thou, William de la Poule, earl of Suffolk; thou, John, lord Talbot; Thomas, lord Scates; who all style yourselves governors for the duke of Bedford: Give His due to the King of heaven, and restore to the Maid who is sent by the King of heaven the keys of all the faithful cities of France which you have taken and ruined. She has come hither to vindicate the rights and privileges of the royal blood of France. She is disposed to peace if justice influences you to depart from France, and to indemnify her for your residence in her territories. And you, nobles and plebeians, archers and soldiers, who are now before Orleans, return to your own country in the name of God; and do not allow yourselves to be surprised by the Maid, who will soon seek ye for your hurt. King of England! if you do not obey

me, I, captain in this war, will disperse your troops, whether they like it or not, in whatever part of France I may find them. If they dare to resist, they shall all perish. God, the King of heaven, orders me to chase you from France, every one of you; only he who obeys will be admitted to my grace. And do not believe that God, the King of heaven, the Son of the Immaculate Mary, wishes you to possess this kingdom; it is reserved for the legitimate heir, King Charles. God has so declared to King Charles by the tongue of the Maid; and I tell you that the king will enter Paris with a good following. If you place no faith in the message of God and of the Maid, the edges of our swords will strike you, wherever we find you; and there will be such a noise of hunt as has not been heard in all France for a thousand years. And bear in mind that the King of heaven can send more troops to the Maid than you can oppose to her; and when the tempest of horrid sword-blows bursts forth, it will be plain on which side heaven knows justice to reside. Duke of Bedford! the Maid entreats thee not to be obstinate, to thy own harm. If thou deniest her right, thou shalt meet her in a place where the French will perform the most glorious feat of arms that was ever accomplished for the good of Christendom. If thou desirest peace, let the Maid have thy reply in Orleans; otherwise thou shalt soon realize thy immense loss. Written on this Tuesday of the Holy Week, 1429."

On April 27, Joan departed from Blois to the relief of Orleans. At the head of the little army of less than five thousand men, marched a number of priests chanting the *Veni Creator*, and other hymns. During the march of two days the Maid constantly exhorted the soldiers to persevere in the state of grace; most of them went to confession; as many temptations as possible were removed from the line of march. We refer the reader to secular history for the details of Joan's military career. Suffice it here to say that after many difficulties, even at the hands of the French generals, the Maid led the royal troops of France from victory to victory, and on July 17, Charles VII. was crowned at Rheims. When the archbishop had performed the function, the simple peasant girl, whose hand had led her king from the depths of misfortune to the

height of power, bent her knee before her sovereign, and with tears of joy said to him: "Now, my king, is fulfilled the will of God, which demanded that I should deliver Orleans, and conduct you to the city of Rheims to receive the sacred unction which would show that you are the lawful sovereign of France." Joan considered her mission now terminated, and humbly begged the royal permission to return to her native village. But the king's advisers deemed it prudent to take advantage of the enthusiasm excited by the prestige of the Maid, and to compel her continued service with the army. She accompanied the king in his expedition against Paris, and on Sept. 8 she attacked the fortifications. After a day's fighting she was wounded; and though wishing to continue the combat, was dragged perforce from the scene, while Charles ordered a retreat. When her wound was healed, Joan hastened to the relief of Melun, saved the city, and on its very bastions, as she declared, her saints told her that she would fall into the hands of the enemy before the feast of St. John. She should not fear, said the saints, but should embrace the cross with gratitude, and God would give her grace to carry it. She then begged her heavenly friends to pray God to spare her a long captivity, and to call her soon to Himself. The saints simply exhorted her to be patient. In May of the next year, Joan defeated the enemy near Lagny, and then advanced on Compiègne, which the duke of Burgundy and the earl of Arundel had attacked with a numerous army. On the 22d, she made a sortie; and after a heroic combat, her followers were compelled to give way. While she was covering their retreat, she was taken prisoner. Lionel of Vendôme conducted her to Marigny; and there she was sold to John of Luxembourg, who took her to the castle of Beaulieu. Removed to Beauvais, she learned that she had been sold to the English. Dread of the future now combined with her anxiety for Compiègne to make her captivity insupportable; and she cherished a design of jumping from the tower in which she was confined. Every day St. Catharine told her that God would deliver Compiègne, and that she would not be free before she had seen the king of England. "I wish not to see him," replied Joan; "I would sooner die than fall

into the hands of the English." In her anguish, she jumped from the tower, and was found unconscious but unwounded in the ditch. At first, influenced by his aunt, who pitied the Maid, Luxembourg hesitated to deliver her to the English; but these bitter enemies of Joan soon found a means of obtaining the person of her who had done so much to prevent their conquest of her country. Joan had been captured in the diocese of Beauvais; and therefore the bishop of Beauvais might be considered as her spiritual judge. This prelate, Peter Cauchon (1), was entirely devoted to the English, principally because the inhabitants of Beauvais, on the approach of Joan to their city, had expelled him as a traitor to his country. The English leaders requested Cauchon to preside at the trial of the Maid, but he hesitated to undertake the terrible mission. He demanded permission to consult the University of Paris, then entirely devoted to the English invaders, for all the doctors who remained faithful to their legitimate king had fled from the capital. On July 14th, to its everlasting shame, the University sent to Cauchon two letters, one for the duke of Burgundy, and one for John of Luxembourg, requesting both to deliver the Maid to the bishop, who would persecute her as guilty of "idolatry and other crimes against faith." On the presentation of these letters, only want of ready money prevented Cauchon from obtaining immediate possession of the prisoner. On Aug. 4th, the states of Normandy were taxed for the amount demanded by Luxembourg, and on Oct. 20th, the money was paid. But the trial was deferred until Jan. 9th, 1431, and the first ex-

(1) Quicherat gives the following account of this bishop: "Peter Cauchon . . . arrived at political distinction because of his university honors. George Chastellain calls him 'a grand and solemn clerk,' a eulogy sufficiently justified by the suffrages of the University of Paris, which called him to its rectorship, and employed him, during the reign of Charles VI., in important negotiations. In time he became conservator of the privileges of this illustrious body. Duboulai, in his *Hist. Univ. Paris.*, vol. V., does not hesitate to represent Cauchon as a 'magnificent and beneficent' man; the correspondence of Nicholas de Clemangis is full of his praises; in fine, Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, thought so much of him, that when he had procured for him the see of Beauvais, he accompanied him at his installation. After his retirement to Rouen, he became the *ame damnée* of the Lancastrian princes, who profited by his inordinate ambition and his resentment against Charles VII. They rewarded his complaisance in the matter of the Maid with the promise of the archbishopric of Rouen, then vacant. This promise is shown to have been made, in the recent publication of Sir Harris Nicholas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, London, 1835. . . . In spite of this powerful recommendation, the favored prelate did not obtain the coveted see." *Process, etc.*, vol. I., pt. I.

amination of Joan was held on Feb. 21, in the city of Rouen.

During seventeen sessions, which lasted until March 17th, Joan was surrounded by snares; deafened with questions; tormented in every way. Without counsel or any assistance whatever; weakened and sore from the chains with which she was loaded, night and day; knowing that every sentence she uttered might be so interpreted as to send her to the stake; the peasant girl remained firm and tranquil, and always returned calm and temperate answers. While constantly proclaiming the reality of her visions, none of her remarks betrayed any fanaticism or exaltation. He who reads the *Process* carefully will feel that there was no great extravagance on the part of John Fabry, one of the assessors at the trial, when he asserted that it was his deliberate judgment that the replies of Joan to her judges were the fruit of heavenly inspiration. We earnestly recommend the reader to study the *Process*, our limits allowing only a few extracts to be given. "My thoughts and my deeds," she said, "are in the hands of God, and I confide entirely in Him. I have done nothing without His command, and it was through His revelation that I received all that I know; and the good I have worked was done because He wished it to be done. I went to the king by command of God and His angels; I put on the clothing of a man; and I would have been drawn by wild horses, sooner than disregard His or their wishes. If He chose me instead of another, it was because He wished to expel the king's enemies by the arm of a girl. . . . I say to my lord, the bishop of Beauvais: You claim to be my judge, and I know not whether you are; but beware of pronouncing an unjust sentence, and of thus exposing yourself to extreme danger. I warn you, so that if the Lord punishes you, I will have done my duty. . . . I demand to be taken before the Pope; I will answer him as I ought to answer. . . . If you doubt the truth of what I tell you about my saints, send to Poitiers, where I was first examined. My king believed in me, and after hearing the decision of the ecclesiastical authorities. . . . My voices told me to answer you courageously, and with a joyful countenance. Therefore I shall readily tell you all that God allows me to reveal; but I can tell you nothing which was revealed

to me concerning the king of France, without the consent of my saints."

Joan had not surrendered herself as a prisoner of war; hence she regarded herself as free to take advantage of an opportunity to regain her liberty. When she heard that Cauchon had pronounced that any attempt to flee would indicate her guilt of magical practices, she said: "I do not recognize his right to prohibit my flight; were I to escape, no man could say that I broke my word." Three months before her death, the judges asked her what her saints had promised her concerning her fate. JOAN: "That has nothing to do with the trial." J.: "But have they given you any promise?" JOAN: "Yes, they made me one, but I shall not tell it, for it does not concern the trial. But I shall manifest it in three months." J.: "Have your saints told you that you will be freed from prison in three months?" JOAN: "That has nothing to do with the trial. Now I know not when I shall be free. Perhaps they who desire my death will take their time." On another occasion she said: "St. Catharine signified that help would come to me; my voices tell me that I shall be freed 'by means of a great victory'; and they tell me to bear everything with patience, and not to be sad because of my martyrdom, for through it I am to enter paradise. By martyrdom I understand my sufferings in prison; I know not whether greater pain awaits me. In every event I abandon myself to the will of the Lord." Regarding her visions, the judges demanded: "When did you last hear the voices?" JOAN: "Yesterday and to-day." J.: "At what hour yesterday?" JOAN: "Three times; first at Matins; then at Vespers, finally at the Ave Maria." J.: "What were you doing yesterday when you heard the voices?" JOAN: "I was sleeping, and the voices awakened me." J.: "Were you awakened by a call, or by a touch on the arm?" JOAN: "They aroused me without touching me." J.: "Was the voice in your room?" JOAN: "No; it seemed to come from over the castle." J.: "Did you thank that voice, and kneel before it?" JOAN: "I thanked it, remaining in bed. I joined my hands, and prayed it to assist me and to advise me as to what I should do. The voice answered that I should reply to you

courageously." J.: "What did it say on the instant that you awoke?" JOAN: "I begged it to advise me as to what I should say to you; and it told me to speak bravely, and God would help me." J.: "Had the voice said anything before you thus prayed?" JOAN: "Some words which I did not well understand. But it is true that when I was fully awake, it told me to answer you courageously." J.: "Did this voice ever vary in its counsels?" JOAN: "I have never found the least contradiction in its sayings. I believe that this voice comes from God and obeys God, as firmly as I believe the teachings of Jesus, and in the redemption of man by God." J.: "Is this voice that of an angel, or that of a saint, or does it proceed directly from God?" JOAN: "The voice comes from God. I do not tell you more clearly what I know concerning it, because I fear to err more seriously by telling what would displease you, than by allowing you to find your own answer." J.: "When you hear the voices, do you see anything?" JOAN: "I cannot tell you all, for I have not permission to do so; but the voice is good." J.: "Has the voice eyes and face?" JOAN: "At present you shall not learn this from me. I do not forget that children are told that many persons have been hung for telling the whole truth." One day she was asked how she had felt for the last few days, and she replied: "You can see for yourselves that I am as well as I can be." On another occasion, being asked whether she saw St. Michael and other angels in body and in substance, she answered: "I see them with my bodily eyes as I see you." J.: "What sign have you that these revelations come from God, and that they who speak to you are SS. Catharine and Margaret?" JOAN: "I have told you that it is enough that they are SS. Catharine and Margaret. If you please, believe me once." J.: "Does St. Margaret speak English?" JOAN: "Why should she speak English, since she is not of the English party?" J.: "Was St. Michael naked?" JOAN: "Do you think that God cannot cover him?" J.: "Did he have long hair?" JOAN: "Why should he cut his hair?" J.: "When you were a little girl, did you wish to hurt the English?" JOAN: "I greatly desired that my king should recover his kingdom." J.: "Do SS. Catharine and

Margaret abhor the English ? ” JOAN : “ They love whatever God loves, and hate what He hates. ” J. : “ Does God hate the English ? ” JOAN : “ I know nothing of God’s love or hatred for the English, and nothing concerning His thoughts about their souls ; but this I do know, that the English, save those who die, will be expelled from France, and that in the end, God will grant victory to us. ” J. : “ Do you not believe that, so far as earthly prosperity is concerned, your angel deceived you, seeing that you are now a prisoner ? ” JOAN : “ Since God has willed that I should be a prisoner, I believe that I have been captured for some good end. ” J. : “ Do you believe that after your visions you can possibly fall into mortal sin ? ” JOAN : “ God alone knows. I do not think I am in mortal sin, but if I ever committed such, it is for God to judge me ; that is, God and His priests in the confessional. ” J. : “ When jumping from the tower, did you intend killing yourself ? ” JOAN : “ No ; but I recommended myself to God, hoping to escape from the English. ” J. : “ Why did you have that picture put on your banner ? ” JOAN : “ I have told you often enough that I did everything by the command of God. In attacks on the enemy, I carried my banner, that I might avoid killing any one ; indeed, *I never killed any one.* ” J. : “ Do you believe that your voices would still visit you if you were married ? ” JOAN : “ God alone knows. ”

On March 24, the records of the examination were read to the Maid, and with a few unimportant exceptions, she found them correct. Thus far the proceedings had formed merely a preparatory information, for the purpose of finding whether the Maid could be a subject of accusation ; but on the 27th, the *Process*, properly so called, commenced. The promotor formulated seventy-seven points of accusation, which infamously caricatured the life of Joan. Then she was asked to submit herself, purely and simply, to the judgment of the Church. Here, remarks Gorres, the directors of the unjust proceedings merely wished Joan to recognize the sentence of those who called themselves the Church. On the previous day she had been visited in her prison by John Delafontaine, accompanied by two Dominican friars, with the intention of advising her. Having exhorted her to believe and hold all

that the Church believes and holds, Delafontaine had told her that the teaching Church was composed of the Pope and the bishops, and not of Cauchon and his satellites; that she should willingly submit to the decision of the Pope or of a General Council. When, therefore, in the presence of Cauchon, Friar Isambert proposed that Joan should submit to the General Council about to meet at Basel, she willingly assented: "I demand to be taken before the Holy Father; I will not submit to the judgment of my enemies." As this appeal simply nullified the whole process, Cauchon angrily shouted to Isambert to "be silent in the name of the devil" (1). He then ordered the notary to set down nothing as to the prisoner's appeal, and the servile assessors submitted to the injustice. Twelve articles of accusation were now drawn up, based upon the seventy-seven points, and they terminated with the direct lie that Joan had refused to submit to the judgment of the Church. So evident was the injustice of these twelve articles, that the notary Manchon added to the *Acts* an observation to the effect that said articles were not drawn in good faith, and that they did not agree with the examinations. His note, however, was not registered; and he wanted the courage to show his opposition openly, as he afterward declared. Upon these twelve articles, composed in secret, based on a falsification of the examinations, and not communicated to the Maid, were founded the decisions of the University of Paris and of the Chapter of Rouen, whereby Joan was condemned. On April 22, twenty-two doctors and licentiates in theology, with many other men of learning, declared that the works and visions of the Maid were lies and inventions of the demon; and that they were redolent of superstition, enchantment, blasphemy, pride, temerity, and idol-

(1) *Process of Rehabilitation*, ch. 4.—When Cauchon found that Delafontaine and the two Dominicans had suggested the appeal to the Pontiff, he uttered such horrible threats of vengeance that had not the timid vice-inquisitor summoned a little courage, and threatened to withdraw from the trial, the three good Samaritans would probably have lost their lives. On the afternoon of the appeal, these friends appeared again before the cell of Joan, but there they were met by the earl of Warwick, who declared that if they gave the Maid another word of advice, he would have them thrown into the Seine. See the testimony of the Dominican, William Duval, in the *Preliminaries to the Process of Rehabilitation*. From the day of the appeal, Cauchon alone was allowed by Warwick access to Joan's cell. Such permission was not accorded even to the vice-inquisitor, who was a judge concurrent with Cauchon.

atry. The bishop of Avranches, a venerable and honorable prelate, was asked by the judges for his opinion; and he declared that he opined with St. Thomas of Aquin that such a case as the present ought to be referred to the Pontiff or to a General Council.

In the meantime, Joan had fallen seriously ill. Fearful that the victim would escape from his hands, Warwick sent two physicians to her with injunctions to spare no expense or care to effect her cure. "The king of England (then only ten years old) would not have her die a natural death for the world; she has cost him dearly, and he wishes her to die at the stake." So insisted Warwick, and her physicians enabled her to receive the usual admonitions to avow her guilt. On May 9, when she was admonished for the third time, her enemies tried to terrify her by informing her that the torture awaited her. "If perchance," she said, "pain should draw a confession from me, I protest, from this moment, that it will be false. On the feast of the Holy Cross, May 3d, an angel came to me to give me strength, and my voices told me that he was the angel Gabriel. God has been the Author of all my deeds; the devil has had no power over me. Even though they tear me to pieces, I shall not speak otherwise." On the 12th a discussion took place as to the utility of applying torture to the Maid; but only two of the court were sufficiently cruel to advise the use of this method of discovering truth. The death of the heroine had been determined, but her enemies feared the people. An infamous fraud was therefore devised. Two sentences were prepared, and two declarations of submission were to be presented to Joan for her signature or mark. The first sentence condemned her to death, if she did not submit; the second was to be used in case she averred her guilt, and it ordered her perpetual imprisonment. On the 24th Joan was led to the cemetery of St. Ouen, where two platforms had been erected, one for the Maid, and the other for the curials, chief among whom was Cardinal Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, ex-chancellor of England, and grand-uncle of King Henry VI. The presence of the executioner with his apparatus added to the impressiveness of the scene. The *Acts* of the trial were read;

Joan listening patiently, and at the end appealing again to Rome, and firmly denying the charges in the twelve articles. Cauchon then began to read the sentence of condemnation, beginning with the downright lie that Joan had "obstinately and frequently refused to submit her case to our lord the Pontiff." As Cauchon was proceeding, the immense crowd was moved to something like compassion, and many were begging the Maid to sign the paper tendered her. At first she merely replied: "You take much trouble to influence me," but finally she signified that she would obey her judges. Cauchon ceased his reading, and the canon Erard (1) handed to the curial Massieu (2) a paper containing a promise that Joan would never again wear masculine dress, carry arms, or allow her hair to hang down over her shoulders (3). Still Joan hesitated to sign this document, asking that it should first be examined by the ecclesiastical authorities, to whom, according to law, she ought then to have been consigned. But Erard insisted, saying: "Sign, or to-day your life ends in the flames." She then was assisted by a secretary of King Henry to make her mark; but the paper she signed, and which was inserted in the *Acts*, was not the one which had been read by Massieu. It began with very different words, and it made Joan style herself impious, a fabricator of false visions, a thirster after human blood, a blasphemer of God, a profaner of the Sacraments, etc. Massieu himself afterward testified: "I know for certain that the paper which I read is not the one given in the *Process*." After the signature of Joan had been obtained, Cauchon read the sentence of imprisonment; whereupon the Maid demanded to be sent to an ecclesiastical prison, since they said that she

(1) William Erard, or Evrard, was about to proceed as representative of France at the Council of Basel, when the trial of Joan detained him. On the day of the false abjuration he preached a violent diatribe against Charles VII. He was afterward rewarded by Henry VI. with a royal chaplaincy, a manor in the county of Southampton, and an annual pension of twenty pounds. DUBOULAI; *Hist. Univ. Paris*, vol. V. RYMER; vol. X.

(2) John Massieu, "dean of Christianity" in Rouen (rural dean in that section of the diocese which was called the Deanery of Christianity), afterward testified in the *Process of Rehabilitation*.

(3) Cauchon now asked Cardinal Henry what he thought should be done, and his Eminence replied that the case was one which called simply for a condemnation to some penance. The English became furious when they found that the Maid was not to be burnt; and it was sworn in the second process that when Warwick complained of the court's lenity, one of the judges replied: "Rest assured that we shall soon have her again."

was condemned by the Church. But Cauchon cried to the guards: "Take her to the prison from which you brought her!" On her return to her cell, Joan doffed her masculine attire, resuming that of her sex. Then she received a visit from John Le Maitre, the irresolute vice-inquisitor, who had yielded only to fear in assisting at the trial, and was exhorted by him not to resume the clothing of a man. If she did, he said, she was lost. Several others made similar exhortations; but so violent was the English hatred of the Maid, and so anxiously did they yearn for an excuse to put her to death, that these sympathizers were nearly clubbed to death by the mob. Very soon an opportunity and an excuse were afforded to Joan's enemies for her destruction. Her jailers had removed her feminine habiliments while she was in bed, but had replaced them with her masculine dress. Massieu afterward testified that on the morning of Trinity Sunday, as Joan had told him, she said to her jailers: "Leave the room, for I wish to arise." An Englishman then took up the masculine garments, and threw them at her, saying: "Very well; arise!" She replied: "Friends, you know that these clothes are forbidden to me." The dispute lasted until mid-day, when the necessities of nature forcing the unfortunate to leave the cell, she perforce put on the prohibited garments. On her return she prayed in vain for the restitution of her feminine dress. No sooner was it known that Joan had resumed the clothing of a man, than the English soldiers threatened Cauchon with death, unless he punished her for her "relapse." Warwick and the bishop visited her, and she complained bitterly of her treatment by the guards, insisting that she had been forced to don the masculine garments in order to protect her honor. "Had I been placed in an ecclesiastical prison," she said, "this would not have happened." Then Cauchon began to press her concerning her visions, and asked if she still received visits from SS. Catharine and Margaret. Just as when she stood in the square of St. Ouen, so now her fate depended upon her reply to an insidious question; but she resolutely answered: "Yes; both have appeared to me, and through them God has shown me how He pities me for having saved my life by that fatal abjuration. When I was on

the platform they told me to answer the orator intrepidly, and now I say that he is a false orator, for he punished me for crimes which I never committed. Ever since Thursday (the day of the false abjuration), the two saints have told me that then I did grievously wrong. . . . I shall do penance by suffering death, rather than by the torments of prison. . . . I did not at all know what was written in the abjuration, and I never intended to retract." On leaving the prison, Cauchon cried to Warwick and to the English who filled the vestibule: "All goes well; be of good cheer! At last, the matter is finished." And the exultant English shouted: "She is caught!"

On the 29th the court met to deliberate concerning the final sentence, and the friar Martin L'Advenu was authorized to prepare Joan for death. When, in the early morning of the 30th, he informed her of her fate, nature gave way for a while, and the poor girl threw herself on the ground in her excess of misery. "Alas!" she cried, "are they so pitiless as to reduce to ashes this young and healthy body which has never been stained? Had they put me in an ecclesiastical prison, where churchmen would have been my jailers, this misfortune would not have overtaken me. But God is witness of this enormous injustice." However, she soon recovered her wonted serenity; and having made her confession, she prepared to receive her Sacramental Lord—a blessing which her cunningly merciless foes had long denied her. The authorities then had the Holy Eucharist brought toward the prison without any lights, chants, or any solemnity whatever; but the resolute Dominican insisted upon all the fitting observances, a procession of clerics was formed, and with the Litanies and the *Orate pro ea* sounding their encouragement, the Maid received her God. After a few hours the impious Cauchon visited his victim, and Joan addressed him: "Bishop, my death is due entirely to you." The wretch replied: "You die because you have not kept your promises; because you have repeated your former crimes." Joan answered: "Would that you had confided me to my legitimate custodian, an ecclesiastical tribunal! Then this would not have happened. But from you I appeal to God."

At nine in the morning of May 30, 1431, Joan of Arc as-

cended the judgment car to be carried to the place of her death. She was dressed in her feminine costume, and at one side of her was her confessor, Martin L'Advenu, while John Massieu was on the other. Eight hundred soldiers acted as escort, and allowed no one to approach near enough to speak to her. But in spite of the precautions, one individual succeeded in penetrating the serried ranks. This was a priest, by name Nicholas L'Oyseleur, who had often played traitor to the Maid (1). He was now stricken by remorse, and cried out for her forgiveness. Instantly the English seized him, and but for the interposition of Warwick, his repentance would have cost him his life. Meanwhile the cortege moved toward the market-place near the church of the Saviour, the resigned girl constantly recommending herself to God and her saints. Many were moved to tears, as they afterward attested; but the immense majority of the spectators were either English or partisans of the English cause. When the fatal spot had been reached, Nicholas Midy (2) preached a sermon, or rather a tissue of absurdities, finishing with these words: "Joan, go in peace; the Church can no longer defend thee, and she consigns thee to the arm of the secular power." When Midy had finished, Joan immediately, without waiting for Cauchon who would have addressed her, knelt down and fervently prayed God and her saints to aid her in that tremendous time. She begged pardon of all men, enemies as well as friends, for any evil she might peradventure have done them; and she forgave all who had ever injured her. She besought the priests, each one, to celebrate a Mass for the repose of her soul, and begged the people to pray for her. When she had

(1) Nicholas L'Oyseleur, or *Aucupis*, canon of the cathedral of Rouen, became a spy of Cauchon, and gained the confidence of Joan by representing himself as a prisoner of war, taken in arms for Charles VII. Gorres remarks that if there is any irrefragable testimony for the innocence of the Maid, it is that of this man. He had penetrated her inmost thoughts, had advised her to her own harm, and had suggested to her foes that torture would probably conquer her. And at the end of the tragedy his remorse proclaimed the rectitude of Joan. Following the suggestion of Warwick, the unfortunate man fled to Basel, where he met a sudden death.

(2) Nicholas Midy, doctor in theology, was an assessor at the trial, and one of the most hostile to Joan. He is supposed to have drawn up the twelve articles on which her condemnation was founded. During the second trial, a witness testified that Midy died of leprosy soon after the catastrophe, but Duboulai speaks of a Master Nicholas Midy as haranguing Charles VII., in the name of the University of Paris, when that monarch entered his capital in 1438.

prayed for half an hour, the English soldiers grew impatient, and shouted for the Maid to be put into their hands. As Massieu was comforting her, they cried: "Master John, what are you doing? Are we to stay here till dinner-time?" Then Cauchon said to the executioner: "Do thy duty!" Two assistants helped Joan to descend from the platform on which, until then, she had been placed; and then a few soldiers savagely dragged her to the pyre, while she exclaimed: "Rouen, Rouen! thou art my last abiding place!" When she had been bound to the stake, there remained on the pile, close to her side, resolved to encourage her to the last possible moment, the noble Dominican friar, Martin L'Advenu. The flames were already rising around them, and Joan's tunic was blazing, when she turned to her last friend on earth, and bade him look to his safety. At this instant, Cauchon approached the pile. "Ah!" exclaimed the dying heroine, "you are the cause of my death. Had you placed me in the prison of the Church, I would not now be here. Rouen, I fear that my death will cost you much." Just before the flames entirely enfolded her, the Maid asked for some holy water; then she was seen to bend down her head, and from the midst of the devouring fire were heard her last words: "Jesus! Jesus! Jesus!"

Thus died the Maid of Orleans; faithful to the Church, although many churchmen were foully guilty of her death; faithful to France, although French judges unjustly condemned her; faithful to her king, although he weakly abandoned her. Very different was the end of her principal persecutors. Cauchon soon found himself the object of general detestation, and that there was a probability of his being called to account by the Holy See. He therefore obtained from the English government letters of security, in which it was declared to be the intention of King Henry to impede any action against Cauchon and his assistants in the trial of the Maid; and the English orators at Rome and at Basel were ordered to ask every ally of Henry to do the same. The wretched bishop was also guilty of another fraud, in his anxiety to defend himself. He added to the *Acts* of the trial a lot of forged testimony to the effect that Joan, before her death, admitted that her visions were the work of the demon, and

that she begged pardon of the English for the injuries she had done them. This false examination is the only one of the *Acts* which is wanting in the signatures of the notaries; and in the second *Process* William Manchon testified that Cauchon tried to force him to subscribe to an examination at which he had not assisted. In 1442, Cauchon died suddenly, while under the hands of his barber. The vice-inquisitor disappeared, and no man ever learned what had become of him. The canon Estivet, promotor of the cause, and an intimate companion of Cauchon, was found dead in a sewer, soon after the tragedy of Rouen. The miserable Oyseleur fell dead in a church at Basel. Midy died of leprosy.

We have frequently cited the *Process of Rehabilitation*, whereby the honor of Joan was vindicated, and the judgment of the Bedford-Cauchon court reversed. We now proceed to give a succinct account of the second *Process*. Some might have thought it more prudent to trust to time for the vindication of the Maid; for it certainly was an ungracious task to stamp the note of infamy upon many great ones of the earth who were yet living, and to decry the motives, learning, or good judgment of such a body as the University of Paris. But King Charles became ashamed of his cowardly abandonment of his benefactress, and he it was who took the first steps for an impartial investigation of her career and of her condemnation. On Feb. 15, 1449, he ordered William Bouillé (1), one of his ministers, to undertake, in Rouen, an examination of certain persons who had been concerned in, or had at least witnessed, the first *Process* (2). The informations gathered by Bouillé and the *Acts* of the Bedford-Cauchon court were submitted to men learned in law and other sciences (3), and these decided that God alone could judge with

(1) William Bouillé, rector of the University of Paris, dean of its faculty of theology, dean of the cathedral of Noyon and of St. Florent de Roye, was a member of the royal grand council. At the time of Joan's condemnation, he was provost of the college of Beauvais in Paris.

(2) Their testimonies are given in full in the *Preliminaries to the Process of Rehabilitation*. The persons examined, at this stage of the proceedings, were John Toutmouillé, a Dominican, doctor in theology; Isambert de la Pierre, Martin L'Advenu, William Manchon, and John Massieu, whom the reader has already met; William Duval, a Dominican, and doctor in theology; and John Beaupaire, canon, and doctor in theology.

(3) One of these experts was Theodore de Lellis, an auditor of the Ruota for twenty five years, and one of the best canonists of the fifteenth century. Another was John Brehal, inquisitor-general for the kingdom of France.

certainly of the reliability of Joan's visions ; that, however, human wisdom could affirm that, all the circumstances being considered, these visions were probable, since they involved no impossibility, or anything repugnant to the rules of sound criticism ; and that the *Process* of condemnation was most unjust and null for many reasons, both in form and substance. In June, 1455, Pope Calixtus III. issued a Brief whereby he charged John Orsini, archbishop of Rheims, the bishops of Paris and Coutances, and the inquisitor, John Brehal, with the examination of the *Process*, and with the duty of hearing both parties to the controversy. On Nov. 17th, Isabella d'Arc, mother of Joan, accompanied by her two sons and many relations, appeared before the commission, and having declared that Joan had ever been a devoted child of the Church ; that " she had never harbored a thought contrary to the faith ; but that her enemies, hating the king whom she served, instituted the said *Process* against her ; " they demanded that a new trial should be undertaken. Then the commissioners publicly cited the relatives, successors, and heirs of Peter Cauchon, of Estivet, and of Le Maitre, to appear in Rouen on Dec. 12, to show reason why a new *Process* should not be initiated. These parties appeared, and made no opposition to a new trial. Then commenced the taking of testimony at Rouen, Paris, Lyons, Domremy, and Orleans, concerning the life and deeds of the Maid. These testimonies, together with those taken previously by Cardinal d'Estouteville, pontifical legate and archbishop of Rouen, number one hundred and forty-four, and are from the most noble princes and knights of France, as well as from the most humble citizens of Domremy. First among them is the evidence of the valorous Dunois, the most glorious name in that glorious age. This old warrior frankly proclaimed that his greatest triumphs were due to the humble Joan, and he swore that he firmly believed that her mission was from God. Still more interesting is the testimony of the Duke d'Alençon, for he had joined the English, and had been condemned to death by the court of peers, his life being spared only by the mercy of the king. This prince also swore that he believed in Joan's divine mission ; and that, having examined the fortifications

around Orleans, he was convinced that the Maid took them with her small army, only by the aid of a miracle. Then came the testimony of John d'Aulon, the squire of the Maid; of Louis des Contes, her page; of Friar John Pasquerel, her confessor; all of whom knew her most secret ways and actions. Many of the peasants of Domremy, among whom she had grown to womanhood, swore to the good repute she had always enjoyed. So also did the clergy, the nobles, and the military officers of the neighborhood. Even the executioner who burned her, and who threw her heart (which would not burn) and ashes into the Seine, testified to the evidences of her sanctity. From all these testimonies it became evident to the minds of the impartial judges that the whole *Process* of condemnation had been a hideous fraud. They heard what iniquitous means had been used to deceive the Maid; how, in spite of her ignorance and inexperience, no advocate had been allowed her; how she had been treated so cruelly in her prison; that it was strange that she retained any strength of endurance or any vigor of intellect. And above all, they heard the avowal of the notary, which manifested the fraud in the matter of the twelve articles, in which her replies had been falsified, and her justifications suppressed. In regard to the visions of the Maid, her irreprehensible life, her virginal purity so rigorously maintained, her predictions so wonderfully fulfilled; all seemed to indicate that they were, as she insisted, of divine origin. Hence it was that on July 7, 1456, the commission for the reversal of Joan's condemnation published the following decree:

"In the name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen. Jesus Christ, God-Man, our Redeemer, in the wisdom of His eternal Majesty constituted the Blessed Peter and his Apostolic successors as Supreme heads of His militant Church, that they might manifest the light of truth, indicate the way of justice, protect the good, aid the oppressed, and lead the wandering to the right path. Hence we, John, archbishop of Rheims; William, bishop of Paris; Richard, bishop of Coutances; and John Brehal, of the Order of Preachers, professor of sacred theology, inquisitor into heretical depravity in the kingdom

of France; judges specially designated by our most holy lord the Pope: Having considered the process which, by virtue of an Apostolic Brief, was solemnly begun before us by the noble (1) widow, Isabella d'Arc, Peter and John d'Arc, mother and brothers of the defunct Joan d'Arc of happy memory, commonly called the Maid, against the sub-inquisitor into heretical depravity in the diocese of Beauvais, against the promotor for criminal affairs in the episcopal court of Beauvais, and against the reverend father in Christ, William de Hellande, bishop of Beauvais, and against all other parties interested in this matter. Having considered the citation issued by the accusers (the family of Arc) and by our promotor, and having seen their proofs of the honor and innocence of the Maid, and of the nullity, falsity, and injustice of the *Process* which was instituted against the deceased Joan by Peter Cauchon, John d'Estivet, and John Le Maitre. Having repeatedly seen and examined the original letters, documents, means of proof, *Acts*, observations, and protocols of the said *Process*, which were furnished to us by the notaries of the same, and of the authenticity of which we are satisfied. Having held mature consultation with the notaries and others; having seen the articles and interrogatories, and having weighed the depositions of the witnesses concerning the conduct of the deceased; concerning her departure from her native place; concerning the examinations she underwent for many days at Poitiers and other places, in presence of many prelates, doctors, and learned men, especially of Regnault, archbishop of Rheims and metropolitan of the bishop of Beauvais; and having seen the depositions of witnesses concerning the miraculous liberation of Orleans, and concerning the coronation at Rheims; and having observed all the circumstances of the process, the qualifications of the judges, and the manner in which the process itself was conducted. Having closed the replies, and having heard our promotor, we ended the *Process* in the name of Christ, and fixed on this day for the publication of our sentence. Having seen, weighed, and considered all the foregoing; and especially having considered those twelve articles which the preceding judges asserted to be taken from

(1) By a decree of Dec., 1429, King Charles VII. had ennobled the whole family of Arc.

the depositions of the deceased, and which they communicated to many distinguished men in order to obtain their opinion. That our sentence may be pronounced in the sight of God, who alone can read souls, and knows His own revelations, of which He is the infallible judge; therefore, in the presence of God, . . . we judge and pronounce as justice demands: That the above-mentioned twelve articles are false, fraudulent, calumnious, drawn from the aforesaid *Process* and from the avowals of the deceased only by cunning and by wickedness, repressing the truth and expressing falsehood in many essential points; that the judges were led to pronounce their sentence by the fact that these articles furnish, without proof, certain aggravating circumstances which are not found in the *Process* and avowals, and that they repress many mitigating circumstances and all the justifications, and change and misinterpret the meaning of words. Therefore, we annul, quash, and declare invalid these articles as false, fraudulent, calumnious, and not conformable to the avowals; and we declare that justice demands their destruction. And having given scrupulous attention to the other portions of the *Process*, and especially to the two clauses entitled: 'Fallen' and 'Relapsed'; and having maturely considered the dispositions of the judges and of those who held Joan in prison, and having seen that she protested against her judges, that she often demanded that she and her career and her depositions should be sent to the Apostolic See and to our holy Father the Supreme Pontiff, to whom she ever declared herself submissive; having examined the false, fraudulent, and pretended abjuration, which was extorted from Joan in presence of the executioner and of the rack, and without her understanding it; having weighed the reports of the prelates and doctors concerning the nullity and injustice of the *Process*; having considered, in fine, all these and many other things, specially and collectively. By this our definitive sentence, having God alone as our Guide, we recognize and declare that the said *Process* and its sentences, the abjuration and all its consequences, are null and of no effect because of fraud, calumny, wickedness, contradiction, and manifest defects in law and substance; and that therefore they never had any efficacy or

vigor. We annul and quash them, and declare that the said Joan, and her relatives, the accusers of to-day, are free from every dishonor or stain accruing from the aforesaid *Process*."

It might not prove uninteresting to the reader were we to devote some space to a cursory review of the most important of the almost innumerable works elicited by the career of the Maid of Orleans. Our limits will not permit this; but we cannot avoid noticing the manner in which the heroine has been treated by one author of celebrity, from whom a much more accurate account might have been expected. Catholic students are accustomed to consult Lingard with respect; for he is by far the best historian of his nation. But his fancied prudence in a too frequent endeavor to placate the prejudices of his Protestant countrymen often causes him to at least minimize the truth. And so evident is this tendency when he treats of the Maid of Orleans, that Gorres does not hesitate to say that while Hume is one of the most superficial and most badly informed historians in the matter of Joan, "Lingard shows himself to be no better informed." For instance, Lingard goes so far as to say that if the English had killed the Maid, immediately after taking her prisoner, they would have done only what she had done to Franquet d'Arras. The enemies of Joan certainly insisted that she had put Franquet, a prisoner of war, to death; but in her examination of March 14th she declared that this captain of freebooters was condemned, after a trial which lasted fifteen days, as a traitor, murderer, and robber, and that the sentence was pronounced by the magistrates of Lagny. "Let every one think," says Gorres, "what he will concerning the vocation of Joan; but we have a right to expect a historian to examine documents before he pronounces judgment. Greater exactness and profundity are shown by Sharon Turner than by Lingard in this matter, and doubtless because the former, in his *History of England during the Middle Age*, had recourse to the work of Lebrun" (1).

(1) The great work of Lebrun de Charmettes appeared in 1817, and it furnished more material for a history of Joan of Arc than any other investigator had amassed, although, in many respects, it was but a copy of the work by L'Averdy which had been issued in 1793, in volume III. of the *Notices and Extracts from the Manuscripts of the Royal Library of France*.

That Joan of Arc was one of the chief glories of France, is the conviction of every impartial mind which is familiar with a history which is redolent of glory. And yet even among Frenchmen there have not been wanting writers who would fain rob the Maid of some of her laurels to place them on the brow of a courtesan. Du Haillan, historiographer of France in the sixteenth century, informs the world that Agnes Sorel, the infamous mistress of Charles VII., was the real motive power by which the English were expelled from France (Calais excepted). He says that Agnes upbraided the king for his supineness, and having told him that an astrologer had predicted that she was to be loved by one of the most courageous monarchs in Christendom, she signified her intention of making the acquaintance of his foe, the king of England; that then Charles shook off his lethargy, and undertook his victorious campaigns (1). This fable was adopted in 1599 by Beroalde de Verville, in his *La Pucelle Restituée*; then by the licentious and license-loving Brantôme, and to a certain extent by the moderns, Villaret and Anquetil. Sismondi, Michelet, and Henri Martin laud "the good influence" of Agnes, but reject the story of Du Haillan. The reader will be surprised to learn that under the liberal government of Louis Philippe, the youth of France were asked to accept this yarn as cold history, in a work "designed especially for religious communities and female seminaries" (2). Among the authors who have exploded this detraction from the glory of the Maid may be mentioned Bréquigny, Clément, Le Roux de Lincy, Lelanne, and Beaucourt. Their arguments are many and conclusive, but we need furnish only one. Agnes Sorel did not appear at the court of France until 1444, and Joan of Arc had saved France in 1429. It may also be noted that at the time when the favorite is alleged to have threatened to desert Charles VII. for the caresses of Henry VI., the latter monarch was only eight years of age.

Certain polemics insist that Catholics, as such, have no right to glory in Joan of Arc. Did not the Church condemn her as a sorceress, and burn her at the stake? Well indeed,

(1) *History of France*; Paris, 1576.

(2) *Abridgment of a Course of History, especially Designed for Religious Communities and Female Seminaries*, by M. S. Lefranc; Paris, 1836.

we are told, did the dying Maid sternly rebuke the Church, when she addressed to Cauchon those pathetically bitter words : " Bishop, I die because of thee ! " But was the bishop of Beauvais, or even the famous University of Paris, the Church ? No more than Warwick, and her other English murderers were ; no more than Benedict Arnold, when he devastated the Connecticut shore, was the Continental army ; no more than Bazaine, the traitor of Metz, was the heart of France. Cauchon, Estivet, L'Oyseleur, and the Faculty of Paris, were undoubtedly churchmen ; and Lucifer was once an angel of light. If we wish to know the mind—we will not say of the Church, but of true churchmen—regarding the case of the Maid, we will not restrict our researches to the tribunal of Rouen. We will consider, in the first place, the course of the ecclesiastical questioners of Joan at Poitiers. Those clergymen were more numerous, and more distinguished, than were the sycophants of Rouen ; and after a minute investigation which lasted six weeks, they proclaimed that in Joan they had found : " Nought but good, humility, purity, devotion, and simplicity." Secondly, the opinions of the Catholic clergy can be evinced from the treatises in her honor composed by the " pious Gerson," the learned and cautious Chancellor of that same Faculty of Paris which trampled on justice to please the foreign invader ; also from the writings of Gelu, archbishop of Embrun. Thirdly, if we wish to know how the priests regarded the Maid, let us listen to the innumerable preachers who, like the Dominican, Helie Bodont, went from city to city proclaiming " the wondrous miracles accomplished in France by means of the Maid whom God has led to our lord the king." Observe, also, the many Masses and Offices offered, and the processions made in all the sanctuaries of France, in thanksgiving to heaven for the mission of Joan. Consider the thousands of medals struck in commemoration of the virgin of Domremy, and worn by so many persons of every rank, after they were blessed by the clergy. By observations such as these, and not by a contemplation of the mock tribunal of Rouen, is the mind of Catholic churchmen to be discerned. And we would ask whether the decision of Cauchon and his associates should be com-

pared with the truly authoritative voice of the Holy See enjoining the rehabilitation of the memory of the holy victim. Certainly, Pope Calixtus III., issuing his Rescript dated June 2, 1454, ordering a new *Process* for the vindication of Joan, is to be considered a more authentic representative of ecclesiastical opinion than either the iniquitous prelate of Beauvais or the fawning University of Paris, when he says: "Although the said Joan besought the bishop (Cauchon) and John Le Maitre to consign her to the judgment of this Apostolic See, if they deemed her guilty of anything which breathed of heresy; and although she was ever willing to abide by that judgment; nevertheless, after depriving the said Joan of every means wherewith she might establish her innocence, after a contempt of every maxim of justice, and acting only in accordance with their own arbitrary desires, the said judges pronounced their wicked sentence, etc." And we know how firmly the Maid herself spurned the notion which Cauchon would have impressed in her simple mind, that the Church was judging her at Rouen. "Take me to the Pope of Rome!" she cried, again and again; justly penetrated by the thought that she was not being tried by the Church, but by an English, though ostensibly ecclesiastical tribunal. Richard de Grouchet, who attended at her ordeal in Rouen, testifies that: "One day they asked her whether she would submit to the decision of the bishop of Beauvais, and to that of the assessors named by that prelate; and she refused, demanding to be taken before the Pope. Then they told her that the *Process* would be forwarded to the Holy See; and she cried out: 'No; I cannot permit that; for I do not know what you will put in your report. I want to be questioned by the Pontiff.' I was present; and I can swear that Joan was ever submissive to the Church." It is evident, therefore, that the Church had no part in the condemnation of the Maid. Every monument of the time attests that the virgin of Domremy was the victim of secular politics. The agents of the crime were, on one side, pride; and on the other, thirst for gold or dignities. Well did Joan know the real authors of her misery. Every day they tried to worry her conscience by representing, that if she resisted her judges, she resisted

the Church. She could not always evade their captious subtleties ; she could not openly defy a bishop ; but her faith and the facts before her gave to her an instinctive sentiment of the truth, and despite all sorts of sophisms, she appealed to that Church which she loved and trusted—that Church which she did not recognize in the Anglo-Burgundian tribunal. And when her condemnation was announced, she protested : “ Had I been put in an ecclesiastical prison, as I so earnestly besought, this misfortune would not have befallen me.”

It is a remarkable fact that many persons who fancy that they entertain an accurate idea of the career of Joan of Arc, possess a very incomplete knowledge of the most salient facts, to say nothing of the spirit, of that career. The histories upon which they have relied, even though otherwise meritorious, present only such of the grand lines of her personality as materialism recognizes ; and consequently, the life which they contemplate is, to use a trite illustration, like the play of “ Hamlet ” without the character of the prince. Not a few Catholics, even persons of considerable erudition, are fairly surprised when they are asked to regard the Maid from a supernatural point of view ; and the writer has been edified, more than once, on beholding a countenance illumined with joy because of the discovery, never anticipated, that the most interesting of heroines has claims to admiration much greater than the mundane spirit discerns. The materialist pronounces her a visionary, a victim of hysteria, or at best, an insane patriot. But hysteria or fanaticism could scarcely have surrounded Joan with an atmosphere of such angelic purity that it infused chaste thoughts into all who came near her ; they could scarcely have transformed the utterly illiterate rustic into a graceful and heroic chevalier, an accomplished artillerist, and an able general ; they could scarcely have changed, immediately after a terrific battle, the cool commander and intrepid knight into a sweet and anxious nurse for the wounded ; they could scarcely have turned the commonplace peasant into an accurate prophet. As to the insane love of country which the materialist would ascribe to Joan as the moving spirit of her career, no fact of history stands

out in greater relief than the sincere belief, on her part, at least, that she was, in all she did for France, merely the instrument of the Most High. It is vain to falsify history, in an endeavor to substitute a merely conventional personage for the true Maid of Orleans, to make of her a mere intrepid Amazon, a theatrical character like the Camilla chanted by Virgil (1).

That Joan was sent by God to deliver France, was firmly believed by her contemporary countrymen of every class. The famous Dunois, the foremost knight of his day, testified to his belief that "her deeds were due to divine inspiration." Similar testimony was given by the duke d'Alençon; by John d'Aulon, her steward; by Milet, registrar of the Estates of Paris; by the licentiate, Viole; by the Dominican professor of theology, Baignard; and by innumerable other reliable persons who knew Joan well. The celebrated Gerson, writing eight days after the raising of the siege of Orleans, says of the stupendous event: "This was the work of the Lord." And mark how the mission of the Maid was regarded by Gelu, archbishop of Embrun, the same counsellor who had warned the dauphin that "the claims of the girl should not be easily credited; since her sex and training render her susceptible to illusion." M. Lanery d'Arc, in his interesting labor of love (2) adduces a treatise composed by this cautious prelate after the event of Orleans, in which he thus advises his sovereign: "You should not oppose the will of this divinely commissioned girl, but rather yield entire obedience to her. You must know that divine wisdom will instruct its agent better than any human prudence can do it." Another illustration of the opinion prevalent among the educated men of the time is found in the remark of St. Antoninus, then archbishop of Florence, to the effect that the deeds of Joan indicated that she was led by the Holy Spirit. And the erudite Pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) uses the same language in his carefully prepared "Commentaries." The Sage of Fer-

(1) "Prælia virgo

Dura pati, cursuque pedum prævertere ventos,

Lyciam ut gerat, ipsa pharetram,

Et pastorem præfixa cuspidè myrtum."

(2) *Memoirs and Consultations in Favor of Joan of Arc*; Paris, 1890. This writer, a literateur of merit, is a collateral descendant of Joan.

ney said that Joan would have been worshipped, had she lived in ancient times. Well, men did not adore the Maid; but they showed, even during her life, that they regarded her as a saint, as well as the deliverer of her country. In the examination held on March 3d, her judges asked her whether she was aware that her partisans had held religious services, preached sermons, and even offered Masses in her honor; and she replied: "I know nothing about such services. If they held them, it was not at my command. But if they prayed for me, I think that they did no harm." What she did not know on that point, we do know; for many of the prayers which were publicly offered for her, and in her honor—notably a Collect, a Secret, and a Post-communion—have come down to us, and are extremely touching (1). Contemporary medals are also extant, some of the many which were worn by the faithful as signs of their veneration for their benefactress. One, now in the Museum of Cluny, bears the date of 1430, and its authenticity is admitted by severe and competent experts in numismatics, such as Vallet de Viriville and Quicherat. Pictures of the Maid were found in the churches of France very soon after her murder; and some of them, like that in the chapel at Montargis, refute the theory that the original celebrations at Orleans were merely in memory of a brave woman; for the head of Joan is circled by a halo, a symbol adopted only in the case of a saint.

(1) The Collect is as follows: "O Almighty and Eternal God; who through Thy holy and ineffable clemency, and by the wonderful strength of Thy arm, hast raised up a young virgin for the glory and welfare of France, for the expulsion, confusion, and ruin of our enemies; and who hast permitted, in the fulfilment of the mission which Thou didst confide to her, that she should fall into the hands of those enemies; grant to our prayers that, through the intercession of the Blessed Mary ever Virgin, and of all the saints, we may behold her escape in safety from their power, that she may continue to execute Thy formal commands!" The Secret reads: "O Father of virtues and Almighty God; may Thy holy benediction descend on this oblation; may it excite Thy miraculous power; and through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of all the saints, may it preserve and deliver the Maid now confined in the prison of our enemies; and may it enable her to perform effectively the work which Thou hast ordained!" The Post-communion is as follows: "O Almighty God; hearken to the prayers of Thy people; and through the sacraments which we have received, and through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of all the saints, break the chains of the Maid who, while performing the deeds enjoined by Thee, has been shut up in the prison of our enemies! Through Thy divine compassion and mercy, grant that she may accomplish in safety the mission which Thou hast entrusted to her!" Making due allowance for their spirit of hatred, we can adduce the testimony of Joan's judges in proof of the veneration she inspired. The 52d article of the charges expressly mentions that throughout France she was regarded as more angel than woman.

The supernatural, observes the Angelic Doctor, "is a special intervention of God, outside the ordinary ways of His providence." In the physical order, this intervention is shown by miracles; and in the moral, it is demonstrated by sanctity. Now we contend that no candid person of average intelligence can read the *Life of the Maid of Orleans*, without the conviction that the supernatural is prominent in nearly each one of its salient events. We behold a young girl passing two years amid the tumultuous disorders of a licentious soldiery, with no diminution of her angelic piety. She becomes the object of the choicest favors of Heaven, and she receives the veneration of bishops, princes, and people; nevertheless, her humility remains profound. She shares actively in the hereditary strife of powerful rivals, but her charity is never weakened. All this passes the limits of the natural; it is a miracle of sanctity. We can do no more than allude to the miracles which Joan performed, and which will form a prominent feature of the examination now being made by the Holy See, as to the value of her claims for canonization. But the reader will be interested if we make more than an allusion to the prophecies which were current in France, long before the birth of the Maid, relative to the coming of a virgin from the Bois-Chesnu—a wood near Domremy,—who was to be the deliverer of France from thralldom. We select for notice the prediction by the famous sage of the fifth century, Merlin, with whom the poems of Tennyson have probably familiarized the reader, and whose prophécies are not to be utterly despised. The learned Benedictine, Sigebert of Gemblours, who wrote in the twelfth century, says of Merlin: "He unveiled many obscure things, and predicted many events which were understood only after their accomplishment. The Holy Spirit reveals His secrets to whom He wills; now by a sybil, then by a Balaam." Now the Cymric Druid wrote: "A maiden shall come from the Bois-Chesnu to furnish remedy for all these evils. When she will have taken all the fortresses, she will dissipate all the sources of evil with her breath. Torrents of tears will flow from her eyes, and she will fill the island with fearful clamor. She will be killed by a stag with ten antlers, four of which will wear golden diadems, the other six being

changed to the horns of a buffalo. The isles of Brittany will resound with terrible noise; and the Danish wood will rise, crying: 'Come, O Cambrian, and bring Cornwall to thy side!'" At the time of the rehabilitation of the memory of the Maid, 1453, the Grand-Inquisitor, John Brehal, took much notice of this Merlinian prophecy, indicating quite clearly that it had been fulfilled in all its details by the career of Joan. Thus he accommodated the prediction to her momentous life. 1. The Bois-Chesnu, a wood near Domremy, the native village of Joan, bore that name in her day. 2. The evils of the kingdom were remedied when the Maid underwent the severe examination by the theologians and lawyers at Poitiers; or when she took all the Anglo-Burgundian fortresses, and conducted her king to Rheims, there to be crowned. 3. By her breath, that is, by her vehement objurgations, she destroyed the sources of evil when she rebuked the artisans for their treason. 4. Certainly Joan shed torrents of tears because of the miseries of her country, and because of her compassion for her foes. 5. She filled all Britain with clamor, for no one knew where her victories would end. 6. She was killed by a stag with ten antlers, namely, the English monarch, Henry VI., who was ten years old when Joan was murdered. The four diadem-bearing antlers were the four years following the birth of Henry during which the English exercised their power in France with some degree of moderation; but those antlers were changed to buffalo's horns, when the islanders entered upon a course of tyranny and rapine. 7. The rise of the Danish wood is the revolt of all Normandy, the inhabitants of which were originally Danes, against England. They cried: "Come, Cambria!" for the French crown originated in Clovis, who was a Sicambrian (1). They cried: "Conquer Cornwall!" meaning, by a rhetorical figure, "England," of which Cornwall is a portion.

Joan was a tactician of the first order; a strategist equal to Talbot, who, until her advent, had been regarded as the best commander of the time. Whence came this knowledge on the part of an untutored peasant girl who "knew not A, B, C, or

(1) "Mitis depone col'a, Sicamber!" said St. Remigius, when Clovis stood before him for baptism. The Sicambri were the noblest tribe of the Frank nation. See St. Greg. Tur., *Hist. Eccl. Francorum*, b. II., ch. xxxi.

how to handle a sword, or how to mount a horse?" No historian has ventured to deny her wonderful military successes, and none has asserted that her campaigns were prosecuted under other human guidance than her own. The duke d'Alençon, one of the most illustrious soldiers of the day, and who served under Joan, testified as follows: "In all things outside the science of war, the Maid was simple, and like every young girl; but in military matters she excelled. Not only could she tilt well, but she knew the management of artillery, could arrange the lines of an army, and could plan a battle. We were all astonished when we saw her displaying in the field a foresight and ability which would have been creditable in a general of thirty years of experience; and in the employment of artillery, her talent was extraordinary." Reflect a little on the condition of France when Joan besought the dauphin to accept her services; and then remember that in five days she raised the siege of Orleans. In three days she reduced three cities, and defeated in pitched battle the hitherto invincible veterans of Suffolk and Talbot. Her campaign of the Loire, remarks M. Marius Sepet, was in no degree inferior in conception and execution to that lightning Italian campaign which was the tactical masterpiece of Napoleon (1). There have been published recently, four volumes of a work devoted entirely to an examination of the military abilities of the Maid; and the author, an eminent officer of artillery, finds proof of the consummate tactical science possessed by her, not only in her triumphant campaign of the Loire, but also in the unfortunate one of the Oise, which failed, not through any miscalculation on her part, but because of the foul treason of Bournel at Soisson (2). This critic follows the heroine into the region where, two centuries afterward, the grand Condé gained his greatest victory; and comparing the operations of Joan on the Oise with those preceding the battle of Rocroy, he discerns the palm of superior subtlety of strategy to the peasant girl. In fine, we may ask with Alain Chartier, a contemporary of Joan: "Was there wanting in the Maid any one quality which is necessary in a great and successful general? Her

(1) *Joan of Arc*; Paris, 1870.

(2) *Joan of Arc as Tactician and Strategist*, by Paul Marin, Captain of Artillery; Paris 1892.

prudence was wonderful ; her courage has never been excelled. her activity was like that of a spirit ; her justice and other virtues have been equalled by no warrior. Is the attack to be made ? She heads her army, arranges her lines, fulfils her duties as commander, and then becomes a simple soldier. At a given signal, she balances her lance, spurs her steed, and like lightning she is in the midst of the foe. No ; this girl is not of earth ; she has come from heaven to sustain decaying France with her brain and her arm." In fact, the military career of Joan is so great a miracle, it so evidently proves that her mission was of God, that her enemies tried to account for her military training and successes by human means. But mark how futile was their argument. In Article VIII. of the accusation brought by Cauchon, it was alleged that : " In about her twentieth year, of her own accord, and without the permission of her parents, she went to Neufchateau in Lorraine, and there passed some time in the service of an inn-keeper named La Rousse, whose hostelry was an habitual resort of depraved women, and at which soldiers were constantly lodging. Here she used to care for the cattle in the fields, and take the horses to pasture and water ; and thus she learned how to ride and how to handle weapons." If a short apprenticeship in the duties of a groom suffices to form an accomplished knight and a consummate general, then this assertion is of some weight. Voltaire, in his anxiety to find some proof for his cruel aspersions on the purity of the Maid, seizes eagerly upon this charge, being attracted by the passage concerning the loose women with whom she must, according to Cauchon, have consorted. The Burgundian historian of the fifteenth century, Enguerran de Monstrelet, naturally credits the allegation of Cauchon ; but on the margin of his MS. in the National Library of France, there is written a note, evidently made in the time of Charles VII. or of Louis XI., which warns us that : " During her entire life, until she was led to the king, she cared for lambs, and never mounted a horse." And this truth is evinced by the testimony of five witnesses who were thoroughly acquainted with the entire early career of Joan (1) ; and by that of Stephen de

(1) *Process*, II., 411, 392, 423, 416, 421 ; Depositions of Lacleppe, Morel, Isabella Girardin, Guillermette, and Watterin.

Syone, dean of Neufchateau, who knew both the parish priest of the Maid and the presumedly loose hostess, La Rousse. He swore as follows: "From a great many persons I know that little Joan, when she went to Neufchateau, dwelled with the innkeeper named La Rousse, who was an exceedingly honest woman; and furthermore, I know that during all the time that Joan was at that inn she was in the company of her father and of other people of Domremy who had fled thither for fear of the advancing enemy" (1).

In the divine balance, a martyr weighs more than a hero. It would seem that the baptism of blood is generally a concomitant of a divine mission; that the apostles of the Crucified must continue the ineffable mysteries of His sufferings. And does not history show us that the lives of nearly all inspired persons have been dramas ending in tragedy? So it was with the sweet Maid of Orleans. Not only in the market-place of Rouen, amid devouring flames, did she suffer for her faith in the words of her saints. When she first opened her mind to Vaudricourt, the commander at Vaucouleurs, and demanded to be conveyed to her king, her treatment as a fool was the beginning of her painful road to the stake. Even her father, whom she so tenderly loved, added to her grief by scouting her claims, and threatening to drown her as a witch if she persisted in her design. Then, forsooth, the good pastor of Domremy must needs exorcise the innocent child, lest perforce Satan had taken up his abode in her heart. Everywhere doubt and scorn, when she knew so well that God was impelling her. And even when she had succeeded in bending the dauphin to the will of her saints, and her victorious campaign began, another martyrdom beset her in the torpor of the monarch and the tergiversations of his courtiers. Then there were the tortures of body and mind, inseparable from the military life, so different from the modesty and evenness of her customary ways. Then, also, was the constant dread of capture; for her saints had told her that she would be a prisoner before the Feast of St. John would arrive. And when she fell into the hands of the English, who can picture the sufferings of the pure maiden, condemned to the constant

(1) *Ibid.* iii., 402, Deposition of Stephen de Syone.

company, by night as well as by day, of uncouth and licentious soldiers? Then she had to bear the charges of unchastity, heresy, witchcraft, barbarity, and mendacity, brought against her by a tribunal sold to her own and her country's foe. And her death? We much do doubt if there has ever lived a wretch so hardened as not to feel the tears mounting to his eyes, when he fancied the terrible scene as cold history portrays it. How daring was the lie inscribed on the mitre which the murderers placed on her serene and effulgent brow! "Heretic, Relapsed, Apostate, Idolatress." How our breasts heave with indignation, as we read the placard hung at the foot of the pyre: "Joan, who has styled herself 'the Maid.' A liar, pernicious woman, seducer of the people, sorceress, blasphemer of God, denier of the faith in Jesus Christ, braggart, idolatrous, cruel, dissolute, invoker of demons, schismatic, and heretic." But the hour of reparation has arrived; the signal given by Pope Calixtus III., when he ordered the rehabilitation of the martyr's memory, has been heeded; and France awaits with confidence the moment when her sons will use, with propriety, the words which the ascendancy of truth compelled Shakespeare to put on the lips of Charles VII.: "Joan la Pucelle shall be France's saint."

CHAPTER V.

POPE EUGENIUS IV. AND THE COUNCIL OF BASEL.

Pope Martin V. having died on Feb. 20, 1431, fourteen cardinals entered into Conclave on March 2d, and raised to the Papacy the cardinal Gabriel Gondelmero, who assumed the name of Eugenius IV. He was a Venetian by birth, and came of patrician stock. His father was a distinguished soldier, and his mother, Beriola Corrarior, had seen her brother elevated to the Chair of Peter as Gregory XII.; one of her grandsons was destined to be known as Pope Paul II. When quite young, Gabriel had given most of his patrimony to the poor, and having founded a house of regular canons, had retired to its seclusion; but when his uncle received the tiara, he was called to court and made Papal treasurer. In 1407,

he was appointed to the diocese of Siena, and in 1408 was enrolled in the Sacred College. Being a friend of the Orsini princes, Gondelmero was not favored by Martin V., a Colonna; but that Pontiff so appreciated his administrative abilities, that he appointed him legate in the Marches, and afterward at Bologna. Eugenius IV. was forty-eight years of age when he donned the tiara; he was of majestic presence, but austerity had impressed its pallid mark on his countenance. He was exceedingly temperate, rarely drinking anything but sugared water, and never having more than one course at his table. Night and day he wore a hair-shirt; and that he might lose no time, he always studied when his sleep was interrupted (1). He was esteemed by all, but feared by many, and his severity frequently repelled affection.

One of the first acts of Eugenius was the reconstitution of the Sapienza, the great Roman University, and so extensive were the privileges he accorded to its professors and students, that he has been regarded as a precursor of the Renaissance. He was not a *litterato*; but he had the tastes of one, and he greatly sympathized with the "humanists" (2). Among his secretaries were enrolled the most celebrated humanists of his day: Leonardo Bruni (3), Poggio Bracciolini (4), Blondus Flavius, Aurispa, George of Trebizond, and Ambrose Traversari. So well did Eugenius know how to discern and to reward merit, that his successor, Nicholas V., found an easy task in inaugurating that golden age of the Renaissance which formed the glory of his reign. That glory would probably have belonged to Eugenius himself, had the contentions of Basel not distracted his attention. There is much in the political events of this reign to interest the student; but we must restrict our investigations to its salient features.

The fathers of Constance had decreed that another Council

(1) VESPASIANO; *Commentaries on the Life of Pope Eugenius IV.*; in MURATORI; *Italian Writers*, vol. XXV.

(2) Eugenius of Viterbo records this saying of Eugenius IV.: "We ought to fear the learned, as well as love them, for they are not men to quietly bear an offence, and they can avenge themselves with weapons, the thrusts of which we may find it hard to parry." *History of Twenty Centuries*, MS. in the Angelica Library.

(3) Often called Aretino, from Arezzo, his birthplace.

(4) The indefatigable researches of Poggio, his vast erudition, and the importance of his labors, have caused the first half of the fifteenth century to be known among the learned as the Age of Poggio.

should be held within five years; and accordingly Martin V. had ordered the bishops to assemble at Siena. But owing to the intrigues of the king of Aragon, who was active in perpetuating the line of Peter de Luna, and who therefore interdicted all communication with Pope Martin throughout his dominions, the Pontiff decided, firstly, not to preside in person over the assembly, and finally, to dissolve it (1). Before separating, however, the prelates resolved to meet after seven years in the city of Basel. When the day had arrived, March 3, 1431, on which this Council should have been opened, only one prelate, the abbot of Vezelay, was on hand (2); and not until July did two representatives of Cardinal Julian Cesarini, whom Pope Eugenius had delegated to preside, announce the opening. Cesarini himself did not arrive at Basel until September; and even then he was nearly alone, and only on Dec. 14 did he open the first session with an attendance of three bishops and seven abbots. Here we must remark that on Nov. 12, the Pontiff had issued a Bull, addressed to his legate, directing him to dissolve the Council of Basel; since the Greek emperor had signified to the Holy See the wish of the schismatics to unite with the Catholics in a Council to be held in Italy. The Pope added that the new Council would meet at Bologna, and that he himself would preside. Shortly after the sending of this Bull, Eugenius learned that the prelates at Basel had invited the Hussites to a discussion of their doctrines; and being justly offended at this want of respect for the Holy See, which had already anathematized those errors, he issued, on Dec. 18, another Bull in which he dissolved the Council of Basel. This action of the Pontiff caused much irritation among the members of the Council; Cesarini indeed abandoned his presidency, but he wrote a remonstrance to the Pope, begging him to reconsider his decree, as the prelates at Basel were determined to continue their sittings. In fact, this little body of three bishops and seven abbots now elected a new president, Phil-

(1) RAYNALD; y. 1423, nos. 10, 11, 12; y. 1424, no. 5.—MARIANA; b. XX., c. xiv.—ILLECAS; *Pontiffs*, b. VI.—*Life of Martin V.*; in MURATORI, vol. III., pt. 2.—PLATINA; *Martin V.*

(2) This abbot entered the cathedral, called on the chapter to witness his presence, and caused a notary to draw up an instrument certifying to the opening of the Council. MARTENE and DURAND; *Collection of Old Writers*, vol. VIII., pt. 2.

bert, bishop of Coutances; and presumed to summon to their sessions, under the usual canonical penalties, all whose right it was to participate in a General Council. A second session was held on Feb. 15, 1432, and the synodals decreed that the Council, actually convened in the name of the Holy Spirit, could be dissolved, transferred, or deferred, by no one, not even by the Pope, without its own consent. At this session the number of the synodals was increased by four, and hence this decree was signed by fourteen prelates. From every part of Europe there now came approbations which were well calculated to confirm the recalcitrants in their exaggerated notion of their own importance; even several great universities sent them encouragement (1). And the clergy of France, convoked at Bourges by Charles VII., although they insisted upon due respect to the head of the Church, contended that the Council of Basel should be continued, and asked the king to beg the Pontiff to withdraw his decree of dissolution (2). Sympathetic messages were also sent to Basel by the duke of Milan, the duke of Savoy, the duke of Burgundy, the king of England, and the duke of Saxony (3). But no one of these sovereigns took such an interest in the Council of Basel as did the emperor Sigismund. He had become convinced that brute force could not subject the Bohemians to German domination; it was to the interest of the Church to crush the Hussite heresy, and to the interest of the empire to subject the Bohemians to its sway. It appeared to Sigismund that their attachment to the Hussite doctrines was the chief cause of the hatred of the Bohemians toward the German sceptre; those teachings, he thought, could be suppressed only by the Council of Basel. Under date of Jan. 9, 1432, he sent a memorial, entitled, "Advice to the Pope," in which he earnestly besought Eugenius to countenance the Council. He contended that the abolition of the Greek schism was certainly much to be desired, but that it was not of sufficient importance to justify the dissolution of the Council of Basel; and again, it was very improbable that the reunion, so often attempted, would be effected at a time when the Catholic

(1) DEBOULAI; *History of the University of Paris*, vol. V.

(2) LABBE; vol. XII, *Advice of the Prelates*, etc., no. 8.

(3) MANTVENE and DURAND; *loc. cit.*, p. 60, 64, 67, 105, 108, 113.

Church was lacerated by heresy. If the Council of Basel now terminated its sessions, heresy would become more audacious. Finally, Sigismund more than insinuated that the Papal decree of dissolution would neither prevent the Council from sitting, and other prelates from going to it, nor would it cause the sovereigns to withdraw their protection from it. This not very respectful letter was followed by an embassy which was received by the Pontiff, on March 17, in full Consistory; but not until thirty-nine days had elapsed, was the following answer returned to the imperial meddler: "We entreat our dear son, and we ask you to join in our prayer, not to interfere in matters altogether out of his province; we request him not to trouble the Roman Church. The emperor has no right to concern himself either with the Council or with us. It is his duty to submit to our decisions, and to those of the Council; he must respect the Pontiff who sits in the Chair of Peter. If he touches ecclesiastical matters, let him know that there is a God above all kings, who defends His Church and His vicar" (1). Meanwhile, Sigismund was encouraging the revolt of the synodals of Basel; and having heard that it was rumored that he was about to withdraw his countenance from the assembly, he wrote to the recalcitrants: "If our letters do not induce His Holiness to withdraw his decree, our ambassadors have orders to declare to him that we will not receive the imperial crown at his hands" (2). As we learn from Æneas Sylvius (afterward Pope Pius II.), Eugenius IV. was well aware that Sigismund, whose policy was allied with that of the Visconti of Milan, thought to make use of the Council of Basel, in case of need, to intimidate the Holy See (3).

Six days after the imperial ambassadors had received the Papal reply to their master's officious advice, Pope Eugenius announced to Sigismund that he was about to send three nuncios to Basel, who would endeavor to arrange matters with the synodals. As these nuncios could not depart at once, the Pontiff immediately despatched one of his chamberlains,

(1) *Idem.*, vol. VII.

(2) *Epistle of Sigismund to the Council*, in MARTENE, vol. VIII.

(3) *Commentary on the Proceedings of the Council of Basel*; edited by the Canon Michael Catalani, from the Vatican Codex; Fermo, 1803.

John de Prato, to Basel. Cesarini was still residing in Basel; but he had exercised no office in connection with the assembly since he had received the Pontifical command to dissolve it. It is not unlikely that his great eloquence, his austere and authoritative character, and his well-known zeal, would have soon recalled the prelates of Basel to a sense of duty, had not Dominick Capranica (1), and the cardinals Branda de Castiglione, Carillo, Aleman of Arles, Cervantes, and Rochetaillée come upon the scene. These cardinals had become hostile to Pope Eugenius for some unknown reason; and they now commenced to attack his moral character, which was certainly beyond reproach. Their calumnies were seconded by a crowd of malcontents who flocked to Basel from all quarters, especially from the universities of Germany, to vomit their diatribes against the court of Rome. "These onslaughts," says Christophe, "added to the audacity of the crowd of doctors who had come from Paris, from Cologne, and other German universities—of those second-rate men who, since the Council of Pisa, were an encumbrance to the general assemblies of the Church, and who arrogated to themselves the right to trace the paths to be followed by the fathers. They were theologians of haughty but narrow minds who regarded as irrefragable dogmas, mere opinions raised amid the tumults of the schools. Orators without any practical knowledge, they measured everything according to the petty dimensions of a syllogism (2). Imprudent declaimers, they thought to serve the Church when they only fomented the passions disturbing her. With one voice, all these doctors extolled the voice of a General Council." It was under the empire of these influences that the prelates of Basel, in their

(1) Capranica, a man of great learning, a profound statesman, and almost ascetic in his habits, had been appointed to the cardinalate, *in petto*, by Martin V. in 1430. On the death of Martin, the cardinals refused to admit Capranica into the Conclave, and one of the first acts of Eugenius IV. was the issue of a decree declaring that a nomination *in petto* conferred no cardinalitial rights. Capranica then requested Eugenius to ratify the nomination, but in vain. He afterward went to Basel, and appealed from the Pope to the Council. The opposition of Eugenius to Capranica originated in the latter's devotion to the Colonna family—a devotion so thorough and notorious that when, in April, 1431, the Roman populace arose in arms to defend Eugenius from the armed attack of Anthony Colonna, the Capranica palace was sacked and gutted.

(2) Christophe might have omitted this remark. The Church fears no logic. The trouble with all assemblies like that of Basel is that they do not sufficiently regard the "petty dimensions of a syllogism."

third session on April 29, pronounced the nullity of the Bull of dissolution, and summoned Pope Eugenius to appear before them, personally or by plenipotentiaries, within three months. In the fourth session on June 20, the Council decreed that the Pope could appoint no new cardinals during the sittings of the assembly, and that in case of an *interpontificium* (1), the Conclave should be held in the place where the Council was deliberating. The Papal nuncios were now on their way to Basel; but hearing that the Council had imprisoned John de Prato, they paused at Constance, and sent on to Basel for safe-conducts (2). Having received these securities, they entered a general congregation of the Council on Aug. 25; and after some persuasive remarks, they announced that the Pontiff had entertained no design of breaking up the Council when he wished to transfer its sessions to some other place. He merely desired it to be nearer to himself; and the synodals were free to choose a place of meeting from among the cities subject to the Holy See. But the Council rejected these overtures in an illogical reply; and on Sept. 6 a motion was made to declare the contumacy of Pope Eugenius. The nuncios protested; a delay was accorded; and in the eighth session on Dec. 18, a further term of sixty days was assigned, within which Eugenius should present himself before the Council.

The Hussites of Bohemia had been invited, from its very beginning, to attend the Council of Basel. In this invitation the prelates assume the tone of superior authority—of a body subordinate to no jurisdiction on earth. “You have complained that you have never been allowed a fair hearing. Behold! This reason is now removed. We invite you to come! not before a commission, but into the presence of a general assembly, to explain as much as you wish. The Holy Ghost will preside, and He will be the judge as to what must be held and be done in the Church.” Such words plainly signified a willingness to reopen a question which the Church had already settled, that is, the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of the Hussite tenets. It is no wonder that Pope Eugenius IV. resisted such impudent pretensions; and that one of the nuncios

(1) Vacancy of the Holy See. (2) See copy of their protest, in MARTENE, vol. v. l. c.

the archbishop of Tarento, said to the Council: "This call upon the Hussites to discuss again the question of their errors is an attack on the justice of the sentences pronounced by the Councils of Constance and Siena. It favors heretics, and will cause perplexity among the faithful." The prelates realized the force of this reasoning; and they disclaimed any intention of reopening the question of Hussite orthodoxy, protesting that they merely wished to lead the heretics back to the fold by means of an amicable discussion. The Hussites having agreed in a diet held at Egra on April 27, 1432, to come to the Council of Basel, their representatives, headed by Ziska's successor, the famous Procopius Rasa, and by John Rockizany, archbishop of Prague, arrived on Jan. 4, 1433. A general congregation of the Council was held; and Cesarini, presiding by permission of the Pontiff, addressed a learned and conciliatory discourse to the Hussites. On Jan. 16, discussions began on the Communion under both species, on correction for public sin, on free preaching, and on the civil domain of the clergy. During ten days the Hussites argued on their side; during eighteen, Catholic doctors defended the doctrines of the Church. No decision was reached; and the duke of Bavaria suggested that disputes should cease, and that there should be instituted a pacific conference of three cardinals, five bishops, several doctors, and an equal number of Hussite deputies. Accordingly, the conference decided that the Council should send into Bohemia an embassy which would devise some means of pacification on the spot. Philip, bishop of Coutances, was placed at the head of the embassy; and the conferences were resumed in Bohemia with the following final result. The Bohemians were allowed to communicate under both species, but the priests should always explain to the communicants that said manner was not of necessity; that in fact, the Body and Blood of Christ were equally under each species of the Eucharist. Secondly, the Bohemians were to admit that mortal sin, and especially if of a public nature, is to be punished according to the law of God and the regulations of the fathers; but only by those who exercise lawful authority in the Church. Thirdly, the Bohemians were to grant that the word of God is to be an-

nounced only by authorized preachers. Fourthly, the Bohemians were to admit that the clergy can licitly hold movable and immovable property. These four articles, sanctioned by the Council under the name of *compactata*, were promulgated on Jan. 2, 1434, in a solemn diet of the Bohemian nobles and deputies. All the orders of the state were reconciled to the Church, and swore obedience to the Apostolic See. The Taborites and Orphans alone refused to submit, and again took to arms; but they were finally defeated, and losing their martial and ferocious chief, Procopius Rasa, were soon things of the past.

When the Council of Basel had remitted the Hussite question to Bohemian soil, it was free to return to its hobby, the superiority of a General Council over the Roman Pontiff. The tenth session commenced on Feb. 19, 1433; and in it a commission was appointed to examine into the pretended contumacy of the Pope. In the twelfth session, celebrated on July 12, sixty days were accorded, within which Eugenius might send his adherence to the Council; if he failed therein, he would be deposed. Hitherto, the conduct of the Pontiff had been somewhat hesitating. After having sent four nuncios to preside over the Council, he had ordered them to allow Cesarini to resume that office; then he named to the presidency the cardinals Orsini, of Santa Croce, de Foix, and of St. Mark's; soon he reappointed the first four nuncios as his representatives; then almost immediately he restored Cesarini. But the decree of the twelfth session of Basel excited the Pontiff's energy; and on July 29 he issued a Bull annulling all the acts and decrees of the Baselean assembly which had not been contemplated by the Holy See at the commencement of the same. At this time the obstinate prelates received reproofs from many quarters. The kings of France, England, and Portugal; the doge of Venice; the dukes of Savoy and Burgundy; and five electors of the empire; all conjured them to put an end to their scandalous proceedings. Even Sigismund was tired of their rebellion, and on May 11 they had received from him a letter stating that he was about to receive the imperial crown from Pope Eugenius; and under date of June 4, they duly received information of his

having been crowned in the Vatican Basilica. It certainly seemed that the prelates would now yield, were it only because of shame ; for before Sigismund departed from the Eternal City, the Pope had issued a Buli abolishing all his previous decrees against the Council, and declaring his willingness that the sessions should continue, providing that only those matters were touched, for the consideration of which the assembly had been convoked. But the prelates disliked the terminology used by the Pontiff ; “ We wish ” and “ We are willing ” ought to be changed, as they asked Cesarini to inform the Pope, into “ We decree ” and “ We declare.” Hence when Sigismund arrived at Basel, instead of finding the concord for which he had hoped, he was assailed with complaints. He felt that, just then, he needed the friendship of the Council more than he did that of the Pope ; and he forgot that when in Rome, he had been so touched by the generosity of Eugenius, that he had exclaimed that “ the Pontiff had done more than he ought to have done ; that the prelates of Basel ought to yield ; that if they refused, he would do wonderful things against them ” (1). Sigismund again took the part of the Council ; but the Pope insisted that the apparently innocent change of phraseology covered an injury to the Holy See, and refused to countenance it. In the thirteenth session, held on Sept. 11, the prelates wished to act upon the alleged contumacy of Pope Eugenius ; but to please the duke of Bavaria, a delay was granted until Nov. 7. On that day the fourteenth session was held, Sigismund assisting in full imperial state. From this moment the emperor assumed the role of mediator ; and he soon obtained an important concession from the Council. All its preceding acts were revoked ; and new legates, appointed by the Pontiff, were to preside over the deliberations. On his part, Eugenius consented to use the phrases “ We decree ”, etc. ; annulled his sentences against certain of the synodals ; and withdrew his restrictions. Finally, in its sixteenth session, on Feb. 5, 1434, the Council, perhaps sincerely but certainly ungenerously, corresponded to the excessive meekness of the Pontiff by condescending to declare that since Pope Eugenius had fully

(1) *Epistle of Eugenius IV. to Francis Foscari*, in Raynald, y. 1433, no. 19.

satisfied its citations and requisitions, it received his Bulls (1). The Council enjoyed another apparent triumph when it beheld the investiture of its champion, Capranica, with the cardinalitial insignia.

From this time the majority of the Baselean prelates affected to believe that Pope Eugenius IV. had acknowledged the subjection of the Pontifical to the Conciliar authority. The Pontifical theologians vainly reminded them that Eugenius had merely yielded to circumstances in order to avoid scandal; that the recognition of an assembly does not imply an approbation of all its acts; and that the Pope had authorized a convocation of a new Council, rather than a continuation of the old one. Our attention must now be directed for a moment to the political situation in Italy; for just at this time, the temporal dominion of the Roman Pontiff, and therefore his independence, was in jeopardy. Giovanna II., queen of Naples, had adopted as successor Alfonso V., king of Aragon and of Sicily; but her suspicions of his loyalty soon caused her to choose that Louis of Anjou who had contested the throne of Naples with her brother Ladislao. Pope Martin V. approved this selection, investing Louis with the kingdom; and Alfonso departed with his Aragonese. However, Louis soon succumbing to the climate, and Giovanna feeling herself near to death, she willed her crown to René, a brother of Louis. With this portion of the peninsula Eugenius had no trouble. But in the north, the Florentines were anxious for revenge on the Lucchese, friends of the Visconti, dukes of Milan. Visconti, aided by the Genoese, broke up the Florentine siege of Lucca, but Pope Eugenius, indignant at the intrigues of Visconti with the Colonna princes, and averse to that sovereign because he had precipitated a war which the Pontiff wished to spare his country (2), determined

(1) *ÆNEAS SYLVIVS*; *loc. cit.*, p. 65.—*Cedula Oblata*, in MARTENE.—AUGUST. PATRIC., *History of the Council of Basel*, in LABBE; vol. XIII.

(2) Three years before the death of Martin V. Cardinal Albergati had reconciled Venice, Lombardy, and Florence in the name of the Holy See; but while laying down their arms, these powers nourished their jealousies. When the Venetian Gondelmero was elected to the Papacy, Venice and Florence expected a reversal of Pope Martin's policy, which had been favorable to Milan. But Eugenius declared for neutrality, and that his neutrality might weigh for good and peace, he said to the rival ambassadors in their first audience: "I wish you to keep peace, for I shall be the implacable enemy of him who breaks it" (*FLAVIUS BLONDUS*; *Three Decades*, b. IV.). Philip Mary Visconti suspected that these

to weaken the power of the duke. Aided by Eugenius, and by a Venetian army under the famous general, the count of Carmagnola, the Florentines began a campaign against Visconti. But the fortune of war declared for the rising star of Francis Sforza, the Milanese commander. While Carmagnola was engaged with the forces of Sforza on land, the Milanese defeated the Venetians on the Po; and thus threatened on his front and flanks, the great leader was forced to retreat. At length the Venetians and Visconti made peace; but this peace was injurious to the States of the Church. Visconti now had no use for his multitude of mercenaries; but instead of disbanding them, he employed *condottieri* to lead them against the Papal territories. The most distinguished of these leaders was Francis Sforza (1), to whom the grandeur of the Visconti was pre-eminently due. Sforza had some sense of decency; and therefore he sought a pretext for crossing the Papal frontier. He accordingly informed Eugenius that the hereditary estates of the Sforzas in the kingdom of Naples had been attacked by Caldora, and that he was about to rescue them; he therefore requested permission to march through the Romagna and the Marches, promising to do no harm to any of the vassals of the Holy See (2). Unsuspicious of treachery, the Pope acquiesced; and as soon as Sforza had entered the March of Ancona, he announced himself as vicar of the Council of Basel, occupied Jesi, forced Osimo, Fermo, Recanati, Ascoli, and Ancona to capitulate, and took Montedelmo by storm (3). Other *condottieri* entered the duchy of Spoleto, also proclaiming themselves vicars of the Council. Fortebraccio penetrated into the Patrimony, stormed Vetralla and Castelnuovo, ravaged the Campagna, captured

words indicated hatred of his person rather than a sincere desire for peace, and took his measures accordingly. From its very beginning, Duke Philip Mary protected the Council of Basel, and his states were a refuge for every enemy of the Roman Court. In a letter to the Baselean recalitrants he said: "I am ready not only to work for the consolidation and maintenance of the Council, but to risk my states and my life for that object."

(1) In order to attach Sforza more strongly to his dynasty, Philip Mary promised him his daughter Bianca in marriage, and this promise made the *condottiero* very influential with the numerous adventurers whom he had educated to discipline, and who were entranced by his military genius.

(2) *Letter of Eugenius IV. to the doge Francis Foscari*, in RAYNALD, y. 1433, no. 26.

(3) SIMONETTA; *Life of Sforza*, in MURATORI, vol. XXI. LEONARDO ARETINO; *Commentary*, in MURATORI, vol. XIX. *Chronicle of Bologna*, *ibid.*, vol. XVIII.

Tivoli through treason, and knocked at the gates of Rome (1). At this time the world certainly believed that the Baselean prelates were at the bottom of all these troubles; but ambassadors of the emperor, of the king of France, and of the duke of Burgundy, went together to Rome, and declared to the Pontiff, in full consistory, that Sigismund, on his arrival at Basel, had investigated the matter, and that it seemed certain that the self-styled vicars had forged their pretended Conciliar commissions (2). This assertion was certainly of some consolation to the Pontiff, but his temporal dominion was in no less danger. He suddenly conceived the idea of gaining over his chief foes, and of setting them against the rest. The plan succeeded to a certain extent. Sforza, perhaps remembering the devotion of his father, the celebrated constable, to the Holy See, and perhaps because he preferred regularity to irregularity, promised his aid to the Pope, and was named *gonfaloniere* of the Roman Church, and marquis of the March of Ancona during his life (3). He then turned his arms against Fortebraccio, defeated him at Montefiascone, and would have driven him over the frontier, had not Visconti sent him a powerful reinforcement under the famous Piccinino. With this aid Fortebraccio resumed the offensive, and soon opened communications with the Ghibellines of Rome. The Colonna princes of course headed the malcontents; and on May 29, 1434, Poncelleto di Pietro led a horde of armed rebels against the capital. All the city gates were seized, except the Cappena, which Sforza, warned in time, was able to garrison. Poncelleto was made governor of the capital; and seven *conservatori*, among whom was John Somma di Colonna, were set up as rulers of the city. The next day the new magistrates demanded of Pope Eugenius his recognition of the new order of affairs, possession of Castel San Angelo and of Ostia, and the surrender of his nephew, Francis Gondemero, as a hostage. The Pontiff yielded, and guards were placed around his palace. In this revolution the rebels certainly believed that they were acting in a way to please both Visconti and the Council of Basel; Blondus Flavius declares

(1) SIMONETTA; *loc. cit.*, b. III.

(2) BZOVIVS; *Oration of J. B. Cigala*, at y. 1433, no. 20.

(3) BLONDUS FLAVIUS; *loc. cit.*, b. V.—SIMONETTA; *loc. cit.*—RAYNALD; y. 1434, no. 8.

that they intended to secure the person of the Pope until the Council and the duke had decided what to do with him. However this may be, Eugenius escaped from Rome, and received a most hearty reception in Florence.

Pope Eugenius officially informed the Council of his calamities, which certainly were more those of the Church than his own; but although the prelates deemed it proper to blame the conduct of Visconti (1), they sent no sign of sympathy to the Pontiff. They merely despatched two representatives to the men in power at Rome, to demand the freedom of Cardinal Gondelmero; and Eugenius seized the opportunity to negotiate with his rebellious subjects. He found the Romans already tired of their new government, and on Oct. 26 they joyfully opened their gates to the Papal representatives. Visconti now called treachery to his aid; he sent a relative, the bishop of Novara, with proposals of peace to Eugenius, but with secret instructions to devise some means of kidnapping the Pontiff. The plot was discovered and avowed, and Eugenius pardoned the episcopal culprit (2). In the following year, 1435, the holy cardinal, Nicholas Albergati, who had been charged by the Council of Basel with the task of restoring peace in Italy, earnestly pressed the duke to seek a reconciliation with the Holy See. The marquis of Ferrara, Nicholas d' Este, offered his mediation; and the result was that on Aug. 10, Visconti evacuated the Papal States. While this negotiation was progressing, Vitelleschi cleared the Campagna of all rebels, and conquered all the strongholds of the Colonna and the Savelli. Fortebraccio lost his life in battle.

We now return to the Council of Basel. At this period one would have supposed that the assembly had convened merely for the purpose of despoiling the Holy See of all power. The most influential members appeared to have undertaken a crusade against the Papacy; the bishop of Tours dared to say: "This time we must either take the Apostolic See altogether away from the Italians, or we must so thoroughly pluck it, that we need not care where it resides" (3).

(1) SANUTO; in MURATORI, vol. XXII.

(2) BLONDUS FLAVIUS; *Decade* III., b. 6. SCIPIONE AMMIRATO; *Ist. Flor.*, pt. II., b. 21.

(3) Aut Apostolicam Sedem ex manibus Itatorum hac vice eripiemus, aut sic deplumatum relinquemus, ut ubi maneat nihil curandum sit. "ÆNEAS SYLVIUS; *loc. cit.*

In the twenty-first session, after the suppression of the *annates* (1), and every other revenue derived by Rome from benefices, Pope Eugenius was accused of not conforming to the Conciliar decrees; and notwithstanding the protests of the legates, the prelates sent to him what they insultingly styled a juridical admonition. In an interview with the Pontiff, accorded on July 14, 1435, the messengers insisted on a categorical declaration as to the readiness of the Pope to obey the dictates of the Council; and one of the Papal secretaries, the famous Poggio Bracciolini, replied that his Holiness would consult with the Sacred College on such grave matters. Eugenius now despatched Ambrose Traversari and Anthony San Vito to Basel; but while the great merit of these personages secured for them a favorable reception, little respect was paid to their legatine character. Even in their presence the prelates moved a new remonstrance against Eugenius; and on Jan. 20, 1436, a most arrogant document was delivered to the care of Cardinal Aleman of Arles and two other prelates, to be handed to him. But at this juncture a Bull was received from Eugenius, announcing that he received the decrees of the Council without reservation.

Now came the apparent triumph of the revolutionary doctrines. In a memoir which appeared at this time (2), it was held that the Pope is not the head of the teaching Church; that he is not even the directing head, when the Church is united in General Council; that such an assembly has no president but Jesus Christ. That such propositions could have been put forward, may appear less surprising to the reader when he has weighed the following reflections made by Christophe upon the conduct of Cardinal Aleman, archbishop of Arles, one of the most zealous champions of the Council of Basel: "No one had so enthusiastically received the doctrines drawn from the decrees of Constance as the cardinal of Arles. In his youth, at that age when impressions are so vivid, he had witnessed the unheard-of sight of a Council

(1) The *annates* were certain sums of money derived from the first year's revenue accruing from benefices conferred by the Pontiff. For an excellent history of the *annates*, and a thorough vindication of the Pope's right to receive them, see the *Antifebbronio* of Zaccharia, pt. II., b. 5, ch. III.

(2) *An Inquiry into the Power of the Pope*, in MARTENE, *Ampl. Col.*, v. 8.

making and unmaking Popes ; of one disposing, so to say, of the tiara ; and he had therefore concluded that the synodal power had no superior and no equal. And since, in his mind, everything swelled to the greatest possible dimensions, a Council was oecumenical, in his eyes, only when it rested on the widest of foundations ; only when it included priests, as well as bishops in its bosom—a democratic idea which Aleman pretended to find in tradition. With such subversive ideas, the cardinal thought that the reform of the Church was to come from a restoration of that state of things which he believed to have been destroyed by Pontifical preponderance ; and this conclusion, rather than personal rancor, made him the bitter antagonist of Eugenius IV. He regarded this Pontiff, defending the rights of the Holy See, as an obstacle to good ; any other Pope, doing the same, would have been as detestable to him. Hence it was that Aleman became the idol of the multitude from his first appearance at Basel. . . . Undoubtedly Louis Aleman was not deceived as to the real worth of the flock which blindly followed him—an ignoble mob of individuals without titles, without talents, yea, without morality—but, like an able leader, he understood that in large assemblies, deeply agitated by new ideas, his is the power who knows how to attract even the vilest crowd ; and he did not disdain to employ this despicable instrument, for he thought that good would accrue to the Church, and that the holiness of the end excused the unworthiness of the means.” The upright and solid mind of Traversari was disgusted with the turbulence of the Baselean mob ; in his oration to the emperor he styled the assembly a “funereal synod.” Æneas Sylvius was also sickened, and with imminent danger to his liberty he cried out that “the synagogue of Satan, not the Church of God, was sitting at Basel.” And some time before this period, while a degree of decency still reigned, the emperor Sigismund, when leaving the Council, declared that “he left behind him a stinking sink of iniquities.”

In July, 1434, there arrived at Basel, as representatives of the Greek schismatics and as ambassadors of the Greek emperor, the patriarch of Constantinople and three other ecclesiastical dignitaries. We shall treat of their negotiations for

union when we come to speak of the Council of Florence here we need show merely how this noble project became an occasion of widening the breach between Pope Eugenius IV. and the prelates of Basel. The discussions as to where the union should be consummated were tedious and bitter; the Council insisting upon Basel itself, and the Greeks declaring that they would accept any place in Italy, or, outside of Italy, either Buda or Vienna, but on no consideration would they hold a conference at Basel. The Council finally yielded on condition that the emperor John Paleologus should be requested to select Basel; if he did not, the Council would abide by his choice; the emperor himself was to come to the conference, as also were all the oriental patriarchs, and a sufficient number of bishops to represent the schismatic churches; the western churches were to advance 8,000 ducats to pay for the passage of the voyagers (1); a subsidy of 15,000 ducats was to be given to Paleologus, and a fleet was to protect Constantinople during his absence. This treaty was approved in the nineteenth session, and was sent at once to Eugenius for his ratification. The Pontiff was surprised at the presumption of the Council in thus acting on its own authority. He replied that he would delay the ratification until the arrival in Rome of Alberghi and Cervantes, then on their journey from Basel; that he had already sent one of his secretaries, the famous Hellenist Garatoni, to Constantinople, with full powers to arrange for the proposed conference, and that it would probably be held in the Greek capital; that, finally, he was displeased at the action of the Council in making an arrangement without the knowledge of the Holy See, at the risk of placing the Latin Church in a ridiculous position, if there should now be found in existence two contradictory treaties. This inconvenient and ridiculous situation foreseen by the Pope soon manifested itself; and in spite of a conciliatory and common-sense letter of Eugenius, the* Baseleans rejected the agreement made by Garatoni, whereby Constantinople had been made the place of conference. The Pontiff submitted; and after some

(1) According to Syropulos, the number of the Greeks was to be seven hundred. Gibbon declares that this is a gross exaggeration, but Vespasiano (*Life of Nicholas V.* in *MURATORI*, vol. XXV.) says that he counted five hundred at Florence.

hesitation, Paleologus, always firmly rejecting Basel, agreed that the reunion should be consummated at some place in Italy.

In its twenty-fourth session, held on April 14, 1436, the Council widened the breach between the Holy See and itself by insisting on a publication of indulgences to all who would contribute to the funds necessary for the coming conference with the schismatics. The Papal legates protested that the decree was a usurpation of the power of the keys; but the mob of inferior ecclesiastics carried the day by dint of shouting, and the prelates (merely twenty-three in number, of whom ten only were bishops) passed the resolution. Pope Eugenius now resolved to justify himself, if we may use the phrase, before Christendom; he sent nuncios to every sovereign, charging them to lay before the different courts a full history of the Council of Basel from the day of its opening. In the instructions given to the nuncios the Pontiff commences with a narrative of his own efforts to aid the Council in the work of reformation, of destruction of heresy, and of the reunion of the schismatics with the Catholic Church. Then after an account of what the Council has done, the Pope develops a formidable act of accusation against the synodals. He shows how they have pretended to subject the head of the Church to Conciliar decrees before said decrees have received his sovereign sanction; how they have imposed offensive conditions before recognizing the legates appointed to preside over their deliberations; how they have held, contrary to ancient tradition, that General Councils receive their powers immediately from God; how they have usurped the administration of the Church by naming legates *a latere*, by imposing tithes, by claiming the revenues of the Church, by calling to themselves causes which should be heard only by the Holy See, by quashing the judgments of the Roman Pontiff; how they have presumed to suppress *annates*, to publish Indulgences, and to regulate Conclaves. Nearly all the cardinals, adds the Pontiff, have fled from Basel; and he warns the sovereigns that they cannot tolerate these scandals any longer.

The twenty-fifth session, held on May 7, 1437, was, accord-

ing to arrangement with the Greeks, to furnish a definite resolution as to the choice of place for the reunion of the schismatic Greeks with the Catholic Church. The members could not agree; and two factions were born amid scenes of violence almost unprecedented in ecclesiastical annals. The minority, composed mainly of the most distinguished prelates, and headed by the legates, sanctioned the choice of Florence or Udine, and decreed that no tithes should be levied before the arrival of the Greeks. The majority, led by the irrepressible Cardinal Aleman, declared for Avignon, and decreed that all tithes and receipts from Indulgences should go to its inhabitants. When the time arrived for sealing the decrees, each faction claimed the exclusive right to use the seal of the Council; and after a furious struggle it was agreed that three arbitrators should impress the seal upon the decree of their choice. Cardinal Cervantes, the archbishop of Palermo (Tudeschi), and the bishop of Burgos were selected for this office; and the decree of the minority was sealed, and sent to the Pope for his ratification. But the seal now disappeared, and the multitude began to suspect that the decree sent had not been properly authenticated. Then ensued a horrible tumult, amid which the archbishop of Tarento, suspected of the supposed chicanery, was excluded from the sessions, under pain of excommunication. The procurator of the archbishop protested in his favor, and was himself dragged by the hair toward the prison, when he was rescued by the firmness of Cesarini. Then the precious lot infuriated against the legate; he placed guards around his residence, and took the first opportunity to flee from Basel (1). This and similar scenes were witnessed by the Greek envoys; and realizing that little good could be expected from such an anarchical body, they departed for Bologna, where the Pontiff had been residing since April, 1436. In full Consistory, on May 24, 1437, they announced that they adhered to the terms of the decree received by his Holiness, and requested the Pontiff to confirm it. Eugenius issued a Bull of Confirmation on June 29.

When the recalcitrants of Basel heard that the Pope had

(1) *Bull of Convocation of the Council of Ferrara*, in LABBE, vol. XIII.

confirmed the decree of the minority, they resolved to effect immediately the deposition, or at least the suspension of Eugenius. Cesarini and Cervantes and all the ambassadors protested in vain; the followers of Aleman carried their point, and in the twenty-sixth session the Pontiff and his cardinals were cited to render an account of their conduct within sixty days. The reply of the Pope was a decree transferring the Council to Ferrara, but allowing the Baselean prelates to remain one month to attend exclusively to the Hussites. The rebels now endeavored to regain the friendship of the emperor Sigismund, who, under the influence of the learned and zealous Traversari, had become devoted to Eugenius; but he replied to the messengers: "You found the Church in peace; beware lest you introduce discord into the fold! You desire a union of Latins and Greeks, but look out lest you divide the Latins themselves!" On Oct. 1, in its twenty-eighth session, the Council declared the contumacy of the Pontiff; on the 13th, in its twenty-ninth session, the Bull of transfer was pronounced null, and four months were allowed to Eugenius to abrogate it, under pain of suspension. In case of his suspension, two additional months would be granted him within which to amend; when they elapsed, if he remained unrepentant, he would be deposed. At this juncture the emperor Sigismund died, and the Council of Basel rejoiced. When the legitimate Council opened at Ferrara, the few prelates of Basel who had not openly opposed the Pontiff prepared to join it; and this defection so enraged the faction of Aleman, that it resolved to precipitate matters. The term accorded to the Pope for consideration had not elapsed when, in the thirty-first session, held on Jan. 24, Eugenius IV. was declared suspended from the Papacy; and the Council declared that it undertook the spiritual and temporal administration of the Church.

The spectacle of two Councils, one at Ferrara, the other at Basel; of one devoted to the Roman Pontiff, the other only hesitating to anathematize him; was perplexing to the simple-minded. Meanwhile many thought that either the passions of the Baseleans would soon subside, and the true Catholic spirit resume its sway, or that some favorable incident would serve to bring about a compromise. Most of the ambassadors

continued to remain at Basel, but whenever the decisive step was threatened against Eugenius, they demanded a prolongation of the period within which the Pope, according to the synodical decree, was to beg pardon for his alleged delinquencies; and they always obtained the prorogation of the term, for they threatened, in case of refusal, to withdraw from the Council. And here we must observe that the course of the Basilean prelates was not well defined, even in their own minds. How were they to effect the deposition of Eugenius with at least a semblance of right on their side? It was an established opinion that a deposition could be undertaken only in the case of manifest heresy on the part of a Supreme Pontiff; and how could it be proved that Eugenius was a heretic? Some of the Basileans held that Eugenius was indeed a heretic; others contended that he was also a relapsed heretic; a third party—and though it was the smallest section, it included the most learned members—asserted his entire orthodoxy. The conclusions of the second faction, rigorously deduced from a principle that widely obtained at that time, were adopted, says Sylvius, by the great majority of the Basileans. The archbishop of Palermo endeavored to combat them, denying that the great principle was clearly established as of Catholic faith, though he admitted that it was true. John of Segovia then insisted that even though Eugenius had not erred in pronouncing the dissolution of the Council, he had erred in maintaining his decree in defiance of the Conciliar remonstrance. This dispute degenerated into mere personalities, and finally the matter was adjourned until April 23, 1439. Then ensued a scene of wrangling such as even this Council had not yet presented; and the patriarch of Aquileia treated the more moderate archbishop of Palermo to this threat: "Do not flatter yourselves that this matter will end as you wish. You do not know the Germans. If you go on in this way, you will soon have no heads on your shoulders." However, the patriarch apologized for his outburst, and then the archbishop thus addressed the crowd of priests, consultants, etc., who, during the whole course of this Council, exercised a more than legitimate pressure on the prelates: "You despise prelates, kings, and princes. Beware lest you yourselves become

the laughing-stock of the world. You wish to bring this matter to a conclusion, but that is not your business; we form the majority of the prelates, and the decision belongs to them. In the name of the prelates I move to adjourn the debate." The prelates now left their seats in a state of thorough demoralization.

At the thirty-third session, held on May 16, there were present, between bishops and abbots, twenty prelates; there was but one Italian bishop (of Grosseto), and none attended from Spain; but there were more of the inferior clergy than there had been at any other session. All of the opposition were absent, and hence it was unanimously defined that a General Council is superior to the Pontiff; that the Pontiff cannot dissolve, transfer, or prorogue a General Council without its consent; that these propositions are of Catholic faith. In the thirty-fourth session, held on June 25, in the presence of three hundred ecclesiastics of the second order, thirty-nine prelates declared Pope Eugenius deposed from the Supreme Pontificate; a rebel against the Church; a violator of the Canons; a disturber of unity; guilty of simony, perjury, schism, and heresy; and they absolved all the faithful from their obligation of obedience to him. The anger of heaven seemed to manifest itself immediately; the plague, then ravaging portions of Europe, suddenly appeared in Basel, and so extensive were its effects, that the cemeteries were soon filled, and new ones had to be opened. The arrogant patriarch of Aquilea was one of the first victims; many of the synodals succumbed; many took with them the seeds of disease, and expired ere they could reach home. The bishop of Burgos died in Switzerland; the bishop of Evora at Strasbourg; the abbot of Vezelay, he who for one day had fancied himself a whole Council, at Spire; the bishop of Lubeck at Buda.

The prelates of Basel had expected Pope Eugenius to sink at once under their blow; but, surrounded by the western and eastern episcopates at Ferrara, his voice was more powerful and more respected than ever, as he fulminated a Bull against the iniquitous decrees. Nor did much encouragement await the messengers despatched by the Baseleans to all parts of Europe to announce their final action. At Strasbourg, Worms,

and Spire; even at Mayence under the eyes of the Diet; the placards announcing the deposition of Eugenius were torn from the doors of the churches. The Diet refused to take any action until a more numerous assembly could be convened; and it even rejected the demands of the schismatic legates that the Germans should, in the meantime, not give to Eugenius the title of "Holiness." Henry VI. of England remained constant in his fidelity to the successor of St. Peter. Philip of Burgundy would allow none of his subjects to hold any communication with the Baseleans. In France, although the assembly of Bourges had based its legislation upon Baselean decrees, general opinion was more favorable to the Pontiff than to the schismatics; the estates of Languedoc even besought the king to uphold the dignity of the Roman See. Just before the culmination of the Baselean revolt, Charles VII. had accused the faction of Aleman of wishing to divide, when even laymen were working for the unity of the Church (1). But the most energetic protests came from Italy, where party interests and political rancor had often antagonized the Pontiffs as temporal princes; but where their spiritual power had been always revered. Notwithstanding this widespread devotion to the legitimate Pontiff, the schismatics proceeded to their pretended election of a new Pope. An electoral college was appointed, all the members of which were devoted to Aleman, and he was named its chief. The cardinal had determined to give an influential head to the revolution, and his choice was the duke Amadeo VIII. of Savoy, a prince who for five years had been playing the part of an amateur hermit and philosopher. His previous life had shown that he was possessed of a most fantastic imagination; nevertheless Amadeo was a man of great piety, and when Aleman insisted that it was "his duty to secure peace to the Church" he changed his role of hermit for that of Pope with the same ease with which he had laid aside the ermine and donned the cowl. Elected on Nov. 5, 1439, Amadeo assumed the name of Felix V., immediately created four "cardinals", and announced to Christendom that he had accepted the tiara because he could not resist the Holy Spirit. No prince in Europe was so highly connected

(1) AUGUST. PATRIC., in LABBE, vol. XIII.

as Amadeo of Savoy ; he was a most able man, and he was probably the wealthiest sovereign of his time ; but he was immediately declared an anti-pope by Italy, Spain, Portugal, England, and Burgundy. As for France, the ambassadors of Charles VII. declared to the Baseleans that the French would obey Pope Eugenius IV. until a new General Council or an assembly of the French Church should otherwise command. As to the empire, Albert II., successor of Sigismund, decreed neutrality ; on the election of Frederick III., two Diets were held, at which the legates of Amadeo were recognized only as representatives of the assembly of Basel, and in which it was finally decided that Eugenius was the legitimate Pontiff, and that the Germans could hold no direct communication with the anti-pope (1). Frederick afterward visited Basel and called upon Amadeo in his palace ; but the courtesy was plainly that of the emperor to the ex-duke of Savoy, and in no respect was the latter treated as Pontiff. Nowhere, outside of his own Savoy and Piedmont, save in Switzerland, Poland, Bavaria, and in the universities of Paris, Cracow, Vienna, Cologne, and Erfurt, could "Felix V." extend his obedience. One good reason for his failure had been predicted by Cardinal Cesarini. His partisans had made great calculations on the influence of his wealth ; but whenever money was demanded, the ex-duke replied : "I have children, and I must not reduce them to penury" (2). He even refused to lend Charles VII. the paltry sum of three thousand francs. Nor did the anti-pope succeed, in the face of the power which had elected him, in upholding his own dignity ; he allowed the signatures of the Baselean prelates to precede his own in the public documents ; he permitted an auditor of the Council to exercise a jurisdiction independent of his own. In the most important deliberations the Council scarcely consulted him.

While Amadeo was posing as Pope Felix V., the Council of Ferrara, menaced by the plague and by the enemies of Pope Eugenius, was transferred to Florence, where the schismatic Greeks were finally reconciled to the Catholic Church. The joy of the Pontiff was increased by the return of the

(1) GERARD ROO ; *Austrian History*, v. v.

(2) *Commentaries of Pius II.*, b. vii.

Armenians and the Jacobites to the fold. Returning to Rome, he also received the Syrian, Mesopotamian, Maronite, and Chaldean schismatics into the unity of the Church. We now approach the end of this eventful Pontificate. After eight years of neutrality, the German princes were forced, by the pronounced aversion of the various German peoples to the schism, to recognize Eugenius IV. as the true Pontiff. This recognition was effected at Frankfort on Sept. 1, 1446; but the emperor and princes insisted on the following conditions: The Pope was to convoke, within ten years, a General Council, and it was to be held either at Constance, Strasbourg, Mayence, Worms, or Treves; secondly, the Pope was to acknowledge the supremacy of a General Council; thirdly, the Holy See was to free the Germans from certain money obligations, especially the *annates*; fourthly, the archbishops of Treves and Cologne, who had been deposed as schismatics, were to be restored to their sees. A solemn embassy was sent to Rome to procure the Pontifical consent to these conditions. Æneas Sylvius, who had long espoused the Basilean cause in good faith, and had even acted as secretary to Amadeo, but had been converted by Cardinal Cesarini, was the mouthpiece of the ambassadors; and he has furnished us with a full and interesting account of the mission. Although the Pontiff complained bitterly of the long neutrality of the Germans, he was very affable in the main, and appointed a commission of six cardinals to consider the four conditions. At this juncture Eugenius was attacked by a violent fever, and his speedy death was regarded as certain; but on Feb. 6, 1447, he held a Consistory, and delivered a Bull approving the Frankfort conditions. But great prudence was observed in reference to the wording of the acceptance of the first and second articles. Eugenius did not promise to convoke another General Council; he merely declared that he would endeavor to influence the sovereigns of Christendom to correspond to the wishes of the emperor. He did not say that he recognized the supremacy of a General Council; he declared that he venerated the Council of Constance, the decree of that Council on the authority of such assemblies, as well as the decrees of other Councils, after the example of

his predecessors (1). This was the last official act of Eugenius IV (2).

As we shall devote a chapter to the Pontificate of Nicholas V., we now mention only his efforts to terminate the schism of Basel. Many of the Germans still leaned toward perfect neutrality; but Cardinal Carvajal, the Papal legate, obtained from a Diet held at Aschaßenbourg, on July 14, 1447, the recognition of Nicholas as legitimate Pontiff. Frederick III. then ordered the few synodals who still pretended to form the Council of Basel to separate within a certain period. The emperor was obeyed; but the anti-pope continued to wear a tiara at Lausanne. However, King Charles VII of France had already proposed to Pope Nicholas certain conditions which he thought that Amadeo would probably accept and in a letter dated April 26, the Pontiff had signified his opinion that the conditions were moderate and acceptable to Rome. They were embodied in five articles. Firstly, Amadeo would abandon all his claims to the Papacy. Secondly, all censures hitherto launched by either party were to be withdrawn. Thirdly, the promotions made by Amadeo were to be confirmed. Fourthly, some suitable position was to be devised for the ex-duke and ex-anti-pope. Fifthly, a General Council was to assemble in France (3). In the last days of July there began to assemble at Lyons a number of representatives from all quarters to take measures to end the

(1) RAYNALD; y. 1447, no. 2-7.—COCHLÆUS; *Hussites*, b. IX.; Milan, 1549.

(2) "They who judge a sovereign's merits," says Christophe, "by the success of his reign will not call Eugenius IV. a great Pope, for he was always unfortunate. They who regard the personal qualities of the man will not hesitate to say that no one has been more worthy of the tiara. He was regular in fulfilling the lightest duties of the Pontificate; he was mortified, even to maceration; he was disinterested, even to a contempt for riches; he was charitable, even to his own impoverishment, especially in a case of fallen grandeur. Toward his household he was royally magnificent, but an anchorite could not have been more stinting than he was to himself. A great lover of justice, he esteemed virtue alone; a zealous promoter of the Catholic faith, he desired no other glory than that of having procured the triumph of the Church. When successful, he was not inflated; under adverse fortune, he was not weak, but stood immovable amid all its vacillations. He was never carried out of himself by hope, nor saddened by doubt; he was ever equal to himself. He was inaccessible to anger, and he was utterly indifferent as to what was said or written about himself. The most rigid Puritanism cannot blame him for that nepotism with which it has reproached some Pontiffs. He did indeed raise one of his nephews to the cardinalate, but he never showed him any partiality. As for such of his relatives as were not ecclesiastics, he treated them the same as he did a number of poor gentlemen whom he entertained in his palace, out of charity." See also MURATORI, *Annals*, at y. 1447.

(3) *Acherian Spicilegium*, vol. III.

schism. On the part of Amadeo came many distinguished personages, and the Council of Basel was represented by Cardinal Aleman. The conference was prolonged until Oct. 18; and then the ambassadors of France, England, and the German princes went to Geneva, where Amadeo was holding his court. Here they found the anti-pope willing to abdicate on the following conditions. Firstly, he was to convoke a new Council, and abdicate in its presence. Secondly, before the renunciation, he was to issue three Bulls; the first reinstating all persons deposed by Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V.; the second withdrawing all censures launched by himself against those who had not recognized him; the third confirming his own administrative acts. Thirdly, after his abdication, the Council convoked by him would elect Nicholas V., and would reinstate, by a special decree, all persons who had sustained his own cause, or that of Eugenius or of Nicholas. Fourthly, by authority of this same Council he would receive the title of "perpetual legate of the Holy See," accompanied by extensive prerogatives, all of which Nicholas V. would be bound to confirm in due form (1). When the Pontiff heard these conditions, he refused to consent to them; but in April, 1448, he accorded the one concerning the treatment of Amadeo, and at length he yielded in the matter of the three Bulls. On April 7, 1449, the so-called Felix V. called to Lausanne what remained of the Council of Basel, and renounced his claims to the Pontificate. Twelve days afterward the Council terminated the schism by ratifying the abdication, and by proclaiming its obedience to Pope Nicholas V.

Such, then, in a few words, is the history of the Council of Basel, an assembly which most Protestant writers affect to praise, and to which Gallicans have ascribed the quality of œcumenicity. A mere cursory glance at the facts just narrated will convince the Catholic reader that this assembly, which Mosheim styles "a great Council, and worthy of eternal remembrance," was not a General Council, and that its decrees are of no binding authority on the Universal Church. Among the Gallican defenders of the Baseleans, the first place should

(1) GUICHÉRON; *Genealogical History of the Royal House of Savoy*, vol. II.

be assigned to Bossuet and La Luzerne; among their opponents, prominence is merited by Orsi, Roncaglia, and Zaccaria. Commenting on the work of Orsi, La Luzerne is "surprised at the violence with which the learned cardinal speaks of the Council of Basel. He constantly treats its members as criminals, rebels, schismatics, and sacrilegious persons. In many places he gives the name of a new Dioscorus to Cardinal Aleman, the president of the Council, one of the most virtuous persons of his age, whose holiness and miracles merited from Clement VII. the title of Blessed." The reader can judge for himself whether or not the Council and its president deserved the treatment accorded them by Orsi; we shall merely remark with reference to the Baselean decrees which concern the relations between Pontiff and Council, that they are of no authority whatever; firstly, because they were not the work of a General Council; secondly, because they did not receive the approbation of the Roman Pontiff. That the assembly of Basel was not œcumenical, even in regard to the sole Western Patriarchate, when it issued these decrees, is evident. At the first session only three bishops were present; at the second and third, only eight of the fourteen signers were bishops. Italy was scarcely represented at all during the entire Council; Castile was not represented at first, and when some of its bishops did attend, they directed their energies, not to a subjugation of the Pope to a Council, but to the restoration of unity; England was faithful to the Pontiff at the commencement of the Council. Such was the condition of the Baselean assembly during the second session, when the decrees of Constance were renewed and applied to the case of a certain, as well as of a dubious Pontiff. And if it be replied that it is not necessary for every country to be represented in a General Council, the non-œcumenicity of the Baselean convention is evinced by the non-adherence of the Papal legates to its decrees. For, says the Angelic Doctor: "The fathers assembled in Council can establish nothing unless through the intervention of the authority of the Roman Pontiff; and as we read in *Glossa*, *dist.* 17, *General Councils*, 'That is universal which is established by the Pope or by his legate, with all the bishops'" (1). The *Acts* of the Coun-

(1) *Against the Assailants of Religion*, c. iv.

cil show that the legate Cesarini abdicated his presidency on Feb. 8, and that the famous second session was held on Feb. 15, 1432. It is true that after the sixth session Cesarini yielded to the entreaties of the prelates, and resumed the presidency for a time, but then he was no longer a Papal legate. And in the eighteenth session, when the decrees of the second were renewed, no Pontifical legates were present as such; some were absent from the assembly, and those who attended did so in their private capacity, not as legates (1).

It is sometimes said that Pope Eugenius IV. approved the Conciliary decrees concerning the Papal subjection to a General Council when he revoked his Bull of dissolution, and declared his adverse Bulls and Diplomas "null and void." But granting that this revocation was freely made by the Pontiff, which may be denied (2), it does not follow that he thereby approved and confirmed all the Conciliary proceedings. The Councils of Constantinople (first), Chalcedon, and Constance are regarded as legitimate; and nevertheless the Pontiffs St. Leo I., Pelagius, Gregory, and Martin did not approve of all their decrees. And we know that Eugenius revoked his Bull of dissolution only on condition that the Basileans would rescind those decrees which attacked the Papal supremacy. Torquemada tells us that "the synod having promised, and the princes having become security for the fulfilment of the promise, that the honor of his Holiness and of the Apostolic See should be preserved, the Pontiff changed his mind, and willed that the dissolution should become null" (3). And in the Constitution beginning *Dudum*, issued for the revocation of the dissolution, Pope Eugenius states that he restores the

(1) Torquemada, in his *Answer to the Basileans*, recited in the Council of Florence, says: "The legates did not consent; indeed, they contradicted, and protested as strongly as they could; however, some of them, when they saw that otherwise they would not be admitted to the presidency, afterward consented, but only as private persons."

(2) Torquemada says: "It is said that Andrew, the Venetian ambassador, and certain cardinals, then attending on Eugenius, fearing the great scandals threatening the Church, declared to the Pontiff that they would leave him to himself if he did not issue a Bull of acceptance of the Council. Then, as it is said, the aforesaid lords expedited the Bulls, while the Pope was lying in bed, and sent them to Basel." Alexandre, in *Cent. XV., diss. 8., art. 3, no. 41*, makes light of this passage, because of the "it is said," and certainly mere rumors, when presented by most men, are not to be credited; but Torquemada was not a man to record everything that he heard, and besides this fact, we must remember that the circumstances of the time give probability to the story.

(3) *Summa*, b. II., c. 100.

Conciliary status to the Baselean assembly, providing that "each and every thing done against our authority by the said Council be first entirely abrogated, and things be restored to their pristine condition." The Pontiff also imposed as a condition of the revocation that his legates should be "*effectively* admitted to the presidency of the synod." Now these conditions were not fulfilled; therefore the assembly did not recover its Conciliary status. But Eugenius tells us, with even more distinctness than in the above testimonies, that he did not approve the famous decrees. Torquemada was at the Council of Florence, and he heard the Pontiff say to the members: "We indeed willed that the Council (of Basel) should be resumed, and continue as it had begun; but nevertheless we did not approve its decrees" (1). Writing to Francis Foscari, doge of Venice, the Pontiff says: "Rather would we have laid down this Apostolic dignity, and our life itself, sooner than have permitted that the Pontifical dignity and the authority of the Apostolic See should be subjected, contrary to all Canons, to the Council. Such a thing was never done by any of our predecessors, nor indeed, was it ever asked of them" (2). In fine, so well understood was the mind of Eugenius IV. on this subject, that in the Council of Bourges the archbishop of Palermo did not hesitate to say: "It is notorious that Eugenius has constantly opposed the first two conclusions" (3).

CHAPTER VI.

THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE (SIXTEENTH GENERAL).

Pope Eugenius IV. having decreed the transfer of the Sixteenth General Council from Basel to Ferrara, Cardinal Nicholas Albergati, legate of the Pontiff, declared the Council opened in the latter city on Jan. 8, 1438. On Jan. 27, Pope Eugenius arrived at Ferrara, and on Feb. 8, before a general congregation of the synodals, he explained his difference with the recalcitrants of Basel, and declared that he was ready to do all that a Supreme Pontiff could rightly perform in order to produce unity of thought and action among the pastors of the

(1) *Ibid.*

(2) RAYNOLD; y. 1433, no. 19.

(3) AUGUST. PATRICIUS; *History of the Council of Basel.*

Church. In the Second Session, celebrated on Feb. 15, under the presidency of the Pope, seventy-two bishops were present; and the Synod pronounced the seditious decrees of Basel null and void, and declared the excommunication and deposition of the obstinate prelates. On March 4, the Greek emperor, John Paleologus, accompanied by twenty-two archbishops and bishops, and eleven abbots, as also by a large number of Greek senators and nobles—in all, over seven hundred persons, arrived at Ferrara for the purpose of effecting the long-talked-of and now much-desired reconciliation of the schismatics with the Holy See (1). The patriarch Joseph of Constantinople was detained by sickness until the 7th, and on his landing was received by four cardinals and twenty-four Latin bishops, and by the marquis d'Este of Ferrara; then, accompanied by two cardinal-deacons, the chief representative of the Greek schism paid his respects to the Supreme Pontiff of Christendom.

Everything seemed to be ready for the consummation of the great object of the Council, when the Greek emperor requested that the Western sovereigns should be present at the reunion, either in person or through their envoys. Seven months of delay therefore ensued before the Latins and Greeks could meet in full Council (2); but meanwhile there were held many private conferences in which consideration was to be given to the doctrines on the Procession of the

(1) The commissaries of the Council of Basel had vainly tried, by promises of great subsidies and of a grand army to combat the Turks, to induce the Greeks to accept Avignon as the place wherein to effect the reunion. From the decks of their Avignonese galleys the Basilean envoys beheld these other, but apparently repentant schismatics, embark on the Venetian squadron of Anthony Gondeimero on Nov. 25, 1437. Arriving at Venice on Feb. 9, 1438, the Greeks were received with honors to which the imperial dignity in the East had long been strange. Both emperor and patriarch made desperate efforts to impress the Latins with an idea of their grandeur—efforts very much out of place in persons humbly begging for aid against an enemy at their very gates. Thinking that the Western "barbarians" would easily be affected by glitter, and that they did not know how really poor his "Roman" empire was, Paleologus had made use of a large sum just received from Russia to cover his throne and bedstead with plates of massive gold. The patriarch, in order to sustain his dignity, had despoiled his cathedral of St. Sophia of many of its sacred vessels and most precious ornaments. This affectation of wealth seems the more puerile when we reflect that the Greeks had been obliged to travel in an Italian fleet, and at the expense of the Papal treasury; that on his arrival at Venice, the emperor received from Pope Eugenius 15,000 ducats; and that during their stay in Italy the expenses of the entire cortege were defrayed by the Pontiff. SYROPULOS; *Hist. Conc. Flor.*, sect. III., c. xvii., xviii., sect. IV., c. xxviii. VESPASIANO; *Life of Nicholas V.*, in MURATORI, vol. XXV.

(2) Many of the Western bishops were also desirous of this delay, since they trusted that the Basilean prelates would come to their senses in the interval, and appear at Ferrara.

Holy Ghost, on Purgatory, on the Beatific Vision, on the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, and on the "matter" of the Holy Eucharist. Sixteen theologians were appointed to conduct these debates; and the learned Camaldolese, Ambrose Traversari, acted as interpreter when necessary. When the conferences had been arranged, the Greeks obstinately refused to discuss the doctrine of the Procession; but they agreed to consider those on Purgatory and the Beatific Vision. When they had heard the exposition of the belief of the Roman Church on these points, they declared that it differed but little from their teaching, and they proposed to give their answer in writing. This document did not prove satisfactory to the Westerns; for while the Greeks admitted a middle state in which souls, not entirely purified from the stains of sin, are temporarily detained, and in which they are relieved by the prayers and sacrifices of the Church Militant; they excluded from this state of purgation the pain of fire, which they regarded as peculiar to the hell of the damned, and that only after the general resurrection. The conferences soon degenerated into altercations; but finally, on Oct. 8, was held what is regarded as the First Session of the Council, those already celebrated being considered as preliminary. Six doctors were now named to discuss the questions at issue. The Catholics selected Cardinal Julian Cesarini; Andrew, archbishop of Rhodes; Louis, bishop of Forlì; Peter Perquiere, a Franciscan; John of Montenero, a Dominican; and John Torquemada, whom we have already met at the Council of Basel. The Greek historian, Michael Ducas, speaks of Cesarini as the most eminent of the Latin theologians (1). Torquemada had been among the principal defenders of the Holy See at Basel (2); of the three others we know little. The schismatics chose for their champions Mark, archbishop of Ephesus; Isidore, metropolitan of Kiew in Russia; Bessarion, archbishop of Nicea; Xanthopulus Siderophas, "high-guardian of the sacred vessels;" Balamon the Librarian; and Gemisthes Pletho, a famous dialectician. A brief notice of some of these schismatic champions will not be uninteresting. Mark of Ephesus, the chief athlete of the Greek schism at this period, was an erudite theo-

(1) *History*, c. xxxi.

(2) TIRABOSCHI; vol. VI., b. II.

logian, but was excessively addicted to subtleties and sophisms. He upheld the errors of his party as the palladium of the Byzantine empire; and while the hordes of Islam were only awaiting the signal to enter St. Sophia's, he insisted that the "Latin" doctrine was the sole enemy which his countrymen had to fear. Isidore of Kiew was a native of Thessalonica; and having become a monk of the Order of St. Basil, was raised, in time, to the see of Kiew. As learned and eloquent as Mark of Ephesus, he was his superior in piety and good sense. George Gemisthes Pletho, a Lacedemonian, was in his ninetieth year when, though a layman, the influence of Bessarion caused his appointment as consultor to the Greek synodals of the Sixteenth Council. He was probably the best philosopher in the East, and was so ardent a Platonist that he scoffed at Aristotle; his Christianity was at best problematical (1). By far the most interesting of the Greek champions was Bessarion, a native of Trebizond, and, like his quondam tutor Pletho, a zealous Platonist. He was a man of elevated character, frank and noble in his manners, and pre-eminently adapted to the role of pacificator, as he demonstrated both during and after the Council of Florence.

In the discussions which began on Oct. 14, 1438, the schismatics immediately, and, as they thought, triumphantly, cited the decrees of ancient Synods and Fathers prohibiting any additions to the Creed (2). We have already given, in our dissertation on the *Filioque* (3), the arguments by which the Catholics proved that they had merely explained, not made

(1) Pletho taught that Christianity and Islamism would both soon perish, and give place to a purer religion—a new form of paganism. In his *Conciliation of Discrepancies*, he holds that "in every conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, the entire world suffers such changes that not only kingdoms, but new religions arise, as was seen in the advent of Nabuchodonosor, Moses, Alexander, the Nazarene, and Mohammed."

(2) The Greeks having been allowed to either attack or defend, they preferred to attack, and began by asking why the Roman Church had added the *Filioque*, "and from the Son," to the symbol. This manner of treating the controverted points had been combated by Bessarion in the private conferences of the Greeks, as he deemed it disadvantageous to their cause. He would have preferred to commence with an examination of the doctrine expressed by the *Filioque*; because, said he, it is better to make an attack which may obviate any necessity for a second combat. "If we prove," he argued, "that the doctrine of the *Filioque* is false, it will be unnecessary to show that the addition ought not to have been made; the dispute will be ended. But if, on the contrary, we begin by attacking the legitimacy of the addition, then even if we gain the victory, we must still show that the doctrine is false."

(3) Vol. II., ch. v.

any addition to the Creed. On the part of the schismatics, Bessarion took up these arguments, and insisted that a real addition had been made, since by the clause "and from the Son" a new dogma was expressed; that this act of the Roman Church was inadmissible, for the Roman Church was not the Universal Church; that finally, even the Universal Church could not make such an addition, since the prohibition of Ephesus was absolute. Shortly afterwards the learned archbishop admitted that this last assertion could not be upheld; and it is surprising that such a dialectician did not confine the debate, from the outset, to the authority or non-authority of the Roman Church. The Catholic theologians quickly perceived the false position of their opponents; and the bishop of Forlì proved that the Universal Church must possess the right to add words to the Symbol, since she enjoys the essential right of determining what is, and what is not, of faith. The discussion was then confined to the capital point; the schismatics were compelled to show that after the Seventh Council, the Church had lost the right of defining matters of faith. Mark of Ephesus realized the difficulty and tried to evade it by exclaiming: "Erase the *Filioque* from the Creed; re-establish the primitive *Profession of Faith*; and union is consummated." But principle and truth were at stake, and Cesarini insisted: "Examine? If the addition is blasphemous, cut it out; if it is correct, receive it!" Then, as Bessarion had foreseen, the Greeks were forced to enter on an examination of the doctrine of the Procession; and the Byzantine emperor vainly besought the Pontiff that the discussion might take place in private session. This was the last act of the Sixteenth Council at Ferrara. The plague was desolating the city, and the horrors of war were approaching it; hence Pope Eugenius IV. decreed the transfer of the Council to Florence. The Greeks were very averse to the transfer, but the Pontiff declared that he could no longer pay them the promised subsidies at Ferrara; that he had been obliged to accept a loan from Cosmo dei Medici on condition that the synodals would meet in Florence (1). But

(1) During the entire sojourn of the Greeks in Italy, the Pope gave the emperor 30 golden florins per month: to the patriarch, 25; to all others of rank, 4; to each attendant, 3. The golden florin of that day was equal to five dollars of our money.

he promised to furnish 12,000 florins, and two more galleys, for the defence of Constantinople; to satisfy all the wants of the visitors; and to allow them, united or schismatic, to depart in three or four months. Cosmo dei Medici received the synodals with that magnificence which befitted the chief magistrate of Florence and the wealthiest individual in Europe.

The sessions were renewed at Florence on March 2, 1439. The schismatics now endeavored to show that the expression "and from the Son" was not orthodox, and the dispute was commenced by Mark of Ephesus and John of Montenero. When asked to prove that the Holy Ghost proceeds also from the Son, the Dominican cited testimonies from nearly all the Oriental fathers, thus showing what had been the olden tradition of the Greeks themselves. Mark then accused the Latins of having corrupted these passages; but his wisest colleagues refused to credit the charge, for the Dominican introduced codices of indisputable authenticity, especially one of St. Basil, of a date anterior to the Photian schism. Mark then raised the following difficulty: "In defending your doctrine on the Procession of the Holy Ghost, you must fall into one of two errors. Either you suppose two divine Principles, and then you destroy the divine unity; or, to maintain that unity, you make the Son and the Holy Ghost attributes of the Father, and then you destroy the Trinity." To this objection Montenero replied that in the Catholic doctrine no double Principle was supposed; firstly, because the Holy Ghost, being the love of the Father and the Son, is produced by one unique power, that of love; secondly, because as the Word has nothing that He does not receive from the Father, so the Holy Ghost, who is said to proceed from the Son, has, and can have only one original Principle. After a few more objections, which elicited triumphant replies from Montenero, Mark of Ephesus retired, and took no further part in the sessions of the Council. His retreat ended the combat. The principal champions of the schismatics, such as Isidore of Kiew and Bessarion, were convinced of the orthodoxy of the Latins; the patriarch and the emperor visibly sympathized with them; but, although reduced to silence, the majority of the Greeks

remained attached to their error. When the Pontiff wished to demand from each synodal, under oath, what were his views, the schismatics rejected this method of terminating the question. Then Bessarion arose, and put forth all his eloquence to influence his brethren to put an end to the schism. He showed that the fathers, Eastern and Western, were unanimous in admitting the Procession of the Holy Ghost through the Son; he contended that any obscurity, on the part of some fathers, should be dissipated by the light furnished by the clear passages of others; and he impressed upon the Greeks the need of union, were it only for the political existence of the Byzantine empire. In conclusion, the archbishop of Nicea declared that the Roman Church professed the right faith concerning the Holy Ghost; that the addition of the *Filioque* was proper; and that he was ready to defend in writing what he then sustained with his tongue, being willing to lose his see rather than abandon his convictions (1). These remarks of so influential a prelate as Bessarion produced a vivid sensation; and the senator, George Scholarius, followed in the same sense. However, the majority of the schismatics remained obstinate, and the unionists were becoming impatient. The private conferences had been going on for more than a month, when the Latins sent to the schismatics a *Profession of Faith* which was rejected. The Greeks admitted that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son; but they contended that the Procession is by emission or effusion. The Latins, in return, did not reject these words, but they required the Greeks to declare the precise significance which they attached to them; and to state clearly and definitively whether they understood said words in the sense of the fathers. The schismatics were now pushed to the wall. They could not refuse to give the statement required by the Catholics; and they could not give it without acknowledging the truth of the Roman doctrine, unless they again recurred to the sophisms already confuted. Therefore they procrastinated; and the more sincere among them now threatened to unite with the Catholics by individual abjurations of the schism.

Frightened at this decision, the Byzantine emperor called a

(1) TRAVERSARI; *Epistles*, b. II., no. 19.

meeting of his prelates and consultors at the residence of the patriarch. The teachings of the fathers were again examined, and finally, on May 30, the patriarch pronounced that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father through the Son, eternally and substantially, as from one Principle and one sole Cause ; and that the doctrine is orthodox which teaches that the Holy Ghost receives from the Father and the Son. When the patriarchal decision was first presented, thirteen of the Greek bishops received it, five protested against it, and one, the archbishop of Trebizond, was absent ; but three days afterward only one, Mark of Ephesus, rejected it. On June 6, a solemn deputation of the Greeks waited upon Pope Eugenius IV., and declared : “ *We agree with you that the addition to the Creed, that you recite, is derived from the holy fathers ; we approve it, and are united with you. We declare that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, as from one Principle and Cause.* ” The writing of his signature to this adhesion was the last public act of the patriarch Joseph, for he died on the following day. These lines were found in his writing, and duly signed : “ Being come to the end of my life, and being about to pay the common debt, I wrote and sign, with the grace of God, my *Profession of Faith*, that all my children may know it. I declare that I receive and believe all that is held and taught by the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ, the Church of the elder Rome. I acknowledge that the Pope of the elder Rome is the blessed father of fathers, the Great Pontiff, and the Vicar of Jesus Christ, who assures the faith of Christians. I also believe in the Purgatory of souls.”

On July 6, Pope Eugenius IV., all the synodals, and the emperor met in the church of Sta. Maria del Fiore. Cardinal Cesarini ascended the pulpit, and read, in Latin, the Apostolic Constitution which declared that the Easterns and Westerns alike acknowledged that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son ; that leavened and unleavened bread are equally valid matter of the Holy Eucharist ; that the just, dying before their sins are entirely expiated, are purified in Purgatory, and are there assisted by the prayers of the living ; that the completely purified soul is received into

heaven, to enjoy there the intuitive vision of God ; that those who die in actual mortal sin, or simply in original sin, descend into hell (*in infernum*), there to undergo *different* punishments ; that the Roman Pontiff is the successor of the Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles ; that he is the true vicar of Jesus Christ, the head of the Universal Church, and the father and teacher of all Christians ; that Christ has given to him, in the person of the Blessed Peter, the full power of feeding and governing the Universal Church. Then Bessarion mounted the pulpit, and read a Greek version of the same document. All the Greek bishops, Mark of Ephesus alone excepted, cried "Amen !" ; and having signed the Constitution, they all (Mark excepted), together with the emperor, kissed the knees and right hand of the Pontiff.

Before the departure of the Greeks, there arrived at Florence representatives of the patriarch of the Armenians, who requested to be received into the communion of the Universal Church. Some time before the Photian schism, the Armenians, hitherto subjects of the Constantinopolitan patriarch, had formed a national church. While the Armenians were discussing their differences with the theologians appointed by the Council, the Greeks departed for home ; and hence the Gallican theologians used to hold that the decree of union, afterward issued by Pope Eugenius IV., must not be regarded as the work of a General Council. We shall treat of this question when we shall have finished our historical sketch. The Council of Florence was also asked to accord communion to the Jacobites or Monophysites of Ethiopia, Egypt, and Lybia. This progeny of Eutyches was represented by Andrew, abbot of the monastery of St. Anthony in Egypt, as envoy of the Monophysite patriarch John, and in his suite of thirty-nine persons was an African king (1). Some have

(1) The following account of the reception of the Ethiopian embassy is taken from a MS. codex (No. XVII., class XXV., with title "Città di Firenze") in the Magliabecchi Library : "On Sunday, Aug. 26, there arrived in Florence about forty Indians, sent by Priest John of Greater India. Among them were three ambassadors of the said Priest John, and one of them was a king who carried in his hand a golden cross. Another was a cardinal, that is, one of their abbots, who are of the rank of our cardinals. There was also a knight. The said abbot had his head wrapped in a quantity of white linen. All of them were black, withered, and very deformed. They came to unite their faith with ours. . . . On Sept. 2 they delivered their message to our holy father Eugenius, and when reduced to our language, it sounded thus : ' All men who approach your Holiness, most blessed father, should

thought that this Monophysite patriarch was the "Priest John," about whom so much has been written, and the search for whom was the occasion of the Portuguese discovery of the Cape of Good Hope. The Ethiopian deputies were received by Pope Eugenius IV. on Sept. 2, and the abbot Andrew acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman See, the legitimacy of the Council of Chalcedon, and the illegality of the "Robber-Synod," the so-called Second Council of Ephesus. He also anathematized Ebion, Cerinthus, Marcion, Paul of Samosata, Manes, Valentine, Nestorius, Eutyches; in fine, all the heresiarchs with whose errors his countrymen had become infected. Pope Eugenius then pronounced the Jacobites united with the Roman Church. Finally, on May 6, 1442, the Pontiff transferred the Council from Florence to Rome.

"In its second and third sessions, the Council of Basel declared that the Pope could not dissolve or transfer it without its own consent; and in its sixteenth session the Pontiff accepted this decree. In France, we regard the Council of Basel as œcumenical until its twenty-sixth session; that of Florence, held in spite of the decrees of Basel, cannot be called General. The bishops of France were not there: the king had prohibited their attendance, and they had not been canonically called to it. Nevertheless, many French theologians have contended that this Council was really œcumenical." When Bergier wrote these words, the opinion expressed by

give great thanks to God, because He has allowed them to behold, in you, Christ again conversing on earth with sinners. But we, who were born in Ethiopia, have peculiar reasons for such gratitude to God for having been permitted to gaze upon your blessed features. No person comes to you from such a distance as we do, who are located at the end of the earth; and with due respect to all others, we think that no people has more devotion to the Pope of Rome than we have. We have conquered every obstacle in order to arrive here, and when we return home, we will give great joy to our countrymen: for in our empire, whenever any one comes from the Roman Pontiff, the great and humble, men, women, and children, all run to kiss his feet, and blessed is the person who can procure a piece of his clothes. And our empire is indeed a great one; our emperor has a hundred crowned kings in his obedience; to our country belonged the ancient glories of the queen of Sheba, who was attracted to Jerusalem by the fame of Solomon, just as we, who are inferior to her, are now drawn to you, who are greater than Solomon. To our 'and also belonged Queen Candace, and the royal eunuch whom Philip baptized. You, therefore, who are the greatest of the great, ought to behold us little ones with joy, on account of these our great associations, and also because of the care which God has had of us. For it is certain that other peoples who have left you, have fallen into decay; but we, although wandering from the Roman See, are still free and powerful. Our separation has been owing to our distance, to the dangers surrounding us, and to the neglect of previous pastors in our regard."

them was licit: and some members of the Gallican school were firmly persuaded that the Council of Florence was never, for one moment, œcumenical. At the time of the Council of Trent, the cardinal of Lorraine energetically defended this opinion: but, as Alexandre insists, the French church never rejected the Council of Florence. The French bishops were prohibited by the king to attend the Council, but they were present in spirit and in will. Many of the prelates of those provinces which had not yet been incorporated in the monarchy did attend at Florence, e. g., the bishops of Terouanne, Nevers, Digne, Bayeux, and Angers. Alexandre's Gallicanism does not prevent his showing that the Council of Florence was œcumenical in every sense, "until the departure of the Greeks," and such was the opinion of De Marca, of Bossuet, of the Faculty of Paris, and of the French clergy (1). Such of the Gallican school as refused, before the Vatican Council, to admit the œcumenicity of the assembly of Florence, were doubtless influenced by the difficulty of reconciling its doctrine on the Pontiff with certain Gallican opinions, especially with the three last articles of the *Declaration of 1682*. But this same reason should have caused them to reject the Councils of Constance and Basel; for these assemblies directly controverted the doctrine enunciated in the first article of the *Declaration* (2).

When theologians argue about the *materia* of the Sacraments, the decree issued by the Council of Florence in reference to the Armenians and Jacobites is often brought forward; and those who differ from the Florentine prelates in

(1) BERTHIER; *History of the French Church*, vol. XVI., b. XLVIII.

(2) In this article it is asserted that "kings and sovereigns are not subject in temporal matters, by command of God, to any ecclesiastical power; they cannot be deposed, either directly or indirectly, by the authority of the keys; their subjects cannot be dispensed from the submission that they owe, nor can they be absolved from their oaths of allegiance. This doctrine, necessary for public tranquillity, and no less advantageous to the Church than to the State, should be held inviolate, as conformable to the will of God, to the tradition of the holy fathers, and to the example of the saints." How could the framers of this article revere the Council of Constance, when, in its seventeenth session, that assembly prohibited any and all persons, "whether kings, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, dukes, princes, marquises, counts, or of any other dignity, ecclesiastical or secular," from placing any obstacle to the extinction of the schism; and declared all delinquents "*ipso facto* excommunicated, and deprived of every honor, dignity, office, and benefice"? And the Council of Basel, extolled to the skies by all ultra-Gallicans, decreed the same penalties against all who would interfere with the Papal legates. See the "safe-conduct," given in the General Congregation of July 18, 1432.

the question of the *materia* assert that this decree possesses no Conciliar authority, since, as they contend, it was issued after the departure of the Greeks had deprived the Council of its quality of œcumenicity. Such was the opinion of Sirmond, Alexandre, Habert, and Wittasse. Since the decisions of the Council of the Vatican, this controversy has lost all of its importance: for it is certain that when Pope Eugenius IV. issued the decree in which the question of the *materia* is treated, he spoke *ex cathedra*.

Basnage (1), Potter (2), Mosheim (3), and other Protestant authors naturally manifest much hostility toward the Council of Florence. Here is a Council of the Universal Church, attended by representatives of those who had separated from the Roman See many centuries before, and all unite in a profession of belief in those dogmas which Luther, Calvin, and the Anglicans will soon pronounce unscriptural and mere human inventions. The Eastern separatists could not have derived their doctrines from Rome, the presumed corrupter of the deposit of faith, after their secession; therefore these doctrines must have been held by the whole Church at the time when unity was broken. And what are these dogmas, as to the antiquity of which Roman Catholic, schismatic Greek, and Ethiopian Monophysite agree? The doctrine of Purgatory, and of the efficacy of prayer for the dead; that of the Seven Sacraments, and especially that of the Real Presence of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist; and that of the Sacrifice of the Mass. It is not strange then that the modern apologists of heresy should be displeased with the Council of Florence. Again, the recognition of the Papal supremacy and the consummation of the union of Christendom—short-lived, certainly, but then unanimously desired—were irritating to Potter, Mosheim, and others of that ilk, who were yet lamenting the recent Protestant failure in the matter of Cyril Lucar (4). They insist that trickery and threats were used by the Catholics to induce the schismatics to sign a common *Profession of Faith*. They pretend to prove the truth of their assertion by the history of the union written by the schismatic, Sylvester

(1) *History of the Church*, b. XXVII., c. xli., § 6.

(2) *Spirit of the Church*, vol. IV., b. VII.

(3) *History*, cent. 15, pt. 2, c. i., 13.

(4) See our vol. II., ch. ix., p. 131.

Syropulos, who, they say, clearly shows, firstly, that Pope Eugenius IV. prevailed by promises of aid against the Turks, and by bribes of money, in keeping the Greeks away from Basel, and in obtaining their recognition of the Conciliar character of his assembly, then at Ferrara. It is certain, secondly, they say, that Bessarion was the principal instrument used by the Pontiff, and that he was seduced by the promise of a cardinal's hat. Thirdly, they accuse the Catholics of cowardice and inconsistency, inasmuch as, in their intense desire to procure the recognition of the Papal supremacy, they were willing to tolerate, on the part of the Orientals, positive errors of doctrine. Thus they allowed them to depart, still clinging, as is evident from the reply of the archbishop of Mitylene, to the Catholic objections (1), to their doctrine that Christian and consummated matrimony can be dissolved on account of adultery.

To these objections Bergier makes the following reply: "It was the emperor John Paleologus who first proposed the union of the two churches, hoping to obtain from the Catho-

(1) After the *Definition of Faith* had been signed by all the synodals, Mark of Ephesus alone excepted, the Greeks were asked to give reasons for several peculiar customs. Why do they pour warm water into the chalice? Before the bread has become the Body of Christ, why do they recite the words of John XIX.. "One of the soldiers with a spear opened His side, and immediately there came out blood and water"? Why do they say: "And behold the star... stood over where the Child was"? Why do the Greek priests confer Confirmation? Why do they anoint corpses before burial? Why are they not content with the words of the Lord, "Receive and eat, etc.," but add: "And make this bread into the Precious Body of Thy Christ," and "Changing them by Thy Holy Spirit, Amen, Amen, Amen"? Why do they dissolve marriages, when the Lord said: "What God hath joined, etc."? And since the patriarch Joseph had died at Florence, why did not the Greeks proceed to elect a successor? The *Acts* of the Council inform us that the archbishop of Mitylene "replied to these questions properly and canonically, excepting as to the one of matrimony, and that concerning the patriarch; and about these the Pope spoke to the emperor." After a few days, the Pontiff summoned the Eastern bishops, and thus addressed them: "Brethren, by favor of God we are united in faith. Since, then, by the secret judgment of God, I am the head among you members, and I ought to instruct you in what contributes to piety and to the good of the Church, I have some things to say to you, as to brethren and teachers of the churches. And I say, firstly, that all complain about your dissolution of marriage; this must be corrected. Secondly, as to the bishop of Ephesus. He must account for his abandonment of our Synod; he is not wiser than all of us. ... Thirdly, since the holy patriarch of Constantinople has been received into the eternal tabernacles, another patriarch should be chosen, and here where I am present." The Greeks replied that the Pope's remarks were most wise, but that a satisfactory answer could not be given without previous consultation among themselves and with the emperor. On their own individual responsibility, however, they said that *when they dissolved marriages, they did so with good reasons*. As to Mark of Ephesus, he would answer for his conduct. Concerning the election of a new patriarch, they insisted that it was the custom of the Greeks to hold that election in Constantinople. When Paleologus heard of these reclamations, and of the replies thereto, he forbade any further notice of the matter.

lic powers aid against the Turks. The Pope could only promise to use his influence with the sovereigns. If he did not succeed, ought he be accused of deceiving the Greeks? Had he not heeded the propositions of the emperor, he would now be charged with having lost, either through avarice or through obstinacy, an opportunity of ending the schism. The Greeks were too poor to journey to Italy at their own expense; the emperor, reduced to the most humiliating straits, could not advance the money. It was but just, therefore, that the Pontiff should furnish the funds. To assert that this money was a bribe to the Greeks, to induce them to stifle the voices of their own consciences and to betray the interests of their church, is to gratuitously and malignantly calumniate. Bessarion was incontestably the wisest and most moderate man among the Greeks; he had desired the extinction of the schism long before he could have been tempted by any promise. At the Council of Florence he spoke with an erudition, a solidity, and a precision which excited the admiration of the Latins, and the Greeks could not contradict him. What is proved by the hatred which the latter conceived for him? Merely their own obstinacy. If the Pope had not recompensed Bessarion for his services, he would have been accused of black ingratitude. It is sufficient to read the *History* of Syropulos to realize the extent to which the Greeks carried their stupid obstinacy. They wished, before entering upon the question of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, that the first thing undertaken should be the removal of the *Filioque* from the Creed. The dogma was proved to them, not only by the Scriptures, but by the writings of the Greek fathers, and so forcibly that they could not reply. The same was done with regard to other points that they raised. If, therefore, they did not sign the *Profession* voluntarily, and in good faith; if they revoked their signatures when they had returned home; they, not the Latins, were deceivers. The Greeks brought four accusations against the Roman Church. . . . The Catholics were bound to satisfy them. . . . If, in 1638, the Greeks had been willing to unite with the Protestants, these latter, who were so ambitious of such union, would have pushed their spirit of concession

much further than was done by the Council of Florence."

As to the accusation of excessive complaisance, on the part of the Catholics, in the matter of the Greek custom dissolving matrimony because of adultery, more than Bergier says (1) can be, and ought to be said in defence of the Council's action. The indissolubility of consummated Christian matrimony is certainly Catholic doctrine; and Pope Pius IX. condemned the proposition which teaches that matrimony is not indissoluble according to the natural law (2). But at the time of the Council of Florence, the indissolubility of matrimony, even in case of adultery, had not been proclaimed under pain of anathema. Even the Council of Trent, out of consideration for the Greek subjects of Venice, as we learn from Pallavicino (3), so tempered its Canon as to anathematize only those who declared that the Church erred in her teaching on this subject; and although, as Tournely well says, it

(1) The French apologist merely says: "Had the Greeks been attacked on other points of dogma or of discipline, our Protestants would say that the Catholics had foolishly confirmed them in their schism."

(2) *Syllabus*, prop. 67.

(3) *Council of Trent*, b. XXII., c. iv., no. 27.—The following are the historian's words: "A Canon had been prepared, anathematizing any one who would say that consummated marriages could be dissolved on account of adultery. But when the final draft was shown to the Venetian ambassadors, they solemnly declared to the assembly, on Aug. 11 (1563), that the ancient republic had always been most faithful to the Apostolic See and to the General Councils celebrated under its authority, and that said republic had ever zealously received and venerated all the Apostolic and Conciliary decrees; . . . but that unless what was being prepared in the 7th Canon were modified in some way, no slight offence might be given to the Eastern churches, especially those of the islands belonging to Venice, viz., Crete, Cyprus, Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, and many others, to the sacrifice of public quiet and to the detriment of the Catholic Church. It was plain to the fathers, said the ambassadors, that although the Greeks partly differed from the Roman Church, yet things had not become so desperate that improvement might not be expected, especially since the Greek subjects of the republic, although they followed their own rite, obeyed bishops appointed by the Roman Pontiff. (From this passage the reader will perceive that the obnoxious practice was followed by the *united*, as well as by the *schismatics* of the Greek rite.) The duty of the ambassadors, and the very fitness of things, compelled them not to allow these peoples to be stricken with an anathema which might incite them to tumult, and to an entire withdrawal from the Roman communion. It was certain (continued the Venetian ambassadors) that the Greeks followed the most ancient custom of their forefathers in repudiating an adulterous spouse, and taking another; and that they had never been anathematized by any General Council, although this custom had been well known by the Roman Catholic Church. Therefore the ambassadors deemed it their duty to most earnestly beseech that the Canon might be so moderately worded that it would cause no harm to the Greeks, especially by any anathema. Doubtless it might be so couched as to offer no indignity to the Catholic Church, and to preserve due reverence to the doctors. They thought that the desire of the Council might be attained, and the republic be content, if the canon were drawn in some such terms as these: 'Let him be anathema who says that the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church, the mother and teacher of the others, has ~~erred~~ or errs when she has taught or teaches, etc.'"

would seem that the doctrine is now of faith, even though the Council of Trent did not explicitly declare it such, it is nevertheless certain that Pope Eugenius IV. did not so regard it; since, in the twenty-fifth session of Florence, he addressed the Greeks as persons finally joined in faith with the Roman Church. No cowardice, therefore, was displayed, and no desire of domination at any cost of principle; but rather a prudent economy was exercised when the Greeks were allowed to depart from Florence without having promised, in this matter of matrimony, to follow the teaching of Rome (1).

Mark of Ephesus accused the Latins of having adduced, in defence of their doctrine on the Procession, falsified testimonies of the fathers. To this calumny Bessarion thus replied: "Finally, they (the Latins) laid before us testimonies of the fathers which clearly evinced the truth of this doctrine. And they brought forward passages, not only of the Western fathers, against which we could only say that they had been corrupted by the Latins, but also our Epiphanius, plainly declaring the Holy Ghost to be from the Father and the Son; and we replied that said testimony had been corrupted. They introduced Cyprian and others, and we gave the same answer. They adduced the authority of Western saints; we returned the same reply, and no other. And when we had debated among ourselves for many days as to what we ought to say, we could devise no other, though it seemed too trivial to allege. Firstly, because this doctrine (of the Latins) appeared to be in accord with the mind of the saints. Secondly, so many and so ancient were the volumes containing it, that they could not have been easily falsified; and we could show no copies, either in Latin or in Greek, which gave the quoted passages differently from the version of the Latins. Thirdly, we were

(1) It is uncertain when the practice of dissolving matrimony on account of adultery was introduced among the Greeks. Origen says (*Comment. on Matt.*) that some bishops allowed marriage to a second spouse, while the first was living, but he does not assign any reason for this permission, and expressly states that it was "against the law of Scripture." In his time, therefore, the practice could not have been fully established. But it is certain that a law of Justinian (6th cent.) allowed such marriages; nay, even in the days of St Chrysostom (4th cent.) there was a civil law permitting them, but the saint declared them contrary to the ecclesiastical law (*Hom. on I. Cor. vii. 39*). "We may well suspect," says Tourneley (*Matrimony*, q. 5, art. 2), "that these civil laws strengthened a corrupt practice of the Greeks, and that the bishops, fearful of offending the sovereign, gradually came to tolerate, by their silence, an abuse which has, in the course of time, become so firmly established that we can scarcely hope that it will ever be abolished."

able to produce no doctors who asserted the contrary. When, therefore, we could find no worthy reply, we were silent, and for many days we held no session with the Latins' (1). But Bessarion was not satisfied with repelling this accusation against the Latins; he retorted it against the Greeks (2). Speaking of a passage of St. Basil (3), in which that father says that the Holy Ghost "is from the Son, having His being from Him, receiving from Him, and depending entirely from that Cause," the archbishop of Nicea tells us that out of six codices of St. Basil's works brought by his countrymen to Florence, five gave this passage in its entirety; while the one that wanted it "was defective in some parts, and had many additions, according to the pleasure of the corrupter." When he returned to Constantinople, Bessarion searched the libraries, and he found some new codices, written after the Council of Florence had terminated, and in which the above passage was wanting; whereas in other ancient MSS. which he consulted it was given.

Gemistes Pletho, the celebrated Platonist, who had manifested very little zeal for union during the Council of Florence, and who persisted in schism to the last, tried to evade the force of the argument drawn from the Greek subscriptions to the *Acts* of that Synod, by asserting that the patriarch Joseph, the metropolitan Isidore of Kiev, and Mark of Ephesus, did not sign the decrees; that those who did, retracted immediately on their return to Greece. This shows, he contends, that there was no freedom of action at Florence. But if there was no freedom of action, how did these three avoid subscribing? Again, it is false that Isidore of Kiev did not subscribe, for we read in the *Acts*: "I, Isidore, metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russia, and holding the place of the lord Dorotheus, the most holy patriarch of the Apostolic see of Antioch, being satisfied, have subscribed." As for the patriarch Joseph of Constantinople, he was most zealous for unity; and that he would have subscribed to the agreement of reunion, had death spared him until that document was prepared, is evident from the paper found in his desk, and which we have already given.

(1) *Epistle to Alexis Lascaris*, c. v. (2) *Ibid.* c. i. (3) *Against Eunomius*, b. III

CHAPTER VII.

THE PONTIFICATE OF NICHOLAS V.

AFTER the obsequies of Pope Eugenius IV., eighteen cardinals entered into conclave, on March 4, 1447. Prosper Colonna had a majority of votes at the outset, but the cardinal Tagliacozzo of Taranto nominated Thomas Parentucelli, bishop of Bologna, who soon received eleven votes. On the 6th, Cardinal Turrecremata approached Parentucelli, and said: "It is I who make you Pope, Thomas; for to-day is the eve of your holy patron's feast." This accession gave the requisite two-thirds to the cardinal of Bologna, and he was at once proclaimed as Pope Nicholas V. Thomas Parentucelli was the son of a physician of Pisa, and was born in that city in 1398. His mother, Andreola Calandrini, was a Sarzannese, and, as much of her son's childhood was passed at her birthplace, he came to be styled "De Sarzanna." The death of his father and the cruelty of his step-father rendered his childhood a continual misery, and when he was twelve years old, his mother, relying upon a dream which seemed to prognosticate for him a great destiny, sent him into the world as a poor scholar. For six years, living meanwhile on charity, he attended the schools of Bologna, and with such success that, in his nineteenth year, he became tutor to the children of some wealthy Florentines. After four years of pedagogy, he devoted his savings to a resumption of his studies, returned to Bologna, and in due time received the doctorate in theology. His worth soon attracted the notice of the great cardinal Nicholas Albergati, bishop of Bologna, who had ordained him to the priesthood, and he was made master of the episcopal household. According to his contemporaries, the erudition of Thomas de Sarzanna was prodigious: he knew the entire Bible by heart, and there was no Latin or Greek author with whose works he was not familiar. In poetry, oratory, history, cosmography, he was as proficient as in theology and philosophy (1). After

(1) While Albergati was attending the Council of Florence, Thomas de Sarzanna became intimate with most of the learned men of the pontifical court. With such men as the celebrated Poggio, Leonardo Aretino, Mananetti, Aurispa, Marsuppini, and Gaspar of Bologna-

the death of Albergati, and a service of twenty years in his house, Thomas was attached by Pope Eugenius IV. to his court, with the title of apostolic deacon, and in time he became vice-chamberlain, bishop of Bologna, and finally cardinal, of the title of St. Susanna. When raised to the Pontificate he had been a cardinal only two months.

At this time the political situation of Europe was quite complicated. France and England, as was usual with them, were at war; Hungary and Germany were embroiled in a dispute of succession; Bohemia was yet a prey to heresy; the Ottomans had been victorious at Varna, and the last ramparts of the Greek empire were tottering. The union of the schismatics with the Catholic Church—which, if it had lasted, would have saved the Greek empire from the Turk—was being broken by frivolous subtleties of the Greek theologians, and by the unfounded and contemptible arrogance of the Greek populations. Alfonso of Aragon, master of the Two Sicilies, and most powerful of the Iberian princes, was a menace to the independence of the Papal States. In these territories of the Church, the so-called “vicars” of the Pontiff-King were working for their independence. Sforza, Florence, Venice, and Visconti, were continuing a struggle for supremacy, the issue of which no one could foresee. The Roman treasury was only a record of debts. To cap the climax, the schism of Basel was as yet unhealed, and hence discipline was relaxed, and the conscience of Christendom troubled.

The new Pontiff thought that kindness might avail as a remedy for all these evils: he would make of the Papacy a power of conciliation. Personally, he was well fitted for this work. Gracious and amiable, he never uttered a harsh word. Prudent in the extreme, he never acted upon recent impressions. Moderate and impartial, he seemed to satisfy wrang-

he established an academy, which was wont to meet for debate in a retired nook of Albergati's palace while the prelates were at their Conciliary sessions. Thomas also, on several occasions, took part in the Conciliary debates on the Procession of the Holy Ghost. Vespasiano (*Commentary on Pope Eugenius*; in *MURATORI*, v. 25) tells us that Thomas was a thorough bibliomaniac, and that, despite his slender resources, he always kept a number of copyists employed in transcribing the rare MSS. which he frequently unearthed. His diligence restored to the world many a lost author. It was he who taught Cosmo del Medici how to classify the precious collection of his library of St. Mark, and this instruction served as a criterion in the arrangement of the great libraries of the Abbey of Fiesole of Montefeltro at Urbino, and of Alexander Sforza at Pesaro.

ling ambassadors and humble supplicants, even when their requests were necessarily refused. And this calmness of character was in Nicholas entirely the work of virtue; for nature had made him quick and impatient (1). One of his first acts was to attempt a restoration of concord between the allied republics of Venice and Florence, and the sovereigns of Milan and Naples (2). A Papal legate called a congress of the belligerents at Ferrara, but while the conditions of peace were being discussed, Philip Mary Visconti died, willing his states to Alfonso of Naples. The Venetians now became enemies to the Milanese, who, tired of tyranny, reasserted their liberty, and called upon Sforza to aid them in preserving it. Florence declared against Venice, while Alfonso found himself opposed by all. Sforza made peace with the Holy See, and his brother Alexander was confirmed in the lordship of Pesaro.

During the struggle that ensued between the Milanese patriots and Sforza, who claimed the duchy as son-in-law to Visconti, Pope Nicholas preserved the constant esteem of both parties. It was mainly owing to the efforts of Nicholas that the emperor Frederick III. yielded to the just complaints of the Hungarians, and restored to them their young king, Ladislas, whom a wicked and short-sighted policy had detained at the imperial court. By this means the Hungarians were left free to correspond with the efforts put forth by their heroic Hunjady to save Germany and all Christendom from the rapidly-advancing Osmanli. Had Hunjady and the valorous Albanian, George Castriot (better known by his Mahometan name of Scanderbeg, the "lord Alexander"), been even moderately aided by the Western powers, Mahomet II. would not have entered Constantinople. But the republics of Italy, which monopolized the commerce with the East, were at war among themselves. The king of Aragon could do nothing without the aid of the Italian fleets, and without loans from the Italian bankers. The Germans could see no

(1) *ÆNEAS SYLVIVS, loc. cit.* Vespasiano says that "by nature he was choleric, but he knew how to temper his anger with prudence."

(2) Toward the end of the Pontificate of Eugenius IV. these powers had changed their policies. The two republics had warred at first on the side of Sforza, and were only desirous of crushing Visconti; now this prince was allied with Alfonso of Naples and Sforza himself.

sense in attacking a power which did not, as yet, directly attack themselves, and their emperor was feeble, indolent, and without the slightest military talent. France and England would not allow, just then, the religious sentiment to calm their political passions.

Therefore all that Scanderbeg and Hunjady could do was to defend, the former, the Epirote Mountains, and the latter, the line of the Danube. They did, indeed, in 1448, design to unite the Albanian, Wallachian, and Hungarian forces, and to attempt to revenge the disaster of Varna. But the celerity of Amurath's movements prevented the junction, and, alone, the resolute Hunjady fought the great battle of Kossovo, in which he resisted, for three days, an Ottoman army four times more numerous than his own, only leaving the field after half his enemies were killed.

In February, 1451, the greatest and most terrible of all the Turkish sultans, Mahomet II., ascended the Ottoman throne. He was ferocious, arrogant, implacable; and had often been heard to say that, once in power, he would have no other object than the extirpation of Christianity. This sultan was actuated by a powerful motive in his desire to distinguish himself in the eyes of his followers. He had been twice obliged to resign the supreme power, because his countrymen had no confidence in his ability; he would inaugurate his reign by no less an enterprise than the capture of Constantinople. The supine and voluptuous Greeks realized the intentions of their enemy when they beheld, only a few miles from their capital, the rising walls of a new Mahometan castle. But their emperor, Constantine Paleologus Dracosez, was, strange to say, a man of imperturbable courage. Provisioning the city as well as he could, and repairing the walls, he sent deputies to all the sovereigns of Europe, asking for aid. The West was not disposed to heed the request, for the Greeks had already, scores of times, appealed for a help which they could, and would not, have given to themselves; while their almost uninterrupted course of indifference—when it was not hostility and treachery—to the Crusades had won for them the contempt and detestation of Europe.

The Roman Pontiff had more reason than any other Western sovereign to be offended and disgusted with the Greeks. Twelve years had passed since they had sworn obedience to the Chair of Peter, and the decree of union had not yet been promulgated in the empire; the great mass of the clergy and people cherished a virulent hatred toward the Catholics, or, as they ever styled the friends of unity, the Latins; even Constantine Paleologus—so much superior to his predecessors—had suffered an assembly, held in St. Sophia's in 1450, to condemn the Council of Florence, and to depose and banish Gregory of Melissa. Notwithstanding these and other grievances, Pope Nicholas V. undertook to furnish the unfortunate empire with ships and money.

On April 6, 1453, Mahomet II. besieged Constantinople with 260,000 men and a fleet of 300 vessels. Despite the immense population of his capital, the emperor could rally to his standard only 4,970 Greeks; but an auxiliary corps of 2,000 foreigners, mostly Italians, came to his aid. With this small force, which he placed under the command of the Genoese Giustiniani, Paleologus awaited the assault of his enemy. The Greek historians Phrantza and Ducas highly eulogize the military genius, coolness, and intrepidity of Giustiniani; and it is very probable that if the fleet of Pope Nicholas had arrived in time to second his valor and his science, Mahomet II. would have abandoned his attempt. More than 10,000 Turks had perished in the assaults, and the sultan's counselors had advised a retreat, when Mahomet conceived the idea of transporting by land a portion of his fleet to the inner harbor of the city. Eighty vessels were thus brought close to the walls, and the final assault was ordered. After two hours of desperate fighting, the result was yet dubious, when the noble Giustiniani received a dangerous wound, and was incapacitated from directing the defence. The enfeebled garrison now lost heart; Constantine vainly strove to rally them, and fell amid a heap of his foes. Two days after the fall of the doomed city, a fleet of ten Roman, ten Neapolitan, and nine Venetian galleys appeared off Negropont.

Great was the terror of Europe when the ancient capital had succumbed to the power of the Crescent; then, indeed, when

it was almost too late for their own escape, did princes and peoples wish that during the previous centuries they had paid more attention to the warnings, prayers, and threats of the Popes, and had shown more energy, more perseverance, and more single-mindedness in the Crusades, which alone had postponed the present calamity, and alone had prevented its being visited, long ago, upon every capital in Christendom. Now again the Roman See raised its voice to bid Europe unite against the common foe. The cardinal Isidore addressed a graphic picture of the present danger to all the sovereigns, and a plan of action was soon matured. A general peace was to be proclaimed in Europe; Milan, Florence, and Venice were to reinforce Scanderbeg with 20,000 cavalry, and thus threaten the Turk from the South; Naples, Genoa, Florence, and Venice were to furnish a fleet to capture Gallipoli, occupy the Dardanelles, and thus obstruct the Ottoman advance into Europe; the Hungarians were to form a coalition with the Bohemians and other Slavonic peoples, and attack the Osmanli from the North. Æneas Sylvius (Piccolomini) succeeded, for the moment, in infusing a little warlike vigor into the lazy Frederick III., and a Diet was convoked to meet at Ratisbon in May, 1454, to devise ways and means.

On September 30, 1453, four months after the fall of Constantinople, Pope Nicholas published a solemn appeal to all Christians, exhorting them to unite against the hordes of Mahomet, conceding indulgences to all who would take up arms for the Holy War, and ordering a levy of tithes on all ecclesiastical revenues, including his own. The cardinal Capranica was commissioned to re-establish concord at Genoa, and to make peace between that republic and the king of Aragon; the cardinal d'Estouteville was sent to urge the king of France to be the first prince to take the Cross; Capistrano was ordered to preach the Crusade in Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia. Capranica succeeded in his mission; the king of France, however, made his movements depend on those of the emperor. Alfonso of Aragon declared that he would march against the Turk, even though he went alone. Philip the Good of Burgundy, was most enthusiastic in the cause, and Denmark, Sweden, and Norway manifested good dispositions.

Nothing, however, gave the Pontiff so much confidence of success in his enterprise as the reconciliation of Venice, Florence, Sforza, and Naples; effected by the exhortations of an humble anchorite, Simonetto of Camerino (1). A Diet was held at Ratisbon in May, 1454, and it was resolved that the Christian forces should set out in the following April.

Daring as he was, the news of these preparations disquieted Mahomet II.; and he endeavored to avert the threatened danger by writing to Pope Nicholas. This amusing letter and the answer of the Pontiff were found by Christophe in the great monastery of Montecassino (2). "The King of kings and Lord of lords, the High-Admiral Machabech, Sultan Begri, and son of the great Sultan Amurath, sends greeting to Nicholas, Vicar of Jesus Christ, crucified by the Jews," and informs the Pontiff that he does very wrong to oppose the conquests of the Turks; that he exposes himself and his children to great danger, and prepares an immense effusion of human blood. The Pope upholds an unjust cause, for Greece belongs of right to Mahomet II., as he is the avenger of Hector and the Trojans; Italy also is his, because he is the lineal descendant of Æneas. The Roman Pontiff should not be hostile to the Ottoman domination, because when that is established, Rome will recover her ancient glory. Again, it is the design of the sultan to accord to the Christian religion the most perfect liberty; nay, it is very probable that when he has conquered the world, the great Mahomet II. will embrace the religion of that Jesus, of whose sanctity and miracles he has heard so much. In his reply, Pope Nicholas ridicules the false compassion of a prince whose conscience is stained with the massacres and all kinds of outrages perpetrated, only the other day, at Constantinople; he declares the responsibility of Mahomet II. for every drop of blood that shall be shed. As to the hinted conversion, he begs the sultan to remember that Jesus was meek and hum-

(1) PLATINA; *Nicholas V.* ÆNEAS SYLVIVS; *Epist.* 127. GIANNOZZO MANETTI; *Life of Nicholas V.*, b. II.

(2) "They are so singular," says Christophe, "that one might doubt their authenticity. But singularity is no proof of fraud. There is nothing in the correspondence contrary to the known characters of the supposed writers." The MS. is certainly of the 15th century. These letters explain how it was that, ten years afterward, Pius II. dared to write to Mahomet II., exhorting him to become a Christian, a letter no less extraordinary than that of the sultan to Nicholas V.

ble, and suggests that he conform his life to that of this great model. But there was no necessity for the letter of Mahomet II. to the Pontiff. The energetic resolutions of the Diet of Ratisbol produced no effect. Frederick III. could not shake off his incoherence; and the enthusiasm of the other German princes was only sufficiently efficacious to promise a definitive organization in a future Diet, to be held in October. In this assembly, despite the eloquence of Æneas Sylvius (1), nothing definitive was effected. The lethargy of Germany was contagious; and the other Christian powers became, for a time, religiously and politically blind.

We must now notice one of the most important civil events of this pontificate—that is, a conspiracy which, like that of Cola di Rienzo, a century before, had for its object the substitution of a republican for the Papal régime. The author of this conspiracy, Stephen Porcario, was a cavalier of talent, eloquence, and courage; he resembled “the last of the tribunes” in audacity and in the possession of a fantastic imagination. In reading the sonnets of Petrarch, he had become impressed with the idea that he was the knight upon whom the poet ordered his readers to gaze with admiration, since said hero was the hope of the Seven Hills (2). A number of learned men were then resuscitating the glorious memories of ancient Italy, and Porcario felt that his was the task of renovating her political constitution. “He was,” says Christophe, “a demagogue, but perhaps in good faith, because he was one of those Utopian politicians, who, in their schemes, consider neither the lessons of history nor the changes of ideas, but apply their systems indiscriminately to all generations and all peoples, obstinately believing that human happiness is linked with the triumph of their own principles.” Shortly after the death of Pope Eugenius IV., Porcario made his first attempt at revolution. The Roman people, under the presidency of the archbishop of Benevento, had assembled in the church of Ara Coeli, during the vacancy of the Holy See, in

(1) Oration on the “Fall of Constantinople,” in Epistle 130.

(2) The ode “Spirito Gentil”:

“Sopra ’l monte Tarpeo, canzon, vedrai
 Un cavaller, ch’ Italia tutta onora

 Ti chier merce da tutti setti i colli!”

order to deliberate upon certain requests which were to be addressed to the cardinals. Porcaro seized his opportunity, and in a vehement discourse he reminded the Romans of the glory and freedom of their ancestors, and exhorted them to obtain, by arms if necessary, a constitution which, while not violating the sovereign rights of the Pontiff, would give to them the political power. A sedition would have occurred then and there, had not Lellio Vallegio, an influential citizen, caused moderate counsels to prevail. When Pope Nicholas heard of this event, he thought to gain Porcaro, and also to avoid inaugurating his reign with a sentence of banishment, by appointing the enthusiast to the office of Podestà of Anagni. But the demagogue used his office to promote sedition, and the Pontiff, still unwilling to adopt harsh measures, ordered him to reside in Bologna, and to report every day to the cardinal-legate Bessarion. The leniency of Nicholas was again abused, and having imbued his nephew Sciarra with his ideas, Porcaro sent him to Rome to prepare a revolt. Sciarra collected a body of four hundred men, some of whom were enthusiasts like his uncle, but the majority were of that stamp which any revolution will always find ready at the call of a leader. When all was prepared for the outbreak, Stephen Porcaro evaded the vigilance of Bessarion, arrived in Rome, and would probably have succeeded in overturning the government, had he not spent three days in haranguing his followers, convincing them that more than a million of scudi awaited them in the houses of the cardinals and in the government offices (1). This delay enabled the Papal government to learn of Porcaro's arrival in Rome, and the plot was discovered. The design of Porcaro was to introduce his band among the congregation at St. Peter's on the Feast of the Epiphany, 1453, and during the celebration of High Mass they were to kill the Pontiff and the cardinals, imprison the rest of the court, seize Castel San Angelo, convoke the people at the capitol, and proclaim the republic, or, rather, the dictatorship of the "liberator" (2). The greater number of the

(1) LEO ALBERTI; *Conspiracy of Porcaro*, in *ME' RATORI*, v. XXV.

(2) VESPASIANO; *Life of Nicholas V.* ZANTEFLIET; in MARTENES' *Ampl. Collect.*, v. V. SABELLICUS; *Venetian History*, dec. lit., b. VII.

conspirators were arrested in the house of their leader, and on January 13 many of them were hanged with him on the ramparts of San Angelo.

The conspiracy of Porcaro and the fall of Constantinople undermined the health of Pope Nicholas V. The former event rendered him diffident and morose toward the Romans, and he heard himself blamed for the latter. But he received one great consolation, just before his death, which happened on March 25, 1455. Moved by the exhortations of the Pontiff and by the influence of the anchorite Simonetto, King Alfonso had ratified the peace concluded at Lodi between Sforza, the new duke of Milan, and the Venetians, and had entered into an alliance with both Milan and Venice for twenty-five years. "We know no sovereign," says Christophe, "who in so short a period has had a more brilliant career than that of Nicholas V. The pacification of the Church, the extinction of discord in Italy, the embellishment of Rome, the foundation of the Vatican Library—the most powerful impulse ever given to the arts and to literature,—the inauguration of a new civilization by the resurrection of the ancient luminaries, are so many immortal deeds due to his wisdom and genius. We may ask ourselves: What glory would not have accrued to the tiara had Time—that great enemy of the projects of man—not been wanting for the execution of his vast designs? The Papacy, become through him the source of enlightenment, as it had already been the centre of all grandeur, would have recovered, by the ascendancy of its regenerating activity, all the prestige of that moral influence which seventy years of religious dissension had caused it to lose. The premature death of Nicholas V. prevented the completion of this magnificent restoration. A little later Leo X. will take up the work of Thomas de Sarzanna, and will give his own name to the age which he will illumine. But Leo X. will be only the most effulgent figure of that period; he will have, in France and in Spain, rivals who will share with him the honor of putting the human race in the path of progress. Nicholas V. stood alone. In his day the great royalties of Europe were yet shrouded in darkness; the Papacy alone illumined the world."

CHAPTER VIII.

POPE CALIXTUS III.—THE EXCOMMUNICATED COMET.

It is related of St. Vincent Ferrer that after having preached one of his eloquent sermons in Valentia, he was asked for a special blessing by a young priest who had been one of his hearers; and that regarding the suppliant with a fixed and inspired countenance, he said: "My son, I congratulate you; for you are destined to be the ornament of your country and of your family. As for me, I shall be, after my death, an object of your veneration. Direct all your energies, my son, toward the acquisition of virtue" (1). This young priest was Alphonsus Borgia, a member of a family which had been illustrious for centuries in Spain, but which he was to make known to Italy and the Christian world, and on which one of his nephews, also a Pope, was to be the means of conferring, through the malice of would-be historians, a very malodorous reputation. Born in Xativa in 1378, the year which witnessed the birth of the Great Western Schism, Alphonsus made his studies at the University of Lerida, and became distinguished as a jurisconsult. Having acquired the confidence of King Alphonsus of Aragon, he succeeded in terminating a fearful war which that monarch had waged against Castile for seven years. By his skill and prudence he effected a reconciliation between Pope Eugenius IV. and his sovereign, and the Pontiff admitted him into the Sacred College. When the cardinals, fifteen in number, entered into Conclave on April 4, 1455, to choose a successor to Nicholas V., they found themselves unable to elect either Capranica, the candidate of the Italian party, or d'Estouteville, the favorite of the Frenchmen. They therefore meditated seriously on the propriety of elevating the celebrated archbishop of Nicea, the ex-schismatic Bessarion; and they were deterred from so doing only by the protest of Cr etivi, the cardinal of Avignon, who depicted graphically the risk which might be entailed by placing the tiara on the

(1) MARINO SANUTO; *Lives of the Doges of Venice*, vol. XXII., p. 1159.—BZOVICUS; *Anales*, at y. 1419, no. 24.

head of a Greek neophyte, one who had but lately abandoned the schismatic ranks (1). In this emergency the electors turned their thoughts toward Cardinal Borgia, who, although seventy-seven years of age, was possessed of great energy, and whose perspicacity was universally admired. Every vote was cast for this new candidate whom no person, previous to the Conclave, had regarded as such; and he assumed the name of Calixtus III.

To the generality of Protestant scholars, and perhaps to the average Catholic reader, this Pontiff is known principally as the alleged hero of a tale so rankly absurd that its discussion may appear to the student as an insult to his intelligence, or at least as an implication that he possesses no sense of humor. Among all the lies of history—and their name is legion—we have encountered none so utterly absurd as the one now claiming consideration. We are asked to believe that in the year 1456 a Roman Pontiff hurled the thunderbolts of the Vatican against a comet. Very little education is required for a knowledge that excommunication is a depriving one of the right of communion, or association, with the body to which he has been hitherto aggregated; and we have never understood that comets belong to any human corporation. We would ask certain American lecturers what would be their course if rumor should suddenly proclaim that our chief magistrate had declared a blockade of all the approaches, mental or physical, to the fifth satellite of Jupiter. Would they not search, or cause to be searched, the archives of the Secretariate of State in the capital, in order to determine whether our president had really attained to such a height of enterprise? Let them search the *Bullarium Romanum*, and then inform the world whether they have found any trace of the Pope's bull against the comet. Meanwhile we shall give, for the edification of the reader, some account of the alleged papal ebullition, as it was detailed fifty years ago by an Episcopalian minister, in a work destined for that praiseworthy object, the education of the people (2). "Pope Calixtus III. reported the comet as in league with the Turks;

(1) VESPASIANO; *Life of Cardinal Dominick Capranica*—SUMMONTE; b. V.—PLATINA: *Calixtus III.—Commentaries of Pius II.*, b. I.

(2) *Gallery of Nature*, by the Rev. Thomas Milman; London, 1846.

and ordered the *Ave Maria* to be repeated three times daily, instead of twice, and directed the church bells to be rung at noon. In the *Ave Maria* the prayer was added: 'Lord, deliver us from the devil, the Turks, and the comet!' Once each day these three obnoxious personages were regularly excommunicated. There was perhaps as much worldly policy as superstition in sounding this note of alarm; for fees accumulated to the priesthood from the increase of confessions. The comet, at length, after patiently enduring some months of daily excommunication and cursing, showed signs of retreat," etc., etc., *usque ad nauseam*. As there is scarcely a twelve-year-old Catholic child who will not detect as many misrepresentations in this lucubration as there are sentences, we shall confine our remarks to what is merely necessary in the premises.

When Cardinal Alphonsus Borgia donned the tiara in 1455, he was known throughout Christendom as a thorough scholar, a man of great sagacity and sound judgment, and as so accomplished a jurisconsult that it was said that only two of his predecessors had equalled him. Therefore, since Calixtus III. was no fool, why attempt to hold him up to ridicule? Perhaps because he was a Borgia, the founder of that family's grandeur,—of that family which is the bugbear of Protestant credulists, a choice target for the shafts of anti-Catholic sarcasm, and a fancied mine of wealth for every tenth-rate novelist. At the time of which we are speaking, Christendom was humiliated before the victorious insolence and aggressive ambition of Mahomet II., who from the towers of lately-conquered Constantinople was laying out the path of his lustful hordes, then panting to be led to the destruction of European civilization. Immediately after his election, while yet seated on the throne where he had received the first homage of the Sacred College, Calixtus, filled with a sense of his paternal responsibility for the welfare of the nations, had spontaneously and loudly pronounced this oath: "I, Pope Calixtus, third of that name, do here promise and swear, in the presence of the Blessed Trinity, of the ever-virgin Mother of God, of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and of the entire heavenly host, that I shall use every effort, even unto the

sacrifice of my life, in order to recover the city of Constantinople, lately captured and sacked by Mahomet, the enemy of Christ and the son of Satan." And had he not kept that oath—had he not, in order to sustain the heroic troops of Cardinal Scarampo, St. John Capistrano, and Hunjady, mortgaged the pontifical estates, melted down the sacred vessels of the Church, stripped his tiara of its jewels,—the ferocious Islamite would have been able to fulfil his vow to crush the religion of the West under the hoofs of his victorious cavalry (1). It was in order to secure the protection of the God of Armies that Calixtus III. commanded that everywhere, thrice a day, the bells of every parish church and of every religious institution should be rung to summon the faithful to the recitation of the *Angelus*, and not in order to scare away the comet, which had not yet appeared (2). When that dread visitant did show itself, the peoples of Europe were filled with consternation; and other portents simultaneously contributed to a fear that God was about to empty the vials of judgment over His wayward children. In the Terra di Lavoro, the Abruzzi, and the Puglia, according to the contemporary Florentine historian, St. Antonine, 30,000 persons were destroyed by an earthquake; and another contemporary, Æneas Sylvius, states that 30,000 others were engulfed in its fissures in the city of Naples alone. These and many other fearful phenomena greatly terrified the people; and we would like to believe that if certain of our American astronomers were to witness such fearful manifestations—especially if they were to behold, outside the Golden Gate of San Francisco, a fiery island like that which then appeared in the Ægean (3), they also would feel like saying their prayers. At any rate,

(1) In the Basilica of St. Sophia, just turned into a mosque, Mahomet took this oath: "I, Mahomet, son of Amurath, sultan and governor of Baram and of Rachmael, raised up by the great God, placed in the circle of the Sun, more than all other emperors covered with glory, fortunate in everything, feared by all mortals, most potent through the prayers of the saints and of the Prophet Mahomet, emperor of all the emperors and prince of all the princes now existing in both West and East; I do promise to the One God, by this, my oath, that I shall accord no sleep to my eyes, eat no delicate food, touch nothing beautiful . . . until I have banished the God of the West from the face of the earth, for the glory of the great God Sabaoth, and of Mahomet, his Prophet."

(2) ST. ANTONINE; b. XII., ch. xiv.—ÆNEAS SYLVIVS; *Epist.* 227.—PLATINA; *Life of Calixtus III.*

(3) Gobeelin, secretary to Æneas Sylvius, narrates that there arose in the Ægean Sea an island more than a hundred feet high, which was a mass of flame for many days.

Pope Calixtus availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the not unreasonable apprehensions of men, to detach them more from the perishable things of earth, and to induce them to use their energies for the greater glory of God. Upon this fact, and upon it alone, has been based the tale of the Pope's bull against the comet.

Calixtus III. needed no encouragement from the monarchs of Christendom to place himself at the head of a new Crusade; but he was filled with hope when he heard, in nearly all the congratulatory addresses which followed his elevation, royal promises and even vows to expel Mahomet II. from Constantinople. The emperor Frederick III. was especially profuse with his professions of zeal, which were delivered by means of Æneas Sylvius; but not a German did he send to the field. In vain did Cardinal Carvajal beseech the German princes to furnish the contingents which they and their emperor had grandiloquently promised in many Diets. Nor did the French king, the beneficiary of Joan of Arc, show any more readiness to correspond to the ardor of the Pontiff who wrote to him: "If the Most High grants the aid of France to this cause, the destruction of the Turks is assured" (1). Charles VII. even opposed the collection of the tithes which had been decreed in France in aid of the Holy War. The king of Naples, the king of England, and the duke of Burgundy also ignored their solemn engagements in the premises. This lethargy of the principal Christian powers could not but encourage Mahomet II.; and at the head of 150,000 veterans he laid siege to Belgrade, the vulnerable spot of Hungary and of European Christendom. Two hundred armed brigantines floated on the Save and the Danube, at the confluence of which rivers the devoted city was situated. Against the Turkish forces King Ladislaus of Hungary could dispose of a mere handful of troops; but the heroism and faith of a Neapolitan friar were to prove the salvation of Europe. St. John Capistrano, so-named after the Neapolitan village where he was born, at the age of sixty-eight had undertaken the conversion of the Hussites of Bohemia, and the excitation of the German peoples to

(1) RAYNALD; at y. 1456, no. 4.—ST. ANTONINE; ch. xiv., tit. 22. MARINO SANTO; *loc. cit.*—PLATINA; *loc. cit.*—CHARTIER; *Life of Charles VII.*, p. 288.

a crusade against the Islamites. His labors in the former task were so successful that over 16,000 Hussites were received by him into the fold of the Church (1). In the matter of the crusade, however, the saint failed to produce any effective enthusiasm in either the princes or people of Germany. In May, 1455, the humble and energetic Franciscan entered Hungary with the design of inciting the Magyars to an effort for the preservation of European Christianity; and his labors were blessed with success. For forty days Mahomet II. had bombarded Belgrade, and its fortifications were in ruins when a force of Hungarians and Poles, led by Capistrano and Hunjady, penetrated into the city (2), having previously burnt or dispersed the entire Mahometan fleet. But the Ottoman conqueror still hoped to conquer by force of numbers, and in person he conducted a general assault. His confidence seemed to be justified; for after several hours of desperate struggle, the Crescent floated over the ruined ramparts. The Hungarians were in full retreat, when Capistrano ran among them, crucifix raised on high, and crying "Jesus, Jesus!" encouraged them to turn and charge the foe. With Hunjady at their head, they renewed the fight, and the Turks were compelled to recoil, dragging with them the wounded and unconscious sultan. Belgrade and Europe were saved; for when he recovered his senses, Mahomet ordered an immediate raising of the siege, leaving behind him all his war material and 24,000 of his dead (3). Both Capistrano and Hunjady announced this victory to Pope Calixtus, sending to him sixteen of the enemy's tents, made of cloth of gold, one of which was that of the sultan.

(1) THWROZ; *Hungarian Chronicles*, pt. 3, ch. lii.—WADDING; *Annals*, vol. VI., at y. 1455, no. 43.

(2) Historians differ as to the number of the troops whom Capistrano and Hunjady brought to the succor of Belgrade. A modern author of reliability, Camille Paganel, in his *Life of Scanderbeg*, makes them 60,000. But Ranzanus says that scarcely 500 Poles obeyed the summons of Capistrano; Thwroc puts the number at 300; Dlugossi says 800. Of course, the Hungarians who followed Capistrano were more numerous; but, as Christophe observes, if 60,000 fresh combatants had entered Belgrade, after having destroyed his fleet, the sultan would scarcely have ordered the assault.

(3) The details of this victory may be found in the *Hungarian Chronicle* by Thwroc; the *Epitome* by Ranzanus; the *Hungarian Affairs* by Bonfini; the *Bohemian History* by Æneas Sylvius; the *Bohemian History* by Dubraw; the *Polish History* by Dlugossi; and with more satisfaction, in the narratives of Capistrano and Tagliacozzo, given by Rinaldi, at y. 1457, nos. 29-37.

Calixtus III. was too perspicacious to yield to feelings of security on account of the retreat of Mahomet II. from Belgrade; he had studied the character of the conqueror of Constantinople, and realized that the standard-bearer of Islam would not rest until he had washed away the stain of his discomfiture with Christian blood. The first care of the Pontiff was to provide for the security of Rhodes, where the Knights-Hospitalers—since the suppression of the Templars, the flower of military monasticism—were stationed as advanced pickets to watch over the safety of Europe. He immediately sent an abundance of provisions and war material to the soldier-monks, and prepared to double the pontifical fleet of sixteen vessels with which Cardinal Scarampo was cruising in the waters of the Levant. During three years this cardinalitial mariner patrolled the Archipelago, protecting the islands which had not succumbed to the power of the Crescent, and retaking from the Turks the isles of Lemnos, Mytilene, Stalimene, Imbros, and Naxos. In fact, with the exception of Hunjady and Alexander Castriota (better known by the Turkish form of his name, Scanderbeg, “the lord Alexander”), Cardinal Scarampo was the sole adversary to confront the Ottoman power between the years 1457 and 1460; and he so operated as to keep the Islamites of Asia and Africa in constant tremor (1). But Pope Calixtus did not despair of inducing at least the king of France to follow in the footsteps of Godfrey de Bouillon. “Would to God,” he wrote to Charles VII., “that the other Catholic princes had our zeal for the defeat of the infidels!” And sending to that monarch the flattering gift of the Golden Rose, the Pontiff wrote: “Receive this present, dear son, as a pledge of our regard for your Serenity. Among all the flowers of earth there is none so sweet and beautiful as the rose. May heaven grant that a divine perfume may enthrall your senses, and cause you to display the generosity of your heart by an energetic defence of the faith!” It would appear that the continued appeals of the father of the faithful influenced Charles VII.; for we find the Pontiff menacing the doctors of the University of Paris, and the clergy of Normandy and Autun, for re-

(1) MARINO SANUTO; *loc. cit.*, vol. XXII., p. 1159.—PHILIP BERGOM., *Chronicle*, b. XV.

sisting the collection of a tax which the king had destined to the equipment of thirty galleys for a crusade. The king even entered into alliance with Ladislaus of Hungary to fight the common enemy of the Christian nations, promising to give his daughter Magdalen to the Magyar sovereign in marriage as a pledge of his sincerity. But at this juncture Ladislaus died, and instead of equipping a fleet in the service of the Cross, Charles used some of the ships in a war against England, and the others to aid the son of René of Anjou in subduing the kingdom of Naples (1).

The incumbent of the Holy Roman Empire, Frederick III., continued to make brilliant offers of an army for a crusade; but instead of fulfilling their promises, he and all the other German princes preferred to indulge in the worn-out Germanic recriminations against the court of Rome, as an excuse for their laggardness. They accused the Pontiff of ignoring the decrees of Constance and of Basel; and in a *Memorandum*, which was drawn up by Martin Meyer, chancellor of the archbishop of Mayence, they inveighed against the "abuses of the *Curia*" in a style which would have warmed the heart of Wycliffe. Calixtus assigned the duty of refuting this insolent document to Æneas Sylvius, once secretary to Frederick III., and now a cardinal and prime minister of His Holiness. Æneas Sylvius does not deny the existence of abuses in the Roman court; he cheerfully admits that as men, the Popes often make mistakes or worse (2); and in regard to the real motive of the *Memorandum*, the "intolerable exactions" of the papal officials and the consequent miseries of "unfortunate Germany," the secretary admits that irregularities in the perception of tithes and donatives sometimes occur, but he plainly shows that the funds received are legitimate and worthily expended. The language of Æneas Sylvius was eminently frank and moderate, and his logic sound; but the German complaints continued, and Pope Calixtus wrote, with his own hand, an explanation to the emperor. He showed how the

(1) BONFINI; *loc. cit.*, decad. 3, b. VIII.—CHARTIER; *loc. cit.*, p. 295.—ST. ANTONINE; tit. 22, ch. xvi.

(2) "*Fatemur, aliquando in Romana Curia, quam regunt homines, aliqua fieri quæ digna essent emendatione; nec dubitamus ipsos Romanæ urbis præsules, etiam in quantum homines, falli, errare, labi, aut decipi posse.*"

greater part of the revenues of the Holy See were devoted to the support of the valiant Scanderbeg in his position as a bulwark against Islam; to the maintenance of a powerful pontifical squadron in the Levant; to succoring the Christians in the territories of the fallen Lower Empire and in Asia. And the Pontiff added: "Remember that none of this money, no matter whence it may come, is ever taken by us for ourselves, never stowed in our coffers, never expended for jewels or other luxuries. It is all consecrated to the service of the faith" (1). The emperor is reminded that if any one has a right to complain, it is the Pope, to whom only a portion of his legitimate revenues from Germany and certain other countries ever come, because of the rapacity of the secular potentates who appropriate the funds to their own purposes.

The throne of Naples was at this period occupied by the House of Aragon; and as we have observed, the cardinal Alphonsus Borgia had been a devoted servant of King Alphonsus I. As chief pastor of Christendom, however, Calixtus III. found that his duties did not always accord with the designs of his former friend and protector. The monarch could not appreciate this necessary change of attitude; and his chagrin was unbounded when the Pontiff refused his request to be invested with the March of Ancona and other ecclesiastical territories as a feudatary of the Holy See. His rage was increased when, having nominated certain unworthy persons for the mitre, the Pope refused to confirm the act, saying: "Let his majesty of Aragon govern his kingdom, but let him leave to us the supreme apostolate!" (2). But these were not the sole causes of the refusal of Alphonsus of Aragon to fulfil his promise to aid in the war against Islam. The little republic of Siena was hostile to Alphonsus, and he encouraged Piccinino to invade its territory; whereupon Calixtus, Venice, and Sforza saved the Siennese autonomy, and Alphonsus rightly credited the Pope with the intervention. Again, Alphonsus and Sforza, hitherto enemies, suddenly entered into alliance, and agreed upon intermarriages in their families to cement the friendship. Like all

(1) RAYNALD; at y. 1456, no. 50; y. 1457, no. 40.

(2) ÆNEAS SYLVIVS; *History of Europe*, ch. lviii.

Roman Pontiffs, Calixtus III. was ever alive in the preservation of a prudent balance of power in Italy; therefore he endeavored to prevent these marriages. Finally, and this was the most bitter grievance to Alphonsus, our Pontiff refused his request to invest the monarch's illegitimate son, Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, with the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Serious consequences might have resulted from these disagreements, had not Alphonsus died in 1458. When Calixtus heard of this demise, he immediately declared the Two Sicilies devolved upon the Holy See, they being fiefs of the Roman Pontiff, and there being no legitimate heir to their late sovereign. When treating of the Deposing Power once enjoyed by the Popes, we showed that the vassalage of the Two Sicilies to the Holy See was always recognized by all parties concerned, from the days of Robert Guiscard to our own times; and that the vassalage of the Neapolitan part of the kingdom dates from the eighth century (1). But historians differ when they assign the motive which actuated Pope Calixtus III. when he availed himself of his undoubted right as suzerain of this kingdom. Some contend that he wished to substitute for the royal House of Aragon the noble but not royal House of Borgia (2). But this opinion is pure conjecture, and was probably conceived by men who witnessed the enterprising essays of the greatest of the Borgias, fifty years after the death of Calixtus. This Pontiff certainly evinced much affection for his family; but his universally acknowledged piety and the disinterestedness of all his public actions cause us to believe that he cherished the desire of definitively annexing the most valuable fief of the Holy See to the States of the Church. Whatever were his intentions in the matter, death prevented their actuation on Aug. 8, 1458, ten weeks after the demise of Alphonsus I.

(1) See our vol. II., page 214.

(2) Thus COSTANZO; *History of Naples*, b. IX.—SIMONETTA; *Life of Francis Sforza*, in MURATORI, vol. XXI., b. XXVI.—PIGNA; *The Princes of Este*, b. VII.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PONTIFICATE OF PIUS II.—THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION OF
CHARLES VII.

Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini was born at Corsigniano in 1405, of an old and noble, though reduced family. His scientific and literary studies were made at the University of Siena. He became distinguished for his legal acquirements, but his first reputation was made as a poet. After leaving the University he remained a layman, and passed some time in the service of Cardinal Capranica and of Bartholomew Visconti, bishop of Novara; but finally became a member of the household of Cardinal Albergati, who seems to have communicated to him the great art of managing men, for which both were famous. The Council of Basel made Æneas its secretary, and employed him in a great many nunciatures in various lands. After the pretended deposition of Pope Eugenius IV., Æneas became secretary of the Anti-Pope, Felix V., and in 1442 he was made a member of his council by the emperor Frederick III. He was now ordained priest, and he soon abandoned the schismatics of Basel. In 1456 Pope Calixtus III. enrolled him in the Sacred College. This Pope died on the 8th of August, 1458, and after a Conclave of four days the cardinals elected Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who assumed the name of Pius II. Long before the world heard of Pius II., it had resounded with the praises of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini. For years, wherever there was a great assembly, religious or political, his figure had been familiar, and all had been entranced by his eloquence. But he was now weak in health; his mind was clear, but he had almost lost the use of his limbs. His iron will, however, was to sustain him through several years of an agitated pontificate.

In the mind of Pius II. one thought dominated every other earthly one—the necessity of curbing the power of the Osmanli. Both as layman and as cleric; as secretary to the Council of Basel, to Felix, and to Frederick; as bishop and as cardinal; he had seized every opportunity to unite Christen-

dom for its own defence. As Supreme Pontiff, he possessed an influence which a man of his calibre could not allow to lie dormant. To the realization of this one idea everything else was made to tend; nothing could claim his attention which did not march, in some way, with his great project. Firstly, the Papal States must give the Pontiff-King no cause of distraction. Hence, since Piccinino has profited by a vacancy of the Holy See to seize Assisi, Gualdo, and Nocera, he must be dispossessed of his spoils, even though the Pontiff has to make some minor sacrifice. Ferdinand of Naples, successor to Alphonsus, was refused the investiture of that kingdom by the late Pontiff; but Pius II. will grant it, on condition, among others, that the king will expel Piccinino from the usurped territories. When the French cardinals and the bishop of Marseilles, ambassador of René of Anjou, protest against this ignoring or denial of René's claims to Naples, Pius asks them: "Can René expel Piccinino from our States?" So the decree of Calixtus is abrogated, Ferdinand becomes legitimate king of Naples, and the ambitious *condottiere* abandons the usurped districts. Free from distraction at home, Pius now directs every energy to the one object.

As discord among the Christian sovereigns had hitherto been the sole reason why the Mahometans had succeeded in gaining a foothold in Europe, Pope Pius II. decided to convoke a general congress of princes and peoples, and to personally attend it, there to plead the cause of Christ and of civilization. Mantua was designated as the place where the sovereigns or their delegates were to meet the Supreme Pontiff on June 1, 1459. In order to show the world how much he had the crusade at heart, and in order to have time to interview many of the princes and nobles through whose territories he would pass, he departed from Rome in the latter part of January. This spectacle of a Pontiff, broken down by infirmities and premature old age, leaving his capital to cross the Apennines in the depth of winter in order to urge Christendom to protect itself from slavery and outrage, ought certainly to have inspired the most indifferent with zeal. After visiting the Liberian Basilica, and placing his enterprise under the special protection of the Mother of God, Pope Pius

set out amid the lamentations of the entire population. He was accompanied by six cardinals; the others remained in Rome, the cardinal de Cusa representing the Pope as legate. Throughout his journey—which lasted four months—the Pontiff was reverently and enthusiastically received; but a special rivalry in magnificence was displayed by the Orsini at Campagnano, by Cosmo dei Medici at Florence, and by Borso d'Este at Ferrara. But when, on May 27, Pius arrived at Mantua, he was grievously pained on finding that only a few of the powers were represented in the assembly from which he had expected so much good.

The month of September having arrived, with no signs of the envoys of France and England, and as Sforza, upon whose military skill the Pope chiefly relied, could not remain much longer at Mantua, the serious business of the congress was commenced. After a three hours' discourse by the Pontiff, and a thoroughly soldierly speech by Sforza, a discussion ensued as to a plan of campaign, and as to ways and means for sustaining it. Before the final conference had closed, the envoys of France and England appeared,—the former only to complain, the latter to give mere vague promises of co-operation. The Frenchmen expressed their king's displeasure because the Pontiff had preferred a bastard of Aragon to a French prince for the Neapolitan throne, and they declared that the Pope need not expect the French to join the crusade while they were at war with England; they were not opposed to the idea of a peace conference, under the presidency of a Papal legate, but they had no definite instructions to arrange one. Then the representatives of Venice gave another illustration of that republic's characteristic devotion to Mammon. Most of the Venetian possessions lay on the Turkish frontiers, and the Senate could not break with the sultan until it was certain that all Christendom was ready to take the field (1). However, in spite of all these drawbacks to success, Pope Pius secured from many of the powers represented at Mantua substantial assurance of a determination to second his efforts for the Holy Land. On his part, the Pontiff decreed a tax of one-tenth on the clergy; all agreed that the

(1) SIMONETTA; *Life of Sforza*, b. XXV.

faithful laity should pay a thirtieth, while the Jews should be assessed for a twentieth. The emperor promised to furnish, on the part of Germany, 32,000 foot and 10,000 horse; Hungary engaged to raise 40,000, half of whom should be cavalry; the duke of Burgundy agreed to send 6,000 men of all arms; the Italian States were to furnish and equip, at their own expense, a powerful fleet; Scanderbeg and his brave Albanians were always, to a man, in arms; and much was hoped from a league between the Asiatic Christians and the Mahometan enemies of the Turks.

But the Holy See was destined to be again disappointed. Charles VII. of France, malcontent with Pius II., held himself aloof from all the Pontiff's projects. England preferred to spill her best blood for York and Lancaster, rather than devote some of it to the ransom of Christ's sepulchre. A great part of Germany now revolted against the incapable Frederick III., and discussed the propriety of substituting in his place the king of Poland, George Podibraski. Cardinal Bessarion, whom Pope Pius had sent as legate into Germany to urge the feeble Frederick to ratify his engagements, vainly exerted all his eloquence: not one generous response did he obtain from monarch, princes, or people (1). Hungary, now under the rule of Matthias Corvinus, son of Hunjady, could only act on the defensive against the Turks; but that she did bravely and well. The reader will find in Raynald (y. 1461) the singular letter of Pope Pius II. to Mahomet II., in which the Pontiff demonstrates the divinity of Christianity, and exhorts this most fanatical of all Ottoman sultans to abjure Islam, concluding in these words: "Do not disregard our words, prince; do not neglect our counsel. Receive the baptism of Christ; be regenerated in the Holy Ghost; receive the Gospel. Thus you will save your soul, you will accomplish your grand designs, all Europe will admire you, and the glory of your name will be sung by posterity." The conqueror did not deign to answer this letter, and Pius soon realized that force alone could save Europe from the Turk.

The indefatigable Pontiff now took a resolution, of which

(1) See William Coxe's *History of the House of Austria*, v. 1., c. xvii.

none of his predecessors had even dreamed—that of placing himself at the head of a crusade. At first he confided this project only to six cardinals, his intimate counsellors, and after some days of consultation they agreed that the idea was a sublime inspiration. Pius II. then made supreme efforts to incite the Christian powers to immediate action. But although Louis XI. had already promised 70,000 men for a crusade, he now refused to move, and accused the Pope of being an enemy of peace. Better success attended the Pope's application to Philip of Burgundy; this prince promised to march, at the first signal, with 6,000 men. Venice, at length awakened to a sense of her danger, also corresponded to the Pontiff's zeal, and with enthusiasm; Cardinal Bessarion blessed the standard of the admiral, Ursacio Gius-tiniani, and a powerful fleet departed for the coasts of the Peloponnesus. The Pontiff could now hope for aid also from Hungary and Germany, as Matthias Corvinus and Frederick III. had been lately reconciled by the papal nuncios; and in celebration of this peace, the gallant Hungarian had just attacked Mahomet II. at Iaickza, and forced him to raise the siege of that place, and to flee in disgrace, leaving behind all his material of war. Assistance was also promised by Alexander Sforza and by Piccinino, who had lately completed the pacification of Italy by a treaty of mutual defence. It was with great confidence, therefore, that Pope Pius met the deputies of the above powers; and when he found that Venice alone was ready, he nevertheless called a consistory, and definitively committed himself to the crusade. In his address he reviewed the events of his pontificate, and justified his actions.

"You yourselves," he cried, "have often urged me to undertake this expedition! Now, then, the time has come for you to show whether your religion, faith, and zeal were sincere. I shall give you the example; you will only follow me. Just as Jesus Christ, the model of shepherds, gave His life for His sheep, so I have resolved to give mine, that the flock entrusted to my care may not be destroyed by the Mussulmans. We shall equip a fleet as powerful as our resources will permit; and then, despite our age and our infirmities, we shall

embark, and, entrusting ourselves to the winds, shall go into Greece, and if necessary into Asia. Do not ask the use of the majesty of the supreme priesthood on the field of battle; we declare that we can no longer defer the Holy War, unless we are willing to be dishonored in the face of the entire world. And what else can we do? All other means have been tried, and to no purpose. The earth has resounded with our exhortations; they have been received with indifference. We have imposed a levy of tithes; an appeal was made to a General Council; we have published indulgences. It has been said that we extorted money to enrich ourselves. The credit of our court is destroyed, and the supreme priesthood derided. Some extraordinary measure must be taken if confidence is to be restored, and that measure shall be the sacrifice of our own person. No longer shall we say to the sovereigns of the earth, 'Go!'; for they do not hear us. But we shall cry, 'Follow us!' Perhaps, then, seeing the Roman Pontiff, the common father of the faithful, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, a weak old man, starting for the war, men will be somewhat ashamed to remain at home, and will finally rush to arms to revenge the outrages on oppressed religion. The cause we have marked out is undoubtedly perilous; we do not shut our eyes to that fact. But we do not march alone against the enemy: we shall be seconded by the maritime power of Venice, by the armaments of other Italian States, and by the duke of Burgundy, with his valiant chivalry. The Poles and Hungarians will attack the Turk from the north, and revolted Greece will reach us her hand from the south; the Albanians, Servians, and Epirotes impatiently await the hour to unfold the banner of independence. In Asia the khan of Caramania, and the many Mussulmans who with reason detest the Ottoman yoke, will come to our assistance."

Undoubtedly, Pope Pius II. had no intention of heading the crusaders, sword in hand: "We shall appear in your midst, surrounded by the venerable cardinals of the Roman Church, and by many bishops and priests, under the standard of the Cross, and carrying the Holy Eucharist and the relics of the saints. Jesus Christ will be with us, and we with Him." The Pope then appointed the rendezvous and the date,—namely,

the port of Ancona, during June, 1464. From this moment, regarding himself as the very soul of the crusade, Pius II. took upon himself every detail of its organization. It was necessary, of course, to have a commander-in-chief, and for that office none seemed so fit as the veteran general, Alexander Sforza, duke of Milan. To induce Sforza to undertake the charge the Pontiff appealed to his religion, his military pride, and his personal record of valor; and when the warrior objected his sixty years, Pius exclaimed: "The old will follow the old; this war will be called the war of the old!" Under the impulse of the Vatican, Christian Europe seemed to have recovered its ancient enthusiasm, and with confidence in the success of the great design of his life, the Pontiff prepared to depart from Rome. But he was now attacked by a slow fever, which, while it left him his energy of will, consumed the little physical force remaining in his frame. The physicians were enjoined to say nothing of his condition, and they obeyed.

On June 18, 1464, the Pope visited St. Peter's for the last time, and set out for Ancona. Of all the princes and warriors who were to have met him on his arrival, not one had come; though he found an immense multitude of rash pilgrims, who, thinking that the Church would provide them with everything, were utterly without arms or resources of any kind. A powerful army might have been made of this eager crowd, but there was no general to command them; and the Genoese transports, which were to receive them, had not arrived. Impatient of delay, little by little most of them deserted, to make their way home as best they could. Nor had the Venetian fleet, the very backbone of the enterprise, made its appearance. These cruel disappointments so aggravated the Pontiff's illness, that the physicians declared he had but a few days to live. At length the Venetian sails appeared on the horizon, and the Pope desired his attendants to carry him to the window. The sight of the fleet gave him, for an instant, new life; but, falling back, he moaned: "Alas! yesterday the means of embarking were wanting, and to-day I myself am wanting!" He was then carried, almost dying, to his bed. After receiving the last consolations of

Holy Church, he peacefully expired on the 14th of August, 1464.

Christophe says of this Pontiff: "Pius II. was worthy of the eminent place that he occupied. In youth he had yielded to the storm of the passions; it is from his own ingenuous avowal, in his Fifteenth *Epistle*, that we know it. But the falls that deprave some natures served to give him knowledge of life, and to save him from the snares set by the world for weak humanity. On the throne he exhibited the virtues of a saint and the qualities of a great Pontiff. He was grave in his manners, simple in his habits, zealous for discipline, knowing only duty as a rule of action, devoted to the Church—as a son to his mother; disinterested, and perhaps too much so, for a prince. . . . His conversation was brief and sententious. Many of his sayings have been handed down to us, and, in general, they are diplomatically profound. . . . All the humanists expected protection when he mounted the pontifical throne: he himself had promised it. But his political embarrassments and his projects of crusade absorbed all his thoughts and resources, and he was only able to furnish some partial encouragements. If we regard Pius II. as a literary man, we are astonished at the variety and plenitude of his faculties. Without fear of contradiction, we may term him the foremost man of his epoch. As a humanist, he was superior even to the most illustrious of his contemporaries, in extent of acquirements, in the use of his erudition, in taste, and in elegance of style" (1).

The most important document issued by Pius II. was his *Bull of Retractations*, dated April 26, 1463. Alluding to the errors which he had professed in his early life, he called on Christendom to "reject Æneas, and receive Pius." In the Bull *Execrabilis*, dated Jan. 18, 1460, he condemned all appeals from a Pope to a General Council. It is not our province to show that such appeals are indefensible and illegitimate; it will be sufficient to say that as the Pontiff is superior to the Council, such an appeal would be absurd. Leaving to the dogmatic theologian the task of developing this point, we may be allowed to use our office of historian to show that

(1) *The Papacy in the Fifteenth Century*; Paris, 1863.

the appeals in question were unknown to antiquity. Febronius asserts that "such appeals are most ancient" (1), while De Marca, though almost as bitter an adversary of the Papal supremacy as the coadjutor of Treves, admits that they are "new" (2). Bossuet thinks that he discovers instances of such appeals in England in the years 1256, 1264, and 1267 (3). Some Gallicans have contended that the first example of an appeal of this nature is found in the case of Philip the Fair. But neither Febronius nor any other author has been able to show the antiquity of such appeals. Heretics certainly have made them, *e. g.*, the Pelagians and the Nestorians, but we now have no question with those who are sure to deny submission to any authority that contradicts them. In the first centuries not one instance can be adduced of a Catholic having appealed from a Papal decision to that of a General Council. There are many cases of discontent, many even of temporary resistance; but of appeals not one. The Asiatics resisted Pope St. Victor in the Easter controversy; St. Cyprian and the Africans, Firmilian and the Orientals, resisted Pope St. Stephen in the question of heretical baptism; St. Hilary resisted Pope St. Leo long and firmly in the matter of Celidonius; but none of them appealed to a Council. Even the Donatists, though they complained of the Roman Synod, as St Augustine frequently tells us, are never spoken of as appealing from it, but from the Synod of Arles. In fact, they bowed to no decision, but ever appealing to the emperor, were rightly called by St Augustine more obstinate than the demon. "I think," said the saint, "that if the devil were so often condemned by a judge of his own selection as these heretics have been, he would not be impudent enough to resist." Can we suppose then, asks Sirmond, that these Donatists, who yielded to no condemnation, would have hesitated to appeal from the Pope to a Council, if they could have done so in accordance with law? (4) If the English appeals adduced by Bossuet are to be received as matter of history, certainly they are of too

(1) *State of the Church*, etc.; c. vi., § 10.

(2) *Concord*, etc.; b. IV., c. xvii.

(3) *Defense of the Declaration*, etc.; pt. 2., b. XV., c. xxv.

(4) *Notes to the Council of Arles*.

modern a date to militate for our adversaries. Lingard, when speaking of the Papal "exactions" during the reign of Henry III., takes for granted that these appeals were made but, like Bossuet, he relies on the authority of Matthew of Paris, who merits no confidence when he treats of subjects which afford him an opportunity of assailing the Roman Pontiffs. The example of Frederick II., brought forth by De Marca, is not so much an appeal from the Pope as of one from a General Council to another and more general assembly; for Matthew of Paris himself, speaking of Frederick's procurator at the General Council of Lyons (1245), says: "He appealed for Frederick to a more general Council soon to be held, for then all the prelates or their procurators, and the orators of all the princes, were not present. The Pope replied: 'A General Council of many is sufficient; with great inconvenience these patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops from all parts of the world, and many nobles or their procurators, have vainly awaited thy lord's humility. They who are absent have been kept away by the tricks of thy lord'" (1). The instance of Philip the Fair proves nothing; for in that case the king affected to regard Pope Boniface VIII. as an intruder, not as a legitimate Pontiff. The first instance of an undoubted appeal from Pope to Council is found in the last session of the Council of Constance (1418). The Polish orators had desired Pope Martin V. to condemn a certain book which had been already condemned by the prelates in their private congregations. When the orators found that the Pontiff had not complied, they appealed to a future Council; but none of the synodals seconded their appeal, while Pope Martin reproved their rashness, and enjoined silence upon them, under pain of excommunication. If this appeal had been regarded as legitimate, the synodals would have sustained the Poles, for the former also desired the Papal condemnation of the book in question, as is shown by their own course in its regard. From the time of the Council of Constance, Gerson and his disciples continually

(1) Roucaglia observes that such an appeal as this cannot be seriously regarded. By which means every decision of the Church could be easily eluded, for a Council without some absentees is almost an impossibility.

exalted the authority of a General Council, and hence instances of appeal from the Pontiff became quite frequent, especially on the part of the Theological Faculty of Paris. Speaking of this Faculty's appeals, Melchior Canus says: "The doctors of Paris appealed from the Council of Lateran, and this appeal, made in the name of the Academy, is circulated. Whose it is, I do not here dispute; but I do insist that it is circulated to the scandal and detriment of the Church. There are extant anathemas of Pius II. against those who appeal to a future Council; and it is manifest, without any of the reasons given by Pius in his two letters, that this thing is of the greatest help to heretics, and that it opens a very wide window for the destruction of ecclesiastical obedience, and for the ruin of true piety" (1).

Our attention is now claimed by the struggle of Pope Pius II. against the famous *Pragmatic Sanction* of Charles VII. This term, presumably of Byzantine origin, is used to designate many imperial and royal decrees; but in ecclesiastical history it is applied especially to the decree on Church matters said to have been issued by St. Louis in 1268; to that issued at the Council of Bourges by Charles VII. in 1438; and to that of the Germans issued in the Diet of Mentz in 1439, ordering the reception of the Baselean decrees.

The *Pragmatic Sanction* ascribed to St. Louis consists of the following articles: "I. The churches of our kingdom, the prelates, patrons, and ordinary bestowers of benefices, shall enjoy their full rights, and each one shall preserve the proper jurisdiction. II. The cathedral and other churches of our kingdom shall have freedom of election, and shall fully enjoy it. III. We will and ordain that simony, that sinful plague which contaminates the Church, be banished from our kingdom. IV. We will and ordain that all promotions, collations, provisions, and dispositions of prelacies, dignities, and of all other benefices whatsoever, and all ecclesiastical offices in our kingdom, be made according to the disposition, order, and determination of the common law, of the Holy Councils, and of the ancient fathers. V. We will that in no manner whatever there be levied or collected those pecuniary

(1) *Loc. Theol.*, b. V., c. ult., no. 2.

exactions and most heavy burdens which the Roman Church has imposed and may impose upon the church of France, and because of which our kingdom is miserably impoverished; saving, however, a reasonable, pious, and most urgent cause, and then with our free and express consent, and that of the church of France. VI. Finally, we renew and approve all the liberties, franchises, immunities, rights, and privileges successively granted by the kings our predecessors, and by ourselves, to the churches, monasteries, holy places, and ecclesiastical persons." That St. Louis never issued the above document is evinced by the following arguments. The first allusion to it was made in the Council of Bourges in 1438, nearly two centuries after it is said to have been promulgated; and then that astute king, Louis XI., furnished the world, for the first time, with the precise text. And here it should be observed that this text, furnished by the not very honest Louis XI., commences with a peculiar Pontifical formula which is utterly foreign to the style of the French Chancery, viz., "For a perpetual remembrance of the thing." Again, the fifth article of this sanction, the only one which gives to the pseudo-decree any importance in the eyes of the enemies of Rome, alludes to abuses that were unknown in France at the time of St. Louis. The exactions of the Papal treasury became great, perhaps indeed oppressive, during the "captivity" of Avignon; and they caused wounds which festered even after the return of the Papacy to its legitimate and natural seat, and which furnished a pretext to parliaments and kings to interfere in Church temporalities. And it was just when complaints were at their loudest, that this pretended *Sanction* of St. Louis appeared. It would certainly seem that this document is the *Sanction* of Charles VII. developed; and when we find it appearing so mysteriously, without certain parentage, and with various readings, we are disposed to credit Charles VII. with its invention, and his crafty son with its embellishment. Both these monarchs were interested in producing a document which would appear to justify the *Sanction* issued by Charles himself. And how is it that none of the innumerable writers of those days, not even such acute chroniclers as Joinville and Nangis, or such violent

partisans as Gerson, speak of so important a document? Long before the Council of Bourges the world had read the other decrees of the saintly monarch ; but until that Council, or rather until the time of Louis XI., it did not read this one.

The *Pragmatic Sanction* of Charles VII., issued by the advice of nearly all the bishops and great nobles of France, is a royal proclamation and enforcement of a decree of the Council of Bourges, which at first sets forth how great a confusion has crept into ecclesiastical matters, and then states that as the Council of Basel has decreed some things which appear opportune for such an emergency, the assembly of Bourges has decided to receive said decrees, but with some modifications rendered necessary by the circumstances of the French church. The *Sanction* itself consists of twenty-three titles, the principal of which narrate the acceptance of the Baselian decrees (1). One of these decrees recognized the right of appeal from a Papal decision to that of a General Council ; and it was against this decree that Pius II. issued the celebrated Bull *Execrabilis*, renewing the condemnation promulgated by Martin V. This *Sanction*, in spite of the reiterated reclamations of Eugenius IV., Nicholas V., and Calixtus III., had for twenty-one years formed the discipline of the French church, when Pius II. issued his Bull, declaring that to admit the right of appeal from Pope to Council would be both fatal and ridiculous ; fatal, because it would open the door to impunity, would nourish a spirit of insubordination to the Holy See, and would subvert the hierarchy ; ridiculous, since it would be absurd to invoke the authority of a tribunal that did not exist, and the future existence of which was problematical, and entirely dependent upon the will of him against whom appeal would be made. The first result of the Bull *Execrabilis* was a protest, in the name of Charles VII., on the part of Dauvet, procurator-general, charging Pope Pius II. with a desire to break with France, and appealing from his sentence to a General Council, to be as-

(1) This Pragmatic Sanction was, of course, registered in parliament, and although, after the time of Pius II., it was opposed by Innocent VII., Alexander VI., and Julius II., it possessed the force of law in France until the Concordat of 1516, concluded between Leo X. and Francis I., which abolished canonical elections, and gave the right of nomination to the king.

sembled as soon as possible, in French territory. But this insult to the Pontifical authority produced no evil consequences, for the Pontiff wished to preserve at least some semblance of friendship with Charles, in order that he might yet be induced to join in a Crusade; while the king did not carry out the programme of Dauvet, because just then he was in hopes of procuring a special favor from Rome—the transfer of the bishop of Contances to the see of Tournay. The negotiations ended unfortunately for the monarch, and he indulged in bitter recriminations against the Holy See, although protesting his submission to its authority. The dispute was suddenly terminated by the death of Charles VII. in 1461. The celebrated Louis XI. succeeded to his father's throne, and his character did not promise a firm peace with the Holy See. Nevertheless, he abolished the *Pragmatic Sanction*. When yet dauphin he had sworn to do away with it, if he ever ascended the throne; furthermore, having been accustomed to oppose his father's policy, he was not disposed to espouse his peculiar quarrels with Rome. Several times indeed, Louis XI. threatened to restore the obnoxious *Sanction*, unless Pope Pius II. would revoke his investiture of Ferdinand I. in the kingdom of Naples, and accord it to the grandson of René of Anjou, who had married a daughter of France; but the Pontiff triumphed over threats and promises.

CHAPTER X.

POPE PAUL II.

The mortal remains of Pope Pius II. having been consigned to their tomb in the church of Sant' Andrea della Valle, the Sacred College, to the number of twenty, entered into Conclave in the Vatican on Aug. 27, 1464. According to a custom practised in many preceding Conclaves, the first action of the cardinals was the drafting of a document which all were to sign, and by which, in this case, each one promised, in the event of his elevation to the Papacy: I. To prosecute the war against the Turks, and to devote to this end the profits of an alum mine recently opened at Tolfa. II. To reform the Sacred College. III. To not cause the Roman

Court to travel, even within the bounds of Italy, unless with the consent of a majority of the cardinals; and not to transfer said Court to a foreign land without the consent of all. IV. To call a General Council within three years. V. To limit the number of cardinals to twenty-four; to create none who were not over thirty years of age, and were not proficient in sacred learning; to create only one member of his own family; and finally, to create none without the approbation of the Sacred College. VI. To appoint bishops only in Consistory. VII. To depose no prelate on the demand of a prince, unless after juridical process. VIII. To alienate no portion of the Papal States, diminish their revenues, declare war or make alliances, without the consent of the cardinals. IX. To entrust the chief command of the Papal army to none of his relatives. X. To allow the cardinals to examine, twice a year, and by themselves, whether the Pontiff had been faithful to this compact. This final clause, odious and humiliating, to say the least, had been inserted in no preceding compromise. In the first balloting, twelve votes were cast for Peter Barbo, cardinal-priest of the title of St. Mark. Fourteen votes being necessary for an election, recourse was had to the *accesso*, and four cardinals simultaneously pronounced for Barbo; all then assented, and paid homage to the elect, who took the name of Paul II (1). The family of Barbo was of senatorial rank, and had already given two Pontiffs to the Church, Eugenius IV. and Gregory XII. On the election of his uncle, Eugenius IV., Peter Barbo was summoned to court, and in 1440, he was enrolled in the Sacred College. During the reigns of Eugenius IV., Calixtus III., and Pius II., he was held in such esteem that "it was generally believed at court that if any one wished to obtain any favor, he should refer it to the Venetian cardinal Peter" (2). It is not our purpose to detail the events of this Pontificate; our principal object

(1) Barbo had wished to assume the name of Formosus; but since he was remarkably handsome, his late brethren suggested that another name would be in better taste. He then chose the name of Mark; but "St. Mark" was the war-cry of Venice, and as Barbo was a Venetian, this selection might have been regarded as indicative of too much partiality for his country.

(2) CANENSIS; *Life of Paul II.*, edited by Cardinal Quirini (Rome, 1740), with an erudite defence of Paul II against the attacks of Platina. Muratori highly extols this work of Quirini.

is to refute certain calumnies with which the name of Paul II. has been aspersed. Concerning his reign we briefly note that the greater part of his attention was devoted to the extirpation of Hussitism, then almost triumphant under the patronage of George Podiebrad; that he purged the Roman court of simoniacs, and would not allow even his civil officers to receive presents (1); that he greatly remedied the abuse of commendatory benefices; that he was most profuse in relieving the poor with his own money. There are few Pontiffs concerning whom more contradictory judgments have been pronounced than those formed regarding Paul II. Muratori says that it is perhaps undeniable that, as Philip of Bergamo testifies, this Pontiff died "loved by few and hated by nearly all, although this fact is justified by no good reason." According to some, Paul II. was effeminate and peevish, while others regard him as a most resolute sovereign; some call him a spendthrift, while others declare that he was a miser; some discern in him the pitying father of the unfortunate, while again he is styled the harshest of despots. Spondanus, in an evident determination to be impartial, can say no more in favor of Paul II. than that "he is to be neither highly lauded nor severely condemned." De Mornay, the "Protestant Pope" of the early French Calvinists, gravely declares that our Pontiff was "strangled by the devil while in the act of sin. Roscoe is not quite so severe, but he presents Paul as "an ostentatious, profligate, and illiterate priest" (2).

And now for the charges of ostentation, profligacy, and illiteracy, which Roscoe—whom it is the fashion to regard as reasonable and moderate—does not hesitate to make against Paul II. Ginguen , Hallam, and Sismondi say nothing of this Pontiff's profligacy, though they equal Roscoe in aversion to his memory. Excepting De Mornay, no author of note attacks his morals; not one of his contemporaries insinuates any reflection upon them—not even Ammanati, so rigid in his own life, and the leader of a *rigidist* school among the cardinals; not even Platina, upon whose testimony all the decriers of Pope Paul's memory are forced to rely almost solely, and whose virulence would certainly have allowed no

(1) *Constitution Munera.*(2) *Lorenzo dei Medici.*

error of the Pontiff, in the matter of morality, to pass unnoted in his biography. The charge of ostentation, however, is not so easily dismissed; but reflection will show that little blame ought to accrue to our Pontiff because he spent his own money in a royal manner. Pope Paul II. certainly loved display; the *cavalcata*, or procession, which followed his coronation exceeded in splendor all preceding ones; his tiara, made by Giordano, the first goldsmith of the age, was valued at 200,000 scudi; he spent immense sums for jewels, etc.; he wished the cardinals to present an appearance of dignified splendor, and therefore gave them the white mitre, the red hat, and prescribed red as the color of their dress, ornaments, and equipages; near to what had been his own titular church of St. Mark he built a magnificent palace (1), surrounded it with extensive gardens, and adorned it with numerous ancient statues and costly furniture. The tastes of Paul II. were artistic, and he had been used to profusion from his infancy; when he ascended the Papal throne he injured no one, but rather benefited many by expending his revenues in a lavish manner. We learn from Platina, his bitter foe, that Paul "took great care that all kinds of provisions should always be plentiful, and be cheaper than they had ever been." Certainly Platina asserts that the Pope "was diligent in accumulating money," but he adds that "he spent this money freely; he frequently aided poor cardinals, needy bishops and princes, noble persons deprived of their properties, and young women, widows, and the infirm." Canensius relates several instances of princely generosity on the part of Cardinal Barbo.

The most important charge brought against Paul II. is that of his having been a foe to science, an enemy of letters. Roscoe asserts that "during the pontificate of Paul II., letters and science experienced at Rome a cruel and unrelenting persecution; and their professors exhibited in their sufferings a degree of constancy and resolution which, in another cause, might have advanced them to the rank of martyrs." He then describes the alleged tyranny and barbarism of our Pontiff, and cites, besides Platina, in corroboration of his charge, Tiraboschi; but

(1) Afterward given by Sixtus V. to the Republic of Venice, and hence still called the Palazzo di Venezia.

he does not give the passage on which he relies. Now, if the reader will consult Tiraboschi, he will find that this author asserts the very contrary of what Roscoe would imply. However, Platina certainly fortifies Roscoe's position. He declares that Paul II. "so hated and despised profane studies, that he called their cultivators heretics." Let us try to discover how much credence is due to Platina in this matter. One of the first cares of the newly-elected Paul II. had been the removal of every cause of corruption from the Roman court; and among the many congregations and tribunals to which his reforming hand extended was the College of Abbreviators (1). This body, says Egidius of Viterbo (d. 1532), had become thoroughly corrupt; all its labors were sold for gold. Paul II. found that more than reformation was needed in this case: he decreed the abolition of the College. One of the prelates thus deprived of a lucrative post was Platina (2), and it is well to note his own account of what followed: "This College was filled with learned and worthy persons; there were men versed in both divine and human law; there were poets and orators, who gave no less honor to the court than they received from it. Paul cast all these aside, like so many strangers and worthless people; depriving them of their offices, although they had paid for them, and thus were guaranteed their possession (3). The greater sufferers tried to change the mind of the Pontiff; and I, who was one of these, earnestly besought that our cause should be referred to the auditors of the *Ruota*. Then he, regarding me with distorted eyes, said: 'What! You appeal to other judges concerning what I do? Know you not that all justice and law are in my breast? I wish it to be so. Go away, all of you, and whither you please; I am Pope, and

(1) The duty of an Abbreviator is to make a minute of any papal decision, or of any reply which the Pope wisheth to be sent in answer to a letter, and to prepare the needed document in official form.

(2) His proper name was Sacchi, but he adopted the name Platina from the Latin designation of his native town, Pladena, near Cremona. After the accession of Sixtus IV. in 1471, Platina was made prefect of the Vatican Library, and from that time he probably enjoyed a sufficiency of this world's goods; for Jovius informs us that he bequeathed to Pomponius Lætus an elegant mansion with costly gardens, in which laurel crowns were to be bestowed on those members of the Academy whom their brethren should deem worthy of such honor.

(3) Platina omits to state that Paul II., before dismissing the Abbreviators, restored to them the sums which, in accordance with the detestable custom of the time, they had paid for their offices. Constitution "*Divina*" of Sixtus IV., "*Bullar.*," vol. I., const. 16.

can do or undo what I will.' Having heard this cruel sentence, we continued to labor day and night, begging every vile courtier to assist us in procuring another audience with the Pontiff. We were all outraged and dismissed, like so many outlaws and excommunicated persons. For twenty consecutive nights—because nearly all business was conducted at night—we labored in vain. Being unable to bear such ignominy, I resolved to do by writing what I and my companions could not effect by an audience. I therefore wrote a letter in almost these words: 'If it is just for you, without hearing us, to despoil us of what we have properly and legitimately bought, we ought to be allowed to complain of the injustice done to us. Since we have been so outrageously and contemptuously dismissed by you, we shall request the kings and princes to call a Council, before which you must answer for having deprived us of our legitimate possession.'" When the Pope had read this letter, he ordered that Platina should be arrested and imprisoned.

Perhaps it would have been better if the Pope had merely smiled at Platina's ridiculous menace; for the friends of the discarded officials now affected to regard the insolent scribe as a martyr to learning. After four months Platina obtained his release through the intercession of Cardinal di Gonzaga; and Paul seems to have soon forgiven the humanist's audacity, for we find the latter delivering an oration before the Pope and cardinals in 1468 (1). But the misfortunes of Platina were not at an end. At this time there flourished at Rome an academy composed mainly of those humanists whom the prodigal generosity of Pope Nicholas V. had attracted from all parts of Italy, and even from distant lands. The chief of this society was the famous Julius Pomponius Lætus, who had been a pupil of Lorenzo Valla. Most of the members had belonged to the College of the Abbreviators. The love of these academicians for antiquity was so fanatical that most of them had exchanged their family and baptismal names for fictitious ones taken from the ancient Romans and Greeks (2).

(1) This oration is given by Bzovius, y. 1468, no. 2.

(2) Pomponius was wont to genuflect before an altar dedicated to Romulus, although he used to lead his scholars to a sanctuary of the Madonna on the Quirinal, and certainly died an edifying death. While De Rossi was prosecuting his investigations in the Catacombs of St. Sebastian at Rome, he found among the names of those who had visited this holy spot in

The seditious letter of Platina had naturally rendered Pope Paul II. suspicious of all the humanist's companions in the Academy. Their sessions may have been innocent of any political or really heterodox intent, but many of the academicians bore an equivocal reputation for morality; and all were almost pagan in their worship of antiquity. "Paul II. is accused," says Cantù, "of having persecuted the restorers of classic studies; but I am inclined to sympathize with him if he was dismayed on seeing paganism manifesting itself not only in the fine arts, but in doctrine and in the lives of men; on beholding these men, ashamed of their baptismal names, changing Pietro into Pierio, Giovanni into Jovianus, Marino into Glauco; on learning that they revived the feasts of antiquity, sacrificing a fig-pecker, and, under pretence of honoring Plato, giving forth impious or theurgic doctrines,—things which some may regard as trivial, but which may lead to more serious ones."

Our Pontiff would probably not have interfered directly with the academicians, had he not been led to believe that they contemplated his deposition. The carnival of 1469 was being celebrated with great splendor, and, as usual in this reign, at the expense of the Pope, when it was reported that, under the leadership of Callimachus (Philip Buonaccorsi), a revolution had been planned; one Luke Tozzi, a notorious demagogue, who had been exiled, had been seen in the forests of Velletri at the head of a band of malcontents, and had avowed his intention of aiding the conspirators; a letter of Pomponius Lætus to Platina had been intercepted, in which the latter was styled "Most Holy Father." Immediately many citizens and several of the court were arrested; most of the academicians, among them Callimachus, fled in time; but Platina and a few others were captured. Pomponius was at this time in Venice, and his extradition was demanded and granted. On the trial it was shown that the flattering epithet applied by Pomponius to Platina had been used only in play; it was

the fifteenth century that of Pomponius Lætus, expressed in this curious fashion, "In the reign of Pom., supreme Pontiff"; and even thus, "Pomponius, supreme Pontiff, all-worthy priest (*pantagathos sacerdos*) of the Roman Academy"; which titles, remarks Cantù (*Heresies of Italy*, disc. ix., note 33), would indicate an established hierarchy in the suspected society, and again draw suspicion on Pomponius.

proved that Tozzi had not left Naples; in fine, it appeared that no conspiracy had been formed. After a detention of one year the accused were liberated (1); but, in good or bad faith, the humanists called on posterity to pity them for their sufferings in the cause of learning. We have said that it would appear that no conspiracy had really been formed in the Roman Academy against Paul II. But it is almost, if not quite, certain that at least Callimachus was guilty of treasonable designs against the Pontiff. Palma cites a work entitled *Memorials of Cremonese Extant in Rome*, written by a learned Dominican, Vairani, in 1778, which contains all the letters written by Platina during his incarceration. Among these is one to a certain Lucidus, in which occur expressions which indicate that Callimachus had often uttered seditious sentiments in the Academy and that Platina had feared their consequences. If Palma judges correctly, we may easily account for the severity of Paul II. toward the academicians.

Impartial judges, such as the Cardinal of Pavia, certainly blamed Paul II. for having been too credulous in lending an ear to the accusations against the academicians; but the sole testimony of the aggrieved Platina is not sufficiently weighty to induce us to believe that this Pontiff was actuated by a hatred or contempt of letters. It was during this Pontificate that the art of printing was introduced into Rome, and its rapid development shows that Paul II. did not regard it with disfavor. Then appeared editions of Cicero's *Letters*, his "*Officia*," the *Paradoxes*, the books on *Friendship* and on *Old Age*, the *Bible*, the *Letters* of St. Jerome, the works of St. Cyprian, of St. Leo I., the *Commentaries* of Cæsar, Livy, Virgil, Ovid, Annæus, Lucanus, Silius Italicus, Julius Calphurnius; the elder Pliny, Quintilian, Suetonius, Aulus Gallicus, Apuleus, Alcinous, Strabo, the *Cosmography* of Ptolemy, the *Antiquities* of Denis of Halicarnassus, and an immense number of less important works. Most of these editions are

(1) James of Bergamo, Trithemius, and Campi assert that Platina was kept in prison until the death of Paul II.; but in September, 1469, Cardinal Ammanati addressed a letter to our humanist, then at the baths of Petriola in the territory of Siena. (See *Epist. Card. Pap.*, no. 330.) Platina had contracted rheumatism in prison, and the Pope allowed him to visit these baths, Cardinal Bessarion going his security. Returning to Rome, he was never again disturbed by Paul; and the accession of Sixtus IV. greatly benefited him.

dedicated to Paul II. by John Andrew di Bussi, bishop of Alicia; and in his prefaces this editor declares that the typographic art owes its great progress in Rome to the liberality of that Pontiff (1). He could not have hated or despised letters who encouraged George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, Bartholomew Sicco, Filelfo, Flavius Blondus (2); who promoted many persons merely because they were learned (3); who sought among the poor for youths inclined to study, and himself defrayed the expenses of their education (4). Writing to Theodore Gaza, Filelfo says: "Immortal thanks are due to Paul for having recalled the Muses to the Roman court after a long exile;" and in a letter to Leonard Dathus, he says: "What do not I and all learned men owe to the great wisdom of Paul II.?" In another letter to Gaza, Filelfo declares that under Pope Paul "the Roman court was the sole refuge of learning and eloquence."

The artistic tastes of Paul II. utterly preclude the possibility of his having been a foe to letters; such refinement is incompatible with a hatred, or even a distaste, for learning. The immense sums which he lavished on architects, painters, and goldsmiths (5), and which form an argument for those who accuse him of ostentation, do not indicate the barbarian. He had collected, from far and wide, an immense number of manuscripts, and he gave much time to their study. He was a thorough connoisseur in sculpture and painting, and as a numismatist he was unrivalled. He is thought to have been the first to form a collection of medals. Both as cardinal and as Pope, his greatest pleasure seemed to be the exhibition of his archæological treasures to an amateur. Gaspar of Verona tells us that Paul had studied numismatics so profoundly, that by a cursory glance he could discover under what emperor an ancient medal had been produced. Does the reader deem it probable that such a man was illiterate, or a foe to learning in others?

It is safe to assert that much of the odium accruing to the Pontificate of Paul II. is to be traced to that event of his

(1) CHRISTOPHE; *loc. cit.*

(2) GASPAR OF VERONA.; b. III.; in Muratori, vol. III., pt. 2.—FILELFO; *Epist.*, b. XXIII.

(3) CANENSIUS; *passim.*

(4) Gaspar; *loc. cit.*

(5) *Idem*, b. I.

early reign which cast a shadow over its whole course. The reader has seen that, in accordance with a custom then for some time in vogue, but afterward happily abolished, Cardinal Barbo, as well as all his brethren of the Sacred College, signed a certain agreement at the commencement of the Conclave. The final clause, as we have remarked, was certainly most humiliating to the head of the Church, but nevertheless Barbo accepted it. Scarcely, however, had he been crowned, when he manifested a design to cast aside the yoke imposed upon him. Cardinal Ammanati, bishop of Pavia, then the most renowned member of the Sacred College, who energetically resisted the abrogation of the compromise, narrates the event in his *Commentaries* (1). Among the referendaries of the court were two very learned and experienced prelates, Stephen Nardi, archbishop of Milan, and Theodore Lelio, bishop of Treviso, whom even Ammanati praises as men of decided merit. These prelates reminded the Pontiff that the right to govern the Church belonged to him, not to the cardinals, and urged him to cancel the obnoxious agreement. It is for the canonist, not the historian, to decide whether the promise of a cardinal can bind a Pope; but we may well ask whether the abrogation in question was expedient. By this revocation, Paul II. not only wounded the feelings of the cardinals, but subjected himself to the imputation of favoring the abuses against which, generally speaking, the compromise was directed. Nor did he boldly announce that he cancelled the obnoxious agreement as injurious to the Church; he simply declared the articles useless, and presented some others to each cardinal, separately, demanding his signature to them. Some yielded to promises, others to threats; a few remained firm in refusal for a time, but at length they allowed the necessity for concord to influence them. Carvajal, a Spanish cardinal, alone persisted, saying to the Pontiff that he "had never, even in his youth, changed his mind without reason, and he would not do so in his old age." From this time there was a constant coolness between Paul II. and the Sacred College. The cardinal of Avignon went so far as to say to his Holiness: "For twenty-four years you have stud-

(1) These form a sequel to the *Commentaries* of Pius II.

ied how to finally deceive us" (1). As to the tenor of the new laws, it is impossible to judge; the Pontiff prohibited the cardinals to keep a copy of them (2). Cardinal Quirini contends that Paul II. acted prudently in this matter (3). Perhaps he simply wished to revenge upon the Sacred College the humiliations inflicted on the Papal authority. The latter view is fortified by the fact that, having procured the retractations of the cardinals, the Pontiff never sought to avail himself of the abrogation of the compromise to exercise more latitude in governing.

CHAPTER XI.

POPE SIXTUS IV. AND THE CONSPIRACY OF THE PAZZI.

Pope Paul II. having died on July 25, 1471, nineteen cardinals entered into Conclave on Aug. 6. After some skirmishing among the partisans of Orsini, Ammanati, Bessarion, and d'Estouteville, the requisite two-thirds of the votes were ready for Bartholomew Roverella, archbishop of Ravenna; but before proceeding to the ballot, Orsini, Gonzaga, and Roderick Borgia demanded from the archbishop certain favors as the price of their adhesion. Roverella returned the reply which has been erroneously attributed to Bessarion, that such trafficking would displease God, and that if elected, he would perform his full duty, untrammelled by any previous engagement (4). Then Orsini, Gonzaga, and Borgia turned their attention to the cardinal Francis della Rovere, whose scruples did not forbid the required concessions, and on Aug. 9, Sixtus IV. ascended the throne of St. Peter (5). Historians differ as to the rank of this Pontiff's family; Panvini draws his descent from a very ancient and noble family of Piedmont which moved to Savona about the year 700. Francis was born at Savona in 1414, and from his early childhood was remarkable for studious habits. Having joined the Franciscans, he became distinguished as a theologian and philosopher. For

(1) *Epistles* of Ammanati, no. 182.

(2) *Commentaries* of Ammanati, b. II.

(3) *Loc. cit.*, ch. II.

(4) VESPASIANO; *Life of Bart. Roverella*, in the *Spicilegium* of Card. Mai.

(5) *Epist. of James, card. Pav.*, no. 395 and 534.—BZOVIVS; y. 1471, no. 2.

several years he taught in Padua, Bologna, Pavia, Florence, and Siena; and it was said that there was scarcely a man of note in Italy who had not profited by his lectures. Among his frequent auditors was Bessarion, who submitted all his writings to the revision of the judicious professor. After assisting four successive generals in the government of his Order, and having filled the office of general for some years, Friar Francis was enrolled in the Sacred College by Paul II. in 1467. As cardinal he conducted his household as though he was ruling a convent; all his leisure was devoted to study, and few historians do not praise the virtues which he manifested at that period of his life (1).

At the commencement of his reign Sixtus IV., like his predecessor, had two great objects at heart; namely, a Crusade against the Islamites, and the extinction of Hussitism. In order to actuate the first, he endeavored to cement the peace of Europe; sending preachers through Italy, and despatching legates to France, Spain, Poland, and Germany. Failing to unite the other powers, he collected from his own dominions, Naples, and Venice, a fleet of 112 galleys; and in 1472 he sent them to the East under command of the Neapolitan cardinal, Oliver Caraffa, and the Venetian admiral, Mocenigo. These commanders were instructed to co-operate with the Persian monarch, Uzum-Cassan, a mortal enemy of Mahomet II. But Mocenigo contented himself with ravaging the coasts of Asia-Minor, and with the pillage of Smyrna. The Persian became discouraged, owing to want of artillery, and abandoning his intention of besieging Mahomet II. in Constantinople, returned to his own land. In 1480 a formidable army of Turks captured Otranto, killing one half of its inhabitants; and again Pope Sixtus made superhuman efforts to stem the torrent which threatened to engulf Europe. Setting the example of self-abnegation, he forgot the injuries he had received from the Florentines, raised the interdict under which he had placed their capital, and soon completed the pacification of Italy. A league of all the Italian states was formed, the Turkish squadrons were dispersed, and Otranto retaken.

(1) PANVINI; *Life of Sixtus IV.*—FILELFO; *Letter to Sixtus IV.*, in b. XXXIII.—PIGNA; *Princes of Este*, b. VIII.—VESPASIANO; *Life of Bessarion*.

In order to eradicate Hussitism from Bohemia, Sixtus absolved its people from their allegiance to Vladislaus, and confirmed Matthias Corvinus of Hungary as their sovereign. Zealous for the purity of the faith, he condemned the doctrine of Peter de Osma, a theologian of Salamanca, who denied the divine institution of Sacramental Confession, and asserted that sorrow alone is necessary for forgiveness. Several errors tarnish the record of Sixtus IV., but no one will refuse him one glory—that of having restored modern Rome. He might have repeated the boast of Augustus, that he had found a Rome of bricks, but left one of marble. Rome owes to him, among innumerable other works, the beautiful bridge still called the *ponte Sisto*; the aqueduct of the *vergine*; the reconstruction and endowment of the finest hospital in the world, that of Santo Spirito; the elegant church and Augustinian convent of Sta. Maria del Popolo; the restoration of the Lateran Basilica; the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican.

The memory of few Pontiffs has been more bitterly attacked than that of Sixtus IV. Machiavelli says that he “was the first to show what (evil) a Pontiff could effect, and how many things, hitherto called errors, could be hidden under the cloak of Pontifical authority” (1). Infessura is virulent in regard to Sixtus. Even Muratori deems it proper to say that although this Pontiff “left beautiful traces of himself in Rome, which owes many of its ornaments to him, and although many of his qualities and virtues would have gained for him the name of a good Pontiff,” nevertheless his excessive love for his relatives “led him to actions which have tarnished his memory not a little, and have caused the good to hope there will be no more Popes like him” (2). And the impartial Cantù thus summarizes the demerits of Sixtus: “He lavished benefices, bishoprics, principalities, dignities, and offices on his nephews, Riario and Della Rovere. Raphael Sansoni, made a cardinal when seventeen years old, had a train of sixteen bishops. The silly Peter Riario, legate for all Italy, had a court of five hundred persons. He founded the lordship of Imola for Jerome Riario, and designed for him a greater one in the Romagna; but finding resistance in the Medici, he entered into

(1) *Florentine History*, b. VII.

(2) *Annals of Italy*, y. 1474.

the conspiracy of the Pazzi, and excommunicated Lorenzo for not allowing himself to be killed. He humored Venice so long as he hoped to find her an instrument for his nepotistic ambitions; then abandoning her, he allied himself with her enemies, the king of Naples and the duke of Ferrara, and placed her under an interdict. . . . Machiavelli says that 'this ambitious mode of proceeding caused him to be more *esteemed* by the princes of Italy, and they all sought his friendship,' but the truth is that his shameless nepotism dishonored the Church, and his abuse of censures caused them to lose their terrors" (1). Panvini, who, probably more than any other author, is disposed to praise every action of every Pope, or at least to pass in silence over what he cannot approve, devotes considerable space to an enumeration of the shortcomings of Sixtus IV., and among other faults, he narrates that "as the many wars of this Pontiff entailed a great want of money, he was the first Pope to invent new offices for the purpose of selling them. He restored the Abbreviators, created by Pius II., and suppressed by Paul II., and he sold their positions at a very high price. He did the same with the offices of the solicitors. He also introduced the Janizaries, Stradiotes, and Mamelukes, but they were abolished by Innocent VIII. Sixtus was the first to sell the offices of procurator of the Chamber, of apostolic notary, of prothonotary of the Capitol, of notary of studies, of salt-weigher, and of chamberlain of the city. He invented new taxes, and increased the old ones. And not without stain of avarice, he exacted tithes from the prelates." And then Panvini quaintly tries to palliate these faults: "However, it seems to me that these things should be attributed to necessity, or rather to his relations and ministers, especially since there never was a Pontiff with a more generous soul, one more ready to benefit others" (2).

The nepotism of Sixtus IV. is indefensible; but when this Pontiff is charged with having instigated the attempted murder of Lorenzo dei Medici, and with unjustifiable severity

(1) *Univ. Hist.*, b. XXI.

(2) *Lives of the Pontiffs*, Venice, 1557.—The student will probably agree with Panvini when he says that "although Sixtus built churches and hospitals, improved streets and roads, repaired the walls, erected bridges, introduced the *acqua vergine* into the city, and had the intention of enlarging and fortifying the Vatican, nevertheless Rome owes him more for his generous and magnificent reorganization of the Vatican Library."

toward the Florentines in the matter of the interdict launched against them, we are not compelled to silence. Roscoe assumes the complicity of Sixtus in the conspiracy of the Pazzi to be certain; but it is well to note that this author betrays his animus against Sixtus at the very beginning of his notice of the Pontiff's reign, and by an unworthy misrepresentation. He says that "his knowledge of theology and the Canon law had not conciliated the favor of the populace; for during the splendid ceremony of his coronation, a tumult arose in the city, in which his life was endangered;" and he cites Muratori (*Annals*, y. 1471) as a support for this insinuation that the Romans hated the new Pope. Now Muratori simply states that "during the magnificent function there arose such a tumult among the populace, that he ran the risk of his life, being hit with several stones." The annalist does not tell us the cause of the tumult, nor does he at all imply that it was owing to any aversion to Sixtus. But we do learn from Ciacconius, from Infessura, from Novaes, and from Panvini, that the tumult arose from the anger of the crowd on being too roughly pressed back by the Papal cavalry; that stones were thrown at the soldiers, and some struck the Pope's litter; that the influence of Cardinal Orsini soon restored order. When Roscoe so grossly misinterprets this incident, we are not surprised on finding Sixtus IV. represented by him as perfectly cognizant of, and approving the intention of the conspirators to murder Lorenzo. The English author agrees with Voltaire in regarding as "a proof of the political atheism of the times," this terrible event—"a transaction in which a Pope, a cardinal, an archbishop, and several other ecclesiastics, associated themselves with a band of ruffians to destroy two men who were an honor to their age and country; and purposed to perpetrate their crime at a season of hospitality in the sanctuary of a Christian church, and at the very moment of the elevation of the Host, when the audience bowed down before it, and the assassins were presumed to be in the immediate presence of their God." That the reader may the more fully understand this matter, we shall subjoin a brief narrative of the conspiracy, taking as our guide an author who is never deterred by sympathy from blaming the Roman Pontiffs when

he deems such action to be required by historical truth; namely, Muratori (1).

The Pazzi were a powerful Florentine family, long envious of the Medici. Francis dei Pazzi, treasurer of the Pope, found that Jerome Riario, nephew of Pope Sixtus, hated Lorenzo intensely, because he had seen that this personage was hostile to his aggrandizement when he became lord of Imola, and because he anticipated trouble with the Medici after the death of Sixtus. "From what can be gathered from subsequent events," says Muratori, "the old Pontiff allowed himself to be drawn by this wicked man into the dark design of the Pazzi, and the more easily because not only he, but also King Ferdinand (of Naples), was disgusted with Lorenzo dei Medici, on account of his league with the Venetians and the duke of Milan; and both hoped that if the Medici fell and the Pazzi prevailed, Florence would unite with them." Francis dei Pazzi was sure of the co-operation of Francis Salviati,

(1) Muratori has often been blamed for the freedom of his criticisms, and for the very independent manner in which he sometimes judges the actions of the Holy See in temporal matters. But a correspondence between Benedict XIV. and this author shows that the Holy See itself did not regard his sentiments as condemnable, whatever the intrudingly officious and self-appointed censors of Muratori may have thought. The grand-inquisitor of Spain having placed the works of Cardinal Noris on the Index in 1747, Pope Benedict XIV. condemned this action, and in a letter dated July 31, 1748, he told the inquisitor that the writings of great men were not to be prohibited, when they contained some displeasing things, unless these things affected faith or religion. Even Muratori, he said, had written some reprehensible things. When Muratori heard this, he wrote to the Pontiff the following letter, which Catalani copied from a MS. in the Minerva Library at Rome, and inserted in his first *Preface* to Muratori's *Annals of Italy*: "With all resignation and humility I learn from common report what your Holiness, in a letter to the inquisitor-general of Spain, has said concerning me; and not only from common report, but from the very words of your Holiness communicated to me, I learn that while one of your hands wields thunders, the other emits rays of great clemency. Nevertheless, I find myself in extreme confusion—nay, desolation—for this utterance, so fatal to me, will last forever, and my contemporaries and posterity cannot forget that I have been condemned, though with no formal condemnation; and they may believe my mistakes and demerits greater than they really are. In this too evident misfortune I have no other comfort than the certainty that the paternal heart of your Holiness still warms toward your unfortunate son. Animated, therefore, by this confidence, I take courage to prostrate myself at your holy feet, and to implore the favor that your Holiness will deign to command that I be informed of what is worthy of censure in my writings, so that I may retract it, and thus hope to obtain pardon through my obedience. Thus then a cure will come from the same hand that inflicted the wound, and I will not be exposed to the attacks of any one who might have a heart less charitably disposed toward me than is that of your Holiness. May your great charity—I almost say, your justice—be moved to grant this restorative to my poor name! Kissing your holy feet with the most profound veneration, I resign myself, etc." Pope Benedict XIV. replied to this letter, assuring Muratori that in the letter to the Spanish inquisitor he had complained, regarding our author, only of some passages concerning the temporal doings of the Popes; that such passages, if written by some other person, might have been censured; but that he was persuaded that an honorable man ought not to be troubled because

archbishop of Pisa (1); and by order of the Pope, Cardinal Raphael Riario left Pisa for Florence with the title of legate, and with orders to do whatever Salviati should suggest. A Papal general, John Francis, was to lead two thousand men to the aid of the conspirators, if necessary. The plot culminated on April 26th in the cathedral of Florence, and at the moment of the elevation of the Sacred Host (2). Cardinal Julian dei Medici, who had accompanied his brother and Cardinal Riario, was killed; but Lorenzo merely received a slight wound in the throat, and fleeing to the sacristy, succeeded in barring the door and detaining the assassins until help arrived. At once the entire population took to arms in favor of the Medici. "Before the attempt, the archbishop of Pisa had gone to the magisterial palace, to be ready to seize it on the death of Lorenzo; but he was seized by the attendants of the gonfaloniere at the first news of the attack, and, together with a son of the historian Pozzo, was hung out of one of the windows." Francis dei Pazzi was soon captured, and hung by the side of Salviati; afterward other members of the family of Pazzi met the same fate, and it was shared by about seventy of their followers (3). Cardinal Riario insisted that he

he thought differently from himself in matters not pertaining to dogma or discipline.—The reader may be interested in the fact that a similar experience befell the great historian Cantù. In his *Heretics of Italy* (disc. 31, note 7) he says: "That shameless thing which is called public opinion had rumored that the *Universal History* of Cantù was the work of a number of Jesuits, he giving only the form and his name. On the other hand, the Jesuits blamed him severely, in private and in public; therefore he begged that some of them would examine his work, and indicate the errors, so that he might correct them in subsequent editions. The charitable task was begun; then, perhaps because the size of the harvest frightened the pious annotator, it was thought proper to send the notes to the Congregation of the Index rather than to the author. Privately informed of this, Cantù declared that he submitted to any decision that the Holy See might pronounce, but that, in accordance with the Constitution of Benedict XIV., he asked to be informed, and to be allowed to defend himself. After a long time, which implies a minute investigation, he received notice that 'the Sacred Congregation, after mature examination, had been convinced that in the *Universal History* there are, here and there, inexactnesses and also erroneous propositions; but in consideration of the vast extent of the work, the many editions, the beautiful pages it contains, the rectitude of the author, . . . having regard to the Benedictine Constitution, the Congregation declares that the said *History* be not condemned, although there are in it erroneous judgments which the author himself, with his good sense and erudition, will perceive.' Accompanying this decision, on Sept. 7, 1860, the Cardinal-prefect of the Sacred Congregation congratulated the author because he had not been attracted 'to that anti-papal and perhaps anti-Catholic party, which furnishes the most noisy rewards. He has known how to keep himself at such a distance from it, that he will never receive its applause.'"

(1) The magistrates of Florence had refused to allow Salviati to take possession of his see—a plainly schismatical act. NARDI, *Hist. Flor.*, b. I.

(2) RAPHAEL VOLAT., *Geog.*, b. V.—*Diary of Parma*.

(3) GIUSTINIANI, *History of Genoa*, b. V.

was unaware of the plot, "and probably he spoke the truth; he was afterward set at liberty, that the Pope might not be more angered. When the news of this horrible deed reached Rome, the Pontiff, finding it different from what he had desired, grew very angry at the Florentines, and under the pretext that Lorenzo and the magistrates of Florence had committed a too enormous crime in taking the life of an archbishop, in retaining a cardinal-legate in prison, and in having, before these events, given aid to the enemies of the Church, he launched against them all the excommunications and curses of heaven, and interdicted their city." Sixtus now declared war on Florence, and "sequestered the property of the innocent Florentines who were in Rome;" but Louis XI. of France, the regency of Milan, the Venetians, Duke Hercules of Ferrara, Malatesta of Rimini, and other princes pronounced in favor of the republic. The emperor Frederick III. and Matthias of Hungary besought the Pope to make peace with the Christian state, and turn his arms to the defence of Christendom, every day more threatened by the Islamites. "They spoke to a deaf man; the heart of the Pope was influenced more by the ambitious policy of his nephew, Count Jerome, and of King Ferdinand, than by any reflection worthy of his office. . . . Behold, then, to what extremes the Popes of that time allowed themselves to be brought by that nepotism from which we have seen certain wise Pontiffs of our time so exempt, and from which the glorious reign of the present Pope, Benedict XIV., is pre-eminently free." Such is the picture of the temporal side of the Pontificate of Sixtus IV. which we must accept as substantially correct. Were we disposed to avail ourselves of the *tu quoque* argument, we might palliate the action of Sixtus in fomenting rebellion in the states of his enemy and in aiding such rebellion by every means in his power; such statecraft has always been familiar to rulers, and never more so than at the present day. But granting the heinousness of such procedure on the part of a Pope-King, we turn our attention to the question of this Pontiff's cognizance and approbation of the design to assassinate the Medici.

Roscoe assumes this complicity as certain; but if we may

credit the sworn deposition of John Baptist de Montesicco, the Pontiff was innocent of any murderous intent. This Montesicco was a *condottiere* in the Papal service, to whom the conspirators had assigned the task of stabbing Lorenzo, but who refused to commit such a deed in a church, and was replaced by one Anthony Maffei of Volterra, and by a wretched priest, Stephen of Bagnone. When the attempt had miscarried, Montesicco was seized; and before he was beheaded, he was tortured to make him reveal all he knew concerning the conspiracy (1). According to his avowal, the intention of the conspirators to subvert the power of the Medici was communicated to Sixtus by Jerome Riario, Montesicco, and James Salviati, brother of the archbishop of Pisa; and when they remarked that such a project could not be actuated without the death of Lorenzo and of Julian, the Pope exclaimed: "I desire the death of no person, for any consideration; one in my office should compass the death of no one. Although Lorenzo is a villain, and treats us foully, I merely wish for a change in the government; I do not want his death." Then Jerome replied that they would do what they could to content his Holiness, but that the Pope would pardon anything reprehensible in the manner of the deed, when the object was once attained. Sixtus became indignant, and cried out: "You are a beast. I tell you that I want no death—only a change of government." The conversation continued, and Jerome often alluded to the possible death of Lorenzo; but the Pope constantly protested against it, and when the conspirators were departing, he said: "Go. Do what you will, but let there be no death!" It is not improbable that Jerome, in order to encourage his accomplices, so distorted the Pope's approbation of the subversion of the Medici government, as to make it appear that he consented to the assassination of Lorenzo and his brother (2).

As for the severity of Sixtus IV. toward Florence, it was

(1) His testimony is given in the notes to the *Commentary on the Conspiracy of the Pazzi*, by Angelo Poliziano, edit. Adimari, Naples, 1769.

(2) BRUTI: *Hist. Flor.*, b. VI.—An old MS. entitled *The City of Florence*, in the Magliabecchi Library, states simply that Sixtus IV. and Count Jerome wished to change the Florentine Government. Nerli, in his *Commentaries on the Civil Events in Florence from 1215 to 1537*, b. III., says that Sixtus wished to remove the Medici from the government, and to restore liberty to Florence.

in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Canons. If the reader thinks that the Pontiff's connection with the attempt to revolutionize Florence, and the evident guilt of the criminal, ought to be regarded as justifying the execution of Archbishop Salviati, in spite of both the Canon and the civil law; that the slaughter of many innocent followers of the Pazzi and Salviati families, some of them ecclesiastics, ought to be laid to the account of the unreasoning and irresponsible mob: even then, Pope Sixtus IV. had good reason for launching an interdict against Florence and for waging war against the Medici. In the first place, there was the matter of Vitelli, lord of Città di Castello, a fief of the Holy See. This baron, ambitious of becoming an independent prince (1), had rebelled, and had been succored by Florentine troops. Again, the Medici had incited Charles of Montone to seize Perugia; they had given hospitality and encouragement to the rebel counts of Anguillara, who had warred on the Holy See during four successive Pontificates; Florentine troops had attacked Cisterna, and Florentine vessels had ravaged the Roman shores. Such are some of the grievances which the Pontiff narrates in the Bull in which he threatens an interdict against Florence (2), and any one of these would have justified the punishment of the Medici. But that which drove Sixtus to the use of the interdict as a last resource was a synod of the Tuscan clergy, which declared itself "a Council met in the light of the Holy Ghost for the dissipation of the Sixtine darkness," and which issued against the Pontiff a diatribe of which even Roscoe says that "it is not in the power of language to convey a more copious torrent of abuse, than was poured out upon this occasion by the Florentine clergy on the supreme director of the Roman Church."

A very prominent part in the contest between Sixtus IV. and the Medici was played by the astute Louis XI. of France. A brief sketch of this monarch's connection with the struggle will serve to show the indomitable character and the diplo-

(1) Roscoe misrepresents the status of Vitelli, when he says that "the enmity of Sixtus to Lorenzo had for some time been apparent, and if not occasioned by the assistance which Lorenzo had afforded to Nicolo Vitelli and other *independent* nobles, whose dominions Sixtus had either threatened or attacked, etc."

(2) Bull *Iniquitatis Filius*, in Raynald, y. 1478, no. 5.

matic ability of the Pontiff. When Sixtus received the tiara, the legation of Avignon was in the hands of Charles de Bourbon, archbishop of Lyons, a prince of the blood-royal of France. Very soon the cardinal Julian della Rovere was promoted to both the see and the legation, to the great displeasure of Louis, for, besides regarding the treatment of his relative as an insult to himself, the monarch was averse to Julian because that prelate had helped to influence René of Anjou to cede his county of Provence to the duke of Burgundy. Julian added fuel to the flame by coming into collision with the seneschal de Beaucaire on the subject of certain rights which were not very precisely defined. The king threatened to occupy Avignon, declaring that his predecessors had no right to countenance its purchase by the Holy See. He went so far as to demand the execution of a decree of Constance, providing for a General Council every ten years; and he threatened, in case of the Pope's refusal, to convoke a national synod at Lyons by his own authority. Although Louis was somewhat mollified by the elevation of Charles de Bourbon to the cardinalate, he manifested his aversion to Sixtus when the conspiracy of the Pazzi had failed. Philip de Commines was sent to Lorenzo with three hundred men-at-arms, and assurances of the sympathy of Louis; and on Aug. 18, 1478, the king issued letters-patent to all the ecclesiastics in France, whether natives or foreigners, prohibiting all recourse to Rome for "expectatives," and all transportation of money from the kingdom. He opened a national synod at Orleans in September of the same year, and all the royal complaints against Rome were there discussed; an embassy was also appointed which was to communicate the decisions of the prelates to his Holiness. Sixtus IV. received the envoys on Jan. 27, 1479; and then he learned that Louis, moved by the prayers of Florence, Milan, Venice, and Ferrara, whom the Pontiff had attacked at the very moment when Mahomet II. was invading Italy, had determined to pacify the Peninsula. Louis had held a national synod at Orleans, and this body had advised the Pope to lay down his arms, and to convoke a General Council to devise means of resisting the Turks. To this speech Sixtus did not reply immediately; he requested the

ambassadors to formulate their wishes in writing. This was done, and then it was found that Louis also demanded the punishment of all concerned in the conspiracy of the Pazzi, as well as the raising of the interdict in Florence, and the cessation of hostilities. If these conditions were not complied with, the king would appeal to a General Council, would compel all Frenchmen to abandon the Papal court, and would re-establish the *Pragmatic Sanction* in France. The reply of the Pontiff, also in writing, was singularly calm and firm. King Louis should presume that the Holy See did not act without reason, or without the advice of the wise personages who formed its council. His Royal Serenity gloried in his descent from Charlemagne; and he ought to imitate that prince, who never called his subjects from the Roman court, never spoke of a *Pragmatic Sanction*, never appealed to a General Council, but humbly submitted to the Apostolic decrees. The successors of St. Peter were obliged to render an account to no man; but out of deference to his Majesty, he would give certain explanations to the ambassadors. As to a General Council, it was not necessary to convoke one in order to decide whether the Florentines were justified in hanging an archbishop; both justice and ecclesiastical immunity had been violated by that action. Again, before calling a General Council, prudence would suggest that the emperor and other sovereigns should be consulted as to the opportuneness, the time, and the place; and above all, it should be remembered that it was the province of the Pope, not of this or that prince, to decide whether a Council should be convoked. Concerning the *Pragmatic Sanction*, the most serene king of France should reflect that here was a question involving his honor and his conscience. That *Sanction* was either just or unjust; if just, why had Louis abolished it? If unjust, why did he seek to restore it? So great a prince, thought Sixtus, should be more consistent. In fine, the Pontiff made no concessions to Louis XI.; in the very presence of the ambassadors, he reproached the bishop of Frejus, who had been his nuncio in France, for having referred the difficulty with Florence to the arbitration of the king; and then he indignantly dismissed the imprudent prelate.

But the capture of Otranto by the Turks caused Sixtus to show leniency to the Florentines ; and when, on Dec. 3, 1480, an embassy appeared before him, he received its members graciously and with great honor. They all knelt at the feet of the Pontiff, and in their name and that of their government, Louis Guicciardini confessed that Florence had sinned against the Church and its head, and begged for pardon. Then Sixtus replied : "We took measures against you with regret, and only because the honor of the Apostolic See demanded such measures. Now that you come to us in all humility, we accord you our favor, and absolve you from the sins you have confessed. Sin no more."

CHAPTER XII.

POPE INNOCENT VIII.

The mortal remains of Pope Sixtus IV. having been deposited in the basilica of the Apostles, twenty-five cardinals entered into Conclave on Aug. 26, 1484. The first care of the electors was to draw up a document which would serve as a rule of government for the coming Pontiff. One of the articles bound the new Pope to direct his energies to a reformation of the Roman court within three months after his coronation ; by another he promised to call a General Council, in order to prepare a Crusade, and to correct many abuses in the Church (1). Only one cardinal, Peter Foscari, bishop of Padua, refused to sign this agreement. After some efforts in favor of Mark Barbo, a nephew of Paul II., the choice of the electors proved to be John Baptist Cibò, bishop of Melfi, and a native of Genoa, who assumed the name of Innocent VIII. The Cibò family was one of the most illustrious in Genoa, and for many hundred years had been prominent in the annals of the state ; the father of our Pontiff, Aaron Cibò, had been viceroy of Naples for Alfonso of Aragon, and under Calixtus III. had been senator of Rome—then a very important office. John Baptist Cibò passed his youthful days at the Neapolitan court, but after the death of King Alfonso he en-

(1) BURCHARDT ; *Diary*.

tered the University of Padua. After a few years we find him at Rome, enjoying the patronage of Cardinal Calandrini, a half-brother of Nicholas V. Paul II. made him bishop of Savona, and Sixtus IV. promoted him to the Sacred College and the see of Melfi.

Raphael of Volterra and Philip of Bergamo say that John Baptist Cibò had two natural children, Franceschetto and Teodorina Cibò, before his entrance into the ecclesiastical state. Ciaconius and Marino Sanuto state that he had been married. Panvini says that while in the Neapolitan court "a noble lady bore him two children called Francis and Teodorina, who were said to be legitimate, the mother dying at an early age." Ægidius of Viterbo mentions neither the marriage nor any illegitimate offspring. Muratori simply says that "before entering the ecclesiastical state Pope Innocent had some children, who were yet living." We are disposed to agree with Ciaconius and Sanuto, both because their authority is immeasurably superior to that of Raphael of Volterra and Philip of Bergamo, and because of intrinsic reasons, drawn from what is certainly known of Innocent VIII. In none of the circumstances of his life did the fact of his having children affect his good reputation; it did not prevent his becoming bishop of Savona under Paul II., who was most exact in probing the careers of all presented to him for preferment; it was not alleged as an argument against his elevation to the Papacy; finally, during his entire ecclesiastical life, his conduct was grave and almost severe in its moral tone (1).

Innocent VIII. was most affable in his manners, and of a most conciliatory disposition. In his funeral oration on our Pontiff, Leonello, bishop of Concordia, tells us that he was forgiving, simple, and modest. But all his contemporaries who have left memorials of his reign, agree in representing him as easily led by others. If Sixtus IV. was too determined, Innocent VIII. was deficient in the energy demanded by his

(1) Roscoe would allow his reader to suppose that there is no doubt concerning the illegitimacy of Cibò's children; and from his words one would not know whether these children were born while Cibò was a layman, or after he became an ecclesiastic. He simply says: "At the time of his elevation to the supremacy, he was about fifty-five years of age, and had several natural children." *Lorenzo dei Medici*, ch. vi.

evidently sincere desire to abolish abuses and to arouse the zeal of the clergy. Infessura says that Innocent was "personally good, ever intending justice, and had he not been thwarted by his rivals and enemies, he would undoubtedly have shown the real bent of his mind to the Church." One of Pope Innocent's first acts was to entreat the powers of Christendom to combine against Islamism; reversing the policy of his predecessor, he expressed great admiration for Lorenzo dei Medici, and a sincere affection for his family. This change was due to a nephew of the late Pontiff, the cardinal Julian della Rovere, who had acquired the esteem of Innocent by his great talents and the ascendancy of his character. Guid' Antonio Vespucci, writing to Lorenzo, advises him to write a good letter to this cardinal, for, he says, "he is Pope, and more than Pope" (1).

The most important event of this Pontificate was the struggle of Innocent with Ferdinand of Naples concerning the tribute due to the Holy See from that monarch as a vassal. Few historical facts are better established than that of the suzerainty of the Roman Pontiff over the Two Sicilies (2). Even though all other titles were wanting, the investitures repeated during a space of more than four hundred years before the time of Innocent VIII.—investitures asked for and received by the most powerful of the Neapolitan and Sicilian sovereigns—would have formed a just title for the Pontiffs. Even Muratori, who will never be accused of partiality toward the temporal claims of the Holy See, was so impressed by the evidence favoring Rome in this matter, that when speaking (at y. 1059) of the investitures granted by Pope Nicholas II. to Robert Guiscard, and supposing that the right in question originated in the once prevalent idea of the truth of Constantine's donation, he says: "We may believe that upon this foundation rests the origin of those rights which, from that day until our own, the Apostolic See has exercised over the Two Sicilies, where it enjoys so authentic a suzerainty by a prescription against which no argument whatever can be adduced." When Innocent VIII. received

(1) FABRONI; *Life of the Magnificent Lorenzo dei Medici*, vol. I.

(2) See our dissertation on the *Deposing Power of the Pope*, in vol. II., p. 214.

the tiara, King Ferdinand trusted that since the youth of John Baptist Cibò had been passed in the service of the house of Aragon, and since he had received favors from King Alfonso, he would, now that he was Pontiff, reciprocate those benefits and remit the customary tribute. The ambassadors whom Ferdinand sent to congratulate Innocent on his elevation were instructed to dwell upon the fact that the royal treasury had been depleted by the expenses contracted for the recapture of Otranto, and that large sums were constantly being spent in strengthening the kingdom against future aggressions of the Turks. But the Pope insisted upon the rights of the Holy See; and when, on Jan. 29, 1485, a second embassy offered a white palfrey in sign of homage (1), he refused to accept it without the tribute. And Pope Innocent VIII. had other causes of complaint against Ferdinand. Philip de Commynes tell us that this monarch "sold bishoprics, and to most unworthy persons; once he sold the bishopric of Tarento to a Jew for thirteen thousand ducats; on another occasion he gave certain abbeys to a falconer on condition that he should keep a number of huntsmen and falcons for the royal service" (2). Again, the harshness, vindictiveness, and treachery of Ferdinand to his subjects; the many vices of his son Alfonso, duke of Calabria, of whom Commynes says no man was ever more cruel or wicked, had excited the rage of the nobles, and they had already appealed to their lord-

(1) Sixtus IV. had consented to receive the palfrey and tender of homage, remitting the tribute. Afterward, Julius II. decreed that on every eve or feast of SS. Peter and Paul the king of the Two Sicilies should present to the Pope, "in recognition of the true, supreme, and direct dominion of the Holy See over the Kingdom of Sicily, and over all the territories on this side the straits as far as the frontiers of the States of the Church, a tribute of 7,000 golden ducats and a gift of a splendidly caparisoned palfrey." Though the amount of the tribute varied, this custom was continued until 1788, when Ferdinand IV. of Naples (of Sicily, III.) offered the money, but not the homage. The formula of presentation of the tribute was as follows: "NN, King of the Two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, etc., my sovereign lord, presents to your Holiness, and I do so in his name this palfrey becomingly adorned, with a tribute of 7,000 ducats for the kingdom of Naples. And I pray our Lord God that your Holiness may receive it again many years to the greater glory of our holy faith." The Pontiff then replied: "We willingly receive and accept this tribute due to us and the Apostolic See for the direct dominion of our kingdom of the Two Sicilies, on both sides of the straits; and we beg the Lord (if the king was married, here followed a hope that he might have a numerous offspring). And to him, to his peoples and vassals, we impart the Apostolic benediction. In the name, etc." BORGLA: *History of the Temporal Dominion of the Apostolic See in the Two Sicilies*; Rome, 1789; no. 1509.

(2) *Memoires*; b. VII., c. II.

paramount, the Pope (1). Finally, the barons held a Diet at Melfi, declared themselves free from their obligations to Ferdinand, and placed themselves at the disposal of the Holy See. Innocent then tendered the kingdom to René II., duke of Lorraine, whose Angevine ancestors had formerly ruled it. The revolted barons had already applied to Venice for aid, and that republic sent them a few thousand men under the famous general, Robert of San Severino. Lorenzo dei Medici now espoused the cause of Aragon; the duke of Milan followed his example; and the powerful family of Orsini joined the enemies of their sovereign. But the suspicious inactivity and, in all probability, the treachery of San Severino, prevented an energetic campaign. René, disappointed in his hopes of aid from Charles VIII. of France, who himself claimed a right to the Neapolitan crown, remained at home; and the Sacred College, supported by the complaints of the Romans, who suffered from the ravages of the duke of Calabria, besought Innocent to make peace. Accordingly, on Aug. 11, 1486, there was signed a treaty by which Ferdinand agreed to pay his homage and tribute of vassalage to the Holy See; to refrain from all nominations to benefices; and to not molest his barons for the course they had pursued (2). But Ferdinand soon violated this treaty; scarcely a month had elapsed, when his troops entered Aquila, and put the Papal representative to death. Many of the chief barons were imprisoned, and afterward ruthlessly slaughtered; the benefices of the kingdom were again put up for sale, and the tribute to Rome was refused. Even then, Innocent hoped for peace; he sent the bishop of Cesena to remonstrate with the king, but the prelate vainly sought an audience, and when he succeeded in intercepting Ferdinand on his way to the chase, the monarch answered that he would treat his barons as he saw fit, and ordering the huntsman's call to be sounded, he disappeared. Innocent bore this insult, and sought the mediation of the king of Castile, whose intercession, indeed, had been the main cause of the violated treaty. Nothing

(1) *History of Aquila*, in Muratori's *Italian Antiquities*, vol. VI.—MACHIAVELLI; *Hist. Flor.*, b. VIII.—BRUTI; *Hist. Flor.*, b. VIII.

(2) NANTIPORTO; *Diary*.—RAYNALD; y. 1486, no. 13.—GIANNESON b. XXVIII., c. 1.

came of this mediation, and finally, in Sept., 1489, Ferdinand was deposed, and the Two Sicilies were pronounced to be in the hands of the Roman Church, their suzerain. But the Pontiff took no vigorous measures to enforce his rights; though his decree produced the intended effect. Ferdinand soon realized that though Innocent VIII. lacked the indomitable will of Sixtus IV., it would be very imprudent to leave in the hand of an Angevine rival so powerful a weapon as a Papal Bull declaring the vacancy of the Neapolitan throne. In January, 1492, he made his submission to the Holy See; he acknowledged the right of the Pontiff to tribute and homage; and promised to never again interfere in the collation of benefices, and to indemnify the heirs of his slaughtered barons. In return, the Pope revoked the decree of deposition, and promised the future investiture of the kingdom to the duke of Calabria.

In 1487 Pope Innocent VIII. condemned certain propositions defended by the celebrated John Pico della Mirandola. When only twenty-three years old, this philosopher and theologian had drawn from theology, physics, mathematics, magic, and cabalistics, a series of nine hundred propositions, which he offered to defend in Rome (y. 1486), "with all respect to the authority of the Church." Some of these theses were very unorthodox, but the young disputant protested that he presented them only "for the sake of scholastic disputation, and subject to the correction of the Apostolic See." About four hundred of the propositions were taken from Latin, Egyptian, Arabic, and Chaldaic philosophers; the others were opinions of his own. No one appeared to attack the theses, although Pico guaranteed all expenses of travel, etc. But the learned were irritated by his daring, and they presented to the Pope thirteen of the propositions as heretical, and after mature examination they were condemned. Pico defended them in several publications; and while, says Cantù, "we cannot derive a very clear notion of his meaning from his scholastic jargon, his task may be regarded as an attempt to reconcile Plato with Aristotle, and Pagan theology with the Mosaic and Christian" (1). In his *Heptameron*, Pico says: "Moses and

(1) *Heretics of Italy*, disc. IX.

the Prophets, Christ and the Apostles, Pythagoras and Plutarch, and in general, all the priests and philosophers of the ancient world, veiled their knowledge under images, because the crowd could not appreciate the truth, and understood what the words by no means indicated. It is certain that Moses, in his enumeration of the six days, did not speak of the creation of the visible world (1). . . . Christ confided, in secrecy, certain truths to His disciples, and the knowledge of these truths is the great foundation of our faith;” and this knowledge can be acquired, insisted Pico, only by means of the *Cabala*. “Who does not see,” asks Cantù, “whither such eclecticism leads? If it was applauded by the Academies and by the Medicean court, where such things were fashionable, it could not please Rome; and although Pico repeatedly protested his submission to the Church, he really substituted himself for the Church when he defined and explained dogma by means of Hebrew or the *Cabala*.” Innocent VIII. said of Pico: “Let him write poetry; that is more consonant with his talent;” and although the Pontiff protected him from molestation, he would not withdraw his condemnation of the propositions. Pico very soon realized the vanity of merely human science, and devoted the latter years of his life to prayer and mortification. He recited the Office as though he were a priest, and as he himself tells us, he “day and night read those sacred pages which possess a celestial, vivid, and efficacious strength, which infuse divine love into the soul of the reader.” He even thought of taking a crucifix in his hand, and

(1) “Man, according to this theory of Pico, is composed of a body and a reasoning soul, and of something intermediary which unites the two substances, and which physicists and philosophers call the spirit. Moses denominates the body slime; he calls the spirit, light; and he entitles the soul heaven, because it moves circularly, like the latter. The words of Moses, ‘God created heaven and earth . . . and there was evening and morning one day,’ signify that God created the soul and body; and as the spirit joined them, night and morning, or the darkening nature of the body and the luminous nature of the soul, gave origin to man. In the words of Moses, ‘Let the waters that are under the heaven be gathered together into one place,’ water represents the feeling faculty common to man and all animals. The gathering of the waters under heaven indicates the union of the corporeal senses in what Aristotle styles the *common sensorium*, whence they spread throughout the body. Moses places the sun, moon, and stars in heaven; according to Pico, the sun signifies the soul soaring up to the spirit of God or the intellectual spirit; the moon is the soul leveling itself to the plane of the senses; the stars are the forms of the soul, the faculties of judging, etc. . . . Supreme felicity consists in being re-united with God, after dropping all imperfections, which are the effect of plurality and complication.”—BUHLE: cited by Cantù, *Univ. Hist.*, b. XIII., ch. xxx., note 9.

with bare feet preaching the love of Christ. Finally, in 1493, Alexander VI. issued a Brief absolving Pico from any censures which he might have incurred. The philosopher's last work was a defence, against the Jews, of St. Jerome's accuracy in translating the Psalms. He had designed, says his equally celebrated nephew, John Francis Pico della Mirandola, who wrote an account of his uncle's life, to enter the Dominican Order; and when he died in his thirty-second year, he was clad in the habit of that Order.

Some Protestant writers, seeking support for the theory that wine is not an essential matter for the Eucharist, have adduced, on the sole authority of Raphael of Volterra (1), the presumed fact that Innocent VIII. allowed the Norwegian clergy to consecrate the bread in the absence of wine. The Catholic reader is probably aware that such a consecration would be grievously illicit, and perhaps invalid (2). How, then, could Pope Innocent VIII. have granted such permission? It is evident that no such decree was issued. In the first place, there exists no vestige of it, save in Raphael of Volterra. Again, the reason assigned by this author for the admission of the exemption did not subsist. He says that the reason was furnished by the Norwegian climate, which, he contends, causes wine either to freeze or to become vinegar. This we know to be false; and we also know that shortly after the time of the alleged decree the Norwegian reformers would allow no Communion unless the species of wine, as well as the species of bread, was employed. If such a decree was really shown in the days of Raphael of Volterra (3), it must be classed among the many forgeries which our Pontiff detected and punished. In 1489 it was discovered that there had been formed, among the officials of the various bureaus of the Apostolic Chancery, an association for the fabrication of false Bulls. These documents were sold to the interested parties, who of course believed them to be genuine, and were willing to reward those to whose influence at court they supposed themselves indebted

(1) *Geography*, b. VII.

(2) Cardinal Lugo holds that if a priest *intends to consecrate only one species*, he acts invalidly, since he has received the power to consecrate the Holy Eucharist *only in sacrificiis*.—LIGUORI:—*Opus Mor.*, b. VI.

(3) He wrote the cited work about the year 1505.

for the favors presumably granted; and the papers generally cost from one hundred to two thousand ducats. The chief forgers were one Dominick of Viterbo and one Francis Maldenti. Their property was confiscated, and although men high in power interceded for their lives, and their relatives offered to indemnify the losers, the culprits were hung, and their bodies given to the flames (1). If, therefore, there ever existed such a decree as that adduced by Raphael of Volterra, probably it owed its origin to these wretched men, and not to the Holy See.

CHAPTER XIII.

POPE ALEXANDER VI.

It is an almost general opinion that Pope Alexander VI. had neither the virtues which befit the Supreme Pontificate of Christendom, nor those of any ordinary man. His name is seldom mentioned without thoughts of simony, treachery, lust, avarice, and sacrilege. Other memories, long contemned and even accursed, have been rehabilitated; but that of Alexander VI. remains, as yet, foul and detestable to a large number of Christians. Are we, therefore, to take for granted all that has been alleged against this Pontiff? Even Roscoe contends that "whatever have been his crimes, there can be no doubt but they have been highly overcharged. . . . The vices of Alexander were accompanied, although not compensated, by many great qualities which, in the consideration of his character, ought not to be passed over in silence. Nor, if this were not the fact, would it be possible to account for the peculiar good fortune which attended him to the latest period of his life; or for the singular circumstance recorded of him: that during the whole term of his pontificate no popular tumult ever endangered his authority or disturbed his repose?"

To Burkhard, master of ceremonies in the court of Alexander VI., we are indebted for most of the information which blackens the character of the Pontiff. But, granting that we possess the authentic work of Burkhard, which is very uncertain, of what weight is his authority? A master of cere-

(1) RAYNALD; y 1490, no. 22.

monies in a royal court does not fill a position which would of itself imply a possession of accurate knowledge of the court's secrets. He may, at times, come into some kind of contact with great personages. His master, with that shadow of intimacy often affected with a superior servant, may condescend, now and then, to display good humor in his presence. A foreign ambassador, during the intervals of a tedious levee, may deign to gossip with him about unimportant matters. He may even be a great dignitary in the eyes of the lackeys on the staircase, or in the estimation of the dawdlers in the antechamber, and thus he may pick up a deal of tavern statecraft. His authority may be overwhelming when he decides on the proper color of a ribband, or even in a question of precedence. But his *Diary* can scarcely be regarded as testimony concerning the secrets of the court. Nor can we forget that until 1696 the *Diary* was known only by a fragment given by Godefroy in his *History of Charles VIII.*, published in 1684; and by some vague citations of Rinaldi in his continuation of Baronio. But in 1696 Leibnitz published at Hanover a quarto volume entitled *A Specimen of Secret History; or, Anecdotes of the Life of Alexander VI.; Extracts from the Diary of John Burkhard*. In his preface Leibnitz regrets that he could not find the text of Burkhard; but a few years afterward he thought that he had found the true text in a MS. given him by Lacroze, and would have published it had not death intervened. Eccard published the *Diary* at Leipsic in 1732, in his *Writers of the Middle Age*, following a Berlin MS., which may have been the one handed by Lacroze to Leibnitz. According to Eccard's own admission, this MS. was very defective (1), and the editor had frequent recourse to the extract of Leibnitz that order might be established. In Leibnitz there are articles which are wanting in Eccard, and toward the end the two become so dissimilar as to appear utterly different works. Eccard wished that some one would discover a good copy of the *Diary*; and finally Lacurne de

(1) Eccard adds that his edition contains the journal of the Pontificate of Alexander VI.; but this is an error, for even the extract of Leibnitz goes further back, commencing on Aug. 2, 1492, the day of Alexander's exaltation. The *Diary* given by Eccard begins four months later. The extract of Leibnitz goes as far as Aug. 3, 1503, while Eccard's finishes on Feb. 23d of the same year.

Sainte-Palaye found in the library of Prince Chigi at Rome a MS. in five quarto volumes, which seemed to contain the entire work,—beginning December 1, 1483 (the date of Burkhard's appointment as master of ceremonies), and ending May 31, 1506, a year after his death,—which fact demonstrates that the diarist had a continuator. In our day a third editor has appeared. Achille Gennarelli (Florence, 1855) has thought to produce the true text by uniting the dubious ones of Leibnitz and Eccard, and some other MSS. He admits, and most ingenuously, that he has filled up hiatuses with quotations from Summonte, Infessura, etc., etc (1).

Gregorovius (2), the latest Protestant historian to attack the memory of Alexander VI., has the assurance to say that the *Diary* of Burkhard "is, with the exception of the journal of Infessura, which ends at the commencement of 1494, the only work concerning the court of Alexander composed at Rome; and it has even an official (!) character. . . . *He never repeats mere rumors.*" The *Diary* is before us, and there is scarcely a page where we do not read: "If I remember aright (*si recte memini*);" or "If the truth has been told me (*si vera sunt mihi relata*);" or "It is said (*fertur*)."
Gregorovius opines that the apologists of the Holy See would feel less contempt for Burkhard, if they would consult the *Relations* of the Venetian ambassadors to their government. Well, Pasquale Villari, probably the most painstaking of all the editors of these *Relations*, is not such an apologist, and yet he says: "Doubts have been raised as to the authenticity of the *Diary* of Burkhard. New publications have lessened, but have not put an end to these doubts" (3). The German historian also presents the *Relation* of Polo Capello (ambassador at Rome from April, 1499, to September, 1500) as manifesting "the intrigues of the court of Alexander VI., the long series of crimes perpetrated therein, its exactions, the traffic in cardinals' hats, etc" (4). But, setting aside the numerous inexactnesses of

(1) It is the opinion of the abbé Clement (de Vebron) that all the weight of erudition displayed by Gennarelli does not add one particle more of authenticity to the *Diary*. See *The Borgias*; Paris, 1882.

(2) *Lueretia Borgia, according to Original Documents and Contemporary Correspondence*, 1876.

(3) See Villari's *Dispatches of Giustiniani*, vol. I., in preface. Florence, 1876.

(4) *Loc. cit.*, vol. I., p. 326.

this *Relation* of Capello, and not a few gross errors (1), we must regard it as of little value in the premises; since it was written not by Capello, but by the senator Marino Sanuto (2), who, while often furnishing us valuable historical documents, causes one to smile at his frequent credulity, and to hesitate to accept him as an authority (3).

After Burkhard, the great historian Guicciardini is the chief source of the accusations against Alexander VI.; Guicciardini, of whom even the arch-sceptic Bayle says that "he merits hatred" because of his partiality,—“a fault of gazetteers,” but one “inexcusable in a historian;” whom even Voltaire regards as mendacious; and whose own conscience caused him, when asked on his death-bed what disposition should be made of his *History*, then still in manuscript, to reply: “Burn it.” Cantù says of this author: “He regards the success, not the justice, of a cause. . . . He not only examines and judges the Pontiffs as he does other rulers, but he always finds them in the wrong” (4). Capefigue (5) regards Guicciardini as “an impassioned colorist,” who ever “breathes hatred of the Pope, the French, the Milanese, and Sforza. Florence, a city of pleasure, of libels, and of dissipation, loved the licentious tales of Boccaccio, the policy of Machiavelli, and

(1) For instance, it gives to Alexander a brother named Louis del Mila, while no such brother, but a cousin—John del Mila—existed. It narrates that Capello, before his departure from Rome on September 19, 1500, went to the Vatican to inform the Pontiff of the surrender of Rimini and Faenza; but Rimini did not fall until the end of October, while Faenza held out until the following April. It makes San Severino, instead of Ascanio Sforza, vice-chancellor of the Roman Church.

(2) An old law of Venice had obliged her ambassadors, after their term of office, to deposit a *Relation* of all they had learned in the Venetian chancery; but toward the end of the fifteenth century this law was almost entirely ignored, and was enforced again only in 1538. Marino Sanuto, in his *Diaries* embracing the period from 1496 to 1533, filled the hiatuses.

(3) The Venetian senator Malipiero, in his *Chronicle*, tells us that Sanuto informed the Venetian senate of the finding in the Tiber, in January, 1496, of a monstrosity having the head of an ass, a right arm like an elephant's trunk, a left arm like that of a man, one foot like that of an ox, the other like that of a griffin, a woman's bosom, and the lower part of the body like that of a dragon. The creature emitted fire from its mouth. The abbé Clement thinks that these details came direct from Germany, where, in 1524, Luther published his caricature of the “Pope-Ass.” Rawdon Brown, in his *Information on the Life and Works of Marino Sanuto*, Venice, 1837, says that it would seem that such tales “were written for the Lutherans; but for historians, they failed in their object.” Nevertheless, says Clement, “certain candid minds believe the narrations of these pamphletary chroniclers: just as in Germany some persons, full of faith in Luther and his works, believe in the finding of the Pope-Ass in the Tiber. But one would suppose that Sanuto would not be so excessively credulous. Read the *Diaries*, now made public, and you will find the contrary.”

(4) *Heretics of Italy*, Discourse IX.; Turin, 1865.

(5) *History of the Church during the Last Four Centuries*; Paris, 1855.

the stories of poison and treason unfolded in the books of Guicciardini." This historian was devoted to the Colonna and the Orsini families, and was also a partisan of Savonarola; quite naturally, therefore, he was a foe to the Borgias. Add to this that his hatred served his interest; for by exercising it he pleased the Florentines, the Venetians, and all who were then in opposition to the court of Rome.

The authority of Paul Jovius, bishop of Nocera, is of much less value than that of Guicciardini; for, being most venal, he is always either panegyricizing or calumniating. One day he was reproved for having narrated falsely, and he rejoined: "No matter; three hundred years hence it will be true" (1). Cantù styles Jovius the "lying gazetteer of that epoch" (2). Audin says that no historian ever "cared so little for his reputation as Paul Jovius. He represents himself as languishing with inertness because no one comes to purchase him" (3). Jerome Muzio asserted that Jovius showed diligence "only in obtaining the favors of the great, and he who gave the most was the principal hero of his works" (4). Vossius says that "for money Jovius would furnish posterity with a good character for any child of earth, but that he would calumniate all who did not pay for his services" (5).

Very little need be said of Tomaso Tomasi, another of the sources used by the defamers of Alexander VI. In his *Life of Cæsar Borgia* he had two objects in view: one was the favor of a princess of the Rovere family, which favor he thought to secure by decrying the Pontiff whom the cardinal of St. Peter's *al Vincula*, her brother, had antagonized; the other was to exhibit in Cæsar a type of monstrosity which would exceed the efforts of the most rampant imagination. Even Gordon, to whom Roscoe attributes the reduction of history to below the level of romance, distrusts the authority of Tomasi.

As for the manuscript notices upon which many modern authors rely, they are of little or no value. Very few of them bear the names of their authors, and therefore they are unguaranteed. Most of them are diatribes, not narratives.

(1) The emperor Charles V. used to call Jovius and Sleidan "his two liars," one of whom spoke too well of him, and the other too badly.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, discourse XIII.

(3) *Leo X.*

(4) TIRABOSCHI; *Ital. Lit.*, vol. VII., p. 2.

(5) *Art of History*, c. 12.

They are positive where matters are at least doubtful, and carefully avoid everything creditable to our Pontiff. Many of them are needlessly prodigal with their venom. Casting aside, therefore, all such alleged authorities, and recurring only to facts and acts, we find that Alexander VI. had many virtues of a Pope and a sovereign; that, especially as king, he was more than ordinarily active and prudent, and nearly always successful in his enterprises; that his people loved him, and his reign was profoundly tranquil. One great fault he had, and perhaps this one was the source of all the others: he was passionately attached to the children—four sons and a daughter—who are generally supposed to have been born to him, but before he received Holy Orders; to aggrandize his family he made too much use of his presumed son Cæsar; and thus, in the eyes of posterity, he has shared the odium of that person's crimes.

Roderick Llançol was born on January 1, 1431, at Xativa, in the diocese of Valencia, in Spain. When his maternal uncle, Alfonso Borgia, was elevated to the Papacy under the name of Calixtus III., in 1455, the Llançol family assumed the name and arms of the Borgias, and only as such are they known in history. The young Roderick was noted for talent, and his first choice of profession was the bar, but he soon entered on the career of arms. Called to Rome by his uncle, and having evinced great aptitude for the business of a court, Roderick accepted offers of preferment, and was made successively commendatory archbishop of Valencia, cardinal-deacon, and vice-chancellor of the Roman Church. At this period, at least, his conduct must have been exemplary; for a contemporary writes that his fellow cardinals were "much pleased to have in their midst one who surpassed all in an abundance of gifts" (1). And Duboulay, who says that if the memory of Borgia had perished, we would not know how corrupt a man can be, admits that during his long cardinalate of thirty-five years Roderick never gave any public scandal (2). The rigid Sixtus IV. (1471-84) appointed him legate in Spain and

(1) *MS. Life of Roderick Borgia, under the name of Alexander VI.*, in the Casanatensian Library at Rome.

(2) *Life of Alexander VI.*

Portugal; and the cardinal of Pavia, a man of recognized sanctity, wrote to him during this legation: "I advise you to return; . . . your influence here is sovereign; . . . by your persuasion and wise opposition you can render great service to the Holy See." This same cardinal of Pavia slightly blamed Roderick for his ambition and love of pomp, but he predicted that he would become Pope (1). The manners of Borgia were grand and fascinating (2), and even Guicciardini credits him with rare powers of penetration, great tact, and diplomatic talent. Raphael and James of Volterra, Peter Martyr of Anghieri (3) waste no praise on Roderick, but they find in him vast genius and profundity of thought. Ægidius of Viterbo admires his eloquence as natural and irresistible, his activity as indefatigable, and his sobriety as exemplary (4). Tomasi declares that whoever observed the young cardinal, could perceive that his genius marked him for empire. In 1476, having been appointed cardinal-bishop of Albano, Roderick received Holy Orders.

After the obsequies of Pope Innocent VIII., twenty-three cardinals entered into Conclave, and after five days of deliberation raised Roderick Borgia to the Chair of Peter, on August 11, 1492. As the foes of Borgia have tried to fasten the stigma of simony on this Conclave, it is well to note its members. The cardinal-bishops were: Roderick Borgia, then bishop of Porto; Oliver Caraffa, archbishop of Naples, whom even Roscoe styles a man of great integrity; Julian della Rovere, the future "Moses of Italy" as Julius II.; Baptist Zeno, bishop of Tuscanum, whose piety and independence,

(1) *Epist.* 514, 670, 678, and in *Additions to Aldoin*.—During Cardinal Roderick's legation in Spain there happened an event which gave occasion to one of Guicciardini's most barefaced lies. Sixtus IV. wished to give a cardinal's hat to Louis of Aragon, a natural son of King Ferdinand of Naples, but the stain of illegitimacy provoked the resistance of the Sacred College to the measure. Then there appeared several Spaniards, offering to swear to the candidate's legitimacy. The cardinals persisted, and the cardinal of Pavia wrote (*Epistles of James, Cardinal of Pavia*) to Roderick, urging him to use his influence with the Pontiff to prevent the promotion. The end was attained, but in after years, Alexander VI. conferred the hat which Roderick Borgia had kept from Louis. Now Guicciardini (*Hist.*, b. I.), in his hatred of the Borgias, travesties this event in a manner which precludes any supposition that he merely fell into an involuntary error. He changes the date to a period posterior by twenty years, 1493 (Roderick's legation in Spain terminated in 1473), and turns Louis of Aragon into Cæsar Borgia.

(2) Phillip of Bergamo says that in Roderick "there was a celestial appearance very becoming to his name and office."

(3) Not to be confounded with Peter Martyr (Vermiglio) of Lucca, the Augustinian apostate who lectured at Oxford, 1517-53.

(4) This sobriety is admitted by Roscoe, *loc. cit.* See also Paris, *Diary*, at *y.* 1506.

according to Ciaconius, were remarkable; John Michiele, bishop of Palestrina and Verona, who, says the cardinal of Pavia, was learned, pious, and the friend of the poor; George d'Acosta, archbishop of Lisbon, and therefore, by national rivalry, a political enemy of Borgia. The cardinal-priests were: John dei Conti, venerated by all Rome; Paul Fregoso, archbishop of Genoa, and thrice doge; Lawrence Cibò and Anthony Pallavicini, Genoese; Scalefetano, bishop of Parma; Ardicino della Porta, whose virtues even Infessura praises; Gherardo, patriarch of Venice,—a holy Camaldolese monk, who died at Terni on his way home, but whom Infessura represents as having sold his vote to Borgia for 5,000 ducats, and as therefore deprived, on his return to Venice, of all his benefices. The cardinal-deacons were: Francis Piccolomini, afterward Pope Pius III., lauded by Roscoe; Raphael Riario, leader of the Rovere party; Ascanio Sforza, brother of the *Moro*, duke of Milan, and excessively praised by Paul Jovius; Frederick da San Severino; Colonna; Orsini; Savelli; and John dei Medici, afterward Pope Leo X. The new Pontiff assumed the name of Alexander VI.,—a name famous, thought Roscoe, as “a scourge of Christendom, and the opprobrium of the human race.” Probably no new Pontiff ever received so much flattery as that accorded to Alexander VI., at his coronation; probably such wonderful deeds were never expected from any Pope as the princes and peoples awaited from him. The orators of the Italian States all vied in their congratulations with Tigrini of Lucca, who said that Christendom had a guarantee of its hopes in the Pontiff's many virtues and profound learning; and Nardi, a famous Florentine historian, wrote shortly afterward that everywhere it was thought “that God had chosen this prince as His peculiar instrument to effect something wonderful in His Church, so great were the expectations universally conceived.” And yet Roscoe asserts that “when the intelligence of this event was dispersed through Italy, where the character of Roderick Borgia was well known, a general dissatisfaction took place” (1).

(1) It is said that Cardinal dei Medici (afterward Pope Leo X.) remarked concerning this election: “We are in danger from the most ferocious wolf the world has ever seen; he will devour us if we do not flee.” Precocious though he was, the cardinal would scarcely have made this observation when sixteen years of age.

We must now touch briefly on the reputed simoniacal nature of Roderick's election. Raynald is chiefly responsible for the opinion prevalent, until very recent times, concerning the purity of the Conclave of 1492. If, instead of blindly relying on Infessura and his copyist Mariana, this annalist had consulted contemporary testimony less suspicious than that of Infessura, he would have been less severe toward this Conclave. Michael Fernus, whom Gregorovius calls "by no means a fanatical Papist," says that "in electing this Pontiff the cardinals showed that they had realized the appropriateness of the advice given them by Leonetti" in his funeral sermon on Innocent VIII (1). It would appear, therefore, according to Fernus, that merit, not simoniacal practices, procured the election of Borgia.

Sigismund dei Conti di Foligno tells us that "the qualities of Cardinal Roderick caused his brethren to esteem him as worthy of the Supreme Pontificate." Hartmann Schedel, author of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, published in 1493, ascribes the election of Roderick to his "learning, excellent conduct, and great piety" (2). Porcius, a contemporary auditor of the *Ruota*, says: "He was unanimously elected, unanimously confirmed. Concerning this election I shall say only this: its principal authors were those same cardinals who had hitherto resisted all of Roderick's undertakings, both public and private" (3). Some of these were devoted to Julian della Rovere, Roderick's competitor in the Conclave; others were on the brink of the grave; but, with the exception of five—who, according to Burkhard, had declared that "votes should not be purchased,"—none denounced the alleged simony. And even these five voted for Borgia. But Infessura

(1) Leonetti, bishop of Concordia, had thus counselled the Sacred College: "As yet we know not whom God calls to succeed Innocent VIII.; what man is destined to avert the dangers menacing us. . . . Elect a man whose past life is a guarantee; one who, according to the advice of St. Leo, has spent his days in the practice of virtue, and who merits the elevation because of his labors and the integrity of his morals; one without ambition, wise and holy; in a word, one worthy of being the Vicar of Jesus Christ." If the election of Borgia was a consequence of this advice, then the Borgia whom Fernus knew was not the acquaintance of Roscoe, Gregorovius, etc.

(2) "*Litteralis disciplinæ scientiarumque peritia, et optima vivendi ratio. Adest humanitas illa inclita cum auctoritatis ratione serrata, optimum et salubre consilium; adest et pietatis cultus, et omnium rerum cognitio. . . . felix igitur tot virtutibus exornatus. . . . a Deo Optimo bene meritus.*"

(3) *Commentary of Jerome Porcius, Roman Patrician and Auditor of the Ruota; Rome, 1493.*

tells us that "it is said" that, in order to secure the votes of Ascanio Sforza and his friends, Roderick sent, during the Conclave, four mules laden with treasure to Sforza's palace. It is strange, remarks Clement, that the indiscretion which revealed this transaction did not betray it to the brigands who were, just then, in possession of the streets of Rome. But Manfredo Manfredi, ambassador of Ferrara to the court of Florence, writes to the duchess Eleonora that it cannot be supposed that Cardinals Colonna, Savelli, and Orsini would have voted for Borgia unless seduced by money; and Manfredi supports his charge by detailing the benefices given to these cardinals by Alexander immediately after his enthronization (1). But where is the indication of simony in these appointments? The positions were necessarily to be filled. The chancery, the abbey of Subiaco, given respectively to Sforza and Colonna, had lost, the first its titular, the second its commendatory; and we do not hear that the other benefices and fiefs were not vacant. Before dismissing this charge of simony we must allude to a discovery made by some Protestant polemics to the effect that since the death of Innocent VIII. there have been no legitimate Popes, even according to Roman principles. A papal decree nullifies any election procured by simony; therefore, all appointments of cardinals made by a simoniacal Pope are null; therefore, there has been no legitimate Conclave since Alexander's delinquency. A mare's nest indeed; for the adduced decree was issued by Julius II. on January 19, 1505, thirteen years after Alexander's alleged simony.

One of Alexander's first acts was an instruction to the cardinals to lead an exemplary life. When his presumed son, Cæsar Borgia, left his studies at the University of Pisa and presented himself at court, the Pontiff rebuked him, saying: "We certainly yearned most ardently for the tiara; but we intended, if we obtained it, to use every possible means to promote the service of God and the exaltation of the Apostolic See, in order to efface the memory of our past errors, and to leave a worthy path to our successors." In many other ways

(1) A. CAPELLI; *Acts and Memoirs of the Royal Deputations for the History of Modena*, vol. IV.; Modena, 1868.

Alexander VI. gave promise of a useful and glorious reign. The lives and property of his subjects, become more than precarious during the twenty months of serious illness endured by Innocent VIII., were assured of efficacious protection. A commission of four jurisconsults of known integrity was charged with the supervision of both civil and criminal causes. Another was instituted for the inspection and care of prisons. Every Tuesday any citizen could lay his grievances at the feet of an attentive sovereign, and if possible, they were redressed on the spot. So carefully did Alexander watch over the crops, the markets, the speculators in food, etc., that never, in the memory of man, had the poor been so abundantly and cheaply fed.

At this time the most powerful prince in Italy was Lodovico Sforza, called the *Moro*, of Milan. Sole guardian of his nephew, the son and heir of the assassinated Galeazzo Sforza, all his energies were directed to the acquisition of the sovereign authority for himself. Convinced that he would not succeed, so long as the Aragonese dynasty, faithful to his nephew, reigned in Naples, he laid a plan for the ruin of that house. He formed a league with the new Pope, who was then hostile to the house of Aragon, with Venice, the emperor Maximilian I., and Charles VIII. of France; and finally tempted the last monarch to undertake the conquest of Naples, which had once belonged to a branch of his family. Florence was invited to aid Charles, but Piero dei Medici declared that no threat of war would induce him to break the alliance with the house of Aragon which his father and the Florentine senate had formed. Alexander VI. at once realized that neutrality in the coming struggle was impossible to the Holy See, for the Roman Pontiff was the suzerain of the menaced king of Naples; he endeavored, however, to steer between Scylla and Charybdis by assuring the French envoy that the Holy See could not deprive King Alfonso of an investiture accorded by itself, unless Charles juridically established his own better right to it. But before Charles received this reply, the Pontiff promised Alfonso to invest him with the kingdom of Naples, to send a legate to crown him, and to confer the red hat on Louis of Aragon; Alfonso prom-

ising in return to pay thirty thousand ducats to the Holy See, to marry his daughter Sancia to Geoffrey Borgia, and to confer on the bridegroom the principality of Squillace, as well as the protonotariate, one of the seven chief offices of the realm. While this alliance was being cemented, Sforza tried to secure the active aid of Venice for his enterprise; but the prudent oligarchs and merchants discerned a sure pecuniary profit in a wise neutrality. Although his preparations were made, Charles now hesitated to march; the old servants of the foxy Louis XI. had regained an ascendancy, and for a time neither the clamors of Sforza nor the importunities of the French chivalry could overcome his fears. Finally he started, but paused at Vicenza. At this juncture the warlike cardinal Julian della Rovere waited upon him. This prelate, ever hostile to the Borgias, had retired to his fortress at Ostia immediately after the election of Roderick, and when he found that the new Pontiff bade fair to enter into the schemes of Sforza, he naturally espoused the cause of the house of Aragon; now that the Pope had allied with Alfonso, he fled to France. It is difficult to realize that this Julian della Rovere, encouraging the foreigner to invade his country, was the elevated and high-strung patriot who afterward, as Pope Julius II., effected more than even any other Pontiff for the independence of Italy. Nevertheless he now raised the drooping courage of the French monarch, insisting that his success in Italy was certain. In Aug., 1494, Charles VIII. began his Italian campaign. In Savoy and upper Italy the people, all hostile to the house of Aragon, welcomed another foreign invader to the peninsula; but the Florentines refused to ratify the arrangements made by Piero dei Medici with Charles, and since the Frenchman dared not leave a hostile Tuscany in his rear, they obtained very favorable terms of peace. When Alexander heard of the French occupation of Tuscany, he endeavored to come to an understanding with Charles. He chose for his ambassador the cardinal Francis Piccolomini, afterward Pope Pius III., one of the most conciliatory of men: but as the prelate was a nephew of Pius II., who had strenuously upheld the Neapolitan claims of Aragon, Charles would not even admit him into his camp.

Another source of anxiety to Alexander VI. at this time was the interception, by the prefect of Sinigaglia, who happened to be a Rovere, of certain letters purporting to come from the sultan Bajazet and addressed to the Pontiff; which letters, in the hands of an enemy, might seriously compromise the head of the Church. Alexander had sent a secret agent, one Buzardo, to inform Bajazet that the French king was about to march on Rome with the object of obtaining possession of Prince Zizim (1), whom he would place on the Turkish throne. Then Zizim, continued the Pope, would assist Charles VIII. in reducing the Mahometan empire to a vassalage to France. Alexander therefore suggested that Bajazet should send an ambassador to Venice to induce that state to join the league against France; he also requested the sultan to advance the 40,000 ducats which he had promised to pay every year into the Roman treasury to defray Zizim's expenses. When captured at Sinigaglia by della Rovere, Buzardo had in his possession 50,000 ducats sent by Bajazet to the Pope, as also five letters. The prefect kept the money, but forwarded the letters to Charles VIII. In one of these the sultan asked Alexander to have Zizim put to death as quickly as possible, offering in return a sincere alliance and 300,000 ducats. Such a correspondence could effect, when known, much harm to Alexander; for most persons would believe that the sultan knew his man when he proposed the murder of Zizim.

While Alexander was in this state of anxiety, the French monarch informed the world that he was about to make war against the Turks, but that he must first subdue the kingdom of Naples, both because the possession of its Adriatic coast

(1) On the death of Mahomet II. in 1482, his two sons, Bajazet and Zizim, inherited his dominions. The former dethroned his brother, who, to avoid death, fled to the protection of the Knights Hospitalers at Rhodes. Pierre d'Aubusson, the grand-master, received him most honorably, and protected him for some time; but fearing that his presence would draw the entire infidel host upon the island, he sent the young prince to the care of the Holy See. Pope Innocent VIII. according to all writers of the day, Mahometan and Christian, loaded Zizim with honors, and even assigned him apartments in the Vatican. Bajazet was well content to pay an annual pension of 40,000 ducats for his brother's expenses, and he resided at Rome until Charles VIII. withdrew him from the care of Alexander VI. He died a few days after his removal, and, as Guicciardini and Sagredo record, the Pontiff was accused of having given him a slow poison. However, Corio (*Hist. Milan*) and Burkhard say that the prince's death was owing to the negligence of King Charles in regard to his diet. As to the letter of Bajazet mentioned above, Cantù insists that it was a forgery.

would facilitate his task, and because its crown belonged to him by right. Perhaps Alexander would now have made terms with Charles; for that monarch had promised, in his manifesto, to respect the authority of the Pope while passing through the Papal States, and to defray his own expenses. But the Pontiff suspected that the cardinals Ascanio Sforza, Colonna, Savelli, della Rovere, and San Severino, all partisans of Charles, and some of them in his camp, had plotted to assemble, with the help of that prince, a General Council which would elect a new Pope. And he felt that it was not unlikely that the young king, flushed with his good fortune, would acquire a taste for religious innovations, and would deem it a grand thing to pose as a reformer. He was encouraged to resist the French advance by the arrival in Rome of Ferdinand, son of Alfonso, with seventy squadrons; and when an embassy from Charles waited on him, he declared that he would not accord passage to a force destined to disturb the repose of Italy. But in a few days, when the French pickets were already at Monte Mario, the hopes of Alexander were shattered by news of a great calamity. Virginio Orsini, grand-constable of Naples, had allowed his sons to submit to Charles, and to offer him passage through their territories. The Pope would have abandoned Rome; but on Christmas eve Charles sent him assurances that he entertained no designs against his authority, and begged to be allowed to visit the capital of the Christian world. On Christmas morning the cardinal of Monreale gave the king of France permission to enter the Eternal City at his own convenience. Charles received the palace of St. Mark as a residence; but the Pontiff confined himself to the Vatican, to await the issue of negotiations. These were not easily concluded; among other things, Alexander resolutely refused to receive a French garrison in Castel San Angelo; when the discussion became bitter, he took refuge in the fortress, and although the French artillery was twice brought to bear upon it, he would not yield or come out. Fire was not opened, however, and the descendant of St. Louis steadily resisted those cardinals and barons who clamored for the deposition of Alexander. Finally the cardinals Pallavicini, Riario, and Carvajal pre-

vailed upon him to abandon the matter of San Angelo, and to consent to the following treaty. Firstly, the Pontiff would accord to the king of France the investiture of the kingdom of Naples; and the king would occupy Civita Vecchia, Terracina, and Spoleto until the said kingdom was subjugated. Secondly, Alexander would not punish the cardinals and barons who had sided with the king. Thirdly, in return for the sum of 20,000 scudi, to be paid by the king, Prince Zizim was to be placed in the royal custody for six months; after which he was to be reconstituted to the Pontifical care. Fourthly, Cæsar Borgia was to accompany the king for four months, in quality of Papal legate. It is easily seen that by this last article Charles wished to secure a guarantee for Alexander's fidelity.

Eighteen months after his coronation as king of Naples, Charles VIII. was succeeded by Louis XII., who soon manifested a yearning for Italian territory. Pope Alexander was thought to be not unwilling to aid him, provided, of course, that he himself was enabled to advance his family during the march of events. Louis showed himself pliant; and Cæsar Borgia resigned his cardinalate and all his benefices, supplicating the Pontiff for secularization, as he "felt himself unequal to the burden of Holy Orders." This request was proffered in full Consistory; and no voice was raised against its being granted. Having secularized Cæsar, and seen him made duke of Valentinois by King Louis, Alexander now flattered himself that the House of Borgia would soon mount an Italian throne. Of all sovereigns the French monarch appeared the most likely to second his projects; and he resolved to abandon the House of Aragon, and to uphold the cause of France in the peninsula, thus reversing the policy followed by the Holy See for sixty years. Alexander's subserviency to France was rewarded by an admission of the Borgia stock into the proud blood of the Valois; Cæsar receiving the hand of Charlotte d'Albret, daughter of John, king of Navarre. Certain of the support of the Pope, and having secured, by lavish promises, the favor of the duke of Savoy, of the marquis of Monferrato, and of the Venetians, who all hated Sforza, Louis XII. crossed the Alps to vindi-

cate his claims to the duchy of Milan, derived from his grandmother, a Visconti. Sforza was immediately abandoned by nearly all his partisans; and without shedding a drop of blood, Louis became master of nearly all Lombardy. But the insatiable pretensions of Cæsar Borgia soon made enemies for the French. The Italian princes could not complacently look on while the arms of Louis were directed by Cæsar for his own benefit, now against Sforza, then against Malatesta and Riario; each one feared that he might be the next victim, and therefore they formed a league for common protection.

The second and definitive expulsion of the House of Aragon from Naples furnished Alexander VI. with the means of humiliating, of almost annihilating, the powerful and generally rebellious family of Colonna. Both Louis XII. and Ferdinand of Spain were hostile to these princes, and it soon became evident that absolute submission to their sovereign was the only means of safety open to them. Therefore they requested permission to surrender all their fiefs to the Sacred College; but Alexander quite properly announced that the sovereign authority in the Roman States pertained not to the cardinals, but to the Pope-King. The Colonna then placed the keys of their fortresses in the hands of the Papal envoy, the bishop of Cesena. In his determination to concentrate the government of the Papal States in the hands of their sovereign, Alexander directed his energies against all the great feudatories, the vicars of the Church, as they were styled. Through the skill of Cæsar Borgia, now nobly, then ignobly exercised, these lords were rendered nearly powerless. They were stained, as a rule, with every kind of crime; and it must be noted that for centuries the vicariates had been fruitful of misery to their inhabitants. If Cæsar Borgia had not seized for himself the fiefs of the subdued tyrants, his success would have completed the great work begun, a century and a half before, by Cardinal Alborno.

After the destruction of the vicariates, and the weakening of the great families of Orsini, Colonna, and Savelli to the profit of the Borgias, Alexander VI. might have been satisfied; but the imperious ambition of the duke of Valentinois

would be contented only with a royal crown. The Pontiff had already resolved to erect the Romagna, the Marches, and Umbria into a kingdom for Cæsar, and had even commenced to sound the minds of the cardinals in regard to such an iniquitous and unprecedented alienation of the patrimony of the Church (1), when death knocked at the doors of the Vatican. Several contemporary authors assert that Alexander and Cæsar were both poisoned; that either by error or by treachery they were made to partake of a poison which they had prepared for certain cardinals who were hostile to their projects. Ranke gives credence to this fable; Roscoe rejects it. Ranke says that "it is only too certain that Alexander formed the design of poisoning one of the wealthiest cardinals (Corneto); but this prelate so influenced the Pope's *maggiordomo* by presents, promises, and prayers, that the refreshment destined for the cardinal was served to the Pope." Now Ranke was well acquainted with the writings of Jovius; did he simply ignore the fact that this writer, in his *Life of Gonsalvo*, says that he learned from the very lips of Corneto that this cardinal had been really poisoned on the above occasion, and had suffered intensely, all his skin peeling off? It would seem, therefore, that the Corneto affair is not to be regarded as an undoubted historical fact; and that the murderous design of Alexander, said to have been frustrated by the *maggiordomo*, is not "only too certain." But the death of Alexander VI. was not the result of poison. In the Ducal Library of Ferrara there is a manuscript history by Sardi, a contemporary of Guicciardini and Paul Jovius, wherein the author speaks of ten letters written by their agents to Duke Hercules of Ferrara and Cardinal d'Este, in which it is shown that our Pontiff died of tertian fever, then rampant in Rome. "Attacked by this fever on August 10 [1503], he was relieved neither by bleeding nor by the use of manna, and he expired on the night we mentioned [August 18]. After death the body became swollen and blackened, owing to the putrefaction of the blood; and hence there originated, among such as knew not the cause of these appearances, a rumor that the Pope had been poisoned." L

(1) MURATORI; *Annals of Italy*, y. 1503.

a manuscript *Diary* of Burkhard, preserved in the Corsini Library, may be read the following: "On Saturday, August 12, 1503, the Pope felt ill; and in the evening, about the twenty-first or twenty-second hour, there came a fever which continually remained. On Tuesday, August 15, thirteen ounces of blood were drawn from him, and there supervened a tertian fever. On Thursday, August 17, at the twelfth hour, he took some medicine; and on Friday, August 18, he confessed to the lord Peter, bishop of Culm, who then celebrated Mass in his presence, and after his own Communion gave the Holy Eucharist to the Pope, who sat up in bed. There were present five cardinals. . . . At the vesper hour, having received Extreme Unction from the bishop of Culm, he expired."

And, strange to say, Voltaire is very firm in ascribing Alexander's death to natural causes. Speaking of the report of poison (1), the cynic says: "All the enemies of the Holy See have believed this horrible tale; I do not, and my chief reason is that it is not at all probable. The Pope and his son may have been wicked, but they were not fools. It is certain that the poisoning of a dozen cardinals would have rendered father and son so execrable that nothing could have saved them from the fury of the Romans and all Italy. The crime, too, was directly contrary to the views of Cæsar. The Pope was on the verge of the grave, and Borgia could cause the election of one of his own creatures; would he gain the Sacred College by murdering a dozen of its members?" Again, contends Voltaire—on whom, for rarity's sake, it is a pleasure to rely,—if after Alexander's death the cause of the catastrophe had transpired, surely it would have been learned by those whom he had tried to murder. Would they have allowed Cæsar to enter peaceably into possession of his father's wealth? And how could Cæsar, almost dying, according to the story, go to the Vatican to secure the hundred thousand ducats? They say that Cæsar, after the accident, shut himself in the stomach of a mule; for what poison is that a remedy? Finally, Pope Julius II., an unrelenting

(1) *Complete Works*, vol. XX. (*Hist. Miscel.*, vol. I.), p. 241; edit. Paris, 1818.—*Customs and Spirit of Nations*, *ib.*, p. 445.—*Dissertation on the Death of Henry IV.*

foe of the Borgias, held Cæsar in his power for a long time, and he never charged him with the supposed crime. Well, therefore, did Voltaire exclaim: "I dare to say to Guicciardini: Europe has been deceived by you, as you were deceived by your passion. You were an enemy of the Pope, and you believed your hatred too readily."

And now a word on Alexander VI. as Pontiff. The assassination of the duke of Gandia (1497) produced a profoundly religious impression on his mind; he even thought of abdicating the Pontificate in order to conciliate the divine mercy. Deterred by Ferdinand the Catholic, he resolved to become a more worthy Pope, and as a first step he began to correct many abuses which had crept into the ecclesiastical administration. Among the abuses brought to light by an apposite commission was a systematic series of forgeries, or rather of supposititious issue of dispensations, in which rascality the chief offender was found to have been the archbishop of Cosenza, Bartholomew Florida, the secretary of Briefs. Florida confessed his guilt, was deposed, degraded, and imprisoned for life, on a diet of bread and water, in Castel San Angelo. Much good was effected by this commission, as Paul III. afterward indicated. Upon one point the zeal of Alexander was worthy of his position. As a defender of the faith he was never remiss. One of his first efforts was for the pacification of Bohemia, then ravaged by the Hussites; and it was owing to the kindness which he substituted for the harshness of his predecessors that the scourge vanished. In 1501 Alexander issued his Bull *Inter Multiplices* against the printing and reading of bad books. One of the most important Bulls issued by this Pontiff was the *Inter Cætera* in 1493, whereby he drew a line of demarcation, which was to form, from pole to pole, the limit of the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in the lately-discovered New World. It required no small amount of daring to proclaim, as he thereby equivalently did, the rotundity of the earth,—a truth which then, and for centuries afterward, no scientific academy would have unhesitatingly patronized. And our astonishment is evoked by the fact that the line drawn by Alexander, at a time when the knowledge of cosmography

was as yet based on the most contradictory data, extends from one pole to the other without encountering any land whatever; had it happened otherwise, it might have furnished a subject of discord to the rival nations (1). Naturally, the enemies of the Holy See affect to regard this partition as a crime; indeed, Marmontel termed it "the greatest of all the crimes of Borgia." But Alexander simply exercised that right of arbitration which all Christendom then admitted as resident in the incumbent of the Papal throne.

We now enter upon a question, the very existence of which may surprise some of our readers. It is generally supposed that the cardinal Roderick Borgia was the father of several illegitimate children, and that some of them were born while he was in Holy Orders. But it is also asserted, and with some show of reason, that these children were born to Roderick in legitimate wedlock. We shall submit the arguments to the judgment of the reader, first premising that the contemporaries of Alexander VI. are utterly discordant as to the identity of the mother of these children—a fact which shows that during Roderick's career as cardinal and as Pope she remained entirely in the background. Burkhard speaks of her as Vanozza. Tomasi calls her Rose. In the MS. *Life* of Roderick, preserved in the Casanatensian Library at Rome, she is styled Virginia Vanozza. In the *Letters* attributed to her, and preserved in the Modenese Archives, sometimes she signs herself Vanozza Borgia, again Perpetua, and also Vanozia Borgia de Cathaneis. Infessura says that she was the wife of a certain Dominick d'Arignano, to whom at one time Alexander wished to ascribe the paternity of Cæsar; but Tomasi says that Roderick "regarded her as a legitimate wife, rather than as a sacrilegious concubine." When the young Roderick Borgia was raised to the Sacred College (1466), he was already the father of two children, Peter Louis and John Francis. But if the reader were to imagine that the progeny

(1) M. Roselly de Lorgues, in his valuable work on the *Life and Voyages of Columbus*, says: "Take the most perfect of all modern maps, . . . and follow the mysterious line solemnly traced by the Sovereign Pontiff, and you will be astonished on perceiving that underneath Europe this line courses over the entire surface of the planet, even to the southern pole, without meeting any land. Try to draw a similar line to some point other than that indicated by the Holy See, and you will strike some island or some part of a continent."

born to Roderick after this time was necessarily sacrilegious, he would be deceived by the title of cardinal which the Pope, in the actual discipline of the Church, confers only on bishops, or upon men at least in Holy Orders. At the time of which we are writing, the cardinalitial scarlet did not always presuppose Sacred Orders in its wearer; Mazarin and many other cardinals never received them. Nor did Roderick's archiepiscopate of Valencia, conferred on him in his youth, entail upon him the absolute necessity of taking Orders. His prelacy was merely "commendatory;" that is, according to a detestable custom of the day, he enjoyed the emoluments of the benefice (1). He became, really and irrevocably, a member of the Catholic clergy, only during the last years of Sixtus IV. (1471-84), after that Pope had created him a cardinal-bishop, at first of Albano (1476), and then of Porto (1479). "Up to that time he enjoyed only the diaconal title of St. Nicholas, which he had received from his uncle Calixtus III., a title which by no means obliged him to take Orders" (2). Bearing these facts in mind, let us see whether there is good reason for believing that Cæsar, Lucretia, and their three brothers were born in wedlock. Ribadeneira (1527-1611) speaks of Julia Farnese as the mother of these children (3). This author had been intimate with St. Francis Borgia, and had, most probably, learned from him the origin of his immediate family. The illustrious Pompeo Litta, in his great work on the celebrated families of Italy, assigns Vanozza to the Farnese family, and says that her father was Ranuccio Farnese. Marino Sanuto preserves a pamphlet, written apparently during the last years of Alexander, in which a satirist gives a pretended dialogue between Death and the sick Pontiff. The latter invokes the aid of Julia, with whom he had lived in Spain. Although a mere diatribe, this

(1) The acting beneficiary was supposed, of course, to be above reproach. The commendatory was too often a scandal, especially in cases of royal patronage. The title of *abbé*, *abbate*, now given on the European Continent to all secular priests, was in those days adopted by a horde of perfumed gallants, who hung around the court in the enjoyment or expectancy of some abbey "in commendam." One must therefore be careful not to credit the priesthood with every curled darling of an abbé of whom he reads in works of that time.

(2) CLEMENT (de Vebrou) ; *The Borgias, a History of Pope Alexander VI., of Cæsar, and of Lucretia Borgia* ; ch. ii. Paris, 1882.

(3) *Life of St. Francis Borgia* ; Madrid, 1605.

document indicates the opinion of Alexander's contemporaries that Julia Farnese was the mother of the children in question (1). Now if Julia Farnese and Vanozza were one person, it is more than probable that she was married to Roderick Borgia. The doubts raised by Guicciardini and other interested parties disappear, if we reflect that an illegitimate union, so long prolonged, between a Borgia and a Farnese would have been well-nigh impossible. The nobility of the Roman family of Farnese, dating from the thirteenth century, would scarcely have brooked such an insult from the Borgias, who were no more than its peers. An implacable hatred, if not a vendetta, would have ensued between the two houses; whereas history shows a contrary state of affairs. Cardinal Alexander Farnese, afterward Pope Paul III., was greatly trusted by Alexander VI., and was thoroughly devoted to him, even at the time when the French ascendancy enabled the enemies of the Pontiff to plan his deposition. Angelo Ferdinand Farnese was killed in the service of Cæsar Borgia. But granting that Vanozza and Julia Farnese were different persons, there are other arguments for the legitimacy of Roderick's union with the mother of his children. Only by the supposition of a marriage—secret perhaps, but still legitimate—can we explain certain facts which are otherwise inexplicable. How is it that Philip de Commines, so conversant with all the affairs of his time, never applies the term "bastards" to Alexander's presumed children? Whenever he has occasion to speak of the natural children of a king, he uses this epithet. How is it that none of the writers who followed Charles VIII. into Italy, none of Alexander's rebel cardinals, all of whom accuse the Pontiff of other delinquencies, say anything about his illegitimate family? Unless we wish to accept the theory that Lucretia and her brothers were not Alexander's children, this silence alone would indicate their legitimacy.

But is it certain that Cæsar and Lucretia Borgia and their brothers were children of Roderick? Undoubtedly they were Borgias; but after the election of Calixtus III. there were many

(1) *Diary*, vol. III.—"Julia, me miserum cur non defenditis? . . . Ut peream, illius suscepisti in ulnis quæ modo ab Hispania recta puella mihi est."

Borgias in Rome. It is an incontestable fact that the children in question were frequently called "nephews" and "niece" of the Pontiff in documents of the time. Thus, Fioramondo Brugnolo, writing from Rome on March 19, 1493, to the marquis of Mantua, speaks of Cæsar as a "nephew of a brother of the Pope." The Venetian Senate, on Oct. 18, 1500, makes "Cæsar Borgia, duke of Valentinois, nephew of Pope Alexander VI.," a gentleman of the state. Peter Martyr of Anghiera, most hostile to the Borgias, calls Cæsar "the nephew of a son of a brother of Alexander." This hypothesis is not entirely new (1), but no one has so well presented and defended it as A. Leonetti, a religious of the Pious Schools (2). "If I may express my opinion," says Leonetti, "we may believe that all these children, born of the same mother Vanozza, were children either of a Borgia especially loved by the cardinal Roderick, or of a brother who remained in Spain, or of a son of his brother, the prefect of Rome." And if this hypothesis is rejected, continues Leonetti, in spite of the reasons confirming it, may not these children have been of some other Borgia? There were many in Rome. When their father died, and Vanozza had remarried, these children of his relative were cared for by the cardinal Roderick, and then some styled them his own children. Certainly there are good reasons for believing them to be children of that brother of Roderick who was the father of the cardinal John Borgia. Alexander is styled uncle (*patruus*) of this Borgia, and Cæsar is called his brother. "This morning," writes Cæsar from Forli on Jan. 16, 1500, "I heard of the death at Urbino of my brother, the cardinal Borgia." Duke Hercules of Ferrara, replying to Cæsar, calls the cardinal John the "carnal brother of Cæsar." The theory of Leonetti was attacked by M. de l'Epinois (3), who has merited well of the science of criticism, and whose views are to be respected. That the reader may judge of the soundness of Leonetti's theory, we notice his opponent's objections. Let us commence with Cæsar Borgia, whose "adulterous and sacrilegious" birth has been more harped upon than that of the

(1) It was advanced in the *Dublin Review* for Jan., 1859.

(2) *Pope Alexander VI., according to Documents of the Time*, Bologna, 1880. This work was highly commended by Pope Leo XIII.

(3) *Review of Historical Questions*; Paris, April, 1881.

other presumed children of Alexander. M. de l'Epinois quotes: "He was always regarded as the son of Alexander." But who says this? Infessura, the enemy of the Popes, a personal foe of Alexander, the would-be destroyer of the Papal government. We refuse such testimony. Then, returns M. de l'Epinois, read the Brief of Sixtus IV., dispensing young Cæsar, then in his sixth year, from the impediment of infamy (1). This document, insists an erudite critic (2), must be regarded as a forgery. In the fifteenth century the fabrication of false Papal documents was as much of a business as that of counterfeiting bank-notes in the nineteenth; M. de l'Epinois himself tells us how Alexander VI. imprisoned a bishop of Cosenza who had kept three secretaries at work in such forgeries. But let us examine this pretended Brief of Sixtus IV. What need was there to relieve the young Cæsar of the presumed irregularity, when the Brief itself declares that he was the issue of a married woman? He enjoyed a regular civil status, unless the husband of the woman disavowed him. Now in the immense quantity of diatribes which have rained upon the Borgia family, we read of no such disavowal. Why then should Sixtus speak of a defect in birth, especially when he has resolved to pass over it? Is it merely for the pleasure of publishing it? Why does not the Pope say: "You suffer from a defect in birth"? But no; remarks Morel; "Sixtus must explain to the world that this child is the son of a cardinal, even of a cardinal-bishop. This is scandalous in the extreme and scandalously futile; it is absurd enough to strike every mind not predisposed to credit anything unfavorable to a Borgia. . . . We are asked to believe that Sixtus IV. informed

(1) "Sixtus, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our dear son, Cæsar Borgia, a student, health and Apostolic benediction. The indications of very remarkable qualities which seem to abound in your tender age, as we have heard from trustworthy persons, furnish a probable hope that you will become a virtuous man, and lead us to encourage you with our Apostolic favor. Wishing to give you a proof of this our benevolence, because of the aforesaid indications, and considering that you, now in the sixth year of your age, are suffering from a stain of birth, being the issue of a cardinal-bishop and a married woman, in order that, when you have reached your seventh year, you may receive tonsure and the Minor Orders, and that, when arrived at the proper age, you may receive the Sacred Orders; we grant and cheerfully accord that you be not bound to mention the aforesaid defect of birth or this dispensation; and that all be valid and efficacious, just as though you were the fruit of a legitimate matrimony. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of our Lord, 1480, Kal. Oct., and tenth year of our Pontificate."

(2) The Canon J. Morel, in *The Universe*; Paris, July 14, 1881.

the world that his vice-chancellor joined to his other dignities that of an adulterous and sacrilegious father. Would such an insulting proclamation, one so contemptuous of public morals, have been less culpable than the crime of the cardinal-bishop? . . . It was just as easy to pass over the defect of birth when Cæsar was to be tonsured, as it was when he was to be made cardinal." M. de l'Epinois informs us that the cardinals Orsini and Pallavicini were appointed to inquire into the legitimacy of Cæsar, when there was a question of enrolling him in the Sacred College. Then, he says, Brancaccio wrote: "His being a natural child can be overlooked, for he will be regarded as legitimate, since he was born in the house of the living husband of his mother." So much for the pretended Brief of Sixtus IV. But Alexander calls Cæsar "his heart." Well, may not a nephew be "the heart" of his uncle? But once, it is objected, Cæsar signed a letter to Alexander, "the most devoted creature (*factura*) of his Holiness." It is absurd to suppose that here Cæsar implied anything more than his obligations to the Pontiff for his political preferment. As Morel well remarks, "Cæsar was too distinguished, too high-spirited, too princely, to sign himself like a hero of one of the romances of Paul de Kock."

And now for a few words as to the paternity of Lucretia. Gregorovius cites two notarial documents in which she is styled the daughter of a cardinal. One is a projected contract of marriage with John de Centelles—a contract made in Spain in the absence of the Borgias. Lucretia was then eleven years old. The lawyer's principal care seems to be to convince the world of the lady's cardinalitial origin. He describes her as "the carnal daughter of the said reverend cardinal;" he informs us that the said cardinal gives such a dowry to "the said lady Lucretia, his carnal daughter;" and lest we might not fully comprehend the situation, he assures us again that she is the cardinal's "bastard daughter." Certainly if Alexander confirmed this contract, he must have wished to boast of his crime before the world. The contract would have been just as valid if Lucretia had been styled his niece (1). Can it be that Roderick wished no one of his

(1) M. de l'Epinois would admit that, even though Lucretia were the daughter of the car-

diocesans of Valencia to ignore that his Eminence had an illegitimate daughter? If Roderick never confirmed this contract, it cannot claim our attention. The second notarial document quoted by Gregorovius annuls the marriage contract between Lucretia and the duke of Aversa, and calls her "a natural daughter" of Cardinal Roderick. But a few days afterward, the notary draws up another paper in which the lady is called the cardinal's "niece." However, these are not the only documents adduced to show the filial relation of Lucretia to Cardinal Roderick. The duke of Ferrara, writing to Pope Alexander, calls her "our common daughter." But would she not be such, even though she were the adopted daughter of Alexander? She was not the real daughter of the duke; why the real child of the Pontiff? The reader will judge of the value of Leonetti's theory. As for ourselves, we agree with the historian of the Pious Schools when he says that until more conclusive documents are produced, equity commands us to pronounce a judgment of acquittal in favor of the celebrated accused.

Gregorovius attributes to Roderick Borgia the paternity of a second daughter, named Girolama. He adduces as proof a contract of marriage between this Girolama and Andrew Cesarini, dated Jan. 24, 1482: "The most reverend Roderick Borgia, cardinal-bishop of Porto, moved and led by a sentiment of paternal love and affection for the noble, honest, and virtuous young maiden Girolama, sister of the excellent and virtuous youth, the lord Peter Louis Borgia, and of the minor, John Borgia, her full brothers, and wishing to treat and recognize as his daughter this young Girolama, who issues from his family and house, he gives to her for the honor of his house four thousand ducats, etc." But again we ask, cannot an uncle cherish a paternal affection for a niece? And if Girolama was Roderick's daughter, what need was there of adding that she "issued from his family and house?" Gregorovius also tries to prove that a child was born to Alexander VI. several years after his elevation to the Papacy. In

dinal Roderick, she might quite naturally be called his niece on this occasion. He himself alludes to the well-known adage, "*fili presbyterorum nepotes vocantur*," and says that decency demanded the use of the word "nephew" or "niece" in such cases, and that "these terms were current in the Chanceries."

1501 the Pontiff gave the duchy of Nepi to a child named John Borgia. Some critics have thought that this John was a son of the unfortunate second duke of Gandia; but documents recently published tend to show that John, the third duke of Gandia, and John, duke of Nepi, were different persons (1), and that the latter was a natural son of Cæsar. Gregorovius, in order to prove his thesis, adduces two Bulls of our Pontiff, both dated Sept. 1, 1501; the first being a legitimization of John as a son of Cæsar, while the second is a recognition of the boy as a son of Alexander. In the first Alexander declares that John, then three years old, is the son of Cæsar, an unmarried man, by an unmarried woman; and he legitimizes the boy, establishing him in all the rights of his parents. In the second, however, the Pontiff says: "But since you suffer from this defect, not by fault of the said duke, but by our own and by that of the said unmarried woman, which fault we could not avow for good reasons, in the preceding Bull; we now wish, in order that said Act may never be pronounced null, and in order that hereafter no difficulties may arise for you, to provide for your future welfare. Therefore by the present Act we freely and of our own generosity confirm the validity of all that is specified in the previous Act." Was Alexander VI. such a fool as to proclaim himself the father of the duke of Nepi? Did he wish to parade his own vices? And why did he not destroy the first Bull? Why allow it to go forth, if immediately afterward he deemed it necessary to declare that in it he had lied? When a man can easily retract a lie, and one not yet published, he does not utter the lie and its confession at the same time. But Gregorovius himself admits that "after Alexander's death the little John passed for a son of Cæsar," and he even cites documents which confirm this paternity of the Valentinois. Thus, in a Brief dated June 12, 1502, and addressed to the commune of Gallese, the Pontiff speaks of "the noble child, John Borgia, duke of Nepi, son of the noble Cæsar Borgia." And another argument for the falsity of the alleged Briefs is found in the fact that in the first Cæsar is styled "unmarried," while in the second he is pronounced "married."

(1) *Dispatches of Giustiniani*, 78, 97, 98, 109.—ALVISI; *Cæsar Borgia, Duke of Romagna*.

Many authors illustrate their theory of Pope Alexander's immorality by alleging the revolting orgy said to have been celebrated in honor of the prospective marriage of Lucretia with the duke of Ferrara—a banquet, etc., at which we are asked to fancy as participants the aged Pontiff, Cæsar, Lucretia, and fifty respectable (*honestæ*) prostitutes (1). Truly these females were *honestæ* beyond the wont of that ilk, and the favored servants were gems indeed, when all Rome did not ring, the next day, with the echoes of such Bacchanalia. Excepting Burkhard, if indeed he speaks in the cited quotation, not one contemporary, not one of those chroniclers who dilate so circumstantially on all the festivities given at the Vatican in honor of Lucretia's espousals, says a word of what would have been a mine of wealth to a gossip. And why such silence on the part of the Ferrarese envoys who were then residing in the Vatican, awaiting the convenience of Lucretia, to conduct her to their royal master as a bride? They wrote every day to the duke, and we have their despatches. Why, again, silence on the part of the secret agent sent by the marchioness of Mantua, sister of the future bridegroom, who kept his mistress informed as to the most trivial incidents of the Papal court?

CHAPTER XIV.

SAVONAROLA.*

Jerome Savonarola was born at Ferrara in 1452. Naturally of a grave disposition, he soon manifested an enthusiastic piety, and at the age of twenty-three he donned the habit of a Friar-Preacher at Bologna. His strict observance of the

(1) Gordon quotes from the true or false Burkhard as follows: "*Dominica ultima mensis Octobris in sero fecerunt cœnam cum duce Valentiniensi in camera sua in palatio Apostolico, quinquaginta meretrices honestæ, cortegianæ nuncupatæ, quæ post cœnam chorcarunt cum servitoribus et aliis ibidem existentibus, primo in vestibus suis, deinde nude. Post cœnam posita fuerunt candelabra communia mensæ cum candelis ardentibus, et projectæ ante candelabra per terram castaneæ, quas meretrices ipsæ, super manibus et pedibus nude, candelabra pertranscutes, colligebant; Papa, duce, et Lucretia sorore sua, præsentibus et aspicientibus. Tandem exposita dona ultima, diplômes de serico, paria caligarum, bireta, et alia pro illis qui plures dictas mulieres carnaliter agnoscerunt, quæ fuerunt ibidem in aula carnaliter tractatæ, arbitrio præsentium, et dona distributa victoribus.*"

* This chapter appeared as an article in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, vol. XIV.

rule, his great talents, and, not least of all, his remarkably striking presence, drew upon him the admiration of the multitude to such a degree that his superior determined to utilize his influence in the pulpit. His first attempt at preaching, however, was not a success. It was made in 1482, in the church of St. Lawrence, in Florence; and when he had finished, says Burlamachi, one of his most zealous admirers, he found that only twenty persons had remained (1). Both he and his audience having decided that he was no orator, he occupied a chair of philosophy for a time, but soon abandoned the study of Aristotle and St. Thomas for that of Scripture. Now he was content, for his contemplative nature fully appreciated the lofty ideas and the mysterious and figurative style of the divine books. For several years he had devoted himself, night and day, to his Biblical studies, when he was again unexpectedly brought before the public. It was the celebrated Pico della Mirandola who was the means of pushing the retiring student into publicity, and of causing him to enter upon a career which was to prove his destruction. This great scholar, one of the brightest luminaries of his own or any other age, had heard Savonarola lecture at Reggio, and had been so impressed by his eloquence that he prevailed upon Lorenzo dei Medici to call the friar to Florence. In 1489 Savonarola was appointed professor of Scripture to the young religious of the convent of St. Mark, and as his oratorical powers had greatly developed since his failure at St. Lawrence's, he soon acquired a great reputation. Before long, impelled by the enthusiasm he excited, he reappeared in the pulpit; and voluptuous Florence was astonished at his denunciations of her vices and at the threats of chastisement which, according to him, God had commanded him to pronounce. The sermons of Savonarola, as we have them, are not from his own hand; they were taken down as delivered, by some of his auditors (2). But imperfect as they are, we can readily imagine the effect they must have produced. "His eloquence was not that which comes from the use of the orator's arts, or from a depth of reasoning, or from an emotion agitating the orator's self. It was an eloquence which seemed to

(1) *Life of F. Jerome Savonarola*, Lucca, 1761, p. 23. (2) TIRABOSCHI; b. III., c. vi.

despise all human aids, and which, like the mystical figures of Fra Angelico, looks toward heaven and does not touch the earth. . . . Savonarola is like no other orator. True or pretended, he is a prophet; he has the visions, the incoherence, the seizures, the figurative language, the rashness of one. For this reason, rather than by means of his talent, great as it was, he captivated the multitude" (1). Several years before the Italian expedition of Charles VIII., Savonarola had predicted to his auditors that a foreign prince, led by the Lord, would become master of Italy without drawing his sword; and when, in 1494, he heard of the preparations being made in France, he quoted the passage of Genesis which threatens the deluge, and cried out: "Oh! ye just, enter into the ark. Behold, the cataracts of heaven are opened; I see the plains inundated, and the mountains disappearing in the midst of the waters. Behold the day of the Lord's vengeance!" His predictions were universally believed, and his authority over the multitude became so great that a contemporary historian says that posterity will find it just as difficult to believe, as he finds it hard, having witnessed these events, to describe them (2). A change came over gay and voluptuous Florence. Vice of every kind disappeared, and piety became so general that Burlamachi tells us that the days of the primitive Church seemed to have returned (3). Nor was the eloquence of the friar restricted to a combat with vice alone. The Renaissance in letters and art had led men, for about a century, to give an almost idolatrous worship to the works of Pagan antiquity, to the detriment of Scriptural and Patristic lore. Paganism had so far corrupted many minds that even the members of the Roman Academy of Pomponius Lætas were accused of thinking that the Christian faith rested on light foundations (4). Art, as well as literature and true science, had suffered from this revival of Pagan sentiment (5).

(1) CHRISTOPHE; *History of the Papacy in the Fifteenth Century*; v. II., b. XVI Lyons, 1863.

(2) NARDI; *History of the City of Florence*, b. II.

(3) *Loc. cit.*, p. 86.

(4) CANENSIUS; *Life of Paul II.*, p. 78. TIRABOSCHI; v. VI., p. 2., b. II.

(5) "Pagan ideas again flourish; the books, statues, and buildings of Paganism are restored; modern works are modelled after the ancient, to the sacrifice of originality and of naturalness; the authority of a philosopher or of a poet is weighed against that of the Scriptures or of a Father—professors even say, 'Christ teaches thus, Aristotle and Plato thus;' the

The painter and the sculptor, influenced by the works exhibited in the Medici gardens, had adopted naturalism as a system, and, banishing the ideal, produced merely the expression of human beauty—decency and modesty were ignored, and Savonarola indignantly asked the artists why they put their mistresses upon the altars, and why they pictured the Blessed Virgin like a courtesan (1). All this was changed by the Dominican reformer. On two different occasions the Florentines made immense bonfires, and performed a real and meritorious *auto-da-fe*, by throwing into the flames their books on impure love, their lascivious pictures and statues, while joyous strains of music floated over the great square of the cathedral.

From the very commencement of his preaching, Savonarola had proclaimed the necessity of purifying the sanctuary ; but at first he restrained his usual impetuosity, and confined himself to declamations against the laxity, then but too prevalent, of ecclesiastical discipline. But his growing popularity soon affected his judgment and banished his reserve. From the accession of Alexander VI. to the Papacy, he bitterly inveighed against the Pontiff, and consequently his auditors were divided into two factions. His partisans were known as *frateschi*, or “friarites,” and sometimes as *piagnoni*, or “weepers,” while those who, either in good or bad faith, trembled lest his denunciation would injure both Church and State, were called by his followers *tepidi*, or “lukewarm,” and *arrabiati* or “madmen” (2). To neutralize the influence of the Dominican, the *arrabiati* made use of the Augustinian, Mariano da Gennazzano, a friend of the Medici, and a man esteemed as much for his austere morals as for his talents (3), and of whom Savonarola himself said that “if he had the eloquence of Mariano, he would be the first of orators” (4). But the impassioned genius of the agitator

Platonic sublimity disappears in theosophical delirium ; only Pagan virtues are praised, and the names of Greeks and Romans are substituted for those received at baptism. . . . Lorenzo dei Medici sings sacred hymns to please his mother, and makes obscene jokes to gratify his boon companions.” CANTU: *Heretics of Italy, Discourse XI.*

(1) *Sermon for the Saturday before Second Sunday of Lent.*

(2) NERLI: *Commentaries on the Civil Affairs of Florence*, p. 68.

(3) Poliziano and Pontano greatly laud him as a preacher.

(4) TIRABOSCHI: v. VI., b. III.

still held the people entranced. A Franciscan named Dominic di Ponzo was then put forward to stem the torrent; but the Grand Council, a legislative body instituted after Savonarola had procured the expulsion of Piero dei Medici, prohibited his preaching. The Dominican had now become the real ruler of Florence, and the devotion of the citizens to their liberator took the form of insanity. Nerli tells us that they often interrupted their prayers to rush from the churches, and to the cry of "*Viva Cristo*," they would dance in circles, formed of friars and laymen, placed alternately (1). But the *arrabiati* did not lose courage, and the war of factions became so general that the very children took part in it, and showed their zeal by pelting each other with stones (2). The opponents of Savonarola, most of them partisans of the exiled Piero dei Medici, now took the more efficacious means of discrediting their enemy by denouncing him to the Pope. Some of his most bitter sermons were sent to Rome; and the Augustinian, Mariano, who had been exiled from Florentine territory, preached before the Pontiff and the Sacred College a most fiery sermon, in which he cried out: "Burn, Holy Father, burn this instrument of the devil; burn, I tell you, this scandal of the whole Church" (3). At first, Pope Alexander contented himself with charging Cardinal Caraffa, the protector of the Dominican order, to check the indiscretions of the friar; but since the cardinal, himself a reformer, took no active measures, we must suppose that the Pontiff decided to let the matter rest.

At this time the worst accusation against Savonarola was that of being more of a tribune, yea, of a demagogue, than of an ecclesiastic and a friar. The charge of heresy, made by the *arrabiati*, was unfounded; in the heat of improvisation he may have been, and doubtless was, inexact in his expressions, but he had deliberately attacked no Catholic teaching. As for his political notions, he was a thorough republican, and carried his principles to their utmost logical conclusions; he was a firm advocate of universal suffrage. All, said he, are interested in the State; all, therefore, should have a voice

(1) *Loc. cit.*, b. IV., p. 75.(2) *Ibid.*, p. 74.

(3) EURLAMACHI; p. 31. NARDI; b. II., p. 37.

in the government (1). Hence his institution of the *Consiglio Grande* of a thousand members, elected by the votes of all the citizens, and that of the *Consiglio degli Scelti* (Council of the Select) formed of eighty persons of over forty years of age, chosen by the former. Savonarola no longer inhabited the cell of a friar; that modest apartment had been turned into a hall of audience and of political wrangling. Florence soon found that she had exchanged the despotism of the Medici for that of the friar; for despite his liberal institutions, the reformer allowed no political measure to be taken without his permission. Marino Sanuto, a Venetian chronicler, tells us that "a stone could not be moved without his consent. . . . He was lord and governor of Florence" (2). It is worthy of note that Machiavelli, though not a partisan of Savonarola, says, in his *Discourses*, that so great a man must be treated with respect; and he tells Leo X. that the Florentine state can be firmly re-established only by the restoration of the friar's *Consiglio Grande*. Guicciardini, whose *History* was written with a different animus from that pervading his unedited works, allows, in these latter, his conscience to speak; and in his book on the *Government of Florence* he admits: "We owe much to this friar, who, without shedding a drop of blood, knew how to accomplish what otherwise would have cost much blood and disorder. Before him Florence had been governed by a restricted circle of *ottimati*, and then she had fallen into all the excesses of popular rule, which would have produced anarchy. He alone, from the beginning, knew how to be liberal without loosening the reins." But the reader will be pleased to hear the reformer himself on this subject. In the *Abridgment of his Revelations*, published by Bzovius, he says to the Florentines: "After examining with care the state of your city, and the coming revolutions in its form of government which would seem inevitable, I have persuaded myself that the great change will not be effected without danger or without even the effusion of blood, unless Divine Providence comes to your aid out of consideration for the justice and piety of the citizens who are worthy. In this spirit, and relying on this hope, I ear-

(1) NARDI; b. I., p. 18.

(2) *Chronicles of Venice*.—BURCHARD; *Diary*.

nestly besought the people to be reconciled to the Lord, and to merit His mercy by renewed fervor and sincere repentance. I commenced my discourses on this point, on St. Matthew's Day, Sept. 25, 1494. From that time the citizens appeared so zealous in the good works I had prescribed, that it pleased God to give tangible proof of His reconciliation with us ; in fact, in the month of November, by a miracle of heaven's protection, you witnessed the desired change, and without bloodshed or other scandal. Now, since there was a question of proposing to you a new form of government, I assembled all the magistrates and notables of the city in the cathedral of Florence, excluding only those whose sex or condition prohibited their being called. . . . Having discoursed for some time on what had been written by philosophers, statesmen, and the most able theologians, touching the best way of governing a state, I explained my opinion as to the form most suitable to the genius and profit of the Florentines. In the succeeding discourses I proposed four articles, the necessity of which was admitted : I. Religion should be the basis and the first rampart of our government. II. All private interests should yield to the public good. III. By forgetting all past injuries and quarrels, there would ensue a general and sincere peace, and in no way should any trouble accrue to those who hitherto administered the affairs of the state. And I added that there should always remain liberty of appeal from the tribunal of the six judges, so that no private person could ever usurp the sovereign authority. It was also my idea to establish a Great Council, composed of the wisest and most illustrious citizens, after the model of the Council of Venice ; and that thereafter all offices, etc., should be conferred in the name of the people of Florence, and not in the name of any single person, who might thus take occasion to aspire to tyranny. I made no difficulty of assuring the assembly that all I had proposed was conformable to God's law and to His will. . . . It was not only because of my peculiar knowledge of the Divine Will, but because of many conclusions of my reason, that I undertook to convince you of the advantages of this new form of government, the best fitted for your needs, the most favorable to liberty, and also

the most apt to give great glory to your republic, which will thereby become more flourishing, both in the spiritual and in the temporal order."

Great numbers, incited, of course, by the partisans of the exiled Medici, soon revolted against the dictatorship imposed upon the city, and allied themselves with those who opposed the friar on religious grounds. In 1494 the superiors of the Dominicans deemed it prudent to forbid Savonarola to preach the Lenten course, although a Brief of Pope Alexander permitted him to give it. His followers then appealed to the Pontiff; and then Alexander, who is wrongly said to have been Savonarola's foe from the beginning, quashed the prohibition. In fact, during the early troubles of the Dominican, Alexander VI. paid but little attention to him; when he thought of him at all, it was rather with admiration. He had even conceived the idea, says Burlamachi, of enrolling the friar in the Sacred College. But now Alexander, although not prohibiting Savonarola from preaching, summoned him to Rome to explain his conduct. The reply was an allegation of infirmity and the need that Florence had of his presence. Then the Pontiff threatened the friar with the censures of the Church, and menaced the city of Florence with an interdict. The Florentine merchants, fearing the results of this measure, and many of the cardinals, who were rather favorable to the agitator, prevailed upon Alexander to withdraw his citation. However, the Pontiff gave an eloquent rebuke to his stubborn son, by leaving it to his own conscience whether or not he would continue to preach. This moderation seems to have somewhat affected Savonarola, for he withdrew from the pulpit, substituting, however, the friar Dominic of Pescia, also a Dominican, and a man of reputed holiness, who was far less fiery than himself.

The enemies of the friar regarded this retreat from the pulpit as a triumph for themselves; but when, in October, 1495, he broke his silence, they suffered from one of his most virulent tirades. Heaven, he said, would take condign vengeance upon those who had presumed to interfere with its work, namely, the establishment of popular government. To this denunciation he added new declamations on the need of reform

in the Church. Pope Alexander now ordered the vicar-general of the Dominicans at Bologna to examine into the charges against his subject, and to punish him, according to the rules of the Order, if he were found guilty. During the trial the friar was not to preach; but, in spite of this prohibition, Savonarola continued in the pulpit. The Pontiff now demanded that the republic should place the agitator in his hands, and as his request was not heeded, he launched an excommunication against him (1). This sentence was read in six churches of Florence on June 18, 1497. At first Savonarola seemed inclined to submit. He withdrew to his cell, admitted no visitors, and wrote a humble letter to the Pope. Alexander's answer was truly paternal. Among other encouraging remarks, he says: "In spite of facts, we begin to believe that you have not spoken in malice, but rather in simplicity, and out of zeal for the vineyard of the Lord." He concluded with a promise that if the friar would abstain from preaching, and come to Rome, he would annul the censures pronounced. To this letter Savonarola replied, demanding to be judged at Florence. However, he, for some time, respected the censures, and abstained from preaching. But, after six months, being asked by the magistrates, who were all *frateschi*, to reappear in the pulpit, and reconvert the people, who, in the interval of his silence, had resumed their gayeties, he yielded to the temptation, and boldly defied his excommunication. On Christmas he celebrated the customary three Masses of that festival, gave the Eucharist to his religious, and, after a solemn procession around his convent (2), announced that he would at once resume his preaching in the cathedral. When this new departure was made public, the vicar-general, in the absence of Rinaldo Orsini, archbishop of Florence, convoked the Chapter of the cathedral, and a prohibition to assist at

(1) Alexander VI. said to Bonsi, envoy of Florence: "I have read the sermons of your friar, and have talked with those who have heard them. He dares to say that the Pope is a broken sword; that he who believes in excommunication is a heretic; that he himself, sooner than ask for absolution, will go to hell. He has been excommunicated, not because of false insinuations, nor at any one's instigation, but for his disobedience to our command that he should enter the new Tusco-Roman congregation. We do not condemn him because of his good works; but we insist that he ask pardon for his petulant arrogance, and we will gladly accord him absolution when he humbles himself at our feet."

(2) For some time Savonarola had been prior of the Convent of St. Mark.

the proposed sermons was issued to all the clergy ; the parish priests were ordered to inform the faithful that, owing to the censures hanging over Savonarola, any one who attended his discourses would incur the same penalties. In spite of this action of the Chapter, the friar announced that he would follow the inspiration of God (1).

From this moment, Savonarola was at a disadvantage. People felt, and he must have felt, that his rebellion destroyed the influence, by weakening the authority, of his words. To obviate this difficulty, he now attacked the validity of his excommunication, declaring, first, that the censures of a wicked Pope are of no weight ; second, that Alexander had excommunicated him without reason ; third, that the censures were pronounced against the "sower of tares," and he was not such a one (2). The arguments with which he defended these propositions were of the weakest kind ; and to reassure his partisans, he, one day, had recourse to a device which was terribly impressive. With the Holy Eucharist in his hand, he called upon God to consume him with fire from heaven if he was deceiving the people, and if the Pope's censure, in his case, was valid. At this time, says Christophe, "his talent certainly appears great, but we can divine that he is not at ease, not sure of himself. Savonarola perceives, in the minds of his hearers, difficulties which disquiet them, and to which he is compelled to respond. He invents trivial similes that he may excite their laughter ; he encumbers himself with suppositions ; he advances hazardous and equivocal principles, the consequences of which he would certainly repudiate." In fact, from the day that Savonarola openly defied the Holy See, his waning eloquence and deficient logic proved that he recognized the anomaly of his position.

When the news of the friar's daring rebellion reached Rome, Pope Alexander threatened serious measures against Florence if the delinquent were not sent to the Eternal City. The republic yielded in part ; Savonarola was commanded to keep silent, but his disciple, Friar Dominic of Pescia, continued to preach in the strain of the master, and his rashness precip-

(1) NARDI ; b. II., p. 42.

(2) *Sermon for last Sunday of Lent.*

itated the ruin of both. One day a Franciscan friar, named Francis of Puglia, while preaching in the church of Santa Croce, declared that Friar Jerome was an impostor; adding that he was ready to try the "ordeal by fire" with the said Jerome. At that moment Friar Dominic was holding forth in the church of St. Lawrence, and the news of the Franciscan's challenge was carried immediately to him. He at once informed his hearers, and accepted the defiance. When Friar Francis found himself called upon to make good his boasting offer, he lost courage, and tried to escape by pleading that he had challenged Savonarola, not Dominic. This incident was painful to Savonarola, but how could he disavow his companion when he himself had often declared that if his arguments did not produce conviction of the truth of his teaching, he was ready to invoke the supernatural in its defence? He accepted the challenge, and for himself, but insisted that a Papal legate and all the foreign ambassadors should be present at the ordeal; furthermore, he demanded that if he came unharmed out of the fire, the Church should at once be reformed. Friar Francis refused these conditions, but the factions had entered into the spirit of the thing, and the mob would not miss the show. The impetuous Dominic, unlike the timid Francis, was panting for the terrible trial, and there were many Franciscans more brave, or more confident, than their brother. Finally, the affair was laid before the magistrates, and they decided that the ordeal should be held. As champions the magistrates designated, on the part of Savonarola, Friar Dominic; and on the part of the Franciscan challenger, a lay-brother named Julian Rondinelli. Certain propositions, the truth or falsity of which was to be established, in the opinion of many, by this curious means, were drawn up by Dominic. They were: "The Church needs reformation. She will be chastised. She will be renovated. Florence will be punished, but she will afterwards prosper. The infidels will be converted. All these things will soon happen. The excommunication of Savonarola is null." The magistrates then appointed ten citizens, five for each party, as a commission to settle any differences that might arise; and all was ready for that trial, the worth of which we doubt, but which, in those

days, commanded the confidence of the people (1). Previous to the experiment, however, the magistrates sent messengers to Rome to obtain the Pontiff's consent to the undertaking. A consistory was held, and the authorization was refused; Alexander simply wrote to the Franciscans, praising their devotion to the Holy See, and encouraging them to continue in their combat against error (2).

On April 7, 1498, in the centre of the Square of the Magistracy (in modern times, Square of the Grand Duke), was to be seen an immense scaffolding, paved with bricks, and covered with combustible material. Two tribunes arose before it, destined to be occupied by the magistrates and by the friars of the two Orders. The square was filled with anxious

(1) The Church never authorized or approved of ordeals; but, they being recognized in the laws of the barbarians, she was obliged to tolerate them. The prejudices of humanity are not easily eradicated; witness the number of superstitions in our own day, and among the most cultivated. As far back as the ninth century, Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, wrote against the *damnable* opinion that God interfered in the ordeals; in the eleventh, Ivo of Chartres supports his condemnation of them by a letter of Pope Stephen V. to the bishop of Mayence. Popes Celestine III., Innocent III., and Honorius III. condemned them, as did also the Fourth Council of Lateran. The scholastic theologians teach that they are injurious to God, and favorable to lies. As for the question, whether or not there was ever anything of the supernatural in the frequent success of these ordeals, see an excellent dissertation in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions*, v. XXIV.—The following description of one of these "ordeals" may not be uninteresting to the reader. It is given by the Protestant Voigt, in his *Life of Gregory VII.* (b. III.), and the event occurred in Florence in 1063. In front of the convent of the Holy Saviour were "two platforms, each ten feet long, five in width, and four in height; they were separated by a path paved with dry and very inflammable wood. In the church hymns were sung, and fervent prayers were addressed to heaven, that it might be made known, who, in compliance with the order of the abbot, should enter the flames. The lot fell on Peter, a monk of Vallombrosa, a man of irreproachable conduct. Peter went to the altar to celebrate Mass; every heart was still. Four monks now approached the platforms; the first carried an image of Christ, the second the holy water, the third twelve blessed candles, and the fourth a vessel full of incense to nourish the fire. All raised their hearts to God, for the success of the perilous enterprise. When the priest had finished the sacrifice, he took the cross of the Saviour and solemnly made the round of the platforms, accompanied by the abbot and the monks. When he had approached the flames, the meaning of the ceremony was explained to the people. The fire was kindled, the flames waved in the air. The priest then kneeled to his God, and besought Jesus Christ to permit him to pass through the fire safe and sound, if the bishop were guilty; the multitude cried 'Amen.' Finally the monk made the sign of the cross over the fiery furnace, seized the crucifix, and with a serene countenance he passed through the flames without an injury. God and his faith had protected him."

(2) In inference to this request of the magistrates of Florence, the Abbé Christophe says that he is astonished to find that Carle, in his *History of Friar Jerome Savonarola* (Paris, 1848), cites the letter of Alexander VI. as an approbation of the proposed ordeal. "If we rightly understand the words of the Pontiff," adds Christophe, "they do not contradict the testimony of the historian (*Miscellanies of Baluze*, v. IV.; Burlamachi, p. 132), who affirms that the decision of the consistory was averse to the authorization. They simply contain a eulogy on the *fervor, zeal, devotion* displayed by the Franciscans in their struggle with Savonarola."

spectators, the house-tops were crowded. At the appointed hour Rondinelli, at the head of a long file of Franciscans, and Dominic of Pescia, flanked by Savonarola, and followed by a procession of Dominicans, entered the square, and took their places. It was observed that Savonarola carried a silver pyx, containing the Holy Eucharist. Rondinelli advanced to the magistrates, and cried out: "Behold me ready for the ordeal. Sinner that I am, I know the flames will consume me. But let not Friar Dominic therefore boast of victory; he must take his turn in the fire. If he comes out unharmed, let him be proclaimed the conqueror; otherwise, no" (1). The judges replied that his demand would be granted. Then ensued a curious scene. The referees feared that the champions might have concealed some charms under their robes, and ordered them to change them for others handed to them. Rondinelli was perfectly willing, but at first Dominic hesitated. "Never mind," cried the Franciscan, "his robe will burn with his body." Then the Dominican changed his garments, but retained a crucifix. When he was ordered to lay it down, Rondinelli said: "Let him keep it—it is of wood, and will burn with the rest." Then Savonarola handed the Holy Eucharist to Dominic. But the crowd, believing that the flames would, perforce, respect the Blessed Sacrament, declared that if the Dominican were allowed to carry it, the trial would not be fair (2). Savonarola persisted, and threatened to abandon the ordeal. An endless dispute ensued, and the promised spectacle vanished in ridicule.

This fiasco was the signal for the fall of Savonarola; for one cannot trifle with the mob. Had he not been protected by the Holy Eucharist, the agitator would not have regained his convent in safety. In vain he mounted the pulpit to pacify the crowd; his eloquence was not heeded, for all now felt that Savonarola was but an ordinary mortal. The day after was Palm Sunday, and, while one of the Dominicans was preaching in the cathedral, a crowd of young men burst upon

(1) NARDI, b. II., p. 48; BURLAMACHI, p. 140; *Anonymous Life of F. Jerome Savonarola* (Geneva, 1781), c. xxvi.

(2) NARDI, b. II., p. 45; NERLI, p. 78; *Anonymous author, supra*, pp. 101, 102.

the congregation, a voice cried: "To St. Mark's!", and in a few moments the convent was attacked. The magistrates, tired of him who had made them, more than winked at the outbreak, and ordered the few laymen who had rushed to defend the Dominicans, out of the building. The doors were burnt away, and the mob rushed in search of its prey. Savonarola was found in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, in company with the imprudent Dominic of Pescia. He was saved from the crowd by some municipal commissioners, and, together with Dominic, lodged in prison; a few hours afterwards Friar Sylvester Maruffi was also arrested.

Information of Savonarola's imprisonment was immediately sent to Pope Alexander, and he ordered the magistrates to send the friar to Rome. Had the command been heeded, the unfortunate man would, doubtless, have been confined, perhaps even for life, but the catastrophe would have been averted. The magistrates now appointed a commission of six citizens and two canons (these latter as Papal commissioners) for the trial of the three Dominicans; nearly all were declared adversaries of the accused. The trial lasted from the 9th to the 19th of April. During the first interrogatories Savonarola was firm and collected; but when, in accordance with the detestable and foolish custom of the time, he was put to "the question," as the torture was called, he quite naturally weakened (1). Although the *Acts* of the trial are printed with the title, *Authentic Copy of the Trial of Jerome Savonarola*, and although the signature of the friar is found at the end, there are strong presumptions against the value of the admissions they contain. Firstly, the composition of the tribunal, the preamble of the interrogatory, the testimony of historians,—all prove that the proceedings were not conducted with the calm impartiality of justice. Secondly, it is certain that Savonarola more than once retracted, and showed much vacillation, during the course of his interrogatory; that he frequently declared, in presence of the Papal commissioners, that what he had said and predicted was the simple truth.

(1) The characteristic sneer of Roscoe that the torture is the "last reason of theologians" is uncalled for, for in what civil tribunal, down to the last century, and in part of that, was it not used?

and that his own contradictions had been extorted by the fear of torture; that he acknowledged that torture would force him to admit whatever his enemies might wish, because he knew himself to be unable to support such pain. Hence the Pontifical representatives were much embarrassed. Finally, the commission has been accused of having falsified the depositions of Savonarola, they having realized the impossibility of obtaining real facts sufficiently serious, and it is said that a notary, called *Ser Ceccone*, aided in this odious stratagem. It is true that it is an apologist of Savonarola who asserts this (1), and that we should mistrust the testimony of those who trembled before the visions of the friar; but we find the same accusation, formulated, with no less directness, in several contemporary historians who had not the same interest as Burlamachi in attacking the equity of the commission. In fact, Nardi asserts (b. II., p. 47) that "at the time, and afterward, there was much doubt as to the truth and quality of the proceedings," and that he himself may not be accused of hiding the truth, he narrates the following anecdote: "A noble citizen, who had been one of the examiners of the said friars, and who had been chosen because of his enmity to them, was met by me in his villa; and being questioned by me with deliberate intention, concerning the truth of the said proceedings, he ingenuously replied, in the presence of his wife, that it was true that in the report of Friar Jerome's trial some things had been omitted and some things added" (2).

When the examination had come to an end, the magistrates deliberated as to the sentence to be passed upon the unfortunate religious. A few wished to refer the matter to the Pontiff, as the accused were ecclesiastics; and besides, they were leniently disposed, and thought that the friars' only chance of escaping the death penalty lay in their being placed in Alexander's hands. But the majority insisted that the culprits could not be accorded any ecclesiastical immunity, as they were excommunicated. The party of severity

(1) BURLAMACHI: pp. 155-160.

(2) For other writers who bring the same charge against the commission, see MURATORI, *Annals of Italy*, v. 1493.

carried the day, and Pope Alexander was requested to appoint commissioners to preside at the sentence and its execution. The Pontiff commissioned Joachim Turriani, the general of the Dominicans, and Francis Ramolino, an auditor of the governor of Rome; and after some interrogatories they ratified the proceedings, and the friars were declared guilty of schism, heresy, persecution of the Church, and seduction of the people. They were sentenced to be burned at the stake. On May 23d Florence witnessed the last act of this terrible drama. In the square of the Grand Duke, where two months before Savonarola had seen his credit destroyed, another apparatus was now arranged for his death. Early in the morning the three friars went to confession, received Holy Communion with every manifestation of a sincere piety, and marched out to their last earthly suffering. Arrived in the square, they had to undergo the humiliating ceremony of degradation, being deprived, one at a time, of all their sacerdotal vestments. Burlamachi and Nardi assert that the prelate, whose duty it was to perform this act, said to Savonarola: "I separate thee from the Church militant and triumphant;" and that the unfortunate firmly and loudly replied: "From the Church militant, yes—from the Church triumphant, no!" The three friars were then asked whether they accepted the plenary indulgence which the Pontiff accorded them, and they all three bowed their heads and answered in the affirmative. They were then strangled, and their bodies reduced to ashes, which, to prevent any superstitious veneration, were thrown into the Arno (1).

The following reflections of Christophe on the character of Savonarola are worthy of the reader's attention: "Some make a fanatic, a sectarian, an impostor, of Savonarola; others, an apostle, a saint. The fact is, there is something of all these in the Dominican. If we open the door of his cell in St. Mark's and there contemplate him at the foot of the crucifix, attenuated by fasting and drowned in an ecstasy of prayer; if we follow him to Santa Maria del Fiore and hear him reproaching voluptuous Florence with her vices, Savonarola is a saint, an apostle. But if we turn to the other side.

(1) RAZZI; *MS. Life of Savonarola*. SANUTO: *loc. cit.*, b. VI.

and behold the tribune who mixes politics with religion, the declaimer who inveighs against the existing powers, the seer who opposes a divine mission to the authority of the head of the Church, Savonarola is very like a fanatic, a sectarian, an impostor. Unfortunately he finished his life with the latter character; such was the impression he left with the spectators when he left the scene, and we may well ask ourselves whether, if he had preserved the popular favor, he would have anticipated the role of the monk of Wittenburg. Protestants appear not to doubt it, for they claim Savonarola as one of their forerunners. But they forget that this monk broke the link which might have connected him with their rebellion, on the day when, at the foot of the stake, he accepted the absolution of the Pope, and handed down to posterity that tardy but solemn proof of his repentance. . . . Savonarola knew not how to be either saint or apostle. We would hesitate to call him a sectary, and we would dislike still more to style him an impostor. We regard him as a sincere, but a prodigiously imaginative preacher. If we have studied him rightly, he appears to have been carried away in the current of an unregulated imagination from the day when he began his prophetic exposition of the Apocalypse, to that when he openly substituted for the authority of the Church that of his own pretended celestial mission. Undoubtedly his eloquence is wonderful, but it is that of a vehement declaimer rather than that of a solid and enlightened teacher. We see in it the violent and convulsive agitation of a fever, rather than an effort of powerful and healthy thought. His strength does not warm; it burns, it boils over like the lava from a volcano. It does not illumine, it dazzles; it does not guide, it pulls; it does not march, it tumbles. His spirit cannot understand the positive side of things. Savonarola is seldom true; exaggeration seems to be his domain; his figures are colossal, his situations forced, his end greater than his means. We need not be surprised if a man so organized, with such power of imagination and such weakness of sense, influenced by the enthusiasm which drinks his words, and by an idolatrous worship accorded him,—if such a man becomes intoxicated with himself, . . . and if he be-

lieves himself to be the envoy of the Lord. Savonarola succumbed to the hatred of factions which he himself had excited. In our days he would have succumbed to ridicule."

Protestants have frequently spoken of Savonarola as a precursor of the "Reformation." Luther insisted that the unfortunate Dominican taught the doctrine of justification by faith alone; and in 1523 he caused Savonarola's meditation on the 70th psalm to be circulated throughout Germany, together with a preface by himself, in which he declared that Friar Jerome was his forerunner, "although some of the theological mud yet stuck to the feet of the holy man." He asserts that Savonarola taught his own cardinal doctrine, and that "*for this reason* he was burnt by the Pope," and he adds: "Christ canonized him because he did not rely upon vows or a cowl, upon Masses or a rule, but upon meditation on the gospel of peace; and covered with the breastplate of justice, armed with the shield of faith and the helmet of salvation, he enlisted, not in the Order of Preachers, but in the army of the Christian Church." Savonarola was not put to death by the Pope, nor was his fate owing to the cause alleged by the ex-Augustinian; and the very work upon which the latter relies to prove his point shows the former's orthodoxy in the doctrine of grace. Luther draws comfort from the following passage: "I will hope in the Lord, and soon I shall be freed from all tribulation. And by what merit? Not by mine, but by Thine, Lord. I offer not my own justice, but I seek Thy mercy. The Pharisees gloried in their justice; hence they had not that of God, which is obtained by grace alone, and no one will ever be just before God, merely because of having performed the works of the law. Soldier of Christ, what is your mind in these combats? Have you faith, or not? Yes, I have (you answer). Know, then, that this is a great grace of God, for faith is His gift, and not for our works." But this passage is explained by its continuation, for, meditating upon the next verse, "Incline Thy ear unto me, and save me," Savonarola says: "Let thy sorrow show, if it can, one sinner, even the greatest one, who has turned to the Lord, and has not been received and justified. . . Hast thou not heard the Lord saying that whenever a

sinner weeps, and grieves for his sins, He will not remember his iniquities? . . . Hast thou fallen? Arise, and mercy will find thee. Art thou being ruined? Cry out, and mercy will come." That Savonarola's belief concerning grace was far from the Lutheran is shown by the *Rule for a Good Life*, which, when requested by his jailor to leave him some souvenir, he wrote on the cover of a book. In it he says: "A good life depends altogether upon grace; hence we must *strive to acquire it*, and when we have received it, we must try to increase it. . . . It is certainly a free gift of God; but examination into our sins, and meditation on the vanity of worldly things, prepare us for grace; confession and Communion dispose us to receive it. . . . *Perseverance in good works*, in confession, and in all that disposes us to grace, is the true and sure means to increase it." Protestants who would like to claim Savonarola as a precursor of the Lutheran movement, should attend to the following passage, taken from the fourth book of his *Triumph of the Cross*. "Since Peter was made His vicar by Christ, and was constituted by Him pastor of the whole Church, it follows that all the successors of Peter have the same power. And since the bishops of the Roman See hold the place of Peter, it is evident that the Roman Church is the leader and mistress of all the churches, and that the entire congregation of the faithful should be united with the Roman Pontiff. He, therefore, who differs in doctrine from the unity of the Roman Church, certainly recedes from Christ. But all heretics differ from that Church; therefore, they are out of the right path, and cannot be called Christians. He is to be styled a heretic who perverts the sacred pages and the doctrine of the Holy Roman Church, and, following the sect of his own choice, obstinately perseveres in it. As has often been said, truth agrees with truth; all truths confirm each other. But heretics so differ among themselves that they agree in almost nothing; it is very plain, therefore, that they are strangers to truth. However, the doctrine of the Roman Church, in all that pertains to faith and morals, is one; and although Catholic teachers are almost innumerable, they neither depart from that doctrine nor wish to differ from it. The kingdom

of Christ and of the Church militant is established not only to endure until the end of the world; after the renovation of the universe, it will exist forever, as the Gospel and all the Scriptures and the monuments of the saints testify. Heretics, who have bitterly persecuted Catholics, have not been able to preserve their lines against the Roman Church; but have been utterly routed, together with their depraved dogmas and the obstinacy of their followers. It is certain, then, that their false volumes come not from God; that their doctrine is not Christian."

In 1548 the celebrated Dominican, Ambrose Catarino (Lancellotto Politi), published at Venice a *Discourse against the Doctrine and Prophecies of Friar Jerome Savonarola*, in which he drew attention to many propositions which he deemed contrary to Catholic teaching; but he declared that he did "not combat Savonarola, who was worthy of compassion rather than of blame, but only his errors, which yet survived in the minds of those who, not without scandal and danger to their souls, believed in him" (1). Probably in consequence of this work, Pope Paul IV. ordered an inquiry into Friar Jerome's works, and when the commissioners read to him some extracts, he exclaimed: "Why, this is Martin Luther!" But after the examination was finished, the sole decision pronounced was a "suspension" of fifteen of the sermons and of the dialogue on *Prophetic Truth*. And in the *Index* of the Council of Trent these works are prohibited only "until corrected," which certainly implies that they contain only accidental, not essential, errors.

The sermons of Savonarola were placed upon the Roman Index "until corrected;" but his other works are animated by a spirit of the most tender piety, and are thoroughly orthodox. His *Triumph of the Cross* consists of four books on the evidences of Christianity, and is written in a vein of calmness very surprising to one who has just been subject-

(1) Catarino had a perfect mania for scenting heresy nearly everywhere and in nearly every author. He even denounced to the Faculty of Paris many propositions of the great Thomas de Vio (called Cajetan, from his birthplace and See of Gaeta). But he was well rebuked by Bartholomew Spina, master of the apostolic palace, who, when Catarino was named to a bishopric, brought forth fifty propositions, taken from the zealot's writings, which, the critic insisted (though without reason), were heretical.

ed to the fire of the author's sermons. His five books on the *Simplicity of the Christian Life* are preceded by an epistle to the citizens of Florence, in which he thus describes his work: "I shall try to adopt natural reason, rather than the authority of the divine writings. And I shall do so, because of the incredulous, the wise ones of this age, that is to say, the philosophers and orators, the poets and others of inflated intellect, who think that the Christian life is superstition, and that its simplicity is foolishness; also, because of the condition of our unhappy age, in which faith has grown so weak, and the supernatural light has been so nearly extinguished, that I am unable to decide whether those who acknowledge their belief merely regard it as an affair of opinion, and hold it because it was taught them in childhood, or whether they really cling to it as something taught by supernatural authority. I hesitate in pronouncing upon the faith of Christians of to-day; for charity has grown cold, and the fruit of good works does not appear. But since the natural light does not fail in man, so long as he acts according to natural reason, let the intellect, at least, of these people be convinced, and let them understand that the Christian life is truth and simplicity; that it is not foolishness, but the wisdom of God; then perhaps they will cease to calumniate it. I trust, however, in the Lord Jesus, that you will find in this book nothing contrary to Holy Writ, or to the sayings of the holy Doctors, or to the teaching of the Holy Roman Church, to whose correction I have always submitted, and do submit; but that you will discover in it the full truth, which came down from heaven to our fathers who everywhere preached it, and left it to us in writing, confirmed by signs and miracles" (1).

In this work Savonarola leads his reader to come, in each book, to a certain number of *Conclusions*. Thus, in the first book, the conclusions are as follows: The Christian life is that in which the doctrine of Christ is followed, and His conduct imitated. It is better than any other which can be found or excogitated. It is not founded in any natural love. Nor is it based on the sensitiveness of man. Neither is it

(1) *Works of Friar Jerome Savonarola*; Grenoble, 1666, vol. II.

founded on the sole natural light of reason. It proceeds from no natural cause. It proceeds from no spiritual creature. Its root and foundation is the grace of God. It tends, with all its powers, to augment and preserve the gift of grace. For these ends, prayer is a better means than any other good work. The devout and frequent use of the sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist furnish the best means to preserve and to augment the gift of grace. The second book treats of simplicity of heart; the third, of exterior simplicity; the fourth, of rejection of superfluities, and of almsgiving; the fifth, of the happiness of the Christian life. The *Meditations* on the Psalms *Miserere*, *In Te Domine speravi*, and *Qui regis Israel*, form, to use the words of the Dominican censor of the edition before us, "a honeyed book, full of the sweetness of piety, and it cannot be read without fruit if it is read attentively." This book is peculiarly interesting from the fact that Savonarola composed it while in prison. The following touching prayer is prefixed to the meditation on the *Miserere*. "Unhappy me! I have offended heaven and earth, and am destitute of help. Where shall I go? To whom shall I turn? Who will have mercy on me? I dare not lift my eyes to heaven, for I have grievously offended heaven. I find no refuge on earth, for I have been a scandal to earth. What then shall I do? Shall I despair? God forbid! God is merciful, God is pitious, my Saviour is kind. God alone, then, is my refuge; He will not despise His work; He will not spurn His image. To Thee, therefore, most kind God, I come, sad and dejected; Thou alone art my hope, my encouragement. But what shall I say to Thee, since I dare not raise my eyes? I must pour forth the words of contrition, and implore Thy pity, crying: *Miserere!*" Another interesting work of Savonarola's is a dialogue between the soul and the spirit, entitled *The Solace of My Journey*, the tone and object of which may be gathered from the first sentences: "*Spir.* I am now thinking of returning to my home, to see the God from whom I was banished; but thou shalt go with me, my spouse. *Soul.* But I know not the way to so great a joy. *Spir.* Our way is Christ. *Soul.* But faith wavers. *Spir.* He who approaches

God should believe that He is. *Soul.* And yet, he that is hasty to give credit, is light of heart (*Eccles.* xix. 4). *Spir.* But to believe in God is the part of gravity and of wisdom. *Soul.* Has God ever spoken to thee? *Spir.* I believe those to whom He has deigned to speak. *Soul.* But how do you know that they heard God speaking? *Spir.* Miracles have proven it. *Soul.* Miracles have ceased; what then shall persuade me? *Spir.* Doubtest thou that God is? *Soul.* Many doubt, for no one has ever seen God (*John* i. 18). *Spir.* But such have no intellect, according to the Psalmist (xiii. 1): ‘The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God.’ *Soul.* How canst thou prove that God is? ... I admit the force of thy argument, but I ask, ... what is God? *Spir.* If carnal men could know what God is, He could not be God. For we can know only tangible and sensible things; God is not one of these, nor can He be presented to our intellects as He really is; it is sufficient that we know what He is not. ... *Soul.* Thy words have convinced me, and I already yearn for the sight of God; but I ask myself, what if God does not grant it? Has He promised to thus bless those who love Him? *Spir.* Let what thou hast now learnt suffice for to-day. The night approaches; let us seek our abode in silence, and pray God that to-morrow thou mayest acquire more of the science of salvation.” The first book of this *Dialogue*, as we have seen, treats of God; the second, of the truth of the faith; the third, of the Messiah, against the Jews; the fourth, of the articles of faith, against philosophers; the fifth, of the reasons of probability which favor the articles of faith; the sixth, of the future life; the seventh, of heaven.

We now ask the reader's attention to the following remarks of Cantù: “A man of faith, of superstition, of genius, Savonarola abounded in charity. Contrary to Luther, who confided entirely in reason, he believed in personal inspiration. From his works may be taken arguments both for and against him; and by comparing them, we may perceive how he sought to harmonize reason with faith, the Catholic religion with political liberty. He never denied the authority of the Holy See; although he resisted him whom he re-

garded as an illegitimate Pope, and against whom he invoked a Council which should reform the Church. . . . He thought to guide the crowd by means of its passions ; and, as always happens, he became the victim of these passions. He alone is a heretic who obstinately defends something contrary to what is defined to be of faith. The fame of Savonarola remained suspended between heaven and hell ; but his end was deplored by all, and perhaps first by those who had caused it. In the churches of Santa Maria Novella and San Marco he is depicted as a saint, and Raphael placed him, in the *Loggie* of the Vatican, among the Doctors of the Church ; portraits of him were kept and venerated, not only by the pious of Florence who continued to oppose corruption and its consequent slavery, but even by great saints. . . . It is said that Clement VIII. swore, in 1598, that if he succeeded in acquiring possession of Ferrara, he would canonize Savonarola. If the philosophical Naudet called him a modern Arius or Mahomet, the devout Father Tournon thought him a messenger of God ; Sts. Philip Neri and Catharine de Ricci venerated him as blessed, and Benedict XIV. deemed him worthy of canonization. *Not one of the followers of Friar Jerome became a disciple of Luther or a betrayer of his country's liberty.* Michelangelo, who raised bastions for his native city and the greatest temple in Christendom, always venerated Savonarola. Machiavelli, who never embraced any opinions not in vogue, admired him at first ; he commenced to ridicule him only when he himself had fully developed a policy that was diametrically opposite to that of the friar, namely, a policy without God, without Providence, without morality—an innate depravity, though without original sin and without a Redeemer—and which expected to regenerate Italy, not only without the Church, but in spite of the Church”(1).

Much has been written for and against Savonarola's claims to the gift of prophecy. It is certain that very many wise and cool-headed men among his contemporaries credited his predictions ; for instance, Pico della Mirandola, Marcilio Ficino, and St. Philip Neri. The reader may be interested

(1) *Heretics of Italy*, Discourse xi.

in the following remarks of the prudent and observing Philip de Commynes. "I have already told how a Friar-Preacher, or Jacobin, a resident of Florence for fifteen years and enjoying a reputation for great sanctity—whom I conversed with in 1495—Jerome by name, foretold many things which afterward happened. He had always insisted that the king would cross the mountains, and he publicly declared that this and other things had been revealed to him by God. He said that the king had been chosen by God to reform the Church by force, and to chastise the tyrants (of Italy); and because he declared that he knew these future things by revelation, many murmured against him, and he acquired the hatred of the Pope and of many of the Florentines. His life was the most beautiful in the world, as every one could see, and his sermons against vice converted many in that city to a good life, as I have said. At this date of 1498, when King Charles died, Friar Jerome also passed away—four or five days intervening between the two deaths, and I will tell you why I note the date. He had always publicly preached that if the king did not return into Italy to accomplish the task God had assigned him, God would cruelly punish him; and all these sermons were printed and sold. And this same threat of cruel punishment had been often written to the king before his death, by the said Jerome, as the friar himself told me in Italy, saying that the sentence of heaven was pronounced against the king, if he did not accomplish God's will and did not restrain his soldiers from pillage. He predicted many true things concerning the king, and the evils to befall him; the death of his son, and his own, and I have seen the letters to the king" (1). On May 13th, 1495, the duke of Ferrara wrote to Manfredi, his agent at Florence, that he had understood that Friar Jerome "had said, and says, many things about the present affairs of Italy, and it appears that he threatens the Italian princes. And since he is a virtuous person and a good religious, we greatly wish to know what he has said and says, with all particulars; we desire you to see him, and to request him, in our name, to tell what he thinks is to happen, especially in matters con-

(1) *Memoirs*, b. VIII., ch. iii.

cerning us." And Savonarola replied that he would pray to God, and then answer the duke. On August 8th, 1497, this same prince wrote to the friar: "We declare to you that we have never doubted the future occurrence of all the things you have predicted."

The figure of Savonarola is intensely poetical, and therefore it appeals to the imagination. This alone would account for much of the sympathetic interest which his memory has ever evoked; but it is indubitable that where the incense of praise has been offered to him by Catholics, such persons have been influenced by the un-historical and un-theological theory of a distinction between the Church and the Papacy. As to the acclamations of the heterodox, it is natural that they should gloat over the spectacle of a son of the Church flinging mud on his mother. Truly Savonarola was a wonderful genius, and it is difficult to deny the purity of his inmost heart. His power over the souls of men was such as it has been given to few to exercise; he dominated the sage Commynes and the simplest *piagnone* in the Duomo with equal facility. Above all his qualifications, however, should be ranked that political capacity which made him, for eight years, the absolute master of the Florentine state. And it is upon this capacity that his latest apologist, Pasquale Villari, lays particular stress. But what was the first duty of this man whom Villari, with apparent sincerity, strives to vindicate? It was that of a sworn servant of God's altar. Had this priest the right to become derelict to his priestly vocation by descending into an arena of legislative squabbles? Had this friar the right to trample upon the Constitutions of his Order? So long as Savonarola directed his pulpit eloquence toward the expulsion of the Medici from Florence, possibly his intervention was a ministry of charity; but he should not, thenceforward, have sunk the preacher in the tribune, and have ceased to be the obedient religious. But he disobeyed, urges Villari, because he suspected the trap which Alexander VI. had set for him. The existence of this trap is a gratuitous assertion; but even had the Pontiff laid such a snare, it was the duty of the friar to obey. Villari seems to have anticipated this observation; for he says: "Savonarola would

have sacrificed himself willingly for the peace of the Church, had there been a question of his own person alone ; but the attacks directed against him were aimed chiefly against the Florentine Republic, of which he was the living and speaking representative." Such a reply merely emphasizes the fact that in the later career of Savonarola, the priest had vanished in the politician (1).

CHAPTER XV.

POPE JULIUS II.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century, the Italian factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines had almost entirely disappeared ; and the numerous small Italian republics having been absorbed into other states, or combined, in some instances, to form others, Italy was divided politically as follows. The illustrious House of Savoy, then enjoying a ducal title, reigned over Piedmont. The marquisate of Monferrato was ruled by Boniface, of the stock of the Paleologi. Genoa was an aristocratic so-called republic, but under the protection of the king of France. The duchy of Milan, a recent conquest of Louis XII., was occupied, for the nonce, by French troops. Modena, Reggio, Ferrara, and certain surrounding districts, acknowledged the ducal sway of the House of Este. Venice possessed, besides her Adriatic shores and the mouths of the Po, the provinces of Bergamo, Brescia, Verona, Crema, Vicenza, and Padua ; she also ruled over Treviso, Feltre, Belluno, the Polesine di Rovigo, and Ravenna ; she exercised supremacy over Gorizia excepting Aquileja, and over Istria, excepting Trieste ; along the Adriatic, she owned Zara, the islands opposite Dalmatia and Albania, and Spalatro ; in the Mediterranean, she held Zante, Veglia, Crete, and Cyprus ; and of the late Lower Empire she owned

(1) " The question is simply one of a Pope commanding a religious, and of a religious refusing obedience to a Pope. Friar Jerome was a rebel, and all the virtues which he had so laboriously cultivated, the grand edifice of talents and merits which men properly admired, cannot hide that damning fact from the eyes of a true Catholic. Let us pity his fate if we will ; and if it appears to have been undeservedly severe, let us ascribe the blame to those to whom it properly belongs. The criminal legislation of those days was terrible ; for then, in spite of a wickedness apparently grosser than our own, men at least believed in such things as truth and error with the utmost simplicity."—BARBEY D'AUREVILLE ; *Men and Works*, vol. VIII., p. 143. Paris, 1887.

some of the richest territories, such as Modone, Corone, Neapolis, Argos, and Corinth. Mantua and its duchy were ruled by the House of Gonzaga. Florence was waiting for the return of the Medici, momentarily expelled. The States of the Church were still subject to the sceptre of the Pope-King, saving those which Cæsar Borgia had managed by force or fraud to appropriate. The two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which had been taken from the House of Aragon by the united forces of France and Spain, and from which a Franco-Spanish war had afterward expelled the French, were now provinces under the sway of the Spanish monarch, Ferdinand the Catholic.

After the funeral of Pope Alexander VI. the cardinals, to the number of thirty-seven, entered into Conclave, and on Sept. 22d, 1503, Francis Piccolomini (1), a cardinal-deacon and archbishop-elect of Siena, was chosen Pontiff. He assumed the name of Pius III.; and so eminent was his virtue, that great advantages were anticipated from his reign. But after only twenty-six days of Pontificate he died, and was succeeded on Oct. 21st by the cardinal Julian della Rovere, who took the name of Julius II., "more mindful," thinks Alexandre, "of Julius Cæsar than of St. Julius I." Muratori, who is not too favorable to Julius II., says that he possessed all the gifts of a magnificent man. "He had a grand mind, much shrewdness, and no less courage. He had enjoyed a long experience in things of the world, and was loyal and truthful." Blanc thinks that if this Pontiff had been less warlike, less politic, less intrepid, he would have been regarded as a great Pope. Cantù recalls the saying of the contemporaries of Julius, that he threw the keys of Peter into the Tiber, and preserved only the sword of Paul; but this author also sees in Julius, "A Pontiff superior to either personal or family interests, and one who knew not how to yield when he thought the advantage of the Holy See was concerned. Disgusted with the brutal soldiery who disposed of Italy as they willed, and before whom Alexander VI. had trembled, he formed the noble design of 'free-

(1) His father was one of the Todeschi; but his mother being a sister of Pope Pius II., that Pontiff had induced him to assume the name and arms of the Piccolomini.

ing Italy from the barbarians.' ... Even in the agony of death he exclaimed: 'Chase the French out of Italy'(1), and if all his actions had tended toward this end, he would have merited well of his country. He proved himself fit to govern a much larger state; he was generous in his designs, a stranger to his personal interests, and was respectful of the liberties of his people." Audin finds in Julius II. only one object, one plan, one idea; namely, the freedom of his country from foreign servitude. "Without him Italian nationality was lost; Italy would have become a French province." Ranke discerns in this Pontiff "a noble soul, cherishing grand designs in favor of all Italy." Leo, also a Protestant, says that "surrounded by the passions and weaknesses of his time, Julius II. was one of the most worthy characters produced by Italy." But the early Reformers, ever venomous toward all the Pontiffs, were especially malignant toward Julius II. Ulrich Hutten, who has been styled the German Demosthenes, and whose *Epistles of Obscure Men*, despite their obscene inanities, have been compared by Germans to the *Letters* of Pascal, would have his credulous compatriots believe that: "The robber Julius was polluted with every species of crime. He pretended to open Heaven to whom he would, and he doomed to Stygian darkness men of pure life. He filled the world with crime, and ever confused right and wrong." The same rampant declaimer saw in our Pontiff an anomaly, a ruffian with unkempt beard, a savage eye, and colorless lips; and he invoked a Brutus to rid Rome of such a hateful presence (2). According to Hutten, the Pope should possess no property;

(1) Muratori (*Annals of Italy*, y. 1513) thus alludes to this event: "After a few days of illness, during which he constantly preserved his wonted prudence and that severity which dominated every member of the Sacred College, he devoutly received the Sacraments of the Church during the night of Feb. 20th, and at the dawn of the next morning he yielded up his soul. I read in some authors that toward the end he fell into delirium, and cried: 'Out of Italy with the French! Out with Alfonso d'Este!' But more reliable writers state that his mind was clear. Venetian historians tell us that the death of Julius was hastened by his anger on hearing of the alliance which was being promoted between their republic and the king of France, and by his consciousness of the hatred borne him by all the cardinals because of his martial designs. But probably this is mere imagination. . . . One of his merits was his freedom from any excessive attachment to his family. Only at the end of his life he asked from the cardinals the concession of the vicariate of Pesaro for his nephew, the duke of Urbino."

(2) "*Julius est Romæ; quis abest? Date, numina, Brutum: Nam quoties Romæ est Julius, illa perit.*"

the emperor should be lord of the earth. It was natural that this literary light of the Reformation should utter such sentiments; for though he owed his own education to the University of Pavia, he could see no good in Italy, and least of all in Rome. He informs us that the visitor to the Eternal City invariably brought away three things: an evil conscience, a disordered stomach, and an empty purse. There are three things which, according to this pious censor, are not taught in Rome: the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the dead, and the existence of Hell. And he says that in Rome there are three principal articles of commerce: the Grace of God, ecclesiastical dignities, and the virtue of women. It is not strange that Hutten acquired the praise of Luther as a model of epistolary excellence; but the cleaner taste of Cantù finds in the writings of the Hessian Demosthenes, "the slang of taverns and brothels, and the discharges of a sewer; an orgy of sentiments and words which disgusts even one who has perused the writings which the leaders of the Reformation produced in the same style."

It is certain that the prudence, foresight, and indomitable energy of Julius II. alone thwarted the designs of Louis XII. in Italy. As the enthusiastic but generally perspicacious Audin expresses the idea, "The French were chased out of the Romagna and Lombardy, not by the knives of the Milanese, or by the guns of the peasants, or by the cannons of Peter of Navarre, or by the pikes of the Swiss mountaineers, but by that cry of the Pontiff: 'Deliver us from the barbarians, O Lord!'" During this war, not one of the adversaries of the French monarch, saving Julius II., was more honest than his allies; and certainly Julius II. alone cared for the interests of the Holy See, for the freedom of Italy, and for art and science. "Prate not about his ambition; for it was justified by his object, which he attained in spite of the fever which confined him to his bed, as it did after the proclamation of the pseudo-council of Pisa; in spite of the seditions of the Roman people, as on the day when Pompeo Colonna and Antonio Savelli spoke of proclaiming the republic on the Capitol; in spite of the oath 'I shall destroy the very name of Babylon,' which Louis XII. inscribed on his coins at Milan;

in spite of the tears of his cardinals, as they showed him at Ostia, after the battle of Ravenna, the ships that were already prepared to carry off the conquered Pope. It is possible that Julius II. was too fond of the helmet and the cuirass, that he knew too well how to handle the sword, and that he was too often on horseback; all this is possible, for it is written not only in history, but in bronze, on stone, and on canvas. But it must be admitted that the most beautiful work which a monarch can undertake in the interest of his people, the preservation of their nationality, is never accomplished by one of those tepid temperaments which are wanting in both faults and virtues" (1). To us who have experienced the sweetness of Pius IX. and Leo XIII., and who have talked with many who had known the gentleness of Pius VII. and Leo XII., it appears strange that a Roman Pontiff of comparatively modern days should have inspired fear rather than love. But historians are prone to dilate on such salient characteristics as most readily captivate the imagination of the many; and we do not know that the only amiable traits of Julius II. were those which he persistently displayed toward the votaries of the Muses.

That the transcendent conceptions of the Papacy which are so natural to Catholics, must necessarily be strangers to the average heterodox brain, is evinced by the judgments passed on Julius II. by such historians as Sismondi and Daru. Pope Julius II. was too prominent a figure in the history of the sixteenth century to be ignored; and since his portrait could not well be represented, like that of Alexander VI., as a kind of Medusa's head,—since, in fact, there was too pronounced a halo of real glory hovering over his reign,—he shall receive credit where credit is indeed due him, but for matters comparatively extraneous to his sublime office, and in such a guise that his greater merits shall be relegated to oblivion. Men must be led to regard him and his enemy, Louis XII.; him and the emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Aragon, the Bentivoglio of Bologna, and the Baglioni of Perugia,—all as so many politicians of the same ignoble stamp, all with equal rights or absence thereof, and all equally bent

(1) AUDIN; *History of Leo X.*, ch. xiii.

on stealing as much territory as possible. But Julius II. was a connoisseur in matters of art and of artists; and he was the generous protector of Bramante and of Michelangelo. For this striking evidence of his appreciation of worldly merits, our critics will laud him to the skies; for such praise can work no harm to their pet theory of an ideal Pontiff, despoiled of one of the three crowns of his tiara,—a theory which Julius so successfully combated against the robber princes and princely robbers of his day; and which was no new theory even then, although it was reserved to our nineteenth century to reduce to a philosophico-political formula a conception which hitherto had been merely a matter of exceptional practice.

It is often observed by the adversaries of the Holy See that the policy of Pope Julius II. and his military enterprises left no enduring traces. What remains of that policy to-day? asks a recent writer. "Merely the narratives of some annalists, who frequently contradict one another,—some praising his course, others belittling his qualities and drawing attention to his vices. But no matter what opinion history may cause us to form of his character, so long as a love of the beautiful survives among men, St. Peter's Basilica, the Vatican Palace and its chapels, *stanze*, and frescoes, the statue of Moses at the tomb in St. Peter's ad Vincula, will inspire a veneration for his memory in the minds of each new generation which comes to admire them" (1). This latter sentence shows that had the artistic sympathies of the author not been excited by contemplation of the fascinating side of our Pontiff's character, he would have abstained from penning his work. And yet the glory of Julius II. is more far-reaching than it would have been, had artistic proclivities alone been his salient characteristic. We must remember that the Papacy was not instituted for the encouragement of architects, painters, sculptors, or musicians; the Divine Founder of the Church did not even intend that the primary duties of the successors of St. Peter should tend to a fostering of literature, of sound historical criticism, etc. However intimately the arts and sciences may be connected

(1) *History of Julius II.*, by M. A. J. Dumesnil. Paris, 1886.

with the development of civilization and the delectation of men, they enter very indirectly, if at all, into the scheme of salvation. The real grandeur of a Supreme Pontiff, in the eyes of history as well as in those of God, will ever depend upon the manner in which he advances the interests of the Church which he is appointed to govern, and to maintain in all the force of its integrity. The duties of the Pontiffs vary with the circumstances of their respective times; thus the dangers and prospects of the Papacy were very different in the days of Julius II. from what they were in the time of Hildebrand. But Julius was as zealous a Pope as St. Gregory VII.; and it was because of his heroic accomplishment of the tasks devolving upon him as guardian of the flock of Christ, and not because of his protection of artists, that we designate him as a grand Pontiff.

All the Popes have defended the independence of their See as an indispensable requisite for the proper performance of their pontifical duties; and all, from the first foundation of their temporal dominion, have guarded the integrity of their States as an essential of their independence (1); but Julius II. may be styled as pre-eminently the Pope of the temporal power. His predecessor, Alexander VI., utilizing the services of Cæsar Borgia, had defended his temporal rights with all the ardor of the most irreproachable Pontiffs; and Julius continued that policy even against Borgia, compelling him to surrender the fiefs which he had usurped. Though he was far advanced in years when he donned the tiara, his entire pontificate was a defence of the Papal territory from the "barbarians" who had appropriated much of it, and were yearning for the remainder. We may smile when we here this fiery Pope-King shouting his battle-cry: "Out of Italy with the barbarians!" But we must remember that at that time the refinement of the Cisalpine nations, if compared with the culture of the Italians, was not worthy of the name; and certainly the uncomplimentary designation was a natural one in the mouth of the sovereign of that people whose ancestors had been accustomed to flatter themselves, by the same use of the term, on the exclusive posses-

(1) See our chapter on "St. Leo IX. and Pius IX.," in vol. I.

sion of the traits which mollify the human animal. And besides the Gaul and the German, whom Julius naturally apostrophized as "barbarians," there were other enemies of the Papal royalty who were intestine, and whose conduct in face of their priestly sovereign but too frequently proved that they also were not unworthy of the same characterization. It is remarkable that in his desperate struggle with these imperialists, Julius II. invoked no aid from a foreigner. He wanted no other swords than Italian ones to preserve the independence of the peninsula and of the ecclesiastical domain.

Julius II., with his sword, settled for his day that question of the Papal temporal royalty which our day thinks it has solved in a very different sense. That is "what is left of his policy and of his military enterprises." But does this soldier-priest correspond to the ideal of that sanctity which befits a Pontiff? Well, if holiness consists solely in austerity and peaceful contemplation, then there have been many Popes more holy than Julius II.; but if there is, for a Pontiff, a sanctity founded on the fulfilment of his tremendous responsibilities in spite of every danger, then Julius also had much of that sanctity. But he drew the material sword, and the Church is supposed *abhorre a sanguine*—to abstain from blood. True, yet Popes who are canonized saints have not hesitated to wield the sword in defence of the Patrimony of the Church; and the blood which they would have abstained from shedding was that which would have been unjustly or uselessly spilt, not that the loss of which would have redounded to the glory of God and the good of His Church. There are some Catholics nowadays in Italy and France who are called "Catholics of resignation"—those who are fain to believe that since Our Lord was crucified for the foundation of the Church, that Church should willingly offer herself to be crucified in turn. But such is not the mind of the Church herself. She shuddered not because of the blood shed in the Crusades; nor because of that, for instance, poured forth by Peter d'Aubusson, a religious at Malta; or by that shed by more than a hundred cardinals (Vitelleschi, for example), who have successfully command-

ed her armies. Michelangelo was a devout Catholic, yet he scrupled not to portray Julius II. sword in hand; and while Catholics like Ciaconius have misunderstood this Pontiff, and Protestants like Sismondi have calumniated him, the great artist is his real historian. Unfortunately, the history recorded in bronze by Michelangelo no longer exists; the French enemies of Julius destroyed this masterpiece when they sacked Bologna; and the duke of Ferrara, who discerned the hero in the Pontiff, used some of the fragments in the construction of a cannon, which he nobly named *Julius II.* "But the head of the statue escaped; and it was of such majestic beauty, and showed such an ascendancy of expression, that it impressed even the Bolognese insurgents; and they did not dare to touch it, any more than those historians—blindly religious or philosophistic—who wrote before Rohrbacher and Audin, have touched the figure of the heroic Pontiff" (1). Audin and Rohrbacher were both Frenchmen; but they did not imitate King Louis XII., the foe of Julius, complaining that a Pope had no business to fight a French monarch. They realized that the Julius II. who scaled the ramparts of Bologna was the same Pontiff who thundered against the second schismatic Council of Pisa, and that in both instances he but fulfilled his duty. This Pope, in fine, may well be styled the Julius Cæsar of the Papacy, but conquering the Gauls, not in their own country, but in his dominions, which they had invaded; and amid all his bloody contests he ever shone forth as a true priest. He was a thorough Pope, whether in the field or in the Vatican; always surrounded by his cardinals, even in battle, where these latter, like Cardinal dei Medici at Ravenna, assisted the dying.

The only "vice" with the possession of which Julius II. has been reproached is anger. But a careful study of his life will evince that the choler in which he sometimes indulged was of that kind which besieges Heaven. His anger was generous; for it was extenuated only when there was a question of the honor of God or of the welfare of his country. In vain do certain writers charge him with an implacable

(1) BARBEY D'AUREVILLY; *Men and Works*, vol. VIII., p. 171. Paris, 1887.

hatred for the French. Was it to be expected that he would remain passive while Louis XII. pitched his tents on Italian soil, in the very territories of the Holy See? Julius II. left the world, says M. Dumesnil, "tired of his ambitious projects." Twice he conquered Bologna; he restored Perugia to the Papal obedience; he added Parma, Piacenza, etc., to the States of the Church; and was about to seize Ferrara when death overtook him. All this simply signifies that our Pontiff retook what belonged to the Holy See. However, as we have observed, Julius II. is not entirely reprobate in the eyes of our philosophistic friends; his artistic tastes almost merit for him a place among the elect. "The conduct of Julius II. in reference to art and artists is as worthy of all praise as his policy is worthy of reprobation." So thinks M. Dumesnil, incapable as he is of realizing that to the world-scanning eye of a Roman Pontiff art and artists must be, comparatively speaking, things of minor consequence.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SEVENTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL ; FIFTH LATERAN.

When Pope Julius II. had resolved upon the actuation of his policy regarding Italy, he began by forming the "League of Cambray," concluded in 1508 between the Holy See, the king of France, the emperor Maximilian, and the king of England, against the Venetians whose usurpations of the Pontifical rights and territories had become intolerable. Reduced to extremity, the Venetians yielded; and as Venice alone could then restrain the Turkish advance into Europe, Julius granted her pardon and dissolved the League. But the French remained in Italy; and they aided Alfonso d'Este, duke of Ferrara, in a revolt against the Pope, his suzerain. In 1510 Julius excommunicated the king of France, and entered into an alliance with the Swiss and the kings of Spain and England. In the war which followed, Louis XII. was not content with the use of merely material weapons. He immediately convoked an assembly of the French clergy at Tours, and caused the adoption of a number of "Conclusions,"

all hostile to the claims of the Pontiff. The first question proposed was: "Is it allowable to the Pope to war on secular princes concerning territories not belonging to the Church?" The unanimous reply was in the negative. The other Conclusions were logical consequences of this one (1). Louis XII. then proceeded to further and most unjustifiable extremes. In conjunction with the emperor Maximilian I. he assembled a "General Council" for the purpose of deposing Julius. Nine cardinals, feigning indignation because, as they asserted, the Pontiff would not convoke a Council, as he had sworn to do, were found willing to promote this imitation of the Pseudo-Council of Basel; but only four of them attended the sessions. At the opening of the conventicle, two archbishops and fourteen bishops, with the abbots of St. Denis and St. Menard (all Frenchmen) were present; before the close sixteen other French bishops attended. The first three Sessions of this would-be Second General Council of Pisa were held in that city in November, 1511; five were held in Milan, January to April, 1512; and finally the members adjourned to meet at Asti, and then in Lyons, but as a Synod they transacted no more business. The principal act of this factious assembly was a pretended suspension of Julius II. in its Eighth Session.

Scarcely had Pope Julius been informed of the schismatical action of the emperor and the French king, than, under date of July 18, 1511, he issued the Constitution *Non sine gravi*, convoking a General Council to meet in the Lateran Basilica on April 19, of the following year. He denied that he had been reluctant to call a General Council, appealing to the well-known fact that his vivid desire to behold such an assembly had procured for him the hostility of Alexander VI. He gave good reasons for having deferred the convocation; and insisted that Rome alone was, in the circumstances, a proper place for the meeting. Finally, in the fulfilment of his duty, he invalidated whatever would be transacted in the Pisan conventicle.

In accordance with the above convocation the Seventeenth General Council was solemnly opened by Julius II. in per-

(1) They are all given by Alexandre, *Cent. XVI., dissert. XI., art. 3.*

son on May 3, 1512; the battle of Ravenna having interfered with the prescribed date. The sermon was preached by the famous Ægidius of Viterbo, general of the Augustinians, and afterward a cardinal. Ægidius began by stating that he had predicted, some years before, while explaining the *Apocalypse*, that the Church was threatened with evils, but that a reformation of morals would remedy them. "I rejoice," he then said, "on perceiving to-day that my prediction was not entirely false. Things are reduced to the last extremes; we are engulfed in a sea of evils; furious tempests assail us from every quarter; but we find consolation in one ray of hope." He then spoke of the good and the need of Councils, and described the miseries which the synodals were expected to alleviate. "Can we see without moaning, and without shedding tears of blood, the corruption of this perverse age; the monstrous disorder reigning in the morals of men; the ignorance, ambition, uncleanness, libertinage, and impiety, which triumph even in the sanctuary, whence such shames ought to be eternally banished? Who can behold with dry eyes the plains of Italy more drenched with blood than with the waters of heaven? Innocence is oppressed; cities are stained with the blood of their pitilessly slaughtered citizens; the public squares are filled with the unburied dead. The whole Christian world has recourse to you, and implores your protection." Addressing the Pontiff, the orator praised him for having rendered travel secure in his dominions, and for having reclaimed and restored many cities to the patrimony of the Church. "But Christian Europe expects something greater than all this from your prudence, courage, and zeal; if I may dare to so express my thoughts, she awaits something more worthy of your Holiness. The establishment of concord among Christian princes; their union in arms against the common enemy (the Turk); their use of all their strength in repelling this cruel and redoubtable foe of our holy religion—behold a more glorious design, and the only one which will immortalize the name of your Holiness."

At the first assembling of the prelates, there were counted sixteen cardinals, eighty-three archbishops and bishops, and a few abbots; but when the eighth session was held, there

were in attendance twenty-five cardinals, one hundred and twelve archbishops and bishops, and four generals of orders. The First Session, held on May 10, was devoted to the ceremonies usual at the commencement of a Council. In the Second, celebrated on May 17, the Papal Bull invalidating the acts at Pisa was read. The Third Session was not held until Dec. 3, owing to the presence of contagious diseases in the Eternal City. When the fathers reassembled, the secretary read an act of procuration whereby the emperor Maximilian empowered the bishop of Gurk to condemn, in his name, the proceedings of the conventicles of Tours and Pisa. The Fourth Session took place on Dec. 10. The Pontiff ordered the secretary to read the *Letters Patent*, whereby Louis XI., addressing Pope Pius II., had abrogated the *Pragmatic Sanction*. Then the conciliar advocate pronounced a discourse against this famous procedure, demanding its revocation, and advising the citation of all the prelates, chapters, and parliaments of France, that they might furnish the Council with their reasons for impeding its abrogation. Such a citation was drawn up, the summoned parties being allowed sixty days within which to appear before the Council. The Fifth Session, celebrated on Feb. 16, 1513, found Pope Julius seriously ill, and the cardinal Raphael Riario presided. The Council received and approved a Constitution whereby the Pontiff not only prohibited all simony in a Papal election but invalidated any simoniacal election, and deprived all the concurrents therein of the cardinalate and all benefices, also excommunicating these participants, and reserving their cases, unless at the point of death, to a Pontiff legitimately elected. On Feb. 21 Pope Julius II. died, and was succeeded on March 11 by the cardinal John dei Medici, who assumed the name of Leo X.

In the Sixth Session, held on April 27, Pope Leo X. presided. The new Pontiff addressed the synodals, declaring his resolve to continue the Council until a solid peace was secured to Christendom. He signified his wish that the Council would choose fourteen of its members who, joined with certain cardinals whom he would select, would form three congregations for the purpose of procuring, firstly,

peace among Christian princes ; secondly, a general reformation, embracing also the Roman court ; thirdly, the abrogation of the *Pragmatic Sanction*. In the Seventh Session, held on June 17, the cardinals Carvajal and Sanseverino abjured the schism of Pisa, but were not at once restored to their dignity ; not until the 27th were they reinvested with the cardinalitial scarlet, and admitted to the kiss of peace, receiving as penance the obligation of fasting once a week for the rest of their lives. In the Eighth Session, on Dec. 17, the ambassadors of Louis XII. presented that king's renunciation of the coventicle of Pisa, then sitting at Lyons, and his recognition of the Lateran Council. The Pontiff condemned the doctrine that the intellective soul of man is mortal ; also the teaching that the soul is one and the same, *unica*, in all men. It was resolved to send legates to all Christian sovereigns, imploring them to turn their arms against the Turks. In the Ninth Session, held on May 5, 1514, the procurator charged the absent French bishops with contumacy ; but it having been shown that these prelates had started on their journey, but had been detained by the duke of Milan, Pope Leo extended the time allowed for their appearance. Then a reformatory Bull was read, and among the passages relating to the cardinals we note the following. " Out of reverence for the Apostolic See, . . . we decree that no cardinal shall reveal, by word, writing, or in any other manner, anything heard, said, or performed, in the Consistory, which might turn to the scandal or prejudice of any person ; and this we decree under pain of perjury and disobedience." In the Tenth Session, on May 5, 1515, was issued a Constitution declaring the lawfulness of the *Monti di Pietà*, institutions for the relief of the poor, common in Italy from the days of Paul II., and which, unlike the pawnbrokers, charged an interest merely sufficient to meet the necessary expenses of the establishments. Another decree concerned the printing of books. Pope Leo X. says that the Holy See has heard that many persons are publishing translations from the Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldean, and Greek, of works containing pernicious dogmas. He orders that hereafter there shall be printed no book which

has not been examined and approved by the ecclesiastical authorities.

The Eleventh Session was delayed until Dec. 19, 1516. The deputies of Peter, patriarch of the Maronites of the Lebanon, were admitted to tender their obedience to the Pontiff. In the patriarch's letter was a *Profession of Faith*, wherein the Maronites avowed their belief in the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son; in the doctrine of Purgatory; and in the necessity of communicating at the Paschal time. The patriarch thanked his Holiness for having sent a Franciscan friar to the Lebanon to instruct the Maronites on certain points of Catholic doctrine, and in regard to certain ceremonies which they failed to observe. Then was read a Concordat (1) made at Boulogne with the king of France. Then followed the reading of a Bull abrogating the *Pragmatic Sanction*. We quote the following passages: "Following the instructions of St. Peter, we ought to use every care in upholding the regulations of our predecessors in everything concerning obedience, ecclesiastical liberty and authority, and the deliverance of simple souls from the snares set for them by the prince of darkness. Pope Julius II., our predecessor of happy memory, having assembled the Holy Council of the Lateran; and having considered that the *Pragmatic Sanction* was still in force, to the injury of souls and the detriment of this Holy See; he appointed certain cardinals to examine it. And although said *Sanction* was notoriously null for many reasons; although it entailed a manifest schism in the Church; and although it might properly have been pronounced abusive, and have been abrogated; nevertheless our predecessor

(1) By this agreement the king of France received the right of nominating to bishoprics and other prelatures during the six months following the vacancy; the nomination was to be referred to the Pope, who could refuse to confirm it; if this confirmation was refused, the king could make another nomination in three months; if he did not do so, the right pertained to the Pontiff. Many of the Gallican prelates opposed this Concordat; the famous Genezard, archbishop of Aix, styled it "a mystery of iniquity whereby the French church was ruined" (*Chron.*, b. IV., y. 1517). This convention remained in force in France down to 1789. It was partly reproduced and partly replaced by the Napoleonic Concordat of 1801. After the restoration of the Bourbons, it was renewed in a Concordat concluded on June 17, 1817, between Pius VII. and Louis XVIII., which annulled the Bonaparte instrument of 1801; however, the Chamber of Deputies rejected the new convention, and hence it was not enforced. The revolution of July, 1830, restored the Concordat of 1801, together with its "organic articles;" but in practice it was often ignored.

wished, by way of precaution, to examine into its abuses, and to cite the bishops ... who enforced it. As this citation was of no avail because of various impediments, and as death visited Pope Julius before the affair could be decided, we ourselves deemed it proper to resume it. ... Therefore having consulted the cardinals of Holy Roman Church and many very learned persons, we deem it proper to entirely abolish that *Pragmatic Sanction*—already, indeed, revoked by King Louis XI.—just as did our predecessor, Leo I., whose footsteps we follow, when in the Council of Chalcedon he revoked all that had been rashly ordained against Catholic faith and justice in the (Pseudo) Council of Ephesus. It is in imitation of him that we believe we can and ought to abolish this *Pragmatic* and all its contents, without any consideration for its pretended authority from the Council of Basel and the assembly of Bourges ; for its acceptance occurred after Pope Eugenius IV. had condemned that Council. ... In the fulness of our Apostolic power and authority, and with the approbation of the Holy Council, we ordain and declare that the *Pragmatic Sanction* possesses no authority. We annul all the decrees, statutes, regulations, and ordinances therein contained ; and all which have been inserted therein, no matter whence they may have emanated ” (1). In the Twelfth Session, March 16, 1517, the usual Mass of opening was sung by the cardinal Carvajal, who had been the chief promoter of the conventicle of Pisa. A Bull was then published to the effect that there was no need of prolonging the Lateran Council, since peace was now established between Christian princes ; a reformation of morals had been regulated ; the conventicle of Pisa had been abolished. An imposition of tithes on all benefices was ordered, said tithes to be devoted to a war on the Turks.

More than mere mention should be accorded to the decrees issued by this Council in reference to the *Monti di Pietà* and the publication of books. The reader of Dante will remember that the divine poet assigns the unnaturally

(1) Concerning the history and meaning of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, see chap. viii. on Pope Pius II.

impure and usurers to the same place in hell. From this fact we may form some idea of the extent of what was really the queen social evil of the Middle Age; for the theologically accurate mind of the sublime Florentine would not have likened the heinousness of usury to that of the Gomorrhaites, had his heart not bled at the sight of the woes entailed by the rapacity of the money-lending Jews of his day. The first person to excogitate a remedy for an evil which sapped the source of public prosperity was a Franciscan friar, Barnabo of Perugia, who flourished in the middle of the fifteenth century. In one of his sermons this real reformer besought the wealthy and the well-to-do to enable him to establish a new kind of pawn-broker's shop under municipal control, which would lend money on portable securities, but at a rate of interest as low as the mere expenses of the institution would permit. The eloquence of the friar produced the desired effect; from all sides money, jewels, and precious objects of art were laid at his feet, and funds were immediately obtained for the first Mountain of Charity—so-called because of the immense space which was occupied by the securities, grain and other bulky articles being commonly pledged. The new institution was immediately approved by the Holy See, and throughout Italy similar ones were established by the charity of the wealthy, who thus, under ecclesiastical guidance, became the bankers of the poor. In vain did the Jews exercise every art to prevent the spread of an institution which deprived them of their chief source of wealth; men like the friars, Barnabo of Perugia and Bernardino of Feltre, were superior to bribes, and even courted death in the cause of God's poor. However, the usurers gathered some grains of comfort when the great Dominican theologian, Cajetan, attacked what he styled the Mountains of Impiety. This erudite casuist and exemplary churchman, a rigid Thomist, contended that if the twenty per cent. of the Jews was condemnable, the two per cent. of the new institutions was just as bad in the eyes of the true moralist. He who charges one cent of interest, contended Cajetan, let the form or the person be of any nature whatsoever, violates the commandments of God. The Dominicans ranged themselves on the

side of him who was one of the great ornaments of their Order; while the Franciscans planted themselves on the firm ground of the needs of society. In 1484 Sixtus IV., and in 1506 Julius II., pronounced in favor of the *Monti*. Finally, in the Fifth Lateran Council, after a brief but lucid explanation of the controversy, Pope Leo X. declared that the founders of the *Monti di Pietà* had been animated by an enlightened zeal for truth, as well as by an ardent charity for men; and in the exercise of his Apostolic authority, the Pontiff prohibited the application of the term "usurious" to institutions approved by the Holy See, establishments which demanded, by way of interest, a comparatively trifling sum in liquidation of their necessary expenses.

That the invention of printing was one of the most beneficent ever welcomed by man, no sane mind will deny; but that its abuse has been fraught with consequences more deleterious to civilized man than those produced by any other human agency, is so evident that the presentation of any proof of the fact would excite derision. When this subject was laid before the Seventeenth General Council, the synodals were as firmly convinced as is any impartial thinker of our day, that the passions of men too often turn one of the most beautiful gifts of God into an engine of intellectual and spiritual death. Pope Leo X. could tell of the dangerous power of printed words, as experienced by him in the city of Lorenzo the Magnificent; fresh in his memory were the thuds of the press which struck off the improvisations of Savonarola, destined to subvert his family as well as to excite contempt for Pope Alexander VI. And he may have thought as Audin did in our day, that the unfortunate friar of St. Mark's would not have ascended the pyre, if at that time every lucubration of an ecclesiastic was submitted, before publication, to the censorship of his natural judge, his episcopal ordinary. Many years before this Council, the Christian pulpit and professorial chairs had denounced the license of the press. In 1500, Vitalis of Thebes, professor of law, complained of those many printers who, for shameful profit, published works written "in language which would not have been heard in the ancient *Lupercalia*." Gerson publicly proclaimed that he

would no more pray for the author of the *Romance of the Rose*, than he would for Judas; did he not know that the wretched man had repented before he died. In 1486 we hear Berthold, archbishop of Mayence, warning his flock against the many licentious books then circulating on all sides. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Seventeenth General Council published the following decree: "In order that what has been invented for the glory of God, for the propagation of the faith, and for the better cultivation of literature, be not distorted to contrary purposes, and thus become a danger for the faithful of Christ; we have deemed it our duty to direct our attention to the printers of books, so that henceforth thorns may not grow with the good grain, and poisons may not be mixed with remedies. Wishing to arrange this matter in a proper way, in order that the printing-press may be the more successful through proper supervision; we decree and ordain that now and ever hereafter no person dare, either in our city or in any other city or diocese, to print any book or writing whatsoever, unless said books or writings have been carefully examined, in Rome by our vicar and by the master of our apostolic palace, and in other cities or dioceses by the bishop or by some one deputed by him; etc."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PONTIFICATE OF LEO X.

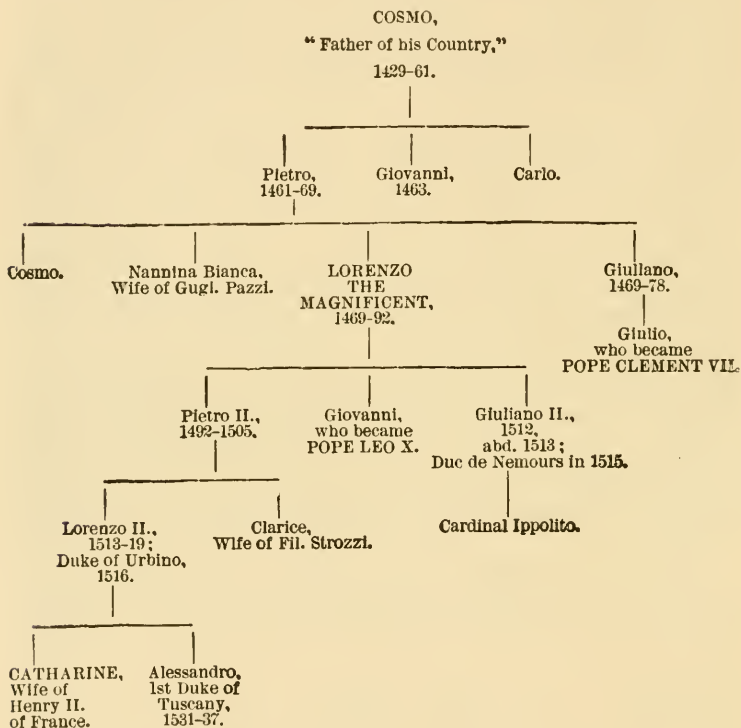
We now approach the reign of a Pontiff whom historians have glorified by giving his name to the age in which he flourished. Just as we read of the Age of Pericles, of Augustus, and of Louis XIV., so we read of the Age of Leo X. Only one Pope, St. Gregory VII., has been similarly distinguished; and in his case, the presumed honor has not been so universally accorded. It may be doubted, however, whether this species of apotheosis befits the favored son of Lorenzo the Magnificent more specially than it would several other successors of St. Peter. Certainly the seventh Gregory and Innocent III. dominated their epoch as Leo X. never dreamed

of influencing his times. A historian should not very readily bestow the qualification of "grand" upon a particular Roman Pontiff; upon one of that long series, the immense majority of whose members were men of uncommon intellectual calibre, of heroic force of character, and of consummate sanctity—men who influenced the society of their day as no secular leader did, and for whose lives nearly all thinking men of succeeding years have thanked the Giver of Mercies. The calm investigator will hesitate, ere he styles the tenth Leo a great Pontiff; but the reign of this Pope will ever claim especial attention until its course has been run by the heresy which was born at that time. When Protestantism shall have met the fate which must inevitably overtake all systems which oppose the teaching authority of the Spouse of Christ, then men may show less interest in Leo X. When treating of Pope Julius II., we deprecated the tendency of certain writers to discern in that Pontiff merely a Mæcenas for artists; but historical justice demands that the chief claims of Leo X. to our admiration be recognized as founded in the literary and artistic features of his character.

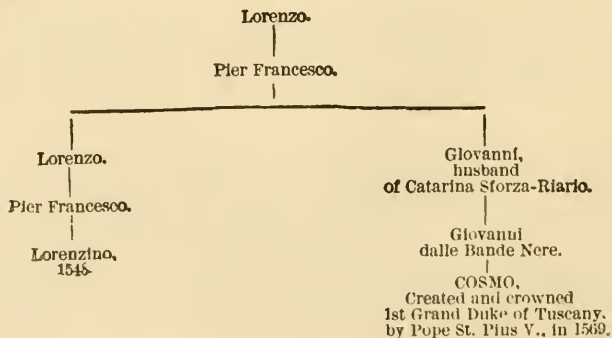
Giovanni dei Medici, born in Florence in 1475, was the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, who was a grandson of that Cosmo dei Medici who had quietly founded a tyranny of wealth in Florence, without any apparent change in the constitution or laws of the republic, and had thus laid the first foundations of a dynasty which was to rule over Tuscany during two centuries (1531–1737), and to fill the annals of Europe with its renown for both good and evil (1). An atmosphere of art and learning environed Giovanni in his infancy; as a child he played at the knees of that Gentile of Urbino who had been the first tutor of his accomplished father;

(1) As in the case of all families which have become pre-eminently celebrated in the annals of history, some genealogists have been found able to discover for the Medici a very ancient and honorable pedigree. But with the exception of Canth, no modern historian has drawn attention to the genealogy furnished to the Medici by a Grecian tradition. According to this legend, the Medici descended from the Mikali, a family which has been famous for many centuries, even to our day, in the Peloponnesus. Be this as it may, the first of the Medici to become prominent in the Florentine annals was Giovanni di Bicci (1421–29), from whose two sons, Cosmo and Lorenzo, descended the two great lines of the family. The line of Cosmo is as follows:

and his early youth blossomed unto glorious promise under the inspiration of such preceptors as Poliziano, Chalcondyla, and Verino. Quite naturally his special masters were



THE LINE OF LORENZO:



the best that Italy, and therefore Europe, could furnish; and a much weaker intellect than his would have thrived unto magnificent fruition when cultivated by professors like Marsilio Ficino and the truly wonderful Pico della Mirandola. Destined to the priesthood from his birth, Giovanni was only seven years old when he received the clerical tonsure; and only eight when the abbey of Passignano was conferred upon him by Pope Sixtus IV. It is sad, rather than amusing, to note that Audin, the ultra panegyrist of Leo X., describes this and other premature collation of benefices on the child of the Magnificent as "the first of the innumerable favors which Heaven had reserved for the ducal boy;" and that the same author sympathizes with "the new joys which nearly every day filled the heart of Lorenzo" as he saw the ecclesiastical emoluments rapidly accumulating for one who was almost a mere babe in arms. When the boy was scarcely able to dispense with the cares of a nurse, "nothing was wanting but a cardinal's hat, and that was ardently desired by Lorenzo and his court." However, it is certain that Giovanni was a lad of marked virtue, as well as of great precocity; and when, in his thirteenth year, he was nominated to the Sacred College by Innocent VIII., on condition that he should pass three years in the study of Canon Law before being invested with the insignia of his dignity, his piety was acclaimed as sufficient to preclude scandal. He spent the probationary period at the University of Pisa, the institution whose very walls spoke of Dante, and where the students always lifted their caps when they passed the statue of the divine poet which stood in the great hall. In 1491, having taken his degree in Canon Law, Giovanni received his cardinalitial robes, and proceeded to Rome. Warmly welcomed by Pope Innocent VIII., he entered the august Senate of the Church, and there made his first acquaintance with those cardinals who were to be the Pontiffs, Alexander VI., Pius III., and Julius II. In the Eternal City the young cardinal easily satisfied his tastes as philosopher, archæologist, poet, and musician; and his most exquisite enjoyment was the society of the Academicians who assembled around Pomponio Leto. If we may

judge by the almost unanimous voice of authors who knew him well, Cardinal dei Medici always conducted himself as his father had advised, when, shortly after the young prelate had entered the Sacred College, the doting though prudent parent wrote: "Never forget that you do not owe the cardinalate to your own merits. . . . Continue the studies which are so necessary to success in your state of life. You edified me greatly last year, when you approached the Sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist so frequently; persevere in this course, for through it alone will you remain in the grace of God. . . . You will find many men of piety and learning in the Sacred College, and they should be your models. In the arrangement of your household, think more of an appropriate respectability than of a show of wealth. Jewels and silks are not things for a man of your profession; but surround yourself with books and antiques. Employ very few, but worthy domestics. Give more hospitality than you accept, but have the simplest dishes at your table. . . . I would especially recommend you to form the habit of rising early from your bed; for you will thus not only preserve your health, but you will assist with greater promptitude at the divine offices, and you will have more time for study, audiences, etc. I would give you another bit of advice. When you retire at night, think of what you will have to do on the following day, so that you may be somewhat prepared for emergencies."

On the seventh day of the Conclave which had met to select a successor to Julius II., the cardinal Giovanni dei Medici was raised to the Chair of Peter as Leo X. Among the letters of congratulation which the new Pontiff received from all parts of Christendom, two are remarkable, one from a poor monk who had been his first teacher of Latin, and the other from a philosopher who probably expected a rich reward for his flatteries. Peter Delfini, superior of the Camaldoli Benedictines at Venice, spared a few moments from the study of the precious manuscripts which ever surrounded him, in order to give another lesson, though indirectly, to his quondam pupil. "You have assumed the name of Leo as a sign of wisdom and of terror; of wisdom in regard to the obedient,

and of the fear which the rebellious must entertain. That name will be the object of veneration, on the part of all who bear the Christian name. May you be blessed; for you have followed the examples of the old race of the Medici, keeping your ears ever open to the cries of the poor. Undoubtedly you still attend to the duty of hospitality enjoined by the Apostle, and you remember that many have found grace in the Lord, because of the hospitality which they accorded to angels." Now hearken to the adulation proffered by Erasmus: "Leo X. will give us the successful administration of Leo I.; the pious erudition and the musical tastes of Leo II.; the fruitful eloquence and the soul of Leo III., which never failed in either good or evil fortune; the simplicity and prudence of Leo IV.; the holy tolerance of Leo V.; the love of peace of Leo VI.; the truly celestial life of Leo VII.; the integrity of Leo VIII.; the beneficence of Leo IX. All these you will give us; we have a guarantee of them in those holy names which are so many oracles of the past and of the future." The elevation of Giovanni dei Medici to the supreme magistracy of Christendom was hailed with joy by the learned and the artistic; and the reader will find graphic details of all that he effected to justify their acclamations, in the pages of Cantù, Audin, and Roscoe. We shall merely allude to a few of the acts which illustrate this side of his character.

Pope Alexander VI. had greatly developed and magnificently endowed the University of the Sapienza; and Pope Julius II., far from diverting its revenues, as Roscoe falsely asserts, had granted to its purposes certain revenues of the Capitol. With its means for usefulness thus augmented, the Sapienza expected to fulfil the destiny augured for it by Pope Nicholas V., when, in the words of the Protestant Casaubon, "He raised the banner of science, apparently buried forever in the ruins of Byzantium; and thus he dissipated the darkness which was lowering over the world, and caused Rome to emit the light of literature and art." But it was not enough for Leo X. that the Sapienza should merely rival the Universities of Bologna, Milan, and Pavia, in the intellectual primacy of Europe. By a Bull dated Dec. 19, 1513,

he urged the students to abandon the false philosophy of Plato, and to disregard the allurements of a poetry which corrupted the soul; reminding the professors that they were to teach virtue, even more than science—a strange proceeding, if, as we are asked to believe, the tastes of this Pontiff were more pagan than Christian. He took care that the corps of instructors should be sufficiently numerous to ensure a thorough care for the progress of each student. Thus, for instance, Rhetoric was taught by six professors; Greek by three and many assistants; Canon Law by eleven; Civil Law by twenty; Moral Philosophy by five; Medicine by fifteen. He provided for the payment of professorial salaries which must have caused the managing boards of the universities in other lands to stand aghast; for example, the professors of Greek—Valdo, Chalcondyla, and Varino Favorino—received 300 golden florins a year, and many other emoluments, while similar posts were elsewhere generally filled for 60 florins (1). Many writers follow Pallavicino in asserting that Leo X. was so entranced by the beauties of secular literature, that he neglected theologians; but it is certain that the most prominent theological luminaries of the Council of Trent came from the Sapienza. Certainly, Leo X. did not neglect Thomas de Vio (Cajetan), when he made him a cardinal; nor did he forget Prierio, when he appointed him to the mastership of the Apostolic Palace; nor did he frown on the great canonist, Jacovacci, or on the exegetist, Sadoletto, when he gave the red hat to the former, and made the latter his private secretary. We read that in the early days of Christianity, the bishops used to turn their sacristies into libraries; and much of that spirit was evinced by Leo X., in his zealous search for valuable books and manuscripts. Nicholas V., Calixtus III.,

(1) Among the many celebrated men of genius whom the wise liberality of Leo X. drew to the Sapienza or to the papal court, we may mention Machiavelli; Bembo, who, when yet a boy, was one of the best Hellenists in Europe, but whose ultra-classicism has led many to regard him as a personification of paganism; Sadoletto, the private secretary of the Pope; Musuro; Calergi, the editor of Pindar and of Theocritus; Aldo Manuzio, the printer; Favorino, the papal librarian; Forteguerri, the philologist; Beroaldo, the editor of Tacitus; Ambrogio, the orientalist; Guidacerio, the hebraicist; Pagni, the biblicist; Alemanni, the philologist; Fracastoro, the physician-poet; Tristino, the diplomat-poet; Calcagnini, the astronomer; Inghirami, the orator, and conservator of the Vatican Library; Merino and Palosio, the musicians; the poets Ariosto, Accolti, Berni, Folengi, Racellai, Sannazzaro, Vida; and the humanist, Flaminio.

Pius II., and Paul II. had greatly augmented the Vatican Library; and Sixtus IV. had conceived the idea of opening it to the literary public. Leo X. sent the humanist Beroaldo and other bibliophiles into all parts of the civilized world, with instructions to spare neither money nor fatigue in the effort to acquire precious manuscripts; and Beroaldo is quaintly pathetic in narrating how, in obedience to his enthusiastic master, he suffered from hunger, thirst, heat, and dirt, in his efforts to give liberty to long-immured ancient writers. Among the innumerable manuscripts which our Pontiff thus procured for the literary treasury of the Vatican, we may mention one of Tacitus, found in the abbey of New Corbie in Saxony, and for which the then enormous sum of 500 sequins was paid. In the decree whereby the Pope forbade any infringement of the authorized printer's rights in the matter of this work, he termed literature, "the most beautiful gift, after religion, which the goodness of God has preferred to man; our glory in misfortune, and our consolation." When the printed work appeared, its title-page bore the announcement, beneath the escutcheon of the Pontiff, that this fosterer of classical studies would reward munificently all who would bring to him any ancient book which had not yet been edited. It was with money donated by Leo X. that Ariosto published his *Orlando Furioso*; but if the reader is disposed to blame the papal Mæcenæ for encouraging this lucubration, he should remember that the *Furioso* which we read is not the one which the poet submitted to his protector in 1515. The latter effusion was in forty cantos; and when the author issued another edition in 1532, from which the modern ones are copied, he had added six cantos, and had effected many notable changes in the poem. Leo X. was an enthusiast in chess; and when he learned that the Eternal City was harboring Vida of Cremona, a canon-regular who had written a curious poem on the far from poetical game, he caused the scribe to be led into his presence. The result of the interview was the poem *Cristiade*: for Leo had told Vida that the time had come when poets should abandon the mountain of Helicon for that of Calvary. "In the crib of Bethlehem," said he, "is enshrined a magnificent epic, the *Cris-*

tiade; that is, an account of how the world escaped from the clutches of the demon, culpable humanity being redeemed by the blood of Jesus. Away with pagan books! A Christian should open but one book, when he desires a subject well worthy of his contemplation." It was through the encouragement of Leo that Sannazaro, the author of the *Arcadia*, probably one of the most beautiful of the inspirations of the Italian Muse, forsook worldly for religious poetry. The great professor, Zerrabini, whose academical name of Flaminio may be more familiar to the reader, entrusted his son, Marc' Antonio, to the protection of Leo; and it was the fostering care of the Pontiff that developed one of the most illustrious minds of the Renaissance.

When Leo X. assumed the direction of the Universal Church, the fanciedly keen observers who then, as ever, abounded in the world, proclaimed that the great intellectual movement of the Renaissance, begun (so far as Italy was concerned) toward the end of the thirteenth century, had reached its zenith; and that therefore the reign of peace and justice was now at hand. On April 6, 1513, our Pontiff opened the sixth session of the Council of the Lateran; the schismatic cardinals nearly all returned to their duty, and the pseudo-synod of Pisa was as though it had not been. Louis XII. of France was reconciled with the Holy See, but when that monarch had been succeeded by Francis I. (Jan. 1, 1515), the Pontiff saw with chagrin that the French aspirations for the domination of the Milanais were again encouraged. He immediately made an offensive and defensive alliance with Spain and the empire; for, ever faithful to the traditional policy of the Popes—the deliverance of Italy from a foreign yoke, and the perpetuation of the papal temporal dominion—such a course appeared to be the sole means of checking the enterprising spirit of Francis I. The late king of France, Louis XII., called by his subjects, "the father of his people," and forced by popular delirium to cross the Alps with drawn sword, had derived no serious advantage from his thirteen years of campaigning; having vindicated his rights as grandson of Valentina Visconti, and posed as "King of Jerusalem and of Sicily, and Duke of Milan," he allowed

himself to be drawn into an attempt on the kingdom of Naples. Oppressed by sickness, he had not sufficient energy to combat the energy of Julius II.; nor had he enough of cunning to oppose successfully that Ferdinand of Aragon who, when he heard of the French king's complaint that his Aragonese majesty had deceived him twice, cynically replied that he had duped Louis at least ten times. By the defeat on the Garigliano, the French lost the kingdom of Naples for the second time. The victory of Agnadell, as unfortunate as a defeat, and the victory of Ravenna, in which the death of Gaston de Foix deprived France of hope in the near future; finally, the defeat of Novara, which entailed the loss of the Milanais; formed the culmination of the deplorable enterprise. But Francis I., the veritable hero of that epoch, was of calibre very different from Louis XII.; and after his great victory of Marignan over the Swiss Confederates, a victory which deprived the Swiss of all future influence in Italian matters, the combined power of Spain, Germany, and their Italian allies could not have prevented his reduction of the Two Sicilies, and, if he had been so disposed, his dismemberment of the States of the Church. In this emergency, our Pontiff entered into negotiations with the conqueror; but the conditions offered by Francis were very severe. Certainly, the Pontiff's family pride was gratified by the guarantee of the authority possessed by the Medici, in the Florentine state; but the king insisted on the cession of the pontifical territories of Parma and Piacenza, a step which would have established definitively the French domination in Italy. Leo determined, contrary to the advice of many of the cardinals, to hold an interview with the French king. Three places were proposed for the conference; Rome, Florence, and Bologna. The monarch would not choose Rome, and the Pope feared to name Florence, because the *frateschi* (now termed "patriots") might have made trouble; hence on Dec. 11, 1515, Bologna saw the meeting of the two most influential personages of Europe (1). The negotiations lasted for

(1) Contemporary writers tell us that when the two great personages met, the king knelt, kissed the papal slipper, and having been raised by the Pontiff, kissed his cheek. When the Pope invited Francis to be seated, and the king had done so, the royal chancellor advanced, and read, on the part of his Majesty, a protestation of profound homage; and

three days, and the chief points considered were the French demand for the Papal renunciation of sovereignty over Parma and Piacenza; the French desire for the papal sanction to a French conquest of the Two Sicilies; the fate of the rebel duke of Urbino (a nephew of Julius II.); the papal restitution of Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara; and most important of all, the definitive abrogation of that *Pragmatic Sanction* of which we have already treated when scanning the events of the Pontificate of Pius II. Leo X. was forced to the conclusion that prudence bade him yield in the matter of the Parmesan and Piacentine duchies; time might restore them to the Holy See. As to the desire of Francis I. to reign over the Two Sicilies, vassal territories of the Roman Pontiff, here also Leo relied upon time to either moderate the aspirations of France, or to furnish some other attraction for them. Meanwhile he impressed successfully in the mind of the monarch the idea that the king of Aragon was an infirm old man, could not live very long; and that future circumstances might enable the Holy See to find a way of disengaging itself from its engagements with the House of Aragon. Concerning the duke of Urbino, the Pope convinced Francis that his sympathy for that prince was, despite the duke's services to France in the late troubles, very much out

whenever there occurred a passage implying especial submission and devotion to the Holy See, Francis always lifted his cap, although requested by Leo to remain covered. The discourse concluded with the asseveration that the king was the Pontiff's submissive son: "*Tuus e religione, tuus jure, tuus more majorum, tuus consuetudine, tuus fide, tuus voluntate.*" On the next day, the Pope proceeded processionally, preceded by the king surrounded by his highest officers, to the church of S. Petronia, for the celebration of Mass. When his Holiness advanced toward his throne, King Francis insisted on carrying the Papal train, despite the demurrer of Leo; and when the initiatory psalm began, his Majesty knelt, *more acolythi*, and made the responses. He remained on his knees at the foot of the altar until the elevation; and thenceforth, until after the Pope's communion, he was stretched prone on the pavement. When the Pontiff, the deacon, and the sub-deacon had communicated, his Holiness asked the king whether he wished to receive his Lord and God. Francis replied that he was not in the state of grace; but that many of his officers would like to receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ from the hands of His Vicar. As the veterans were approaching, one old soldier cried out from the rear: "Holy father, I would be too happy to communicate at your sacred hands; but since I cannot whisper in your ear, I confess aloud that I fought, and vigorously too, against Pope Julius II." Others then repented the avowal, and from all sides came the cry: "Pardon, pardon!" King Francis also cried: "Most holy father, be not surprised that these gentlemen were foes to Pope Julius. He was by far the greatest of our adversaries, and I never knew a fiercer warrior in a battle. To tell the truth, your Holiness, he would have been better as a general than as Pope." Leo pronounced absolution, and the ceremony proceeded. King Francis communicated in the Dominican church on the following day.

of place ; since the nephew of Pope Julius had become a rebel to the Pope-King. The question of Modena and Reggio was reserved for consideration until the time when Francis should be in condition to reimburse the Holy See the money which Julius II. had paid to the emperor for the investiture of the duchies. No difficulty was experienced in the matter of the *Pragmatic Sanction* ; but there were many serious details to be arranged. For that purpose the Pontiff deputed two cardinals, and the king his chancellor, to draw up the terms of a new *Concordat* ; and finally, on Aug. 18, 1517, was published at Rome that instrument which regulated French ecclesiastical affairs until the Revolution of 1789.

Leo X. did not hesitate to use his power to consolidate that of the House of Medici. He appointed his brother Giulio to the archiepiscopal see of Florence ; he invested his nephew Lorenzo with the ducal crown of Urbino which had been worn by La Rovere ; and he strengthened the Medicean influence in Florence by many powerful alliances. Nevertheless, you will seek in vain for any unworthy or even improper means in the actuation of these projects. But the Pontiff's pride of family made many enemies for him ; and one of the consequent conspiracies resulted in the degradation of three cardinals, and the execution of one. Alfonso Petrucci had been one of the most zealous advocates of the elevation of Cardinal dei Medici to the Popedom ; and after the enthronization of Leo X., he had counted on the gratification of his desire to become governor of Siena—a desire which was quite natural to a scion of that family (Altomonte) which had, for many centuries, almost constantly dominated in that province. When Petrucci saw the coveted magistracy bestowed on the bishop of Grosseto, he began to ruminate on other causes of complaint which his family had against the Medici, and concerted measures for revenge. During many years a painful abscess had afflicted the Pope ; and even in the Conclave which elected him, his trusted surgeon had been obliged to operate for his relief. In the spring of 1517, this practitioner was absent from Rome, and his place was filled by Baptist Vercelli, who was a consummate toxicologist as well as an

able surgeon. Petrucci succeeded in buying the services of Vercelli; and it was arranged that the physician should place a poisoned bandage upon the sore of his august patient. But the modesty of Leo saved his life; he could not bring himself to submit to the ministrations of the stranger. Those who were involved in the plot persistently urged the sufferer to admit Vercelli to the confidence which the regular body physician had enjoyed; but while they were endeavoring to overcome the obstinacy of Leo, the plot was discovered. When arrested, Cardinal Petrucci was confronted with the confession of his secretary, and he finally avowed that he had designed "to rid the world of a tyrant," and to procure the tiara for Cardinal Raphael Riario, the same whom we have seen engaged in the Conspiracy of the Pazzi. He added that besides Riario, he had for accomplices the cardinals Soderini, brother of the famous *gonfaloniere* of Florence; Adrian of Corneto, and Bandinello de Sauli. In the Consistory of June 3, 1517, Soderini and Adrian confessed their crime, after the Pontiff had informed the assembly that he knew that there were two felons in the hall, and that, "in the name of the Crucified Saviour, he would spare their lives, if they avowed their crime." Riario and Sauli had already been arrested. On June 22, Bembo read to his fellow cardinals the sentence of degradation pronounced against Petrucci, Riario, and Sauli. Petrucci was executed in his prison on the following day. There seemed to be much doubt as to the extent of Riario's culpability; that both he and Sauli were cognizant of the plot would appear from their mutual recriminations in the Consistory. It was because of this doubt that though both were condemned to death, the Pontiff commuted the punishment of Riario to a fine of 50,000 ducats (which was paid by that rich Siennese merchant, Chigi, whose palace in the Via Longara was adorned by Raphael); while Sauli was consigned to perpetual imprisonment, but was soon liberated. A few days after the commutation of his sentence, Riario was among the assistants at the Pope's celebration of the Holy Sacrifice; and to his utter astonishment, the Pontiff suddenly turned from the altar, and walking over to him, said: "Most reverend lord, in order that your heart may be at rest,

I offer you my pardon here, in the presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus. In the name of God I forgive you for all that you may have done against me; and as a return I ask you, in the name of Our Lord here present, to banish from your breast all resentment which you may now feel in my regard." And then he tenderly embraced the culprit.

The conspiracy of Petrucci warned Leo X. to reinforce the Sacred College with members whose religious zeal, learning, and tried prudence would contribute to the glory of God, as well as add to the *eclat* of his pontificate. It is well to note the merits of a few of the thirty-one cardinals created in the Consistory of June 26, four days after the degradation of Petrucci and his associates. I. Ægidius of Viterbo, an Augustinian friar, was of such humble stock that he is known only by his monastic name. A pupil of that Mariano of Genazzano, whom Savonarola regarded as a master of eloquence, Ægidius acquired so great a reputation for every virtue that a religious should possess, that in 1507, in the General Chapter held at Naples, he was elected general of his Order. In 1512, he was deputed by Julius II. to deliver the opening oration in the Council of the Lateran, and his eloquent and practical discourse justified the Pontiff's selection. Ægidius was an able humanist; he was at home with Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Greek, and he was at once theologian, philosopher, historian, and poet. Sadoletto compared him to the aurora, and he was one of the luminaries of the Renaissance. The reader will find many of the *Letters* of Ægidius in the *Collection* of Martene and Durand; and they merit attention from him who seeks for details as to this period of history (1). II. Adrian of Utrecht, the son of a poor artisan, owed his education to the charity of a priest and to the admiring commiseration of the widow of Charles the Bold, Margaret of Austria, who then governed the Low Countries. He acquired such learning that he became a professor in the Uni-

(1) The chief works of Ægidius of Viterbo are, *Observations on the Three First Chapters of Genesis*; some *Commentaries on the Psalms*; many *Dialogues and Epistles*; some *Odes* in praise of the statesman and writer, Jovianus Pontanus; and a fine treatise on *The Growth of the Church*. See SADOLETO; *Epist.*, b. III.—BEMBO; *Epist.*, b. II., nos. 13 and 14.—GUICCIARDINI; bk. XII.—PAOLO GIOVIO; *Eulogies on The Learned*, ch. lxxxv.—UGHELLI; *Sacred History*.—AUBREY; *History of the Cardinals*.

versity of Louvain; and in 1507 he was chosen by the emperor Maximilian I. to be the preceptor of his grandson, the future Charles V. He so won the confidence of his pupil that in 1515, when the death of Ferdinand the Catholic (the maternal grandfather of Charles) appeared imminent, the prince sent him to Spain to take possession of the kingdom as soon as the throne was vacant. Ferdinand having died on Jan. 23, 1516, Cardinal Ximenes exhibited a document whereby the late monarch had appointed him regent until the arrival of the hereditary prince; and Charles solved the difficulty by naming Adrian ambassador to the regent, Ximenes. Shortly afterward, Ximenes named Adrian bishop of Tortosa and grand-inquisitor of Aragon. When the revolt of Luther began, Adrian, then cardinal, thought that it could be repressed by an abolition of the abuses of the Curia Romana. "The old professor of theology," says Hefele, "thought that the teachings of Luther were worthy of no person's serious attention; that their sole weight lay in their being an attack on certain real abuses in the Church; and that when those abuses were removed, the Lutherans would abandon their doctrine on grace. But he was mistaken." III. Thomas de Vio, generally mentioned as Cajetan, from the fact that his family were illustrious in Cajeta (Gaeta), was termed emphatically "the great mind, and the miracle of the minds of his time." In spite of the opposition of his parents, he became a Dominican at the age of fifteen (1484); made his first ecclesiastical studies at Naples; and finally received the doctorate at Ferrara. After several years of successful teaching in Padua, his reputation led Cardinal Oliver Caraffa, the cardinal-protector of the Friars-Preachers, to procure his transfer to Rome. In 1500 he became procurator-general of his Order, and in 1508 general. On the occasion of the Pseudo-Council of Pisa, sustained by the faction of the emperor Maximilian and Louis XII., Cajetan greatly encouraged timid spirits, and confounded the rebellious, by his work *On the Power of the Pope*. We shall see him acting as legate of Leo X. in Germany, endeavoring to combat religious revolt by an admirable combination of adroitness and authority; and the student of his entire career will find that his teach-

ing was ever regarded as a guide for others, and his silence as an implicit censure. He had, like all great men, zealous partisans and rabid censors. Melancthon portrays him in no flattering terms. Catarino, his fellow-religious, combated some of his writings, especially his *Commentaries on the Scriptures*, most furiously. Chamier praises his rectitude, candor, and moderation. Sixtus of Siena cannot find enough eloquent words to express his admiration of the man and the theologian (1). IV. Scaramuccio Trivulzio, a nephew of the great Italian commander in the service of France, the marshal Gian-Giacomo Trivulzio, merits mention for his ascetic piety and his profound juridical attainments. V. Campeggi, so famous for his legation to England in the matter of the divorce of Henry VIII. and Queen Catharine, was as noted for his virtue as for his learning. The praise of Erasmus may be of suspicious sincerity; but it is interesting to observe that the humanist acknowledged a present from his Eminence in these words: "The brilliancy of the gold shall be a lasting symbol of your cardinalial wisdom; but the flash of the diamond can be only a faint image of the glory of your name" (2).

Probably the most meritorious work of the reign of Leo X. was his endeavor to hurl back into Asia the ever-threatening hordes of Islam; like all his predecessors, since the day of the first Mahometan advance into Europe, this Pontiff moved heaven and earth to protect Christendom and civilization. Julius II. had continued the task of Pius III., entreating all the European peoples to don the Cross; and at least Venice, Genoa, and Naples had undertaken expeditions blessed by the successor of St. Peter. But the power of the Crescent was not diminished; and if Europe was not already overrun by the cavalry of Bajazet, it was simply because that son of Mahomet II. was to use the words of Commynes, a man of little valor, preferring the pleasures of the seraglio

(1) The chief points of the career of Cajetan are treated by Ughelli and by Capaccio, and by his secretary, Flavio. See also PIAZZA; *Cardinalitial Hierarchy*.—PEYRAT; *Origin of the Cardinals of the Holy See*.—VICTORELLI; *Lives of the Pontiffs and Cardinals*.—ALBY; *Illustrious Cardinals*. Paris, 1644.

(2) SIGONIUS; *Bishops of Bologna*.—PANVINI; *Chronique*.—BANDER; *English Schism*.—SLEIDAN; *Annals*.—BUTALDI; *Library of Bologna*.—HCBREY; *loc. cit.*

to the din of battle. But when Selim mounted the Ottoman throne, promising his Janizaries the spoils of the western world; when Europe heard that Selim had subverted the power of the Mamelukes, conquered Palestine, and profaned the Sepulchre of Christ; a shudder ran through every Christian community, as though Jerusalem had bowed before the Crescent for the first time. Therefore it appeared not impossible to resurrect the spirit of the Middle Age, when Leo X. preached another Crusade in the Lateran Council. Soon after the dissolution of this assembly, the Pontiff sent legates into France, Spain, England, Germany, Hungary, and the northern countries; exhorting the nations to form a Christian league against the common enemy, declaring himself the head of that league, proclaiming a truce of five years between all hostile Christian States, and excommunicating all violators of the Peace of God. In order to draw down the blessing of Heaven upon his project, he ordered solemn fasts and deprecatory processions in the Eternal City; and himself attended tearfully at the public services in St. Peter's, having walked thither barefooted, distributing enormous alms on the way. Writing to Henry VIII. of England, he said: "My heart is inflamed with joy, since I have learned that the emperor Maximilian, the king of France, and the king of Spain have resolved to make common cause against the Turk. Our dissensions have always benefited the Turk, and he has continually grown more formidable; but now, thanks to God, his advance will be checked. I have sent legates to all the sovereigns, urging the immediate departure of the promised succors. . . . Certainly you will not be the last to join the Crusade, for your glory is at stake. Listen to the call of God, the Master of us all!" And writing to Francis I., the Pontiff warns him: "Let us beware lest, on the Judgment Day, the Lord condemn us as faithless servants who have abused His gifts; lest the accusation of indifference and cowardice be brought against us, to whom He has entrusted the care of His flock!" Such language on the part of the Father of the Faithful was not entirely without effect. The emperor promised to send an army to aid the Polish and Hungarian cavalry in an attack on

both sides of the Balkans ; the French, together with large Venetian and other Italian bodies of veteran troops, and 16,000 Swiss, were to embark at Brindisi, destined for the shores of Greece ; while Spanish, Portuguese, and English fleets were to gather at Carthagená, there to receive the formidable Spanish infantry which was apparently destined to win new laurels on the shores of the Hellespont. But the brilliant prospect was soon dissipated ; the spirit of the vaunted Reformation had begun to exhale its venom, and the projected Crusade of Leo X. served only to rekindle the fanaticism of the Osmanli. While the Pontiff was perorating the cause of Christendom, an apostate friar was calling upon the Germans to realize that the rule of the Turk was a thousand times preferable to that of the Pope, the faith of Islam much purer than the idolatry of the Mass. "The Turk peoples Heaven with saints ; but the Pope peoples hell with Christians. However, if you wish to fight the Turk, begin with the Papacy ! By my faith, if the Turk marches on Rome, I shall not weep. . . . To war on the Turk is to war on God. . . . I have never regarded Mahomet as Antichrist ; but the Pope is the real Antichrist. . . . Hear, all ye who have ears ! Do not enlist against the Turk, so long as there is a Pope under the vault of Heaven !" And the polite German Demosthenes, Ulrich Hutten, mouthed the same ravings : "No money for a war against the Turk ! You must make a crusade ; but it must be against Rome—that Rome where there are only lawyers, notaries, procurators, Bullists, jurists, who fatten on our sweat and blood. Throw off this insulting yoke ! Germans, break your chains !" Perhaps a St. Pius V. would have cured the fever which had begun to make sad havoc in the German body ; but the disease ran its course, and so distracted the rest of Christendom that not until St. Pius V. did come, was a temporary check experienced by Islam.

In 1519 the throne of the Holy Roman Empire, then practically that of Germany alone, and such other countries as the incumbent of the moment might happen to rule, became vacant by the death of Maximilian I. of Austria. Immediately the enterprising and externally chivalrous Francis I.,

king of France, announced himself as a candidate (1). Of course, the electors were Germans, and the Holy Roman Emperor would be king of the Germans; but Francis relied upon what he not foolishly regarded as just titles for their preference. He was a man of spirit, presumedly elevated character; he had recently been victorious in "the combat of giants" against those Swiss who had been styled "the tamers of princes;" and he was master of solidified France—a country which, unlike Germany, was thoroughly *one*, with no independent subordinate sovereigns or privileged communes, and with an almost perfect political constitution. And then the German electors were all, at that time, basely venal. "Glut them with everything!" said Francis to his agents; and up to the very moment of the election they swallowed his gold, as well as that of his competitor, finishing the comedy with the sacrilegious declaration, before the Holy Communion, that they were acting in perfect freedom from any illegitimate influences. But the very talents of Francis militated against his success; the German princes preferred to be ruled by one who had, as yet, given no sign of ability. King Charles I. of Spain (Fourth of Naples, Second of Sicily), was the grandson of Ferdinand and Isa-

(1) "Francis of Angouleme, who became king at twenty years of age, merits description. He was a spoiled child of fortune, a man of persuasive tongue, and a facial expression which won all hearts. He was well trained in chivalrous habits, a brilliant inheritor of the traditions of the feudal nobility, and totally unlike the sombre Louis XI.; in a word, he was a royal chevalier. From his tutor, Arthur Gouffier, lord of Boisy, a noble veteran of the Italian wars, he had received an artistic and literary education which grafted itself upon a character as variable as it was passionate. From his earliest years, an extravagant temerity, often justified by success, led him to mad acts of audacity and intrepidity. . . . His height was above the ordinary; his physiognomy was open and very seductive; his speech was rich, flowing, and persuasive. But beneath all these imposing externals, there was not a great soul; rather was there a weak and capricious character, governed entirely by the moment. Military life is a school of discipline for ordinary men; one of despotism for rulers. Strong and ardent, the pupil of Marshal de Gié had learned from that veteran how to so enforce obedience as to experience no resistance or hesitation; and therefore he was for others an imperious master, even though he was a blind slave to his own passions. Thus it was that to Louis XII., a king who had exhibited one side of the character of St. Louis, namely, submission to rule and attachment to duty, there succeeded a prince who knew no law other than that of his own instincts and his own will, no other authority than the omnipotence of his own caprice. When perchance Francis sometimes yielded to outside pressure, it was because he was under influences, for which he should have blushed. His defects, perhaps, more than his good qualities, seduced the French nobility. When Bayard knighted Francis on the battle-field of Marignan, he could not then confer upon his sovereign the truly chivalric grandeur of his own soul, without fear and without reproach. In truth, Francis I. was only externally a chevalier." PELLISSIER: *The Sixteenth Century; Ten Anecdotal Essays on the Renaissance and the Reformation*. Paris, 1888.

bella ; those sovereigns having united their daughter Jane to Philip of Austria (d. 1506), son of the emperor Maximilian I. With the crown of Spain, he inherited the mastership of nearly all the New World ; and from his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy, he derived the sovereignty of a large portion of the Low Countries, as well as of that ancient province of France, then called Franche-Comté. From his grandfather Maximilian he inherited a sceptre which dominated over Austria proper, Styria, Carinthia, the Tyrol, Carniola, and Austrian Suabia. The student who wishes to form a correct idea of the character and career of this extraordinary man will do well not to rely upon the olden historians who are the most quoted, Paul Jovius the Adulator (of Charles) and Sleidan the Malevolent. Still less ought the reader turn for knowledge to the pages of Robertson, whose reflections are Voltairian, though his spirit is not as diabolic as that of the followers of the Sage of Ferney ; who, royal historiographer in England, could be scarcely independent and impartial, even though he did not cater for the cravers of tales of papistical absurdities ; and of whose work our judicious Protestant countryman, Henry Wheaton, said that it was full of errors (1). Cantù institutes a comparison between Francis I. and Charles V. which will interest the reader. “ One of these two young arbiters of Europe had already shown his warlike nature ; the other his preference for intrigue. Francis, educated as a private gentleman, had preferred to the glorious title of his predecessor that of ‘king of the nobles,’ and that of the ‘first gentleman of France.’ Indeed, Francis had all the defects and virtues of a ‘gentleman.’ He was like a hero of the Middle Age ; Charles was a modern king. Francis was addicted to inordinate parade and splendor ; Charles sought only for substance and success. Francis affected to be scru-

(1) See his letter to the Secretary of the National Institute at Washington (1843).—Among the general Histories, the searcher for information concerning the two royal rivals will find none so satisfactory and impartial as that of Cantù. The seeker for details will profit by GACHARD ; *Correspondence of Charles V. and Pope Adrian VI.* Brussels, 1841.—LANZ ; *Correspondence of Charles V., Taken from the Imperial Archives and the Burgundian Library in Brussels.* Leipsic, 1844.—*Relation of Giovanni Correr to the Venetian Senate in the Relations of Ambassadors.* Paris, 1838.—LEGLAT ; *Essay on the Negotiations between France and Austria, During the Thirty First Years of the Sixteenth Century.* Paris, 1850.—*Vatican Documents Illustrating the Ecclesiastical History of the Sixteenth Century.* Freiburg, 1861.

pulously honorable, while Charles feigned to persevere in the simple loyalty of his family ; but both could deceive, when they deemed such conduct opportune. Charles never rested ; Francis often sought quiet. Charles travelled continually, and thus seemed to bring nearer together his widely separated dominions ; he retained the fidelity of his generals, but never allowed them to guide him ; he permitted no influence to his feminine friends, and no man ever knew who was the veritable mother of his bastards. Francis squandered his wealth in display and libertinage, confided office to the least worthy, and because of the female intrigues and court punctilios he disgusted the constable de Bourbon, Doria, the prince of Orange, who all passed over to the service of his more prudent foe. The most fortunate wars of Charles were conducted by his generals ; but he always directed his policy. In the art of conducting an intrigue, promising, eluding, and corrupting, he far excelled the soldier-king. Reflective even when a child, and quick to foresee, Charles surrounded himself with advisers ; but he never abandoned himself to them. Inexorable and circumspect, he sought continually to satisfy his personal interests ; and he knew well how to wait, as his motto 'Not yet' testified. The easy conquest of America so exalted the ambition of Charles, that he imagined the entire world to be waiting for his grasp—an idea which was encouraged by victories which were rather lucky than merited, which dazzled his contemporaries, and afflicted his subjects with the bewilderment in which the blind obedience of the soldier is taken for heroism, and in which men regard as honorable any course which entails advantage for their master" (1).

Pope Leo X. could not regard the imperial aspirations of either the French or Spanish monarch without apprehension ; for the success of either would be fraught with danger for the equilibrium of Europe, the repose of Italy, and the security of the Holy See. Therefore he tried to induce Francis to advocate the election of a prince whose moderate political influence would promise quiet both for Rome and France ; and the elector of Saxony was suggested as the

(1) *Universal History*, bk. XVIII., ch. vi.

person. But the heart of Francis was filled with the desire to don the crown of Charlemagne ; and the Pontiff was compelled to trust in the energy and skill of Cajetan, whom he had sent as legate to the Diet of Nuremburg, in which the emperor was to be chosen. The cardinal reminded the princes that Charles of Spain and Austria was also king of the Two Sicilies, and that the Constitution of the Holy Roman Empire forbade a king of Naples to mount the imperial throne ; then he showed the danger to both Italy and Germany, if Francis, who already was duke of Milan and lord of Genoa, were hailed as King of the Romans. An impression was produced ; and the elector of Treves proposed Frederick of Saxony as future emperor. The other electors assented ; but Frederick declined the burden. Then the electors agreed to reward the modesty of the Saxon prince by allowing him to name his substitute ; and he pronounced in favor of the Austro-Spaniard. On June 28, 1519, Charles was proclaimed King of the Germans and Emperor-Elect, and was crowned as the first at Aix-la-Chapelle a few days afterward ; but he did not receive the imperial crown until 1529, and then at the hands of Pope Clement VII (1). The power of Charles V., at this time, was greater in appearance than in reality, not only because it was derived from heterogeneous elements, but because his most important states were afflicted by disorders which threatened their national existence. Spain was lacerated by civil discords, because the young monarch, contrary to the advice of the wise Cardinal Ximenes, had interfered with her time-honored *fueros* or local privileges. Germany was not only trembling in anticipation of Islamite invasion, but was the prey of the disintegrating forces of the new religionists. The populations of Naples and Sicily, ever hostile to the Spanish yoke, were

(1) As Pope Adrian IV. expressed the proper conception of the imperial tenure, in a letter to the bishops of Germany : " The king of the Germans cannot be styled Emperor and Augustus, until he is consecrated by the Roman Pontiff, who promoted Charles (Charlemagne), and gave to him the great name of emperor." The modern German emperors, though hailed by their subjects as such, were never styled by the Popes, the real and historical source of their imperial dignity, in other fashion than as " emperors-elect ; " simply because those modern emperors had not been confirmed as such and crowned by the Roman Pontiff. For the distinction between a King of the Germans and a Holy Roman Emperor, see our dissertation on the *Revival of the Empire*, in vol. II., ch. ii.

kept in subjection only by large bodies of troops which Charles would gladly have employed for other purposes. The Low Countries, jealous of their venerable franchises, obeyed or scorned their foreign ruler pretty much as they willed. Therefore Francis I. deemed the time propitious for a war against his rival ; and in 1521 Spain, Italy, and Flanders became theatres of carnage. Pope Leo X. was involved in the struggle. The French governor of the Milanais having violated the territories of the Church, the Pontiff decided to accept the offers which Charles V. made in return for an alliance. If the Pope would aid the emperor in expelling the French from Italy, Charles would see that Parma and Piacenza were restored to the papal dominion ; he would also aid the Pope against certain rebel feudatories, and would augment the tribute which, as king of Naples, he was bound to pay to the Holy See, suzerain of that kingdom. Probably the Pontiff was impelled the more easily to enter into this alliance, because of his belief that Charles could and would put an end to the religious revolt which Luther had excited in Germany. In reference to the military operations which now ensued, we need say but little. The historian, Guicciardini, held the title of commissary-general of the pontifical army ; and the veteran, Prospero Colonna, was commander of the allied forces. The Milanese, tired of the exactions of Marshal Lautrec, the lieutenant of Francis, rose in arms, expelled the French from nearly all the duchy, and recalled the Sforzas to the ducal throne. Then, supported by the Spanish, Papal, and German forces, they forced Lautrec to retreat into France. Our Pontiff was at his villa of La Magliana, when he received the news that Parma and Piacenza had been restored to his temporal dominions, and that Italy was freed from the sway of the French. If he then began to cogitate as to the possibility of actuating the dream of Julius II. by driving out of the peninsula the other "barbarian," time for the purpose was denied him.

On Nov. 24, 1521, Leo X. returned to Rome amid the plaudits of his subjects, nearly all of whom, that day, carried crowns of olive leaves in their hands. During three days court and people abandoned themselves to transports of joy ;

and when, on the 27th, the news circulated that the Pontiff was indisposed, men thought that the most serious consequence would be a postponement of the Consistory which had been ordered for that day. But in the early morn of Dec. 1, the attendants of his Holiness saw him join his hands, move his lips in prayer, and fall back dead upon his pillow (1). When we contemplate the reign of Leo X., we can scarcely avoid the question as to whether he was the Pope for his time; whether his attitude toward nascent Protestantism, which we shall notice in its proper place, was that which befitted the Head of the Universal Church. Certain writers have amused themselves, and perhaps their readers, by speculating as to whether Luther, if he could have changed places with the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, would not have subdued the religious revolt, while it was, as yet, confined to an obscure corner of what was then comparatively uninfluential Germany. The imagination will not be directed toward such a supposition by one who has studied the character of the ex-Augustinian; for he realizes that this consummately successful agitator possessed none of even the most rudimentary qualities of a true statesman. But Luther struck the key-note of popular discontent, and drew the salient outlines of a successful campaign, when he made his onslaught on the abuses which were too frequently practised by the preachers of Indulgences. At that moment, if Leo X. had disciplined the culprits severely, and had he then repressed energetically other abuses which had been denounced again and again by devoted children of the Church, the heavy shower might not have become a storm. But the elegant and fastidious scion of the Medici, the lover of literary repose, the man who manifested such zeal when there was a question of scientific or artistic import, discerned in the gathering clouds merely a sign of a "monkish squabble," and in the turbulence of Luther he recognized simply the vaporings of a "drunken German, who would sing another tune, when he

(1) There is no need of dilating upon proofs that refute the assertion made by some authors that Leo X. was "probably" the victim of poison. Mere rumors to that effect were current among the people; and although Malespina, the Pope's cup-bearer, was suspected, and dragged by the mob to the Castel San Angelo, nothing was proved against him. The most reliable records of the time ascribe the catastrophe to suffocation by catarrh.

had digested his liquor." The apathy of the Pontiff in the premises contrasts vividly with the impetuosity of the aggressor ; and the former was so preoccupied with his arts and sciences, with the cares of his worldly state, or at best with an apparent consolidation of his authority, that he preferred to disclaim the rebel whom, possibly, he might have disarmed. This apathy is eloquently illustrated by a comparison of the dates of the three events which were the main signal lights during the first phase of the Reformation. It was on Nov. 11, 1517, that Luther affixed his propositions on the church doors of Wittenberg ; not until nearly three years afterward, on Sept. 15, 1520, did the Pontiff promulgate the Bull which condemned forty of these theses ; and on the following Dec. 10 the apostate publicly burned the papal document. We perforce agree with the Benedictines who afterward, though with a truly filial sorrow, reproached Leo X. for allowing his temporal preoccupations to jeopardize the spiritual authority of the Holy See. Certainly he showed much care in perfecting the administration of Church affairs, inasmuch as he strove to consolidate the hierarchy of the Church ; but he gave little attention to the banishment of cupidity and ambition from the sanctuary. Therefore we cannot term Leo X. a grand Pontiff. On any other throne than that of the successor of St. Peter, he would have surpassed any one of his line in commendable qualities ; but he should not receive a title which the judicious confer on a Gregory the Great, a Gregory VII., an Innocent III., a Nicholas V., or a Pius V. Undoubtedly Bembo, Ariosto, Raphael, and Michelangelo were apostles of the beautiful in literature and art, and upon his encouragement of such luminaries Leo X. relied for the future glorification of his pontificate ; but the beauty of which they were the apostles could not give to him either true strength or true grandeur (1).

(1) In illustration of the immense latitude of speech which was then allowed in the land of the Inquisition to critics of the Popes, and to show that the eulogies of Leo by his courtiers were not entirely endorsed by the clergy of Italy, we cite a passage from a sermon delivered in Mantua, in 1537, by Fra Callisto da Piacenza, one of the most popular preachers of his time : " Poor Pope Leo ! He had attained to so many dignities, had amassed such immense treasures, and had at his beck so many friends and servants ! But in that last journey with the bottomless sack, out of the bag fell everything, excepting only Fra Mariano (the Pope's confessor), who, being a buffoon, was as light as a straw, and therefore

But we must not suppose that Leo X. ignored entirely the duties of his sublime position. He exhibited much zeal in furthering many of the reformatory projects of the Lateran Council. He was active in suppressing the remnants of Husitism in Bohemia. He did much toward propagating the faith among the still barbarous Muscovites. He endeavored to bring the Abyssinians out of their schism. He founded many dioceses in America. He terminated the long and vexatious dispute concerning the legitimacy of the *Monti di Pietà* (1). He introduced the sublime ceremonies of the Holy Week which are still practised in the Vatican Basilica, and the writers of the day are concordant in their praise of his edifying demeanor on all such occasions. When urged to confer benefices on the unworthy, he generally preferred to supply the wants of such persons with his private funds. His sobriety was that of an anchorite; he never drank anything but water. He never ate meat on Wednesday; on Friday he ate greens alone; and on Saturday he never dined. That his chastity was truly priestly, we may suppose, since Luther never dared to question it; Ranke is discreetly silent as to the matter, and Roscoe says that his morals were irreprehensible. Ranke tells us that he does indeed find in a passage of Navigero that Leo X. thought of a war against the Turks; but the German historian stoops to an unworthy insinuation when he says that "Leo did not think of the interests of Christendom when he tried to regain the Sepulchre of Christ, but rather of the lost Greek and Roman manuscripts which he might recover." Now Ranke makes much parade, in his preface, of the numerous olden authors whom he consulted in the preparation of his frequently valuable work; and he must have known that it is not only in an incidental passage of a comparatively obscure writer that indications of Pope Leo's crusading intentions are to be found. This feature of his papal career is as salient as any other of

clung to the side. When the poor Pope came to the point of death, of all that he had gathered in this world, nothing remained to him but this friar, and he recommended Leo to think only of his soul, saying: 'Remember God, Holy Father!' And the poor Pope could only cry out in his agony, 'Good God, good God!'; and thus he gave his soul to his Lord. See how true it is that he who amasses riches puts them into a bottomless sack."

(1) See page 271.

which Ranke treats. As for the assertion of the Pontiff's indifference to what had been dearest to the hearts of all his predecessors, since the day when the Crescent first floated over the towers of Jerusalem, the German author does not attempt to furnish a morsel of evidence. The same writer says that Leo X. did not always observe the usual Papal decorum; for instance, he would often go forth from his palace, "not only without his surplice, but even with boots on his feet." And alas! He was wont to "pass the autumn in the pleasures of the Campagna, in hunting near Viterbo and Corneto, in fishing in Lake Bolsena;" and the pleasures of his court, "while not like the outrageous ones of Alexander VI., were unworthy of his high position." Well, Leo X. did hunt very frequently; but his physicians had ordered him to take that exercise, insisting that it was the sole means whereby he could avoid an early and sudden death. But the last complaint of Ranke cannot be dismissed with a smile. We cannot admire our Pontiff as, surrounded by his courtiers and noble visitors, he listens complacently to certain effusions which were meritorious from a literary point of view, but certainly not calculated to promote that purity of heart which ought to dominate in the ecclesiastic (1). But may we not suppose that the literary preoccupations of Leo X. and his court, while listening to the dulcet measures of Ariosto, or even to the lubricious ridiculosity of Della Casa, deprived those productions of much of their immoral consequences? And it is well to remember with Saint-Cheron, that plain language is not always an indication of a depraved mind; that "experience proves that the more corrupt a society is, the more delicate and susceptible it is as to its language." Ranke is of opinion that "the sentiments of Christian faith were necessarily enfeebled" in the minds of Leo X. and his court; and as proof he adduces Pomponazio, "the most cele-

(1) It is not edifying to note that although Leo X. was himself an exceedingly sober man, he delighted in entertaining that Friar Mariano who could swallow a pigeon at a mouthful, and eat forty eggs at a meal; that among his habitual boon companions of the leisure hour he numbered that Nobil il Moro, who was one of the most disgusting gluttons of the day; and that one of his favorite pastimes was to play cards with his intimates, on which occasions, whether he won or lost, he scattered handfuls of florins among the spectators. What is still more sad, Paul Jovius when narrating these things, regards them as "worthy of a noble and gentlemanly prince."

brated of the philosophers of the time," contending that the soul of man is not immaterial and immortal. But Ranke himself has narrated how Pomponazio, because of this assertion, was ordered, on June 13, 1518, to retract; "otherwise proceedings would be instituted against him." Like the philosophasters of our day, Pomponazio affected to discern an opposition between reason and faith; and in his treatise on the *Immortality of the Soul* he pretended that the immortality could not be proved by reason, and that the Church would not permit the exercise of reason in the premises. His position was attacked at once; and although Cardinal Bembo defended it, Pomponazio issued a new edition with the necessary corrections. Ranke studiously ignores the fact that the philosopher died a submissive son of the Church, and with all the signs of an edifying piety. Ranke unhesitatingly avers that so paganized had the Roman priesthood become, under the influence of Leo X., that "at the very moment of the consummation of the Sacrifice of the Mass, the priests were wont to utter blasphemous words, wherewith they denied (the truth of) the Sacrifice." One has a right to demand proof in corroboration of this tremendous accusation; but whom does this praised-as-impartial historian adduce? Martin Luther!

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE COMMENCEMENTS OF PROTESTANTISM : LUTHER.

It is futile to deny that a reformation in the Church was necessary at the beginning of the sixteenth century; the student of the history of that period is familiar with the lamentations of the most submissive children of the Church, because of corruption in the sanctuary. Fallen humanity is ever prone to an abuse of even the holiest things, and this tendency had been favored, during several centuries, by the disorders of several Pontiffs and of many of the clergy, as well as by the criminal ambition of nearly all the Holy Roman emperors and of many other sovereigns. And above all, the Great Western Schism, that natural outcome of the removal

of the Papal residence from its legitimate seat, had greatly weakened the strength, and marred the beauty, of the human element of the Spouse of Christ. In the universal uneasiness consequent upon this state of ecclesiastical affairs, proud spirits found their opportunity, and, observes Bossuet, "The weak-minded lost their good sense, and instead of remembering that the Son of God inculcated respect for the Chair of Moses in spite of the iniquity of the doctors who filled it, very many yielded to the temptation to hate the chair itself. All was ready for a great rupture; the materials for schism were collected, and the architect alone was wanting" (1). Circumstances elicited the architect. Two great tasks, undertaken by Roman Pontiffs, furnished the occasion for revolt. Julius II. had begun the erection of the grandest architectural glory of either olden or modern Christendom, St. Peter's Basilica at Rome; and Leo X. was straining every nerve to prevent a threatened invasion of Europe by the sultan Selim I. These works required money, and Pope Leo offered indulgences to those who would contribute. The Dominican Friars were charged with the task of preaching the Indulgences, and the work in Germany was entrusted to one Tetzel, whom John Lindner termed a light of his Order (2), and whom Buddæus praises (3). These Indulgences found much opposition in Germany, for it would seem that many of the ignorant regarded the money as the price of a sacred thing, and that the more educated frequently acted, in regard to the concessions, in such a manner as to divest them of much claim to respect (4).

Protestant authors have dilated greatly upon the alleged infamy of Tetzel's proceedings; but they have no other proof than Luther's assertions. As an indication of Luther's bad faith in this matter, we need only to adduce that passage in

(1) As Erasmus expressed the idea, "the egg was laid; Luther had only to hatch it."

(2) *Life of the Papistical Indulgence Preacher*, by James Vogel. Leipzig, 1727.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) The sovereigns often demanded a lion's share in the collections. Thus six years before the publication of Luther's theses, an indulgence was preached in Saxony for a crusade against the Turks, and all the funds were appropriated by the emperor and that elector who afterward patronized Luther. As a rule the German princes took two-thirds of the amount accruing from the collections, and the reader should bear this fact in mind when he reads the declamations of those princes, justifying their patronage of the Lutheran idea with the plea that the Popes were ruining Germany by the sale of indulgences.

his *Table Talk* where he avers that "Tetzel was an arrant rascal who dared to preach that if one were to violate the Mother of God, an Indulgence would wash away the sin." Now, Seckendorf, the chief apologist of Luther, tells us in his *Commentary on Lutheranism*, that the words of Tetzel were: "However enormous a sin against the Mother of God must be, it is less than that which is committed against her Son, and even this latter sin may be forgiven, as Christ tells us." Some writers attack the morals of Tetzel; but since Luther himself, in the torrent of his vituperations, made no such reproach, we may be sure that he had no reason to utter any. But there were real reasons for discontent; and if we consider the chagrin of the Augustinian Friars, who had hitherto, as a rule, preached all Papal Indulgences in Germany, we will have a conception of the spark which, falling upon inflammable materials, produced one of the direst conflagrations that God has permitted to devastate His Church.

Martin Luther was born in 1483, at Eisleben in Upper Saxony. His first studies were made by the aid of alms obtained by singing in the streets, and by the help of a small salary earned as chorister in the churches. Having excited the interest of a widow named Cotta, he was enabled to devote himself more freely to study, and in time he received his degree in philosophy at Erfurt. Profoundly affected by the sudden death of a companion, he resolved to join the Augustinian Order; and two years afterward, in 1507, he made his profession and received the priesthood. During many years, according to his own testimony, in the *Preface* to his *Works*, he "was so besotted with the Papacy, that he would have killed or helped to kill any one who rejected one iota of the Pope's teaching." And nevertheless, in 1516, long before his collision with Tetzel, he had written a work on the will of man, directed "against the doctrine of the Pope and of the sophists." We may suppose, also, that rebellious thoughts were already agitating his mind at that time, for he wrote to the priest Leitzken: "Pray for me, for I grow more miserable every day. I am constantly drawing nearer to hell." Toward the end of 1517, while Luther was stationed at Wittemberg, Tetzel proceeded to Jüterbock. Protestant

writers tell us that so great was the desire to procure "pardons," crowds surrounded the Dominican, but all returned without any exterior signs of compunction. The confessionals of the Augustinians were deserted; and these friars became jealous. Luther, who had already declared that "with God's help, he would put a hole in Tetzel's purse" (1), announced that he would preach on indulgences. On the appointed day, an immense throng listened to a number of innovations which appeared so revolutionary to Luther's brethren, that one of them mounted the pulpit, and pulling the orator's tunic, he whispered: "You are rash, doctor. The Dominicans are laughing in their sleeves. Our order will suffer for your words." Then Luther retorted in language which is much admired by Protestants, but which would come with more grace from Moslem than from Christian lips: "If my teaching is not from God, it will fall to the ground; if it comes from His holy name, leave it alone." On the following day, Tetzel publicly analyzed Luther's proposition. "The polemical style of Tetzel," observes Audin, "has nothing striking; and we cannot understand the effect which he produced in the pulpit; for the reader is not treated to those instances of bad taste, those indecorous comparisons, with which his sermons are said to have been tainted. It is the style of a theological professor who, feeling sure of victory, has no need of harsh expressions" (2).

On the Feast of All Saints, although he had promised the bishop of Brandenburg that he would not publish his ideas on Indulgences, Luther prevailed on the porter of his convent to affix on one of the outer pillars of the church of All Saints, his famous 95 theses. The revolutionary manifesto began: "For the sake of love and truth, the following theses will be upheld at Wittenberg, under the auspices of the Reverend Father Luther, of the Order of St. Augustine, Master of Arts and of Theology, and Lector-in-Ordinary. Wherefore it is requested that those who are unable to discuss them with us in person will do so in writing. In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen." We quote the principal theses. I.

(1) *MS. Chronicle of Grimma*, at year 1516.

(2) *Life, Writings, and Doctrines of Luther*. Paris, 1841.

When our Lord and Master says, "Do penance," He desires that the lives of the faithful shall be lives of constant penance. II. Unquestionably He never spoke of the Sacrament of Penance; that is, of confession to a priest. XIII. The dead cannot be affected by canonical judgments. XXVI. If the Pope can relieve souls in Purgatory, he does so by prayer, and not by the power of the Keys. XXIX. Who knows whether all the souls in Purgatory desire relief? Read what is narrated of Sts. Severin and Paschal. LXXXII. Why does not the Pope empty Purgatory at once?

Alphonsus de Castro thinks that when Luther published these theses, he was, as yet, merely afflicted by a false zeal (1). Surius thinks that he was, at that time, merely an opponent of abuses which were lamented on all sides (2). The impartial Protestant historian, Schrock, regards him as being still submissive to the authority of the Church (3). But although Luther did protest to the public, at that time, that he deferred to the judgment of the Church, he used different language to his friends. Ten days after the Wittemberg episode, writing to Langus, he styled the archbishop of Mayence and the bishops of Saxony, who had condemned his theses: "Buffoons and earthworms." Three months afterward, he wrote to Spalatinus: "I declare to you and our friends, that Indulgences are mere mummeries. I know well that I am raising up against myself six hundred Minotaurs, Rhadamanthotaurs, and Cacotaurs; but what is that to me?" At first, Rome was disposed to regard this matter as one of the petty monastic squabbles which Germany frequently produced. The learned of Italy could not realize that a "barbarian" could effect anything extraordinary. Leo X. was rather pleased by Luther's subtleties; and regarding him as a German drunkard, he advised that "the friar should be allowed to digest his wine." And perhaps the Pontiff was right in favoring leniency, for, under date of Trinity Sunday, 1518, Luther had written to him, saying: "The propositions which I put forth, Most Holy Father, are in the form of theses, and not of doctrines; of enigmas pro-

(1) *Against Heresies*, art. *Absolution*, b. XI.

(2) In Appendix to the *Chronicle* of Nauchler.

(3) *History of the Church*, vol. I., p. 129.

pounded in an enigmatic style. . . . Prostrate at your feet, I resign to your Holiness all that I am and all that I possess. *Vivify, kill, recall, approve, reprove ; as it may please you to do. I acknowledge your voice as that of Christ who presides and speaks in you.*" The rank hypocrisy of this effusion is shown by the friar's declaration to Spalatinus at that very time: "I am not quite certain whether the Pope is really Antichrist or merely his apostle."

The emperor Maximilian had conceived the idea of using Luther as a weapon against the Pope ; he had even written to the elector of Saxony : "Keep an eye on Friar Martin, for he may be of great service to us." But the wily prince soon discerned the troubles menacing Germany, and formally denounced the agitator to the Holy See. Therefore on August 7, 1518, Leo X. commissioned the bishop of Ascoli to summon Luther to Rome ; but the elector Frederick requesting an examination in Germany, the cardinal Cajetan, a man of great reputation for learning and piety, was delegated for that purpose (1). The meeting occurred at Augsburg on October 12 ; and when the friar tried to dispute, the cardinal said : "I have not come here to argue with you as boys do in college ; nor am I your judge. I have been sent by our common father, to whom you wrote only the other day : 'Approve, condemn, etc.' Retract, therefore, for such is the will of the Pontiff." After several hours of conversation, Luther asked for a delay of three days, and it was granted ; but on the following morning he gave a protest to his Eminence, declaring that "he had never intended to teach anything offensive to Catholic doctrine, to the Holy Scriptures, to the authority of the Fathers, *or to the decrees of the Pope.*" Then Luther departed from Augsburg, and a few days afterward, he gave the world a proof of his duplicity by having

(1) Thomas de Vio, surnamed Gaetano (*anglice*, Cajetan) because he was from Gaeta, became a Dominican, and first attracted public notice by a disputation with the celebrated Count Pico della Mirandola, held at Ferrara in 1492, in a General Chapter of his Order. Though only twenty-two years old, he so distinguished himself in this contest of intellect with the great man who could argue well on everything, "and on some other things" (so it was said of Pico), that at his opponent's request, he received the doctorate on the spot. In his thirty-ninth year, he became General of his Order, and in 1517 Leo X. gave him the red hat. Cajetan was remarkably gentle in manner ; and was greatly beloved by the workmen of Rome, because he had espoused their cause against the usurers.

affixed to the gate of the Carmelite monastery where he had lodged, an appeal to the effect that if he had attacked Indulgences, it was because they were not enjoined by God. His judges, he averred, were not to be trusted; he had not gone to Rome, because there where justice once abided, homicide now dwelled. Finally, he "appealed from the Pope badly informed, to the Pope better informed" (1).

We omit any account of the mission of Miltitz, and of the dispute between Luther and Eckius on July 4, 1519, because they were without results. On April 6, 1520, the friar wrote another letter to Pope Leo, some passages of which are models of sublime effrontery. "I protest, and my memory is not at all treacherous, that I have never spoken of you otherwise than with honor and respect. . . . You cannot deny, my dear Leo (*optime Leo*), that your See is more corrupt than Babyloa or Sodom. It is against that impious Rome that I rebel. . . . Rome is a stinking cave of robbers, the most brazen of brothels, and the throne of sin and hell. . . . Filled with love for your person, I regret your elevation to the Pontifical chair in such an age as this; for you merit to have been born at another time." Seckendorf tries to palliate this impudence by alleging that it was provoked by the Bull of Excommunication; that it was written in the October following that Bull. If such was the case, why did not the fiery object of the Bull allude to it? But the question of date has been settled by Roscoe (2), in favor of April 6, as it is given in the Jena and Aurifaber editions of Luther's works.

There was a limit to the patience of Leo X. On Sept. 15, 1520, the long-delayed Bull of Excommunication was launched (3). Then the unfortunate issued his famous diatribe *Against the Execrable Bull of Antichrist*. "At length, thanks to the zeal of my friends, I have seen this bat in all its beauty. In

(1) SECKENDORF, *loc. cit.*

(2) In the second edition of his *Life of Leo X.*, Henri's French translation of Roscoe omits this dissertation. The Italian version by Bossi gives it.

(3) Audin thus comments upon this Bull: "It is not for us to appreciate the pontifical Bull as a dogmatic work, for the words of the successor of the Apostle are above our examination. But if, descending from the regions of faith, we consider it as a work of art, it is impossible not to discern in it a complete revelation of the classical regeneration of Rome at that period. . . . We see that Italy had made a serious study of the Ciceronian style. . . . Yet Luther said that Rome did not then harbor more than two or three cardinals of intelligence." *Loc. cit.*

truth, I know not whether the Papists are joking. This must be the work of John Eckius, the man of lies and iniquities, the accursed heretic. . . . I maintain that the author of this Bull is Antichrist; I curse it as a blasphemy against the Son of God. . . . I trust that every Christian who accepts this Bull will suffer the torments of hell. . . . See how I retract, daughter of a soap Bull. . . . It is said that the donkey sings badly, simply because he pitches his voice on too high a key. Certainly, this Bull would sound more agreeably, were its blasphemies not directed against heaven. . . . Where are you, emperors, kings, and princes of the earth, that you tolerate the hellish voice of Antichrist? Leo X., and you the Roman cardinals, I tell you to your faces. . . . Renounce your satanic blasphemies against Jesus Christ." Luther now remembered that Jerome of Prague had burnt the sentence of the Council of Constance against Huss; and on December 10, he was able to write to Spalatinus: "There have just been burned, at the eastern gate of Wittemberg, opposite the church of the Holy Cross, all the writings of the Pope, the *Rescripts*, the *Decretals* of Clement VI., the *Extravagantes*, and the last Bull of Leo X., together with the *Summa* of the Angel of the Schools." On the day after this exhibition, Luther preached to the people, and said: "Yesterday I burned in the public Square, the devilish works of the Pope; and I wish that it was the Pope, that is, the Papal See, that was consumed. If you do not separate from Rome, there is no salvation for your souls."

Previous to the Diet of Worms, opened on Jan. 28, 1521, Luther sent to each elector of the empire a copy of his *Address to Cæsar and to the German Nation*, a political and religious manifesto dilating on what he termed the encroachments of Rome—encroachments which, by means of "three walls," he insisted, had made captives of princes and peoples. *First Wall.* Rome pretends that the spiritual authority is above the civil; but this is false, for all Christians "are spiritually alike." He did not assume to evince the logicity of this connection. The secular power is from God; therefore, contended the friar, it should be exercised over the Pontiff. *Second Wall.* St. Paul declares that all men are priests;

and nevertheless, the priest now judges, and is not judged. But "*we know more about heaven than a wicked Pope knows.*" *Third Wall.* It was the emperor Constantine who convoked the Council of Nice (1). If a city is about to be surprised, and some one cries, "To arms!" do men inquire whether the warning was given by a magistrate or a citizen? "Miserable Germans," cries the blatant demagogue, "we have been deceived. We were born to be masters, but we must bend our necks. . . . The Popes have the grain; we the straw. . . . It is time that the glorious German nation should cease to be the puppet of the Roman Pontiff." It was from a nobility inflamed by this document that Aleandro, the Papal nuncio, vainly demanded, in the Diet of Worms, the condemnation of Luther. He produced some impression; but the elector of Saxony insisted that the friar should be heard. Accordingly, the emperor Charles V. cited Luther to appear before the Diet; and when, on April 17, he obeyed, but refused to retract, an edict was issued, forbidding any one to harbor the rebel after May 15, the last day included in the safe-conduct which Charles had sent to him. Luther now departed from Worms; and by pre-arrangement with Frederick of Saxony, he was apparently kidnapped, and carried to his friend's castle of Wartburg. This master-stroke of policy was designed less for the purpose of foiling the friar's enemies, than in order to keep him from imprudences. Luther remained in his Patmos, as he styled it, until the death of Leo X.

While at Wartburg, the heresiarch began to formulate a Creed; and here also he first told the world that he had learned the wickedness of clerical celibacy. Not long before his conversion to the idea of the necessity of marriage for the clergy, he had laughed at the theory of his co-reformer, Carlstadt, that a wifeless priest was apt to *semen immolare Moloch*; and he had declared that the ex-archdeacon made the reformers "the laughing-stock of the Papists," it being strange that the learning of Carlstadt had not informed him that the quoted Biblical phrase "merely signified the sacrifice of one's children to Moloch" (2). Again, Luther had

(1) For the falsity of this assertion, see our vol. I., p. 201.

(2) Epist. to Spalatinus, Aug. 15, 1521.

already exclaimed : " Good God ! Our Wittenbergers will end by giving a wife to every monk ; but they shall not force one on me " (1). But his letters of this period indicate a change of mind.

During this retreat, Luther completed his translation of the Bible into German. It is frequently asserted that he was the first to translate the Scriptures into a vernacular. But as far back as the eleventh century there was a German version by William of Ebersberg ; and the curious reader may inspect it, for it was printed at Vienna in 1864. And as early as the eighth century, the Anglo-Saxons had their version by Ven. Bede. Leroux de Lincy edited, in 1841, a French translation of the *Book of Kings*, which internal evidence shows to be of the twelfth century. There were several other French versions in the twelfth century ; for Pope Innocent III. speaks of them in a letter to the bishop of Metz. In 1294 appeared the French translation by Guyard des Moulins, which was corrected as to style by John de Rely in 1487. While Luther was working at his German version, James Favre d'Etaples (Lefevre) published his French version at Antwerp with the approbation of the Inquisition. Mariana speaks of a Spanish translation made by order of Alphonsus of Castile in 1280 (2) ; and Richard Simon (3) praises another Spanish one made in the time of St. Vincent Ferrer (b. 1357). The Italians needed no translation in those days ; for their present beautiful language was then a mere infant, and Latin was spoken at least moderately well by whoever could read. Nevertheless, the Dominican, James de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa (b. 1230), made an Italian translation of the Bible.

It was probably at Wartburg that Luther, according to his own account, had a conference with the devil on the subject of the Mass, at which interview Satan appeared in the guise of a saver of souls, earnestly impressing on the friar's mind the idolatrous nature of the Divine Sacrifice (4). Here

(1) To same, Aug. 6.

(2) *History*, b. XIII., ch. xlii.

(3) *Crit. Old Test.*, vol. I., p. 336.

(4) *Works*, vol. III.—See Claude's *Defence of the Reformation*, pt. 2.—Nicole's *Legitimate Prejudices*, ch. ii.—Basnage's *Hist. Ref. Churches*, vol. III., ch. v.—Bayle's *Dict.* art. *Luther*.

also Luther heard of the revolt of Carlstadt, Munzer, Stubner, and innumerable other Reformers against his leadership; and naturally, therefore, he wished to re-enter the world. His princely protector forbidding the design, he donned the dress of a soldier, and made his way to Wittemberg, where, three days after his arrival, he thus upbraided his rivals in the manufacture of religions: "Do you wish to found a new Church? Then tell us who sent you. Whence do you derive your ministry? Since you alone testify about it, we refuse to believe you, as St. John advises. . . . Where are your miracles? When the law is to be altered, miracles are necessary." Logical or not, the ex-friar procured the expulsion of Carlstadt from Wittemberg. At this time Luther preached that famous discourse on marriage, the language of which, as his apologist Seckendorf gives it, is too utterly foul for record in this work (1). There was, however, one consoling consequence to this sermon; it opened the eyes of Staupitz, the friar's olden superior, who had hitherto followed him in his aberrations. He now said to Luther: "I leave you, brother, because I perceive, at last, that you have the sympathies of all who frequent brothels" (2). Thereupon, the old man returned to the faith, and died, some years afterward, abbot of St. Bridget's in Salzbourg. Many monks and friars adopted the creature-comforting practice of the New Gospel; but since very few of the nuns showed an inclination to break their vows, Luther encouraged them in his treatise, *Reasons Why Nuns Should Abandon Their Cells*; which he dedicated to Kœppe, a handsome young lord of Torgau, whose chief occupation was the "scaling of nunneries" in aid of such religious as might be induced to doff their veils. It was this gallant who afterward carried off Catharine Bora, destined to the worldly solace of the ex-Augustinian. About this time, the heresiarch completed his treatise against the hierarchy, the general trend of which work may be perceived in this passage: "Colleges, bishoprics, monasteries, and universities are so many jakes and

(1) In *Works*, edit. Wittemberg, 1544. Few of the later editions of the *Works* contain this sermon.

(2) SECKENDORF, *loc. cit.*, vol. I.

sinks in which the gold of princes and of the whole world is buried. Pope? You are not Pope, but Priapus. . . . Whoever shall help, with person, means, or influence, to destroy the rule of bishops, is a beloved child of God."

The Edict of Worms had been forgotten; the scheming brain of Charles V. was revolving other ideas than those of religion. However, one crowned head occupied itself with the defense of Holy Church—with the pen. Henry VIII. of England, with the approval of Erasmus, and after a course of study under Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and other prelates, issued his *Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Doctor Martin Luther* (1). We have no space for a synopsis of this work; suffice it to say that its theology was so excellent that many thought it a dictation by Erasmus or by one of the bishops, and that its Latinity was almost worthy of the court of Pope Leo X (2). This treatise merited for Henry and his successors, by a pontifical decree, the title of "Defender of the Faith." The heresiarch took up his pen against Henry, spattering his usual amount of filth, which, of course, we omit. "It matters not whether this treatise was written by Henry or by the devil; whoever lies, is a liar, and I do not fear him. I do think, however, that Henry gave one or two ells of coarse cloth, and that snivelling sophist (Lee), such as the fat Thomist bogs cherish, the same who wrote against Erasmus, then took up needle and scissors, and made the garment." After great pretence of refutation of the royal arguments, Luther proceeds: "When the king of England spits his impudent lies into my face, I must be allowed to cram them down his throat. . . . I think that he wrote his book as a penance, for his conscience tells him that he stole the crown of England by putting to a violent death the last offspring of the royal line. . . . Henry and the Pope are equally legitimate; the Pope has stolen his tiara, and Henry his crown; this fact accounts for their rubbing each other, like two mules. . . . Henry spits out poison like an angry prostitute—a good proof that he has no royal blood in his

(1) The royal MS. is preserved in the Vatican Library.

(2) Once, unfortunately for his sense of decency, Henry falls into Luther's own style, and dismisses the friar, "*cum suis furis et furoribus, cum suis merdis et stercoribus, cacantem, cacatumque.*"

reins. . . . Courage, ye swine (1). Burn me, if you dare! Luther will be the bear in your road, the lion in your path; ever following you and giving you no rest, until he shall have broken your iron skulls and brazen faces." If the reader should be almost tempted to admire what he may deem the boldness of Luther in thus bearding the ally of Charles V., let him reflect that just then the stars of Charles and Henry seemed to be in the descendent; for the French had expelled the English from their territory, and Charles had failed in his attempts upon Burgundy and Guienne. But two years later, when the pretty face of Anne Boleyn was luring Henry toward a rupture with Rome, and when therefore the heresiarch discerned a companion incendiary in that monarch, he changed his style, and thus addressed him: "Most Serene and Illustrious Prince, I ought to fear to write to your Majesty, remembering how I insulted you in that pamphlet which I, a vain and haughty man, yielding to evil advisers, and not of my own inclination, published against you. But your royal goodness encourages me to address you, that goodness being made known to me in my daily correspondence. Since you are mortal, you will not harbor immortal anger. Besides, I have good reason to know that the document which was published in the name of your Majesty, was not composed by the king of England, as certain shameless sophists would have us believe. . . . I blush for myself, and scarcely dare to raise my eyes to you, I being a worm of rottenness and dust, meriting only contempt and disdain. . . . If your Majesty thinks that I ought to deny my words, and to laud you in another work, deign to so command. I am ready and willing to comply." In his reply to this apology, Henry plainly insists that he was the author of the *Defence*. Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, lauds the theological learning of Henry, and does not even allude to Luther's allegation of fraud on the part of Lee. Seckendorf thinks that this silence would not have been maintained by Burnet, if he had suspected the origin of the work to have been of another hand than that of Henry. However, Lingard

(1) This apostrophe is addressed to the disciples of the school of the Angelic Doctor, St. Thomas of Aquin.

perceives a corroboration of the public opinion that the king was not the author, in a remark of Sir Thomas More that "by his Grace's appointment, and *the consent of the makers of the same*, he (More) was only a sorter out and placer of the principal matters therein contained."

In 1524 a Diet met at Nuremberg, the Pope being represented by Cardinal Campeggi, a man of high character and fine ability. Charles V. had sent to the Diet a mandate ordering the execution of the Edict of Worms, while the Lutheran princes wished to resist that decree. A compromise was tried, the Diet resolving that the Pontiff should convoke a General Council in Germany, while the Estates should assemble at Spire, and decide whether to accept or reject the New Gospel. Naturally this compromise pleased neither party; Campeggi protested, and in a rescript to the German princes Charles threatened death to all contemnners of the Edict of Worms. Very soon, in all Northern Germany, the innovators began to oppress the Catholics, churches were seized, images destroyed, and superstition, said the despoilers, was about to vanish. In July, 1524, the Catholic princes met at Ratisbon for consultation. Naturally, they resolved that the Edict of Worms should be observed, and that they would aid each other if attacked by the Lutherans. Meanwhile there had begun a movement among the peasants, which caused all the nobles, irrespective of religion, to tremble. It is not for us to describe the horrors of the Peasants' War (1524-25); we allude to it, merely to show Luther's connection with it. If victory rested with Munzer, the man of the mob, Melancthon's "devil incarnate," the ex-Augustinian would cease to be the Pope of Wittemberg. Luther realized this danger, and he met it with a manifesto counselling the peasants to moderation; but the logical Munzer sent to him a page torn from Luther's own work on the hierarchy, in which the innovator had said "Whosoever, with his arm, his fortune, and his estate, shall assist in destroying the bishops and the episcopal hierarchy, is a true son of God." And Osiander regretted that the Anabaptist was unacquainted with the following passage in the tirade of Luther against Prierias: "If we hang robbers, behead mur-

derers, and burn heretics, ought we not wash our hands in the blood of these masters of perdition, these cardinals, Popes, serpents of Rome and Sodom, who defile the Church of God?" Then Osiander thus rebukes his co-reformer: "Alas! Poor peasants, whom Luther flatters and caresses when they attack only the bishops and priests; but when the insurgents, laughing at his Bull, threaten him and his princes, then he sends forth another Bull, decreeing their slaughter as so many wild beasts." Erasmus adds his rebuke to Osiander's: "You indeed disclaim all complicity (with the insurgents) in your most cruel tirade against the peasants, but you cannot make men believe that these troubles were not occasioned by your writings, especially those in German, directed against bishops and monks." When the peasants had made great progress, Luther resolved to prevent the triumph of his rival. Thus he addressed his noble followers: "To arms, my princes, to arms! The time has come, the wondrous time, when princes can win heaven with blood more easily than others can with prayers. Slay, front and rear! Nothing is more devilish than sedition: it is a mad dog that bites you if you do not kill it. There must be no more sleep, patience, or mercy; the times of the sword and of wrath are not those of grace." The "gentle" Melancthon coincided with these sentiments. Well might the Sacramentarian Hospinian say to Luther that he it was who excited the Peasants' War, and the heresiarch admits that he "shed all that blood by God's commands." In fact, Luther had little love for the inferior orders. He would say: "Give the ass thistles, a pack-saddle, and the whip; give the peasants oat-straw. If they are not content, give them the cudgel and the carbine; these are their due." Munzer, just before his execution, accused Luther as the author of his misfortunes.

It was amid the horrors of the Peasants' War that the ex-friar took to himself a "wife" in the person of an ex-nun, Catharine Bora (1). Dollinger thus speaks of this event: "So

(1) Regard for decency must ever prevent any but a lubricious author, be he Catholic, Protestant, Jew, or pagau, from quoting at random the arguments with which Luther insists on marriage for all, without exception. It is necessary, however, for our purpose that we give some notion of the apostate's ideas. The first requisite for one of his preachers was

sudden was this marriage, and so precipitately was it performed, that it astonished even his most intimate friends. On June 3, 1525, he had told the cardinal prince-elect of Mayence that although he had urged that prelate to marry, nevertheless he himself had not married, because he did not feel that he was made for a conjugal life. And a few days after writing this letter, he very secretly espoused Catharine Bora, an escaped nun; and on June 27, he gave the nuptial feast. One cannot perceive clearly what motive actuated him in this manner of procedure. The letters written by him at that time give no satisfactory explanation of it. Munzer and his peasants, he writes, so oppress the Gospel—that is, the revolt of the peasants had caused many to distrust Luther's doctrine—that he has married a religious in order to show his contempt for his foes, and in order to give testimony to the Gospel by deeds. Then again he falls back upon a desire which he says that his father had expressed concerning the necessity of silencing evil reports about his relations with Bora. On another occasion he tells how, all of a sudden, and when he was thinking of anything but her, the Lord miraculously urged him to marry the nun; and how his obedience to the command entailed upon him nothing but confusion and abuse. He seems to glorify both himself and

the possession of a wife; and when the preacher had taken unto himself an ex-nun, whether she was a voluntary fugitive or a stolen prey, Luther decreed that no ceremony of ordination was necessary. (*Table Talk*, fol. 389, Dresd.) When Luther speaks of marriage, he is the mere animal; he thinks of none of the relations of matrimony toward God or society. It is merely an opportunity for the gratification of a carnal appetite, and a means to propagate the race. He says that "the fire of voluptuousness which is in human nature can be extinguished neither by vows nor by laws" (Letter to Wolfgang Reissenbusch, March 27, 1525, no. 686 in edit. Wette, Berlin, 1836, vol. II.). In a letter to the archbishop of Mayence and Magdeburg, he tells the prelate that he will be damned, if he does not marry, and asks him what he will reply to God, when he is told: "I made thee a man not to be alone, but to have a woman" (Letter of June 3, 1525, no. 710). To some nuns who hesitated to break their vows, he wrote: "A woman does not belong to herself. God made her body to be in the society of a man. Just as God made the need of eating, drinking, sleeping; so he made man and woman to be united in marriage. That is enough, and no one should blush because of a thing for which God made him. This you will understand when you are outside, and hear preaching such as you ought to hear" (Letter of Aug. 6, 1524, no. 615, vol. II.). Writing to the soldier-monks of the Teutonic Order, he says: "Priests, monks, and nuns ought to break their vows so soon as they feel that they have the strength and power to propagate; and they have no right, because of any law or authority, to impede the effect of the power which God has placed in them. You cannot promise not to be men or women; and therefore you cannot renounce marriage. The command to multiply is a thunder-clap for the Pope's law. If you want to make a vow which perhaps you can keep, vow to never bite your own noses." Some of Luther's letters to his married priestly friends will not bear reproduction. Here are some of the cleaner specimens. Writing to Amsdorf on Feb. 10, 1525 (no. 673, vol. II.),

the woman on account of their violation of their vows, by a union which was declared invalid by both the religious and civil law, more than a thousand years before his time. But his friends and very many of his followers thought differently; and he could write: 'I have been so humiliated and despised on account of my marriage, that I trust that the angels smile on it, and all the devils of hell shed tears because of it.' In the letters which he wrote at this time, we read expressions regarding the conjugal relation which are cynically gross and scandalously smutty; but behind all his effrontery and his apparent ease of mind, we discern a humiliating recognition of the fact that his personal consideration has been gravely diminished, and of the fact that his most fervent admirers cannot understand why he selected for his marriage a time when the Peasants' War was filling the land with bloody atrocities."

We omit any account of Luther's disputes with Zwingli and Carlstadt; of the sacking of Rome by the imperial army, mostly Lutheran; and come to the Diets of Spire and of Augsburg. Of the first, held in 1529, it is sufficient to say that it was decided to preserve the *status quo* temporarily, thus discouraging the spread of the Reformation. Against this decision, the innovators, headed by the elector John of Saxony, the elector George of Brandenburg, the dukes Er-

he says: "*Vale, et pinguem maritum, Melchiorum saluta, cui opto conjugem obsequentem, quæ per diem septies cum capillo circum forum ducat, et per noctem ter bene obtundat verbis connubialibus, ut meretur.*" Writing to Spalatinus on Dec. 6, 1525, he says: "*Saluta tuam conjugem suatissime, verum ut id tum facias, cum in thoro suarissimis amplexibus et osculis Catharinam teneris, et sic cogitaveris: En hunc hominem optimam creaturalem Dei mei, donavit mihi Christus meus; sit illi laus et gloria. Salutat te et costam tuam costa mea. Gratia vobiscum. Amen.*" Luther composed the following epithalamium for his nuptials: "O God, in Thy goodness, give us gowns and hats, mantles and petticoats, fat calves and goats, oxen, sheep, and cows, plenty of women, but few children" (*Table Talk*, Eisl., pp. 307, 309, 442). It was on Good Friday of 1523 that Luther commissioned Koppe to abduct Catharine Bora and nine of her companions from the Bernardine Convent of Stimpisch, near Grimma; and because of the date, Luther compared Koppe to our Lord, both having accomplished, he said, the Redemption on the same day. Luther seems to have taken pains to select great feast-days for this kind of work. Thus we find him carrying off thirteen nuns in Saxony on the feast of St. Michael, 1525. At this period these verses began to circulate among the Catholics of Germany:

*I Cuculla! Vale Cappa!
Vale Prior, Custos, Papa!
Cum Obedientia!
Ite Vota, Preeces, Horæ!
Vale Timor, cum Pudore!
Vale Conscientia!*

nest and Francis of Lunberg, the landgrave Philip of Hesse, the prince of Anhalt, and thirteen imperial cities, protested; thus originating the term "Protestants"—a term which, though purely negative, has been accepted by all the offspring of Luther's revolt, as the only collective designation befitting the innumerable sects which have no bond of union save opposition to the Catholic Church. The Diet of Augsburg was opened by Charles V. in person, on June 20, 1530. The Protestant princes presented their *Confession of Faith*, which had been drafted by Melancthon. It was in two parts; the first containing twenty-one articles on religious doctrine; the second, in seven articles, treated of the ceremonies and usages of the Church. We give a summary of the articles. I. The teachings of the first four General Councils on the unity of God and the Trinity of Persons were accepted. II. Original sin was admitted, but was made to consist entirely in concupiscence, in a lack of fear of God, and in a want of confidence in His goodness. III. All that is taught in the Apostles' Creed concerning the birth, life, passion, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ was received. IV. It was held, against the Pelagians, that man cannot justify himself of his own strength; but it was held, against the Catholics, that justification is obtained by faith alone, good works excluded. V. The Holy Ghost is conferred by the Sacraments; but He works only by faith. VI. While faith ought to produce good works, these lead not to justification, being performed only in obedience to God. VII. The Church is composed of the elect alone. VIII. The word of God and the Sacraments are efficacious, even when the minister is wicked and a hypocrite. IX. Infants are to be baptized. X. The Body and Blood of Christ are really present in the Holy Eucharist. XI. Absolution is necessary for the remission of sins, but confession is not necessary. XII. The amissableness of justice is asserted against the Anabaptists; against the Novatians, penance is declared to be useful; against the Catholics, it is denied that a sinner can merit forgiveness by penitential works. XIII. Actual faith is necessary for all who receive the Sacraments, even for infants. XIV. Without a legitimate vocation, no one can teach religion pub-

licly, or administer the Sacraments. XV. Holy days and prescribed ceremonies are to be observed. XVI. Civil laws, magistracies, property, and marriage, are legitimate. XVII. A last judgment, heaven, and hell are acknowledged; and against the Anabaptists it is taught that hell is eternal. XVIII. Man possesses free will, but he needs grace to be saved. XIX. God is not, and cannot be the cause of sin. XX. Good works are not altogether useless. XXI. The saints in heaven pray for us, and on stated occasions we should celebrate their memory; but the *Confession* neither condemns nor approves our invoking them. In the second part, I. Holy Communion should be administered under both species, and processions with the Blessed Sacrament are prohibited. II. Clerical and monastic celibacy should be abolished. III. Private Mass should not be celebrated, and in all Masses the vernacular should be used. IV. The faithful ought not to be obliged to confess their sins, or at least they should not be compelled to an exact and circumstantial enumeration of them. V. Fasting and the monastic life are condemned. VI. Monastic vows are plainly reprobated. VII. Such a distinction is established between the ecclesiastical and civil powers, as to deprive the former of all temporal power. At the same time that the chiefs of the Lutheran party presented this *Confession* at the Diet of Augsburg, four imperial cities, Strasbourg, Constance, Memingen, and Landaw, which had become Zwinglian, offered one of their own, composed by Martin Bucer, and this was regarded as a prodigy of doctrine by the Calvinists. This separate *Confession*, however, did not prevent Bucer from signing that of Augsburg and the prohibition of his own. Melancthon himself, who, in the second part of the *Confession of Augsburg*, so strongly condemned the Roman ceremonies, did so in contradiction to his own sentiments, and merely to please Luther.

One cannot avoid noticing the inconsistency of Luther, who having proclaimed the right of private interpretation, imposes at Augsburg a Creed upon men, and anathematizes those who reject it. And yet this same Creed was again and again altered. While at first Luther denied the free will of man, because of divine predestination, he subscribed to Melancthon's

article 18, asserting that "free will is to be acknowledged in all men who have the use of reason." He had insisted that "God works sin in us," but article 19 says that "the will of man is the cause of sin." He had rejected good works, but article 20 says that they are useful. However, taking the *Confession of Augsburg* in its entirety, we may agree with those who believe that if Luther had made it some years before, or if there had been a Melancthon in 1519, the revolt would not have occurred; that if, even in 1530, Luther had been no more, the revolt would have ended. Melancthon was certainly tired of controversy; several times at this period he wrote to his master, "We are in grief and despair; Brentz, who accompanies and tries to console me, unites his tears with mine" (1). And Obsopæus wrote to Camerarius: "They say that Melancthon behaves like a man in the pay of the Pope; and that he lauds the Popedom with the best of them. It is often said that he is like Architophiles; some compare him to Erasmus" (2). Writing to Camerarius at this time, Melancthon says: "Shall I give my real opinion? I would restore to the bishops both their power and their spiritual administration. Unless the Church really governs, the new tyranny will be worse than the old one." But it was not the interest of the Protestant princes to restore religious unity, and Melancthon was fain to remark to Luther: "They care little for religion; they desire only despotism and licentiousness." And his master replied: "Whoever dies from fear, should have asses bray at his funeral. As to you, what kind of requiem ought you to have when you are dying from sheer cowardice?"

We must now notice an episode in the early history of this "emancipation of humanity," which illustrates both Luther's subserviency to princes, and his disregard for morality. Philip, landgrave of Hesse, had been married sixteen years to Christina of Saxony, and she had borne eight children to him, when he became enamored of Margaret von Saal, a maid of honor to his sister Elizabeth. He had been of much service to Lutheranism, and he felt justified in ap-

(1) CHYTRÆUS; *Hist. Conf. Augsburg.*

(2) CAMERARIUS; *Life of Luther.*—CHYTRÆUS; *loc. cit.*

plying to his spiritual leader for permission to take another wife. Our account of this matter is taken from a book printed by order of the elector-palatine, Charles Louis, in 1679, under the name of Daphnæus Arcuarius (Lawrence Bæger), one of the elector's councillors (1). Martin Bucer was employed by Philip to draw up his petition to Luther, and from it we take the following passages: "I have a wife, and cannot abstain from women. When I married Christina, it was from neither passion nor inclination. The officers of my court may be examined as to her temper, charms, and love of wine. I am of a warm temperament; used to the irregularities of camp life, I cannot exist without women; I have not kept conjugal fidelity for more than three weeks. My clergy wish me to approach the holy table, but I shall exercise my judgment in that matter, for I wish not to change my life. If I must fight for the confederation, a stroke or a shot may kill me, and then I say to myself that I shall go straight to the devil. Now I have read in the Old Testament that holy persons such as Abraham, Jacob, David, and Solomon, had many wives; and yet all believed in the coming of Christ. Neither has God, in the Old Testament, nor Christ in the New, nor the Prophets, nor the Apostles, forbidden a man to have two wives; never have the Prophets or Apostles blamed or punished bigamy, and St. Paul never excluded from heaven the man who has two wives. Again, when St. Paul says that a bishop should be the husband of one wife, he would have laid the same injunction on laymen, had he wished each of them to have only one wife (2). Besides, I know

(1) *Conscientious Considerations on Marriage, with an Explanation of the Questions Agitated to Our Day Concerning Adultery, Separation, and Polygamy.*—De Wette gives Luther's license in his collection of the friar's letters, vol. V. It is also found in the editions of Altenburg, vol. VIII.; of Leipsic, vol. XXII.; and of Halle, vol. X.

(2) Probably the landgrave, or rather Bucer, adopted this misinterpretation of St. Paul's saying from the wretched Anabaptist, John of Leyden. After the capture of this fanatic, Corvinus, one of the Lutheran ministers of Hesse, challenged him to a disputation, and the "prophet" accepted the cartel. The debate having turned on polygamy, the ex-king of Leyden said: "Does not St. Paul teach that a bishop should be the husband of one wife? If therefore, in the Apostle's time, a man was not a bishop, he could have two or three wives." When Corvinus quoted St. Paul as saying that every man should live with his "wife," not "wives," John encouraged him in the Lutheran system of private interpretation of Scripture by this explanation of the Pauline text: "St. Paul did not speak of all wives, but of each in particular; the first is my wife, and I live with her; the second is my wife, and I live with her; the third is my wife, and I live with her. All that is very simple. Besides, is it not better to have several wives than several concubines?"

that Luther and Melancthon have advised the king of England not to divorce his first wife, but to take a second. But let them not suppose that, because I had another wife, I would maltreat the first one, or even cease to cohabit with her. No! I would be resigned to my cross and would render her every duty, even the conjugal debt. Let them, then, grant my demand, so that I may live and die like a good Christian, for the honor of the Gospel; and all that is just and reasonable, *even the property of the monasteries and such like, I will grant to them.*" The chief clergy of Wittenberg and Hesse, that is, Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Corvinus, Leningen, Winther, and Melander, soon emitted an opinion, couched in twenty-four articles, of which the twenty-first says: "If your Highness is determined to marry a second wife, we judge that it ought to be done privately, as we have said when speaking of the dispensation which you request; that is to say, that no one should be present save the celebrant and a few witnesses, who must be bound to secrecy, as though under the seal of confession. Then there will be no fear of opposition or great scandal, for it is not uncommon for princes to keep concubines; and although the common people may be scandalized at it, the more enlightened will suspect the truth. We need not be very anxious about the world's remarks, when the conscience is at rest. Therefore, your Highness has in this writing not only our approbation of your wish, but also the reflections which we have made on it." The marriage took place on March 4, 1540, and Christina, very different from Catharine of Aragon, consented to it.

It is very improbable that any religious innovator started out with a complete programme; and certainly Luther developed his doctrines by degrees, now modifying, then withdrawing some of them. He could not have foreseen, when fostering his bitterness during his visit to Rome in 1510, that his German hatred of Italy was slowly disposing him to refuse obedience to Roman authority. When Luther visited Italy, he felt nothing but contempt for everything he saw. And yet he tells us that he found "everywhere well-built and well-provided hospitals, with excellent food, attentive nurses, expert physicians, clean beds and linen, and everywhere pict-

ures." He is astonished on finding that when a patient enters an Italian hospital, "he receives a white night-shirt, and is put into a good bed; the nurses give him food and drink in vessels which they scarcely touch with their fingers; then two physicians visit him, and ladies, veiled so as to be unknown, wait upon him." The northern European of that day could not comprehend such refinement as Italy everywhere exhibited. And then, observes Cantù, "His soul, wanting in love as in humility, does not comprehend the poetry of our sky, our arts, or our history. Sculpture along the roads, the marbles and gold in the churches, stupefy him. . . . For Luther, Rome is not the city from which the Apostles repelled Attila, the Scourge of God, the city where emperors and kings pause to venerate or to tremble; the city which personifies the domination of intelligence over brute force. When he sees so many masterpieces of the ancients rivalled by the moderns with pen, chisel, and color; when he beholds the Papal robes sheltering so many geniuses, any one of whom would immortalize a country or an age; the ice of his soul is not melted by one of the rays from the aureolas of Raphael or Michelangelo. . . . But he swallows greedily all the scurrilities of the taverns; he declares that in the garden of a certain convent—which one, he does not state—the skulls of 6,000 babes have lately been disinterred; he insists that Rome has poisons so delicately powerful, that one would be killed, if he but looked into a mirror sprinkled with them. He despises the universities and the course of studies in Italy, because reason is there interposed between science and faith; because the Italian schools teach that the divine increases the natural light, as the sun illumines a beautiful picture. . . . Returning with these sentiments to his own land, even in his first letters, especially in those of 1518 to Spalatinus, he manifests his malignity in regard to the Romanists, his contempt for scholastic theology, a passion for every novelty—no matter where found; and he yearns to emerge from obscurity, and to give a shock to the world" (1).

It is also improbable that in the beginning of his demotion of the sacerdotal edifice, Luther foresaw that he would

(1) *Heretics of Italy*, Discourse 15.

be led to deny that man can do anything toward his own salvation; that then, from this idea of the inutility of good works, he would infer that there should be no penances, no prayers for the dead; that since evil is the normal condition of finite man, faith in Christ is alone requisite for salvation; that, in fine, man's motto should be: "Sin, and sin strongly, but believe more strongly!" Yes; such is the moving principle of all the teaching of the father of the so-called Reformation: "Be a sinner, and sin boldly; but more boldly still believe and rejoice in Christ who is the Conqueror of sin, of death, and of the world; we must sin, so long as we are here. . . . Sin cannot separate us from God, even though we were to fornicate or murder a thousand times in one day" (1). With the picture of strange prospects looming up before it, if such teaching were generally received, the Christian world was asked to accept the following heads of doctrine. I. By the sin of Adam the free will of man was entirely destroyed. II. In no way can man merit salvation. III. Man can be justified by faith alone. IV. The sacraments do not confer grace, nor do any of them impress a character in the soul. V. Auricular confession is a human invention. VI. In the Holy Eucharist, after the consecration, there remains, together with the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, the substance of bread and wine. VII. The Body and Blood of Christ are not permanently present in the Eucharist, but only *in usu*. VIII. Holy Communion should be administered to the laity under both species. IX. The Mass was not instituted by Christ, and it is not a Sacrifice. X. Priests are not bound to celibacy. XI. Monastic vows are reprehensible. XII. Indulgences are pious frauds. XIII. That contrition which proceeds from a fear of hell is a sin. XIV. The saints in heaven are not to be revered or invoked. XV. The Church consists of only the just. XVI. The existence of Purgatory cannot be proved from the Scriptures. XVII. God commands man to do impossible things, and is the Author of sin. XVIII. The primacy of the Roman Pontiff is not by divine right. XIX. To fight against the Turks is to resist the will of God who, by means of them,

(1) Letter to Melancthon, Aug. 21, 1521.

punishes us for our iniquities. XX. Bishops and princes would not do wrong if they were to abolish the Mendicant Orders. XXI. There are only two Sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist. XXII. All Christians are equally priests. Luther propounded many other errors, but they are all included in the above.

Concerning the death of Luther, we need merely state that his last words were an affirmative reply to the dread question put by Justus Jonas, a minister of Wittenberg, as to whether "he wished to die in the faith and doctrine he had preached." The character of Luther was very peculiar. Exceedingly jolly at times, he was generally haughty, and as rash as cunning. His utter want of urbanity, and his absolute ignorance of any moderation of language, may be excused in an inhabitant of a country which knew, at that time, very little of either of these tokens of refinement. But his scurrility, even when treating of the most sacred things, was his own. In a tavern at night, he would laugh at the matter of his discourse in the morning; and no gutter-tramp could have desired a more brilliant school for foul-mouthings than that furnished by the ex-friar on such occasions. He was fond of ridiculing superstition, and even prejudice; but he gravely tells us that he often hears the noise of three thousand barrels being rolled down the stairs by the devil; that he often sees the *Killkropft*, a child born of Satanic parents, sitting among his own offspring; that whenever the demon disturbs him at night, he exorcises him with three words which the reader will excuse us from repeating. When young, he had studied carefully and thoroughly; therefore, when nature had given to him much fecundity of imagination, a fine presence, and a sonorous voice, he was an impressive orator. Spirit he undoubtedly possessed, even to superabundance; his genius may be questioned. Cunning though he certainly was, some of his most important actions were the results of impulse, even of momentary anger. As to his teachings, he advanced not one new doctrine; he merely selected among the speculations of previous heretics, and presented them at a time when men were more disposed to welcome them, than they had been, when the same notions

were originally emitted. His attacks on the Keys were mere developments of the olden struggle between Church and Empire. And, remarks Cantù, "the world had already proclaimed the superiority of force over thought. The Waldenses and such had already set up the Bible as the sole rule of faith. Every heresiarch of the Middle Age had marched under the banner of private judgment; and in that period, every possible error on grace, justification, and Purgatory, had been discussed. . . . History shows that abnormal force is always admired, and draws every one who cares not to do his own thinking. The Germans had become hostile to the Popes from the time these opposed the emperors, who tried to confuse the temporal and the spiritual. A feeling of malevolence was cherished against everything from across the Alps, and especially against those Pontiffs who had preserved civilization. The Germans, growing fond of the new Arminius, declaimed against a delicacy they did not know, and against a culture of which they were not capable" (1).

Most of the questions in the mind of the student, after he has become acquainted with the origin and early career of the Reformation, and which are vigorously debated by theologians and polemics, pertain to other provinces than that of the historian. But two claim our attention. We took occasion, when treating of the rapid propagation of Christianity during its first three centuries (2), to show that this progress furnished our ancestors in the faith with an encouraging proof of its divine origin. Now, heterodox writers are fond of dilating on the readiness with which numbers, especially in Germany, abandoned the Church of Rome at the call of the new apostles. But the reader will remember that in the case of early Christianity, our argument was that since Pagan resistance was at the maximum, and the force of the Church was, humanly speaking, at the minimum, therefore the effect, namely, the propagation of Christianity, should have been, according to all human forethought, zero, that is, a failure. In the case of the Reformation, however, the resistance of the world was not at the maximum, and the force at the command of the innovators was not at the minimum; therefore, hu-

(1) *Univ. Hist.*, b. XV., ch. vii.

(2) *Vcl. I.*, ch. iv.

manly speaking, it was quite natural that the movement should succeed. Very little reflection is necessary to establish the conviction that the spirit of the world was with the early Reformers, and that, which is the same thing, their strength was immense. Paganism, Gnosticism, Manicheism, Islamism, and scores of other religious systems, have been propagated by the passions of men. And these immense levers, apt to move the mental and moral world, were in the hands of Luther and his brethren. And how could it be otherwise, when free will was denied, good works declared useless, and hence every one was at the beck of his own inclinations? Many Protestants have observed this work of the passions in furthering the Reformation. Frederick "the Great" remarked: "If you wish to reduce the causes of the progress of the Reformation to simple principles, you will find that it was the work, in Germany of interest, in England of lust, and in France of a liking for novelty" (1). Even Calvin said: "Among a hundred Evangelicals, scarcely one can be found who became an Evangelical for any other motive than to be able to abandon himself with greater freedom to all kinds of pleasures and lusts" (2). Melancthon lamented to Luther that "Our companions dispute, not for the Gospel, but for their interests" (3). Bucer declared that "In the Reformed Church nothing is so much desired as the pleasure of living as one wishes" (4). But not only by the passions of men were the early Reformers aided; in the majority of the German principalities the strong arm of the secular power was in their favor. Frederick III., elector of Saxony, styled Luther his friend, his father, the chosen one of the Lord, the man of God, etc. Louis, count-palatine and vicar of the empire, was also a staunch ally of the innovators. Albert of Brandenburg, grand-master of the Teutonic knights, entered into the new dispensation, took a wife, stole nearly all the domains of his order, and thus laid the foundation of the Protestant kingdom of Prussia. Philip, landgrave of Hesse, was ever ready to aid the New Gospel with his sword, and

(1) *Memoirs of Brandenburg.*(2) *Commentary on Second Epist. of Peter.*(3) *Epist.*, b. I., no. 10.(4) *Epistles of Calvin*, cited by Bossuet, *Variations*, b. V., no. 14.

received his reward in a permission to have two wives at the same time. Even the emperor Charles V., during several years, sacrificed the interests of religion to his conception of policy. Frederick I., duke of Holstein, having ascended the throne of Denmark, forced his subjects into Lutheranism. Gustavus Vasa did the same that he might appropriate the property of the Church. The apostasy of the two powerful archbishops of Cologne, Hermann and Gebhard, had much to do with the success of Lutheranism. Nor can it be forgotten that the German nobility hated the clergy. They had more to fear from the Pope than from the emperor; although little better than freebooters, they were sometimes sufficiently powerful to frighten the latter, but the former was superior to their threats. Again, the heavy tribute paid to Rome was a powerful incentive to their rebellion. Jurieu, one of the most venerated of Protestant apologists, admits that it was only by the aid of the civil power that the Reformation triumphed in Geneva, and in the free cities and most of the principalities of Germany (1). This is especially true of Saxony, immediately after the death of Duke George (2).

Most Protestants fondly believe that the intellectual movement of the sixteenth century, the Renaissance, was the work of the Reformation. But the "rebirth" of literature had occurred long before the birth of Luther; and the movement was well under way two centuries before that event, so that it is incorrect even to assign its initiation, as some have done, to the influx of Greek science which was consequent on the fall of Constantinople. To say nothing of the universal appreciation of Dante by his Italian contemporaries—an appreciation in comparison with which that of Erasmus by the learned of his time was calm indifference, and which showed that those Italian intellects were by no means beclouded—the careers of Petrarch, Boccaccio, Colluccio Salutato, John of Ravenna (Malpaghino), Poggio Bracciolini, Traversari, Leonardo Bruni, Ognibene, Carlo Aretino, Guarini, Francesco Filelfo, Barbaro, and innumerable other luminaries, repel the claim of Protestantism to be regarded as the enlightener of

(1) MARX; *Causes of the Rapid Spread of the Reformation*.

(2) HAGEN; *Spirit of the Reformation*, vol. I., p. 146.

a besottedly ignorant society (1). Undoubtedly, the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Revolution are affiliated. All three had a more or less real point of departure in legitimate and healthy aspirations, and all three deceived many generous souls, the first superficially and for a few years, the second and third radically and for centuries. The excesses of the first told principally upon Italy; those of the second upon Germany; and those of the third upon France. But what was evil in all three eventually infected nearly all Europe; and to-day we find a large portion of what was once, not a mere aggregation of Christian peoples, but the *Populus Christianus*, suffering from the poison which, in the fifteenth century, was injected into the social body by the pagan excesses of the once Christian Renaissance. The connection between the paganized Renaissance and the Reformation has not escaped the notice of Pastor, the latest Catholic historian whom Germany has produced; and scrutinizing the hybrid influence of the humanist movement, he feels "the difficulty of fixing the exact balance of good and evil with which it af-

(1) Even Cola di Rienzi was distinguished as a humanist long before he became a revolutionist; and nearly all the Italian princes of his day were patrons of literature. PETRARCH (b. 1304). The literary faculties of Petrarch were prodigious; when a mere child, and unable to understand the meaning of Cicero and Virgil, the harmony of their language charmed his ear. He excited the energies of the erudite among his contemporaries by his eulogies of the great writers of antiquity, and by his own excellent imitations of the same. It was he who introduced among the Italians that worship of the antique which was to be their fanaticism in the sixteenth century. Would the works of Petrarch have excited an enthusiasm of admiration which was almost comparable to that felt for Dante, if there had not been, at least among the Italians, a notable advance in classical attainments and in good taste? BOCCACCIO (b. 1313). This celebrated author of the *Decameron* is known by most persons solely because of that licentious work; which, by the way, is purity incarnate when compared with the *Heptameron* of Margaret of Valois, the idol of French Protestants, who wrote under the inspiration of the New Gospel. During his entire life Boccaccio exhorted his contemporaries to study the ancient authors; and aided by the Florentine government, he travelled extensively in search of old manuscripts, which, when money for their purchase failed him, he copied with his own hand. COLLUCCIO SALUTATO (b. 1320), at first secretary to Pope Urban V., and then chancellor of Florence, was allied with Petrarch and Boccaccio in friendship and literary pursuits. His chief efforts were devoted to the detection and correction of copistical errors in ancient MSS. His contemporaries laud him as unequalled in eloquence, poetry, and historical knowledge, by any one of their day; Philip Villani places him on the same plane as Cicero and Virgil. JOHN OF RAVENNA (b. 1350), a famous grammarian, was the instructor of many celebrated men, whom Philip of Bergamo enumerates, and of whom the best known by us are Leonardo Aretino, Paolo Sforza, Poggio, Traversari, and Filelfo. Raphael of Volterra compares him to the horse of Troy which held in its bosom the flower of the Greek army. POGGIO (b. 1380), whose real name was Bracciolini, was an employee of the Roman court, and devoted all his leisure to literature. While at Constance, in the suite of Pope John XXIII., he heard that in the neighborhood there were many rare manuscripts which ran great risk, during the troubles incident-

fectured the Church and religion" (1). When Friar Martin began his work of destruction, the Rome of Pope Leo X. was paying so much attention to intellectual and artistic culture, that many, not without some reason, charged it with fostering a Pagan, rather than a Christian spirit. The science of criticism alone owes a little to the Reformation; but, as Balnes remarks, this debt was like that of the science of medicine to a pest which decimates the nations. As to philosophy, it was not Germany (which produced no great philosopher before the very un-Protestant Leibnitz), but France, which, by means of the Catholic Descartes, inaugurated the new era. England has no claims in the premises, for all her schools of philosophy are posterior to Descartes. Speaking of the period preceding the Reformation, Balnes says: "Whoever examines dispassionately this epoch of history, will acknowledge that then society received its most fortunate impulse, and that then were discovered and rapidly developed most of the great means of action. In the face of such positive facts, one cannot understand how history has been studied by those who flatter Protestantism with the notion that it awakened the human mind from a lethargy, and that

al to the Great Schism, of being lost or destroyed. He set himself the task of saving the treasures; and he discovered a complete Quintilian, part of the *Argonotic* of Valerius Flaccus, the *Commentary* of Asconius Pedianus on the *Orations* of Cicero, the work of Lactantius *De Opificio Hominis*, the architectural treatise of Vitruvius, and the treatise of the grammarian, Priscianus. In posterior investigations in the monasteries of France and Germany, Poggio found many orations of Cicero, Lucretius, the *Bucolics* of Calphurnius, a book of Petronius, what we have of Ammianus Marcellinus, Vegetius, the work of Frontinus on aqueducts, the mathematical writings of Firmicus, Nonius Marcellus, and Columella. Literature owes much to Poggio's own writings, in the line of elegant style. LEONARDO ARETINO (b. 1382). This humanist rediscovered the principles of correct and attractive literary style; he introduced harmony where hitherto it had been lacking, and if he himself is not as elegant as the *Scientisti* came to be, these polished gentry merely followed his direction. CYRIAC OF ANCONA. This writer was the literary Marco Polo of his time. After having investigated the literary treasures of every city of Italy, he pursued his literary and archaeological studies in Egypt, Syria, and the Archipelago. At Adrianople he learned Greek, and on his other travels became acquainted with Persian. He formed the design of exploring Abyssinia, finding the sources of the Nile, travelling through ancient Getulia, and returning between the Pillars of Hercules; but he was prevented by obstacles unknown to us. Join to the names of Petrarch, Boccaccio, Coluccio, John of Ravenna, Poggio, Aretino, and Cyriac, those of Pope Nicholas V., Filelfo, Gianozzo Mannetti, Barziza, Victorino de Feltro, Blondus Flavins, and Carlo Marsuppiini; and you know the true fathers of the Renaissance. TIRABOSCHI; *History of Italian Literature*.—MANNETTI; *Life of Boccaccio*.—GINGENE; *Literary History of Italy*.—HALLAM; *Literature in the Middle Age*.—*Life of Poggio*, in *MURATORI*, vol. XX.—RAPHAEL OF VOLTEERRA; *Anthropology*, b. XXI.—TRAVERSARI; *Letters*, b. XXIV.—CORTESE; *Dia-logues*.

(1) *History of the Popes since the Middle Age*.

it gave a new life to the peoples of Europe. Undoubtedly, the organization of European society, as Protestantism found it, was not what it was, one day, to be; but, considering the natural course of events, it was all that then it could be. Had human intelligence, in its development, continued in the path traced by the Church, civilization would have advanced regularly, and would have been fully secure. Unfortunately, the Reformation precipitated it into a road choked with obstacles, amid which it is now, perhaps, on the point of destruction."

Undoubtedly the orgies of pagan philosophy, encouraged by the Renaissance, had already weakened the Christian faith of many of the cultivated spirits of Europe, when Luther appeared upon the scene. But the Catholic spirit still permeated the masses, and even the great majority of the learned; so that the self-styled Reformers, far from addressing men who were ready to throw off the yoke of the priesthood, were obliged, in order to obtain recruits for the army which was to level the gates of Babylon, to recur to deceits of many kinds, and finally to avail themselves of royal authority. Of course there was an attractive sound, for many good Catholics, in the word "Reformation;" but they acclaimed it merely as a probable prelude to a cessation of scandals. Modern Protestants would be astonished, if they were to read the annals of that time describing the full liberty of thought and expression then exercised in the supposedly slavish Catholic pulpit, as it hurled anathemas against many mitred defilers of the sanctuary. To cite one of innumerable such instances, Florimond de Remond (b. 1540) narrates how Friar Thomas, a Franciscan, travelling through Europe, a few years before the Lutheran outburst, used the most audacious language in the sermons which he delivered everywhere, denouncing prelatical libertinage, and predicting the punishment soon to be inflicted by God on His Church (1). But the desire for a reformation of both clergy and people did not interfere with the faith of those days. The people were too well acquainted with the history of the Church; they knew too well that the vices of humanity are pretty

(1) *History of the Birth, Progress, and Decay of Heresy*; vol. I.

much the same in all ages; and hence they never invoked that phantom of a primitive Christianity which was depicted by Luther and his imitators as absolutely pure and perfect. The Catholics of the sixteenth century believed no more in the Golden Age of Christianity, than they did in that of the poets; and Cardinal Pallavicino knew whom he was addressing when he wrote, concerning Sarpi, the mendacious "historian" of the Council of Trent: "He may perhaps persuade the simple of the truth of his dream that the early Christians lived in unalterable concord and exquisite sanctity; but he cannot convince those who know enough of Latin to understand the Mass. The *Epistles of St. Paul* complain loudly of many enormities; among others, of schisms and revolts which were unmasked by that aurora of Christianity. God wished to leave a certain testimony of this fact in the Scriptures which He dictated; so that the censors of their own time, and they who burn incense in honor of the past, might have no right to believe that the Church, being composed of members so faulty as those we now see, cannot be the True Spouse of Christ. And if this be true of the primitive Church, what shall we say of that of the following centuries, down to the time of that St. Cyprian who, according to Sarpi, represents the undivided jurisdiction of the bishops? (1) Does not St. Cyprian himself lament the deplorable divisions among those who governed the Church in his day? Do not ecclesiastical annals tell us of scandalous quarrels, even among the courageous confessors of Christ who were waiting in prison for martyrdom?" (2) Bearing these facts in mind, we may realize that the scandals imputed to the generality of the clergy by the Reformers, and for which comparatively few were responsible, aided the progress of heresy in merely an indirect manner. The peoples of that day were really affected, however, by the declamations of the truly orthodox in favor of a reformation; for men became accustomed to the cry, and desired it as a good. Then the heresiarchs came with that cry ever on their tongues; and the simple never dreamed that the motto hid a scheme for

(1) A thesis sustained by Sarpi and the contemporary heretics.

(2) *History of the Council of Trent*; vol. II., b. VI., ch. III.

their deprival of the faith of their fathers. Luther proposed, at first, no change of doctrine ; he spoke in the name of the faith which was dear to his auditors, and urged only a removal of excrescences which were soiling it. The very name of Catholic was preserved by the new doctrinaires for several years ; and they spoke, at first, as men having authority, giving an idea of liberty different from that which they afterward espoused, and which all succeeding revolutionists have so curiously developed. And when the time came that witnessed the repudiation of ecclesiastical tradition, the majority of those who had followed the Will-o'-the-Wisp were kept only by violence in a position which they had not dreamed of occupying. Wherever the Reformation succeeded definitively, as in a large part of Germany, in England, in Sweden, and in Bearn, it owed its success to the civil power ; and wherever the sovereigns abandoned it, as in England under Queen Mary, and in Bearn under the converted Henry IV., the peoples returned to the ancient faith. Wherever the monarchs remained undecided, sometimes favorable and again hostile to heresy, as in France, the new religion tried the power of the sword to secure its domination, but failed. Wherever the ruler manifested determination to repel the monster, as in Spain, the Catholic faith remained victorious, *semper et pro semper*. We have said that Luther spoke very little of liberty ; certainly he did not favor that freedom of thought and private interpretation which became the vogue among his progeny. "It was in the inspiration by the Holy Ghost that Luther found the sovereignty, as well as the equality of men. But when the anathemas of the Papacy, and his own success, had effected his exclusion from the Church, he marched immediately toward an autocracy which allowed no discussion (1). He always affirms what our contemporary theosophists term the rehabilitation of the flesh. Then we hear him exclaiming, with his habitual bestiality of language, that a man can no more easily get along without a woman than without wine (2). But once that he has sati-

(1) See the proofs of this autocracy in Bossuet's *History of the Variations of Protestantism*, especially the letter of Luther to the bishops, in which he affirms the divinity of his mission, and assumes the title of Ecclesiast of Wittenberg.

(2) FLORIMOND DE REMOND ; vol. I., p. 33.

ated men's appetite with this morsel, he thinks only of founding a church on his doctrine. We know his disputes with the other sectarians, and the anathema which he launched against Zwingle's version of the Bible. Discouraged when he saw that discord flourished among the Reformers, he cried: 'When I close one mouth of the devil, he opens ten' (1). From this moment he had followers; anarchy having only hired assassins. But it must be remembered that these followers, saving only the plotters and some demoniacs, were led astray in the name of Catholicity—by the fact that, at first, the Mass had been preserved, also the episcopate and most of the sacraments, and even, in the hearts of the more pious, a hope of reunion with the Pope. And in spite of all these semblances of essential unity, all these assuagements of a too deep and too real separation, fire and sword alone tore the Roman Faith out of the hearts of the populations. The rest was accomplished by the legislation of princes who had been bought with Church property; these rulers fashioned the succeeding generations, born in an ignorance and a blind hatred of Catholicism, to a spiritual servitude which results from the identification of Church and State" (2).

CHAPTER XIX.

ERASMUS.

This celebrated scholar was a natural son of Gerard Helie by a daughter of a physician of Zevenberg, in Holland. He was born at Rotterdam in 1467, and his early education was obtained in the then celebrated school of Deventer, under the direction of the Brothers of the Community Life. While yet a mere child, he became an orphan; and from the day of his bereavement his guardians tried to impress upon his mind the idea that God called him to a monastic life. Erasmus, however, thought otherwise; and he seems to have imbibed, even at that early day, very strong prejudices against the religious orders, prejudices which were to manifest themselves in nearly all of his writings. His tutors withdrew their pro-

(1) In his *Treatise Against the Anabaptists*.

(2) SEGRETAIN; *Sixtus V. and Henry IV.*, ch. ii. Paris, 1861.

tection, and in his fourteenth year the boy found himself poor, sick, and abandoned. At this juncture, he met one of his old schoolmates who had just returned from a visit to Italy, and had entered a community of Regular Canons at Emmaus, near Gonda. This friend persuaded Erasmus to reconsider his resolution to follow a secular career; dwelling especially upon the advantages offered by the monastic life to one who is fond of study, and whose talents are as great as those of Erasmus undoubtedly were. The youth yielded, entered the community at Emmaus, and in time made his solemn vows. In after days he often regretted this step; but tried to find consolation, as he wrote, in the thought that "an honest man may find contentment, in any vocation which Providence may assign to him." During his residence at Emmaus, he devoted the greater part of his time to a study of the works of the celebrated Italian scholar, Lorenzo Vala (1), but he by no means neglected theology, as he very soon proved. It was during this period that he composed his *Canticles* in honor of the Blessed Virgin, his Discourse on the *Evils of Disunion*, and his treatise on *The Contempt of the World*. Erasmus did not receive the priesthood until 1492, and then he was no longer a resident of Emmaus. The bishop of Cambrai, Henry de Bergis, having admired his classical attainments, had obtained permission from his abbot and from the bishop of Utrecht, for his residence outside the community, and had made him episcopal secretary. In 1496, this prelate yielded to the desire of Erasmus to perfect his theological studies at the University of Paris, and procured for him a position in the College of Montaigu, whereby his maintenance was assured.

Although Erasmus afterward admitted that the declaration "Thus decides the Theological Faculty of Paris" was an authoritative stamp for the value of an opinion (2), he now became dissatisfied with the scholastic system as taught by that Faculty; and when certain of his wealthy English fellow-students invited him to visit their country, he accepted,

(1) This scholar, born at Rome in 1406, was a canon in the Lateran. He was one of the foremost contributors to the revival of classical studies, especially by his work on *The Elegancies of the Latin Language*.

(2) In his Epistle to the Sorbonne. no. 12, b. XXII.

and aided by a pension of 100 florins from Prince Adolph of Burgundy, he resided some time among the islanders. He became the vogue among learned men, and won the hearty friendship of the future chancellor (now Blessed) Sir Thomas More, as well as that of the Hellenists, Latimer and Linacer. The prince of Wales, afterward Henry VIII., felt much affection for Erasmus, and he never quite ceased to love him. While in England, our scholar imbued many persons with what was then there an almost unknown taste for letters, and he amassed great wealth. But be it said to his credit, he devoted to literary purposes all the money not needed for his modest support, and for the care due to his always miserable health. In 1499, he departed, for a time, from England, and devoted several years, spent in various places, to a severe study of the Fathers and the Scriptures. The year 1505 found him again in England, but in 1506 he repaired to Italy. At Turin he received his laureate in theology, and then visited the principal cities, everywhere seeking the society of the learned, and burying himself among the tomes of learning with which he found nearly every Italian library filled. His reputation had preceded him to the Eternal City, and he was warmly welcomed by that prince among patrons of learning, Cardinal John dei Medici, afterward Pope Leo X., while Pope Julius II. tempted him to remain in Rome by the offer of a cardinal's hat in the near future. But the death of Henry VII. of England in 1509, and the consequent accession of his friend Henry VIII. to the throne, caused Erasmus to hearken to the solicitations of his English admirers, and to return to their island. The new monarch would fain have retained the scholar near his own person; but the professorship of Greek and of theology in the University of Cambridge, tendered him by its chancellor, the Blessed John Fisher, was more to his taste than the atmosphere of a court. His lectures at Cambridge continued until 1521, interrupted only by a few trips to Brussels, Louvain, and Basel, all undertaken in the interest of science, as furthered by his numerous publications. When he had definitively settled at Basel, and had entered upon the most brilliant period of his marvellous literary activity, Francis I.

vainly endeavored to attract him to the newly founded College de France ; and Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, just as vainly tried to induce him, by an offer of a large pension, to simply reside in Vienna, that his capital might be the envy of all others, because of its possession of "Erasmus, whose incomparable erudition was praised by the entire world."

No man of letters was more celebrated than Erasmus at this period. Popes and princes, ecclesiastics and laymen, all vied with each other in doing him homage. Fierce adversaries he naturally had, being a man of genius ; but if he was not the centre of the literary movement then so active in Europe—that centre being the court of Leo X., no single man of letters then enjoyed more consideration. When Basel was invaded by the so-called Evangelicals in 1529, Erasmus, like all Catholics who could do so, left the city. He took refuge in Fribourg, but in 1535 he returned to Basel. During the autumn of that year he was confined to his bed by a slow fever, but he did not allow his malady to interfere with the completion of the works he had in hand, and with the classification of his immense correspondence. Once, while engaged in this latter task, he happened to take up a letter from his dear and faithful friend, the Blessed Fisher, the martyred bishop of Rochester, and he cried : "I also want to die, if it be the will of God." It is gratifying to know that the last years of Erasmus were rendered as comfortable as money could make them. In 1533, Pope Paul III. secured to him an annual revenue of 5,000 ducats. The entire Roman court desired to see the great scholar enrolled in the Sacred College, and he would have received the hat had he not begged to be left in a humility which, he thought, better befitted his dying condition. The only detail of the circumstances of his death which has come down to us, is that his last words were : "Have mercy, Jesus ! Lord, deliver me ! Lord, put an end to my life ! Lord, have mercy." He died in July, 1536 (1).

In their intense desire to impress in the minds of men the conviction that all that was grand and noble, and especially all that was intellectual, in the sixteenth century, entered in-

(1) The following was the epitaph inscribed on the grave of Erasmus :

"*Fatalis series nobis invidit Erasmus
Sed Desiderium tollere non potuit.*"

to the ranks of the Reformers; while all that was degraded or besotted remained subservient to priestcraft and monkery; Protestant polemics have claimed Erasmus as their own. Certainly, it cannot be denied that very frequently the tone and even the tenor of this scholar's writings contributed, without any such intention on his part, to make the way of the Reformation comparatively easy. His lashing of the ecclesiastical abuses of the time was merciless; but just as severe have been the castigations given in every age by men of God to the wicked ones in the sanctuary, and yet they gloried in their Catholic faith. Again, it is true that Erasmus often treated theological matters in so caustic and flip-pant a manner, that in the minds of the weaker sort of men doubt might take the place of faith, when they read these passages in a superficial manner, and when they were already pre-occupied in complaints against certain real evils. Erasmus felt the force of the accusations based upon this fact, especially in the case of certain passages concerning indulgences, infant-baptism, and devotion to the saints. But in his later writings he endeavored to do away with the impression he had unwittingly made; and he repeatedly insisted that he was a submissive son of the Church. Listen to some passages from his letter to Card. Campeggi, in which he repels the charge that he was a Lutherizer. "I was the first to condemn the writings of Luther, because they caused disorder, which I always abhorred; I was the first to oppose the publication of those writings; I was almost the only one who never read them; I was the only one who never found anything in them to defend. I constantly urged those who could do so, to speak and write against Luther. . . . The Bull against Luther seemed to all to be unworthy of the lenity of our Leo; but no one ever heard that Erasmus was discontented because of it. . . . I am not so impious as to dissent from the teachings of the Catholic Church. . . . I have written thus prolixly to you, that you may know that Erasmus is a devoted subject of the Roman See." It is true that in the beginning of the Lutheran agitation, Erasmus favored a policy of conciliation; and that he hoped much from the Diet of Cologne (Dec., 1520); and that he excused himself, on the

plea of ill health, from appearing at the Diet of Worms (April, 1521). But in vain did Luther, Ulrich von Hutten, Melancthon, and Zwingli, try to make of him a rebel to Rome. As soon as he realized that his conciliatory views were misinterpreted by many Catholics as well as by many Protestants, he proceeded to set himself right by the publication of his treatise on *Free Will*, to which Luther replied with his *Free Will a Slave*. Then followed the *Hiperaspistes* of Erasmus in which he bitterly reproved the bitterness of Luther, and repelled the charge of scepticism, insisting that now the Church had pronounced on the matters in dispute, he saw no room for further doubt. From that time the ex-Augustinian declared that Erasmus was a free-thinker and a pest to be shunned.

But it is said that Erasmus discarded his monastic tunic. He did, *secundum quid*, as the scholastics say. In 1506, after he had taken his doctor's degree in Turin, he proceeded to Bologna. He was dressed in the costume of his Order, which was the same as that of a secular priest, but with a white band around the waist. Just at that time, a pest was ravaging Bologna, and the magistrates had ordered that all the ministering-clergy, physicians, nurses, etc., should wear a white band as a warning to others to keep at a distance. Hence it happened that our Regular Canon was taken for a priest fresh from the beds of the stricken; and as he persisted in mixing with the crowd, evil would have befallen him, had not a sympathetic citizen pulled him into his own house. Then he removed the band; and afterward received from Rome a dispensation to dress like a secular priest. Hence the story that he had unfrocked himself. That Erasmus did not, at his death, belie the known sentiments of his entire life, is almost evident from a letter which he wrote to a friend on June 28, 1536, that is, scarcely two weeks before his demise: "Although I am residing here at Basel among kind friends, I would rather die in some other place, owing to the difference in our religious belief" (1). And during the previous year, writing to the treasurer Bouvalot, he said: "I allow no person who is infected with the new doctrines, to come into

(1) Epistle no. 1299, to John Gocjen.

my house." We refuse to believe, therefore, with the Protestant Henke, that "The Roman Church cannot claim the honor, if it be an honor, of having seen Erasmus die in her bosom; for he departed, according to the monkish jargon, 'without cross, without candles, and without God.'" Neither, by the way, can we accept the assertion of Henke, presumably conversant with the olden monastic phraseology, that the saying "*Sine crux, sine lux, sine Deus*" is a fair specimen of the Latin current in the religious establishments of the sixteenth century. Like the colleges of every day, monasteries have their jokes and their plays on words; but that the adduced jargon was ever seriously spoken by monks, least of all in the Age of Leo X., unless by lay-brothers in the monastery kitchen, "*Credat Judeus Apella!*" But is it probable that a hypocrite and an obstinate heretic would have been a bosom friend of those glorious martyrs to Catholic truth, Blessed Fisher and Blessed Thomas More; and that such a person would have won and preserved the enthusiastic admiration of four Roman Pontiffs?

CHAPTER XX.

POPE CLEMENT VII. THE SACKING OF ROME BY THE TROOPS OF THE
EMPEROR CHARLES V. THE DIVORCE OF HENRY VIII.

Adrian VI., the successor of Leo X., was a pious and learned man, but utterly strange to political craft; and as a Fleming he cared nothing for the interests of Italy. A lover of peace, he thought he could secure it by heading a league composed of the emperor Charles V., the archduke Ferdinand of Austria, Henry VIII. of England, and Florence, Genoa, Siena, and Lucca, to the detriment of France. As a rule, the Italians disliked Charles V.; each side of the quadruple aspect which he presented being hostile either to their interests or to their dearest sentiments. He was king of Spain, and therefore master of the New World, the discovery of which had entailed upon Italy the loss of maritime supremacy; he was Holy Roman emperor, and therefore, an heir to exorbitant pretensions in regard to Italy; he was chief sovereign of Germany, the land which had furnished the

new heresy which was trying to subvert the Popedom, the chief glory of Italy; and he was a Fleming, one of a race which was just then rivalling the Italian in commerce. Then the French, despite the many contrary lessons of recent history, had been regarded as liberators. It was natural, therefore, that his temporal subjects should feel little regret, when the Flemish Pontiff died, after a reign of twenty months. His successor, Clement VII., elected on Nov. 18, 1523, was an illegitimate child of Giuliano dei Medici, and therefore a cousin of Leo X., who had legitimated him. The accession of Giulio dei Medici was gratifying to the Romans; for they had quickly tired of the simple manners of Adrian VI., and yearned for the magnificence which a Medici would naturally display. Vettore describes Giulio at Florence as "not haughty, not a simoniac, not miserly, not libidinous; sober, modest in dress, religious, and devout;" and he was learned, fond of art, a dexterous politician, and a pleasing talker. Hitherto he had favored Spain; and he gloried in having prevented Francis I. from reducing Naples, at the time of that prince's first Italian campaign. In fact, it was Giulio dei Medici who had reconciled Leo X. to the election of Charles to the Holy Roman Empire; and he had advised that Pontiff to abrogate the papal decree which forbade a Holy Roman Emperor to wear the crown of Naples. Afterward, however, the spectacle of the Spaniards camped in Lombardy wrought a change in his policy.

After the victory of the imperialists at the passage of the Sesia, the marquis of Pescara and the arch-traitor, the constable de Bourbon, invaded Provence, with the declared intention of dismembering France (1). But Francis I. rebuked

(1) Charles de Bourbon, a lineal descendant of St. Louis, was the second prince of the blood-royal of France, being the son of Gilbert de Bourbon, count de Montpensier, by Clara di Gonzaga. In 1515, recognizing his incontestable valor and talent, Francis I. made him high constable, or commander-in-chief of all the armies of France. Left a widower in 1521, the queen-dowager, Louisa of Savoy, asked him to marry her; but he refused the honor. This slight embittered the royal lady, and she led her son to distrust his constable. During the campaign of 1521, in which Francis commanded in person, the command of the advance, which was a prerogative of the constable in such circumstances, was given to the duke d'Alençon: and shortly afterward, the unlucky man was deprived of the governorship of Milan. But not content with these revenges, Louisa thought to deprive her contemner of the heritage of the House of Bourbon, claiming it herself, as the daughter of Margaret de Bourbon, the wife of Duke Philip of Savoy. The fiery constable would not wait for the decision of the Parliament of Paris, but hastened to take revenge

the "Spanish rodomontade" of the emperor by driving his troops over the Alps, and then marching on Milan, which he entered in triumph. Many of the imperialists now deserted, and the leaders could not agree. If Francis had not listened to the counsels of his favorite general, Bonivet, losing valuable time in taking unimportant fortresses, he could have ruined his adversary. As it was, the famous Spanish general, Anthony de Leyva, who had fought thirty-three battles and conducted forty sieges, succeeded in fortifying Pavia; and while Francis was besieging that important place, Gian Giacomo Medeghino captured Chiavenna, thus preventing the Grisons from succoring the French. The imperialists now gathered from all sides, and Francis, having foolishly detached nearly half of his army for an attempt on Naples, was defeated and captured in the battle of Pavia, on Feb. 24, 1525. This victory of Leyva gave to Charles V. a power which he preserved to the end of his career. The immediate effect of the triumph was to place Italy at the feet of the emperor, almost as in the days of Barbarossa; and unfortunately for Italy, a Lombard League was impossible, and an Alexander III. was not on the papal throne. Clement VII. and the Florentines, who had sided with the French, hastened to make peace with the conqueror; and Venice, Lucca, and Siena were obliged to exhaust their treasuries in return for pardon. But when King Francis returned from his year's captivity in Madrid, Pope Clement, Florence, and Venice hastened to renew an alliance which promised to relieve Italy from the presence of an undisciplined and licentious soldiery. A secret league was formed at Cognac, with the understanding that the Austro-Spaniards were to be expelled definitively from Italy; Ferrara was to be restored to the Holy See;

by traitorous overtures to the emperor. Of course his proposals were received with joy, and Charles tendered the following terms. The traitor was to marry Leonora, the sister of Charles and widow of the king of Portugal, receiving as dowry 200,000 ducats, and the succession to all the states of the House of Austria-Spain, in default of heirs to Charles V. and his brother, Ferdinand. Henry VIII. of England also had his part in this precious agreement; he promising the other contracting parties to aid in the dethronement of Francis I., and in the elevation of the constable to an impoverished French throne, England to receive Normandy and Guienne, and the empire to receive Burgundy and the Artois. Of course, the intending usurper was to leave a clear field in Italy to Charles V. BELCARIUS; b. XVII.—DANIEL; *History of France*, edit. 1729, vol. V., p. 498, and vol. VII., p. 501.—DE THOU; b. I., y. 1523.—*Memoirs of Bellai*; b. II.

Francesco Maria Sforza was to be once more duke of Milan; and the crown of the Two Sicilies was to be given to the count de Vaudemont, a descendant of the House of Anjou. Our purpose precludes the necessity of entering into any details of the war which now ensued, saving those which affected the Holy See; the pages of Guicciardini and Cantù will satisfy the scholar who wishes fairly accurate information, while the ordinary reader, if provided with abundance of salt, may learn much from Robertson. Coming, therefore, to the campaign which immediately concerned Pope Clement VII., we observe that the imperial forces greatly outnumbered those of the allies; and that while the latter were animated by various and divergent interests, the imperial generals—the Frenchman, Charles de Bourbon, and the Spaniards, Pescara and Del Vasto—had but one thought, the humiliation of the Pope-King. Add to this source of imperial strength the fact that the constable was fighting for the safety of his own head, and you will understand how comparatively easy was the reduction of the Eternal City. Nor should it be forgotten that when Francis I. found himself “still a king,” when he sprang to the French bank of the Bidassoa, his first use of freedom did him little honor. Instead of sustaining his troops in Italy, he allowed the ferocious hordes of the constable to glut their insensate fury against the capital of Christendom, while he plunged into dissoluteness, as a consolation for the enmity of his captivity; and although, when too late, he sent Lautrec to repair the evil, he forgot his brave soldiers in Naples, where, without money or reinforcements, they became disorganized, and the gallant commander died of the plague.

The allied army was unable to check the onward march of the constable, who had told his followers, when he led them out of Piacenza, that they should not disband because of their not having been paid, since he was about to lead them to the pillage of a city which would yield them wealth, wine, and women. The army of Charles de Bourbon numbered 30,000 men, about 18,000 of whom were German Lutherans who had been recruited by that general of the archduke Ferdinand of Austria, George von Freundsberg, who was

went to direct the attention of his applauding Gospellers to two halters which dangled from his saddle ; one of gold thread which was destined to strangle Pope Clement, and one of silk with which he would hang such cardinals as fell into his hands. These Germans panted for an opportunity to wash their hands in the gore of those Roman vampires who, as they had been taught by Hutten, Luther, etc., had been fattening on the blood sucked from the veins of the honest fatherland. The remainder of the army—if that could be called an army which was without discipline, commissariat, or baggage, and which always answered the appeals of its officers with the cry, “Pay us!”—was composed of 2,000 Italians, and of 10,000 Spanish subjects of the Hispano-Austro-German Cæsar, who, although Catholics as Spaniards must ever be, were nevertheless anxious to share in the spoils of a city which had been represented to them as overflowing with riches which had been wrung from every land in Christendom. When Pope Clement heard on May 5, 1527, that the constable was at the gates of Rome, he confided the defence to his general, Renzo da Ceri, and retired to Castel San Angelo, accompanied by nearly all the cardinals then resident in the city. The papal commander arranged his four or five thousand improvised warriors as best he could ; and when the assault was made, it seemed as though the capital might yet be saved, even though the expected Venetians and French did not arrive. Then the Bourbon, brave though traitorous, headed a second attack. With his own hands he placed a scaling ladder, and had mounted nearly to the ramparts, when he fell to the ground mortally wounded, and almost immediately expired. The prince of Orange prudently covered the body with his cloak, lest the sight of their dead leader might discourage the on-rushing soldiers, and the struggle progressed, terminating finally in the capture of the city. By the death of the constable, the prince of Orange became commander of the imperial forces, who now engaged in one of the most horrid, and certainly the most sacrilegious, of all the war dramas of modern times ; but we do not read that the noble Netherlander made any effort to prevent it. In the name of his Catholic Majesty of Spain, of

a Holy Roman Emperor, of a German Cæsar, all united in the person of Charles V., was performed a crime which an Alaric would probably have scorned to imitate. Thousands of men, women, and children were murdered outright. Not one palace or church, not one house of any promising appearance, escaped pillage and destruction. Atrocious tortures were applied to make the presumedlly wealthy avow the recesses where their riches were supposed to be concealed; and often, when the victim had purchased life from one band, he underwent the same experience at the hands of another. Husbands, fathers, and brothers, bound and helpless, beheld their wives, daughters, and sisters violated by human monsters. Crimes like these were committed by Spaniards as well as by Germans. But great was the joy with which the German Lutherans manifested their hatred of the idolatries of "the whore of Babylon." The drunken Teutons, crazy less with wine than with the teachings of Luther, rushed to the sanctuaries; defiled the altars in an unmentionable manner; used the sacred vessels for the vilest purposes, after having trampled on the Body of Our Lord; destroyed every painting and statue; and in the very House of God outraged the sacred virgins whom they had dragged from their cloisters. When such deeds of hell were the order of the day for the reformed gentry of Germany, we need say but little about such exhibitions as the placing of a cardinal in a coffin, and after a mock Mass for his soul, the performing of an obscene dance around him; the sending of another cardinal, accompanied by a guard, to beg for money for his ransom, from door to door; the using of Papal Bulls and works of the Fathers instead of litter for the German horses; the attempted compulsion of a priest to give Communion to an ass; the donning of sacred vestments amid scenes of disgusting lubricity; the holding of a mock Conclave in the Vatican, in which Luther was elected to the Chair of Peter; etc (1). For two months this diabolic Carnival went on; and in the meantime, the Pontiff and his attendants, surrounded by a small

(1) CIACONIUS; *Life of Clement V.*—DUCHESNE; *Hist. of Clem. V.*—BELLAI; b. III.—GUICCIARDINI; b. XVIII.—GLORIERI; *Capture of the City.*—RINALDI; y. 1527, nos. 18, 19.—JOVIUS; b. XXVI.—MEZERAY; *Life of Francis I.*, vol. IV.—CANTU; *Univ. Hist.*, b. XV., ch. vi.

garrison of Roman noblemen and gentlemen who were faithful to the last, were suffering the extremes of starvation in the besieged fortress. Many attempts were made by the Roman people to smuggle provisions into the Castle, but all failed. One old woman was detected in the act of tying a basket of lettuce to a cord which had been lowered from the ramparts; and the imperial commander had her hung on the spot. Cardinal Pucci succeeded in leaving the Castle; but as he mounted a horse at the gate, the animal was wounded by a pikeman, the cardinal lost his seat, and his foot catching in the stirrup, he was dragged to death on the pavement of the bridge. These and similar catastrophes were witnessed by Pope Clement, and combined with the entrance of the plague into the castle (it had appeared in Rome almost simultaneously with the imperialists), they induced him to capitulate. He was forced to pay to his Cæsarean Majesty 400,000 ducats as a ransom, and to remain a prisoner until one-half of the amount was delivered; to cede Parma, Piacenza, and Modena to the Germans; to receive imperial garrisons in all cities of the Papal States, wherever the emperor might choose to plant them; and he was to await, at Nola or at Naples, the further orders of Charles. The prince of Orange assigned as chief jailer of the august prisoner the same officer who had held that position in Madrid toward Francis I.; and six companies, half Lutherans, and half Spaniards, entered the castle to assist him. For several months the Pontiff besought his enemies to remove him, if not to the Vatican, at least to some city in his States where he could attend properly to the affairs of the Church; and when they refused his demand, occurrences in his desolate capital added to his chagrin, and gave him good reason to fear that his life was in danger. The imperialist soldiers had not yet received their pay, and their robberies in Rome had not satisfied them, although the most moderate estimate of their booty sets its value at twenty millions of our money. When the Germans saw that the Pope found it difficult to raise the amount necessary to pay the second instalment of his ransom, they cried aloud in the streets for his head. On three occasions they dragged around the Campo dei Fiori a number of bish-

ops and Roman patricians, chained together, the hostages whom the Pope had given to the prince of Orange ; and they would have hung them all, then and there, had not the Romans succeeded in making them so drunk, that they became incapable of action. These facts impelled Pope Clement to risk much in an attempt to regain his liberty ; and having succeeded in opening a correspondence with Prince Louis di Gonzaga and other faithful and determined personages in Rome, he escaped from his prison on the night of December 9. At the gate of the fortress, where he appeared in the disguise of a merchant, he was met by Gonzaga and certain imperial soldiers whom that prince had bribed ; and in a few days he was safe in Orvieto, then in the possession of the troops of Lautrec. It was here that he received Knight, secretary of state to Henry VIII. of England, who had been sent by that monarch to sound the Pontiff in reference to his projected divorce from Catharine of Aragon.

It is not probable that Charles V. was guilty of that stupendous crime which we have recorded, unless in the sense that one is culpable when he wantonly launches an engine of destruction, all the capabilities of which he has not estimated. He tried to deceive others, and to lull the reproaches of his own mysterious conscience, by ordering prayers to Heaven for the liberation of him whom he had enchained ; by making a parade of himself and friends, dressed in penitential guise ; and by lame excuses to the sovereigns of Christendom. But he refused to subtract one pennyweight from his promised pound of flesh ; and he, then residing in Valladolid, would have ordered the transfer of his august prisoner to Madrid as a testimony to his grandeur, had not all Spain, ecclesiastical and lay, manifested its horror at the design. However, circumstances, or rather Providence, impeded the design of Charles V. to the detriment of the Pope-King ; and when, at length, there occurred a reconciliation which was necessary to both Church and Empire, it was found that the Holy See occupied a position which could be justified, to human understanding, much more easily if the pontifical forces had repelled the imperialists from the walls of Rome. In June, 1529, the emperor agreed to the following conditions of peace with Pope

Clement VII. The Venetians were to restore Ravenna and Cervia, and the duke of Ferrara would yield Modena, Reggio, and Rubiera, to the States of the Church. The Medici were to recover their pre-eminence in Florence. Sforza was to again don the ducal crown of Milan. Charles was to use all his energies to repress heresy in Germany. In return for all these favors, Clement VII. agreed to confirm the election of Charles to the Holy Roman Empire, and to give to him the imperial crown. Charles was also to receive from the Pontiff the investiture of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; Clement agreeing, for the nonce, to be satisfied with receiving, as token of the pontifical suzerainty over that kingdom, merely the white palfrey. When the time came for the coronation of Charles, he had sufficient good taste, or perhaps remorse, to refrain from insisting upon Milan as the place for his reception of the iron crown of Italy, and upon Rome for the reception of the imperial diadem; and Bologna was gay with the festivities which announced another accord between the Church and the Empire. Charles V. was the last German emperor to be confirmed and crowned by the Roman Pontiff; and hence, from that day down to the abolition of the empire by Napoleon, every emperor was always styled in the official language of Rome, and in the Liturgy where his name occurred, as "emperor-elect." So true was it, in the words of Pope Adrian IV., writing to the bishops of Germany in 1156, that "the king of the Germans cannot be called emperor and Augustus, until he is consecrated by that Roman Pontiff who promoted Charlemagne, and gave to him the great name of emperor" (1). Bologna was gay on Feb. 22, 1530. "Painting, poetry, and the theatre rivalled each other in that solemnity, the most splendid that occurred in that age of splendor (2). Tired and dismayed, our people congratulated Charles, and they said to each other that they would never have expected to discover such amiability and courtesy in the author of so many horrible disasters. Amid those rejoicings was consummated the humiliation of Italy; a humiliation begun in the

(1) AIMOIN; b. V., ch. xxv.—See our vol. II., p. 26, *et seqq.*

(2) The duke of Savoy wore a dress which cost 300,000 dollars. What would it cost in our day? GIORDANI; *On the Arrival and Stay of Clement VII. in Bologna, for the Coronation of Charles V.* Bologna, 1842.

discords, and finished in the harmony of the powerful. Every equilibrium between the small states, whether loyal to the empire or not, was broken. The Pope, frightened at the progress of the Reformation, embraced the knees of that Majesty which his predecessors had so often caused to tremble; and if a regulated opposition had heretofore formed the glory and grandeur of the Popedom, that power now changed its motto, and camped with the Ghibellines. If our land had hitherto suffered from wars and plagues, transient evils which do not attack the roots of prosperity, it now saw the introduction of an absurd administration, of homicidal principles, and of a systematic oppression of thought, of genius, and of industry" (1).

At this time the principal members of the Medici family, besides Pope Clement VII., were Ippolito, created cardinal by Clement; Catharine, afterward queen of France; and Alexander, who was to marry Margaret, a natural daughter of Charles V. Catharine and Alexander were children of Lorenzo, duke of Urbino, son of that Peter who had succeeded to his father, Lorenzo the Magnificent, had been expelled in the time of the French Charles VIII., and had perished in the defeat of the French on the Garigliano. The promise of Charles V. to see that the mastership of Florence should accrue to Alexander opened the eyes of the Florentines to the fact that they were called to make an extreme and desperate struggle for freedom. But unfortunately, the two great parties of the *Piazzoni* (the olden "weepers" of Savonarola's day) and the *Palleschi* (partisans of the Medici, so called from their war-cry of "Palle," taken from the balls which formed the Medicean device), were irreconcilable, because of ancient animosities and recent broils. Then there was a third party, termed Neutrals, who desired popular government, but were favorable to a return of the Medici, provided that those enterprising persons would be content with the rank of private citizens. This party, called also Optimates, because it was composed of most of the nobles and the wealthy, followed the leadership of that Nicholas Capponi who, in 1527, had so vividly represented the woes of the re-

(1) CANTU; *loc. cit.*

public as punishments of Heaven, that his many thousands of hearers fell upon their knees, begging aloud for divine mercy. Then these men of faith induced the government to solemnly proclaim Christ King of the Florentine State, recording the decree on the door of the government palace, where it may be read to-day, if the modern regenerators of Italy have not obliterated the inscription which recognizes the sovereignty of the Crucified One of Calvary. When the Florentines realized that war alone could preserve their self-respect, they resolved to defend themselves with an ardor rarely equalled in the annals of any people. They deposed the gonfaloniere Capponi, whom they suspected of holding correspondence with Pope Clement, the real head and main strength of the Medici. Then they brought into Florence, with great pomp and devotion, the holy image of the Virgin *dell' Impruneta*, and the table of Santa Maria Primierana of Fiesole ; which they placed, as a Palladium for their capital, in the church of Santa Maria del Fiore. Then they hired a number of mercenary officers, among whom were several who had commanded in the famous Black Bands ; and with 16,000 devoted citizen soldiers, under the command of Malatesta Baglioni, they hoped to withstand the attacks of the prince of Orange, who was advancing from Fuligno with 40,000 Hispano - German imperialists. Michelangelo Buonarroti, military and civil engineer as well as painter, sculptor, architect, and poet, did as Archimedes of Syracuse did in similar circumstances ; he devised and actuated an improved system of fortifications, which the event proved to be valuable. However, Perugia, Cortona, and Arezzo were taken by the Cæsarians ; and when the news reached Florence, many of the Medicean party, moved either by hope or by fear, and among whom was the historian Guicciardini, abandoned the city. A delay of fifteen days in the Val d'Arno, on the part of the Netherlander, allowed the Florentines to augment their advanced fortifications, levelling every one of their suburbs, and also a great many magnificent buildings in the contiguous parts of the city, which might be occupied by the enemy. In this work of patriotic destruction the owners of the doomed edifices assisted, calmly helping to raise bastions out of

the ruins of their luxurious villas, and turning their prized fruit-trees into *chevaux de frise*. If the reader has seen the beautiful picture of the Last Supper by Andrea del Sarto, he will be interested in the following episode of this struggle, narrated by the historian Varchi, a contemporary of the event. A mixed multitude of soldiers and artisans were engaged in the destruction of the church and convent of San Salvi, which the engineers had thought proper to demolish; and having dismantled the upper part of the buildings, they came to the refectory, on one of the walls of which the great artist had painted his most celebrated tableau. Immediately, says Varchi, the entire body refused to prosecute the demolition any further; so deeply were they penetrated by a sense of the beautiful in art. To the good taste of those probably uneducated men the art student of to-day owes the survival of a grand source of inspiration. On Nov. 10, 1529, the prince of Orange led in person his first assault on the resolute Florentines, and was repulsed with great loss. During the night of Dec. 11, Stephen Colonna led a successful sortie into the imperial camp, inflicting great damage on the enemy. Many other sorties were made, and with considerable success; but the Florentine commander, who had begun to think favorably of the overtures secretly made to him by Pope Clement (1), always recalled his troops at the decisive moment. The siege progressed, the Florentines meanwhile suffering greatly from the plague and starvation. When things were at their worst, Francesco Ferruccio, one of the best guerillas of that day, who had administered many severe checks to the imperialists in Central Italy, marched to the aid of Florence; but on Aug. 2, 1530, the prince of Orange attacked him at Gavinana, and although the prince was killed, and his army routed, the arrival of the imperialist *condottiere* Vitelli, with a reinforcement of Pistojesi, turned the victory into a defeat, in which Ferruccio was made prisoner and massacred. When the news of this event reached Baglioni, he introduced the imperialists into the bastions, and the cannons which had been pointed away from the city were immed-

(1) The Pontiff had promised him Perugia in fief. When Andrea Gritti, doge of Venice, read the terms of the pacification of Florence, he said of Baglioni: "He sold the blood of those citizens, ounce by ounce; and he has made of himself the blackest traitor on earth."

ately turned against it. No other resource was now left to the *Signoria* but an honorable capitulation; and deputies were sent to Don Ferrante Gonzaga, upon whom the command of the imperialists had devolved. Gonzaga referred the matter to Baccio Valori, the papal commissary in Tuscany; and on Aug. 12 it was agreed that the emperor should provide for the security of the Florentine State, "respecting always the popular liberties." The destinies of Florence now depended on Valori, Guicciardini, Vettore, and Acciaiuoli; and on July 5, 1531, accompanied by Muscettola as imperial ambassador, Alexander dei Medici arrived, bearing for the *Signoria* an imperial letter declaring that Charles confirmed the ancient liberties of Florence, but on condition that Alexander was accepted as duke, the succession to reside in the Medici family (1).

While the chief anxieties of Clement VII., the expulsion of the imperialists from Italy, and the restoration of his family to the domination of Florence, were consuming time which might better have been devoted to the weal of the Church whose Pontiff he was, the incendiary tenets of Luther and Zwingle were being rapidly propagated in Germany, the Scandinavian countries, and Switzerland; and Germany was reeking with the blood which had been shed in the Peasants' War. In 1529 the word "Protestant" was given to the world in the Diet of Spire; and in 1530 the reformers presented their Confession of Augsburg. In 1531 the Catholics of Switzerland had to sustain a terrible war against the partisans of Zwingle, in order to preserve the right to practise their religion. The sultan Soliman was menacing Christendom with an utter overthrow. The Pontiff vainly besought the princes of Germany to rally around the standard of the ancient faith, and to join the emperor in an endeavor to subdue a heresy which was dividing forces which were all needed to check the advance of nearly triumphant Islam. But the Protestant princes were deaf to the voice of Rome; and the very danger of his hereditary states induced Charles V. to show a condescension to the German heretics, without whose aid he could

(1) SEGNI; *Hist. Flor.*, b. IV.—VARCHI; *Hist. Flor.*, b. II.—VETTORE; *Summary of the History of Italy from 1514 to 1527*.—*Venetian Relations*, series II., vol. I.—JOVIUS; *loc. cit.*

scarcely hope to withstand the Turk. At the Diet of Augsburg, and more strongly during his conversations with Charles at Bologna, Pope Clement had announced his intention to convoke a General Council, to be held either at Bologna, or at Mantua, or at Piacenza; but the Protestant princes of Germany were fertile in pretexts to prevent the actuation of an idea which boded ill for the success of their schemes. Again and again did Clement endeavor to bring about an assemblage of the bishops of Christendom, that means might be devised to preserve the integrity of the seamless garment of Christ; but he had the grief of seeing not only that predominance of Charles V. in Europe which he so much dreaded, but also the definitive separation of a large portion of Germany from the Church, and the beginning of a revolt which was to involve in heresy what had been the Island of Saints.

Probably the most anxious moments of Pope Clement VII. were those in which he tried to divert the English monarch, Henry VIII., from his project of divorce from his wife, Catharine of Aragon. For the details of the lubricious origin of the Anglican Church Establishment, we refer the reader to the pages of Lingard; we shall notice merely the position occupied by Clement VII. in regard to the first stage of a movement which, at first schismatic, in time became heretical. It was probably in the early part of 1526 that Henry VIII. became enamored of Anne Boleyn, a sister of that Mary Boleyn who had succeeded Elizabeth Tailbois in his transient affections, and whom he had foisted as a wife on William Carey, a gentleman of his privy chamber. During the ensuing year he sounded many divines and lawyers as to the validity of the dispensation whereby Pope Julius II. had allowed him to marry the virgin-widow of his brother, Arthur; but on Aug. 30, 1527, we find him writing to the bishop of Bath: "The Bull is good, or it is naught. If it is naught, let it be so declared; and if it be good, it shall never be broken by no byways by me" (1). However, about this time, the king despatched his secretary, Knight, to Pope Clement, then a prisoner in Castel San Angelo, to prepare the way for the desired divorce. Knight arrived in Italy after the Pontiff's

(1) In Herbert, 99.

escape to Orvieto; and on Dec. 16, he presented his master's letter to his Holiness. Many authors are prone to descant upon the supposed quandary in which our Pontiff was placed by this application of Henry. Unwilling to disoblige the king of England, who had shown considerable friendship for him; yet dreading to displease Charles V., the nephew of the persecuted queen; Clement is often represented as hesitating as to his course. There is not the slightest evidence that in this matter Clement VII. ever, for one instant, closed his eyes, wilfully or by chance, to his duty as the Vicar of Christ, the supreme interpreter of Christian doctrine, the custodian of Christian morality, and the natural protector of outraged innocence. But Rome never hurries in important decisions; and if Clement availed himself of this proverbial prudence of the Holy See, trusting that time—so often the best solver of difficulties—would come to his aid, he should not be blamed. He had good reason to hope that Henry would, after a season of dalliance with the Boleyn, abandon her as he had her mother, her sister, and many other Circes of the hour. As priest and as man of the world, he knew full well that the alleged scruples of Henry in regard to his union with Catharine were simply tricks devised to deceive the ignorant or the unwary; and therefore he felt that, were the royal lecher loosened from Anne's embraces, there would be no more talk about divorce from his lawful spouse. In the meantime, he would do all that he could conscientiously do to humor Henry, and to please Francis I., who, for political reasons, and chiefly because of his hatred of the House of Aragon, had ranged himself among the favorers of the divorce. Therefore the Pontiff consented to sign two documents which Knight presented to him, on the part of his master. By the first, he allowed Cardinal Wolsey to hear and decide the cause of the divorce, subject to the papal approbation; and by the second, he agreed, in case the divorce were granted, to grant a dispensation for Henry's marriage with any woman who was already promised to another, or who was related to himself in the first degree of affinity. We are not bound to explain the inconsistency of Henry—an act which really cut the ground from under his feet—in ask-

ing from Clement a dispensation which, according to the royal contention, Julius II. had no right to grant (1).

The ambitious Wolsey was not content with the agreement handed to Knight by the Pontiff; for it left Clement at liberty to revise any sentence which the cardinal might pronounce. Therefore he employed his secretary, Stephen Gardiner, an eminent canonist and a fine lawyer, to procure from Clement a commission authorizing the cardinal, with the aid of any other English bishop, to decide definitively in the case. This commission was granted on April 13, 1528; but the conscience of Wolsey was fully awakened by the now manifest sense of his tremendous responsibility. Accordingly, Gardiner was told to request that Cardinal Campeggi be joined with the English members of the court; and Wolsey himself avowed to the now exultant monarch that while he was ready "to spend his goods, blood, and life" in the service of his royal master and friend, nevertheless, if he found that the dispensation granted by Pope Julius II. had been valid "he would so pronounce it, let the consequences be what they would" (2). Henry received this announcement with dismay and every token of rage; and the cardinal, foreseeing that the worst might happen to himself, hastened to complete the endowment of the colleges and other institutions which he had founded, and to put his other affairs in order. The request to appoint Campeggi as a co-judge with Wolsey was pleasing to the Pontiff; for the cardinal was an adroit statesman,

(1) "This dispensation was thought necessary to secure the intended marriage with Anne Boleyn from two objections, which might afterward be brought against it. I. A suspicion was entertained that she had been actually contracted to Percy, and was therefore his lawful wife. On this account the dispensation was made to authorize the king's marriage with any woman, *etiamsi talis sit que prius cum alio contraxerit, dummodo illud carnali copula non fuerit consummatum*. II. Mary Boleyn had been Henry's mistress. Now the relationship between sister and sister is as near as the relationship between brother and brother; whence it was argued that if Henry, as he contended, could not validly marry Catharine, on the supposition that she had been carnally known by his brother Arthur, so neither could Anne validly marry Henry, because he had carnally known her sister Mary. On this account the following clause was introduced. *Etiamsi illa tibi alias secundo aut remotiore consanguinitatis aut primo affinitatis gradu, etiam ex quocumque licito seu illicito coitu proveniente, invicem conjuncta sit, dummodo relicta fratris tui non fuerit*. Thus the king was placed in a most singular situation, compelled to acknowledge in the Pontiff a power which he at the same time denied, and to solicit a dispensation of the very same nature with that which he maintained to be invalid." LINGARD; edit. 1883, vol. IV., p. 498.

(2) LE GRAND; III., 164.—STRYPE; I., App., 84.

upright, and experienced (1). Then he was also troubled with the gout, and tried to avoid the appointment—a fact which militated in his favor in the mind of the Pope, who saw that a comparatively slow and inactive colleague of Wolsey would be more apt to further his wish to gain time. Clement even instructed his legate to journey slowly to England; and when there, to conduct the trial with all due deliberation and every formal observance. Above all, he should not pronounce judgment, until he had consulted the Holy See (2). We pass over the proceedings which now occurred, for they are at the ready command of the reader. The hopes of Henry and his paramour were nearly blasted, when, on Feb. 6, 1529, they were revived by the news that Clement VII. was dying. Forgetful of the historical fact that an easy-going and much promising cardinal has often made an uncompromising Pope, and apparently inconsiderate of the fact that Christ lives in His Vicar, both Henry VIII. and Francis I. started the machinery which they deemed calculated to land Wolsey on the Chair of Peter (3). But Clement recovered, and the English and French agents devised new means to further the scheme of their sovereigns. During the Pope's tedious convalescence they not only cajoled him, but they presumed to warn him of the dangers which his soul would run, if he persisted in refusing so small a thing as allowing a powerful king to put away a distasteful woman, seeing that the refusal would probably entail the loss of England to the Catholic Church. Clement showed himself the true Pontiff; to all flatteries and menaces he replied that the law of God was his guide, and that he was insensible to all considerations of temporal interest or danger, when the duties of the Supreme Pontificate were involved.

In the spring of 1530, King Francis obliged his friend of England by procuring a forged decision of the theological Faculty of Paris in favor of the divorce; and Henry hastened

(1) Burnet represents Campeggi as an immoral man; proving his assertion by the fact that the cardinal brought with him to England a young man whom he introduced everywhere as his "second son, Ridolfo." Now the entire life of Campeggi was well known throughout Europe; and every well-informed person knew that his wife had died in 1509 and that he entered into Orders only after that event, receiving the red hat in 1517.

(2) PALLAVICINO; I., 258.—SANDERS; 32.

(3) LE GRAND; III., 296.—BURNET; *Records*, II., 20.

to publish it as the real opinion of a truly celebrated body of theologians and canonists. The document, together with similar ones which really came from the Universities of Orleans and Toulouse, was forwarded to Pope Clement; but the Pontiff most properly contemned them, since they all were founded on the supposition that the marriage of Catharine with Arthur had been consummated—a point which the queen solemnly denied, and which Henry tried vainly to prove (1). Then, on July 30, the king succeeded in inducing all the spiritual and temporal lords, and a few of the commoners, to sign, in the name of the nation, a remonstrance to his Holiness, asking what crime Henry had committed, that he should be refused what so many learned men had deemed legitimate. England, insisted this precious instrument, was threatened with the calamities of a disputed succession; and Clement declined to permit a marriage which was the sole means of preventing those miseries. On Sept. 27, the Pontiff replied to this impudent address with spirit, drawing the attention of England to the truth, that if she was menaced with a disputed succession, the danger would be simply increased by any procedures which were unjust; and that the originators of lawless measures would alone be responsible for the results. On Jan. 25, 1533, Rowland Lee, one of the royal chaplains, went through the farce of a marriage ceremony for Henry and his mistress; but owing to the prayers of King Francis, the Pontiff did not excommunicate the paramours until July 2, and then only in case they would not have separated, before the end of September. When that term had arrived, Clement prolonged it, trusting in the confident assurances of Francis that when the Pope arrived in Marseilles, whither he was about to proceed for the negotiation of a marriage between his niece and the duke d'Orleans, the son of Francis, the English monarch would announce his submission. The

(1) Cardinal Pole, a relative of Henry, being a grandson of that duke of Clarence who was put to death by his brother, Edward IV., says that Henry himself admitted the truth of Catharine's claim. Writing to Henry a letter entitled *A Defence of Ecclesiastical Unity*, he says: "*Tu ipse hoc fassus es, virginem te accepisse, et Cæsari fassus es, cui minime expediebat, si tum de divortio cogitares, hoc fateri.*" Even that virulent apostate, Peter Martyr (Vermiglio) says that the Spaniards all insisted that Catharine was a virgin when she married Henry. That the same was the common opinion in England, is shown by the fact that when she was married to Henry, Catharine was dressed in white, and wore her hair loose—observances then peculiar to the wedding of a maid. SANFORD; 480.

French king probably believed that Henry would yield ; but the Pontiff returned to Rome unsatisfied. The climax was now at hand. On March 24, 1534, in full Consistory, all the proceedings in the momentous cause were explained by Simonetta, a deputy auditor of the *Ruota* ; and then, out of twenty-two cardinals, nineteen voted for the validity of the marriage of Henry with Catharine of Aragon, three voting for a further delay. Pope Clement now pronounced his definitive sentence in favor of Catharine ; but before the news reached England, the wretched Henry had taken his resolution to erect a Church Establishment which would recognize no other Pope than his own royal self. In the following September, Pope Clement VII. died, and Alexander Farnese ascended the papal throne as Paul III.

CHAPTER XXI.

CALVINISM.

John Cauvin, better known as Calvin, from the Latin form of his name, was born at Noyon in France in 1508. He was the son of a cooper, and like the first chief of the Reformers, his early education, remarked Florimond, was “at the expense of the Crucifix,” for it was due to the charity of a pious Catholic family. His father destined him for the service of the altar, and when twelve years of age he was sent to Paris for study. In his fifteenth year he made the acquaintance of Farel, and this “lying, virulent, and ambitious soul,” as Erasmus termed him, sowed the first seed of religious doubt in the young student’s mind. When nineteen years old, and although not in Holy Orders, Calvin obtained a curacy, but he continued to attend lectures in ecclesiastical science. After a short stay at the University of Orleans, he studied at Bourges under the famous Italian jurist Aleiatio and the Lutheran Wolmar, and here he became intimate with his future biographer, Theodore Beza, styled by his admirers, “the Phoenix of his age.” In 1532 Calvin returned to Paris and founded a conventicle of heresy which soon attracted the notice of the civil authorities ; and to avoid imprisonment

he fled to the court of Queen Margaret of Navarre (1), already an avowed patroness of such innovators as sought her protection. The year 1535 found him at Basel, publishing his *Christian Institutions*, wherein he prescribes the Bible as the sole rule of faith. God, he says, will inspire each seeker with a knowledge of the true meaning of the text. This work made him famous, and his presence was desired by the Genevans, who had overthrown the dominion of their prince-bishop (2) and the suzerainty of the duke of Savoy in 1526, and had received the new Gospel from Bearn in 1533. Farel, the first Reformed pastor of Geneva, felt himself unequal to the task of legislating for the new church, successful though he had been in disorganization. Calvin seemed to be the man for their purpose, and the magistrates and consistory of Geneva tendered him the office of preacher and of professor of theology. He accepted in 1536, but after two years of tyranny he had so disgusted all but his immediate partisans, that his position became insecure; and finally, when he refused to obey a decree of the synod of Bearn, ordering the use of unleavened bread at the Lord's Supper and the observance of holy days as well as Sunday, he, Farel, and Couraud were ordered to leave Geneva in three days. Calvin went to Strasbourg, where he was received by Bucer with open arms; and here, in 1539, he married the widow of an Anabaptist. Meanwhile indescribable disorder was rampant in Geneva; and the French partisans of Calvin—immigrating thither in greater numbers day by day—having convinced the magistrates that their idol alone could remedy the evil, he was recalled in 1541, and received absolute power to regulate ecclesiastical matters as he might deem best. From that moment, woe to all who resisted the will of Calvin, the man who, above all the other Reformers, had insisted on the right of private judg-

(1) Margaret de Valois, sister of Francis I. and widow of Charles d'Alençon, first prince of the blood and constable of France, married Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, in 1527, and became the mother of Jane d'Albret, who married Anthony de Bourbon (lineally descended from the Count of Clermont, youngest son of St. Louis), and gave birth to Henry IV. She was addicted to religious speculation, but gave time also to labors of a lighter character, such as the *Heptameron*, written in the vein of the *Decameron* of Boccaccio, but redolent of far grosser obscenity and with none of the latter work's redeeming features.

(2) Geneva ceased to depend from the emperor when Henry V. was excommunicated by the Lateran Council in 1112, and its bishop, who swore not to violate the rights of the citizens, was also its temporal lord.

ment. At the head of his *Institutions* he had declared that he came to bring war, not peace; and the history of his entire reign at Geneva justifies the assertion. A Protestant author of our day, whose work was published at Geneva (1), says that "In his reformation of the Genevans, Calvin ignored all that is good and honorable in humanity, and established a regime of the most ferocious intolerance, of the most besotted superstitions, and of the most impious doctrines. At first he effected this by cunning; but he soon used force, threatening the council with a revolt and with the vengeance of his followers, when it tried to uphold the laws against his usurpations. He was adroit and profound, but after the fashion of the many little tyrants who have undermined republican government in many different countries." This heresiarch's rule was very different from that of the prince-bishops of Geneva, under whom, says the Protestant Fazy, "the laws were mild, torture was very seldom applied, confiscation was unknown, and there was nothing like that monstrous persecution of opinion made common by Calvin" (2). The amenities of polite polemics were unknown to Calvin; he fairly exhausted the language of vituperation when addressing his adversaries, even though they were Luther, Melancthon, Osiander, Capmulus, Memnon, or Westphalius. To this last opponent, who was a zealous Lutheran, and most hostile to any figurative view of the Eucharistic Presence, Calvin cried: "Your school is a rotten pig-sty. Do you hear me, you dog? Do you understand me, you lunatic, you beast?" (3). He styled the members of the Council of Trent ignoramuses, asses, hogs, fat bulls, legates of Antichrist, blatherskites, sons of the great whore, etc." Nor was his virulence satisfied with vituperation. Bolsee, an apostate Carmelite, was banished for showing that Calvin made God the Author of sin; and the heresiarch tried to have him capitally punished as a Pelagian and a rebel. Gentile was condemned to death, at his instigation. He procured the banishment of Ochino.

(1) GALIFFE; *Genealogical Notices*, vol. III., p. 21.

(2) *Essay on the History of the Republic of Geneva*, vol. I., p. 276.

(3) The title of Calvin's last work against Westphalius, written in 1557, is interesting: "The last warning of John Calvin to Joachim Westphalius, and if it is not heeded, Westphalius will be put where St. Paul orders us to place all heretics."

When consulted by the Genevan magistrates concerning the writings of Gruet, he urged an immediate infliction of the highest penalty; and it is to be noted that the decree ordering the search of Gruet's private papers was issued "in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, with the gospels before our eyes." But the case of Servetus would alone suffice to illustrate this phase of the character of Calvin.

Michael of Villanova, a native of Aragon, and generally known as Michael Servetus, was born in 1509. Studying at Paris, he acquired some reputation in medicine, but soon manifested an inclination for theological speculation. In 1531 he published at Haguenau a pamphlet on the *Errors on the Trinity*, in which his brutal attacks on the dogma as a popish hallucination and a mythological chimera astounded Christendom. Having settled at Vienne in Dauphiny as a physician, he secretly issued, in 1553, his *Restoration of Christianity*, the fourth book of which contained thirty letters addressed especially to Calvin, in all of which the autocrat was severely handled. Years before, Calvin had disputed with Servetus at Lyons, and had conceived such hatred for him that in 1546 he wrote to Viret, a colleague of Farel, "If Servetus ever comes to Geneva, he will not leave it alive." Now his spies forwarded him advance sheets of the *Restoration*, and at once the ecclesiastical authorities of Vienne received a denunciation of the author, accompanied by the index and some pages of the new work. Servetus was arrested, but escaping from prison, he fled to Geneva where he naturally expected to find safety; but by order of Calvin he was seized on Aug. 13, 1553, and held for trial as a heretic. After five weeks of suspense, Servetus wrote to the council of Geneva: "Vermin are eating me alive; my underclothing is in tatters, and I have not even a shirt for a change." The magistrates would have sent him some sheets and a shirt, but Calvin objected. After three more weeks, during which Servetus vainly applied for relief for the *pauvretés* of his body (1), the judges met for deliberation. On Oct. 26, the unfortunate was notified that he had been condemned to death by slow fire. Calvin afterward thus commented on the horror with which

(1) GALIFFE; *loc. cit.*

Servetus heard his sentence: "Let not the blackguards take pride in the obstinacy of their hero, as though it were the constancy of a martyr. When he heard his fate, he manifested the stupidity of a brute. Now his eyes were fixed like those of a fool, and he drew deep sighs; then he would howl like a madman; he never ceased to bellow, after the fashion of the Spaniards, 'Mercy, mercy!'" (1). On Oct. 27, Servetus was led to the stake, and the green faggots showed him that his death was to be a lingering one. "The axe!" he cried, "the axe! Not fire, lest I lose my soul in despair! If I have sinned, it was through ignorance." But he made no retraction. From a neighboring window Calvin coolly gazed on the spectacle (2). When the "gentle" Melancthon, the "Fénelon of Lutheranism," heard of this event, he wrote to Calvin: "By putting Servetus to death the magistracy of the republic of Geneva gave a pious and memorable example to all posterity. . . . I am entirely of your opinion, and I hold for certain that the matter having been conducted according to law, your magistrates acted justly in putting the blasphemer to death" (3). Calvin himself justified his course in the matter by publishing an exposition of the errors of Servetus, "together with a defense of the proposition that heretics are to be put to death." And he wrote to the marquis du Poet, grand-chamberlain of the court of Navarre, "Take good care to rid the land of these despicable rascals who excite the people against us. Such monsters should be executed like Michael Servetus the Spaniard. You may well believe that he will have no imitators in these regions." Nevertheless, Calvin could write that "lamentable indeed is the state of the Papal Church when it can be upheld only by violence;" and this he presumed to say, remarks the Protestant Castalion (4), precisely at the time "when his hands were yet dripping with

(1) *Epist. to Farel*, Oct. 29, 1553.

(2) For the whole affair of Servetus, see DE THOU, b. XII.; SPONDANUS, y. 1553, no. 14; VARILLAS, *Heresies*, vol. IV., b. XX.; LUBENIESKI, *Reform Pol.*; SLEIDAN, *Comment.*, b. XXV.; BEZA, *Life of Calvin*, y. 1553.

(3) *On Servetus—Corpus Reform.*, VIII., 523; IX., 133.—See the *Defense of Calvin*, by the Protestant Grellin-court.

(4) Sebastian Castalion, a Savoyard, became involved in a dispute with Calvin concerning the merits of the former's translation of the Bible (1555). The case was tried by the Senate of Geneva. Castalion was convicted of calumny, and he was deprived of his professorial chair.

the blood of Servetus." And it is worthy of note that Calvin reserved for himself the utmost latitude of opinion regarding the Trinity, so that another reformer, Stancarus (1), ventured to thus reprove him: "What demon has prompted you, Calvin, to join Arius in declaiming against the Son of God? . . . You presume to worship that Antichrist of the North, the grammarian Melancthon. . . . Beware, my readers, and especially you, ministers of the word, beware of the writings of Calvin! They contain impious doctrine, the blasphemies of Arianism, as though the spirit of Michael Servetus had transmigrated into the author."

The death of Calvin, if we may credit his Lutheran contemporaries, was one of despair. Schlussenberg says: "God so struck this heretic with His omnipotent hand that, despairing of salvation, and calling upon the demons, cursing and blaspheming, he miserably yielded his soul" (2). John Haren, one of Calvin's disciples, tells us that he witnessed, "with his own eyes, that miserable and horrible death" (3). Schlussenberg says that God punished the crimes of Calvin, even in this life; that He "*in virga furoris visitavit, atque horribiliter punivit ante mortis infelicis horam . . . vermibus circa pudenda in aposthemate seu ulcere foetentissimo crescentibus, ita ut nullus assistentium foetorem amplius ferre posset*" (4). His Lutheran enemies insisted that during his life Calvin bore on his back the defaming brand which attested the unnatural immoralities of his youth. They declared that he had been convicted of sodomy by the tribunal of Noyon, and condemned to the stake; but that owing to the intercession of his bishop, the punishment was commuted to the infamous brand of the galleys. The chief authority for this accusation was Bolsec, who insisted that he had read a copy of the sentence, drawn from the records at Noyon by Berthelier, who had been sent from Geneva to investigate the charge. The Lutherans

(1) *In Calv. Inst.*—Stancarus, a native of Mantua, fleeing from Italy to avoid prosecution for heresy, became professor of Hebrew in Cracow, and afterward founded a Lutheran school at Pinczovia in 1550. Konigsberg calling him to its chair of Hebrew, he there disputed with Oslander on the mediatorship of Christ, he contending that our Lord mediated between God and man only according to His human nature, whereas Oslander taught a divine mediatorship. The Polish Synods declared against the opinion of Stancarus, and after his death, his partisans became avowed Arians.

(2) *In Theol. Calv.* b. II., fol. 72.

(3) *Apud Pet. Cutzemium.*

(4) *Loc. cit.*

of that day regarded the alleged crime as indubitable (1); and Campian says that his adversary, Whittaker, admitted the fact, simply remarking that "Calvin had been stigmatized, and so had St. Paul" (2). Stapleton says that the relatives of Calvin vainly endeavored to procure the erasure of the record which entailed such disgrace on their family (3).

The spirit of Calvin was far more bitter than that of Luther toward Catholicism, even if the ex-Augustinian's heart be studied in his most fiery ebullitions, or in the mouthings of his *Table Talk*; but, like all the early Reformers, he at first affected to be a regenerator, not a destroyer. We find him writing, in November, 1557, to the king of France: "Herein we have arranged in simplicity a short *Confession of Faith*, the one that we profess; and we trust that you will find it concordant with that of the Catholic Church" (4). Afterward, however, wherever he held the upper hand, he washed away the "abominations of the Mass and other papistical idolatries" with the blood of the faithful; and always in virtue of the right which, as a civil ruler, he professed to hold from God. "The rulers, to whom God has given the sword of authority, must not permit in their jurisdictions any blasphemy against the faith which they have received" (5). Like the Terrorists of the first French Revolution, he often mixed the grotesque with the frightful in his application of the extreme consequences of his self-arrogated authority; but unlike those brutally frank homicides, he showed the grotesque in a hypocritical zeal for at least outward virtue. He imprisoned women who allowed a tress to escape from under their coifs; and he prohibited the wearing of slashed stockings, "because by the windows of those stockings all sorts of dissoluteness are encouraged" (6). But he could tolerate, nay, absolutely approve bigamy, as in the case of the Italian apostate Caracciolo, of whom we shall speak, when treating

(1) *De Calvini variis flagitiis et Sodomiticis libidinibus, ob quas stigma Joannis Calvinii dorso impressum fuit a magistratu sub quo vixit.* *Ibi.* The Lutherans of that day were prone to credit any report which might entail obloquy on Calvin. Thus Beza quotes Westphale (b. 1510), superintendent of the Lutheran churches in Hamburg, as saying that Calvin's mother was a priest's concubine.

(2) *Third Reason.*

(3) *Promptuarium.*

(4) *French Letters of Calvin*; edit. Bonnet, vol. I., p. 152.

(5) *Ibid.*, vol. II., p. 20.

(6) *Ibid.*, vol. I., p. 215.

of the attempted Protestantization of Italy. Only the iron rod was sufficient to keep in subjection those who were deceived by Calvin; so true was it, as we have observed in our chapter on the beginnings of Protestantism, that even among the most ardent of the new religionists there long subsisted an affection for the ancient faith (1). As Calvin observed, "The superstitions of Antichrist have struck such deep roots, and have been fastened so long, that they cannot be easily torn out of the hearts of men" (2). An excellent illustration of this fact is seen in the career of Renée of France, duchess of Ferrara, deeply penetrated by the Calvinistic poison, and through whom the heresiarch calculated to introduce that poison into Italy. This misguided princess had appointed an apostate friar as her private chaplain, and Protestant though she termed herself, she could not crush her belief in the Real Presence, and therefore compelled the unfortunate renegade to celebrate the Divine Sacrifice every morning in her apartments. Then there was Margaret of Valois, that mixture of mysticism and lubricity of thought, whose court was the favorite refuge of unfrocked priests, and who was apparently a fanatical Calvinist. Her faith was never completely crushed; and in 1550 she proclaimed it openly, and died with its consolations. The same happiness befell her equally fanatical husband, Henry II. d'Albret, in 1554. In fine, "there was really then a common patrimony shared by the faithful children of the Church and her wayward ones; whereas in our days the diminution of Christian dogmas in the bosom of Protestantism, now become almost an annihilation, leaves nothing positive in the struggle, Protestants cherishing only that antipathy to the Papacy which is common to all revolutionary sects" (3). The permanence of a residue of Catholic sentiment in the early Calvinists explains the facility with which many passed from the Church to the Conventicle, and then from the latter to the former. The ordinary reader is familiar with those many official changes of religion in the France of the early sixteenth century, changes made by royal decree, when entire provinces substituted one

(1) See p. 333.

(2) *Letters*, vol. I., p. 162.(3) SEGRETAIN; *Sixtus V. and Henry IV.*, p. 40. Paris, 1861.

cult for the other, according to the momentary policy of the court. But if the student delves deeply into the records of those days, he will find that there were an immense number of individual apostasies and repentances in that period when questions of faith were the chief concern of men. All these reflections bring us to the conclusion that the prime seducers of the populations found an almost invincible attachment to the ancient faith in the masses; and that even those who plunged into the abyss of heresy seldom followed those dictates of conscientious conviction which guarantee a firm perseverance in the new condition. No wonder, therefore, that Calvin relied so much upon the power of force.

The system founded by Calvin was a repetition of almost all hitherto known errors; he drew upon the early Predestinationists, Donatists, Iconoclasts; upon Berengarius, the Albigenses, and the Waldenses; and upon Wycliffe, Huss, Luther, and the Anabaptists. His essential teachings may be reduced to six heads: I. Jesus Christ is not really present in the Holy Eucharist; He is received by the communicant only by faith. While Zwingli taught that the Eucharist is a mere sign of the Body and Blood of Christ, Calvin held that the Sacred Body and Blood are truly received, although only by faith. As to the Lutheran system of a Real Presence by impanation, Calvin pronounced it due to "a fascination of the devil;" and he styled its followers "eaters of human flesh," and their communion "a repast for Cyclops." According to Schaffnacher, the minister Claude, the famous adversary of Bossuet, regarded Calvin's theory as "inadmissible" (1). II. Predestination is absolute, independent of God's foreknowledge of the good or evil deeds of each person. The decree of one's salvation or of his damnation depends from the pure will of God, without any regard to one's merits or demerits. III. God gives an inamissible justice and an inamissible faith to His elect, and does not impute their sins to them. IV. Original sin so weakened the will of man, that he cannot perform any good work meritorious of salvation, nor even any act which is not in itself sinful. V. Man cannot resist concupiscence; the

(1) BOSSUET; *Var.*, b. IX., c. xxiv., xxxvii., lix., lxxxlii. — FELLER; *Catech.*, vol. II., p. 268.

freedom of his will consists merely in its being exempt from coercion, but not from necessity. VI. Man is justified by faith alone, and hence good works are of no avail for salvation. The Sacraments are of value only inasmuch as they excite faith.

The followers of Calvin did not long leave his dogmas unchanged. Concerning the Eucharist, the ideas of Zwingle soon became general. But the greatest discontent arose from the horrible nature of the Calvinian idea of predestination. The theory that Christ died only for the predestined, also formed matter for discussion. Nor did the notion of the irresistibility of grace meet with universal acclamation. Finally, the doctrine of the inamissibility of grace found many enemies. Arminius, a minister of Amsterdam, attacked the Calvinian teachings on all these points; while Gomar, a professor at Groningen, assumed the championship of the rigidists. After many years of violent disputation, the Calvinists of the Low Countries were on the verge of civil war, when the Synod of Dordrecht, in 1619, decided against the Arminians or Remonstrants. At this convention, which was composed of deputies from all the Calvinist consistories except the French, the more rigid of the Gomarists tried in vain to obtain a sanction of their opinions. Like Calvin, these held that God, from all eternity, had predestined some men to heaven, and some to hell; that God, therefore, had so determined the fall of Adam, and had so predisposed events, that Adam was obliged to sin. They were called *supralapsarii*, because they supposed a predestination before the fall, *ante* or *supra lapsum*. Others, who were styled *infralapsarii*, held that predestination was accorded *infra lapsum*; that is, that God did not positively predetermine the fall of Adam, but merely permitted it; that then the human race having become a mass of perdition, God resolved to save a certain number of men, while allowing the rest to remain in their miserable condition, and refusing them the graces necessary for salvation. The *infralapsarii* triumphed at Dordrecht, thanks principally to the English deputies; nevertheless four provinces of Holland refused to subscribe to the decrees, and in the churches of Geneva, Brandenburg, and Bremen,

Arminianism prevailed. The Calvinists of France received the decrees in a national synod of their religionists held at Charenton in 1623. Mosheim shows that the Synod of Dordrecht adopted the doctrine of Calvin which makes God the Author of sin ; that the articles it condemned were held by the Lutherans and most Anglicans ; and that even the condemnation was couched in such ambiguous terms, that it could be variously interpreted.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE ATTEMPTED PROTESTANTIZATION OF FRANCE.

Just as in Germany the Reformation furnished a pretext for a revolt of certain princes against the emperor, so in France the introduction of the new religion was an occasion for aggressive movements of the feudal nobility against the king. But to the honor of French Protestants be it remembered that in the Land of the Lilies the stealing of Church property played but a minor part in the struggle between the ancient and the new religion ; whereas for Frederick and Maurice of Saxony, for Henry VIII. and the English nobles, and for Gustavus Vasa and his poverty-stricken companions in their kingdom of snow, the pillage of ecclesiastical possessions was the chief medium through which the beauties of the New Gospel were discerned. This exemption of the French nobles from the stain of rapacious cupidity, even while they committed acts of crime and of stupendous folly during their temporary religious aberration, was very unfavorable to a permanent substitution of the bands of Geneva for the Catholic mitre. Nor was the general situation of France such as to promise a profitable field for the labors of a heresiarch. Since the baptism of Clovis by St. Remy, nearly eleven centuries before the Calvinistic irruption, Catholicism had been associated with all of the grandest and worthiest emotions of the French nature ; the union of Rome and France had been cemented by every possible exertion of intellect, heart, and imagination ; in the eyes of all Europe the people of France

had come to be regarded as, if it be permitted to use such a term, the special pet of Heaven—so much so, that in 1556, just at the time when the Calvinists were essaying their favorite scheme of slaughter in the name of a sweeter and purer faith than that of Rome, the keen observer of men and things, Charles V., who knew no such thing as enthusiasm, pronounced his deliberate opinion: "No people have so often done what ought to destroy them as the French; but they always recover, because they are specially protected by God." Neither the king nor the people of France had any great temptation to turn their backs to that Church by whose means had been produced the *Gesta Dei per Francos*—the action of God through the visible arm of the Franks. For the monarch, whose proudest title was that of Most Christian King (1), there was no yearning for a secularization of the goods of the Church; that transformation had been pretty well effected by the Concordat of 1516. As to the people, they needed not

(1) The antiquity of the title "Most Christian King," borne by the French kings, has been the subject of much discussion; many contending that the first monarch to bear the title as a special prerogative was Louis XI., to whom it was accorded by Pope Paul II. in 1459. This opinion was held by the great Benedictine writer, Mabillon in his *Diplomaties* (y. 1704); by the Jesuit historian, Daniel, in his *History of France* (y. 1713); and by Henault in his *Chronology* (y. 1744). Daniel seemed to have proved his side of the question quite conclusively; but in 1720 the Abbé de Camps showed that the famous title had been borne by all the French monarchs since the days of Clovis. Griffet gave a new edition of Daniel's work in 1755, and profiting by the researches of De Camps, assigned the origin of the title to the reign of Charles V. (1337-80). In 1760, the learned Bonamy demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Academy of Inscriptions that the title was accorded to King Pepin, the father of Charlemagne. After a careful consideration of all these arguments, it appears to us that the title of Most Christian King was not only recognized by the Popes as a special prerogative of the French kings, long before the days of Louis XI., but was transmitted by the first Christian king of the Franks as part of that inheritance of faith and devotion to the Church which was guarded by his successors, almost without exception, as their most precious possession. In the first place, Pope Paul II., who is represented as according, for the first time, the title of Most Christian King to Louis XI., acknowledged in a letter to Charles VII., the father of Louis XI. (*Epist.* 385), that the French sovereigns held the famous title by heredity, and because of their constant defence of the Holy See. And Louis XI. himself, in his *Institution* drawn up at Amboise in 1482 for the guidance of his successor, declares the same fact: "Considering that God our Creator has given to us such great graces; that He has been pleased to constitute us the king of the most notable nation on earth, this kingdom of France, many of whose sovereigns, our predecessors, have been so great, virtuous, and valiant, that they have acquired the name of Most Christian Kings, etc." Secondly, St. Avitus, a contemporary of Clovis, tells us (See Ruinart's *Preface to St. Greg. Tur.*, No. 18) that there was no province in the West that did not owe its safety to the Franks; alluding, of course, to the combats of the first successors of Clovis against the Arians and the pagans. When Clovis was baptized, he was the sole veritable Catholic king in Europe, and hence would properly be addressed as Most Christian. Therefore it is that we find Romanus, general of the Roman armies in Italy, addressing King Childebert as "your Christianity—*Christianitas vestra*," in the same sense as that of our phrase, "your Majesty." Therefore also we find the

to blush for their clergy ; abuses there sometimes were in the French ecclesiastical body, but the finger of scorn was not necessarily pointed at the bishops, as in the cases of the German prelates whom Luther with but too much reason denounced. At that time a De Retz or a Rohan was impossible in the French episcopacy ; such scandals were to be seen only when many years of experience of the Concordat of 1516 had demonstrated that it was unwise to entrust a king with nominations to the crozier. Nor were the populations of France attracted by the moral system proposed by Calvin ; real austerity was sufficiently repugnant to them, but a fantastic prudery which verged upon hypocrisy was unendurable. But if neither monarch nor people were naturally well-disposed toward the religious innovators of the time, the minor nobles of the provinces, ever envious of the nobles of the court, often felt an inclination for novelties, and many thought that a change in religion might work a change in political forms—a recovery, in fine, of what feudalism had lost under Louis XI. and Francis I. Reflection on this disposition of the nobles, especially those of the South, who rushed to the

same language in the letters of the emperor Mauritius, to Childebert, and in those of Pope St. Gregory I. to the kings, Thierry and Theodebert, sons of Childebert II. Thirdly, even in the time of Charles V. of France, to whose reign rather than that of Louis XI. Griffet would ascribe the origin of the glorious title, we find Raoul de Presles (in his *Prologue to St. Augustine's City of God*) saying to Charles V : " You are and ought to be the sole chief protector of the Church, just as your predecessors were ; and this is held by the Holy See of Rome, which has been accustomed to address you *and your predecessors* as Most Christian Princes." Fourthly, when the emperor Frederick III. wrote to Charles VII. about a projected Crusade, he admitted that the title had belonged to the French monarchs as an inheritance, at least from the time of the first Holy Wars. Fifthly, Pius II., predecessor of Paul II., writes to Charles VII. that the monarch " has inherited the name of Most Christian from his ancestors " (See the *Glossary* of Ducange, at word *Christianitas*). And the same Pontiff says that this title has been an ornament of the French monarchs *per longissimam temporum seriem* ; and that it has been accorded, *consensu populorum, gentium, nationumque*. It is true, and also very strange, that in spite of these declarations of his immediate predecessor, Paul II. at first told Cousinot, the ambassador of Louis XI., that the Popes were not accustomed to term the French monarchs Most Christian Kings ; but we must remember that the Pontiff was just then very angry with Louis on account of that prince's severity toward the traitor, Cardinal de la Balue. However, Paul II. did agree to style the monarch in the usual fashion ; though he gave no Bull confirmatory of the long possessed title. Griffet seems to imply that this Bull was expedited, when he says that " we must regard this decision of Pope Paul II. as marking the remarkable epoch when the title of Most Christian was assured to our kings by a juridical act which undoubtedly gave to the already established usage a degree of authenticity which it had not yet possessed." If there had been any formal Bull issued in the premises by Paul II., Alexander VI. would scarcely have tried to deprive Charles VIII. of the title, in order to confer it upon Ferdinand of Spain, giving instead of it the style of Catholic to the Spanish sovereign, only because the Sacred College protested against the innovation. See the *Memoires* of Commynes, b. VIII., ch. xvii.

standard of Condé with the cry that they all were kings, made Montaigne say of them: "All the leaders made a parade of religion; but they were influenced more by ambition." Thus was formed a clandestine religious faction, which remained clandestine until the minority of Charles IX. and the Machiavellian policy of Catharine dei Medici allowed it to manifest itself in its true colors.

Luther, Melancthon, and Zwingle discerned an excellent opportunity for the introduction of their errors into France, when it became known that Francis I. accorded a hearty welcome to all foreigners who could contribute, by their learning, to the intellectual improvement of his subjects. All three sent most specious letters to the monarch, and recommended to his protection many of the humanists whom they had imbued with their doctrinal notions. By sheer force of impudence these spouters of Greek and of a little Hebrew impressed many with the idea that they were prodigies of learning; in Italy they would have been appreciated at their true value. They soon assumed oracular airs, giving new interpretations to both the New and the Old Testament, accommodating numberless passages to the theories of the Reformers; always insisting that their point of view was strictly concordant with the Greek and Hebrew texts, though perhaps opposed by the Latin Vulgate, which they affected to despise. From the year 1535 the works of Calvin spread throughout France, and he soon came to be known as the French Luther. In regard to the new doctrines Francis I. was severe or tolerant, according as he was, for the moment, under the influence of his mother, Louisa of Savoy, or under that of his sister, Margaret of Valois. This latter princess, whom Francis loved most tenderly, who had been married to the duke d'Alençon, and afterward to the king of Navarre, Henry d'Albret, was addicted, as we have already observed, not only to poetry of a worse than light vein, but to a superficial investigation of religious mysteries which she mistook for profound theological study. Such a woman was an easy victim to the wiles of the Calvinists. By dint of flattery of her success in penetrating mysteries which had defied a Thomas of Aquino, and by dedicating to her some of their works which they

presented to her in superb bindings (1), they filled her with a temporary aversion for many of the practices of the Catholic religion. Margaret did penance, eventually, for these aberrations ; but her daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, who married Anthony de Bourbon, and became mother of the future Henry IV., plunged into the depths of heresy, and never emerged. A brief sketch of the work of this princess in the establishment of the Reformation in Bearn will serve to illustrate the methods of all the Calvinist leaders in France. Jules Bonnet, in his edition of the *French Letters* of Calvin (2), naively writes : "Docile to the counsels of Calvin, and not at all alarmed by the anathemas of Rome or by the menaces of Spain, Jeanne d'Albret had *courageously* undertaken the work of the Reformation in her states. She abolished the worship of images, interdicted public processions, and changed the churches into Protestant temples. So thorough a revolution could not be accomplished without great difficulty ; but the genius of the queen triumphed." Each word of this eulogy shows the animus of the writer no less than it recalls, to a mind which is acquainted with the history of Bearn, a number of atrocious massacres in the prostituted name of religion, and one of the most tyrannical codes of laws ever invented by a despot. "It would seem that toleration execrates princes who, like Philip II., appeal to force for the preservation of a nation's religion from the attacks of foreigners and the preachers of heresy ; but that it can discern only courage and genius in sovereigns who, like Jeanne d'Albret and her odious model, Elizabeth of England, violently change the religion of their subjects in accord with their own caprices"(3). During the lifetime of her husband, Anthony de Bourbon, although he favored the Reformation, Jeanne merely prepared the way for future triumph over Rome ; contenting herself with exhortations to the priests to marry, and with an imposition of a tax on the clergy for the support of the Protestant preachers. But when Anthony died,

(1) Such as *The Pure Gospel, On Adoration in Spirit and in Truth, The Faith Detached from Superstition*.

(2) Paris, 1854. This author, one of the most fervid of modern professors of toleration, was Secretary to the Society of the History of Protestantism.

(3) SEGRETAIRY ; *loc. cit.*

in 1562, she openly participated in the Calvinistic Lord's Supper, and instantly entered on her never-interrupted course of persecution. All the cathedrals were pillaged; and although their walls were allowed to remain, and a semblance of divine service continued to be performed, their Chapters were forced to admit Calvinist ministers to beneficed stalls in their desecrated choirs. The sons of St. Dominic were chased from their convent in Orthez, and the building was turned into a nursery for future preachers of the Gospel of Liberty. The estates of Bearn vainly protested against these and many similar measures; the queen did indeed defer sufficiently to the energetic clamors of her subjects to issue, in 1563, an Edict of Toleration, but by it the Catholics were prohibited to restore their dilapidated temples or to erect new ones. During the journey of Charles IX. through her Bearnese Majesty's dominions in 1564, the French court was so horrified by the desolation on every side, that Jeanne agreed to allow full liberty to the Catholics in the district of Nérac; but in 1569 she promulgated an edict by which she decreed the total and immediate abolition of the Catholic religion throughout the kingdom of Navarre. A few months before the publication of this drastic document, Jeanne having perceived that her people manifested an inclination to throw off her yoke, she had requested and received from Elizabeth of England a subsidy of 100,000 golden scudi, ten cannons, and a large quantity of munitions of war. Of course this appeal to a foreign power was regarded by Charles IX. as a violation of his rights as suzerain of Navarre; and he ordered the viscount de la Terride to seize the dominions of the rebel queen. Therefore it was that the Navarrese, having accepted the protectorate of France with enthusiasm, heard, in Nov., 1569, that thereafter the public preaching of heresy was prohibited. But Montgomery invaded the land, captured the viscount at Orthez, and after committing enormous excesses, proclaimed the supremacy of the Reformation. By order of Montgomery, the most illustrious of the Catholic nobles of Bearn, in violation of a capitulation which had guaranteed their lives, were massacred.

It is well to note the provisions of the Edict whereby

Jeanne d'Albret merited the homage of Protestant publicists—a homage which is extended to her memory to-day by nearly all heterodox historians, and precisely because of an Edict which served as type for Protestant legislation wherever Protestantism triumphed. Having been informed of the success of Montgomery in Bearn, the royal zealot ordered Arros and Montamat to publish the following articles. I. “The queen orders that the word be announced by those who, having been called by God, are alone in possession of a legitimate vocation; and to this effect she annuls, quashes, banishes, and proscribes all the practices of the Roman Church, and without exception: The Mass, vespers, processions, litanies, vigils, feasts, painted or sculptured images, luminaries, etc.” II. “She wishes that the rural oratories, sites of superstitious follies, and also all the altars and every reredos in each and every city and village, be razed and demolished, the stone and wood to be converted to useful purposes.” III. “She commands all the inhabitants, be they who they may, to attend at all the preachings and instructions delivered by the ministers of the word of God. Those who reside where these services are held, must assist at them whenever they are performed; and they who live at a distance, must come to them at least every Sunday.” IV. “She commands that all the inhabitants, both they who have made public profession of the Reformed Faith, and they who have not, hold themselves subject to the authority of the Consistories; and all are obliged to present themselves before those Consistories, at the first requisition, there to receive the proper instructions, corrections, or reprimands.” Perhaps the reader may think that the unfortunate Catholics were still at liberty to practise, in the quiet of their own homes, such rites of their faith as laymen could perform, when their priests had all been massacred or banished. But this female Protestant Pope would not allow to her Catholic subjects even the consolation of pouring the waters of regeneration on their own offspring; they were forced to submit to the abhorred ministrations of apostates. V. “Since the Reformed Church recognizes Baptism as that Sacrament which was established for the reception of the marks of a remission of

sin (*sic*), and since it is a duty for parents to present their children to Holy Church for baptism, and since, nevertheless, a very large number refuse to do so, pretending themselves to administer this Sacrament; therefore the queen prohibits all parents, matrons, and others, to baptize, under the pain of punishments which she will soon provide." Another article pronounces all marriages invalid which were not "blessed" by a Protestant preacher. "If any persons make reciprocal promises of marriage, they are prohibited to live conjugally, until they have announced such promises, and receive the blessing of the Reformed Church; under pain of punishment as concubinaires." In another article we read a law like that which was enforced at that time, and for centuries afterward, in the dominions of his Britannic Majesty, with such success that certain youthful ears, still in service, used to tingle with Protestant declamations about Papistical ignorance. It was ordered that in all her Navarrese Majesty's dominions, no one should be allowed to teach, either the young or the old, unless he was a professed member of the new Church. Finally, for our limits warn us not to say too much about this pioneer of "the religion" in France, we find a confirmation of a remark which we have already made concerning the facility with which certain parties fluctuated between the old and the new "systems." In one of the last clauses of this memorable Edict of the precious Jeanne d'Albret, we read: "And since, through the suggestion of the Evil Spirit, many persons have withdrawn from the Church, after having received her teachings, it is ordered that they shall be chastised by the magistrates, forasmuch as they are scandalous persons, rebels, and disturbers of the Church." And this authentic testimony to the sweetness of the Protestant sway ends with a prohibition to all priests and religious, "without the permission of her Majesty," to enter the country; but it is declared that this consent will be accorded, "if said priests and religious will agree to conduct themselves like decent persons, and like fearers of God, ranging themselves on the side of the Church and its discipline." Such were the means by which Protestantism tried to obtain a foothold in France. It is absurd to attempt to justify them

by adducing the presumedly similar conduct of the Spanish kings, especially Philip II., in their repulsion of heresy from the Catholic soil of their country. We admit that the Spaniards defended the integrity of the Christian faith with a severity which was sometimes excessive; but they exercised their power in accordance with the will of the entire nation, protecting it from the assaults of a few fanatical and unpatriotic theorists. In France, an audacious minority used violence to transform the faith of an entire nation, and after a partial success, it legalized its crime. We read much about Catholic retaliations, and it cannot be denied that when a civil war is accentuated by religious animosity, the ferocity of the human animal assumes terrible proportions. But the cold fact remains, that the Catholics of France resisted an invasion of their rights, and that it was only by oppression and by the vacillation of their monarchs that their adversaries succeeded in imposing, for a time, religious novelties upon them.

It is certain, however, that France was less unanimous than Spain in her devotion to the faith, and that the French clergy of the sixteenth century were more apt than the Spanish to seek inspiration in the royal court, rather than in the counsels of Rome. While all the more intimate elements of the national life—the people, the bourgeoisie, and the religious orders, organized to defend the integrity of the deposit of faith; a portion of the French nobility and of the episcopacy yielded to the attractions of the worst characteristic of the Renaissance, and became, for a time, victims of the Calvinist wiles. And indeed, for a considerable space of time, few Frenchmen perceived that the very existence of the Church was imperilled by the Reformers. Hence it was that Francis I. and Henry II., although passionately attached to the faith, aided Protestantism in Germany, realizing its disintegrating properties, while they at least frowned on it at home; and it is painful to a French Catholic to be obliged to admit that French monarchs were so determined to reduce the power of the House of Austria–Spain, that they threw themselves into the arms of the foes of Charles V. By the victory of Muhlberg, April 15, 1547, the emperor had reduced to a minimum the influence of the innovators in Germany,

and Calvin himself had regarded his cause as lost. The French king did not realize that all means are not licit, even though they may tend to ruin an enemy. "He did not perceive that in order to crush a rival, he was precipitating the entire Christian body into the revolutionary unknown; and we know by what diversion, favorable to the heretical princes, our arms restored their fallen fortunes, and forced Charles V. to enter on that path of negotiations and compromises which was to undermine the civilization of Europe" (1). But if the foreign policy of the French court, in the matter of rising Protestantism, was unfortunate, its policy at home was unconnected and inconsequent for good. Even while it sent heretics to the scaffold, it allowed Marot, one of the most ribald of poets, to popularize Calvinistic ideas in his translation of the Psalms; and it became quite the fashion, among the young nobles, to sing the sermon-chants of the poet-valet. There is much talk about the repressive legislation which Francis I. and Henry II. enacted to combat the audacity of the Protestants; but while the language of the edicts was severe, they were often neutralized by suspensory decrees. In fact, during the first period of French Protestantism, the parliaments, especially that of Paris, more or less connived at the efforts of the innovators; for the French magistrates, though Catholic at heart, were still much influenced by the prejudices which the Council of Basel had entailed upon their predecessors, and the warmth of their affection for the Holy See had been greatly diminished. Only when, thanks to this very complicity and to the capriciousness of the court, the sectarians had become powerful; and when it became evident that there was not a mere question of some half-schism such as gratified parliamentary Gallicanism; did the great French courts of justice experience a Catholic reaction. The pressure of the national sentiment induced the parliaments to take a firm stand against heresy; and when the famous chancellor, L'Hopital, endeavored to force upon them the ordinance of Orleans, which proposed the revival of the *Pragmatic Sanction* (2) as a remedy for religious dissension, he en-

(1) SEGRETAIRY; *loc. cit.*, p. 58.

(2) See page 170 of this volume.

countered an almost invincible opposition. And now for a brief notice of this celebrated man, both because he is an excellent illustration of the uncertain conscience of the magistracy during the debut of the Reformation in France, and because all Protestant and many Catholic (1) publicists regard him as a type of integrity, and a marvellous instance of moderation, ignoring the fact that he represents that system of double dealing which precipitated his country into anarchy, and which necessarily led to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, and nearly ruined Catholicism in France (2).

Among the railleries to which Beza, the Calvinist theologian, was addicted, and sometimes happily, was his representation of L'Hopital holding a torch behind his back, the chancellor having been afflicted with a constant dread of looking straight at a truth. Michel de L'Hopital, born in 1507, became an auditor of the Roman *Ruota* in 1524, counsellor to the parliament of Paris in 1537, envoy to the Council of Trent in 1547, master of requests in 1553, president of the chamber of accounts in 1554, and chancellor of France in 1560. At best an equivocal Catholic, he obtained the favor of the court for the Protestants, procured authorizations for Protestant assemblies outside the cities, and applied the famous Edicts of Pacification. When he found that the influence of the Guises predominated, he withdrew from the court in 1568; but he retained his chancellorship until six weeks before his death, which occurred in 1573. If his attempt to prove, at the Colloquy of Poissy, that the Calvinistic tenets were not heretical; if his constant cession to the Huguenot demands, when he could yield without compromising himself; if his long course of defending contrary doctrines at the same time; if these constitute honesty, impartiality, and moderation; then L'Hopital deserves the praise which the modern French bourgeoisie accord to him, but which his

(1) For instance, Pellissier, in his excellent work, *The Sixteenth Century*, p. 230. Paris, 1887.

(2) Dufey, in his edition of the *Complete Works of L'Hopital* (Paris, 1824), tries industriously to show the disinterestedness of his hero, and also to prove that he held the Bartholomew in such horror that he could not restrain himself from assuming a severe attitude toward Charles IX. But in all the letters which this disinterested man wrote to the king and queen, after the massacre, there is scarcely else than a continued reiteration of requests for offices and other favors.

contemporaries of that class refused him. He acquired the ill will of the Catholics by trying to abolish religious confraternities ; but he countersigned the Edict of Romorantin, which, by its reservation of all cases of heresy to the ecclesiastical tribunals, was tantamount to an establishment of the Inquisition in France. Notwithstanding this piece of diplomacy, so repugnant to all the theories of modern tolerationists, these gentry style L'Hopital an apostle of religious liberty. It is interesting to note that the chancellor denounced as a " seditious rabble, without God, and bent on confusion and pillage " those very Huguenots whom he so often favored, and whom our modern liberals applaud as so many lamb-like innocents, seeking only for permission to adore the Lord in spirit and in truth (1). Certainly our Protestant friends are very generous to L'Hopital. " His memory is more cherished in our day, because he is an exact personification of that absence of principles which hides itself under the name of moderation, of that undulating conduct which is termed prudence, of that yearning for novelty and that blind hatred of tradition which our day calls a love of progress ; all of which have become characteristics of a statesman in a society which has neither compass nor helm. In fine, L'Hopital, distinguished as a jurisconsult, a magistrate ever attentive to his functions, preserving the dignity of the judges of that period, moderate in his desires without neglecting to secure his fortune, was a minister without elevated ideas, deplorably feeble and indecisive, hostile to the Church in intention rather than in fact, and capable only of exasperating the national Catholic sentiment, while affecting an indifference which his contemporaries did not profess. L'Hopital is a man of straw for those enemies of Catholicism who wish to hide their hatred under the cloak of a pretended impartiality, and under the appearance of a false wisdom which is simply a paralysis of reason " (2).

The French prelates held numerous Councils to oppose the

(1) " Y a esdictes compagnies séditeuses force bannis et canailles, qui tous se couvrent du manteau de la religion. Si est-ce qu'ils ne sont luthériens, mais plustot sans Dieu ; ne veulent vivre dans leurs maisons ne hors, *sub legibus*, mais à la force. Quelle esperai ce peult-on avoir de telles gens, aultre que de confusion et de pillerie ? "

(2) SEGRETAINE ; *loc. cit.*, p. 69.

Calvinistic invasion, and the Universities proscribed heretical books. The parliaments passed many sentences of death, the kings issued many decrees ; but the contagion established itself firmly in nearly every province of the kingdom, and in 1559 Paris beheld a "National Synod of the Reformed Churches of France." Here a small number of preachers, without authority and mission, and in violation of the lauded principle of "freedom of examination," presumed to decree, for all their fellow-rebels against the Church, a uniformity of doctrine which their followers would not and, if consistent, could not, allow them to enforce. But this parody of Catholic Councils failed, as its members, unless blind, must have foreseen that it would fail, to end the divisions of the Protestant Babel. "The *œuvre constitutionnelle* of the Synod of 1559 could not unite churches which were essentially free and independent, nor determine a belief which was necessarily variable, being founded on the individual interpretation of Scripture by each person. Therefore it was soon ignored by the Protestants ; one of the ministers termed it 'a paper Pope, the worst of all Popes'" (1). In this same year, 1559, at Ferté-sous-Jouarre, after a "doctoral decision" by all the ministers of Germany, France, and Geneva, the Calvinists entered into a conspiracy for the violent abolition of Catholicism throughout France, to be begun with the murder of all the family of Guise, and according to some authors, with that of the entire royal family. However, the plot was discovered by the duke of Guise, and frustrated at Amboise. At this time, the two powerful families of Guise and Montmorency shared all the honors and authority which the court could bestow. Several of the Montmorencies embraced "the religion," as the Calvinists designated their sect, at an early period of its existence—Louise, sister of the famous constable, and married to Gaspard de Coligny, lord of Chatillon ; her three sons, the admiral Coligny, the colonel-general d'Andelot, and the cardinal Odet de Chatillon, bishop of Beauvais. The Calvinists could also boast of the accession

(1) *Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of Nîmes to the Protestants of Gard*, 1859.—The egregious failure of this Protestant Council did not prevent the Protestants of France from celebrating, with high-flown declamation and other noise, its third centennial.

to their party of the prince de Condé, who became the commander of the Huguenot forces (1). Francis, duke of Guise, opposed this triumvirate with a Catholic one, of which the other members were Anne de Montmorency, uncle of Coligny, and the marshal de Saint-André. This triumvirate took for its device: "One faith, one law, one king." The queen, Catharine dei Medici, indoctrinated in the principles of Machiavelli, now favored one of these parties, then another, according as either became too powerful. Her policy served merely to foment their discord; personal hate, political ambition, and fanaticism, were all confusedly mingled by both factions; and this reflection leads us to note the absurdity of which so many writers are guilty when they apply the term "war of religion," to every hostility of those days between the orthodox and heretics, and thus make religion responsible for the consequent effusion of blood. The holy name of religion, well observes M. de Falloux (2), whether used in attack or defence, was frequently only a war-cry, well adapted to rally the masses and to captivate their confidence.

On the Ash Wednesday of 1562 the duke de Guise was at Vassy, in Champagne, and with a number of retainers assisted at Mass in the parish church. During the sacrifice a great noise of psalm-singing in a neighboring farm-house disturbed the worshippers, and the duke sent to the Huguenots a request for them to be quiet for a quarter of an hour. The messengers were received with insults, and the psalms were vociferated with more energy. Then the indignant Guisards attempted force, and the duke rushed to the spot to preserve peace. Scarcely had he arrived at the door of the farm-house when a heavy stone struck his face, and then, despite his commands, his followers attacked the Huguenots, killing, says the Protestant La Popelinière, forty-two. To his last day Guise insisted that this affair was fortuitous; and that the slaughter was against his will is admitted by the Huguenot sympathizer De Thou, by the Protestant La Popelinière,

(1) According to Berault-Bercastel, this word is derived from the German *eidgenossen*, signifying "confederated." Some contend that the French innovators assumed this name as the pretended champions of the royal race of Hugues Capet, against the "Lorrains-Guisards," or "Charlins," descendants of Charles of Lorraine.

(2) *Life of St. Pius V.*, Paris, 1841.

and by Marcantonio Barbaro, Venetian ambassador at Paris, in his *Relation* to his government for 1565 (1). Throughout the kingdom the Calvinists now demanded vengeance for this massacre; and to this day Protestant polemics urge, in palliation of the atrocities committed by the Huguenots, that those horrors were mere retaliations for the Catholic persecutions initiated at Vassy. But the excesses of the Calvinists had begun before this event. On December 21, 1561, they had driven the bishop, clergy, and nuns from Nîmes, had burnt the holy images in the cathedral, and had turned the edifice into a meeting-house. On December 27th they had destroyed the furniture of the church of St. Medard at Paris, and had tried to burn to death such Catholics as had fled to the belfry. They had dragged thirty-four citizens from the sanctuary, and had exposed them to the outrages of the mob, as we learn from the *Journal* of the minister Deyron, given by Menard in his *History of Nîmes*, and also from Mezeray's *Chronological Abridgment*. On the return of Guise to Paris, the citizens received him with enthusiasm; therefore the jealous Catharine regarded the Huguenot complaints with favor, even resolving to entrust the care of the young king, Charles IX., to those sectarians. She wrote from Fontainebleau to Condé: "Come, and save mother and child!" Condé and Coligny wished to profit by the invitation; but, the design transpiring, the Parisians rushed to arms, and by their aid Guise seized the person of the royal child, bidding the mother go whither she pleased. One day too late the Condean troops arrived at Fontainebleau, and then, realizing that he had gone too far to recede, the prince prepared for civil war, openly enlisted men against his sovereign, made alliances with England and other powers, seized Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Tours, Grenoble, and many minor towns. The first civil war (1562-63) produced monsters of cruelty on both sides. The Huguenot baron des Andrets put Auvergne, the Forez, the Lyonnais, Dauphiny, and Provence to fire and sword, and in order to deaden their sensibilities literally bathed his own children in Catholic blood.

(1) In the *Relations of the Venetian Ambassadors Concerning the Affairs of France* Paris, 1838.

One of these boys, Blaise de Montluc, lived to make the Huguenots curse the lessons they had given to him; for he became a Catholic, and was as savage toward them as his parent had been in regard to the Papists. This war terminated with the assassination of Duke Francis by a Huguenot named Poltrot, who died accusing Coligny as his instigator; and Coligny could never repel this accusation. Bossuet holds that when the admiral was informed of Poltrot's design, he gave him 120 scudi to enable him to prosecute it and escape. Certainly, in a letter to Catharine, Coligny admitted that "for the last five or six months he did not strongly" oppose the killing of Guise, and he gave as a reason for said implicit compliance that certain persons had tried to kill himself; and in another letter to Catharine he spoke of the death of the duke as "the greatest benefit that could accrue to the kingdom and to the Church of God, and a personal advantage to the sovereign and to the whole family of Coligny." After the murder of Francis de Guise, Catharine made every effort to secure peace, and in 1563 the Edict of Amboise conferred many privileges on the Huguenots, but did not satisfy them. The free exercise of Calvinistic worship was allowed to the lords high justiciary in their jurisdictions; the same was permitted to the nobles in their houses; the bourgeois could practice Calvinism in one city in each *bailliage*; and wherever the Huguenots were in the majority their worship was permitted. Several years previously Catharine had asked Pope Pius IV. for concessions to the Protestants, then increasing in number. For instance, she requested the abolition of images, the suppression of the exorcism and of the use of the priest's saliva in baptism; she asked for the Communion under both species for the laity, for a simplification of the ceremonies of the Mass, for the use of the vernacular in the Liturgy: "hoping thereby," she said, "to unite the two Churches." Then the Colloquy of Poissy was held, and here Peter Martyr (Vermiglio) and Theodore Beza were summoned by the Navarrese monarch to combat the cardinal of Lorraine and Claude Despensé; but this dispute, like so many others, availed nothing. The Guisards now excited the ambition of the Navarrese by a promise of

the restoration of his lost kingdom; therefore he joined the triumvirate of his former enemies, who permeated the court and neutralized the influence of the queen. Resolved to rule at all hazards, the Medicean diplomat made overtures to Condé, and by the advice of L'Hopital allowed the Protestants to freely exercise their form of worship if they did not disturb Catholic devotions.

In 1567, encouraged, admits Sismondi, by the rebellion of the Scotch Calvinists against Queen Mary, the French Huguenots again tried to seize the person of their young king while he was sojourning at Meaux. Foiled in this attempt, they besieged their sovereign in his capital, but were defeated in a bloody contest under the walls, and compelled to a truce of six months. In 1568 the second civil war began. The historian, De Thou, most partial to the Huguenots, admits that their atrocities surpassed everything hitherto experienced during these terrible times (1). Their bloody onslaughts were directed especially against priests and nuns; the savage De Briquemaut wore a necklace made of the ears of priests whom he had murdered. The exasperated Catholics retaliated, and France became a scene of carnage. Finally, when Condé had perished, and the Huguenots had been nearly crushed, the Machiavellian daughter of the Medici signed, in 1570, a treaty favorable to the Protestants. A general amnesty was proclaimed: the rebels were allowed freedom of worship; their confiscated property was restored; they received the privilege of appointing six judges in the parliaments: and La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité sur Loire were accorded them as "cities of safety," with the right of naming the governors and controlling the garrisons. But Charles IX., ever remembering the attempt at Meaux, did not heartily approve of these concessions; hence Coligny sought to conciliate the young monarch, obtaining very soon such an influence that the queen-mother feared for her own. She hearkened to Henry de Guise, who yearned to revenge his father's murder on the reputed assassin. Coligny

(1) The contemporary poet, Ronsard, asks:

" Et quoy ! bruler maisons, piller et brigander,
Tuer, assassiner, par force commander,
Nob'ir plus aux rois, amasser des armées,
Appetez-vous cela Eglises réformées ? "

was only slightly wounded, and Catharine rushed to her son, declaring that the Huguenots were on the eve of open revolt, and that they had sworn the death of his Majesty. These charges were rendered probable by the past conduct of the sectarians and by the open threats of their leaders; therefore Charles determined to forestall his enemies, and on August 24, 1572, the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, of which we shall treat in an apposite chapter, blighted the fair fame of France.

Henry III., the last of the Valois, was the worst of a bad race; an object of disgust and almost universal contempt, religion was dishonored by his routine of processions and balls, masquerades and penances. Naturally the court reflected, to a great extent, the habits of the sovereign; and it was extremely delicate and extremely corrupt, sickening the good by its mixture of libertinage with an appearance of religious mysticism. In an endeavor to procure rest for his sorely-tried kingdom, Henry, always partial to heresy, accorded to the Calvinists, in 1576, an edict more favorable than any preceding one; allowing the public exercise of their worship, granting them full representation in each parliament, and decreeing that such priests and nuns, etc., as had married, were not to be disturbed, while their children were to be held as legitimate. Nevertheless, the Calvinists now constituted themselves into a regular federation, bound by oath to "a more intimate union, association, and fraternity." To counterbalance this, the famous League was devised—a vast association of citizens of every class, under the direction of Henry de Guise. Picardy was the first province to inaugurate this great association in the interest of religion and of the kingdom; James d'Humières, then commanding the troops in those parts, having begun it with some of his friends. His example was soon followed at Paris and in other cities. "The heretics combine together," said Louis d'Orleans; "let us form a League. They sustain each other; let us do the same. They hold meetings; let us meet. You are of no worse blood than these traitors to their God, their king, and their country. Shall they, then, be allowed to league, while we remain quiet?" In a few months, every town had its

league, and in 1577 the States-General and the king himself sanctioned the confederation. Modern impiety, embittered by the spirit of the Revolution, cannot do justice to the League. It was a glorious manifestation of the Catholic and national spirit of the better part of the French of their day; a manifestation which was almost general and entirely spontaneous, developed by the force of circumstances and the crying needs of the country. The Guises certainly directed it, but before they did so, they had followed it; they were not its authors. Some writers hold that the League never obtained the approbation of the Holy See; others again hold that it received a verbal sanction, at least, from Gregory XIII. Certainly Sixtus V. condemned it as pernicious to the royal authority, to the good of the state, and to the true interests of religion. But the principles and beginnings of the League must not be confounded with its posterior deeds and its excesses. The judgments of Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. are not contradictory of each other; for they are founded in the same principle, and, as Saint-Victor observed, they are one and the same judgment, and both are useful to a person who wishes to properly appreciate the great association. Certainly Rome, whose prudence and foresight is proverbial, always regarded the League as though she was preoccupied with its final result, as though she suspected that its consequences might reach beyond the object that had inspired it (1). In 1588, Henry III. procured the assassination of Guise and his brother, the cardinal of Lorraine. Then seventy doctors of the Sorbonne decided that Henry had forfeited his crown, and Pope Sixtus V. having excommunicated him, the wretched prince openly threw himself into the arms of his Huguenot friends and of Henry of Navarre, who began a siege of Paris. In 1589 Henry III. was assassinated by Clement, a fanatical friar, instigated by Mme. de Montpensier, a sister of the murdered Guise (2). Six months before this event, Cath-

(1) BERAULT-BERCASTEL; vol. X., p. 234.—MAZAS; vol. II., p. 459.—FELLER; art. *Henry III.*

(2) "Chateaubriand, with more imagination than proper spirit of criticism, and allowing himself to be attracted by a fortuitous similarity of numbers, instituted a parallel between the three Valois, the three Stuarts, and three of the Bourbons. Chateaubriand paid too much honor to the Valois, and did a grave injury to the Bourbons. In reality, the Stuarts paid with their heads or their crowns for their blindness, and for their non-recognition of the legitimate needs of their subjects; the Bourbons strove seriously to reconcile historical tra-

arine dei Medici had preceded her son to the grave; and as Pierre de l'Estoile brutally but truthfully said, "She who had been styled the Juno of the court had no sooner taken her last breath, than men cared no more for her than for a dead goat." Civil war and all its accompaniments again desolated France until the conversion of Henry IV. in 1593. The celebrated Edict of Nantes, of which we shall treat when we approach the matter of its revocation, was issued by Henry IV. in 1598, the parliaments registering it with a clause added by themselves, to the effect that future monarchs would be free to revoke the instrument, if they should deem such action conducive to the good of Church and State. This Edict placed the Protestants on nearly the same footing as the Catholics; the only preference accorded the latter being that their worship could be publicly exercised everywhere, whereas the former could worship publicly only in certain districts. The Catholic worship was to be restored wherever it had been abolished; restitution of all ecclesiastical property stolen by the Huguenots was to be made; freedom of conscience was restored to all; Protestants were to be eligible to all offices. Two documents, also signed by Henry IV., were joined to the Edict. By the first, his Majesty promised to pay an annual sum of 140,000 livres toward the support of the Calvinist ministers. By the second, he engaged to entrust the Huguenots, for eight years, with the garrisoning of all the places that they then occupied; the sovereign was to pay these garrisons and to appoint Calvinist governors. Among these places thus rendered practically independent were La Rochelle and Montauban, destined to become the last centres of Huguenot arrogance and rebellion. But the Calvinists refused to abide by their engagements, and it required a long and sanguinary struggle to ensure the enforcement of that

dition with the revolutionary exigencies, and the guillotine or exile punished them for not having accomplished a labor of Hercules; but the three last Valois knew nothing about France, wished and tried nothing for France, and did nothing for France. When public opinion emitted its indecisive and obstreperous voice, the Valois neither obeyed nor commanded; and therefore they were fatal for both liberty and authority. A century of efforts had with difficulty given to loyalty an ascendancy over a turbulent nobility; and in thirty years the work was so nearly annihilated, that it required seventy-two years of the genius of Henry IV., Richelieu, and Mazarin, to restore it, and to furnish the young Louis XIV. with a crown which was respected, and a sceptre which meant power." PELLISSIER: *loc. cit.*, p. 244.

article of the Edict of Nantes which stipulated for the restoration of the stolen churches and for the freedom of Catholic worship. In 1685, Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes, and until the Revolution of 1789 the public exercise of the "Reformed" worship was thereafter forbidden in France.

Historical and religious prejudice too frequently represents the early Protestants of France as members of a purely religious sect, desirous of but one thing—a respectful toleration of their mode of worshipping the Almighty and Eternal God. Race prejudice also leads many to ignore the political and social side of the struggle between ancient tradition and their real or presumed ancestors of the sixteenth century; once at least in every year our ears are deafened by praises of the lamblike innocence of the original Huguenots, as sounded by persons, the French or Dutch smack of whose names is asserted in proof of their presumed glorious genealogical claims. At every reunion of our American Huguenot Societies a cry is raised in deprecation of the cruelties which French Catholics are said to have perpetrated in the name of the God of Peace; but not a word is ever uttered concerning the atrocities committed by a rebellious faction, or of the agony experienced by a nation which was compelled to witness the violation of all the human and divine laws which it had venerated for more than ten centuries. On these occasions much is naturally said of St. Bartholomew's Day; and when we come to treat of that sad episode, we also shall utter some bitter words of condemnation. But here we would remind our Protestant friends of a fact which they are prone to forget, but which the coryphees of the Reformation thoroughly realized. The men of the sixteenth century, whether orthodox or heretical, had no conception of two contrary religious systems mutually tolerant; that is a modern idea. To a man of that day, Christianity was not a mere fashion of worship; it was a truth, the very word of God, the soul of the social order. Two words of God, two souls of the social order, the man of the sixteenth century could not perceive; and hence it was that when the innovators insisted that the traditional Christianity was a mass of superstition and a foul idolatry, they felt it to be their mis-

sion to subvert an edifice which "reeked with slime." That mission they undertook ; but they acted with fire and sword, not as envoys of the God of Peace. We have not the will, even though our space permitted, to give many details of the Huguenot procedures against all that was weak, noble, and sacred ; we hesitate to narrate many instances of the bestial fury of the Calvinists against priests and women, and to depict all the monstrously obscene tortures which their diabolical malice invented. But since these pages may be perused by some whose ideas on this matter have been drawn from such authorities as the *Calvinist Martyrology*, we would submit for their consideration a very few of the features which characterized the birth of what French revolutionists regard as the forerunner of their modern "liberties." In 1587, while the contest between Catholicism and "the religion" was still raging, there was published at Antwerp a work entitled *A Spectacle of the Cruelties of the Heretics of Our Time* (1); and its details are given with a minuteness as to time, place, and personalities, which would have rendered fraud easily detectable. According to this work, the heretics of the city of Angouleme, in the presence of Gaspard de Coligny and his entire suite, after having sworn to preserve the peace, hung to death Michael Grellet, a Franciscan, amid shouts of : "*Vive l'Évangile !*" Then they massacred another friar, John Viroleau, after having mutilated him—*præcisus prius pudendis*. In the same city, Friar John Avril, an octogenarian, was despatched with a hatchet, and his corpse was thrown into a sewer ; while Friar Peter Bonneau was hung outside the walls. In the residence of one Papin, also in Angouleme, thirty Catholics, chained in pairs, were left to starve, the murderers hoping that their agonies would force them to kill and devour each other ; but afterward, some of these unfortunates were put out of their misery by slow fires which were kindled under them. In the city of Montbrun, some of the Huguenot garrison often took their meals at the house of a widow, named Marendat ; and one day, they threw her on her bed, and applied heated knife-blades to the soles of her feet,

(1) *Theatrum Crudelitatum Hæreticorum Nostri Temporis* (Antwerpæ, apud Adrianum Huberti, 1587).

finally stripping the flesh from her limbs in fillets. Master John Arnould, a lieutenant-general, taken prisoner when Angouleme was captured, was mutilated and strangled; and on the same occasion, the sexagenarian widow of an officer was dragged by the hair through the city. At Chasseneuil a priest named Fayard was seized, his hands steeped in boiling oil until the flesh dropped off, and the liquid was then poured down his throat. Another priest, Colin Guillebaut, vicar of Saint-Auzanne, suffered that species of mutilation in which the Huguenots so delighted in the case of his order—*absectis pudendis*; and then he was murdered with boiling oil. Simon Sicot, vicar of Saint-Hilaire de Montiers, a sexagenarian, was forced to buy his life with a heavy ransom; and then, as he was on his way to his parsonage, a Huguenot tore out his eyes and his tongue. Master Peter, parish-priest of Beaulieu, was buried up to the head, and left to die. Arnold Durandean, vicar of Fleix, eighty years old, was strangled; and a Franciscan of that place was thrown from the walls. Octavian Ronier, vicar of Saint-Cybard d'Angouleme, had horse-shoes nailed to his bare feet before he was killed. Francis Raboteau, vicar of Fouquebrune, was dragged from the yoke of a pair of oxen, and during the journey was scourged until he died. By order of an officer named Piles, the surgeon Philip Dumont, and the merchant Nicholas Guirée, were tied to a tree, and were pierced by arrows; loudly proclaiming themselves Catholics until they died. All these cases occurred in the diocese of Angouleme; and we are assured that in that diocese, during two years, 120 persons of every age, sex, and condition, suffered martyrdom. In Houdan, in the diocese of Chartres, a priest was compelled to celebrate Mass amid the derisions of the Huguenots, and while many struck him with their gauntlets, and others pricked him with their daggers. With his face and entire body bathed in his blood, the martyr continued the Sacrifice; but when the moment of Communion had arrived, the murderers threw the Sacred Host to the pavement, and crushed it to atoms under their mailed feet. They then performed similar sacrilege with the precious Blood; and finally, they crucified the celebrant, mercifully ending his tortures with their arquebuses.

In the burg of Fleurus, near Sainte-Menehould, the troops of the Sieur de Béthune lacerated a priest with horse-whips; but his death was caused by the much admired mutilation—*prudens amputatis*, the work being done by the surgeon of the squadron, who boasted that he had already served sixteen priests in the same manner. In the village of Pat, about seven miles from Orleans, twenty-five Catholics, pursued by Huguenots, took refuge in the steeple of a church; but fire was applied, and all perished in the flames. In the same village, several priests were dragged to death at the tails of horses. At Saint-Macaire, in Gascony, the abdomens of several priests were opened; and their bowels were taken out by degrees, being rolled around a staff. Here also several priests were buried alive, and many Catholic children cut into pieces. At Bazas, in Gascony, while Ducasse was governing the place in the name of the king of Navarre, his soldiers violated a widow; and then, having filled her matrix with powder, they blew her body to pieces (1). The captain de Gohas, the lord of Sainte-Colombe, and a large number of other nobles, having capitulated to the count of Montgommery, that Calvinist gentleman received their ransom, and then invited them to dinner, saying that he “must treat them as friends.” When they had retired to their couches about midnight, he sent his men to their rooms, and all were murdered. The reader is probably familiar with Briquemant’s necklace, which was composed of ears of slaughtered priests; but that was not an isolated case, many priests having lost their ears while officiating at the altar. At Nîmes, in Languedoc, many priests who had not died from their wounds were thrown alive into a deep well. James Souris, who bore the title of admiral for Queen Jeanne d’Albret of Navarre, captured a Portuguese ship which was bearing forty Jesuits to the pagans of Brazil; and after having chopped off either their arms or legs, he pitched all the missionaries into the sea. But the horrible monotony of these scenes warns us to drop the curtain. Protestants can indicate many juridical executions for heresy and attendant

(1) “*Milites ejus duo stupratæ viduæ et resupinatæ verendas partes pulvere tormentario replerunt, quamobrem admoto igne disruptus venter et diffusa viscera sunt.*”

crimes, enforced by Catholics according to the laws of the time ; but the persecutions by the Huguenots were not only unauthorized by proper authority, but they exceeded in horror, not only those by pagan China and Japan, but even those enforced by Protestant England.

We shall have more to say about the events which accompanied the attempt to Protestantize the Land of the Lilies, when we treat of Pope Sixtus V., of Henry IV., of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, and of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Now we shall merely remark, in conclusion of this dissertation on the first efforts of Calvinism to found a French National Church, that there were both political and moral reasons for the failure of a design which succeeded in Scandinavia, in Germany and Switzerland, in England, and in the Low Countries. The "liberal" principles of the Reformation may have had attractions for a few, so long as the matter remained in the clouds of theory ; but when a descent into practical life demonstrated the real despotism of Protestant doctrine, and its tendency to social destruction and communism, there was no danger of its becoming popular. By the mass of the people, Protestantism came to be regarded as unrefined, ferocious, and sacrilegious. As we have already observed, royalty in France had few temptations to favor the Reformation. The most that this movement could promise it was the disposal of ecclesiastical dignities ; and the Concordat of Leo X. had already placed nearly all benefices in the royal hands. Royalty had experienced too much difficulty in subduing feudal independence, to willingly furnish an arm like the Protestant idea of freedom of word and deed to men like Dubourg, Coligny, and d'Aubigné. As to the world of thought in France, it was represented by the Universities, and all of these were traditionally hostile to novelty. "But if the Reformation failed to destroy the religious unity of the French nation, nevertheless it started in the moral world a fermentation which was dangerous to the happiness, glory, and morality of France. The personal conflicts of the nobles, the sterile agitations of the cities and the rural districts, the popular insurrections, and the numerous pillages and assassinations, all these gave a taste for disorder and anarchy.

So much for the practical ; but in theory, the evil was graver, deeper, more incurable. In order to attract the crowd, the Reformers had drawn from the *Voluntary Servitude* of Boetius, from the *Franco-Gallia* of Hotmann, from the *Pleas Against Tyrants* of Hubert Longuet, certain principles concerning the sovereignty of reason, from which the spirit of the Revolution issued. Here is a morsel. 'Magistrates are not to be obeyed when they command irreligious or wicked things ; and this means that they must not be obeyed when they order that to which one cannot submit without violating his vocation, whether public or private.' Here is another : 'Instead of excommunicating tyrannicides, the ancients raised altars to them.' And hear this one : 'The people may at any time depose their king, and choose another.' As an antidote against the passionate application of such principles, there can be only respect for a superior authority, that of God ; but the revolutionary spirit places man above God, makes him God, regarding God as an obsolete word, and consequently leaving nothing for the world but the brutal caprice of force" (1).

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY.*

"*Excidat illa dies ævo, nec postera credant sæcula.*—Let this day be lost from time, and let posterity ignore the event." Whether these words of Statius were applied to this fatal day by the chancellor de l'Hopital, as Voltaire asserts, or by the president de Thou, as some contend, no Catholic will refuse to re-echo them ; but, if well informed, he will not deem himself obliged to add with the poet, "*Nos certe taceamus.*" And nevertheless, it is comparatively but a short time since Catholic polemics essayed to answer the allegations of Protestant writers concerning this event, so fearful were they lest they might be suspected of a wish to apologize for a horrible crime. We hear much of La Barthélemy ; but nothing of La Michelade, that frightful massacre at Nîmes on St.

(1) PELLISSIER ; *loc. cit.*, page 275.

* Most of this chapter appeared as an article in the *Are Maria*, vol. XXXIII.

Michael's Day of 1567, when the Protestants anticipated by more than two centuries the horrors of the Carmes and of the Abbaye (September 2, 1792). Now we propose to demonstrate, firstly, that religion had nothing to do with this massacre; secondly, that it was a matter of mere worldly policy; thirdly, that it was not intended that it should extend beyond Paris; fourthly, that it was not long premeditated, but was the effect of impulse; and fifthly, that the number of its victims has been enormously exaggerated. But before we enter upon this task, we must devote some attention to an alleged fact which is presented by most Protestant historians as intimately connected with the massacre—having been, they assert, part and parcel of the original plan.

They who have derived their knowledge of French history from the charming pages of the elder Dumas, or who have been sufficiently distrustful of such sources of historical information as to recur to the rank and file of English Protestant historians, or perhaps even to consult the more respectable works of Sismondi, d'Aubigné, and Henri Martin, are now impressed with the idea that the idol of the Huguenots, Queen Jane d'Albret of Navarre, was murdered by order of Queen Catharine dei Medici, shortly before the Barthélemy. Sismondi says: "Master René, one of Catharine's creatures and a Florentine perfumer, tendered his services to the queen, promising to rid her of Jane d'Albret by poisoning her with perfumery. It is said that the poison was administered by means of scented gloves, and that she died four days afterward. The king expressed a pretended grief with much ostentation, and in order that so sudden a death might not excite suspicion, he commanded that the corpse should be opened; *but care was taken that the brain, the sole organ which was affected by the poison*, should not be examined. René, the perfumer, who distinguished himself afterward among the perpetrators of the Barthélemy, boasted at that time of the deed he had performed" (1). Henri Martin, willing though he is to receive this yarn as gospel-truth, hesitatingly avows that "Even the historians who speak of the poisoning

(1) *History of the French*, edit. 1835, vol. XIX., p. 140.

admit that the patient had a disease of the chest" (1). And the same Martin admits that Jane, writing to her son (2), says that she fears that she will have, ere long, a severe illness, since she is far from well even now (some weeks before the alleged poisoning). Guizot is willing to admit that the death of Queen Jane gave occasion to accusations which were *probably unfounded* (3). We shall show that the austere Guizot should have said that the charge was *certainly* unfounded. Of course d'Aubigné, whose work (4) is at best a woeful exaggeration whenever he speaks of the French so-called religious wars, helped to propagate this story. Just like Sismondi, the historians Serres and Mezeray are particular in noting the alleged care of Charles IX. in preventing any examination of the brain of the supposed victim. Now all of these writers have simply copied the assertion of Etienne, the author of an obscene libel against Catharine dei Medici (5); and the reader will remember that the great Mezeray often avowed to his friends that when preparing his *History*, he had examined no original documents (6). De Thou treats the matter as dubious (7).

In refutation of this accusation against Catharine dei Medici and her son Charles IX., we might cite the *Journal* of Claude Regin, one of the counsellors of Jane d'Albret, a document which is generally regarded as a faithful and exact narrative of the life of the author's sovereign, and which gives no inkling of a rumor of empoisonment, but simply states that the queen of Navarre died on June 9, having contracted a pleurisy on the 6th. But we draw the reader's attention to the words of Palma Cayet, who, as a Calvinist minister, had been one of the suite of Catharine de Bourbon, sister of Henry IV.; and who expressly states that they lied who declared that the brain of Queen Jane had not been examined, lest the murder should have been proved. "What lies and impostures! There are still living (in 1608) several

(1) *History of France*, edit. 1857, vol. IX., p. 297.

(2) *Bulletin of the Society for the History of France* (1838), vol. II., no. 5.

(3) *History of France Narrated to My Grandchildren*, 1874, vol. III., p. 337.

(4) *Universal History*, vol. II., b. I., ch. ii.

(5) *A Marvellous Narrative of the Life of Queen Catharine dei Medici*, 1574.

(6) So says Huet, the celebrated bishop of Avranches.

(7) *Histories*, b. XL.

of the household officers of that queen, who were also members of the pretendedly reformed religion, and were present at the examination made of her body by the surgeon Desneux, assisted by Caillart, her physician-in-ordinary. These officers know that those learned physicians and surgeons found that the death was due to an aposteme in the lungs, which had burst. And they know, also, that Caillart said to them: ‘Gentlemen, you are all aware that the late queen, our royal mistress, often ordered me, in case I should be with her when she came to die, to have no hesitation in opening her body, so that it might be known what had caused the trouble in the upper part of her head with which she was ordinarily afflicted, and so that if the same malady should ever afflict the prince, her son, and the princess, her daughter, a remedy might be applied.’ *Then Desneux saved open the skull*, and all saw that the queen’s pain in the head had been caused by certain small water pimples which had formed between the skull and the film of the brain. Then looking fixedly at them all, Desneux said: ‘Gentlemen, if the queen’s death had been caused by smelling some poison, there would be evidence of it on the film of the brain; *but you see that the brain is as free as any one could wish*. And again, if her Majesty had died from poison taken into the stomach, signs of its presence would be seen in the stomach; but there are none. *Therefore her death has been caused by the aposteme in the lungs*’” (1). Four years after Palma Cayet wrote this narrative, Andrew Favyn, who had been a preceptor of Henry IV. and in the suite of his sister, corroborated the testimony (2). It is refreshing to note that Voltaire, in one of those lucid moments when the truth conquered the prejudices of the philosophaster, rejects the Huguenot tale: “Jane d’Albret died after five days of a malignant fever. There was reason to suspect that her death was due to poison, when one considered the time of its occurrence, as well as the massacres which followed it, the fear of her courage felt by the court, and the fact that her illness began after her purchase of some scented gloves and collars from a perfumer

(1) *History of the War under Henry IV.*, by Palma Cayet, Paris, 1608.

(2) In his *History of Navarre*, b. XIV.

named René who had come from Florence with the queen (Catharine), and who was thought to be a professional poisoner. It was even asserted that René had boasted of his crime. ... In his great *History* Mezeray appears to favor this opinion, when he says that the physicians did not touch the head when they opened the queen's body. ... It is but proper to mistrust the notions which always attribute the deaths of the great to other than natural causes. The people, thinking always shallowly, lay the death of a prince at the door of those to whom the death would be a gain. Such wild suspicions prompted the accusation that Catharine dei Medici caused the murder of her own children; but there were never any proofs that either these princes or Jane d'Albret died of poison. It is not true, as Mezeray pretends, that the skull of the queen of Navarre was not opened; she herself had ordered expressly that the brain should be carefully examined, after her death. ... And it is noteworthy that *they who opened it were Huguenots; and certainly they would have spoken of poison, had there been any probability of its presence.* We may be told that these surgeons were bribed by the court; but we know that Desneux, the body-physician of Jane d'Albret, was a fierce Huguenot, and that afterward he wrote savage diatribes against the court—which he would not have written, had he been bought—and in these libels he never asserted that Jane d'Albret had been murdered. Finally, it is incredible that so able a person as Catharine dei Medici would have entrusted such a task to a miserable perfumer who, as they say he did, would be capable of bragging about his deed" (1).

I.

Religion had nothing to do with this massacre. In this matter historians have erred in espousing the cause of either Protestants or Catholics. To use the words of Cantù, "Varrillas and Voltaire, equally unjust, have provoked the judgment of impartial posterity, which weighs them in the same scale, and which sees on both sides swords dripping with blood; recognizing in this deadly struggle not the crimes of

(1) In a Note to the Chant II. of his *Henriade*, dated 1723.

a sect or the follies of a court or the instigations of fanaticism, but the constant passions of humanity." In the first place, one would be led to suspect that zeal for the Catholic faith was not the motive for the Barthélemy, from the fact that many Catholics were numbered among the victims, having succumbed to personal hate or to avarice. "The possession of wealth," says Mézeray, "an envied position, or the existence of greedy heirs, stamped a man as a Huguenot." The governor of Bordeaux systematically ransomed wealthy Catholics, as well as Protestants. And we must not forget that the characters of Catharine dei Medici and of her son, Charles IX., were not exactly those of zealots in the cause of the faith. Hearken to the critical and impartial opinion of Cantù on the celebrated queen of France. "Catharine dei Medici, a woman on whom weighs all the hatred of the French, who saw incarnated in her Italian cunning and ferocity, calculated corruption, cold cruelty, and an egotistic policy, had been raised among the factions of Tuscany; married for policy, unloved by a husband who preferred his mistress to her; suddenly exalted above her long debasement; beautiful, majestic, in the vigor of life; instructed by misfortune, irritated by humiliation; absolutely ruling, yet loved by her children; unequalled in the art of fascinating the souls of men. She did not study the good of a kingdom to which she was foreign, nor the preservation of a faith which she had not in her heart, but only her own power. Nevertheless, she preserved France from falling to pieces, or from succumbing to a tyranny which afflicted Spain. She always wore the widow's weeds; and although she tolerated immorality in others, not even the calumnious Brantôme ever reproaches her on this score. She was so little hostile to the reformed doctrines that during her meals she often listened to Calvinist sermons. (See Letter of the Nuncio Santa Croce, November 13, 1561.) But since Philip II., the great enemy of France, was head of the Catholic party, France should be allied with the Protestants—a policy adopted, in fact, by the last few French monarchs. But the Calvinists ceased to be a school, and became a dangerous faction; hence Catharine felt that she could save the country only by siding with the

Catholic majority. Although she hated the Guises, she joined hands with them to supplant the constable Anne and Diana. The latter was banished; Anne went over to the Bourbons; the king of Navarre received a cool treatment which his weakness deserved, and the Guises obtained the highest posts" (1). Certainly zeal for religion could not have been the impelling motive of the massacre, in the mind of a woman who caused the sermons of Calvinist preachers to be read to her while she was taking her meals—of a woman who, as Cantù elsewhere admits, would have declared herself a Protestant, had such a course been dictated by her desire to recover power. But there is more than mere suspicion to warrant the assertion that religious zeal was not the prime motive of La Barthélemy. The motive which impelled the murderers is revealed by the Calvinists themselves in their own historico-religious text-book, their discursive but mendacious *Martyrology*, the author of which often unwittingly furnishes us with facts which completely neutralize the effects of his venom. He informs us that the perpetrators of the massacre, in their joy of success, would show the corpses of their victims, saying, "These are they who would have killed the king." And "the courtiers laughed exultantly, saying that at length the war was ended, and they could live in peace." The same author tells us that after the massacre, "the parliament of Toulouse published the will of the king that no one should molest those of the religion, but should rather favor them"; and we know that on August 26 a similar edict was issued in Paris. Again, Charles IX. needed no religious motive to render him furious against the Huguenots. They had plotted to kidnap him; they had drawn entire provinces into rebellion, and they had introduced foreign troops into France. Not content, as presumed apostles of religious liberty, with calling upon the king to "exterminate idolatry and to pull down the images of Christ"; with insisting upon his abandonment of "the impious, the besotted firebrands of purgatory"; the Huguenots had subjected France to disorders such as had not been seen since the fourteenth century, during the insanity of Charles

(1) *Universal History*, b. XV.

VL. Among other proceedings which were odious to Frenchmen, the Huguenots had summoned the aid of the foreigner who, as Lanoue said, "was wriggling to enter France;" Coligny maintained himself in Normandy only by the gold of Elizabeth, and at the battle of Dreux the misguided Condé had vainly availed himself of German troops. In 1563, the Calvinists had so far succeeded in enamoring the peasants with the worldly profitableness of Protestantism, that the rustics began to refuse to pay taxes. "Show us," they pleaded, "a page of the Bible wherein we are taught to pay taxes; we are not asses, even though our ancestors were." At the Peace of Amboise, the queen-mother had been forced to sell large pieces of church property in order to pay the German dragoons of Condé. In fine, after the murder of Francis de Guise, the Huguenots had so thoroughly abolished the authority of Charles IX. in the south of France, that Condé alone played the king, confiscating, endowing, negotiating with foreign sovereigns, and coining money which bore his own effigy with the inscription, "Louis XIII., First Christian King of France." Were not these things sufficient to enrage Charles IX. against the Huguenots?

But it is said that Roman cardinals prepared the massacre; the names of Birague and De Retz are mentioned. The Roman purple is easily cleared of this stain. The former prelate was made a cardinal six, and the latter fifteen years after the Barthélemy. The poet Chenier, of the school of Voltaire, represents, on the operatic stage, the cardinal of Lorraine as blessing the poniards destined for the massacre; but at that time this prelate was in Rome, having been one of the Conclave which had chosen a successor to St. Pius V. Perhaps the reader is one of those who have been deeply impressed by the libretto of Scribe, furnished by that clever manipulator of historical facts in the service of the operatic stage, to Meyerbeer's grand but mendacious opera of *The Huguenots*. The chief scenes of this libretto are taken from the famous play of *Charles IX.* written by Chenier, and first presented in that disastrous year 1789 on the stage of the Théâtre-Français. This play of Chenier effected more for the diffusion of false ideas concerning the Barthélemy than

had been effected by the lies of Etienne, L'Etoile, and Voltaire. In his *Dedictory Epistle to the French Nation*, Chenier tells his audience that now, before the Revolution, he has conceived and written a tragedy which the Revolution alone can represent, and then he says : "Those whom our Revolution opposes, and who even now lift their heads with an audacity which is too ridiculous, think that it is atrocious to lay the Barthélemy before the eyes of the French people. But Voltaire, whose authority is as great as theirs is miserable, delineated this grand and terrible subject, and predicted the *happy days* which would witness its presentation on our national stage." Then the poet's madness causes him to thus apostrophize the unfortunate monarch who has already begun to hear the clamors which are to accompany him to the guillotine. 'Louis XVI., come to the theatre of the nation, when *Charles IX.* is represented ! You will hear the plaudits of the French ; you will see their torrents of *tears of tenderness* ; and the *author-patriot* will gather the best fruit of his labor." Scribe followed the example of Chenier when, in the Act IV. of *The Huguenots*, he concocted the famous scene of the blessing of the daggers. Chenier thus excuses his falsification of history in a matter of great importance. "At the time of the massacre, the cardinal of Lorraine was in Rome. I do not think that it is right to change history ; but I think it is allowable, in an historical tragedy, to invent certain incidents, providing that the privilege be used with moderation." And we know what ideas of "moderation" Chenier, like his fellow-revolutionists, possessed and actuated. Under the inspiration of these ideas, he makes the cardinal thus address those who were about to undertake the massacre : "A humble and docile son of the immortal Church, and made a priest of the Living God by her hands, I am able to interpret the divine decrees. If your souls are filled with burning zeal to devote themselves to the interests of heaven without reserve ; if you bring to murder religious hearts ; you will accomplish a tremendous task. Serve well the God of nations, all of whose blessings I now shower upon you. His justice delivers your victims to you. Know that in heaven God now breaks the chain of your iniquities ; by the God who inspires me, I de-

clare the forgiveness of whatsoever crimes you have ever committed. When the Church impressed in my soul her ineffaceable mark, she forbade me to shed even the most guilty blood ; but I shall follow in your path, and in the name of the avenging God I shall direct your blows. Warriors, whom Divine Providence is about to lead ; ministers of justice, chosen by His prudence ; it is now time to accomplish the eternal decrees. Bathe yourselves holily in the blood of the wicked ! If any one of you dies in this great work, God will place in his hands the palm of martyrdom." The verses of Chenier are fine and impressive ; the imitation by Scribe lends force to the music of Meyerbeer ; the ignorant hearer goes home to dream of those sweet and angelic Huguenots so foully murdered by the Church ; and all the ado is made by a lie. Again, much stress is laid upon the conduct of the Roman court when it heard of the catastrophe. Gregory XIII. proceeded processionally to the church of St. Louis, and rendered thanks to Heaven ; he proclaimed a Jubilee, and struck medals commemorative of the event ; and the famous Latinist, Mureto, pronounced an encomium on the slaughter in the presence of the Sovereign Pontiff. But the words of Pope Gregory writing to the king in congratulation for his escape, as well as the words of Mureto, show that the Roman court thanked Almighty God merely for the escape of the royal family from a Huguenot conspiracy.

Finally, throughout France and in Paris itself, the Catholic masses acted on this occasion in a manner which showed that their religion was not a prime agent in the affair. On the very night of the massacre, Charles IX. sent orders to all the governors of provinces and of cities, to take measures to prevent any occurrences like those which had just stained the capital. At Lyons, as even the Calvinist *Martyrology* informs us, many of the Huguenots were sent for safety to the archiepiscopal prison and to the Celestine and Franciscan convents. And if we are told that some of those who were consigned to the archiepiscopal prison fell victims to their enemies, we reply, with the same Calvinist author, that this outrage was committed during the absence and without the knowledge of the governor ; that on his return he put a

stop to it, and offered a reward of a hundred *scudi* for the names of the criminals. This author also tells us that "the Calvinists of Toulouse found safety in the convents." At Lisiens the bishop saved many, as the martyrologist admits (1); and he also says that "the more peaceable Catholics saved forty out of sixty who had been seized at the town of Romans; of the twenty others, thirteen were afterward freed, and only seven perished, they having many enemies, and having borne arms." Even at Nîmes, where the Huguenots had twice massacred the Catholics in cold blood (in 1567 and 1569), the latter abstained from revenge (2). Paris also furnished many examples of compassion. The Calvinist historian, La Popelinière, a contemporary author, records that "among the French nobles who distinguished themselves in saving the lives of many of the confederates, the greatest good was effected by the dukes of Guise, Aumale, Biron, Bellièvre. . . . When the people had been told that the Huguenots, in order to kill the king, had attacked his body-guards and killed over twenty, a further slaughter would have been perpetrated, had not many nobles, content with the death of the leaders, prevented it; even many Italians, armed and mounted, scoured the city and suburbs, and gathered many fortunates into the security of their own houses" (3). In fine, instead of religion having caused this massacre, we may conclude with Count Alfred de Falloux that, considering the state of men's minds at that time, religion alone could have prevented it. "Instead of a court full of intrigues and adulteries, suppose that then there was one influenced by the Gospel; that the law of God guided the powerful; that instead of a Catharine and a Charles IX., there had reigned a Blanche and a St. Louis; in such a case let us ask our consciences whether this slaughter would have been possible" (4).

II.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day was an affair of worldly policy. The Huguenots had certainly been guilty of

(1) Cf. also M. de Falloux, in the *Correspondant* of 1843, pp. 166-168.

(2) MENARD; *Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of Nîmes*; vol. V., p. 9.

(3) *History of France from 1550 to 1557*; edit. 1581; b. XXIV., p. 67.

(4) Discourse at a scientific congress held at Angers in 1843.

high-treason. As to Coligny, the journal of his receipts and expenses, laid before the royal council and the parliament, and his other papers seized after his death, revealed deeds and projects which would have ensured his capital condemnation in any country of Christendom. Concerning these papers Bellièvre said to the deputies of the Thirteen Cantons: "The king learned from them that the admiral had established, in sixteen provinces, governors, military commanders, and a number of counsellors charged with the task of keeping the people armed, and of assembling them together at his first sign." Charles IX. wrote to Schomberg, his ambassador to Germany: "Coligny had more power, and was better obeyed by those of the new religion than I was. By the great authority he had usurped over them, he could raise them in arms against me whenever he wished, as indeed he often proved. Recently he ordered the new religionists to meet in arms at Melun, near Fontainebleau, where I was to be at that time, the third of August. He had arrogated so much power to himself that I could not call myself a king, but merely a ruler of part of my dominions. Therefore, since it has pleased God to deliver me from him, I may well thank Him for the just punishment He has inflicted upon the admiral and his accomplices. I could not tolerate him any longer, and I determined to give rein to a justice which was indeed extraordinary, and other than I would have wished, but which was necessary in the case of such a man" (1). Brantôme, Tavannes, and Montluc, all courtiers of Charles, speak of his fear of Coligny; and Bellièvre says: "His Majesty told some of his servants, myself among the number, that when he found himself so threatened, his hair stood on end." Is it likely that any monarch would tamely submit to such dictation as Coligny uttered? "Make war on Spain, sire, or we wage war against you" (2). Tavannes informs us that the king, while talking about the means at his disposal for a campaign in the Netherlands, said that one of his subjects

(1) VILLEROY; *Memoirs Illustrating the History of Our Time*; vol. IV. The letter to Schomberg is of September 13, 1572.

(2) TAVANNES; *Memoirs from the Year 1530 until his Death, Written by his Son*; Paris, 1574.—The quotations that follow are taken from the *Memoirs of Condé, from the Death of Henry II. to the Troubles of 1565*; vol. IV., p. 303; Paris, 1741.

(Coligny) had offered him ten thousand men for that purpose. Then Tavannes replied : "Sire, you ought to cut off the head of any subject who would use such language. How dare he offer you what is your own ? This is a sign that he has corrupted these men ; that he has gained them over to use them, one day, against your Majesty."

Many Protestant writers are prone to dilate on the virtues of Coligny, but they have not freed him from the imputation of having directed the assassin's blow against Duke Francis of Guise. Not merely by the deposition of the wretched Poltrot, but by the very avowals of the admiral, we are led to regard the latter as the instigator of the crime. In a letter to the queen-mother, he admitted that "for the last five or six months he did not strongly" oppose those who showed a wish to kill the duke ; and he gave as a reason for his non-opposition, that certain persons had tried to kill himself. He did not name these persons in the course of his justification, but said that he "would indicate them at a fitting time." In his answers he admitted that "Poltrot told him that it would be easy to kill the duke of Guise, but that he (Coligny) made no remark, because he deemed this matter frivolous ;" in fact, he "said nothing as to whether he regarded the design as good or evil." In another letter to Catharine, he spoke of the death of the duke as "the greatest benefit that could accrue to the kingdom and to the Church of God, and a personal advantage to the king and to the whole family of Coligny." And finally, his course in claiming the right of prescription, when he fell back on the privileges of the "Edict of Pacification," would not indicate a consciousness of innocence.

III.

It was not intended that the massacre should extend beyond Paris. We learn from Tavannes that the popular fury rendered the massacre general, "to the great regret of its advisers, they having resolved on the death of only the leaders and the factious." They who hold that orders to slaughter the Huguenots had been sent into the provinces, adduce in proof only two letters : one from Viscount d'Or-

thez, governor of Bayonne, to Charles IX.; and one from Catharine to Strozzi, who was watching for an opportunity to surprise La Rochelle, one of the four cities accorded to the Calvinists. Now, there is very good reason for regarding both these letters as unauthentic, and no argument can be urged in their favor. The first letter, whatever some authors may say, is not found in De Thou, not even in the Geneva edition of 1620 ; and this writer's Huguenot proclivities and his aversion to Charles IX. would not have allowed him to overlook it, had he deemed it authentic. It is given only by the malevolent d'Aubigné in these words: "I commence with Bayonne, where a courier arrived with orders to cut in pieces the men, women, and children of Dax, who had sought refuge in the prison. D'Orthez, governor of the frontier, thus replied to the king: 'Sire, I have communicated the order of your Majesty to the inhabitants and soldiers of the garrison ; and have found them to be good citizens and brave warriors, but not executioners. Therefore they and I supplicate your Majesty to employ them in any possible, even though hazardous, matters,'" etc. But the Calvinist "martyrologist" furnishes us with reasons for supposing that no such orders as the above were expedited, either to d'Orthez or to any other governors in the provinces. This author, whose work is a veritable *Lives of the Saints* for French Protestants, says nothing, save in one case, of such instructions: and certainly he was interested in chronicling them, had he known of them. But, on the contrary, he tells us that the murderers "at Orleans resolved to put their hands to the work without any orders from the governor, d'Entragues ;" that those of Bourges "sent Marneil in haste to the court, but he returned bearing no commands ;" that Charles IX. wrote many letters to Bordeaux to the effect that he "had not intended that execution to extend beyond Paris." The exception to which we have alluded is that of Rouen, the governor of which city, says the "martyrologist," received orders "to exterminate those of the religion;" but this assertion is contradicted, by the inactivity of the governor, and by the date of the Rouen murders, which occurred nearly a month after those of Paris.

As for the second letter, that of Catharine to Strozzi, no French contemporary or *quasi*-contemporary historian speaks of it; not even Brantôme, who was then at Brouage with Strozzi; and there are intrinsic arguments for its rejection. It is supposed that six months before the massacre, the queen-mother wrote to Strozzi, enclosed in another to be read at once, a letter which was not to be opened until August 24, the fatal day. In this reserved document Catharine is said to have written: "Strozzi, I inform you that to-day, August 24, the admiral and all the Huguenots here present were killed. I earnestly request you to make yourself master of La Rochelle, and to do as we have done to all the Huguenots who fall into your hands. Beware of backwardness, as you fear to displease the king, my son, and me." Now, he who would regard this letter as genuine must ascribe to Catharine a gift of prophecy such as few of the saints have received. She must have foreseen that Jane d'Albret (1), queen of Navarre, an ardent Huguenot, would consent to the marriage of her son, Henry de Bourbon, with Margaret de Valois. She must have known that Pope St. Pius V., who would not grant the necessary dispensation, would soon die, and that Gregory XIII. would concede it. She must also have seen Coligny and his followers madly confiding in the affectionate disposition of Charles IX.; the admiral ignoring the warnings of the Rochellois and other Huguenots; the crime of Maurevert failing to cause the flight of the future victims; and, finally, the certainty of no imprudence on the part of Strozzi, or perhaps his death, revealing her letter to the Calvinists. We decline, therefore, to accept as authentic either the letter from d'Orthez or that to Strozzi.

In 1579, the Huguenots published at Rheims a pamphlet entitled *A Tocsin against the Murderers and the Authors of Discord in France*; and we read therein a passage which shows that its authors did not accuse Charles IX. of issuing an order for general massacre. "What augments the crime

(1) Jane d'Albret, queen of Navarre, married in 1548 Anthony de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, a lineal descendant of Robert, count of Clermont, son of St. Louis; this latter having married Beatrice, daughter of Archambault de Bourbon. On the death of Anthony, in 1562, Jane embraced Calvinism. Her son, the great Henry of Navarre, becoming Henry IV. of France in 1589, definitively united France and Navarre.

is the fact that the king selected his capital city to shed innocent blood, for which that city already had too great a thirst; and this he did in order that other cities might follow the example." But if an execution *en masse* had been ordered by the court for Aug. 24, and had provoked those many heroic resistances of which we read, in those circumstances such an order could not have remained a secret; and when success had been attained, there would have been no reason for keeping it secret. And if public rumor had charged the king with having commanded a general slaughter, why did not the authors of the *Tocsin* mention the fact, especially since a knowledge of that royal refinement of cruelty would have furthered the attainment of the object for which the pamphlet was written, namely, a coalition of the Protestant sovereigns against France? Finally, since there is no positive proof that the massacre was intended to be general, we may be permitted to suppose that the slaughter in Paris corresponded sufficiently to the views of the court, since it really decapitated the Huguenot party by the removal of its principal leaders.

IV.

The massacre was not the result of long premeditation. The rejection of the aforesaid letters does away with one of the strongest arguments which militate against this position. The contemporary historians, Capilupi, Masson, Tavannes, Castelnau, and others, are said to declare that the massacre was planned at the conference held at Bayonne in 1565, between Catharine and the duke of Alva. But these authors speak only of a general agreement as to mutual aid in extirpating heresy; when any of them mention any sanguinary advice on the part of Alva, it is to be noted that they do not say that he counselled a massacre, but that the Huguenot leaders should be "arrested and executed." Now listen to the testimony of Margaret, sister of Charles IX. In her "Mémoires" she says that the massacre was designed because of the Huguenot resolution to avenge the wounding of Coligny; and that her brother was with difficulty persuaded to consent to it, and only when "he had been made to re-

alize that otherwise his crown and life were lost." Then we have the testimony of the duke d'Anjou, the king's brother, drawn from a MS. of the Royal Library by Cavairac. This prince had been elected king of Poland in 1573, and while on his way thither he was often insulted by Huguenot refugees. He was so affected by their curses that he could not sleep, and on one occasion the horrors of St. Bartholomew's Day so oppressed him that he summoned his physician and favorite, Miron, that he might relieve his mind. Then the duke detailed all the circumstances of the massacre, and plainly showed that it was a sudden conception. We give a synopsis of this testimony. "I have called you," said the prince to Miron, "to share my restlessness, which is caused by my remembrance of the Barthélemy, concerning which event perhaps you have never heard the truth." Then the duke narrated how he and the queen-mother had observed that Coligny had prejudiced the king's mind against them; that when, after any audience accorded to the admiral, they approached his Majesty, "to speak of business or even of his own pleasures, they would find his countenance most forbidding," and he would show no respect to his mother and no kindness to Anjou. One day the prince approached the monarch just as Coligny had withdrawn; and Charles would not speak to him, but walked furiously up and down with his hand upon his dagger, looking askance at the prince, so that the latter feared for his life, "and deemed himself lucky to get safely out of the room." Anjou now consulted Catharine, and "they resolved to rid themselves of the admiral." They took Mme. de Nemours into their confidence, "on account of her hatred for Coligny;" and they sent at once for a certain Gascon captain, but did not make use of him, because he assured them too readily of his good-will, "and without any reservation of persons." Then they thought of Maurevert, as "one experienced in assassination;" but they could influence him only by representing that the admiral was bent on avenging the death of Moul, whom Maurevert had lately murdered. Mme. de Nemours put one of her houses at their disposal; and when the attempt failed, "they were compelled to look to their own safety." When Charles wished to see the ad-

miral, they determined to be present at the interview; and the wounded man having been admitted to a private conference with the king, "they retired to a distance, and became very suspicious, especially since they saw themselves in the midst of over two hundred of the admiral's followers, who, with ferocious countenances, constantly passed them with little show of respect." Catharine soon put an end to the colloquy under the specious pretext of care for Coligny's health, and then tried to learn from her son the purport of the admiral's remarks. At first Charles refused; but, being pressed, he swore "by death," and brusquely declared that "all Coligny had said was true," and that he had reproached the king with being a mere cipher in the hands of his mother. "This touched them to the quick," and the queen-mother "feared some change in the government of the kingdom;" but "for some hours they could come to no determination." The next day Anjou and his mother deliberated "as to the means of getting rid of the admiral." After dinner they waited on Charles, and Catharine "told the king that the Huguenots were rising in arms; that the leaders were enrolling troops in the provinces; that Coligny had procured ten thousand cavalry from Germany and as many Swiss; that these dangers could be obviated only by the death of the admiral and of the chief leaders of the Huguenot faction." Tavannes, Birague, and Nevers corroborated these assertions; and the king "became furious, but nevertheless would not at first hear of any injury to Coligny." He asked each one for his individual opinion; and all agreed with Catharine "except the marshal de Retz, who deceived our hopes," saying that "if any one ought to hate the admiral, he was one, since Coligny had defamed his race throughout Europe; but that he would not revenge himself by means dishonorable to the king and country." But no one seconded De Retz, and "we soon observed a sudden change in the king." The rest of the day was devoted to the details of the terrible enterprise. Guise was entrusted with the death of Coligny. Toward the dawn of day, the king, Catharine, and Anjou were standing at a window, when they heard the report of a pistol, and fell back in horror. They

sent to revoke the order given to Guise, but it was too late (1).

Such, according to the duke of Anjou, is the inner history of the Barthélemy; and although the prince was brother to Charles IX., we hold that his testimony is valuable. No one will deny that he knew all the circumstances of the massacre; and what had he to gain by deceiving Miron? Certainly not self-justification; for he painted himself in the darkest colors. And he could not have wished to conciliate the Poles, his future subjects; for Miron could not effect such conciliation; and, again, the Polish representatives had already shown by their unanimous vote that such a course was superfluous. And now to the testimonies of Margaret and Henry de Valois add those of three celebrated contemporary historians—the hostile Brantôme, the Protestant La Popelinière, and Mathieu. Brantôme, when treating of Catharine dei Medici, says of Coligny's aspersions against that queen: "Behold the cause of his death, and of that of his followers, as I learned it from those who knew it well; although many believe that the fuse was laid sometime previous to the catastrophe." La Popelinière gives the arguments for and against the supposition of premeditation, and inclines to the latter view. Mathieu says that he understood from Henry IV. that Catharine informed Villeroy, her confidant, that the massacre was unpremeditated. And it may be observed with Cavairac that, if long prepared, this tragedy would have been executed simultaneously, or nearly so, throughout France; and most Protestants believe that it was so effected. But at Meaux the slaughter happened on August 25, at La Charité on the 26th, at Orleans on the 27th, at Saumur and Angers on the 29th, at Lyons on the 30th, at Troyes on September 2, at Bruges on the 14th, at Rouen on the 17th, at Romans on the 20th, at Toulouse on the 25th, at Bordeaux not until October 23. Finally, no one has charged the Machiavellian queen-mother with a want of dexterity in executing a plan, or with a proneness to forget circumstances which would interfere with its actuation. But if the massacre was the result of a long deliberated plot, Catharine erred sadly by procuring the assassination of Coligny before the

(1) CAVAIRAC; *Dissertation on St. Bartholomew's Day*; 1758.

moment destined for the grand and general stroke. She should have dreaded lest the fate of the admiral would precipitate a flight of all the Huguenots out of Paris, and not improbably their general recourse to arms.

But in reply to all the proofs of the non-premeditation of the massacre, it has been alleged that Sir Henry Austin Layard, president of the London Huguenot Society, discovered facts which caused him to come to the conclusion that "there cannot be a doubt that Pius V. had instigated Charles and the queen-mother to exterminate the Huguenots, and that Salviati had been instructed to press the matter upon them." Thus says the Hon. John Jay, addressing the American Huguenot Society in its annual meeting on April 13, 1888. But long before Layard was heard of, Lingard had investigated the real connection of the nuncio Salviati with the massacre, and had judged that the event was not premeditated. While Chateaubriand was ambassador at the papal court (1828-30) he procured a copy of the correspondence of Pope Gregory XIII. with his nuncio Salviati, and sent it to Mackintosh, who used it in his *History of England*. This correspondence proves that at the time of the massacre Salviati knew nothing of the designs of the French court. We transcribe Lingard's synopsis of these letters: "On August 24 he (Salviati) wrote an account of the occurrence in ordinary characters (evidently under the notion that in such circumstances his despatch would probably be intercepted and opened on the road): but to this he added another and real statement of the case in cipher: that the queen-regent, in consequence of the ascendancy which gave to Coligny in a manner the government of the kingdom (*quasi governava*), consulted with the duchess of Nemours, and resolved to rid herself of his control by the assassination of the admiral. The duke of Guise provided the assassin; the duke of Anjou, but not the king, was privy to the attempt. The queen, however, when she saw that the admiral would not die of his wound, and considered the danger to which she was now exposed; alarmed also by her own consciousness, and by the threatening speeches of the whole body of the Huguenots, who would not believe that the arquebuse had been dis-

charged by an assassin employed by the duke of Alva, as she had persuaded herself that she could make them believe ; had recourse to the king, and exhorted him to adopt the plan of the general (1) massacre which followed. It appears that the cardinal-secretary, in his answer to this despatch, probably on account of the different reports current in Rome, put to the nuncio several questions respecting the cause, the authors, and the circumstances of the massacre. Salviati, in reply, wrote two notes on September 22. In the first he says : ' With regard to the three points: 1) who it was that caused, and for what reason that person caused, the arquebuse to be discharged at the admiral ; 2) and who it was to whom the subsequent resolution of so numerous a massacre must be ascribed ; 3) and who were the executors of the massacre, with the names of the principal leaders ; I know that I have already sent you an account, and that in that account I have not fallen into the least error. If I have omitted to mention some other particulars, the chief reason is the difficulty of coming at the truth in this country.' This passage was written in ordinary characters ; but he wrote the same day in cipher the following repetition of his former statement : ' Time will show whether there be any truth in all the other accounts which you may have read, of the wounding and death of the admiral, that differ from what I wrote to you. The queen-regent having grown jealous of him, came to a resolution *a few days before*, and caused the arquebuse to be discharged at him *without the knowledge of the king*, but with the participation of the duke of Anjou, of the duchess of Nemours, and of her son, the duke of Guise. Had he died immediately, no one else would have perished. But he did not die, and they began to expect some great evil ; wherefore, closeting themselves in consultation with the king, they determined to throw shame aside, and to cause him (Coligny) to be assassinated with the others ; a determination which was carried into execution that very night.' Evidence more satisfactory than this we cannot desire, if we consider the situation of the writer, the object for which he wrote, and the

(1) The words of Salviati do not necessarily imply, as Lingard would infer, that the slaughter was to be " general."

time and opportunity which he possessed of correcting any error which might have crept into his previous communication ; and from this evidence it plainly follows that the general massacre was not originally contemplated, but grew out of the unexpected failure of the attempt already made on the life of the admiral."

Mr. Jay introduces his arguments under the auspices of Lord Acton, whom he carefully notes as "a very distinguished Roman Catholic historian, who so admirably represents the honorable members of that faith who reject the doctrines and methods of the Jesuits." Since many very good Catholics have rejected certain teachings of certain Jesuits, just as other good Catholics have rejected certain teachings of other schools, this remark might be allowed to pass. But coming from Mr. Jay, this sentence would indicate, even to those who are unacquainted with Acton's career, that his "liberal Catholicism" was impatient of all control. And at the time of his letter to the London paper, the quondam Catholic editor had thrown off his allegiance to the centre of unity, had joined the "Old Catholic" heresy, and was no more of a Catholic than Mr. Jay himself. Mr. Jay tells us that Acton furnished the London *Times* of November 26, 1874, with a translation of some Italian letters from Salvati to his Roman superiors, which prove that religion had very much to do with the massacre. On September 22, 1572, a month after the tragedy, the nuncio is represented as communicating to the king the desire of his Holiness, "for the great glory of God, and the greatest welfare of France, to see all the heretics of the kingdom exterminated." And on October 11 the same Salvati is said to have declared that the Pope had experienced "an infinite joy and great consolation in learning that his Majesty had commanded him (Salvati) to write that he hoped that in a little while France would have no more Huguenots." Well, what does all this prove? One who is acquainted with the epistolary style of the Roman Curia will not be frightened at the use, in the first despatch, of a word which Acton translated into "exterminated." Every bishop is sworn to "extirpate heresy;" but who believes that the American hierarchy is ready, if it

had the power, to inaugurate another Barthélemy? We, too, sincerely pray that the day will soon come when this Republic will have no more Protestants; but is not the American priesthood full of that material out of which the Catholic Church forms a St. Vincent de Paul, a St. Philip Neri, and a Don Bosco?

V.

The number of the victims of the massacre has been greatly exaggerated. It is remarkable that in proportion to their distance in time from this event, authors increase the number of the slaughtered. Thus, Masson gives it as 10,000; the Calvinist "martyrologist" as about 15,000; the Calvinist, La Popelinière, as more than 20,000; De Thou, the apologist of the Huguenots, as 30,000 "or a little less;" the Huguenot Sully as 70,000; Péréfixe, a Catholic bishop, as 100,000. From this last number to 2,000, the figures established by Cavairac, the difference is immense. Now, if we will compare the authority, in this particular matter, of Masson with that of Péréfixe, we shall opine that the former's estimate is to be preferred. Masson did not wish to hide from posterity the true number of the slain; he openly laments that Calvinism was not destroyed by this great blow; he labors much in gathering apparent proofs that the massacre was long premeditated. Therefore he would have cheerfully recorded a larger number of victims, if truth had allowed him. Péréfixe, however, had an interest in exaggerating the effects of a policy of cruelty; preceptor to the young Louis XIV., he might have too readily accorded credence to the largest estimate of the victims of an event which he offered to the execration of his pupil. But our attention is principally claimed by the calculations of the Calvinist "martyrologist." When this interested author speaks in general terms, he puts the victims at 30,000; when he goes into details, he presents us 15,168; when he gives their names, he can furnish only 786. Now, we must suppose that this writer, engaged upon the pious work of perpetuating the memory of those whom he regarded as martyrs for "the religion," as his title-page announces, took every care to discover their names; and the zeal and vanity of their friends would have helped

him. Nevertheless, he could name only 786. We ourselves do not believe that this number includes all the victims of the massacre; but we do contend that this author's estimate by cities and villages, 15,168, is an exaggeration. He designates the victims in Paris as 10,000, but his details show only 468; it is not unlikely therefore that a zero slipped into his Paris total, and that it should be made 1,000. This, indeed, is the opinion of the Calvinist La Popelinière, and it is confirmed by a bill at the Hôtel de Ville of Paris, which indicates that 1,100 were buried in the suburbs. We regard, therefore, as nearly correct the assertion of La Popelinière that the victims in Paris were about 1,000 in number; and since it is generally conceded that the slain in all the other parts of France together were less numerous than in Paris, it would appear that Cavairac did not err when he declared that all the victims of St. Bartholomew's Day amounted to about 2,000 persons.

The reader will doubtless expect us to allude to the charge made against Charles IX., of having taken an actively personal part in the massacre. Voltaire makes much of the accusation that the monarch fired on the Huguenots from a balcony in the Louvre (1). Prudhomme represents Charles as leaving a game of billiards for this purpose (2). This charge is founded only on the assertions of Brantôme, who, according to his own admission, was a hundred leagues from Paris on the day of the massacre (3); and of d'Aubigné, who says that he left the capital three days before the event (4). Sully, a Calvinist who was present and barely saved his life, says nothing in his *Mémoires* of the king's intervention. Again, that part of the Louvre from which Charles is said to have fired an arquebuse, and to mark which with infamy the Commune of 1793 erected "*un poteau infamant*," was not built until nearly the end of the reign of Henry IV., over thirty years after the Barthélemy. Finally, the accusation against Charles IX. is refuted by a Huguenot pamphlet of 1579—that is, written twenty-five years before the narrative of Brantôme, and thirty-seven before that of d'Aubigné. In

(1) *Essay on the Civil Wars*.—*Henriade*, in the Notes.

(2) *Revolutions of Paris*.

(3) *Works*; edit. 1779, vol. 1., p. 62.

(4) *Mémoires*, edit. Lalanne, p. 28.

this work, the *Tocsin* (1) which we have already quoted, we read : "Although one might suppose that so great a carnage would have satiated the cruelty of the young king, of a woman, and of many of their courtiers, they seem to have grown more savage as the work approached their own eyes. The king showed no diminution of zeal ; for although *he did not use his own hands in the massacre*, nevertheless, being at the Louvre, he ordered that according as the work advanced in the city, the names of the killed and of the prisoners should be brought to him, that he might decide as to whom to spare." And Brantôme himself shows the small value of his assertions concerning the massacre, when he tells us that the king "wished only Ambrose Paré, his chief surgeon, to be spared" (2). We know from the *Mémoires* of Margaret de Valois that Charles wished to spare La Noue, Telligny, La Rochefoucauld, and even Coligny ; and the writings of Paré show that this surgeon was a devout Catholic, and that, therefore, there was no need for anxiety in his regard on the part of the king. The Catholicism of Paré is also proved by the fact of the interment of his body in the church of St. André-des-Arts, of which the famous leagner Aubry was pastor (3).

In conclusion, we would say with Louis Veuillot that Catholics generally adduce the extenuating circumstances of the Barthélemy with too great timidity. Catharine dei Medici was a free thinker of the Machiavellian school, provoked by Calvinist sedition ; and since she could not otherwise preserve her power, or even save her head, she adopted the policy of assassination. In the whole affair the Catholic faith was conspicuous for its absence ; the executioners were no more influenced by it than the victims. God, says Bossuet, often chastises crimes by other crimes. The ninth Thermidor, says M. de Maistre, witnessed the slaughter of certain monsters by others of the same sort. Just like the ninth Thermidor, the Barthélemy was a human wickedness and a divine justice.

And now for a few words concerning one of the customary

(1) Published in the " Archives " of Cimber and Danjou.

(2) *Illustrious Men* ; in the Discourses on Coligny and Charles IX.

(3) See the Introduction of Malgaigne to the *Works* of Paré.

ornaments of the popular version of the Barthélemy, the generally current story of the horrible death of Charles IX. Those persons of taste who visited the Universal Exposition at Paris, in 1855, were surprised at the interest shown by so many in a painting exhibited by Henry Scheffer—a picture which was only fairly well executed. But those artistic natures should have known that in art, just as in literature, it is the loud that attracts the crowd. The subject chosen by the Dutch artist was the *Vision of Charles IX.*, and his method of treatment was as loud as his conception was historically false. A sea of blood was approaching the monarch, and in its waves was seen Coligny, whose breast was pierced by a Catholic sword. Goujon, the sculptor, was also there; although it is far from certain that he perished in the Barthélemy (1). Then there were women, holding their slaughtered babes; old men pointing to their white hairs; and victims of every condition. The pallid and trembling king in vain interposes a crucifix to ward off the apparitions, and one of them throws the infamous arquebuse at the royal feet. The critics of the day were right when they declared that the Hollander had put on canvas an epitome of the “histories” of the Massacre and of the terrible remorse of Charles IX. How much value is possessed by those narratives we have shown; but what are we to say about the death of Charles IX.? Sismondi, Lavallée, Guizot, and Henri Martin all compose their narratives on the basis of a mixture of the sayings of l’Etoile, d’Aubigné, and Sully; these suspicious authorities being cited by each author as the sole supports of his allegations. If we are to credit these Huguenots, Charles IX. had so miserable an end, that even the Huguenots felt some pity for him. His sleep was constantly interrupted, they said, by visions of those whom he and his mother had murdered; he often sweated blood, so tremendous were his fears of eternal punishment. Now Sis-

(1) Jean Goujon, the sculptor, was one of the most famous men of his day; and it would have been the interest of the Calvinist Martyrologist to mention him in that presumed correct list which he compiled. But he is silent. Longerperier says, in his *French Plutarch*, that he read in an olden MS. that Catharine de Medici had forewarned Goujon not to leave his house on the fatal day. For years after the massacre the Huguenots used to say that the sculptor was shot while working at his beautiful nymphs of the Fountain of the Innocents; but it is certain that this production of his chisel was completed twenty-two years before the Barthélemy.

mondi is fond of quoting the *Curious Archives of the History of France*, a collection which is indeed precious to the lovers of interesting details in historical matters; and in the very same Series of the eighth volume, to which he often refers when treating of this subject, he must have met a testimony which he ignores, because of its explosion of his theories. In 1574, immediately after the death of Charles IX., Sorbin de Sainte-Foy, preacher-in-ordinary to the king, and also a historian and a poet (1), published a *Life* of the monarch, whose confessor he had been, and at whose last illness and death he had assisted. Sorbin speaks, of course, of his penitent's contrition; but he says nothing of those horrible effects of remorse, those bloody sweats, those yells for mercy, on which d'Anbigné dilates, and which Sismondi and Henri Martin credit. As for the causes of the death, Sorbin says: "I leave these to the surgeons who attended him during his sickness, and who opened his body." If it be alleged that Sorbin was a courtier, and interested in hiding the crimes of his master, he answers the objection: "I know well that the heretic and misbeliever will charge me with flattery, and with silence as to the imperfections of my master. . . . I will hear that before the king was married, he had a child by Marie Touchet, a young girl of Orleans. This is a fact which I would wish never to have happened; and in this matter I must speak evil of my king. But if thou, heretic, couldst have seen, as I often saw, this sinner weeping because of his sins, and if thou hadst known his gentleness, thou wouldst never have spoken of him as thou hast been accustomed to speak." As to the death of Charles IX. having been produced by the bloody sweats wrung from him by his remorse for the Barthélemy, medical science testifies that the monarch succumbed to disease of the lungs. In 1876, A. Leyert published an article on *The Bloody Sweat of Charles IX.* (2), in which he cited a work by Dr. Corlieu on *The Deaths of the French Kings from Francis I. to the Revolution*, which proves

(1) He finally became bishop of Nevers. He was the author of thirty works in both prose and poetry. The title of the cited work is *A History Containing an Abridgment of the Life of the Very Christian and Gentle King, Charles IX., Truly Pious, A Defender of the Catholic Faith, and A Lover of Right-minded Persons.*

(2) In the *Paris Fogey* of Feb. 12, p. 191.

that in the *Mémoires of Cheverny* (1579), it was made evident that King Charles was suffering, in 1573, from disease of the lungs. And Corlien proved, after analyzing the report of the autopsy, that pulmonary disease caused the death of the royal patient; and he added: "As to the bloody sweats mentioned by d'Aubigné alone, ignored by all the historians and physicians of the day, we believe that it was merely a *purpura hemorrhagica*. . . . If we remember that Charles IX. was ill with pulmonary trouble for eight months; if we consider the influence of respiration on the cardiac and hepatic circulation; and if we reflect on the state of flacidity and vacuity of the heart and on the bloodlessness of the liver; we will be convinced that the patient was profoundly anemic, and that the pretended sweats of blood were merely speckles of the *purpura*, which were simple after-symptoms (*epiphénomène*), and not a cause of death." It is noteworthy that the Venetian ambassador, Cavalli, informed his government of all the phases of the king's malady, and always found them perfectly natural; and he says that "the recent conspiracies (of the Huguenots) plunged his soul in torment, and prevented him from enjoying one instant of rest." The fact is that Charles IX. died of a disease produced by anxiety. As Sorbin said: "The chief cause of his death was the sadness which had begun its work in his childhood, through the treasons and multifold impieties of many of his subjects, and of many even of his own familiars. He had been dying by inches, for thirteen or fourteen years."

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CONVERSION OF HENRY IV. OF FRANCE.

The death of Henry III., the last of the Valois, on Aug. 1, 1589, at the hands of the fanatical Clement (1), made Henry of Navarre legitimate king of France, if right of birth was sufficient, of itself, to establish a right to the crown. There being no heir in the line of the Valois, the royal claims naturally fell to Henry de Bourbon, the head of the line which

(1) Two Dominican writers, Frederick Steill and Matthew Dolmans, have tried to prove that Clement was not the assassin of Henry; that the real murderer was a Huguenot who had killed Clement, and donned his garments.

was derived from the marriage of the count of Clermont, the youngest son of St. Louis, with the daughter and heiress of Archambault de Bourbon. In his last moments, which were spent in a manner becoming to his faith, though never augured by his method of life, Henry III. had recognized the Bourbon as his heir, but had thus warned him: "My dear brother-in-law (1), you will never be king of France, unless you become a Catholic" (2). However, Henry de Bourbon was soon deserted by most of the Catholic lords who had followed Henry III. when he abandoned the League for the camp of the Navarrese; and they proclaimed the cardinal de Bourbon, an uncle of Henry IV., as king under the name of Charles X., the real authority being understood to belong to the duke de Mayenne, the second son of the late Francis de Guise. The reader must bear in mind that in Sept., 1585, Pope Sixtus V. had issued a Bull (*Ab immensa*) wherein he declared Henry de Bourbon and his cousin, Henry de Condé, relapsed heretics, because of their having violated their abjuration, made after the Barthélemy; and in that Bull the Pontiff had pronounced, as a natural consequence of the heresy of the princes, "them both deprived of all their dignities, and both, together with their posterity, incapable of succeeding to the throne of France." We shall speak of this document at some length, when we treat of the Pontificate of Sixtus V. Henry IV., for as such he was now recognized by very many even of those who had no intention to disobey the Holy See; was constrained, on beholding the smallness of his following, to forward to the Holy See a document wherein he promised, as clearly as he could do so without alienating the sympathies of the Huguenots, to become a Catholic; and wherein he implicitly admitted that a profession of heresy was incompatible with the royalty of France (3). This paper reads as follows: "We, Henry, by the grace of

(1) Henry's sister Margaret had been married to the Bourbon prince, four days before the Barthélemy.

(2) DAVILA; *History of the Civil Wars in France*, vol. I., p. 48, edit. Rocolet, Paris, 1657. This author was a son of that Davila who had been constable of Cyprus, and having been defeated by the Turks, had been protected by Catharine dei Medici. The son grew up in the court; and his narratives of its doings may be considered as fairly accurate.

(3) We translate the Italian text of Tempesti, who had translated the original which had been placed in the hands of Sixtus V. by the duke of Luxembourg, Henry's envoy, on Jan. 19, 1590.

God, king of France and of Navarre, do promise and swear by the faith and word of a king, and by these presents signed with our own hand, to all our good and faithful subjects, to maintain and preserve faithfully in our kingdom the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, innovating or changing nothing as to its free exercise, or as regards ecclesiastical persons, leaving to them all of their goods and governments, just as they have hitherto possessed. We shall also be disposed, conformably to our letters-patent which were published before our accession to the throne, to receive instruction from a general or national Council; promising to follow and observe all its decisions, and to procure its convocation and reunion within six months, and sooner, if that is possible. In the meantime, in all the cities and places of our kingdom in which the Catholic religion is practiced there shall be no practice of any other religion, as was arranged in the treaty made on the last 16th of April between us and the late king, Henry III. of happy memory, our very honored lord and cousin in whom may God absolve; that is, until it shall have been otherwise decided, either after the general pacification of the kingdom, or by the Estates General which will be convoked and assembled within six months. We also promise that in all the districts, places, and fortresses, which we may take from the rebels (the Leaguers) and reduce to our obedience by force or otherwise, we shall establish as governors no other persons than good Catholic subjects; reserving, however, those places which, according to the treaty just cited, were assigned by the late king to the professors of the reformed religion in each bailliage or seneschalship. We also promise that within six months capable and faithful Catholics shall be appointed to all the governorships and other offices which may become vacant in other places, excepting in those in the hands of persons of the reformed religion." When Luxembourg, who was a Catholic, handed this declaration to Sixtus V., he remarked: "When giving me his final instructions, his Majesty said to me: 'Tell his Holiness, on my royal word, that facts will show that I wish to live and die as the Eldest Son of the Holy, Catholic, and Roman Church'" (1).

(1) TEMPESTI; *Life of Sixtus V.*, vol. II., p. 279. Rome, 1754.

Having read the document, the Pontiff replied : " Not long ago we wrote to the Catholic King (Philip II. of Spain) that so long as we reigned in Rome, no heretical prince should reign over France. Now we are pleased with the conditions imposed on the Bearnese at his election, and also with his protestations ; but before there are any negotiations in regard to his reconciliation with the Church, let him free his uncle, the cardinal de Bourbon (the so-called Charles X., then in the hands of Henry). When that is done, we shall consider carefully as to what ought to be done for the reception of the prince as a penitent and converted son ; let him put away his obstinacy and give us this proof of his obedient spirit. Then we shall press him to our heart ; for it is only his sin that we detest. But be assured that all negotiation is futile, until he has complied with our injunctions." If the reader thinks that Sixtus V. asked too much when he required the liberation of the pretender, he must remember that Henry could very easily have sent the aged cardinal to Rome, where he would have been no longer a rival for the French throne ; and even if the liberated prelate had placed himself at the head of the Leaguers, Henry would have soon realized that he had little to fear from the pretensions of an aged celibate.

The reception of Luxembourg by the Pontiff was a thorn in the side of Philip II., as well as in that of the League. In Paris and Madrid the ultra zealots raged because of what they termed moderation in regard to one whose relapses merited the stake ; and on March 11 the cardinal Cajetan, papal legate to the League (1), received from the leaders, in the church of St. Augustine, an oath that they would never recognize Henry de Bourbon as their king. In Spain, opposition to the pontifical moderation took the form of insolence ; one preacher declared that Sixtus should be deposed as a protector of heretics. The count of Olivarez, ambassador of Philip II. at Rome, wrote to the viceroy of Naples to encourage brigandage in the Papal States, so as to create

(1) Although accredited to the League, Cajetan had been instructed to not commit himself irrevocably to its objects ; but the legate's Spanish sympathies revolted at this restriction. If it appears strange that the Holy See should send a nuncio to a government which had no legitimate head, we must remember that Rome could not accredit a legate to a prince who was cut off from the Catholic communion, and there was a need of a nuncio somewhere in France.

embarrassments for Sixtus ; and in the name of his sovereign he demanded that the Pontiff should excommunicate all the adherents of the Bearnese. When the cardinal-pretender died at Fontenay, and the Pope refused to allow a royal funeral at Rome, Olivarez publicly denounced his conduct ; whereupon Sixtus thought seriously of excommunicating the madman, and of expelling him from the Eternal City. In public consistory the Pontiff thus expressed his resolution not to yield to Philip II. : "If the Spanish envoy has not invented these demands, and if they really emanate from his master, we shall never yield to such pretensions. Nor would we yield to such demands, if urged by all the princes of Christendom ; for this matter concerns only us and this Holy See." When the subject of this discord heard of the stand assumed by Sixtus in his favor, he remarked to one of the princes of the blood : "The world shall see whether I am sincere in swearing to preserve the Catholic religion in France ; and if the Pontiff needs my sword to defend him, I shall draw it" (1). Meanwhile many of the Catholic partisans of Henry constantly wrote to Rome, complaining of the conduct of Cajetan, guaranteeing the ultimate success of their prince, and urging the Pope to make certain peace with the child of destiny. At this time Cajetan had held no other relation with Henry than to request the prince not to intercept the despatches which arrived for him from Rome ; and Henry had replied that he was necessarily obliged to treat the legate as an enemy. When the envoy, Mocenigo, urged that the attitude of Cajetan would change as soon as the prince returned to the Church, and thereby attracted all Frenchmen to his banner, Henry replied : "If I am in error, I wish to be instructed ; but not with lances and arquebuses, as the legate would teach me. Hitherto these have failed to convince me, because I am more a master of the art of war than Cajetan is ; I have been in the school of war for twenty years, and all that time has been passed by the legate in reading his Breviary." Very soon Sixtus complained of the policy of Cajetan in full consistory ; and he wrote to the unlucky man that he would be obliged to punish him severely if he

(1) TEMPESTI ; vol. II., p. 285.

did not show himself the envoy of the Apostolic See, rather than one of Philip II. (1). However, it was by no means the intention of the Pontiff to be caught in the meshes of the diplomatic processes of Henry, which were just as tortuous as those of his Catholic Majesty; the Holy See could not entertain the pretension of the king of Navarre that a papal legate should be accredited to one who was under ecclesiastical censure.

The fortunes of war were unfavorable to the League. Defeated at Ivry, March 30, 1590, Mayenne became embittered not only toward Philip II., whose game of dynastic aggrandizement he began to perceive, but against the Pontiff, whom he charged with a calculated coolness in regard to the League. As though he felt that his innumerable defeats would have been obviated by such small succors of men and money as the Pope might have afforded, he wrote to Sixtus a caustic letter which should be read by those historians who represent the Roman court of that day as the train-bearer of his Catholic Majesty. "As head of the Church, your Holiness ought not to listen to the arguments of those who assert that if we (the League) wax strong, our prosperity will help to augment the power of the Catholic king, of whom every one is so jealous. Religion should pass over all other considerations. However, the king of Spain does not dream of acquiring another crown, and we have never thought that he had any design other than the preservation of the faith in this kingdom. ... But if we ought to suspect Philip, your Holiness will increase the danger by abandoning us, and thus making us owe to that monarch our altars, our goods, and our lives" (2). When this letter was read to Sixtus in the presence of several cardinals, he observed: "That man would tell the truth, if he said some more;" and certainly Mayenne did not expose the entire situation. The great object of the Holy See was not to further any particular pretensions; it was to maintain Catholic rule in France. "If the League, a wonderful and noble instrument for so grand a work, failed to actuate it because the chiefs of the party were impotent, or because they were too occupied with triv-

1) *Ibid.*, p. 313.

(2) *Ubi supra*, p. 290.

ial interests, it was proper for the successor of St. Peter to modify his course. But in doing so, did Sixtus abandon the League, ignore its devotion, or renounce its aid? His political perspicacity led him to discern in Henry the victor destined by Providence to put an end to sixty years of civil war; and to realize that the Church ought not to repel him if he proposed to return to her bosom as a prodigal son. That same perspicacity revealed to Sixtus the projects of him who had inherited a part of the dominions of Charles V. and all of that emperor's dream of universal monarchy. Thenceforth, faithful to his mission of vicar of that Christ whose Gospel gave notions of liberty to the world, the attitude of the Pope gave notice of the danger, and he moderated a movement which was dragging the defenders of a noble cause to unknown extremes, preparing by his action, as far as possible, the road for a better future" (1). In this entire matter of the Pontiff, the League, and Henry of Navarre, the real question was not one of the miserable interests of Bourbons, Lorrains, or Spaniards; it was whether Catholic civilization was to be preserved, as well as a proper equilibrium between the powers who remained faithful to the Church. The triumphant excursion of the great Italian captain, Farnese, contributed much to this result. Henry beheld his capital snatched from his grasp; and when he saw Farnese renewing his prodigies before Rouen, he realized that his sole hope was in a reconciliation with Rome.

Gregory XIV., the successor of Sixtus V., was more partial than Sixtus had been to Spain; but he was no more subservient to the policy of Philip II. He sent succors to Mayenne; but that did not please the Spaniard, who feared a prompt and complete victory of the League as an obstacle to his own plan of either acquiring the French throne for himself, or of seating on it a Spanish Infanta. Innocent IX., who reigned for two months after the six months of pontificate of Gregory XIV., endeavored to force Philip II. to put an end to his temporizing policy, but without success. One of the first acts of Clement VIII., who mounted the papal throne on Feb. 11, 1592, was to order Mayenne to place be-

(1) SEGRETAINE; *Sixtus V. and Henry IV.*, Paris, 1861.

fore the States General the question of the succession to the French crown ; and Henry felt the significance of this step so deeply, that he resolved to improve his position by showing himself publicly at Mass at Saint-Denis. The States General met on Jan. 26, 1593 ; and their evident desire to respect the right of hereditary descent in their monarch, only on condition that the prince did not violate the religious traditions of France, showed Henry that the day of temporization had passed. He suddenly yielded to the solicitations of Renaud de Beaune, archbishop of Bourges ; and after some conferences with the celebrated convert, Du Perron (1) and other able theologians, he demanded to be received again into the communion of the Church. As we shall show, the suddenness of this resolution ought not to lead us to doubt the reality of Henry's religious convictions, and therefore the sincerity of his too long delayed conversion. Having taken this resolution, common sense and honor, to say nothing of religion, demanded that Henry should ask from the Pontiff absolution from those censures which the Holy See had pronounced against him. But Renaud de Beaune, an easy going ecclesiastic (2), and one of those schismatics *in posse* who ever combat an effective and active Papacy, persuaded the not very theological mind of the convert that an absolution by the French bishops, subject to the future ratification of the Pontiff, would be perfectly regular. Henry was too willing to take this view of the matter ; for he knew that the Pope would grant his absolution only on condition that the Bearnese would promise to observe the ancient public law of France, and to repair the damages caused by the Huguenots. It was natural for a prince who was a consummate master in diplomatic trickery, and whose soul was as yet strange to the real spirit of Catholicism, to avail himself of the counsels of courtier-bishops ; but when Renaud de Beaune and his accomplices proclaimed Henry of Navarre a Catholic, and by that act placed the crown of France on his brow, without demanding any guarantees in return for it, they assumed a great responsibility before their contemporaries and before posterity.

(1) Afterward bishop of Evreux, and finally cardinal.

(2) He used to take seven meals a day, and two of them lasted an hour each.

Never until that day had a successor of Clovis been hailed as Most Christian King without the consent and blessing of the Roman Pontiff; but on July 25, 1593, certain French bishops, with his Grace of Bourges at their head, presumed to receive into the society of Christian sovereigns a prince who labored under the censures of the Vicar of Christ (1). Had the papal legate to France, at that time the cardinal of Piacenza, been ever so disposed to a lenient interpretation of the mind of the Holy See, he could not have ignored this contempt of the authority of the keys. Accordingly, as soon as he heard of the project of Renaud de Beaune, he issued a monitory wherein he launched excommunication against each and every person who would take any part in a pretence of according to Henry de Bourbon an absolution which he could receive only from the Roman Pontiff. Notwithstanding this decree, on the third day after its appearance, Henry was pronounced, in the abbatial church of Saint-Denis, a member of the Catholic Church, no other forms having been observed than those used in the case of private individuals. It is well for the reader to reflect upon this anarchical procedure of Henry and his courtier-bishops; for too many historians are utterly silent as to the matter, and therefore they find it easy to convey the impression that Rome, by her delay of two years before a final absolution of the Bearnese, was guilty of a blind and inexplicable obstinacy in the assertion of her prerogatives.

(1) "Some have affected to see in this matter a purely theological difficulty, a point of Canon-Law to be debated, with closed doors, between the Holy See and the episcopate. To so regard it is a sign of ignorance or of prejudice, both of which fail to recognize the real conditions of society in the sixteenth century, and which do not perceive that then all religious questions were necessarily political questions of the highest order. It may be said with truth that this usurpation by the royalist bishops, this contempt of the most certain laws of the sacred hierarchy, was sadder and more dangerous in the civil, than in the ecclesiastical order. . . . The Bearnese knew well that it was no vain complacency in his own prerogatives which caused the Holy Father to reserve the absolution in question to himself. Had the case been one concerning only the royal soul, any priest could have received its avowal of repentance, and a mitre would have given enough of solemnity to the public absolution. But here the interest of the whole of society was involved. Was Catholicism to be the end regarded by the State, as it was by the individual? Was the ancient magistracy of the Pope, the guardian of the temporal effects of the divine law, to be abolished, as the Protestants wished; or was it to be maintained, as Catholics desired, and for which maintenance they had shed their blood? Was heresy a political, as well as a spiritual crime? Such were the questions involved in the reservation of Henry's absolution to the Pope." *SEGRETAIN; loc. cit.*, p. 232.

When Henry sent the duke of Nevers to inform Pope Clement VIII. of his absolution, practically he asked the Pontiff to recognize as a member of the Church a prince who had just trampled under his feet the document wherein that Pope's predecessor had excommunicated him. His submission to the Holy See was apparent ; but in reality, he was prolonging his rebellion. Therefore the Pontiff refused his homage. In a very short space of time Henry realized that he was in a false position. By declaring his wish to be of the same religion as his subjects, he had imbued the people with a desire for peace ; but so long as his right to the crown was not sanctioned by Rome, he could not but expect to have enemies who would find strength in an illegitimacy which he himself was perpetuating. He endeavored to obviate the danger by separate treaties with the leaders of the League ; but the attitude of the Holy See impeded his success, Mayenne even joining the Spaniards with a determination to prevent, with their aid, a movement for Catholic unity from becoming hostile to the supreme authority of the head of the Church. The eyes of Henry were finally opened ; and through the medium of D'Ossat (afterward cardinal) he besought Pope Clement VIII. to receive him into the Church. The Pontiff declared that certain guarantees would be necessary, before he could remove the censures inflicted by Sixtus V. ; and accordingly Du Perron was joined to D'Ossat for the purpose of negotiation. Du Perron himself gives us the result of the labors of himself and his colleague in the articles which the ambassadors signed in the name of their master ; and we must admire the prudence and perspicacity with which Clement VIII. protected the essential principles of Catholic society, even though the defection of Henry's courtier-bishops had much weakened his power. The articles read as follows : I. The procurators will take the customary oath to obey the commands of the Holy See and of the Church. II. They will abjure Calvinism and all other heresies, and they will make their Profession of Faith, in the presence of the Pope. III. The king will restore the exercise of the Catholic religion in the principality of Bearn, and will nominate Catholic bishops therein, as soon as possible ; and until their property is re-

stored to those churches, the king will provide proper support for the bishops out of his own revenues. IV. Within a year the king will withdraw the prince of Condé from the hands of the heretics, and will consign the said prince to Catholic persons, that he may be raised in the Catholic religion. (The reader must know that Henry had no children by his first wife, and that at this time his cousin, the young prince de Condé, was his presumptive heir. The imposition of this obligation upon Henry was a justification of the deprivatory Bull of Sixtus V., and also a measure destined to forestall any necessity for a similar Bull in the future.) V. The Concordats shall be observed in regard to the collation of benefices, and all other things. VI. The king will never nominate heretics, or persons suspected of heresy, to any bishopric, abbacy, or other benefice to which he has a right to nominate. VII. The king will cause the Council of Trent to be published and observed, excepting in such things, if any are found, which cannot be enforced without disturbance of the tranquillity of the realm. VIII. The king will specially protect the sacerdotal order, and he will see that ecclesiastics are not oppressed by military persons or others. IX. If the king has enfeoffed any castles or other church property, either to Catholics or to heretics, he will revoke the concessions. X. The king will prove, by word and deed, and in his appointments to the dignities and honors of the kingdom, that Catholics are dear to him ; so that all may know clearly that he desires only one religion, namely, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, which he professes, to flourish in France. XI. The king, unless he is legitimately impeded, will recite, every day, the Rosary of Our Lady ; on Wednesday, he will recite the Litanies ; on Saturday, he will again recite the Rosary ; every day he will attend at Mass, and on feasts he will attend at High Mass ; and he will observe all the fasts and all the commandments of the Church. XII. The king will confess, and also receive Communion in public, at least four times every year. XIII. In each province of the kingdom and in Bearn the king will build a monastery. XIV. The king will ratify the abjuration, the Profession of Faith, and the promises made by his procurators, in France,

in the hands of the legate or some other representative of the Holy See; and he will send to the Pope the said ratification. XV. The king will write to all Catholic sovereigns, expressing his joy on having been received into the favor of the Roman Church, in whose communion he professes himself resolved to remain. XVI. The king will order that throughout his kingdom thanks be given to God for the great grace he has received.

On Sept. 19, 1595, the throne of the Pope was placed in the vestibule of the Basilica of the Apostles; for the Vicar of Christ was about to perform an act which would open the doors of the Church to Henry de Bourbon, and thereby sanction that prince's title of King of France and Navarre. At a given signal a master of ceremonies conducted the procurators of the penitent, James Davy du Perron and Arnald d'Osat, to the feet of the Pontiff, which they humbly kissed. Then Du Perron read aloud the title of procuration which his royal master had given to him and his colleague, following with a prayer that the Father of the Faithful would pardon all the irregularities of his master's reception into the Church at Saint-Denis, and grant to the said prince full absolution for his past errors, especially for his grievous relapse into heresy. Pope Clement now ordered the reading of the following decree, whereby he declared null the illicit absolution at Saint-Denis: "We, Clement, eighth of that name, Pope, having invoked the name of Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, from whom all just judgments come, and sitting on our throne of justice as in a tribunal; having God alone in our mind; and after a consideration of everything which ought to be considered; we decide and declare that the pretended absolution of Henry, king of France and Navarre, by a certain prelate of the kingdom of France, whether administered by the advice of certain other French prelates or from any other motive, is null, and without any effect or validity, and that it ought to be annulled, as we do now annul and invalidate it. Nevertheless, we will that such religious acts, otherwise Catholic and worthy of approval, which have been performed in consequence of that absolution, and which could not have been done unless by an absolved person

and by virtue of the absolution, be valid and firm, just as though the king had been absolved by us. And now because of motives which worthily influence our mind, we decree and declare that the said King Henry, who has long and humbly requested the favor from us, ought to be and is relieved from the greater excommunication and other ecclesiastical censures which he incurred by adhesion to heresy and by overt heretical acts, and which were fulminated against him by Sixtus V. of happy memory and our predecessor in his letters of the Fifth of the Ides of September of the year 1585, because Henry had relapsed into heresy after he had abjured his errors at Paris in the year 1572. We declare that Henry ought to be absolved and relieved, received into the fold of his mother, our Holy Church, allowed to share in the Sacraments; but after having supplicated according to the legitimate rites, and after having, according to the canonical regulations, abjured and anathematized every species of Calvinism, Calvinistic error, and all other doctrines which are hostile to the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church; and also after having made a Profession of Catholic Faith according to a form to be prescribed by us, and having confirmed his profession by a solemn oath. He must also promise, also by oath, to observe the commandments of the Holy Church, his mother; to obey her and all of our injunctions; and to do all these things in good faith and in the customary ecclesiastical manner, to the praise and glory of Almighty God and of His Holy Church. So we have pronounced." After the reading of this decree the royal procurators humbly accepted it; and then, with their hands on the Gospels, they read a detailed formula whereby Henry abjured all his heresies, and professed explicitly the Catholic faith. Then a papal notary promulgated the conditions of absolution which we have already given; and then, the Pontiff solemnly relieved Henry of his excommunication, and consigned the procurators to the care of the grand-penitentiary, Cardinal Santa Severina, to be led through the now opened portals of the basilica—thus symbolizing, according to the Roman Liturgy, the return of their royal master to the bosom of the Church.

We now approach the subject of Henry's sincerity when

he definitively abjured the errors of Protestantism. Men naturally suspect the sincerity of a religious conversion when it is accompanied by the acquisition of temporal advantages ; and certainly they are inclined to question the single-mindedness of the convert when a royal crown rewards his change of religion. Therefore we need not wonder that Protestant and rationalistic historians have represented Henry of Navarre as uttering the flippant phrase, "Paris is well worth a Mass," as an excuse to his former co-sectarians for his change of religious profession. But did Henry XIV. ever pronounce such a sentiment? Must it not be ranked among the many more or less brilliant verbal scintillations which imaginative biographers have placed, without any historical foundation, in the mouths of their heroes—or their victims—as indicative of a fancied rôle on the stage of history? In fine, is not this moderately smart effusion, which might run trippingly on the tongue of a truculent trooper as one of the salacious sallies appropriate at the fire of a bivouac, to be stamped as entirely foreign to the taste and probable language of an adroit diplomat like Henry of Navarre? We have little sympathy with that school of French royalists who would represent the first of the Bourbon royal line as a sort of demigod. Nor do we even agree with those who fancied, a few years ago, and with good reason during a moment or two, that a fifth Henry was about to be evolved from the noble Chambord ; and who therefore, in order to clear the path of that prince to the throne of the Bourbons, endeavored to convince the French nation that his dashing ancestor was the consummately great one among its sovereigns (1). No ; we find that though the conscience of Henry IV. became Catholic, some of his policy retained a Protestant tendency ; and that Louis XIV. was by far a greater king, if indeed, he was not the sole truly grand monarch of the Bourbon family. But it is due to the memory of Henry IV., and due to historical truth, to prove that he could not have spoken as Protestant polemics, in order to convict him of hypocrisy, would have us believe. We must show, in fine, that he was sincerely con-

(1) See, for instance, the over-enthusiastic, but otherwise valuable, *Life of Henry IV.* by M. de Lescure.

verted to Catholicism. With this end in view, we shall rely upon the narratives of Palma Cayet, an ex-preacher who could say of the disputants summoned to controversial debate by Henry: "*Quorum pars magna fui*;" of Péréfixe, preceptor of the young Louis XIV.; of De Bury, a reliable Catholic author; but principally upon one whom, in this matter, we regard as the most trustworthy historian of King Henry, namely, Henry himself, as he is manifested in his correspondence, the publication of which was confided to M. Berger de Xivrey (1), and who has thus effected more for the reputation of the gallant monarch than all his panegyrists.

Born of Catholic parents in 1553, Henry of Navarre was baptized by the cardinal d'Armagnac, bishop of Rodez and vice-legat of Avignon; his sponsors, King Henry II. of France, King Henry d'Albret, and Madame Claude de France, being, of course, Catholics. His father dying in 1562, his mother, Queen Jane d'Albret, returned to Bearn, where she apostatized; leaving her son, however, at the court of France, under the guidance of a sage Catholic tutor named La Gaudicherie. This preceptor died when the young prince was thirteen years old; and his mother summoning him to Bearn, his further education was entrusted to a Huguenot, and he was trained in the Calvinist system. Unlike most of his co-sectarians, the young Henry displayed no fanaticism; and when, in 1577, the Estates of Blois urged him to abjure his heresy, he replied to their spokesman that "he was not obstinate in matters of religion; that he had believed in the doctrines taught him in his youth; and that the surest way to convert him from them was not to threaten a war which would desolate the kingdom." A few years afterward, Pope Sixtus V., an excellent judge of character, opined that "the head of that prince was expressly fitted for the crown of France" (2). On August 2, 1589, Henry of Navarre claimed the French throne by hereditary right, and as the designated heir of the assassinated Henry III. For the first time in its history, the crown of the Most Christian King seemed destined to be worn by a heretic. Now, in the France of that day, as in the France

(1) *Correspondence of Henry IV.*, in the *Collection of Unedited Documents Concerning the History of France*, vol. I.

(2) GREGORIO LETI; *Life of Sixtus V.*, Amsterdam, 1686.

of all post-Clovis times down to her fell upheaval in 1789, there was something more appreciated by the people than hereditary monarchical right,—something which entered into the very constitution of the monarchy, and consecrated it. From the coronation of Clovis by St. Remigius, the incumbent of the French monarchy incurred the obligation, *sine qua non*, of being a Catholic in name and in fact. Therefore the contest menacing France on the death of Henry III. was not an ordinary war of succession, but one for religious right, which was outraged in a society religiously constituted in its very origin,—a society which was bent on preserving its ancient constitution at any cost, even at that of hereditary royalty. The royalists of the school of Voltaire, of the Regent d'Orléans, and of the Encyclopedists, were quite sentimental and *courtisanesque*; they loyally professed “the religion of the king;” and, nevertheless, they could not perceive all the grandeur of the Christian kingdom. Modern royalists have perhaps rivalled the republicans in making a noise, but too few of them have grasped the symbolic meaning of that ceremony of the Church at the consecration of a Catholic monarch, when she administers to the newly-anointed the Communion under both species, uniting, in a way, the priest with the king. When the spirit of Catholicism permeated the body politic, royalism was not merely sentimental; it was religious and social. This fact was well understood by Henry of Navarre; and on the very day of his accession he proclaimed, in a circular letter to the principal cities of France, that “he would preserve the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church with all his power.” Finally, in 1593, he resolved to investigate the claims of that Church, and wrote to several bishops to meet him on July 15 at Suresne near Paris.

On May 18 he thus opened his heart to the bishop of Chartres: “I have determined to receive, at the earliest possible moment, instructions concerning the differences which cause schism in the Church, and I have always declared that I would not decline this instruction; in fact, I would have received it long ago, had I not been impeded by well-known obstacles. Perhaps circumstances might excuse me now from attending to this matter, but I have resolved to defer it no

longer. Therefore I have summoned some Catholic prelates and doctors, by whose teachings I may be enlightened as to the difficulties which separate us in religious matters. . . . Having the glory of God for my sole object, I shall act in all sincerity." Writing to the archbishop of Bourges, he says: "I trust that God will grant me the grace to bring to this conference a mind bent only on His glory, and the grace of seeking only my own salvation and the good of the state." Palma Cayet tells us that about this time Henry remarked to one of his household: "I can perceive neither system nor devotion in Protestantism. It consists merely of sermons in fairly good language; whereas, in short, I suspect that we ought to admit the real presence of the Body of Our Lord in the Sacrament. Otherwise, all that 'the religion' effects is a mere ceremony." Péréfixe informs us that at one of the conferences, a Calvinist minister having admitted that a Catholic would be saved if he led a blameless life, the king exclaimed: "Then prudence impels me to enter the Catholic Church; for as a Catholic I may, according to both priests and ministers, attain salvation; whereas if I remain a Protestant, the priests contend that I shall be lost." After a long course of debate, the religious doubts of Henry were dissipated; and in July, 1593, he abjured his errors, emitted a solemn profession of his faith in Catholic doctrine, and received absolution, as we have seen, at the hands of Renaud de Beaune, archbishop of Bourges. From that time the Parisians, who hitherto had styled Henry "the Bearnais," hailed him by the royal title. On the 25th he sent to all his subjects a letter, from which we take the following passages: "Remembering the promise made on our accession to the throne—a promise which we ardently desired to keep, but which the artifices of our enemies prevented our fulfilling,—we conferred with certain prelates and doctors upon the points concerning which we desired enlightenment; and having been satisfied thereupon by arguments deduced from the Scriptures, from the Fathers, and from doctors recognized by the Church, we have acknowledged the Roman Apostolic Church as the true Catholic Church of God, as full of truth, and as incapable of error. Therefore we have entered into her pale, and are determined

to live and die therein. And, that we might begin the good work at once, we have attended at the Holy Mass this morning, joining our prayers with those of the said Church ; . . . and we request that public thanks be tendered to God by processions and prayers, and that God may be entreated to maintain us in our holy resolution." Announcing his conversion to the Pope, he said : " Most Holy Father, having recognized, through the inspiration which God has vouchsafed to grant to me, that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church is the true Church, . . . I have resolved to render to your Holiness and to the Holy See my entire obedience and respect. . . . I have wished to send you this first token of my filial devotion in lines drawn up by my own hand. . . . And I hope to merit your holy blessing by my actions." From the first day of his conversion, Henry IV. evinced such sincerity that St. Francis de Sales, whose sublime truthfulness would permit no flattery for any purpose, did not hesitate to thus eulogize him : " In your conduct toward Holy Church I discern rare qualities which reveal in you the blood and the heart of Charlemagne and of St. Louis, the most prominent invigorators the Church has known." When his son and heir, who afterward became Louis XIII., was born, Henry laid his glorious sword in the little hand, praying God that the prince " might draw it only for His glory and in defence of the French nation." The faith of Henry in the Real Presence was most vivid. Among many instances of his manifestation of this faith, Péréfixe records the following : One day, while promenading with Sully, who was a Huguenot, he met a priest bearing the Holy Viaticum. Henry at once fell upon his knees in adoration ; whereupon Sully remarked : " Can your Majesty believe in that ? " Henry replied : " Yes, by the life of God, I do believe in it ; and I would give a finger from my hand were you also to believe in it." Péréfixe says that Henry used every legitimate exertion to propagate the faith, and that he was, under God, the direct cause of sixty thousand conversions. " But he would allow no coercion, and he despised one who could be affected in this matter by worldly interest."

At the time of which we write France exercised a veritable

magistracy of thought over all Europe ; and Henry IV. availed himself of this and her other ascendancies in favor of persecuted Catholics, wherever the children of the Reformation had obtained the upper-hand. Very little appears to have been known concerning this phase of Henry's foreign policy, until M. Ferrière-Percy drew attention to it in a careful study on M. de la Boderie, ambassador of France at the court of James I., and who was one of the noblest characters of that time (1). La Boderie was unable to ameliorate greatly the lot of the English Catholics, owing to the craze that afflicted the Protestant majority after the collapse of the Gunpowder Plot ; and also because of the indifference of the English monarch, who was, according to the zealous ambassador, "nearly always engaged in cock-fighting or in gluttonous pleasures, and gave the smallest portion of his time to affairs of state." But La Boderie effected all that man could effect in the circumstances, and Ferrière-Percy could write : "If we have dwelt with some complacency upon a life which never belied itself, it is because we thought that a more marked significance would be attached to the intervention of Henry IV. in favor of the English Catholics, when viewed under the management of an ambassador whose convictions were so absolute. The choice of the servant reveals the inmost thought of the master." Nor ought this intervention of Henry in behalf of the English Catholics be regarded as an isolated fact, prompted by passing circumstances. From the moment when he assumed that proudest and peculiar title borne by a French monarch, "the Eldest Son of the Church," he continued the most glorious tradition of his crown—a tradition which even the degenerate France of our day is unwilling to ignore,—and he claimed the privilege of protecting the children of the Catholic Church in every quarter of the globe. He evinced his claim to this privilege in a most vigorous manner in his instructions to Jeannin, his envoy to Holland, insisting that such a course was "due to his religion, and to that charity which should be a characteristic of a Most Christian King, as God had constituted him." This phase of the foreign policy of Henry IV. undoubtedly forms another argument in

(1) *The Embassies of Antoine de la Boderie*, in the *Correspondant* for 1857, p. 237.

evidence of the sincerity of his abjuration of sectarian error, and of his vow of obedience to the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church. Had he been actuated by such sentiments as the utterance of the flippant phrase, "Paris is well worth a Mass," would imply, nothing would have been more easy or more natural than for him to have followed a policy of indifference in regard to his foreign religious brethren.

Not content with the protection of foreign Catholics, Henry IV. devised a project truly worthy of a French monarch, and the mere conception of which would almost vindicate his right to the title of "the Great" which his ultra admirers bestow on him. Certainly so sublime a design was not born in the brain of a hypocrite. With the possible sole exception of the question of the Papal temporal dominion, the most "vexing" political problem of our time is that which turns on the future fate of the "sick man of the East." In the days of Henry IV., a more evident vitality of religious ideas made the cruel fate of the Oriental Christians more poignant to the sympathies of their Western brethren than that fate is to us of the nineteenth century. Well, the hero of Ivry nearly arranged the affairs of the Grand Turk for all time. The *Mémoires* of Sully, who knew the secret mind of his royal master, give the details of the grand idea. Henry had sent to the Levant a few gentlemen, who, under the pretence of visiting the Holy Places, obtained accurate information as to the disposition of the people, the strength of the Mahometan forces, etc. He then resolved to undertake the conquest of Palestine; he endeavored to secure the co-operation of the other powers of Christendom, offering to them the temporal fruits of the enterprise, he coveting no other dominion than that of France. He began by trying to enlist the sympathy of those countries which were the more friendly to France; such as the Netherlands, Venice, and Switzerland. He then sought to placate England, Denmark, and Sweden; endeavoring to procure their recognition of the Supreme Pontiff as at least the first prince of Christendom in temporal matters. Then, taking special interest in that Holy Roman Empire which had begun its career under the ægis of his royal predecessors, he consulted the emperor and

the imperial cities ; and sought to know whether the rulers of Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia would concur with him in doing away forever with every cause of discord in Christendom. Finally, he treated with the Pontiff, who promised to aid his design in every legitimate manner. His main hope of uniting the powers of Europe resided in the constitution of a Christian Republic—in the revival of the *Populus Christianus* of the Middle Age. The Pope was to have, in addition to the states he already governed, the kingdom of Naples and the suzerainties of Sicily and of an Italian Republic. In order to regulate possible differences, each domination was to delegate four members to a general assembly which would meet in some place convenient to the majority. We cannot enter into the details of this vast project, which certainly was not above the strength of Henry IV. The enterprising hero intended to start on his Eastern expedition in 1610, but Providence had otherwise decreed.

We need not wonder at the readiness with which men have accepted as authentic the phrase with which many historians associate the name of Henry IV. His good naturedness has detracted from his grandeur, at least in the eyes of the masses ; and he had so much of the usual weakness of fallen humanity that the undiscerning—who compose, after all, the majority of even those who try to think—have readily fancied him capable of worse than weakness. Few men have spoken the language of sincerity more plainly than it was spoken by Henry IV., and his loyal utterances captivated the affections of all who knew him ; nevertheless, he does not produce that effect upon a sane imagination which the English James II., a less striking character, excites by preferring the Mass to the crown of three kingdoms. And although the verses of Voltaire would lead us to believe that the French of his day “cherished the memory of Henry,” it is certain that now there is not enough of popular tradition concerning that memory to form even an inconsistent myth. If you ask the first man whom you meet in the streets of Paris, what he thinks of Ivry, you will find that the newly-fledged republican knows not whether you allude to a man, a place, or a dish ; although it is probable that, thanks to a tavern-song, he will

hazily remember the *vert galant*; and that, thanks to the theatre, he may know that some French king wished that "every peasant had a chicken in the pot." Is it any wonder, then, that the authenticity of the absurd phrase has been so generally credited?

CHAPTER XXV.

RELIGIOUS INNOVATORS IN ITALY.

It is a great mistake to suppose that the Lutheran movement in Germany had no important religious and civil consequences for Italy; and it is certain that the first signs of an agitation against the then existing order of religious things manifested themselves among the Italians long before the rash Augustinian began his innovations. Many of the peninsulars were actuated by a spirit of true piety in their denunciations of too evident abuses; and like the disciples of Savonarola, they never dreamed of disputing the dogmatic decisions of the Spouse of Christ. And the very freedom which all the Italian governments—even the Papal—then allowed to almost any criticism of the methods and conduct of the *Curia*, served as a safety-valve for an effervescence which repression, in other lands, caused to eventuate in an explosion. Nor should it be forgotten that the superiority of Italian logic over that of the northern nations, and the thorough acquaintance of the people with the jeopardized institutions, prevented their fall into that error of confounding principles with individuals, which was the bane of the less judicial minds of the Germans and English. And another fact contributed to reduce to a comparative minimum the results of the Protestant propaganda in Italy. Nations do not easily abandon the cult of their glorious traditions. Hence the Italians remembered that the influence of their country over the rest of the civilized world, and even their material wealth, were results of the residence of the Pope-Kings in their land. The prime object of Protestantism was war upon that Pontiff, who represented Italian liberty and Italian culture; and

therefore the Italians rejected it with disdain. Again, Protestantism was the work of a "barbarian," and it was a parvenu. *Noblesse oblige*. Scarcely one of the great families was unable to boast of its connection with the grandest and the sole unadulterated aristocracy in the universe—that of Heaven. How could the scions of such houses welcome a system which tore the halo from the brows of their ancestors, profaned their tombs, and scattered their holy relics to the winds? Look at Tuscany alone. There were the houses from which came the Seven Founders of the Servites: Buonfigliuolo Monaldi, Buonagiunta Manetti, Manetto dell'Antella, Amadio Amadei, Uguccione Uguccioni, Sostegno Sostegni, Alessio Falconieri. The Ricci gloried in their St. Catharine; the Orsini lauded their St. Andrew; the Falconieri told of their Blessed Juliana and Carissima; the Pazzi pointed to their St. Magdalen; the Guidi narrated the wondrous deeds of their Blessed Charles; the Soderini descanted on the graciousness of their Blessed Jane; the Vespignani presented their Blessed John; the Adimari indicated their St. Ubaldo; the Della Rena di Certaldo prayed to their Blessed Julia; the Gambacurta of Pisa sought the intercession of their Blessed Peter. And so on; throughout Italy the praise of innumerable Italian saints was daily chanted by Italian voices, and it is not likely that those blessed ones neglected to pray for those who were bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh. Undoubtedly there were a few who followed the Will-o'-the-Wisp of the day; and these came from the lettered circles, rather than from the nobles, as was the case in France, or from the sovereign princes, as happened in Germany—at least at the outset.

VALDEZ. In Naples the first seeds of Protestantism were sowed by the German troops of Charles V. who, after their sacking of Rome in 1527, entered the kingdom to expel the French; but the real "Triumvirs of the Satanic Republic," as Anthony Caracciolo termed them, were Valdez, Ochino, and Peter Martyr (Vermiglio). John Valdez was a courtier of Charles V., and having been denounced as a heretic by the papal nuncio at Madrid, he deemed it prudent to move to Naples, where the national privileges restrained Charles from intro-

ducing the Spanish Inquisition. His learning obtained for Valdez admittance into the most refined circles of Naples, and he became secretary to the viceroy, Toledo. Commenting on one of the works of Valdez (1), a famous innovator of that time, Celio Secondo Roterio (2), terms the author "the most solid writer on religious matters that the world has seen, since the Evangelists handled pen." Vergerio says that Valdez was assigned by God as teacher to many of the most illustrious personages of Naples, and that the most worthy of the Italian Reformers owed their enlightenment to him. We are not certain as to what doctrines Valdez professed: but we know that the Socinians claimed him. Beza says that this innovator's *Considerations* effected "much harm to the Reformed Church in Naples," and that the Lyonnese publisher of that book asked the pardon of Calvin for having issued it (3). Balbani, a minister of the Italian Protestants in Geneva, asserts that most of the converts of Valdez continued to attend at Mass, and that they generally backslided.

OCHINO. Bernardine Tommasini, generally known as Ochino, from the district of Oca, near Siena, where he was born, was in his youth a Franciscan of the "Strict Observance"; but he entered the Capuchin family, and in 1538, in the third General Chapter of that then new branch of the Minor Friars, he was chosen as General. He acquired a reputation for successful preaching, and Sadoletto—a good judge—used to say that he was the equal of any of the ancient orators. Charles V. declared that Ochino could wring tears from stones; and even Bembo, who cared little for the preaching of his day, wrote to the marchioness of Pescara in 1536, that he deemed himself blessed in having heard an orator so truly unctuous. Boverius, the Annalist of the Capuchins, is quite extravagant in his praise of Fra Bernardino's austerity, modesty, sagacity, and spirituality. Certainly, if epistolary evidence can be considered as enabling one to form a judgment of a writer's character, Ochino was, at one period,

(1) *One Hundred and Ten Divine Considerations by John Valdez, wherein are Discussed Things most Useful, Necessary, and Perfect, to Christian Perfection.* Basel, 1550.

(2) Called "Curione," from Chieri, his birthplace.

(3) *Works of Beza*, vol. III., ep. iv.

a markedly holy religious. But as early as 1539, there were whispers derogatory of his orthodoxy ; and when he preached in Naples, in that same year, he broached several errors concerning justification, purgatory, and indulgences. In one of his discourses, he audaciously falsified a passage of St. Augustine, in order to show that the great Doctor denied the necessity of good works. The saint had written : "He who created thee without thyself, will not save thee without thyself." But the friar read the words : "Will not He who created thee without thyself, save thee without thyself?" And about this time, the brethren of Ochino perceived that their superior was becoming careless, if not disgusted, with the devotional exercises of the community ; and even with the Holy Sacrifice. However, he continued to preach with the usual signs of sincerity ; and when a certain wise friar warned him that preaching without previous prayer was like riding without stirrups, the poor man was informed that he who does good constantly, is always at prayer. He tried to impress this sophism on the mind of the Pontiff ; for he asked for a dispensation from the Office, because of his many engagements for the pulpit. The crisis came. Pope Paul III. had signified his intention to enroll the famous Capuchin in the Sacred College ; and he was invited to visit the Eternal City. The uneasy conscience of the unfortunate must have led him to fear that a trap had been set for him ; for he visited Peter Martyr Vermiglio at Florence, and asked his advice. Vermiglio had already crossed the Rubicon ; and he counselled the Capuchin to do likewise—to give up everything, red hat and all, for God's sake. Ochino yielded to the arguments of Martyr, and taking from Renée of France, duchess of Ferrara, letters of introduction to Calvin, he bade farewell to Italy in Sept., 1542 ; and proceeding to Geneva, made the first step in the path of renunciation of all creature comforts in the cause of "the Gospel," by taking to himself a wife. It is needless to say that Calvin received the convert with open arms, and aided him in founding, in the Rome of the Reformation, a conventicle for Italian Protestant refugees. From the pen of Ochino there now began to issue a number of onslaughts on Catholic doctrine and practice, the chief of

which (1), even Sleidan, the panegyrist of the Reformers, termed a shameless production. But this work was less nauseating than the diatribe which he published concerning the character of Pope Paul III., and which decency will not allow us to quote (2). Ochino saw very little good in human reason. He regarded it as utterly incapable in all endeavors to arrive at truth in religious matters; there divine revelation is necessary; and an infallible interpreter of that revelation, he insisted, is also needed. And since he had rejected the Church as this interpreter, he was constrained to invoke the aid of immediate divine inspiration for each individual. Of course he discovered that divine inspiration told diametrically opposite things to Calvin and himself; and the discovery was emphasized when the former excommunicated him as a pestilent heretic, and forced him to flee for his life. Proceeding to England with Vermiglio and their respective wives, he helped in the Protestantization of that kingdom until the accession of Mary, when he settled in Zurich. Here his Unitarian notions brought him to grief, and he signed a Profession of Faith, whereby he swore to live and die in the faith of Zwingli. Nevertheless, he soon attacked the Zwinglian theories in the pulpit; and in his *Labyrinths* he denied nearly every Christian tenet. In the depth of winter, and in his seventy-seventh year, he was expelled from Zurich; and betook himself to Cracow. Neither age nor persecution had diminished his vanity; for we hear him thus descanting on himself to the Italian refugees in Poland: "Know that you are here to-day to behold no less than an apostle of God; for no man has ever suffered as I have, for the name and glory of Christ, and for the manifestation of truth regarding heavenly things. And even though it may not be granted to me to perform miracles, you ought to have as much faith in me as you would have in the Apostles; for I teach the very truths that they taught, and my sufferings are certainly mir-

(1) *A Hundred Apologies, in which are Revealed the Abuses, Superstitions, Errors, Idolatries, and Impieties of the Pope's Synagogue, and especially of His Priests, Monks, and Friars.*

(2) It is preserved in the Laurentian Library of Florence, with a tag directing that no copy shall ever be taken of it. But in 1581, Crispin, a disciple of Calvin, was not deterred by its filth from printing it in his *Condition of the Church*.

aculous enough for you." During the residence of Ochino in Poland, he gave a signal proof of his condescendence to worldly power. Like Luther in the case of the landgrave of Hesse, he advised King Sigismund to practice simultaneous bigamy; contending that when a man's wife is unhealthy or, in any way, distasteful to him, he should pray to God for the grace of continence; but that if he finds that gift not granted to him, "he need not fear that he will commit sin, if he follows his *divine instinct*, since obedience to God cannot be sinful" (1). When Bullinger styled Ochino "a man learned in a reprobate sense, an impious and malicious person, and an unmitigated liar," the ex-friar retorted: "I did not know that Bullinger was Pope in Zurich." Beza called him "a most libidinous wretch, an Arianizer, and a scoffer at Christ and his Church"; and this opinion of Beza caused Basel and Mulhausen to close their gates to Ochino when he sought their hospitality in his old age. He finally died in Moravia, in 1564. The Capuchin annalist, Boverius, contends that Ochino died in Geneva; that some days before the dread event, he confessed sacramentally to a priest, and avowed his repentance to many; that the Genevan magistrates ordered his assassination, in case of his persistence in his retractation; and that the sentence was executed with a dagger. Boverius adduces many witnesses, but their testimonies are not direct.

PETER MARTYR VERMIGLIO. In the year 1500, a devout Florentine gentleman, formerly a disciple of Savonarola, having lost all his boys in their infancy, made a vow to St. Peter Martyr (2), that if another were granted to him, he would dedicate the child to the saint. The prayer was heard; the young Vermiglio received the baptismal name of Peter Mar-

(1) In the Twenty-first of his *Thirty Dialogues*, he represents Sigismund under the name of Telipolgamus, and thus converses with him on the matter of a new wife:

T. *Quid vero mihi das consilii?*

O. *Ut plures uxores non ducas, sed Deum ores ut tibi continentem esse det.*

T. *Quid si nec donum mihi, nec ad se petendum fidem dabit?*

O. *Tum, si id feceris ad quod te Deus impellet, dummodo divinum esse instinctum exploratum habeas, non peccabis. Siquidem in obediendo Deo errari non potest.*

(2) Peter of Verona was martyred by the Lombard Patarines in 1252, and was venerated thereafter under the name of St. Peter Martyr. The epitaph on his tomb in the church of St. Eustorgius in Milan was written by St. Thomas of Aquino. Another famous Peter Martyr, a litterateur of Anghiera, was a contemporary of Vermiglio.

tyr; and by that name his memory is now revered by sincere Protestants. His mother was a highly educated woman, and under her care and that of Marcello Vergilio, secretary of the Republic, he developed into a most promising lad. In his seventeenth year he joined the Regular Canons of St. Augustine; and for ten years applied himself assiduously to the study of every branch of sacred and profane science. His first essay as a preacher was made at Brescia in 1527, and for some time he distinguished himself as a professor of Scripture in Padua, Ravenna, Bologna, and Vercelli. In 1541, while giving a course of Biblical interpretations in Naples, he explained certain passages of St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians in a manner which the Theatines and many others denounced as unorthodox; and the viceroy, Toledo, prohibited his preaching. Upheld by his own Order and by many influential civilians, Vermiglio refused to obey, and appealed successfully to the Holy See. Appointed to the priory of San Frediano in Lucca, his expressions became noted for rashness, even when he discoursed in the cathedral; and when, in 1542, instead of attending a General Chapter of his Order—which he probably dreaded, he fled to Zurich, few were surprised. Of course he now married, and in 1547 Crammer invited him and Ochino to contribute to the diffusion of spiritual light in England. He was made Regius professor of theology at Oxford, and from that time until his death, even when he was residing abroad, the course of the Reformation in England revolves around the name of Peter Martyr. When Mary ascended the throne, Vermiglio proceeded to Strasburg (1); then to Zurich, where he taught Biblical science for several years. At the famous Colloquy of Poissy he played a prominent part; and when he described the occurrences to Bullinger, he declared that Catharine dei Medici was blind, if she thought that the Church would ever be reformed by the bishops. During this Colloquy, Cardinal Commendone wrote to St. Charles Borromeo: "Friar Martyr

(1) The first wife of Vermiglio died in England, and was buried in the cathedral of Oxford, next to the body of St. Frideswida. When Catholicism was restored by Mary, the corpse of Mrs. Peter Martyr was removed to a more appropriate spot; but Elizabeth again located it next to the holy remains; the ceremonial oration concluding with the words, "Here religion and superstition lie side by side."

has free access to the queen, and although I do not doubt the good will of her Majesty, I fear that this intimacy will prejudice the good cause, since it disconcerts the Catholics, and encourages the Protestants." When Vermiglio was at the point of death, he was attended by Bullinger; and in his delirium, he confuted the Ubiquitists (1). Protestant polemics are prone to dilate upon the conciliatory tendencies of Peter Martyr; but they do not ask attention to one very eloquent instance of his exhibition of these estimable proclivities. We have seen how Ochino imitated his spiritual father in allowing a man to commit simultaneous bigamy. Vermiglio's conciliatory inclinations led him to a similar act of kindness. Among the conquests of Valdez in the kingdom of Naples, was Galeazzo Caracciolo, only son of Colantonio Caracciolo, chamberlain to Charles V., and one of the first personages of the realm. Galeazzo was married to a daughter of the powerful duke of Nocera; the couple were devoted to each other; and several children had blessed their union. When the sophisms of Valdez had obscured the brain of Galeazzo, he tried in vain to shake the faith of his wife, and therefore joined the Reformers in Germany, unaccompanied by his family. In his loneliness he applied to Peter Martyr to learn whether he could take another spouse, one of "the religion," who would help him to save his soul. Calvin also, and Zanchi, an apostate Canon from Bergamo, were consulted. Scriptural passages certainly proclaimed the indissolubility of consummated Christian matrimony; but the three conciliatory theologians found that Galeazzo was justified in marrying again, for did not Our Lord say: "Every one that hath left house . . . or wife, . . . for my name's sake, *shall receive an hundred-fold*"? (2) By this conclusive argument the tender conscience of the convert was satisfied; and on Jan. 10, 1560, he was united to one Anna Fremery of Rouen.

VERGERIO. The Vergerii, or rather Verzerii, were among

(1) When Luther was told that the Body of Christ cannot be in the Eucharist because it is at the right hand of the Father, he replied that the Redeemer is present everywhere, even as man. This opinion was inserted in the Lutheran Creed in the *Book of Harmony*. The opinion of the Ubiquitists coincides with that of the ancient Entychians, who held that the humanity of Christ, like his divinity, is everywhere, even in hell. Most Lutherans are Ubiquitists.

(2) MATT. XIX. 29.

the noblest families of Dalmatia, and since the day when that territory became a Venetian possession, they had been far more Italian than Croatian. Peter Paul, like all noble Dalmatians of his day, made his studies in Padua; and when he had taken his degrees, he filled various juridical positions in Verona and Venice, until he entered the service of Cardinal Contarini at Rome. His brother Aurelio, afterward a knight of Malta, was then secretary to Pope Clement VII.; and thus he was brought to the notice of the Pontiff, who conceived a favorable opinion of his ability. As legate to King Ferdinand of Germany, he manifested much zeal in opposing the progress of Protestantism; and his letters during that mission are redolent of contempt for the leading innovators (1). On Aug. 27, 1534, he writes to their Serenities of Venice to warn them how much the Republic will suffer, if any leniency is shown toward "the accursed progeny of Luther"; and he tells them to be alert lest "the poison of heresy and sedition he smuggled among the commodities imported into that Republic which has ever been known to God and men as most ready to shed its best blood in evidence of its devotion to the true faith." Three days afterward, he writes to Mgr. Carnesecchi that "if the Most Serene is lenient toward the Reformers, woe to all Italy!" At Vienna he talked with Luther; but the reader must not credit the account of that interview which Fra Paolo Sarpi invented for the delectation of the credulous foes of papal Rome. The bribes which Vergerio is said to have offered to the ex-Augustinian in the name of the Pontiff; the melodramatic scorn with which the burly heresiarch is said to have repulsed the oily intermediary; all these minutiae are wanting in the pages of Seckendorf, who would have gladly detailed them, had they existed in the regions of fact. Vergerio says that he found Luther "Ugly in features, in dress, and in manners. ... He speaks Latin so vilely, that I cannot believe that he is the real author of the treatises which bear his name. ... He is arrogance itself, malignant, and impudent. ... It sickened me to listen to him; and I addressed to him only a couple of words, and those merely because I did not wish to appear like a

(1) Vatican Archives; *Nunciatures of Germany*, vol. IV.

log" (1). At this time, Vergerio was still a layman; but when he returned to Italy, he was ordained, and soon consecrated as bishop of Madrusc in Croatia. Then he was transferred to the see of Capo d'Istria, his birthplace. At the conference of Worms in 1540, he represented both the Pope and the French monarch; and he delivered an impressive discourse on the unity of the Church. But it would seem that at this very time some parties had insinuated doubts as to his orthodoxy; for on December 26, he wrote to the cardinal of Brindisi in terms of strong indignation concerning the hideous inculpation. He admits that he has corresponded with Bucer, Melancthon, and other heretics, but adds: "If you do not think that the Holy Spirit and my conscience will keep me in the path of duty, you may rely upon the influence of my temporal comfort, my family, my bishopric, and my country, to restrain me." However, it is certain that his entry into the diocese of Capo d'Istria was signalized by many innovations, some of which endangered the purity of dogma. His correspondence with Margaret of Navarre, a fanatical Calvinist, became constant. In Aug., 1544, the famous Mgr. Della Casa arrived in Venice as papal nuncio. Although preconized to the archiepiscopal see of Benevento, this prelate had not yet received even minor orders—a state of things which was but too common at that period. Soon after the arrival of Della Casa, the suspected incumbent of Capo d'Istria was cited to appear before his tribunal, to justify himself of the charge of heresy. Vergerio replying that he would appear before no tribunal other than that of a General Council, the nuncio began to take evidence in the case; and the process dragged its weary length along for several years, during which the criminated prelate was in no way disturbed, unless by ebullitions of his people, who were firmly convinced that their ordinary was a heretic. When Vergerio presented himself at the Council of Trent, the synodals refused to admit him to their sessions, unless he justified himself before the Supreme Pontiff. Finally, as he persistently declined to obey the papal citations, he was declared

(1) Vatican codex 3,914, fol. 263. The letter is dated Nov. 12. 1535. from "The residence of Duke George of Saxony, in Dresden."

contumacious, and deposed from the episcopal dignity, on July 3, 1549. If the Reformers exulted when the one-time-legate entered their ranks, they soon lamented their welcome to a firebrand in their already discordant circles. The convert differed especially with Luther. He never ceased to remind his comrades in revolt that he had received episcopal consecration; and ever tried to exercise a kind of episcopal authority. To the ex-Angustinian this assumption was more than distasteful; for he affected to despise the consecration of "the Beast." When Bullinger reproved Gallicius for discourtesy to Vergerio, he was told that a man could not be tolerated, who thought that the heavens would fall, unless he, like Atlas, supported them on his shoulders. In 1553, Vergerio was made counsellor and preacher to the prince of Wurtemberg, by whom he was supported during the remainder of his days. This curious man knew no such thing as certainty or consistency in religious matters; and his panegyrist, Xist, naively apologizes for his alternations between Calvinism, Lutheranism, Zwinglianism, and Picardism, by the convenient theory that the atmosphere which we breathe must necessarily determine our religious convictions.

GENTILE. Among the members of that Academy of Vicenza concerning which the lettered of the sixteenth century talked so much, but of which we know very little, was an eminent physician of Cosenza named Gentile. Having been illumined by the light of the New Gospel, he took his family out of benighted Italy, and educated them in the progressive school of Geneva. His son Valentine progressed into a denial of the Trinity, and became one of the prominent Unitarian professors who so worried the life of the Genevan Pope. In a book dedicated to the king of Poland, he says: "There are no such words as Trinity, Homousion, Person, Essence, or Hypostasis, in the Scriptures or in the Catholic Symbols. You find therein only one God, and he is *autotheos*, infusing His divinity into Christ, His Son. Christ is the symbol of the glory of the Father; He is God, but not such *per se*. The Holy Ghost is the divine power in actuation. Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are distinct in person, essence, and degree. Calvin adores a Quaternity, not a Trinity; for he

teaches that if the Hypostasis be removed, the Divinity remains ; that each Person is truly God ; that, therefore, there are four Gods" (1). Calvin can find no invectives sufficiently bitter to indicate his hatred of Gentile ; he terms his co-innovator a good-for-nothing "who eats the mud which he finds in the trough of Servetus." And the Genevan despot, who would brook no rival in his hold on the intellects of the emancipated, drew up a formulary of "orthodoxy" which all the Italian Protestants were to sign, under pain of banishment or death. Gentile would not willingly court the fate of Servetus, and like the immense majority of the "escaped slaves of the Pope" then in Switzerland, he signed the saving document. But as he continued to teach Unitarianism, Calvin threw him into prison. Again he retracted ; whereupon sentence was pronounced in these terms : "Although your wickedness and malice are so tremendous that you deserve to be exterminated from among men as a seducer, heretic, and schismatic ; nevertheless, since you have come to your senses, we sentence you to merely the following punishment. You shall be stripped to your shirt ; and then, bare-headed and bare-footed, with a lighted candle in your hand, you shall come before us your judges, and beg for our forgiveness ; and finally, with your own hands, you shall cast into the flames all of your pernicious and lying writings." This sentence was carried out on Sept. 2, 1558 ; and Gentile was also compelled to swear that he would not leave Geneva during the remainder of his life. But he availed himself of an early opportunity to escape to Savoy ; from whence he went to France, and then, for several years he propagated his tenets in that kingdom, in Poland, Moravia, and even Vienna. When Calvin died, Gentile fancied that he might return to Switzerland with impunity ; but the spirit of Calvin survived, and he was arrested on June 11, 1566, regularly tried on the charge of relapse into heresy, and beheaded in Berne. While walking to the block, he vaunted : "Many have died for the Son ; I am the first to die for the supreme glory of the Father."

SOCINUS. The Anti-Trinitarians of the sixteenth century

(1) GABEREL ; *Calvin at Geneva*.—LADERCHI ; *Continuation of Baronio*.

boasted of no members so learned and influential as the Sozzini, or, as they are now known, from the Latin form of their name, the Socini. Alberic Socinus taught jurisprudence at Oxford in 1608, and Scipio in Heidelberg. Lelio, who was a member of the Academy of Vicenza, settled in Zurich; and the catastrophe of Servetus led him to dissimulate his religious theories, while he lived within reach of the clutches of Calvin. But when he migrated to Poland, he openly propagated them. Faustus Socinus, a nephew of Lelio, born in Siena on Dec. 5, 1539, was an elegant writer, an impressive orator, a learned jurisconsult, and a profound general scientist. Educated by Lelio, he naturally became a fervid Unitarian, and after twelve years of honorable service in the grand-ducal court of Tuscany, he migrated to Cracow, where, thanks to the indifferentism of King Sigismund Augustus, the Anti-Trinitarians possessed a college, printing establishment, and all the paraphernalia of a legally recognized sect. Socinus found the Polish Unitarians in sad confusion concerning what was really meant by their cardinal tenets; and his arrival augmented the discord, for he brought forward a Creed which he had found among the papers of his uncle, which advanced doctrines essentially different from those received in Poland and Transylvania. According to Socinus, the first Reformers effected some good, but their work was very imperfect; religion, said he, ought to be freed from all dogmas which transcend reason. God is one in essence and in person. Christ is inferior to God in that majesty and power which He acquired by His obedience and death. Conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, and therefore styled the Son of God, Jesus was carried before the divine throne before He entered upon His teaching career, and at the foot of that throne He learned His sublime doctrines. As a reward for His obedience, Jesus was raised to divine dignity, and received dominion over everything heavenly and earthly; therefore, concluded Socinus, we may and ought to adore Christ as God. In this last doctrine, the Italian theorizer differed from the Transylvanian Unitarians; but at the most he made Christ a subaltern God, whom the One, True God had placed over the universe. He differed also from

the Arians, inasmuch as those heretics, although they regarded the Son as a created being, insisted that He was created before all other creatures. Socinus taught that man was mortal before his fall; otherwise, Christ would have abolished death, when He conquered sin. Original sin, said Socinus, is not transmitted. Man has free will; the divine omnipotence does not cover human actions; Christ did not satisfy for the sins of men, for God had pardoned man before Jesus was born. Of his own strength, declared Socinus, man discerns evil from good; and he obtains the idea of God and divine things only from instruction. The reader will perceive that Socinus was a far more resolute heresiarch than Luther dared to be. Socinus did not openly deny all the supersensible; but he rejected all dogmas, taught unbelief, and was the progenitor of our modern rationalists. When he died in 1604, his admirers wrote as his epitaph: "Luther destroyed the roofs of Babylon; Calvin her walls; Socinus her foundations."

BRUNO. This ex-Dominican friar was one of the most famous innovators of his day, but he merits the title of Buddhist as much as he does that of Protestant. He never claimed to be either Lutheran, Anglican, Calvinist, or Zwinglian. He tells us that while he resided in Geneva, the headquarters of Calvinism, he listened to the sermons of the French and Italian sectarians there assembled, but he adds: "When I was warned that I could not remain, unless I adopted the Genevan creed, I departed." The year 1579 found him lecturing at the Sorbonne in Paris. During his three years in England, he prudently lauded Elizabeth, "The unique Diana who is to us all what the sun is to the stars"; but he manifested no leaning toward Anglicanism, and when he taught the movement of the earth, the Oxford dons forced him to leave the country. Arrived in Germany, he was pleased with the toleration accorded to him by the Lutherans, "although their faith differed from his own" (1). In fact, Bruno taught

(1) "*Non vestræ religionis dogmate probatum.*" Thus in his *De Lampade Combinatoria*—Cantù says of Bruno: "He was in reality a rationalist two centuries before Hegel; and he furnished to the German the formula of the harmony of contradictories ('That which is contradictory everywhere else, is one and the same in God; and everything is the same in Him.' Thus in his *On Cause*, Dial. 3). His mind was solitary and impassioned;

everywhere the Pythagorean system concerning the world, and an Eleatic pantheism which he clothed in Neo-Platonic forms ; and he advanced both with ridiculous vanity. He announced himself to the Oxford professors as "A teacher of the most sublime philosophy ; professor of the purest and most harmless wisdom ; a doctor recognized by every academy in Europe ; a teacher unknown only to barbarians ; the awakener of sleeping geniuses ; the tamer of presumptuous and recalcitrant ignorance ; a universal philanthropist, as all his actions proclaim ; a man who loves an Italian no more than he does an Englishman, another man no more than he does a woman ; . . . he is detested by hypocrites and by the propagators of insanity, but is revered by the upright, and applauded by every noble genius." As to the tragic death of Bruno at the stake on Feb. 17, 1600, it was almost certain until 1891 that the sentence was carried out only in effigy ; but investigation into the archives of the Confraternity of San Giovanni Decollato has proved that the unfortunate perished as his otherwise mendacious Roman monument asserts. We shall devote a special chapter to Bruno, since his nearly extinct memory has been recently revived.

VANINI. This theologaster, also a Neapolitan, was born in 1586, and made his studies at Padua, finally becoming a Regular Canon. He tells us that when he visited Geneva, he feared for his life, because of the Calvinists ; that then he went to Lyons, where also he narrowly escaped death, but at the hands of the Catholics ; that therefore he passed into England, "where the Protestants imprisoned him for forty-nine days, he being ardently desirous of martyrdom" (1). Having returned to Italy, he opened a school in Genoa, but his strange doctrines soon caused another expatriation, and

and his thoughts were like his style, a mixture of the sublime and the trivial, of hymns and imprecations. His genius was grand, vague, and paradoxical. He was melancholy, and as rampant as his own Vesuvius. He knew not what he really desired ; and he possessed none of that sentiment of the real which sacrifices forms for substance. When we see him trying to found a Nolan system of philosophy, and hear him promising to explain everything if he has only the time, we must place him among those who abandon the universal laws of thought, and its harmony with reality, in order to recur to those of sense and self-love." *Heretics of Italy* ; dis. 42.

(1) Thus in his *Divine-Magical, Christian-Physical, and Astrologico-Catholic Amphitheatre of Eternal Providence, against the Ancient Philosophers, Atheists, Epicureans, Peripatetics, and Stoics*.

going to Gascony, he became a monk, and led an apparently edifying life for some years. But having been detected in gross immoralities, he was unfrocked, and proceeded to Paris. Here the papal nuncio took pity on him, gave him hospitality, and finally procured a chaplaincy for him. But he now attracted the attention of the Sorbonne by his atheistical talk; and after a vain flight to Toulouse for impunity, he was arrested, tried, and condemned to the stake. He died unrepentant on Feb. 19, 1618, boasting that he was more intrepid than Christ, for the Saviour had sweated blood through fear. Probably Leibnitz judged rightly when he said that Vanini should have been sent to a lunatic asylum, rather than to execution. Cousin says that if Vanini had succeeded in having his case tried by the Roman Inquisition, as he desired, instead of by the parliament of Toulouse, merely some disciplinary punishment would have been inflicted. According to Vanini, intelligence has no influence over matter; the soul none over the body. Nay, matter gives impulse to intelligence; the body to the soul. Therefore, God is not the Author of the universe. Man comes from putrefaction, and from the successive perfection of the species. Many animals are stronger than man, and *therefore* his destiny can be no higher than their destiny. Hence the best thing for man here on earth, is to enjoy himself; "Every hour is lost, which is not devoted to love." In spite of his flagrant materialism, Vanini was wont to assert: "However, I submit all my teachings to the judgment of the Church." One day, when he was interrogated as to his candid opinion on the matter of immortality, he replied: "I have sworn never to tackle that question, until I am old, rich, and a German." Once an admirer observed to him: "If you were not Vanini, you would be God"; whereupon the wretch complacently returned: "I am Vanini." Certain philosophasters of our day must have studied Vanini's ideas of social economy: "Just as the prudent forester annually cuts down dead or otherwise useless trees, so in all large cities the government ought to rid itself of the old, the infirm, and all other useless persons, by putting them to death" (1).

(1) For details concerning Vanini, see VAISSE; *Lucilio Vanini, His Life, Doctrine, and*

FERRANTE PALLAVICINO was a learned noble of Piacenza, and a Canon Regular. Amorous intrigues in Milan necessitated his departure for Germany, where he fell in love with the "New Gospel." Then he inundated the world with a torrent of lucubrations, would-be sacred and profane—ascetic and erotic songs, moral discourses and novels, panegyrics and diatribes—in all of which the salient feature was obscenity. His most "spiritual" treatise was one on the *Beauties of the Soul*, as illustrated by those of the female bosom. As may be conjectured, his manner of treating such subjects as *Susanna*, as *Joseph*, as *Samson*, was equally prurient. The German and English Protestants gladly acclaimed his lubricious *Celestial Divorce Caused by the Dissoluteness of the Roman Wife; Dedicated to All the Most Famous Courtesans*. Arrested by the papal authorities of Avignon, he was beheaded in 1644.

DE DOMINIS. This apostate archbishop was born in 1546, in Dalmatia, then Venetian territory. He became a Jesuit, but soon secularized himself. In time he was raised to the metropolitan see of Spalatro, thus becoming primate of Dalmatia and Croatia. His early years under the mitre were distinguished by an affectation of apostolical simplicity, and by an inordinate yearning for religious novelties. Called to Rome to vindicate his orthodoxy, he allayed all suspicion; but soon afterward he laid aside his pastoral staff, and proceeding to London, he was received into the Anglican communion in St. Paul's. The royal theologian, James L., made him dean of Windsor; but remorse soon seized him, and he announced from the pulpit that mere jealousy had prompted his apostasy. He then wrote to Pope Gregory XV., who had been one of his pupils: "I have wandered, like a lost lamb. Seek me, Most Blessed Father, for I have not forgotten the commandments of God and of His Church." Returning to Rome, the unfortunate made his abjuration in full Consistory; but Urban VIII., just made Pontiff, having learned that the apparently repentant prodigal continued to correspond with suspicious persons, relegated him to Castel Sant' Angelo, and

Death, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Toulouse. GRAMM; *Hist. of France after the Death of Henry III.*; Amsterdam, 1653. OLEARIUS; *Life and Deeds of Vanini*; Jena, 1708.—For an ingenious defence of same, P. F. ARPE, *Apology*; Rotterdam, 1712.

ordered an investigation. While this was in train, the ex-prelate died, in 1623; and when it was afterward proved that he had recently contended that salvation could be attained with equal ease in any Christian organization, his remains were removed from consecrated ground and burned, together with his work on *The Christian Republic* (1).

At an early period of the Reformation, the foes of the Holy See anticipated success in the Republic of Venice; even in 1520, Luther congratulated some of his Venetian correspondents on the "progress made by the word of God" in their country (2). In 1538, Melancthon besought the Senate to allow the erection of a Protestant temple, urging that their Serenities "should grant, especially to the learned, the right to express their opinions, and to teach them" (3). But in 1539, the same Melancthon complained that the Most Serene was not sufficiently severe in repressing the Anti-Trinitarians, and he implored the oligarchs not to confound those "heretics" with himself and the other "pure Reformers of Germany" (4). With few exceptions, however, the Venetians were not disposed to encourage a movement which was, at its best, a powerful incentive of discord in the state; and furthermore, as we shall see when we come to consider the interdict launched against the Republic by Pope Paul V., the Most Serene was Catholic to its inmost core.

Of all the Italian states, Lombardy seemed to promise, at one period, to be a favorable field for the religious despoiler, despite the fact that the intense aversion of its people for the German line of the Holy Roman Emperors had ever been a powerful nutrient of Guelphic sentiment. The Patarine and kindred sects of the thirteenth century had left too many seeds in the Catholic soil. And Humanistic ideas were quite the fashion among the Lombards; the Renaissance had excited a spirit of inquiry, and its worship of antiquity had evolved, in some minds, a sort of pitying contempt for so comparatively modern a system as Christianity. Hence the "Gospel of liberty" was less horrible to the average Lombard than

(1) The curious reader will find an account of this trial in the *History of the Inquisition* by the Protestant Limborch.

(2) *Complete Works*, edit. Walch., XXI., p. 1692.

(3) *Epistles*, edit. Lond., col. 150 and 151.

(4) *Ibid.*, vol. I., p. 100.

to other Italians, and as early as 1521, verses in praise of the unfrocked friar of Wittemberg were current in Milan (1). When Philip II. mounted the Spanish throne, and thereby obtained the Iron Crown of Lombardy, he thought to stem the advancing torrent of heresy by the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition. But the people resisted, and besought Pope Pius II. not to gratify the prince. They insisted that "it would be tyranny to establish in a Christian city, that form of Inquisition which had been designed for Moors and Jews." They sent representatives to the Council of Trent to beg the synodals to remember the abuses of the Spanish tribunal, and to reflect that "Philip might be expected to exercise greater ones in Lombardy, which was not his own country." Cardinal Morone, then presiding legate at the Council, assured the petitioners that the synodal decrees would exempt their land from the dread tribunal, leaving it under the milder jurisdiction of the Roman Inquisition; and although this promise was not fulfilled, the influence of the Lombard prelates led the duke of Sessa, the royal governor, to suspend his master's decree, and soon it became a dead letter.

We have observed that such influence as the German innovators obtained in Italy was exercised chiefly over the minds of the superlatively lettered class, the too frequently wayward devotees of the Renaissance. But there were some other celebrities, in whose writings there sometimes appear expressions which seem to have been conceived in the atmosphere of Protestantism, but who, nevertheless, remained faithful to Holy Mother Church; as will be evinced by an examination of not merely the remote, but even the proximate context of the writings which interested criticism would fain criminate. And even though such persons may have wandered temporarily, their intellects, not their wills, were at fault; for sincere error is not wilful heresy. Nor ought it

(1) One of these poems thus terminated:

"Macte igitur virtute, pater celebrande Luthere,

Communis cujus pendet ab ore salus;

Gratia cui ablatis debetur maxima monstis,

Alcidis potuit quæ metuisse manus."

—SCHÆLHORN; *Ecclesiastical Amenities.*

be forgotten that the doctrines on justification had not yet been precisely explained by the Council of Trent; and it was precisely because of certain ambiguous notions on such difficult subjects that suspicion fell, in the minds of some, on the learned and devout princess, Victoria Colonna, on Cardinal Pole, and on other celebrities of their circle. Let it be noted, also, that in the early years of the sixteenth century, many very pious Italians were confounded with real heretics, merely because of their austerity and their frequent theological debates, things which were a kind of protest against an indifference which was but too prevalent at the time.

Among the more celebrated of those Italians of the sixteenth century, whom Protestants would have us regard as at least sympathizers with the Reformation, we shall notice only Marcantonio Flaminio and Michelangelo Buonarroti. Flaminio was one of the foremost Humanists of the day, a learned physician, and an elegant Latinist. He did not escape the vigilance of Muzio, an untiring and over-zealous seeker for heresy, wherever it might lurk (and wherever it was not); and the result of the investigation was that the works of Flaminio were regarded by many as dangerous for Christians. But the reader shall judge whether a heretic would have written as this scholar wrote to the famous Carnesecchi: "May God deliver you from the arrogance of those who despise the judgment and the practice of the Universal Church. . . . Let us humble ourselves before God; and let us be carried away by no argument, be it ever so specious, to withdraw from the unity of the Catholic Church. . . . We should not explain divine things by human reasons." When Cardinal Pole went as papal legate to the Council of Trent, he made the Humanist one of his secretaries; and when death summoned him in 1550, the same zealous prelate placed his remains in the vaults of the English College at Rome. As to the orthodoxy of Michelangelo, it was reserved to a German writer of our day to question it (1). This genius asserts that the great artist and poet denied the existence of purgatory and the necessity of the Sacraments; and he adduces as proof a letter in which, after deploring the death

(1) HERMANN GRIMM; *Life of Michael Angelo Bonarotti*, 1880.

of his brother, Michelangelo writes : " You inform me that he did not have all the rites of the Church, but that he had great contrition. Well, that was enough for his salvation." Certainly this phrase may be so understood as to imply the truth of the German biographer's supposition. . But the reader will note what Grimm carefully ignores ; namely, that in a previous letter to the friend who had told him of the demise of Giovansimone, the artist had so expressed himself as to indicate his own orthodoxy as plainly as he shows the contemptibly bad faith of the historian. He had said : " I would very much like to know what kind of death he met ; whether he confessed and communicated, satisfying all the ordinances of the Church. Were I to learn that he did all this, I would grieve less." So much for Grimm. Again Vasari tells us that he accompanied Michelangelo, in his last days, through all the exercises of the Jubilee, and that the artist showed every mark of ardent faith.

And now a word as to the assertion by Protestant polemics that Italy lost much worldly prosperity by her rejection of the New Gospel. It is not our province to examine here whether worldly prosperity is or not a necessary concomitant of the possession of religious truth. But we would ask whether the modern decadence of Italy—which has been greatly exaggerated (unless we regard the Italy of the last thirty years)—is attributable to Catholicism. That the reply must be negative, is evident from the fact that Catholic institutions once, and for many centuries, were productive of the greatest glories of Italy. The careful student of history discerns very different reasons for the decadence of Italy (1). In their argumentation to the effect that Italy would have retained her commercial and industrial primacy, had she accompanied England and Germany in their revolt against Rome, Protestant polemics fall into an error of logic unworthy of a schoolboy ; they insist that " after that " implies " because of that "—*Post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. At the time of the Reformation, many causes were contributing to the decadence of Italy. The discovery of the New World, due to one of her

(1) What we now remark concerning Italy, will apply also, *mutatis mutandis*, to Spain and Portugal.

sons ; and the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama ; turned commerce from her shores. And then, remarks Cantù, came " the destruction of her small republics ; the mania of Italians for fighting no longer for country and their rights, but for the pretensions of princes ; the revival in Europe of ambition for foreign conquests, one of the sores of pagan Rome which had been healed by feudalism ; the consequent invasion of Italy by the foreigner ; the general adoption of standing armies by the invaders ; the revival of classic studies, which substituted a veneration of force such as the pagan State demanded, instead of Christian justice." Then came the religious, or rather the irreligious Thirty Years' War, terminated by the Peace of Westphalia, the consequence of which was that " Germany lost that primacy which had been hers during the Middle Age. Hence, the Germans, who had been driven into the Reformation by their envy of our more brilliant sun, of our more harmonious language, of our more polished manners, of our more liberal institutions, of our more advanced civilization ; encountered their own ruin through their hatred of Italy. They feared the pre-eminence of the Latin race ; and therefore they warred against Spain ; that country was Catholic, and therefore they warred against Catholicism. And all that resulted was the consolidation of the House of Austria, which thenceforward retained the German crown and the dominion of Italy. Instead of abolishing the Empire, they abolished the Pope ; instead of acquiring civil and municipal liberty, they obtained freedom from going to Mass and Confession, and the right to sing hymns in German. But Italy suffered much more. Her fruitful partition into small states disappeared before the Austro-Spanish supremacy, which was no longer counterbalanced by France, and was held within some sort of bounds only by the republics of Venice and Genoa " (1). So much for the decadence of Italy, whose people, until the triumph of Cavour, Mazzini, and Co.—that is, of the Masonic Lodges—were in much better economic conditions than those entailed by the Reformation upon Great Britain (2).

(1) *Heretics of Italy*, discourse 48 ; Turin, 1866.

(2) The following observations of Fergueray are worthy of attention : " The Church should

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE PROTESTANTIZATION OF ENGLAND.—ANGLICAN “ORDERS.”

A detailed account of the laying of the corner-stone of the English Church Establishment is not necessary for our purpose. Probably the reader is acquainted with the first steps in the path of schism taken by the royal lecher who placed the bed of his concubine between England and Rome. Henry VIII. detached England from the unity of the Church ; but it was during the reign of his successor, Edward VI., that England was first subjected to the process of Protestantization. So long as Henry lived, no man in his kingdom dared to broach the idea of a subversion of Catholic doctrine, unless in the one, albeit vital, point of Papal Supremacy. Every English Christian, according to his need, still imbibed divine grace from its sacramental fountains ; the Sacrifice of Calvary was still repeated on every English altar ; and the Sacramental Lord of the Tabernacle still welcomed His devoted visitors. Henry shed torrents of blood in his sacrilegious endeavor to unite the prerogatives of the tiara with those of the crown (1) ; but he would tolerate an attack on the deposit of faith, only when the onslaught conduced to the gratification of his lust. But in 1547, when the soiled

not be made responsible for the inferiority of certain Catholic countries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Then she had lost all influence in the civil government of those peoples. The ‘external bishop’ (the sovereign), encroaching upon the prerogatives of the real bishop, had usurped even purely spiritual functions ; and the clergy were (too often, but not always, thank God !) slaves of the monarch. Then, at Madrid as well as at Paris, monarchical supremacy had raised itself on the ruins of all anterior powers, even of the ecclesiastical. Certainly, priests and monks enjoyed wealth and honor ; but these were no compensation for lost freedom. *Openly assailed by the Protestant sects, insidiously attacked by the blind ambition of princes, the Catholic Church was forced to allow the world to follow its inclinations. She waited for better days ; when, after many disappointments, the world would again hearken to her voice ; and she confined herself to her principal function, the preservation of dogmatic truth. She had abdicated as the director of Christian states. Therefore man should not blame her for the evils of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is not difficult to point out the culprit whom men should blame ; that culprit was absolute monarchy.*” And we must never forget that absolute monarchy, as experienced in Christian States, was the progeny of Protestantism.

(1) During eight years of his reign, he sent to a traitor’s death, because of their fidelity to the Holy See, one cardinal, twenty bishops, thirteen abbots, five hundred monks and friars, thirty-eight secular priests, twelve dukes and earls, one hundred and sixty-four gentlemen, one hundred and twenty-four citizens, and one hundred and ten women.

crown of Britain was placed on the head of Edward VI., the son of Henry by Jane Seymour, the nine-year-old monarch was admonished by Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, that it was his royal duty, "*as God's vicegerent and Christ's vicar*, to see that idolatry be destroyed; that the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome be banished, and images be removed; . . . let him do this, and he would become a second Josias, whose fame would remain to the end of days" (1). Somerset, the protector of the boy-king, had been a follower of the New Gospel for several years, although fear of Henry had led him to dissemble his notions; and now he and his dependents were but too willing to aid Cranmer in a cause which promised, through additional confiscations of Church property, to augment their private fortunes (2). The first overt measure of the conspirators was a "visitation" throughout the kingdom, during which each diocesan and his clergy, together with several householders of each parish, were summoned to take the oath of royal supremacy in religious matters, and to receive a *Book of Homilies* which was ordered to be read in every church on Sundays and holy-days. Then successive restrictions were issued by which the right to preach was finally accorded only to those who could obtain a license from the lord-protector or from Cranmer; not even a bishop could preach in his own diocese without such permission. Thenceforward, therefore, the people heard no religious doctrine but that set forth in the *Homilies*; and thus a great advance was made in the Protestantization of the nation (3). Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was one of the few prelates who resisted the innovations of Cranmer, defying the primate to prove the truth of the Homiletic distinctive doctrines. A commitment to the fleet answered the challenge; and when the courageous man was told that he might enter the royal council in lieu of his cell, if he would yield, he replied that were he to do so, "he would deserve to be whipped in every market-town in the realm, and then to be hanged for an example as the veriest varlet that ever was bishop in any realm christened" (4). In 1548, Cranmer, in conjunction with a

(1) STRYPE; *Cranmer*, 144.

(2) HEYLIN; 33.—GODWIN; 88, 91.

(3) WILKINS; IV., 11, 14, 17.—COLLIER; II., *Records*.

(4) See the correspondence in FOXE, II., 64, 65.

committee of divines, compiled an English Liturgy, based indeed upon the *Roman Missal* and the *Breviary*, but altered here, augmented there, and with omissions everywhere; all the changes being designed to further the Protestantizing process of their inventors. Thus was born the *Book of Common Prayer*; but it is to be noted that this original Anglican Liturgy differed considerably from the one now used in the English Establishment. Thus, like all the olden Liturgies, it contained, in the prayers of the Consecration, these words: "Heare us, we beseeche Thee, and with Thy Holy Spirite and worde vouchsafe to bl~~x~~esse and sancti~~x~~fie these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wyne, that they may be unto us the Bodie and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Sonne." It contained also the unctions for baptism and for confirmation, the sign of the cross in matrimony, the anointing of the sick, and a prayer for the dead. The little "Head of the Church of England," now advanced to the mature age of ten, at once brought the *Book* before parliament, informing the presumedly devout members that it had been perfected "by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement" on the part of its framers; which was false, for eight of the eighteen bishops of the committee voted against the *Book* in the House of Lords (1). If any parson or other "spiritual person" dared thereafter to refuse to use the *Book* or to speak against it, his first offence would entail the loss of a year's revenue and imprisonment for six months; a second dereliction would cause the loss of his benefice and imprisonment for a year; a third would be punished by imprisonment for life (2). But in three years from the time when the Holy Ghost was alleged to have inspired the new Liturgy, the whole kingdom was filled with the clamors of the more ultra among the foes of the Scarlet Woman, denouncing the *Book of Common Prayer* as redolent of idolatry. The royal boy-pontiff, now more theologically advanced than when he said that the *Book* gave him "great comfort and quietness of mind," took up the cry, and declared that if his bishops did not reform the obnoxious Liturgy, he would see that others did it (3). Accordingly,

(1) COLLIER; II., 243.—*Lords' Journals*, 331.
 (2) BURNET; II., 155.

(2) Statutes of the Realm, IV., 37, 38.

a committee hearkened to the suggestions of Peter Martyr Vermiglio and Bucer; a more Protestant *Book* was issued; and after reading it through and through, the presumed competent parliament confirmed it (1). Immediately after this adoption of the *Common Prayer*, the bishops of the Establishment doffed their wonted episcopal garments, and the prebendaries clipped off their hoods, in accordance with the prescription to wear only the surplice (2). This bit of ecclesiastical millinery craft was seriously welcomed by the evangelicals as a long farewell to Rome; but what chiefly made this farewell an actual fact was the order of Cranmer issued to the wardens of every parish, "to bring in and deliver . . . all antiphoners, missals, and ordinals after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, or any other private use, and all books of Service; . . . that you take the same books into your hands or into the hands of your deputy, and them so deface and abolish, that they never after may serve either to any such use as they were provided for, or be at any time a let (impediment) to that godly and uniform order which by common consent is now set forth." From that day until days which are remembered by persons still living, Catholic literature of every kind was contraband in England; and excepting during the reign of Mary, for two centuries the ban was enforced with barbarity, and often its violation was punished with axe or rope. In the meantime, England was being flooded with Protestant publications; and the people hearing no refutations of the venomous productions, in a few generations they were "reformed." Well might Manning exclaim: "The people of England did not reject the Catholic faith. A thousand times I have said it, for in my soul I believe it, that Englishmen never rejected the Catholic faith—they were robbed of it.

(1) Lingard thus explains this parliamentary confirmation: "The book, in its amended form, received the assent of the Convocation. But here a new difficulty arose. It was the province of the clergy to decide on matters of doctrine and worship; how then could they submit a work approved by themselves, to the revision of the lay branches of the legislature? To elude the inconvenience, it was proposed to connect the amended service and the ordinal with a bill which was then in its progress through parliament, to compel by additional penalties attendance at the national worship. The clergy hoped that both forms would thus steal through the two houses without exciting any notice; but their object was detected and defeated. The books were read through, before the Act was permitted to pass; and both without alteration were allowed and confirmed." *Hist. of England*, vol. V., ch. iv.

(2) COLLIER: II., 325.

They were robbed of it by force. They rose up to defend it in arms, but they were beaten down."

In 1549, Cranmer introduced into parliament a bill which was very dear to his heart; namely, one countenancing the marriage of the clergy. The primate's first wife had died before he received the priesthood; but after his ordination, and during one of his errands for Henry on the continent, he had "married" a step-niece of Osiander, and had left her in Germany. Naturally he yearned for the society of the lady; therefore on Feb. 19, the complacent parliament declared that though it were to be wished that the clergy would observe perpetual continency, as more becoming their spiritual character, rendering them better able to attend to their duties, and freeing them from worldly cares and embarrassments; yet so many inconveniences had arisen from compulsive chastity, that it was deemed better to allow to those who could not contain, the godly use of marriage. Therefore his Majesty's faithful Lords and Commons enacted that thenceforward, all laws made by man only, and prohibitory of the marriages of spiritual persons, should be void (1).

Notwithstanding these and similar enactments, the immense majority of Englishmen still cherished the hope that the ancient religion would be restored. To crush this yearning, a parliamentary Act now subjected, for a first offence, to a fine; and for a second, to indefinite imprisonment; any person, clerical or lay, who retained any book which contained any portion of the Roman Liturgy (2). Furthermore, since the Protestantizers had adopted a new fashion of administering the Sacraments, the clergy were to be ordained in a new way. Therefore parliament enacted that six prelates, and six other persons learned in God's law, should be appointed by his Majesty to compose a manner of making and consecrating archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons; and that such manner, being set forth under the great seal before April 1, 1549, should afterward be lawfully used and exercised, and no other (3). But in spite of the new liturgy,

(1) *Statutes of the Realm*, IV., 67.

(2) *Ibid.*, 110.—*Lords' Journal*, 384.

(3) *Statutes*, IV., 112. It is well to note here that as early as 1540, Cranmer had enunciated not only loose, but absolutely heretical opinions concerning Holy Orders. Cromwell, by order of Henry VIII., had announced the appointment of two committees of prelates and

new ordinal, and every new-fangled arrangement of matters ecclesiastical which fanatical ingenuity could devise ; it was found that in the fourth year of Edward's reign, eleven-twelfths of the English people still clung to the faith of their fathers (1). Therefore Cranmer and his associates resolved to rid the Establishment of the most Catholicly inclined prelates. He began with Bonner, bishop of Lincoln ; ordering him to preach, at St. Paul's Cross in London, a written discourse which was delivered to him, and which was of a nature very unlikely to prove acceptable to him. As was foreseen, Bonner did not follow the instructions ; and he was denounced by two reformed preachers, Latimer and Hooper. Brought to Cranmer for sentence, he contended that his real crime was his Catholic explanation of the Eucharistic doctrine ; but he was deposed, his diocese handed over to Ridley, and he himself imprisoned in the Marshalsea, where he remained until the death of Edward. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had been a prisoner for two years when he was asked, in July, 1550, to sign an act of conformity with the new religious system. He replied that it was unfair to talk to him about submission when he was not free ; and that it should never be said that he had sacrificed his conscience for his liberty. Brought before the royal council, his firmness could not be affected ; and " on

theologians, for the compilation of a Book of Doctrines and Ceremonies. Three years were spent in the work, and when it was completed, the *King's Book*, as it was termed, was recognized as the standard of English Orthodoxy. When it was being begun, certain questions were proposed separately to each collaborator, and the answers were collated and laid before Henry. Some of these have found their way to the public ; others are to be seen in the British Museum (Cleop. E., 5). Now Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury though he was, expressed his views on orders as follows. The king, said he, must have spiritual as well as civil officers ; and of course has a right to appoint them. In the time of the Apostles, observes the subservient innovator, the people appointed, *because they had no Christian king*, and therefore they occasionally accepted such as might be recommended to them by the Apostles ; but the people accepted such apostolic nominees " of their own voluntary will, and not for any superiority that the Apostles had over them." In the appointment of bishops and priests, continues this enterprising discoverer, some ceremonies are to be used " *not of necessity, but for good order and seemly fashion.... He who is appointed bishop or priest, needeth no consecration by the Scripture ; for election or appointing thereto is sufficient.*" It is no wonder that, with a view to the safety of his head on his shoulders, Cranmer added : " This is mine opinion and sentence at this present ; which, nevertheless, I do not temerarily define, but refer the judgment thereof to your Majesty." See STRYPE, 79 ; App., 48, 50.—BURNET ; 1 Coll., 201.—COLLIER ; Records ; II., 159.

(1) We find in Strype (*Records*, II., 110) a letter from Paget to Somerset, dated July 7, 1549, which says : " The use of the old religion is forbidden by a law, and the use of the new is not yet printed in the stomachs of eleven of twelve parts of the realm, what countenance soever men make outwardly to please them in whom they see the power resteth.

the day of his judgment given againste him, he called his judges heretiques and sacramentarys, they being there the kinge's commissioneres, and of his Highnes counsell" (1). He was deposed, and his diocese was given to Poyntet, bishop of Rochester. He also remained in prison until the accession of Mary. The next depositions were of Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester. The latter's offence was different from those of Gardiner and Heath. These prelates having been in prison when what was termed the "Lord's Supper" was substituted for the Sacrifice of the Mass, they had no opportunity of resisting the outrage; but Day had nobly availed himself of the opportunity he enjoyed. Since Sacrifice and Altar are correlatives, it was no sooner resolved by the Protestantizers to abolish the Mass, than the church plate, etc., became a choice morsel for the human vultures who were fattening on the spoils of the olden worship; for these valuables were all appurtenances of the altar, for which there was now, of course, no use. The cry went up for the removal of all altars, and the substitution of "communion tables"; and after a few unauthorized incursions by certain rapacious preachers and nobles, and a more formal raid in the London churches by Ridley, the royal council ordered every diocesan to banish all altars from his jurisdiction (2). Day refused; Cranmer and Ridley were commissioned to convert him, but he would not be converted; and he also was imprisoned until the next reign (3). The narrative of this raid upon the sanctuaries of England, of this exhibition of hellish rage toward every vestige of the sacrificial worship of their ancestors, cannot be pleasant reading to the Ritualists who ask the Catholic world to concede that they celebrate Mass; that the traditions of the English Establishment allow them to participate in that Unbloody Sacrifice which is daily offered to God, from the rising to the setting of the sun. The damning fact remains, that the authoritative commission instituted by the Head of the English Church ordered that "all altars in every church or chapel be taken down, and instead of them a table be set up; . . . to move the people from

(1) *Council Book*, fol. 152.(2) WILKINS; *Councils*; IV., 65.(3) *Council Book*, fol. 140, 141, 200.—STRYPE; II., 391

the superstitions of the Popish Mass unto the right use of the Lord's supper; the use of an altar being to sacrifice upon, and the use of a table to eat upon. . . . Altars were erected for the sacrifice of the Law, which being now ceased, the form of an altar was to cease together with them." And the Protestantizers were not content with removing the altars; they must needs gratify their diabolic malice by setting the altar slabs in the pavement of the churches, so that the people, if they did not run their daggers through the Sacred Body of Christ like the Luciferian Masons of our day, might at least trample upon what had been His resting-place. When Ridley was called upon, during the reign of the Catholic Mary, to answer for his blasphemies, he justified his course toward the altars by alleging that "it was done upon just considerations, for that the altars seemed to come too nigh the Jews' usage." This melancholy fact may well be contemplated by Romanizing Anglicans. It may be placed in the same category with the sneering words of their *Homily on the Sacrament*, about "massing priests" and "mum-mish massing"; with Henry's slur on the priestly "*mumpsimus* and *sumpsimus*"; with the declaration of the quoted Homily that we "need no sacrificing priest, no Mass"; all of which emphasize the sad words of Cardinal Manning: "The once Catholic, but now Protestant, churches of England stand like the open sepulchre; and we may believe that the angels are there, ever saying: 'He is not here; come and see where the Lord was laid'" (1).

(1) When Elizabeth undid the restoring work of Mary, the "tables" were placed "in the body of the church or in the chancel" (*Iubric*). Bramhall wrote to Laud that "the table used for the administration of the Blessed Sacrament in the midst of the choir is made an ordinary seat for malds and apprentices." And in the *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical*, 1640, by his Majesty's Authority under the Great Seal of England, we read that "experience hath showed us how irreverent the behavior of many people is, some leaning, others casting their hats, and some sitting upon, some standing, and others sitting under, the communion-table in time of divine service." But although common decency rebuked these practices, and although an "obesance" toward the altar was enjoined (Laud, like a child at play, used to bow seven times toward the *unconsecrated* elements, but *never after* what he called the "consecration"), the royal Head of the Establishment was careful to enjoin in the Canons just cited, that "albeit at the time of reforming this church from that gross superstition of Popery, it was carefully provided that all means should be used to root out of the minds of the people both the inclination thereunto, and memory thereof, especially of the idolatry committed in the Mass, for which cause all popish altars were demolished, . . . we declare that this situation of the holy table *doth not imply that it is, or ought to be, esteemed a true and proper altar whercon Christ is again really sacrificed.*"

We do not propose to give any detailed account of the terrible sufferings of Catholics while England was being Protestantized ; still less can we spare space to notice the inconsistent persecutions visited by the Anglican inquisitors upon such of their comrades in revolt as they thought proper to brand as "heretics." But there are two instances of the latter procedure which ought to be recorded. The first is that of Joan Bocher, a Kentish woman who, during the reign of Henry, had rendered good service to the secret Reformers by the clandestine importation and distribution of prohibited books. Her "heresies" caused the orthodox Cranmer to forget his debt to Joan ; and in April, 1549, she was led before him, Latimer, Smith, Cook, and Lyell, to answer the charge of having maintained, in her sermons (for she was a preacher), that "Christ did not take flesh of the outward man of the Virgin, because the outward man was conceived in sin ; but by the consent of the inward man, which was undefiled." What this jargon meant, or what the inquisitors understood by it, we are not informed ; but Cranmer ordered her to be delivered to the secular power ; whereupon she cried : "It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance. It is not long ago that you burned Ann Askew for a piece of bread ; and yet came yourselves soon afterward to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her. And now, forsooth, you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures and understand them." Whether or not he appreciated the logic of Bocher, now that he was matured even unto his eleventh year, Edward hesitated to confirm Cranmer's sentence ; and it was only when the primate proved by the conduct of Moses in causing blasphemers to be stoned, that his Majesty should sign the death warrant, that Joan was led to the stake. When the preacher Scory tried, at the pyre, to induce her to recant, she cried : "Thou liest like a rogue, thou shouldst go home and study the Script-

As to the official view of the Altar and the Mass, taken, in modern times, by the highest court of ecclesiastical appeal known to Anglicanism, we need to refer merely to the famous St. Barnabas case (*Westerton vs. Liddell*) ; wherein it was decided that "The change in the view taken of the Sacrament naturally called for a corresponding change in the altar. *It was no longer to be an altar of sacrifice, but merely a table at which the communicants were to partake of the Lord's supper.*"

ures" (1). Another interesting case of Anglican inquisition was that of the Dutch surgeon, Von Parris, who had been excommunicated by the Dutch Consistory in London. Although Cranmer could lawfully have no jurisdiction in this case, Parris was arraigned before his tribunal on the charge of having denied the divinity of Christ. Coverdale acted as interpreter, and sentence of death having been pronounced, the victim was burnt on April 24, 1551 (2). Parris seems to have been the sole foreign innovator whom Cranmer sent to the stake. As a rule, while he, and all the other founders of the English Establishment, were cruelly severe toward all native disturbers of whatever they saw fit to designate as truth, they were most favorable to a horde of foreign preachers who thronged in the palace of Cranmer and in those of nearly every Anglican prelate. Choice preferments in the Establishment, and prompt protection at court, were ever at their command. Thus Peter Martyr Vermiglio and Bucer were appointed to chairs of theology in Oxford and Cambridge; Faggio, Tremelio, and Cavalier gave lectures in Hebrew at Cambridge; Knox became chaplain to the young king; Utenhoff and Peter Alexander received choice prebends in Canterbury; and many others were richly paid for their arduous labors in the enlightenment of the stolid British public (3).

We have seen how the new Liturgy was forced upon the English people. A French translation of the *Book of Common Prayer* was issued for the natives of Jersey and Guernsey; which was but in accordance with the Protestant idea

(1) In 1543, Henry VIII. discovered that many ladies of his court, his own queen, Catharine Parr, in the number, were dallying with the doctrines of the German Reformers. Works of these innovators had been smuggled into his own palace by the Bocher just mentioned, and by Ann Askew. Among those implicated with the two women were Latimer, who was to attain to the dignity of "martyrdom" under "Bloody Mary," after a life of repeated apostasies and abjurations; and Shaxton, the deprived bishop of Salisbury. These two worthies escaped the vengeance of Henry by recantation; Shaxton even delivered the funeral sermon at the execution of Askew and her associates, pitying their blindness, and exhorting them to merit the royal grace, as he and Latimer had done. The good man was rewarded for his zeal with the mastership of St. Giles's Hospital in Norwich. Latimer, who had been made bishop of Worcester by Henry in 1535, but had been obliged to resign in 1539, because the king suspected his orthodoxy, saved his life, indeed, by submitting in the affair of Askew; but he did not leave his prison until Edward VI. called him to his court, where he distinguished himself by the bitterness and coarseness of his pulpit oratory. See *State Papers in the Reign of Henry VIII.*; I., 846-850.—FOX; III., 379, 383.—WILKINS; III., 748.

(2) STOWE; 605.—*Edward's Journal*, 24.

(3) STRYPE; *Cranmer*, 194, 234, 232.—*Idem, Memorials*, II., 121, 205, 240.

of a vernacular liturgy in every land. But when the Reformers began to think of the claims to enlightenment possessed by the benighted Irish, they were confronted by a serious difficulty. For centuries the English conquerors had been striving, by every means excogitable, to destroy even a memory of the Irish language. Certainly, they had failed; for at the time of the Reformation, not one Irishman in ten knew a word of the invader's language. Principle was at stake; how could the Establishment carry out the grand idea of a vernacular liturgy in Ireland, when it was notorious that nothing contributes so much to the vitality of a language as the habit of praying in it. Therefore it was resolved that the Irishman should be compelled to pray in English; and the requisite proclamation was emitted, and forwarded to all the Irish prelates. The order was enforced, so far as it could be, by Archbishop Browne of Dublin, and four other bishops; it was spurned by Dowdal, the Archbishop of Armagh, and every other prelate (1).

By the time that the new Head of the Church of England had reached his fifteenth year, he, like every Englishman who thought at all of the matter, began to reflect that it was an exceedingly difficult enterprise to try to discover what was, and was not, the faith of the Establishment—an enterprise which, many times since, has been vainly essayed by wiser brains than Edward possessed. An authorized standard of orthodoxy was regarded as imperative, even by those who had been the loudest in their clamors against the teaching authority of the Pope. Accordingly, after much discussion with various divines, Cranmer laid the Forty-Two Articles before the king; his Majesty was pleased to approve them; and a royal order was promulgated, commanding that they should receive the subscriptions of all clergymen, churchwardens, and schoolmasters (2). No one could receive a degree in the universities who did not solemnly swear that he would “always place the authority of Scripture above the decisions of men”; and that he “would always defend the Articles lately issued by royal authority, as true and certain, and as con-

(1) LFLAND; III., ch. viii.

(2) STRYPE: *Cranmer*, 272, 293.—BURNET; II., 166; III., 210-213. WILKINS: *Councils*, IV., 79.

sonant with the word of God"—two clauses which all the graduate's university training could not enable him to reconcile. After the promulgation of the Forty-Two Articles, it was thought that nothing more was necessary to insure the unity of the Establishment, than a Code of Ecclesiastical Law which would supersede the Canons of papal days. Therefore, in the same year, 1552, a royal commission, with Cranmer at its head, framed a Code in fifty-one articles, treating of all matters which pertain to the cognizance of ecclesiastical courts. It begins with what the designers wished to be considered as an exposition of Christian doctrine; and it enacts that heresy shall be punished by forfeiture and death, regulating, also, how the convicted heretic shall be delivered to the secular power for execution. It is very severe on seducers of women; but it allows divorce, *not only for adultery, but for desertion, protracted absence, danger to health, etc.*, permitting the innocent party to take another partner. It is interesting to note that it asserts that excommunication excludes its object from the society of the faithful, from the protection of God, and from all hope of heaven; *consigning him to the everlasting tyranny of the devil* (1).

When Mary mounted the throne of England in 1553, the Protestantizing process was checked; and the nation once more prayed in the household of Christian faith. We are forced to restrict our task to a tracing of the progress of heresy among the English; but if the reader desires fairly accurate information concerning the reign of Mary Tudor, he will refer to the pages of Lingard, being assured that too favorable a view will not be presented by an otherwise grand historian, whose too eager yearning for a conciliation of the prejudices of a bastard patriotism frequently leads him to an economical presentation of the truth. We are grateful to Lingard for the following concessions. "It was the lot of Mary to live in an age of religious intolerance, when to punish the professors of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty, no less by those who rejected, than by those who asserted the papal authority. It might perhaps have been expected that the Reformers, from their sufferings under Henry

¶ *Reformat. Eccl. Laws*, published in 1571.

VIII., would have learned to respect the rights of conscience. Experience proved the contrary. They had no sooner obtained the ascendancy during the short reign of Edward, than they displayed the same persecuting spirit which they had formerly condemned; burning the Anabaptist, and preparing to burn the Catholic at the stake, for no other crime than adherence to religious opinion. The former, by existing law, was already liable to the penalty of death; the latter enjoyed a precarious respite, because his belief had not yet been pronounced heretical by any acknowledged authority. But the zeal of Archbishop Cranmer observed and supplied this deficiency; and in the code of ecclesiastical discipline which he compiled for the government of the Reformed Church, he was careful to class the distinguishing doctrines of the ancient worship with those recently promulgated by Muncer and Socinus. By the new Canon Law of the metropolitan, to believe in Transubstantiation, to admit the papal supremacy, and to deny justification by faith only, were severally made heresy; and it was ordained that individuals accused of holding heretical opinions should be arraigned before the spiritual courts, should be excommunicated on conviction, and after a respite of sixteen days, should, if they continued obstinate, be delivered to the civil magistrate, to suffer the punishment provided by law. Fortunately for the professors of the ancient faith, Edward died before this code had obtained the sanction of the legislature. By the accession of Mary, the power of the sword passed from the hands of one religious party to those of the other; and within a short time Cranmer and his associates perished in the flames which they had prepared to kindle for the destruction of their opponents" (1).

With the accession of Elizabeth to the throne of England, joy entered the hearts of all religious innovators. The daughter of Anne Boleyn could scarcely be expected to harbor much sympathy with the power which had proclaimed her mother's dissoluteness and her own bastardy; and she had given good reason for the supposition that her acquiescence with her half-sister's restoration of the Catholic wor-

(1) *History of England*, vol. V., ch. vi.

ship was a matter of mere policy. Certainly, when she first donned the ermine, she continued to assist at the Holy Sacrifice, and even to communicate occasionally; she buried the remains of Mary with all the ceremonies of the Catholic ritual; and she caused to be celebrated a solemn Requiem for the soul of the emperor Charles V. But the Protestantizers were encouraged when they beheld the prison doors opening for the egress of the religionists whom the Marian edicts had immured; when they saw prominent Protestant preachers welcomed at court; and when Elizabeth ordered Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, not to presume to elevate the Sacred Host after the consecration (1). They were not surprised when, on Dec. 27, the queen ordered that "until consultation might be had in parliament," no other change should be made in the liturgy, than the recitation in English of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Epistle, and the Gospel. Very soon there was announced a repeal of the Marian statutes which had restored the ancient faith; and it was enacted that under pain of death, the *Book of Common Prayer*, with certain changes in a more Protestant sense, should be used by all clergymen (2). Then came the declaration that all ecclesias-

(1) On Christmas morning, 1558, as Oglethorpe was vesting in the royal chapel, he received an order from the queen not to elevate the Host in the royal presence. He replied that his life belonged to her Highness; but his conscience was his own. When, therefore, he came to the Offertory of the Mass, the queen left the chapel. CAMDEN, 32.—*Losely MSS.*, 184.

(2) There is a story current among Anglicans to the effect that either Paul IV. or Pius V. (they cannot agree as to which) offered to approve the *Book* on condition that Elizabeth would admit the Papal supremacy. Estcourt, in his *Anglican Ordinations* (p. 354), says:

"If the argument on the Catholic side has gained a certain advantage by the currency given to so telling a story as that of the Nag's Head, Anglicans, on the other side, have availed themselves of a similar opportunity in stating the legend of the Pope having made an offer to Queen Elizabeth of confirming the *Book of Common Prayer*. It is strange that, after the indignation excited in them by the former tale, they should put forward as a matter of importance a story resting on no better foundation than the other, and with no authority quoted for it but mere verbal tradition. The evidence in each case is precisely of the same character; if the names of certain persons are quoted in one case as the authorities from whom the story was derived, names are given with equal confidence in the other. The current of tradition in each case runs equally clearly. If the Nag's-Head story was not heard of for upward of forty years after the date of the alleged transaction, no more was that of the Pope's offer. If the one was not published during the lifetime of those said to be actors in it, neither was the other. If the difference in the three or four versions of the Nag's Head is fatal to its credibility, there are at least three versions of the Pope and Queen. Notwithstanding all this, Bishop Bull, after calling the Nag's-Head story 'a putrid fable,' within three pages coolly and unblushingly relates two versions of the other story, both as undoubted facts, although no one else has even ventured to take credit for more than one.

"Let, then, no man be a judge in his own cause. Surely we may hence gather the need

tical jurisdiction was an appanage of the crown; and the promulgation of the consequent penalty of hanging and quartering for all who would presume to assert that the Roman Pontiff had any spiritual jurisdiction in the realms of her gracious Highness. In July, 1559, the queen took measures for the institution of a new hierarchy for the royal Establishment. She caused the oath of belief in the royal supremacy in church matters to be tendered to all the bishops; but she found that they were not of the mould in which the episcopal sycophants of Henry's court had been fashioned. One alone, Kitchin, of Landaff, laid his mitre under her royal feet; all the others were deposed and imprisoned (1). It now became necessary to appoint a kind of superintendent for the royal-liveried lackeys of the new hierarchy. Of course he was to be termed archbishop of Canterbury. For this mitred-butlership Elizabeth selected Matthew Parker, who had been chaplain to Anne Boleyn, and was now dean of Lincoln. But by whom was this worthy to be consecrated? Just then there was only one "lawful" bishop in the kingdom, Kitchin; and the 25th of Henry VIII. prescribed that the consecration of the primate should be by four bishops. And another difficulty arose. How was Parker to be "made a bishop"? Then there was no "lawful" form of consecration available; for the *Ordinal of Edward VI.* had been abolished by the Marian parliament, and the *Catholic Ordinal* by the Elizabethan. However, the royal canonists found a way out of both difficulties. Her gracious Majesty, the Vicar of Christ on earth, was fully competent, as Head

of adopting some such principles or rules of evidence as were laid down at the beginning of this work, in order to have a common test or tribunal by which we may know what facts and circumstances are worth being alleged as arguments. Even supposing that it was the fact that an offer such as described was made to Queen Elizabeth, there is no argument to be drawn from it in the present question; for there is nothing said or pretended, which can show how far the offer was to extend; and whether it was meant to include the forms of ordination under the name of *Book of Common Prayer*."

(1) Tunstall of Durham, Morgan of St. David's, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, White of Winchester, and Baines of Coventry, died that year in prison. Scot of Chester, Goldwell of St. Asaph's, and Pate of Worcester succeeded, somehow, in escaping to the continent. Of the remaining seven, Heath, after several periods of imprisonment, was allowed to reside on his private estates in Surrey. Bonner groined in the Marshalsea ten years, and then died. Watson of Lincoln remained in prison twenty-three years. Thirlby of Ely remained in the episcopal prison of Parker until his death. Bourne of Bath and Wells was put in the custody of the dean of Exeter. Thrberville of Exeter and Pool of Peterborough were forbidden to leave their respective houses for the rest of their days.

of the Church of England, to heal every defect that could possibly arise in the premises. Therefore an apposite sanatory clause was inserted in the royal commission for Parker's consecration; and the duty of confirming the election of the new primate, and of consecrating him, was delegated to Barlowe, Hodgkins, Scorey, and Coverdale. Barlowe had been bishop of Bath until he was deposed by Mary, and was supposed to have been consecrated during the reign of Henry according to the *Catholic Ordinal*. Hodgkins, suffragan of Bedford under Henry, had certainly been consecrated according to the Catholic rite. Scorey of Chichester and Coverdale of Exeter had been consecrated according to the *Reformed Ordinal*. These four prelates, Barlowe officiating, went through with what they and theirs termed the "consecration" of Parker, using the *Ordinal* which had been adopted toward the close of the reign of Edward VI.; and since all subsequent Anglican prelates derived their claims to consecration from this Parker, upon the validity or non-validity of his consecration turns the solution of what certain parties are pleased to term the "vexed" question of Anglican Orders—a matter in which the reader will find, in all probability, very little reason for doubt.

When Parker had initiated all the royally-appointed incumbents of the Elizabethan hierarchy into their future careers, all proceeded to further the progress of English Protestantism by tendering the Oath of Supremacy to their respective clergy. The immense majority of the deans and prebendaries sacrificed their benefices, and very often their personal liberty, rather than proffer what was equivalent to a renunciation of their Catholic faith; but many of the inferior clergy yielded (1). In 1563, the obligation to take the

(1) Some of the uses to which the Elizabethan clergy, as well as their successors under the Stuarts, were put, are caustically noted by Brooks Adams, in his *Law of Civilization and Decay* (New York, 1895). Strictly speaking, the Church of England never had a faith in Tudor times, but vibrated between the orthodoxy of the "Six Articles" and the Calvinism of the "Lambeth Articles." Within a single generation, the relation that Christ's Flesh and Blood bore to the bread and wine was changed five times by royal proclamation or act of Parliament. But the new economic aristocracy understood the value of the pulpit as a branch of the police of the kingdom, and from the outset it used the clergy as part of the secular administration. On this point Cranmer was explicit. Elizabeth told her bishops plainly that *she cared little for doctrines, but wanted clerks to keep order*. It was with a rod of iron that she ruled her clergy. No priest was allowed to marry without the approbation of two justices of the peace. When the dean of St. Paul's offended the queen in a ser-

Oath was extended to persons not contemplated in the original Act; and this severity, said the parliament, was for the purpose of "restraining and correcting the marvellous outrages and licentious boldness of the fautors of the Bishop of Rome." Hitherto, the Oath had been taken necessarily only by an heir holding of the crown, who wished to sue out the livery of his lands; by all who sought ecclesiastical preferment; by aspirants to office under the crown; and by all members of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. By an Act of March 3, parliament extended the obligation, under pain of perpetual imprisonment, to members of the House of Commons, schoolmasters, private tutors, and attorneys. Under pain of death for a second refusal, the Oath was demanded also from all who had held ecclesiastical office during the last three reigns; and to all who presumed to celebrate or to hear Mass. Speaking of these provisions, Cecil said: "Such be the humours of the Commons house, as they thynke nothing sharp ynough ageynst papists." We have now dwelt at sufficient length upon the measures which were taken to rob the English people of their faith; and we would say a few words in refutation of the assertion that the Church of England reformed herself in Elizabeth's time, and that only 189 of the old clergy refused to conform. It is certain that the English bishops protested against any change of religion, when, having seen that Elizabeth did not intend

mon, she told him "to retire from that ungodly digression and return to his text"; and Archbishop Grindall was suspended for disobedience to her orders. In Catholic times, the sovereign had drawn his supernatural qualities from his consecration by the priesthood; in the seventeenth century money had already come to represent a force so predominant that the process had become reversed, and the clergy attributed their prerogative to speak in the name of the Deity to the interposition of the king. This was the substance of the Reformation in England. Cranmer taught that God committed to Christian princes "the whole cure of their subjects, as well concerning the administration of God's word, as of things political"; therefore, bishops, parsons, and vicars were ministers of the temporal ruler, to whom he confided the ecclesiastical office precisely as he confided the enforcement of order to a chief of police. As a part of the secular administration, the main function of the Anglican ministers under the Tudors and the Stuarts was to preach obedience to their patrons. Elizabeth bluntly told her bishops that they must get her sober, respectable preachers, *but men who should be cheap*. In fine, the Anglican clergy under the Tudors and Stuarts were not so much ministers, as hired political retainers. Mr. Adams reproduces a part of Macaulay's description: "The coarse and ignorant squire could hire a young Levite for his board, a small garret, and ten pounds a year. This clergyman might not only be the most patient of butts and of listeners, might not only be always ready in fine weather for bows and in rainy weather for shuffleboard, but might also save the expense of a gardener or of a groom. Sometimes the reverend man nailed up the apricots, and sometimes he curried the coach horses."

to keep the oath which she would have to take at her coronation, they resolved to take no part in the ceremony. Certainly, Oglethorpe finally consented to perform the coronation ceremony, on the express condition that she should take the usual oath to maintain the Catholic faith. This protest was repeated equivalently when, while parliament was debating on the Bill of Supremacy, both bishops and priests met in Convocation, and adopted a solemn declaration of their belief in the Real Presence, in Transubstantiation, in the Sacrifice of the Mass, in the Papal Supremacy, and in the exclusion of all laymen from the government of the Church. Even Froude recognizes this protest as that of the entire "spirituality" of England, adding that "the clergy never consented, as a body, to any measure of reformation whatever, except under the judicious compulsion of Henry the Eighth" (1). A third protest was made when Archbishop Heath, as primate of the English Church, denounced the Bill of Supremacy in the House of Lords on March 22, 1559, saying, according to Strype, "that by forsaking and fleeing from the See of Rome they must first forsake and flee from all General Councils; secondly, all canonical and ecclesiastical law; thirdly, the judgment of all other Christian princes; and fourthly, the *unity* of Christ's Church; and by falling out of Peter's ship, hazard themselves to be drowned in the waters of schism, sects, and divisions." A fourth protest was entered when, a division having been called, all the bishops voted against any religious change. A fifth protest was made on May 15 at Greenwich, when Heath, in the name of the English Church, told the queen "to remember what her real duty was and the policy she was bound to adopt; to follow in the steps of her sister who had brought back the country to the ancient religion, which had flourished in it for so many centuries; that Rome was the mother of all churches; that history and tradition, and the writings of the Fathers and the great Councils of the Church, all proclaimed Rome as the Head of that Church which their Divine Master had founded." And certainly there was a sixth protest when their twenty-one days' grace having expired, the bish-

(1) *History of England*, VI., p. 165.

ops still refused to acknowledge the female Anti-Pope, and preferred to be thrown into the Tower or the Fleet, to be afterward, all except Kitchin, deprived of their sees. So much for the attitude of the English bishops; but how was it with the priests? The egregious failure of the royal Visitors to cow the clergy into a submission to her Majesty's usurpation of pontifical jurisdiction is evinced by the fact that most of the priests refused even to appear before the Visitors, so that out of 9,400 beneficed clergy, the zealous commissioners, according to their report in the *Domestic State Papers*, were able to give the names of only 806 as having subscribed. In the visitation of the province of York in August and September, 1559, according to Simpson's investigation of the State Papers (1), out of 90 priests summoned, 21 took the oath, 36 refused it, 7 were absent and furnished no procurators, and 16 were absent but sent procurators. As regards the province of Canterbury, Simpson says: "We hear of the dean and canons of Winchester cathedral, the warden and fellows of the college, and the master of Holy Cross, all refusing the oath. Yet only four of them are in Bridgewater's list. And for the whole country, the visitors returned the total of 49 recusants and 786 conformists, significantly omitting the absentees. Thus, out of the 8,911 parishes and 9,400 beneficed clergymen, we find only 806 subscribers; while all the bishops and 85 others expressly refused to subscribe, and the rest were absentees. The assertion, then, of Camden, that only 189 clergymen were deprived in this visitation, proves nothing. Archbishop Parker had orders 'not to push any one to extremities on account of his oath.' But Sanders and Bridgewater give many more names." Camden puts the number as 189, and Collier 243; "but this included, as a rule, the bishops, deans, archdeacons, prebendaries, and heads of colleges,—in fact, the pick of the clergy. Out of this grain of fact church defenders have built up a mountain of fable. Some have even gone so far as to say that all the old clergy of the Church of England conformed to the new order of things with this exception. But this estimate includes only those *deprived* of their livings in the visitation of 1559, which,

(1) Detailed in his *Life of Blessed Campion*, pp. 139 *et seqq.*

beginning in May and ending in December, lasted only six months. No attempt has been made to estimate the total number of clergy who resigned rather than face persecution, who refused to take the oath and were not deprived in the visitation of 1559, who were deprived in subsequent visitations, who were ejected to make room for the married clergy removed in Mary's reign. That the number was very great we have abundant evidence" (1). As to those who resigned, Cox, writing to Peter Martyr after the visitation of 1559 was over, says: "The popish priests among us are daily relinquishing their ministry, lest, as they say, they should be compelled to give their sanction to heresies." Lever writes to Bullingham, July 10, 1560, six months after, stating the result to be: "Many of our parishes have no clergymen, and some dioceses are without a bishop. And out of that very small number who administer the sacraments throughout this great country, there is scarcely one in a hundred who is both able and willing to preach the word of God." And Collier says: "Upon the Catholic clergy throwing up their preferments, the necessities of the Church required the admitting of some mechanics into orders." We are justified, therefore, in declaring with Fronde that the entire "spirituality" of England protested against the Elizabethan foundation of the English Church Establishment which she destined to supplant the Catholic Church in England. The entire bench of bishops, Kitchin excepted, preferred imprisonment or even death to a recognition of royal supremacy in religious matters. And Collier shows that 12 deans, 14 archdeacons, 60 canons, 15 heads of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, 20 doctors, and 100 of the well-preferred clergy shared the fate of the bishops. Of the lesser clergy, besides those deprived in the visitation of 1559, spoken of by Camden and others, a large number, according to Burnet 3,000, were expelled to make room for the married clergy removed in the previous reign. Finally, a fresh visitation, that of 1561, was ordered; and as this, too, was ineffectual, the statute of 1562, which visited recusancy with the penalty of death, was passed, "a fact which demonstrates how absurd it is to say that with

(1) *The 189*; or, *The Church of Old England Protests*; by J. D. Breen, O. S. B.

the exception of between one and two hundred, the English clergy consented to conform to the new gospel."

In January, 1563, the Protestantization of England was completed by the adoption, in the two Houses of Convocation, of the Thirty-Nine Articles, as they now stand. The publication of these Thirty-Nine Articles was certainly regarded by their framers as the seal of the Reformation upon their work; and had they been told that the day would arrive when certain Anglicans would venture a belief that these tests of Protestantism were capable of a Catholic interpretation, they would have suspected the sanity of such imaginative prophets. As the torrent of Protestantism has raged, during three centuries, around the monuments of England's Catholic past, ever and anon certain of its victims have thrust a hand into the ruins, and plucking out a robe, or a rubric, or a candle, or a thurible, or a chalice, or mayhap a confessional, have pressed the article to their hearts, and fancied—or feigned to believe—that they were really incorporated with what the admired monuments represented and preached; in fine, that they were Catholics. When John Henry Newman, as yet a Protestant, wrote his famous Tract No. 90, he certainly believed that no Anglican was bound to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine in a Protestant sense. Was not the *Book of Common Prayer* often almost Catholic in tone? (1) But the world

(1) In his *Oxford Movement in America*, Rev. C. A. Walworth writes as follows:

"Queen Elizabeth must be considered as really the founder and really the head of the Anglican church. She herself and a large body of her subjects were, so far as concerned doctrine, strongly biased in favor of the doctrines of the ancient Church. She would gladly have had her church purely Catholic and united in one faith. She would have no Pope, however, but herself to cement that union. On the other hand, a large part of her subjects were not Catholic. Nothing but a compromise could bridge over this great difference between her subjects, and she bridged it with such a compromise. All Englishmen who were prominent enough to be reached by persecution were forced by their fears into this compromise. This compromise is to be found in the *Book of Common Prayer*. In it the catechism is, so far as it goes, Catholic. . . . On the other hand, the Englishmen of Protestant proclivities were propitiated by the *Thirty-Nine Articles*, which always thunder, or seem to thunder, against Roman Catholic doctrine. To hold these opposing factions in harmony, both Articles and Liturgy are so skilfully hammered out, that all parties, both Catholics and Protestants, by using the large latitude always practically allowed them, may arrange their consciences comfortably upon the same liturgies and formulas. . . . The English church was constituted as a department under the British Constitution. . . . Unity in a church so constituted could never mean a unity in point of faith; apostolicity could never mean the faith of the Apostles remaining unchanged in all ages; Catholicity could never mean a common belief in all nations and in all countries; no standard of holiness could be maintained which should interfere with appointments to offices and livings, or the right of communion to an loyal British subject, whatever he might do, or whatever he might believe. Out of the

soon beheld the logical consequences of this playing at Catholic. Those who were sincere, and who corresponded to the grace which had planted the Catholic sentiment in their hearts, soon found that no amount of mere man-millinery, no mere clutching at candles and incense, could ordain a priest, restore the Sacramental Lord to the sanctuary, or obtain the forgiveness of sin. Hence they "went over to Rome." But we will let the reader judge as to the Catholicity of the Articles, from the following synopsis. I.-V. Acknowledgment is made of a belief in the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Descent of Christ into hell, His Resurrection, and in the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. VI.-VII. All the Books of the New Testament are received as canonical. From the Old are rejected the Books of Tobias, Judith, a part of that of Esther, all of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Baruch; certain chapters of Daniel, and both Books of the Maccabees. VIII. The Apostles' Creed, that of Nice, as well as that of St. Athanasius, are received. IX.-XV. It is declared that all men are born in original sin; that they have free will; that they can perform no good works without the aid of grace; that man is justified by faith alone. Works of supererogation are impieties (1). XVI. Sin may be forgiven through re-

compromise, so strange to reason, but which a long experience has shown to be practically successful, has grown very naturally a certain principle, or at least motto, among Anglicans, for finding the truth in religious doctrine which is known by the name of the *via media*. Every Anglican that is really and thoroughly a typical man in his church is a *via media* man. For a preacher to confine himself too much to the *Thirty-Nine Articles*, and to insist upon the most literal acceptance of their wording, shows an inclination to ultra-Protestantism. To make too much of the strong flavor of old Catholic doctrines, which is found in the ritual of the *Book of Common Prayer*, and especially to evince a pleasure in fluting this to conform in so many respects to the sentiments and worship of Catholics, is thought by Low Churchmen to show an inclination toward Rome, a thing which they hold to be utterly abominable. Yet in their peculiarly constructed system, it is a thing to be necessarily tolerated. Their church is a religious society in the civil order. It is a state church, and as such must stand or fall. . . . In point of fact, the *via media*, as a way of arriving at any positive truth, in the religious or moral order, is always absurd, if not ridiculous."

(1) Like the Lutherans in the Confession of Faith which the duke of Wurtemberg sent to the Council of Trent in 1552, the Anglicans use maliciously, falsely, and absurdly, these words, "works of supererogation." In Art. 14 they say that these works cannot be admitted without arrogance and impiety; because, they say, men pretend that by these works they give to God more than His due. Having thus erected a house of cards, the theological bables proceed to demolish it with the text in which Christ calls us useless servants, even though we do all that is commanded. Any Catholic *muliercula* or instructed child knows that we never pretend, by supererogatory works, to give more than His due to God; but that we acknowledge that we owe everything to Him. When Catholics speak of works of supererogation, or of works performed in following the Counsels, they simply mean works which are not positively commanded by God. Certainly our Lord advised a work of super-

penitance; and the Calvinistic doctrine of inamissability of justice is false. XVII. Predestination is admitted; but man should not think of the matter, lest he may either presume or despair. XVIII. Without a knowledge of Jesus Christ, salvation is impossible. XIX. The Church is an assembly of the faithful where the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments are well administered; therefore the Roman Church is in error, as to dogmas, morals, and worship. XX.–XXI. The Church can decide only as to matters contained in the Scriptures. General Councils can err, and have erred in matters of faith. XXII. The doctrines of the Roman Church on purgatory, indulgences, the veneration of images, and the invocation of saints, are rejected. XXIII. A mission is necessary for preaching, and for the administration of the sacraments; and the mission is legitimate when it is granted by those who have the power. But the Article carefully abstains from any mention as to where that power resides; whether in the civil ruler or in the clergy. XXIV. The liturgy must be celebrated in the vernacular. XXV.–XXVI. The sacraments are efficacious signs of grace, by which God excites and confirms our faith in Him. There are only two: Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The other five are not visible signs instituted by God; although some are imitations of what the Apostles operated. XXVII. Baptism is not only a sign of our profession of Christianity, but a sign of regeneration, and the seal of our adoption, by which our faith is confirmed, and grace augmented. Infants are to be baptized. XXVIII.–XXXI. In the Eucharist the Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, only in a "heavenly and spiritual manner." The doctrine of Transubstantiation cannot be proved by Scripture. The Communion ought to be administered in both kinds to the laity, according to the institution and command of Christ. The Mass is a blasphemous forgery (1). XXXII. Bishops, priests, and deacons can marry.

erogation when He told the young man that if he wished to be perfect, he should give all his wealth to the poor, and follow the Master. Do Anglicans suppose that Christ here enjoined an act to be performed under pain of damnation? Another act, clearly of supererogation, is that of renunciation of marriage, for the sake of Heaven (*Matt.* xix. 12). But it is quite evident that the original Anglicans affected to regard the Counsels as impious, simply because those supererogatory works were incentives to mortification.

(1) The Protestant Episcopal General Convention of 1871 condemned unqualifiedly the

XXXIII. Excommunications are valid. XXXIV. Rites and ceremonies can be instituted and abolished by every church at its own good pleasure. XXXV.-XXXVI. Sanction is given to the *Homilies* published in the reign of Edward VI., and also to his *Ordinal*. XXXVII. The English sovereign enjoys supreme authority over all his subjects, and in all causes, even ecclesiastical. XXXVIII.-XXXIX. The Anabaptist doctrines on capital punishment, war, community of property, oaths, etc., are condemned.

Although the Establishment is exceedingly elastic in all doctrinal matters; so elastic, in fact, that the idea that it possesses any authoritative teaching whatever is merely a play of the imagination; nevertheless, it is certain that the framers of the Thirty-Nine Articles meant them to be the official Creed of their organization. Therefore it is well to note the chief doctrinal differences between the Catholic and the English Creeds; so far, at least, as our historical province permits. When the Establishment cut loose entirely from Catholic authority, it did not officially revolutionize the Catholic doctrines which concerned the Trinity and the Incarnation; that enterprise was reserved for certain of its later members. Neither did it attack the Apostolic, Nicene, or Athanasian Symbols; nevertheless, the last is rejected by the American Episcopalians. But when the Elizabethan theologians took the Bible in hand, they entered upon an entirely new departure by branding as apocryphal several of the Jewish Scriptures, and by insisting that the Bible records all the teachings of Christ and his Apostles. The Church tells us that the Bible is silent as to many things taught by our Lord, but which have been handed down by tradition; *e. g.*, infant baptism, the observance of Sunday instead of Saturday, which, nevertheless, are admitted by Anglicans. Again, while the Articles admit that "the Church hath authority in

Ritualistic attempts to simulate the Catholic adoration of the Eucharist. The pastoral issued by the prelates says: "The doctrine which chiefly attempts to express itself by ritual, in questionable and dangerous ways, is connected with the Holy Eucharist. *That doctrine is emphatically a novelty in theology!* What is known as eucharistical adoration is undoubtedly inculcated and encouraged by that ritual of posture lately introduced among us, which *finds no warrant in our Office for the Administration of Holy Communion.*" Then the pastoral declares that the presence of Christ, whatever there may be in the Eucharist, is such as does not permit of His being worshipped there; and that to do so, is "an awful error." But of course, the Ritualists are able to "explain away" this declaration

controversies of faith," they nullify this authority to a great extent by insisting that the Church can decide only on matters contained in the Bible; that the Church cannot assemble Councils without the consent of the civil rulers; and that such Councils can err, and have erred, in matters of faith. The Articles consider the sovereign as supreme in all ecclesiastical affairs; whereas the Church has never recognized any spiritual authority in any civil ruler, but has always regarded the Roman Pontiff as enjoying the primacy of order and of jurisdiction over all Christendom. The Articles inculcate justification by faith alone; the Church requires also hope and charity. The Church teaches that there are seven divinely-instituted sacraments; the Articles admit only two, Baptism and the Eucharist. The Church pronounces that in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, we take and eat the Body of Christ "in a real, though spiritual and Sacramental manner"; while the Articles discern "only a heavenly and spiritual manner." The Articles say that Transubstantiation cannot be evinced from the Bible; whereas the Church teaches that the doctrine follows necessarily from the words of the Saviour. The Articles also contend that communion for the laity under both species is of divine institution; whereas the Church teaches that she can accord the chalice to the laity, or withhold it, according as she may judge proper in the circumstances. As to the sacrificial nature of the Mass, the Catholic doctrine has always been that there is offered to God a true and propitiatory sacrifice on the altar; and that it is commemorative of the Sacrifice of Calvary; but the Articles pronounce the Mass a blasphemous forgery (1). Finally, the Articles condemn the doctrines of purgatory, indulgences, the veneration of images and relics, and the invocation of saints; while the Church has always taught that a soul which is found, at the judgment-seat of God, to be not so wicked as to deserve hell, but yet too stained to enter where nothing defiled can enter, is placed at once in purga-

(1) Jewel, a contemporary of Parker, and Anglican bishop of Salisbury, must have known the intent of the Articles. Now he said of the Mass: "They talk much of an unbloody Sacrifice. It is not theirs to offer. Queen Elizabeth shall offer it up to God, *even her unbloody hands and her unbloody sword*; an unbloody people and an unbloody government. This is an unbloody sacrifice; this sacrifice is acceptable to God."

tory, a place of expiation; that indulgences, remissions of the temporal punishment due to sin, are useful; that an inferior veneration is due to images of the saints and to holy relics; and that it is lawful and commendable for us to beg the saints to intercede for us at the throne of God. Such are the salient differences between the Creed of the Establishment, so far as it has any Creed, and that of the Catholic Church. Such are the Articles to which every Anglican clergyman subscribes, whether he be High, Low, or Broad; Neo-Catholic or Calvinist; and the reflection justifies the saying of Gibbon: "The clergy of the Church of England preserve the name of religion without the substance, and subscribe the articles of their belief with a sigh or a smile." The Articles are bitterly Protestant; and nevertheless, as Macaulay complained in the House of Lords, he who subscribes to them "may hold the worst doctrines of the Church of Rome, and may hold with them the best benefice of the Church of England." Gladstone once had the temerity to say that unity was the characteristic of the Establishment; whereupon Macaulay replied: "Unity she most certainly has not, and never has had. It is a matter of perfect notoriety that her formularies are framed in such a manner as to admit to her highest offices men who differ from each other more widely than a very High Churchman differs from a Catholic, or a very Low Churchman from a Presbyterian; and that the general leaning of the Church, with respect to some important questions, has been sometimes one way and sometimes another. Take, for example, the questions agitated between the Calvinists and the Arminians. *Do we find in the Church of England, with respect to those questions, that unity which is essential to truth?* Is it not certain that at the end of the sixteenth century, the rulers of the church held doctrines as Calvinistic as ever were held by any Cameronian, and not only held them, but persecuted everybody who did not hold them? And is it not equally certain that the rulers of the church have, in very recent times, considered Calvinism as a disqualification for high preferment, if not for orders?" (1)

(1) See the questions propounded to Barret by Archbishop Whitgift—questions, says Mac-

It is now a little more than half a century since a number of enterprising, painstaking, and generally sincere members of the English Establishment conceived the whimsical idea that their system was identical with that of the primitive Christians. To convince their countrymen of the truth of their theory, they began to translate into English the works of the early Fathers of the Church. "Judge of their dismay, when, according to the Arabian tale, on their striking their anchors into the supposed soil, lighting their fires on it, and fixing in it the poles of their tents, suddenly their island began to move, to heave, to splash, to frisk to and fro, to dive, and at last to swim away spouting out inhospitable jets of water upon the credulous mariners who had made it their home. . . . They saw distinctly, in the reasonings of the fathers, the justification of what they had been accustomed to consider the corruption of Rome. . . . Time went on, and there was no mistaking or denying the misfortune which was impending over them. They had reared a goodly house, but their foundations were falling in. The soil and the masonry were both bad. The fathers *would* protect Romanists. The Anglican divines *would* misquote the fathers, and shrink from the very doctors to whom they appealed. The bishops of the seventeenth century were shy of the bishops of the fourth"(1). The leader of this movement, Dr. Pusey, had not the slightest intention or desire to bring about the submission of the Establishment to the papal authority; he wished to furnish his co-religionists with sound weapons against the "wiles of Rome," especially by flaunting audaciously the banner of a presumed Catholicity (2). As we have traced the progress

aulay, "framed in the very spirit of William Huntington, S. S." One was as to whether God had from eternity reprobated certain persons. The prelate was pleased with the reply : " Yes ; and because He so willed."

(1) NEWMAN ; *Anglican Difficulties*, p. 121.

(2) In 1842, the Puseyite Camden Society carried its sublime impudence so far as to elect the Count de Montalembert an honorary member. In his repudiation of the honor, the great publicist said : " It is easy to take up a name ; but it is not so easy to get it recognized by the world and by competent authority. . . . The attempt to steal away from us, and appropriate to the use of a fraction of the Church of England, the glorious title of Catholic, is proved to be an usurpation by every monument of the past and present, by the coronation oath of your sovereign, by all the laws that have established your church, even by the answer of your own University of Oxford to the lay address against Dr. Pusey, etc., where the Church of England is justly called the Protestant Reformed Church. The name itself is spurned at with indignation by the greater half, at least, of those who belong to the Church

made in the Protestantization of the English Church, it may interest the reader if we devote a moment to this attempt at what its authors would have styled, a re-Catholicization of that church. William Palmer, who, after many years of kicking against the spur, finally "went over" to Rome, knew Puseyism well; and according to his experience, the would-be Neo-Catholicism consisted in hurling an anathema against the Protestant principle; and in abandoning, one by one, the very bases of the English Reformation. It saw in the Establishment a wretched slave of the civil power; it discerned in the teachings of this reformed church only equivocal formulas. It declared that the Anglican Liturgy was the condemnation of Anglicanism; whereas the Roman Missal and Ritual were, it acknowledged, precious treasures of apostolic antiquity. It contended, in defiance of the Articles, that the Bible was not the sole rule of faith; that the Church is the depositary of the divine revelations handed down by Tradition. It taught, again in defiance of the Articles, that in the Eucharist, under the appearances of bread and wine, Christ is personally and corporeally present; and that priests possess the sublime and mysterious power to change the bread and wine into the very Body and Blood of their Lord and Saviour. It upheld the legitimacy and propriety of prayers for the dead, and recognized the existence of Purgatory. It venerated seven divinely-instituted sacraments; and it invoked the aid of the saints, and honored their relics. It advised priests to lead a celebitic life; and it praised and actuated, as far as it could, the monastic state. And nevertheless, it contended that one might conscientiously receive the Thirty-Nine Ar-

of England, just as the Church of England itself is rejected with scorn and detestation by the greater half of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. . . . Even the debased Russian Church,—that church where lay despotism has closed the church's mouth and turned her into a slave,—disdains to recognize the Anglicans as Catholics. Even the Eastern heretics, although so sweetly courted by Puseyite missionaries, sneer at this new and flittitious Catholicism. . . . Consistent Protestants and rationalists are more catholic, in the *etymological* sense of the word, than the Anglicans; for they, at least, can look upon themselves as belonging to the same communion as those who, in every country, deny the existence of Church authority or of revealed religion—they have, at least, a negative bond to link them one with another. But that the so-called Anglo-Catholics, whose very name betrays their usurpation and their contradiction; whose doctrinal articles, whose liturgy, whose whole history, are such as to disconnect them from all mankind except those who are born English and speak English,—that they should pretend, on the strength of their private judgment alone, to be what the rest of mankind deny them to be, will assuredly be ranked among the first follies of the nineteenth century."

ticles. Innumerable minds, remarks Palmer, realized the flagrancy of this contradiction; and seeing that if Rome was right (as Pusey seemed to admit), he did not go far enough; and that if Rome was in the wrong, he went too far; abandoned his makeshift theory, and entered the Fold of Christ. As to the modern representatives of Puseyism, those non-descripts who pose as Ritualists, neither time nor inclination allows us to detail their vagaries. But if, perchance, one of them should scan these pages, we would ask him to reflect upon these remarks of W. H. Anderson:

“Ritual, not Ritualism, is a most honest congruous thing, where it is at home. It is only when you import it into a place foreign to it and incongruous, that it becomes dishonest; as poetry, under the like conditions, may become untrue. Thus, a chasuble is a sacrificial vestment, quite in place on the shoulders of a true sacrificing priest. But on a minister, whom the bishop that made him a minister had no intention of making a sacrificing priest in any true sense of the word, it is incongruous in the last degree: it is an untruth, and (in the sense I have explained) a dishonesty. Lights and flowers on a true altar are honest and in place: on a communion-table they are meaningless, and, when thus made to enforce a doctrine inadmissible where they stand, they are a sham. To stand before an altar, as making intercession for the sins of the people, is honest and congruous in a priest, whose office pledges him to do it. His ancestors in the faith have done it for centuries; it is the principal function of his life, and interprets his very name. But to stand in an ‘eastward position’ before a table, which is defined by authority to be, of necessity, ‘an honest, movable table,’ from which the idea of sacrifice is excluded,—this must ever be incongruous in a minister; it contradicts all received traditions; it is opposed to the wish of his bishop, it is not done when that bishop is present, but *is* done when he is away: and so (still in the above sense of the word) is dishonest. To stretch a rubric, to ignore a canon, to go against the plain sense of an article, to act contumaciously against the obligations one has taken, and against the living authority before whom one has taken them,—if all this is honest, if it is genuine, conscientious deal-

ing, then we shall have to go to school again, and learn our English language afresh." The famous Dr. Arnold once said that a Catholic reminded him of a Frenchman waving his flag, while a Ritualist was like the same French soldier disguised in the red coat of her Majesty's service. In the first case, he said, he respected his enemy; but he would hang the pretender. The Catholic reader will not deem Dr. Arnold's criticism severe, unless perchance he is more amused than offended by the pretensions of these Protestant "Catholics." Among these pretensions the most glaring, and one which is also put forth by one of the sections of those Anglicans who scorn the Ritualists, is the assertion that the clergy of the English Establishment and those of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States are not mere "ministers" of congregations which can unmake as they make them, but rather true priests of God according to the order of Melchisedech. Much more has been written upon this subject than has been at all necessary. The voluminous pleas with which Anglican sacerdotalists try to fortify their position do no more, even in the minds of their authors, than evince a shadowy possibility that their "orders" may be valid; and even if this possibility were made a certainty, they would no more be members of the Holy Catholic Church than are the schismatic churches of the Orient or the Reinkens, Loysons, Dollingers, Gavazzis, and Chinniquys of the West. Indeed, if it were shown that the Anglican Church and her American daughter were in the enjoyment of an Apostolic Succession, their clergy would incur, before God, a tremendous responsibility for a sacrilege of which they are now innocent (1).

(1) Speaking of the suggestion made by Lord Halifax, that if Anglican orders were recognized by Rome, then the cause of reunion would be furthered, inasmuch as the Anglicans would then be on the same level as the Oriental schismatics, Rivington says:

"To this, however, we feel bound to demur. The recognition of its Orders would not place the Anglican body on the same level with the Greeks, except in the mere possession of Orders, for these reasons. The Greeks have never faltered in their hold on the dogma of Transubstantiation. Their habits of thought consequently differ *toto cælo* from those of the great mass of Anglicans. Witness their invariable repugnance to the idea of a priest marrying—a repugnance which flows from their sense of the dignity of the priesthood and their firm hold of ecclesiastical tradition. The Anglicans, as a body, lost both of these in the sixteenth century. The persistent way in which, as a body, during the past centuries, they have cast the idea of a sacrificing priesthood to the winds, has led to the spectacle, unknown to the Christian Church since the day of Pentecost, of those who call themselves bishops marrying *after* entering upon the Episcopal Office, and of those whom Lord Hall-

When an Anglican minister presents himself for admission into the Catholic Church, and has abjured his errors, he is baptized *conditionally*. His baptism in the Anglican communion may have been valid, for it is certain that if the proper form and *materia* be used in the administration of this sacrament, the baptism is valid, even though its minister be a pagan or a Jew. But the Church must be sure that X., as we will call our convert, is really incorporated into her visible body; and since too frequent experience teaches her that even among Anglicans, clerical as well as lay, loose notions about baptism are often prevalent, she now confers conditional baptism on our friend X. (1) But if X. desires

fax and others consider to be priests, marrying a *second time* after their ordination, in violation of the Catholic interpretation of St. Paul's injunction as to bishops, that they must not even have been twice married in their heathen life. Supposing, then, that Anglican Orders were discovered to be valid, we should have the existence of a priesthood which has suffered a degradation unknown to the rest of the Church, and which means to continue that same reversal of the respective order in which alone the Sacraments of Matrimony and of Holy Orders should be received, *viz.*, Matrimony (if at all) before Holy Orders, and never *vice versa*. But that is not all. Supposing Anglican Orders to be valid, what are we to say of the Anglican guardianship of other Sacraments? . . . The Episcopate, as a whole, and, we fear, the greater number of the clergy in the Church of England, have not yet been induced to treat the outward elements in Holy Communion as if they were consecrated, except for use. They are, *such amount as is not used in the service*, subjected up and down the land at this moment to indignities which, if Anglican Orders were valid, ought to be stopped at once. A crusade against the careless neglect, to say nothing more, of these outward elements—of what, if those Orders were valid, would be the veritable Body and Blood of our Divine Lord—when not required in the administration of Holy Communion, ought to be inaugurated to-morrow. This would show a Catholic instinct, a practical belief in these Orders. But what would such a crusade bring to light? . . . The peculiar attitude of mind toward the unseen world which is fostered by the constant use of this elevating devotion (to the Blessed Virgin) has been steadily suppressed in the Anglican body for the last three centuries and a half. It is a loss in many ways, and influences even their historical sense, lowering it, and lessening the power of appreciating certain crucial passages in the history of the early Church, as has been seen lately in the way in which even the character of St. Leo the Great has been attacked by such writers as Canon Bright and Canon Gore. If ever Greek and Anglican come sufficiently close to contemplate real reunion, one of two things must happen, *viz.*, either the Greek must condemn his entire past and relegate the invocation of saints, and devotion to our Blessed Lady, to the region of opinion, or Greek and Anglican must consent to remain in a state of religious separation. . . . Any encouragement of the idea that Anglican Orders are valid, would only help to build higher that wall of separation which the Anglican has erected between himself and Rome by denying the divine institution of that centre of unity. Of course, this is no reason for denying Anglican Orders. If it be true that those Orders are valid, by all means let us work on that truth, and the sooner the better. But such recognition would not make it easier for the Anglican to yield submission to the truth of the *kingdom-feature* of the Church's life. It would not make for reunion. The gulf that, alas! separates the Anglican and the Roman would yawn as wide as ever." *Anglican Fallacies*, by Rev. Luke Rivington; London, 1895.

(1) The culpable neglect of Anglicans in the matter of baptism is more than exceptional. We request the reader to note these remarks of A. F. Marshall:

"Catholic theologians have taught, from the earliest days, that, for the validity of baptism,

to become a priest, and the authorities of the Church are convinced that he is a fit subject for that dignity, he must receive the sacrament of Holy Orders; and unlike in the case of his baptism, the ordination is not given conditionally, but *absolutely*. The Anglican baptism of X. may have been valid; but the Church holds that his Anglican "ordination" was of no more efficacy in segregating him from among laymen, in giving him power over the Real Body of Christ and in conferring upon him the other prerogatives of the priesthood, than if it had been effected by a lama of Thibet. In this difference between the conditionality of X.'s baptism and the absoluteness of his ordination, the reader discerns the mind of the Catholic Church in regard to the value of what the Anglican minister terms his "orders"; and this difference shows plainly to the Catholic that the Church rejects as untenable the theory which a couple of French clergymen have advanced in our day, to the effect that Anglican orders *may possibly* be valid, and that the Holy See should order another investigation into the matter. Never, since the institution of the Elizabethan hierarchy, has an Anglican minister been recognized as a Christian priest by Rome; unless in the beginning, in the case of those clergymen who

the water must be made to 'flow on the head,' and that if the water only falls on the hair, or if only a few drops (which do not flow) touch the infant, the baptism, to say the least, is uncertain; while, if the water simply falls on the clothes, the baptism is certainly invalid. Now what has been the general practice among Anglicans? Wheatly tells us, that during the time when the *Directory* was in force (from 1645 to 1660), 'a basin was brought to the minister in his reading desk, and the child being held below him, he dipped in his fingers, and so took up water enough just to let a drop or two fall on the child's face.' Nardid the re-establishment of Anglicanism decrease the carelessness. Mr. Bennet, vicar of Frome, when writing of sixty years ago, said, 'Baptism as a sacrament was well-nigh lost amongst the English people. . . . It is very questionable whether the water, when used, really did touch the person of the child meant to be baptized.' Dr. Lee also, in one of his books, quotes the *Reunion Magazine* as showing that Bishop Alford 'openly baptized fourteen adults by once flicking his wetted fingers in the air over all of them.' While, as to the form and the matter of baptism—up to the time, say, of the *Tracts for the Times*—it was not unusual for a clergyman to dip his finger in the font, and then to go round to each child in silence, touching each child on the head; in which cases the baptisms were invalid. The writer of the present paper has frequently seen Anglican clergymen—from the year 1845 to 1855—simply 'spirt' a drop of water at a row of infants; thus omitting both the matter and the form. Indeed, there is no exaggeration in the statement that Anglican baptisms, before the time of the High Church movement, were purely apologetic and perfunctory; being retained as a traditional compliment to orthodoxy, but without the slightest idea of regeneration. . . . It is morally certain that an immense number of Anglican bishops and clergymen were never effectually baptized, and therefore could not possibly be ordained." *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, vol. XXI.

had been ordained by bishops of the outlawed Church. The mind of the Holy See as to this matter is sometimes unfolded by a citation of a decree of Pope Clement XI., given in 1704, in connection with the desire for ordination expressed by the converted Anglican bishop of Galloway, Dr. John Clement Gordon ; but at as early a date as 1555, Pope Paul IV. set the matter at rest when he approved, by apposite Briefs, the decision of Cardinal Pole ordering the ordination *de novo* of those who had been ordained according to the new Ordinal, and who therefore were *non in forma ecclesie ordinati et consecrati* (1). No sane Catholic will contend that for more than three centuries the Holy See has ordered the absolute reiteration of a possibly valid character-impressing ordination ; that the Roman Pontiffs have enjoined the performance of a rite which their own Canons stamp as downright sacrilege. Rome has not as yet, *totidem verbis*, pronounced the invalidity of Anglican orders ; and perhaps she will never deem it necessary to so pronounce, since her mind has been manifested sufficiently by her practice. But it cannot be held that Rome will never give a decision in the premises, on the ground that herein there is a question of a historical fact, and that the Church does not dogmatize on merely historical facts. The fact at issue is not a simple fact ; it is a Dog-

(1) These Bulls were discovered by the erudite and indefatigable Benedictine, Dom Aidan Gasquet, in the Vatican Archives, and were published in the *Civiltà Cattolica* for June 1, 1895. The first of these is a Bull, the general purport of which is to permit of the rehabilitation of those clerics who, by lapsing into schism under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., had been thereby disqualified from the exercise of their orders. All may be rehabilitated according to the orders they possess, yet "so that those who have been promoted to orders, whether sacred or not sacred, by any bishop or archbishop other than such as have been duly and rightly ordained, shall be bound to receive the same orders again (*de novo*) from their Ordinary, and meanwhile must not minister in those orders" (*Arch. Secret. Vatic.* Paul IV., tom. i., n. 1850, f. 55). This Bull is dated June 20, 1555. On October 30th of the same year a Brief was issued explanatory of this clause: "Since, as we have been recently informed, it is doubted by many persons what bishops and archbishops, during the period of the schism in that kingdom, can be considered duly and rightly ordained, desiring to remove this doubt by more clearly explaining the mind and intention which we had in the previous letter, and to afford reasonable relief to the consciences of those who were advanced to orders during the aforesaid schism, we decree that only those bishops and archbishops, who were not ordained and consecrated in the form of the Church, cannot be called duly and rightly ordained, and that it is those who have been promoted by these to their orders, who have not received orders, but must and are bound to receive the same orders afresh (*de novo*) from their Ordinary according to the tenor and contents of our aforesaid letters" (*Ibid.*, t. i., n. 301). There cannot be any possible doubt that the distinction thus drawn between prelates consecrated by the rite of the Church and those not so consecrated is a distinction between those consecrated by the Pontifical and those consecrated by Cranmer's Ordinal.

matic Fact, a *factum cum jure conjunctum*, and as we shall show when we come to the subject of Jansenism, such facts are properly objects of the infallible judgments of the Church.

Having reflected on the mind of the Church in reference to the value of what he has fondly regarded as his priestly ordination (for we suppose him to be an "advanced churchman"), X. is about to present himself for the real reception of Orders, when a Protestant friend urges him not to stultify himself by pretending to receive what he already possesses. He reminds X. that when he stood before the Anglican bishop to be enrolled among the Anglican clergy, he intended to become a "sacrificing priest," and the bishop intended to make him one. And this insistence of the officious friend is very specious, if X. was "ordained" within the last three or four decades; for in that time a large number of Anglicans have come to disbelieve that sacrificing priests are mere mummers and that the Mass is a filthiness. But if X. considers that although Y., who "ordained" him, may have intended to confer upon him all the prerogatives with which the Church endows her priests, nevertheless Y. himself may not have had the power to do this; then X. faces a serious issue. Who ordained and consecrated Y.? Z., most assuredly. But is X. sure that Z., or some one of the consecrating prelates who connected Z. with the Elizabethan hierarchy, was not deficient in at least the intention to make real priests, "Massing priests," of his *ordinandi*? If X. finds that even one link in the chain between Z. and an undoubted bishop was defective in what is essential to effecting a valid ordination of a sacrificing priest, he will decide that he is, as yet, a mere layman. And what does history show him, concerning the belief of the immense majority of the clerics of the Establishment, from Cranmer's day to our own, in regard to the essentials for ordination, or in regard to even any necessity whatever for an ordination other than that conferred by a royal or a parliamentary commission? Even to-day, when Ritualists are widening their stoles, elongating or squaring their mitres, bedazzening themselves with crosses, prating about the beauties of solemn vows to observe the three great Counsels, wondering whether a thurible should be swung once or

sixty-three times, and so on through a dense paraphernalia of senseless mystification, how many Anglican prelates are there who do not avow among their familiars what some of them boldly declare when about to perform an "ordination," namely, that in the ensuing ceremony, they intend expressly to make no sacrificing priest? If X. thinks that in our day the absence of necessary intention is not very clearly indicated (forgetting that it ought to be expressly announced), let him consider the liturgical surroundings of those prelates of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries whom he would fain regard as connecting him with the ancient and Catholic Church of England. Is a belief in the sacrificial character of the priesthood consistent with the location of the venerable altar slabs in the pavement of the churches, so that the people may condemn those whilom resting-places of the Body of Christ by trampling upon them; with the ostentatious substitution of a simple table for the altar; with the rejection of the time-honored Liturgy, and an adoption of that Communion Service which excludes every idea of a substantial Real Presence and of a sacrificial act? Unless X. can satisfy himself on these points, he must apply to the Catholic bishop, if he wishes to be a priest. Indeed, so evident is this necessity to those who have studied the matter with any degree of profundity, and with some measure of sincerity, that a few years ago, Dr. Lee, the Protestant vicar of the parish of All Saints, Lambeth, had himself and some other mistaken zealots baptized, confirmed, ordained, and consecrated as bishops, by some impecunious oriental schismatical prelate (in Malabar, we believe); and since the Establishment saw fit to demonstrate its elasticity by allowing the contemner of its dignity to retain his benefice, it is strange that many of the Anglican clergy have not applied to this really full-fledged (albeit schismatical) bishop for the Apostolic Succession (1).

(1) Dr. Lee and his companions resolved themselves into a society for the promotion of réunion with Rome; and on Sept. 8, 1877, they issued an appeal, commencing: "Thomas, by the favor of God, Rector of the Order of Corporate Reunion and Pro-Provincial of Canterbury; Joseph, by the favor of God, Provincial of York, in the Kingdom of England; and Laurence, by the favor of God, Provincial of Caerleon, in the principality of Wales, with the provosts and members of the synod of the order, to the faithful in Christ Jesus, health and benediction in the Lord." The document proceeds to assert that the existing bishops have,

But let us return to a consideration of the quandary in which X. finds himself. If he has come to the conclusion that there is no defective link in the chain which connects Y. with the ancient English Church, a Catholic friend may ask him to explain the nature of the tie which he regards as binding the Elizabethan hierarchy to that Church. We have seen how Elizabeth, in her capacity of head of the new Church of England, dispensed with all irregularities and even invalidating impediments in the "consecration" of Parker, from whom all the prelates and ministers of the Anglican Church and her American daughter are compelled to derive their claims to episcopal or sacerdotal authority. Whether the royal lady had any more right or power to effect the famous

by their conduct, forfeited all claims to canonical obedience; and that Thomas, Joseph, and Laurence intend to supplant them, representing "three distinct and independent lines of a new episcopal succession." (See Appleton's *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1877, p. 21.)—The following reflections of A. F. Marshall, on the intention of Anglican bishops when conferring orders, are apposite to our position: "From the time of St. Augustine, in the sixth century, to that of Archbishop Warham, in the sixteenth, there was never any doubt about form or intention in regard to the conferring of orders, nor any dispute as to legitimate succession; while as to jurisdiction—a very different question, indeed—the Holy See was always acknowledged to be its sole source or fountain, in the sense of the 'plenitude of jurisdiction.' But at the time of the Reformation all this was changed. Form was changed; intention was changed; while as to spiritual jurisdiction, it was transferred from the Pope to the lay king or queen of the island. Nor was there so much as one aspect in which the essentials of priesthood, as they had always been regarded for a thousand years, were not changed in a revolutionary sense. Thus, to speak of two priestly functions only: For a thousand years every Catholic deacon had been 'made a priest,' that he might offer the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and hear Confessions in the Sacrament of Penance; but, after the Reformation, every Protestant deacon was 'made a priest' that he might *not* offer the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and might *not* hear Sacramental Confessions." The following remarks by the same polemic are also appropriate. "From the period of this great change to about the year 1850, no Anglican clergyman was ever known to 'say Mass,' or to hear a 'Sacramental Confession.' Thus, the very soul of the institution, 'Catholic priesthood,' was taken out of the Protestant body, the Church of England; and three centuries were devoted to reviling those priestly powers which are now claimed by the Ritualists as their heritage. Is it probable that an Anglican ministry, which for three centuries has swept the tabernacle from the altar, can have the same orders as a priesthood which, for eighteen centuries, has bent the knee to the Adorable Presence? Is it probable that an Anglican ministry, which has always placed the consecrated bread in the hand of the unconfessed sinner, can have the same orders as the priesthood which has reverently placed the Adorable Host on the tongue of the confessed and absolved penitent? Is it probable that an Anglican ministry which has left the consecrated crumbs to be scattered on the floor around the communion rails: and has allowed the parish clerk to cast away the remnant, or the church cleaner to sweep the remnant into her shovel, can have the same orders as a priesthood whose very care and priestly exactness have been mocked for three centuries by most Protestants? And, finally, is it probable that an Anglican ministry which has always preached against the Roman Catholic doctrine; has always warned its congregations against the soul-destroying error of the Roman Catholic dogma of Transubstantiation, can have the same orders as a priesthood whose insistence on the Catholic doctrine has exposed it to three centuries of vituperation?" *Loc. cit.*

dispensation, than a squire of Mud Hill Pond would have in the appointing, instituting, and "making" of a Protestant Episcopal "primus" in our land, is for Anglicans to determine. At any rate, X. feels that he must inquire into the value of the presumed "consecration" which ensued after the healing document had been graciously accorded; and we now proceed to detail the results of his investigations. For many years after the installation of Parker, the English Catholics were wont to object to the innovators that no consecratory ceremony had preceded that act; that, in fact, the sole pretense of a "consecration" had occurred in the Nag's-Head tavern in Cheapside, when Scorey bade Parker and the other bishops-elect kneel down, and then put a Bible on the head of each, saying: "Receive the power of preaching the word of God sincerely." This story, however, is rejected as a fable by Catholic writers such as Lingard, Tierney, Estcourt, and Raynal; chiefly because the *Acts* of Parker's "consecration," preserved in Lambeth palace, are presumably authentic (1). But Anglican writers show bad faith when they proclaim their cause as gained by the mere dissipation of the Nag's-Head yarn. Even though there be no ground for the fable; even though the "consecrators" of Parker had journeyed to Rome, and there in the Lateran Basilica—the *mater et caput omnium ecclesiarum in universo mundo*—in the presence of all the Catholic sovereigns of Europe, with the Supreme Pontiff blessing the act from his high throne, they had performed their famous function, we contend that their act would not have made Parker a bishop. For this assertion there are two reasons; one which seems to be well sustained by cold history, and the other founded in the teachings of Catholic theology. In the first place, we shall examine the historical reason. Barlow, the prelate who "consecrated" Parker, was very probably not a bishop, although he had been elected bishop

(1) In his admirable letters on the consecration of Barlow, written in 1847 while he was still a Protestant, Mr. Serjeant Bellasis says that while he believes the Lambeth *Acts* to be genuine, the Catholics had good grounds to suspect them, especially this: "When, at the time, the Catholics objected to Archbishop Parker that he had not been duly consecrated, he did not reply by producing the register of his consecration, which would have put the fact beyond dispute, but applied for and obtained an Act of Parliament to remedy any defects there might have been therein; and the register itself was not produced or specifically alluded to for more than fifty years after, and not until every one named in it was dead."

of St. Asaph's in January, 1536; had received a mandate for his consecration on Feb. 2, 1536; had been translated in the same year to St. David's; had been again translated to Bath and Wells in 1548; and had resigned this last see on the accession of Queen Mary. Of Barlow's consecration there is no record whatsoever. Nor is this a merely negative argument; for if the existing records concerning him are true, he could not have been consecrated, since these documents represent his successor at St. Asaph's as succeeding an unconsecrated bishop, and they speak of him after his removal to St. David's as simply the "late bishop of St. Asaph's." I. We must show that Barlow was not consecrated as bishop of St. Asaph's. Now it is certain that while the mandate to Crammer to consecrate him is dated Feb. 2, 1536, the bishop of St. David's died on the 18th, and Barlow was appointed to fill the vacancy. Was he consecrated before he was transferred? Having examined the *congé d'élire*, or license to the Chapter of St. Asaph's to elect another bishop in the place of Barlow, Mr. Serjeant Bellasis wrote: "Now these licenses to elect always specify the cause of the vacancy; it is always, if the previous bishop is dead, '*vacante per mortem naturalem ultimi Episcopi*': if he is translated to another See, it is '*per translationem ultimi Episcopi*': if he has been deprived '*per deprivationem ultimi Episcopi*.' Also a bishop who has been elected and not consecrated is always, in all formal documents, called 'bishop-elect' only. Now, in the '*congé d'élire*' to the Dean and Chapter of St. Asaph's to elect a bishop in the room of Barlow, he (Barlow) is called 'bishop-elect,' and the cause of the vacancy is said to be his *exchange*. The words are '*vacante per liberam transmutationem Wilhelmi Barlow, ultimi Episcopi electi*,' and he is so described throughout the whole of the formal documents relating to the election of his successor. There is no other instance in which a *translation* is described by any other word than '*translationem*,' nor in which a *consecrated* bishop to any See is called a 'bishop-elect.' The conclusion is, therefore, I think, not an improbable one, that in consequence of the bishopric of St. David's falling vacant when Barlow was about to be consecrated to St. Asaph's, the consecration did not take place;

but the 'bishop-elect' of St. Asaph's—*viz.*, Barlow—was 'exchanged to St. David's.' When Bellasis wrote these words he was still hoping to be able to prove that Barlow was a bishop; else he would not have described the Catholic conclusion as merely a "not improbable one." And is it not strange that no record of this consecration has ever been found, in spite of the researches of Mason, employed by the archbishop of Canterbury in 1613; in spite of the labors of Bramhall about 1657; in spite of the exertions of Burnet, spurred on by the parliament; and in spite of the energy of the indefatigable Wharton? (1) II. Was Barlow consecrated as bishop of St. David's? Cranmer's *Register* (p. 205, b.) contains all the documents concerning the transfer of Barlow to St. David's, but has not a word implying his consecration. The sole document on which Mason relied to prove that Barlow must have been a consecrated bishop at this time is a "restitution" of the temporalities of St. David's to him, which document, said Mason, was found in the "Rolls Chapel in Chancery." But Estcourt does justice to this instrument: "It struck the writer as worth while to examine the original document which was printed by Mason as the restitution to Barlow of the temporalities of St. David's taken (as he states) 'out of the Rolls Chapel in Chancery.' It is printed from Mason, under that title, by Dr. Elrington and Dr. Lee, though Mr. Haddon has accurately noticed that it is not in the usual form. Mason's reference designates the Patent Rolls; but after a most careful search no such document could be found enrolled upon them. Its non-appearance on those rolls of course stimulated curiosity to find it, and, after further search, it was found on the Memoranda Rolls of the Remembrancer of the Lord Treasurer of the Exchequer. As these latter rolls belong to the Exchequer and not to the Chancery, and were not kept in the Rolls Chapel, Mason has given a wrong reference to the record. An error in the reference would have been of little consequence, if it had given a correct description of the document, or if he had printed it so as to show its real nature and operation, instead of

(1) This question was asked in the last century by the Rev. Mr. Stephens, Anglican rector of Cherrington.

passing it off as the restitution usually made to a bishop after consecration, and printing only so much as would not betray the deception he was practising. So far from being the restitution in its usual form, it is a grant of the custody of temporalities on account of the vacancy of the see, but with the extraordinary addition of, 'to hold to him and his assigns during his life.' So far from giving any evidence of his consecration, it rather implies the probability that he had not been consecrated, and that he was made and entitled bishop without consecration. And the enrolment was made in the office of the Exchequer, as if the matter were purely secular, instead of on the Patent Rolls in Chancery" (1). Concerning the probability of the consecration of Barlow having occurred while he was the incumbent of Bath and Wells, we can only repeat that the Register preserved at Lambeth is silent. But it may be said, that as it appears that Barlow himself was one of the assistant bishops at the consecration of Bulkeley, bishop of Bangor, in 1541, it is very improbable that he would have allowed so important a ceremony to have remained unperformed in his own case, and also that it is improbable that Cranmer, whose duty it was to consecrate him, would have neglected to do so. This would be a very important argument if it should appear that Cranmer and Barlow were at the time convinced of the necessity of consecration to the valid making of a bishop.

But it is certain that neither Cranmer nor Barlow differed from the majority of their comrades in the opinion that the episcopate is a very unessential matter (2). We have already

(1) *Questions on Anglican Ordinations*, p. 71.

(2) "The founders of the Anglican Church had retained episcopacy as an ancient, a decent, and a convenient ecclesiastical polity, but had not declared that form of church government to be of divine institution. We have already seen how low an estimate Cranmer had formed of the office of a bishop. In the reign of Elizabeth, Jewel, Cooper, Whitgift, and other eminent doctors, defended prelacy as innocent, as useful, as what the state might lawfully establish, as what, when established by the state, was entitled to the respect of every citizen. But they never denied that a Christian community without a bishop might be a true church. On the contrary, they regarded the Protestants of the Continent as of the same household of faith with themselves. Englishmen in England were indeed bound to acknowledge the authority of the bishop, as they were bound to acknowledge the authority of the sheriff or of the coroner; but the obligation was purely local. An English churchman, nay, even an English prelate, if he went to Holland, conformed without scruple to the established religion of Holland. Abroad the ambassadors of Elizabeth and James went in state to the very worship which Elizabeth and James persecuted at home, and carefully abstained from decorating their private chapels Anglican-fashion, lest scandal be given to weaker

heard the former expressing his opinion that "he who is appointed bishop or priest needeth no consecration, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient." And the opinion of Barlow, while he was occupying the see of St. David's, is evinced from a letter to the chancellor Cromwell, written on Jan. 15, 1537, by Bishop Rowland Lee, the lord-president of the Marches of Wales. "He affirmed and said that if the King's Grace, being supreme Head of the Church of England, did choose or denominate and elect any layman, being learned, to be a bishop, he so chosen, without mention of any orders, should be as good a bishop as he is, or the best in England" (1). This enunciation of opinion as to the non-necessity of Orders for valid episcopal or sacerdotal acts was emitted by Barlow in November, 1536; and in 1540, one year before the objected assistance at the "consecration" of Bulkeley, when replying to the *Seventeen Questions on the Sacraments* drawn up by Crammer, he again declared that at the beginning priests and bishops were all one, that bishops have no power to make priests without authority from Christian princes, and that no consecration, but only appointment, is necessary (2). But hearken to these apposite *Questions and Answers*, as given by Burnet. *Question*: "Whether the Apostles, lacking a higher power, as in not having a Christian King among them, made bishops by that necessity, or by authority given of God?" CRAMMER: "The civil ministers under the King be Lord Chancel-

brethren. In 1603 the convocation of the province of Canterbury solemnly recognized the Church of Scotland,—a church in which episcopal control and episcopal ordination were then unknown, as a branch of the holy Catholic Church of Christ. It was even held that Presbyterian ministers were entitled to place and voice in œcumenical councils. When the States General of the United Provinces convoked at Dort a synod of doctors not episcopally ordained, an English bishop and an English dean, commissioned by the head of the English Church, sat with those doctors, preached to them, and voted with them on the gravest questions of theology. One of these commissioners was Joseph Hall, then dean of Worcester, and afterward bishop of Norwich. In his life of himself, he says: 'My unworthiness was named for one of the assistants of that honorable, grave, and reverend meeting.' To High Churchmen this humility will seem not a little out of place,—nay, many English benefices were held by divines who had been admitted to the ministry in the Calvinistic form used on the Continent; nor was reordination by a bishop in such cases then thought necessary or even lawful. But a new race of divines was already rising in the Church of England. In their view, the episcopal office was essential to the welfare of a Christian society and to the efficacy of some of the most solemn ordinances of religion." MACAULAY, *History of England*, pp. 74-76.

(1) Strype's *Memorials*, vol. I., App. no. 77.

(2) Burnet's *Collection*, pt. I., bk. III., no. 21.

lor, Lord Treasurer, Admirals, Sheriffs, &c; the ministers of God's Word under his Majesty be Bishops, Parsons, Vicars, and such other Priests as be appointed by his Highness to that ministration—as, for example, the Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Durham, the Parson of Winwick, &c. All the said offices be appointed, assigned, and elected in every place by the laws and orders of Kings and Princes. In the admission of many of these offices be divers comely ceremonies and solemnities, and which be not of necessity, but only for a good order and seemly fashion; for if such offices and ministrations were committed without such solemnity, they were nevertheless duly committed, and there is no more promise of God that grace is given in the committing of the ecclesiastical office than it is in the committing of the civil office."

BARLOW: "Because they lacked a Christian Prince, by that necessity they ordained other Bishops. *Question*: "Whether Bishops or Priests were first; and if the Priest was first, then the Priest made the Bishop?"

CRANMER: "The Bishops and Priests were at one time, and were no two things, but both one office, at the beginning of Christ's religion."

BARLOW: "At the beginning they were all one." *Question*:

"Whether in the New Testament *be required any consecration* of a Bishop or Priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?"

CRANMER: "In the New Testament he that is appointed to be a Bishop or a Priest *needeth no consecration* by the Scripture, for *election or appointment thereto is sufficient*." BARLOW: "Only the appointing" (1). After reading

(1) "It is said, on the other side, that Cranmer's Erastian opinions were not firmly fixed even in 1540, and probably not held at all in 1536; not fixed in 1540, because in subscribing his name to his *Answers* he wrote: 'This is mine opinion and sentence at this present, which, however, I do not temerariouſly define, but do remit the judgment wholly unto your Majesty': and not held in 1536, because between the two dates came the publication of the *Bishop's Book*, in all probability composed largely by Cranmer himself, and certainly subscribed by him. But, in a person like Cranmer, the proviso in his subscription is a mark, not of mental hesitation, but of readiness to subscribe to any doctrine the king should require; and we must interpret his subscriptions, and even his labors of composition over the *Bishop's Book*—not that that book really contradicts his Erastian sentiments—and the *King's Book*, on the same principles. He, and indeed all of them, were prepared and expected to sign what the majority voted, whether it represented their true personal belief or not. In fact, it was on this very ground that some years later (1551) Heath was sent to the Fleet because he would not subscribe to the Edwardine Ordinal; the government, of which Cranmer himself was the ecclesiastical leader, said that when the other commissioners approved it as sound, it was unbecoming of him not to conform his judgment to theirs. Besides, the Erastian doctrine in question is only the logical outcome of Cranmer's undoubted belief in the Royal source of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and this belief he expressed as early

these replies expressing that consecration is not necessary ; after reflecting that such an admission would have been specially gratifying to the royal Henry, then in the first exultation born of his lately assumed headship of the English Church ; after pondering on the fact that there is extant no record of any consecration of Barlow by Cranmer or by any one else ; and after noting particularly that Barlow is spoken of as a "bishop-elect" in the documents relating to the election of his successor at St. Asaph's, and that their phraseology implies something different from a regular "translation" ; in all probability our convert X. will come to the conclusion that he is no priest, because his Anglican "ordination" is mediately derived from Parker, who was no bishop, since he received only a pretended "consecration" at the hands of one who had no episcopal power. Of course, we do not pretend to have furnished any apodictical evidence that Barlow never received episcopal consecration, but we have made out a *prima facie* case of *non-consecration*, and therefore, although our adversaries assert that consecration must be presumed until disproved, jurists will say that the burden of proving it now rests on Z., the Anglican mentor of our converted friend X. In conclusion, however, we would remark that interesting and important as is the historical question which we have been discussing, it has had but a comparatively small share in determining the practice of the Holy See in reference to the so-called Anglican Orders. Had Barlow been

as 1536 or 1537, when on the Commission to draw up the Ten Articles: 'You ... are to agree ... whether such ceremonies as Confirmation, Orders, or Annealing, which cannot be proved to be instituted of Christ, or to certify us of remission of sins, ought to be called Sacraments.' It is also urged (DENNY; *Anglican Orders and Jurisdiction*, p. 72), I. that Cranmer's signature is attached to Dr. Leighton's Answers to the Seventeen Questions, evidently to signify his agreement with their doctrine, which is slightly more orthodox than Cranmer's own. But it is futile to suppose that Cranmer *simultaneously* sent in his own most unorthodox Answers and gave his adhesion to others of a different complexion. His signature is obviously merely to authenticate the document. II. That the author of another set of Answers to these Questions, whom Strype (*Life of Cranmer*, b. I., c. xx.) supposes to have been Thiriby (but see DIXON: *History of the Church of England*, II., p. 305), and who approximates much more to orthodoxy than Leighton, has set down Cranmer's and Barlow's names (with Cox's) in the margin opposite several of his statements, those on Orders included. It is argued that here again the names are thus written in the margin to mark the agreement of these persons with the doctrine in the text. But, again, it is futile to suppose that Cranmer *simultaneously* affirmed and denied the same doctrines. It would be truer to say the names are written in the margin to mark that the statements in the text are directed against these men." *Reasons for Rejecting Anglican Orders*, by Rev. Sydney Smith, S. J., London, 1895.

consecrated by the Roman Pontiff, and the record been deposited in the Vatican Archives, there could be, on the part of the Catholic Church, no recognition of the Anglican claims to Apostolic Succession and to a true priesthood, simply because Parker was "consecrated" according to an *Ordinal* which, to use the words of Lingard, "was as fit a form for the ordination of a parish-clerk, as of the spiritual ruler of a diocese." But the treatment of this branch of the question pertains to the province of the theologian, rather than to that of the historian. We shall merely observe that in the *Ordinal of Edward VI.*, which was used in all Anglican "ordinations" and "consecrations" down to the time of the Restoration, the rites, both as interpreted by the context and by the expressed opinions of the framers (Cranmer at their head), were intended to exclude the sole sense which could make them vehicles of valid Orders. In 1662 the Convocation made that addition to the rite of episcopal "consecration" which is now used by the Anglicans, and which certainly indicates a wish to bestow an episcopal character which the Edwardine *Ordinal* had ignored (1). Parliament deigned to allow the change, but it came too late; the men who began to use the improved ritual were not reordained by undoubted bishops, but continued to transmit that phantasm of succession which they had received through Parker, so that no more effect was produced by the revised *Ordinal* of the Restoration than would be produced by a school-girl reciting its prayers over her dolls.

Justice demands that we notice, so far as our historical province permits, the chief objections which Anglican polemics urge against our contention. For replies to the minor historical objections, and for a solution of the Anglican difficulties which are based on liturgical and dogmatic grounds, we refer the reader to the Catholic authors whom we have already mentioned. The most important Anglican objection is to the effect that during the reign of Queen Mary, the Roman

(1) The new form for making a bishop reads: "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God, committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is given to thee by this imposition of our hands, for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, love, and sobriety."

authorities admitted the validity of Anglican "orders." In our day this assertion has been reiterated by the eccentric Dr. (we ought to say "bishop") Lee, of whom we have already spoken. In a book which he entitled *Roman Catholic Testimonies to the Validity of Anglican Orders*, this schismatic and lone-star prelate says: "In the reign of Queen Mary, those clergy who had actively sided with the innovating school during her half-brother's reign were certainly not reordained, but were formally confirmed in their orders—and this, though they had received them by the revised form of Edward VI. . . . In the breve of Pope Julius III. to Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, dated March 8th, 1554, as well as in the commissions consequently issued by his Eminence to the dean and chapter of his cathedral church, as likewise to the several English bishops, the latter are ordered to confirm the clergy in their respective orders; no distinction whatever being made between those who had been ordered by the ancient rite and by the revised ordinal. This may be seen from the exact words of the pope's breve. . . . Pope Julius III., in his bull to Cardinal Pole, orders the legate to confirm all the clergy in their respective orders; no distinction whatever being made between those who had been ordained by the ancient rite and by the revised ordinal. This may be seen from the exact terms of the pope's bull." Canon Raynal thus replied to Lee: "Tournely, the once famous Doctor of the Sorbonne, has culled from 'these exact words of the Pontiff,' certain terms that classify the holy orders of the schismatical clergy of England. These terms are—1. '*Rite et legitime*'; 2. '*male*'; 3. '*minus rite*'; 4. '*nunquam*.' If we would thoroughly understand the true force of these expressions, we must bear in mind the history of the schism, and the heretical notions then held by many on the very subject of the Sacrament of Orders. The English Church had been separated from the Apostolic See for the space of twenty years only, and many of the clergy must have received their Holy Orders before the separation had taken place. These ecclesiastics would, therefore, be regarded as ordained, '*rite et legitime*.' On repentance and satisfaction they would be absolved, and then confirmed in the office they held in the Church. Dis-

culties would begin to arise with those who had been ordained during the thirteen schismatical years of Henry's reign, for such were '*male ordinati*' and needed a special dispensation. The accession of the youthful Edward, and the triumph of the Calvinistic party, only tended to complicate the evil. It is true that the ancient rite was obligatory in law till March, 1549, but it is no less true that its ceremonies and holy form were blasphemed and ridiculed by those who then stood foremost in the ranks of the clergy. The delivery of the instruments, the sacred anointings, and the spiritual powers bestowed in the sacramental form of Holy Orders, were rejected and despised by the Reformers. It is not a mere conjecture, therefore, to say that, during the two first years of Edward VI., many must either have avoided ordination altogether, or have been guilty of such omissions in the sacred rite as rendered their Orders wanting in integrity. Hence they would be considered as, '*male et minus rite ordinati*.' The publication and legal enforcement of the revised ordinal, in 1549, created a new and more pronounced difficulty. This ordinal totally changed the rites of ordination and episcopal consecration, and their sacramental forms had been altered to suit the peculiar views of its framers. Neither the Holy See nor the legate could have closed their eyes to such an unparalleled innovation. The forms, if altered in their substance, would be held null and void. All those ordained according to them would, in very deed, be '*nunquam ordinati*.' Could such phantom priests be recognized and confirmed? Would they not need reordination? Why, then, do you assert so confidently that the exact terms of the Pontiff draw no distinction whatsoever between the Holy Orders that had been received during the twenty years of the schism? These distinctions not only existed in the papal Bull, but were also practically enforced by the cardinal-legate and the bishops who acted as his sub-delegates. You say that Pole ordered his cathedral chapter and several bishops to confirm all the schismatical clergy in their respective orders, no distinction whatever being made as to the rite used at ordination. In juxtaposition with your statement I shall place that of Collier, the Church of England's great historian. That writer tells us that the legate granted

a commission to the dean and chapter of Canterbury for reconciling the clergy and laity of that province. 'The instrument,' he says, 'extends to the absolving of all persons who repent their miscarriages, and desire to be restored from all heresies, schism, apostasies, from all excommunications, suspensions, and other ecclesiastical censures: and more particularly the clergy who had received orders from any schismatical or heretical bishops, officiated in virtue of that character, and complied with any unallowed ceremonies and forms of prayer, are absolved, provided the form and intention of the Church was not omitted in their ordination.' These words prove that the legate did not acknowledge the validity of Holy Orders conferred during the schism, without carefully investigating the rite that had been used, and the intention of those who were concerned in the ordination. And if these important words do not especially refer to the revised ordinal, I am, indeed, at a loss to know why they should have been inserted at all." Perhaps it is unnecessary to remark that the refutation of Lee's assertion was not answered.

Anglican polemics are fond of asserting that the absence of any record of Barlow's consecration forms the sole reason for our questioning it; and then they assert that if we are logical, we will deny the validity of Pole's consecration, since the cardinal's consecrator was Heath, who was consecrated by Gardiner, whose record of consecration is wanting in the archbishop's *Register*. We reply, firstly, that we do not question Anglican "orders" solely because there is no record of Barlow's consecration; our belief, as we have already shown, is founded on other omissions as well, and on many facts which all indicate the non-consecration. Secondly, it is true that the consecration of Gardiner is not recorded in Warham's *Register*; but the commission to consecrate him is, according to Archbishop Wake (1), under date November 27, 1531, and the consecration itself is entered in Gardiner's *Register* as having taken place on December 3, 1531. The consecrations of Fox of Hereford, Sampson of Chichester, and Reppes of Norwich, are not recorded at Lambeth; but that of Fox

(1) COURAYER; *Dissertation on Anglican Orders*, App. art. ix., p. 348. Oxford Edition of 1844.

is certified as intended in the *Significavit* (1), and as accomplished, in Fox's own *Register* and in his *Writ of Restitution*; that of Sampson in his *Writ of Restitution*; and that of Reppes is recited as accomplished in his *Writ of Restitution*, and in Cranmer's *Certificate to the King*. On the other hand, in Barlow's case, and his alone, none of these sources supplies evidence of a consecration (2).

(1) Before the rupture of Henry VIII. with Rome, almost every episcopal appointment having for more than two centuries been made directly by the Pope, the procedure was for the Pope to signify his appointment to the king, with a view to the Restitution of Temporalities and to the elect with a permission to choose for his consecrators any three bishops in communion with the Holy See. Henry VIII. in 1534, the better to interrupt all communication with Rome, caused the passing of an Act (25 *Henry VIII.*, c. xx.) by which an entirely new procedure was substituted. According to this, the dean and chapter of the vacant see, on receiving the *congé d'être* and the letters missive indicating the candidate whom the king desired, were to elect the latter without delay and certify the fact to the crown. On receiving this certificate, the king, if he approved, issued a document called the *Royal Assent*, and another called the *Significavit*, both directed to the archbishop. Both the *Royal Assent* and the *Significavit* were to be entered in the archbishop's *Register*.

(2) The following remarks of Rev. Luke Rivington (*loc. cit.*) will appositely conclude our dissertation :

"A curious impression just now prevails in some circles to the effect that our Holy Father Leo XIII. in some way differs from His Holiness' predecessor, Pius IX., in his attitude toward the Anglican body. It is thought that Leo XIII. looks more kindly on the claims of that body to be part of the Catholic Church. This impression has been partly produced (however unintentionally) by a public utterance of Lord Halifax, giving an account of his lordship's visit to Rome in the spring of 1895. It is also in part based on the idea that our Holy Father's letter to those of the English people 'who seek the kingdom of God in the unity of faith,' urging them to pray for the reunion of Christendom, in some way contradicts the decree of the Holy Office in 1865, condemning the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom. But this is not the case. That Association was forbidden to Roman Catholics, because on the one hand it was supposed to include them in an Association *under the direction of Anglicans*, and because, on the other hand, it was based on a theory of unity which the Holy Office declared to be heretical. Leo XIII. does not, in his letter to the English people, suggest the formation of any association or confraternity for the purpose of prayer; his Holiness merely urges the English people to pray in their own way, whilst he supplies his own subjects with a prayer which is obviously meant directly for them only—for it is addressed to our Lady, and it speaks of the rest of the English people (including members of the Church of England) in the third person (*fratres dissidentes*); and it is put forth with indulgences attached to it, which, of course, can only be gained by those in communion with the Holy See. This is not at all the same thing as recommending association in prayer in the sense condemned in the decree of 1865. As Archbishop Ullathorne observes (*The Anglican Theory of Union*, p. 7), 'It is one of the conservative features of the Church's unity and integrity that her members do not communicate in prayer with those beyond her pale.'

"But the other and more serious count on which the A. P. U. C. was condemned at Rome was its adoption of a certain theory of unity, according to which the Church would be considered to have lost her note of visible unity. As Archbishop Ullathorne said of that Association, 'the spirit which animates it, which it expressly professes, is this—that the three Christian communions, namely, the Roman Catholic, the Greek Schismatic, the Anglican, however separated and divided from each other, have an equal title to claim for themselves the name of Catholic.' It was, in fact, the idea that the Church can consist of three 'branches' so utterly separate as those three communions, which was condemned. The condemnation was formal and decided. 'The decree,' writes Archbishop Ullathorne, although officially signed by Cardinal Patrizzì, as Secretary, was not a mere letter coming from that

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT (EIGHTEENTH GENERAL).

When treating of the commencements of Protestantism, we noted that in 1520 Luther replied to the censures of Pope Leo X. by appealing to a future General Council. The same appeal was urged in 1530 by the Lutheran princes of Germany in their *Confession of Faith* presented to the Diet of Augsburg; and these same princes continued until 1540 to denounce the Roman Pontiff for what they alleged to be either fear or supine negligence in not convoking the seemingly desired assembly which might put an end to the woes of Christendom. But when, in 1542, the Papal Bull for the convocation of the Council was issued, the ex-Augustinian used both voice and pen to propagate a distrust, in the minds of his followers, of everything that the Council might effect. And when Luther had gone to his dread account, and seven sessions had been held by the synodals, the other archbishop, Calvin, issued an *Antidote against the Council of Trent*, in 1547—a diatribe in which virulence and indecency struggled for predominance. Then, in 1549, in a second Diet of Augsburg, when the Lutheran princes had again been asked whether they would submit to the conciliar decrees, Maurice, elector of Saxony, procured an assent qualified by such conditions as clearly implied a formal refusal of submission. These conditions were: 1st, the doctrinal points which had been already decided were to be again discussed;

distinguished Prelate, but a formal act of the Supreme Congregation, which is submitted to the Supreme Pontiff before its promulgation.' This, however, is not the same as a document signed by His Holiness, or as an *ex cathedra* pronouncement. Leo XIII. in no way contradicts this utterance of the Sacred Congregation. His Holiness, in his letter to the English people, does not give the slightest countenance to the idea that those who are not in communion with the Holy See form part of the visible Church of Christ. The centre of unity is, according to His Holiness, 'divinely constituted in the Roman Bishops,' and from this divinely constituted centre the English were 'wrenched' in the sixteenth century, so that Father Spencer is praised by the Pope for having instituted 'a society of pious people to pray for the return of the English nation to the Church.' Lord Halifax and others are praised because they 'sincerely labor much for reunion with the Catholic Church,' whilst His Holiness calls his own subjects 'the Catholics of England.' It cannot, therefore, be said with any truth that Leo XIII. regards the Church of England in any other light than did His Holiness' predecessor, Pius IX."

2d, Lutheran representatives were to have a voice in the conciliar deliberations, and their votes were to have a value equal to those of the Catholic prelates; 3d, the Pope should no longer preside over the synodal sessions, either personally or by means of his legates. Such being the state of mind of the Lutheran leaders in regard to the Council of Trent, the Catholic world was prepared for the appearance, in 1560, of the famous collection of complaints (1) which have been, to this day, the stock in trade of all malevolent critics of the great Council (2). One alone of these anti-Tridentine polemics shall be noticed by us to any great extent; Paul Sarpi merits this distinction, for all the others, whether Lutheran, Anglican, Calvinist, or nondescript, are merely his copyists.

The Bull for the convocation of the Council of Trent was promulgated by Pope Paul III. on June 29, 1542. Ranke affects to believe that "the private relations of Paul III. would have induced him to impede the assembling of the Council." The German historian must allude to the fact of Paul III. having children; but it is certain that these were born of legitimate matrimony, before the Pontiff entered into the ecclesiastical state. It is also certain that the "private relations" of Pope Paul did not interfere with his encouragement of the Council in remedying abuses, wherever they were found. The fathers met at Trent in the Tyrol, on Dec. 13, 1545; and during the pontificate of Paul III., they held eleven sessions, three of which were celebrated in Bologna, the Papal legates having yielded to the prayers of the synodals to free them from the dangers of a plague which had appeared in Trent. This transfer was displeasing to the Spanish prelates; and they remained at Trent, sympathizing with the "orators" of the emperor Charles V., who protested against the "Bolognese convention," as they presumed to style the assembly of the majority, headed even though it was by the pontifical representatives. Paul III. therefore suspended the proceedings, and summoned both parties to

(1) *Concilii Tridentini Decretis Opposita Gravamina.*

(2) Chief among these are to be ranked the *History of the Council of Trent*, by Fra Paolo Sarpi; the *History of the Church* (b. VII., ch. v.), by Basnage; the *History of the Church* (16th cent., 3d sect., pt. 1), by Mosheim; and the *Notes to the work of Sarpi*, by Le Tourayer.

Rome in 1549; but that Pontiff having died in November of the same year, his successor, Julius III., reconvened the Council at Trent by a diploma issued in December, 1550. The synodals assembled again in May, 1551; and during this pontificate five more sessions were held, namely, the twelfth to the sixteenth. In April, 1552, war caused another adjournment, and not before January, 1562, did Pope Pius IV. succeed in reuniting the fathers. This pontificate witnessed nine more sessions of the Council, and then the assembly was dissolved on Dec. 4, 1563.

We shall give a succinct account of the Sessions of this memorable Council. SESS. I. (Dec. 13, 1545). After the solemn opening, various Congregations were instituted. SESS. II. (Jan. 7, 1546). A sermon exhorting the synodals to personal sanctification was preached; an order of treatment of all questions was prepared for the particular and general Congregations; and a decree concerning the conduct of the synodals was issued. SESS. III. (Feb. 4). Each synodal subscribed to the Profession of Faith. It was ordered that the Nicene and Constantinopolitan *Creeds* should be prefixed to the Acts of the Council. SESS. IV. (April 8). In refutation of the Protestants who rejected certain books of the Holy Scriptures, as well as the entirety of Sacred Tradition, the Bible and Tradition were proclaimed as Sources of Faith. At the initiative of the Pope, the fathers discussed measures for the reformation of morals; and very great liberty of thought and speech was observed in all the debates. SESS. V. (June 17). The debates on reformation continued; and questions of faith were considered. Concerning original sin, the fathers made no pronouncement as to its nature; but they were careful to add to their decree a clause which implicitly declared the doctrine of Mary's exemption from the common inheritance of the children of Adam. "In this decree concerning original sin it is not the intention of the Holy Synod to include the Blessed and Immaculate Virgin Mary, the Mother of God." SESS. VI. (Jan. 12, 1547). A decree on justification was issued, together with 33 Canons anathematizing contrary errors. The work of reformation was also prosecuted. SESS. VII. (March 3). There were promulgated

13 Canons on Sacraments in General ; 14 on Baptism ; and 3 on Confirmation. Then was published a decree on plurality of benefices. SESS. VIII. (March 11). An epidemic having broken out in Trent, the synodals resolved to transfer their sessions to Bologna. SESS. IX. and X. These were held in Bologna, the fathers occupying themselves with abuses in administration of the Sacraments. and with the episcopal obligation of residence. Certain bishops, fourteen in number, having obeyed the orders of Charles V. to remain in Trent, the Pope, in order to obviate possible danger of schism, dissolved the Council. On Nov. 10 Pope Paul III. died ; and on Feb. 7, 1548, the cardinal De Monte ascended the pontifical throne as Julius III. On Nov. 14, 1550, the new Pontiff issued a Bull which reconvoked the Council in the city of Trent. SESS. XI. (May 1, 1551). The synodals reconvened, under the presidency of Cardinal Crescenzo, papal legate ; but the assembly adjourned until Sept. 1, and then until Oct. 11. SESS. XII. The question of the *materia* of the Holy Eucharist was considered ; and eight Dogmatic Chapters concerning it were published. By authorization of the Pontiff, a safe-conduct was accorded to such Protestants as might wish to visit the Council. SESS. XIII. (Oct. 11). A decree on the Holy Eucharist was read, containing 8 apposite Chapters and Canons ; and then was issued a decree of reformation in the matter of episcopal jurisdiction. Two serious incidents disturbed this session. Amyot, the French ambassador, in a discourse filled with complaints against the Pope, declared that his royal master refused to recognize the oecumenicity of the Council ; and the Protestants put forward an inadmissible demand for the nullification of the already emitted conciliar decisions. SESS. XIV. (Nov. 29). The Catholic teaching on Penance was explained in 9 Chapters and 15 Canons ; that on Extreme Unction in 9 Chapters and 4 Canons ; and then was read a decree on reformation. SESS. XV. (Jan. 25, 1552). At this time the Protestant princes, Maurice of Saxony and Albert of Brandenburg, instead of keeping their promise to send some of their theologians to Trent, made a treaty with the king of France, and simultaneously declared war on the emperor. The synodals therefore deemed it

prudent to suspend their sittings. SESS. XVI. (April 28). A proclamation, suspending the Council for two years, was issued ; but with the provision that if circumstances warranted, the sessions should be resumed at an earlier date. But without any fault of either Pontiff or bishops, the suspension lasted for ten years ; and during this period many events of world-wide importance happened. Charles V. abdicated his power, and retired to the monastic seclusion of San Yuste. Pope Julius III. died on March 21, 1555, and had for successors Marcellus II., Paul IV., and Pius IV. ; the last of whom was to put the finishing touches to the work of the Council. The civil and religious wars desolating France and Germany long prevented a reconvoation of the assembly ; but at length Pius IV., by a Bull dated Nov. 29, 1560, ordered the synodals to meet on the following Easter, at the same time, but in vain, inviting the Protestants to send representatives. SESS. XVII. Owing to delays on the part of many prelates, the reunion did not occur until Jan, 18, 1562, and then the time of the synodals was vainly spent in efforts to conciliate the Protestants. SESS. XVIII. (Feb. 20). A decree of the *Index* concerning prohibited books was published. The first four articles of a decree on reformation were examined ; but the first, which treated of the obligation of episcopal residence, led to such vivid discussions that the matter was postponed. SESS. XIX. (May 14). Ambassadors from France, bearing instructions to act in accordance with the imperial agents, arrived. Many grave questions involving the supreme authority of the Pope were raised. SESS. XX. (June 4). The imperial "orators" presented twenty *desiderata* on discipline, and the "orators" of Bavaria imitated them ; so that, as Pallavicino remarks, the German princes seemed to think that the Council had been convoked, not to condemn heretics, but to yield to them. SESS. XXI. (July 16). Four Chapters and 4 Canons on the Holy Eucharist were promulgated. In the decree on reformation which followed, it was ordered that no bishop should ordain persons who did not possess either a title to a benefice, or one of patrimony, or one of *mensa*. The abuses of sales of Indulgences were severely condemned. SESS. XXII. (Sept. 17). In regard to the Holy

Sacrifice of the Mass there were promulgated 9 Chapters and 9 Canons; and then was issued a decree concerning things to be done or omitted during the celebration. Then followed a decree, in 9 Chapters, on the life and morals of clerics. As to the question of the use of the chalice by the laity, the matter was referred to the Pope. On Nov. 15, the cardinal of Lorraine, accompanied by fourteen French bishops and eighteen theologians, appeared in the Council, and eloquently represented his royal master's desire for clerical reformation. Before the close of this session, the Pope gave a good example to the synodals by abolishing many grave abuses in his court. SESS. XXIII. (July 15, 1563). There were read 4 Chapters and 8 Canons on the Sacrament of Holy Orders; and also some passages of the decree on reformation, notably that on episcopal residence. In the 18th Chapter of this decree the Council plied the axe at the very root of the evil of ecclesiastical demoralization by insisting on the establishment of clerical seminaries. The synodals now began the preparation of a Chapter on the reformation of sovereigns; but of course this project excited a unanimous protest on the part of all the imperial and royal "orators" who had been so zealous in reforming the clergy. The princes of the day certainly had reason for their complaints; but in most cases the corruption of the clergy was due to these very princes, who persisted in appointing unworthy men to ecclesiastical preferments. And assuredly the Church had the right to complain of the tyranny, avarice, and ambition of the princes in her regard; and of the ease and indifference with which they, nearly all, violated her most solemn laws. SESS. XXIV. (Nov. 11). There were now published Decrees on the Sacrament of Matrimony, by which were condemned, for all future time, what are known as clandestine marriages, that is, unions undertaken without the intervention of the parish-priest of one of the parties. SESS. XXV. (Dec. 3). The imminent termination of the Council was announced, in face of the strong opposition of the Spanish "orator." Then ensued the promulgation of decrees on Purgatory, the Veneration and Invocation of Saints, the Devotion toward Relics, Images, etc. A decree of reformation,

embracing special prescriptions for religions of both sexes, was also published, together with several provisions concerning the morals, etc., of temporal princes. A decree on Indulgences was issued; and finally, on Dec. 4, 1563, Cardinal Morone, the papal legate, declared the termination of the Council of Trent. The fathers subscribing to the decrees numbered 255; that is, papal legates, 4; cardinals, 2; patriarchs, 3; archbishops, 25; bishops, 168; procurators of absent bishops, 39; abbots, 7; generals of religious orders, 7. In a consistory held on Jan. 26, 1564, Pope Pius IV. confirmed the conciliar decrees, ordering that on the next May 1 they should have the force of law.

Just as Protestantism is a synthesis of all the heresies which ever tormented the Christian body, from the outburst of Simon Magnus to that of Luther, so the Council of Trent was a synthesis of all the preceding general assemblies of the teaching Church. Concerning the essence of God, the so-called "orthodox" Protestants agreed, at that time, with the Catholic Church; but in the matter of God's relations with man, an impassable gulf separated the heretics from the Mystic Body of Christ. It was a doctrine of Christian faith that man is born with free will, so that he is responsible for his sins. The Council condemned those who denied the existence of original sin; but subjoined that it did not include the Blessed Mother of God among the "all men" whom it pronounced infected with the guilt of Adam's fall. This exception was made, out of reverence for the Bull of Sixtus IV. in regard to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, then controverted by the Thomists and Scotists (1). The Church taught that by original sin, man loses his primitive sanctity; that the unregenerate man is an object of the ire of God, degraded in body and soul, and subject to death. Both this original sin and its consequences, said the Church, are transmitted to every child of Adam (Mary excepted); so that no man can perform an act acceptable to God, or become justified, unless through the mediation of Jesus Christ. But man's free will, insisted the Church, is not destroyed, al-

(1) The chief defenders of the Immaculate Conception at Trent were the cardinals Pole and Pacecc.

though it is weakened ; therefore although human actions are not perfect, they are not all sinful. In fine, according to the Church, and as is proved by each one's experience, man enjoys moral liberty ; he is free to enter into the designs of his Redeemer, just as the first man was free to cut himself aloof from the primitive designs of his Creator. Just the contrary of this doctrine was the teaching of Protestantism. According to the innovators, man is predestined, either to heaven or hell ; such words as "the free will of man" are found nowhere in the Bible, but were invented by the Scholastics ; it is God who works everything, evil as well as good ; men are born in sin and concupiscence, with a positive hatred for God and His law, without any confidence in Him or any desire for His kingdom ; and all of man's actual sins are merely so many manifestations of the hereditary guilt. Then the Church taught that the sinner is restored to grace by purely divine mercy, through the merits of Our Redeemer, and by means of the evangelical revelation ; the Holy Ghost arousing his dormant faculties, and inspiring him to yield to the divine impulses. If the sinner hearkens to the Spirit, the first blessing he receives is faith in the word of God, and in the fact that God so loved the world as to give His Son for its redemption. Then the sinner turns to the mercy of God, and appreciating God's infinite charity, he finds in his own heart an abomination of sin and sorrow for having committed it. In this entire process, the sinner's free will has co-operated ; he becomes justified through sanctifying grace ; and the regenerated man produces good and meritorious works. According to the Church, therefore, God and man co-operate in the process of justification ; God wakens the sinner before he even desires the wakening ; if then the sinner corresponds to the divine impulse, his restoration is complete. In all this, the Holy Ghost does not necessitate man's action ; He respects in man that free will which original sin did not destroy. But according to Luther, Christ nullifies the sins of the world, and faith alone justifies man ; let man trust in the merits of Christ, because of which God declares him just, even though he is not such, and even though he still bears the original stain and his own actual guilt. How-

ever, added Luther, justifying faith is accompanied by sanctification, which manifests itself in good works ; but justification and sanctification must not be confused. The work of regeneration, concludes Luther, is entirely that of the Holy Ghost ; all of the glory is God's, none belongs to man. Calvin thought differently from Luther in this matter. He found an intimate connection between justification and sanctification ; and he asserted that God operates in those only whom He has predestined from all eternity. Calvin having found that original sin had destroyed entirely the faculties of man, he could discern in man not only no free will, but no capability of receiving a divine impulse ; therefore, pronounced Calvin, justification is a judgment whereby God frees man, not from sin, but from its punishment. In its decisions on this matter of justification, the Council of Trent declared that our sins are forgiven gratuitously by the divine mercy ; that they are not merely " covered," but cancelled by the blood of Jesus ; that the justice of the Redeemer is not merely " imputed," but actually communicated to the faithful by the Holy Ghost. As to good works, the Council warns the Christian that although our Lord promised to reward him who would give a drink of water in His name, and although St. Paul says that one moment of earthly suffering may be rewarded by an eternity of glory, nevertheless we must not glory in our good actions, but rather in the goodness of our Lord who has made His own gifts meritorious for us. In fine, our sins are remitted by the pure mercy of God, through the merits of His Son ; our justification is a free gift of God ; and our good works are so many gifts of grace. But it is not our province to detail the dogmatic decisions rendered at Trent ; we have merely alluded to the matter of justification because it was one of the prime points of difference between the early Reformers and the Church.

If every General Council were not of such tremendous import, that it would scarcely be proper to assert that any one of these nineteen assemblies of the collected wisdom of the Church pre-eminently challenges our respectful admiration, we would feel justified in saying that the Council of Trent can claim such qualification. Every previous Œcumenical

Council had been called for the consideration of some particular error or errors; but the Tridentine Fathers were called to consider and confirm nearly every point of Catholic dogma. The pretended Reformers of that day had attacked nearly every Catholic teaching, and had established—as far as they could establish anything—a conglomeration of doctrinal errors. It would certainly be an interesting task to carefully examine the one hundred and twenty-seven Canons issued by this Council. For instance, the Canon establishing the authenticity of the Latin Vulgate, and enjoining its acceptance, “with all its parts,” would demand consideration at a time when learned and virtuous scholars deny the authenticity of some of the passages in that Vulgate; *e. g.*, the celebrated text of verse 7 of chap. i. of St. John’s Epistle, “*Et sunt tres qui dant testimonium; . . . et hi tres unum sunt.*” And then there is the Canon concerning clandestine marriages, and also the one proclaiming the indissolubility of matrimony, even in the case of adultery. This latter decree is of special interest to the Catholics of the United States, now that the increasing flood of European emigration has landed upon our shores thousands of those Greek and other Oriental “Uniates,” who, while clinging to their own respected and venerable liturgies, acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff. Anathema had been pronounced against him who would say that marriage could be dissolved because of adultery. The orators of Venice here took the floor, and begged the synodals to word their decree in other fashion, for they greatly feared that the already expressed terminology would cause trouble among the Greek subjects of the Most Serene Republic in Corfu, Crete, Cyprus, Zante, Cephalonia, Dalmatia, etc. These Greeks were passionately fond of their own rite and discipline, although they were in communion with the Holy See. The ambassadors reminded the fathers that these United Greeks had been accustomed, from time immemorial, to dissolve marriage in case of adultery; and they drew attention to the fact that for this dissolution the said Greeks had not been condemned by any General Council or by any Roman Pontiff, although their custom was well known to Rome. In deference to this request of the Venetian orators,

the synodals mollified the Canon so that it would read . "If any one says that the Church errs in her teaching that the matrimonial tie cannot be dissolved by the adultery of one of the spouses, . . . let him be anathema." The judicious Perone essays a comment on this Canon, but he can only say : "If the Greeks so act, *ipsi viderint*." But the consideration of these enactments pertains to the province of the theologian, rather than to that of the historian.

Chief among all the historians who have attacked the value and character of the Council of Trent, whether we consider the talent, the force, or the venom of these writers, stands forth Friar Paul Sarpi, a member of the Order of Servites of Mary. When we come to treat of the pontificate of Paul V. and of the Interdict of Venice, we shall dwell at some length upon the career of this curious man ; now our attention is claimed only by his *History* of the Tridentine assembly—a history which he styled "the Iliad of our century." When he was yet a child, he had heard much of the famous Council from men who had taken part in it ; in his youth he became intimate with Olivo, secretary to Cardinal Gonzaga, one of the Papal legates ; and in his early manhood he frequently met, at Venice, men who had represented their sovereigns in the assembly. These associations convinced him that a correct history of the Council had not yet been put forth ; even that by John Sleidan, which he esteemed the most, was very imperfect, from his point of view. Therefore he proposed to narrate, for the edification of mankind, "The causes and the intrigues of an ecclesiastical convocation, which, desired and procured for various ends and with various means, and for eighteen years now assembled and then adjourned—but always for various purposes, attained to a form and a completion diametrically opposed to the designs of those who had furthered it, and thus became a lesson to us to be resigned to the divine will, and not to rely too much on human prudence. For this Council, designed and procured by pious men for a reunion of the Church then commencing to be divided, so firmly fixed the schism and rendered the parties so obstinate, that now they are irreconcilable ; and although princes depended on it for a reformation

of ecclesiastical matters, it caused the worst deformation that the world has seen since the first sounding of the Christian name." The friar displayed great patience in his task, but too often he merely translated Sleidan and Chemnitz, writers bitterly hostile to the Papacy. He draws much upon contemporary documents, especially upon the *Relations* of the Venetian "orators." But he systematically invents harangues which were never delivered; he puts other discourses in the mouths of men who did not pronounce them—a fault not to be pardoned even in a profane history, but which cannot be too severely characterized when committed by one who pretends to weigh discussions bearing upon sacred subjects. It is strange indeed that this friar, ostensibly, at least, a Catholic, should so cavalierly and persistently ignore any presence of the Holy Spirit in the Tridentine debates; that he should seem to view things as we would view them, if we were listening to the manœuvring squabbles of a modern parliament. He constantly finds the motive factor of the most sublime decisions to have been an eloquent speech, or a cardinalitial trick, or some cunning artifice of a Machiavellian papal legate. Indeed Fra Paolo presents the papal legates as a laughing-stock to the world, for presuming that "they carried the Holy Ghost from Rome to Trent in their trunks." In his conceptions of the hierarchy, of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, of the pontifical supremacy, of monasticism, etc., he is neither a historian nor a churchman; for he either ignores or travesties the facts of history in their regard, and if we did not know the contrary, we would think that he had as much knowledge of their true condition as might have been found in the Chinese of that day. He tells us that the hierarchy was established by papal ambition, and through the ignorance and weakness of sovereigns; that the priesthood were never of any good to the people, but were rather oppressors of the lowly; that if the clergy favored the arts and sciences in the Middle Age, it was only for their own aggrandizement. The precious work of the Servite religious first appeared in England, by care of the apostate archbishop of Spalatro, De Dominis, and it bore the title "*A History of the Tridentine Council by Peter Suavis Polanus, in which are Manifested the Artifices of the*

Roman Court to Prevent a Discovery of the Truth and the Reformation of the Papacy and of the Church." In his dedication to the royal theologian and head of the Anglican persuasion, James I., the perverted prelate wonders how so grand a work "could have come from the hand of one born and trained under obedience to the Roman Pontiff"; he praises the author's erudition and good intentions; and he compares the book to Moses, saved from the waters to which, out of reverence to the Papacy, the author had destined it—to Moses, because the *History* would help to free mankind from the Pharaoh who "by means of so false and irregular a Council, holds the peoples in cruel slavery." Immediately after the publication of the book, Sarpi—with what measure of sincerity we cannot tell—caused his friend, Fra Fulgenzio, to reprove, under date of Nov. 11, 1619, the Dalmatian for having abused the confidence of Fra Paolo, "by taking a copy of, and publishing a work, the manuscript of which had been loaned to him for perusal." Fulgenzio also blamed the episcopal apostate for having given to the work "that most improper title," and for having subjected it to "so terrible and scandalous a dedication, and merely for motives of self-interest, not for the honor of the modest author." Here we must note that Pope Pius IV. had prohibited, under pain of excommunication, all unauthorized annotations and commentaries on the Tridentine decrees; that therefore Fra Paolo was presumed to have incurred censure by the London publication. Perhaps this was the reason for the Servite's disclaimer of any complicity in that act. We should not omit to record that several attempts were made against the life of Sarpi. One, which was nearly successful, was headed by a certain Poma, a fanatic who believed everything licit for the good of religion. It is said that when the friar felt the wound, he cried out: "*Conosco lo stile della curia Romana*—I know the style (the dagger) of the Roman court." The play on words was not bad, and Rome was at once blamed by many for the crime. But where were the assassins arrested? In the Papal States, and a papal tribunal condemned one of them to decapitation, and the others to perpetual imprisonment.

In order to repel the attacks of Fra Paolo, influence was

brought to bear upon a Roman Jesuit named Pallavicino Sforza (b. 1607) to compose another *History of the Council of Trent*. Already many had refuted the friar's allegations; e. g., Bernardine Florio, archbishop of Zara, in eight volumes had convicted Sarpi of unfaithfulness in the use of documents, and of misinterpretation of decisions; but this work remained unpublished. In the preparation of his book, Pallavicino (as he is generally styled) had recourse, as Sarpi, either intentionally or otherwise, did not have recourse, to the Roman Archives; and, again unlike Fra Paolo, he carefully indicates the nature and the titles of all the documents proffered by him. He notices three hundred and sixty-one "errors of fact" in Sarpi's work, and an infinite number of recklessnesses. Comparing these two *Histories* together, Cantù says that the book of the Servite is the first historical work which purposely aims at calumny, by the use of a quantity of presumed facts "which the author does not weigh, but accumulates." The great historian finds that Sarpi always "supposes truth to be distinct from probity, and hence he everywhere discovers meannesses and hypocrisies, manœuvres and underhandedness"; whereas Pallavicino finds "noble characters, sound convictions, and generous resistances." But Cantù, while admitting that Pallavicino elevates the souls of his readers and instructs their intellects, finds in Fra Paolo, "the quick movement of one who attacks and wounds," while his adversary, "reduced to continual defence, wearies one with his constant efforts against his enemy's opinions." Rome condemned the work of Sarpi, and the Venetian oligarchs that of Pallavicino; and yet the latter never dissimulates any blameable things in the pontifical court. When he was reproved for this candor, he replied: "A historian is not a panegyrist; when he praises the least, he praises more than any panegyrist." Ranke took care to compare the assertions of Pallavicino with the documents on which this writer relied, and he credited him with scrupulous exactness.

Let us now examine the most important objections which have been urged against the character and the authority of the Council of Trent. Quite naturally all hostile polemics begin their onslaught with an outcry against the Catholic claim of

œcumenicity for this assembly. But is it not strange that Protestants should advance such an assertion, when they contend that the Scriptures alone are the rule of faith; that a Council has no right to impose its decision upon the individual conscience? General or not, the children of the Reformation could not claim, in accordance with their prime principle, any part in such an assembly. And it is precisely because a definitive voice was denied to them at Trent, that they decry the œcumenical character of the Council. Just as much a right to that definitive voice in the proceedings of a Catholic Council was possessed by the Oriental schismatics, or even by the heathen savages of then newly-discovered America. The Council of Trent was supposed to represent those children of Christendom who held the same religious belief, and subsisted under the same religious organization, as were in force at the time when the apostate German friar raised the standard of revolt. What part in that belief and in that organization did the partisans of Luther, Calvin, Zwingle, etc., evince or even claim? Well, then, could the Church have answered the Protestant insistence for a definitive voice in her assemblies, with the words of Tertullian: "Who are you? When and whence came ye? What seek you in my affairs, you who are not mine? By what right do you devastate my garden? Why do you defile my fountains? Why do you interfere with my frontiers? I am in possession; I possessed what I have of old; I possessed all this before your names were known; the origin of my claims is from the very Author of the things themselves. I am the heir of the Apostles; I hold my possessions by their last will and testament. They disinherited you, foreigners and enemies that you are" (1). Again, we must remember that the fathers of Trent offered a hearing to the Protestants. In Sessions 13, 15, and 18, they tendered permission and an invitation to the recalcitrants to come to Trent, there to expose their alleged grievances, to defend their opinion by tongue and pen, and "to dispute with the chosen champions of the Council" (2). Certainly, this invitation was acknowledged; and as

(1) *Prescript. Heret.*

(2) "*Tridentum veniendi, ibidemque manendi, standi, morandi, proponendi, loquer*

an excuse for its non-acceptance, the Protestants urged that they could not trust their lives to the honor of the Papists, since it was one of the Roman maxims that faith was not to be kept with heretics. We have said enough on this matter of papistical Punic faith when treating of the affair of John Huss ; but hearken to Didacus Payva d'Andrade, one of the Portuguese theologians at the Council, as he urges the famous Chemnitz : "Do you assert that you and yours could not attend the Tridentine Council with safety, and that you could not have confidently and freely expressed your views in that assembly ? Now I can testify that the fathers desired nothing more, and that the legates labored for nothing more than that all the transactions of the Council should be conducted in freedom, with calm, and by use of convincing argument. Or do you think that because you refused to attend the Council, we were to desert the cause of the Universal Church, to neglect her needs, to think nothing of her many wounds, and to permit you to propagate your commentitious 'Gospel' ? But lest you may say that the conciliar proceedings were not conducted prudently and considerately, listen to an account of things as they happened. ... When we had given up all hope of your coming, the fathers caused to be brought to Trent the writings of that impure man, Luther, as well as the books composed by the other unfortunates who had left the bosom of the Roman Church ; so that these productions might defend the cause which you had cunningly deserted. Nor do I think that you could have urged your cause better than it was defended in those writings. Now I can testify that the legates frequently admonished us to weigh every one of your arguments with as much care as we would give to the sayings of the fathers of the Church. I was often told by the most reverend Cardinal Seripandus, a man of great virtue and erudition, that I could do no better work for the Church, than by collecting your arguments with the utmost fidelity and diligence ; ... for thus the truth and your insincerity would be made to appear in a more striking manner."

di, una cum ipsa Synodo de quibuscumque negotiis tractandi, examinandi, discutendi; ... et etiam ad objecta Concilii Generalis respondendi, et cum iis qui a Concilio delecti fuerint, disputandi."

There is no need of our replying to the Protestant objection that the Council of Trent was improperly convoked ; that it was the province of the emperor, not of the Pope, to issue a Bull for that purpose. The gentry who are always the first to refuse obedience to legitimate civil authority, can readily discern a little god in their earthly monarch when their temporal interest prompts such recognition. And we have abundantly satisfied this objection when treating of the Councils of Nice and of Chalcedon.

In order that he may lead his readers to believe that the synodals of Trent enjoyed no real liberty, and that therefore no respect is due to the conciliar enactments, Sarpi asserts that every procedure was presented to the fathers, already "cut and dried" by the Papal legates. We constantly meet the phrase, "at the instance of the legates—*proponentibus legatis*"; and it is notorious that many of the synodals, especially among the Spaniards, protested against this usurpation. But Sarpi and all his imitators refute this very objection, when they so frequently harp on the alleged scandalous disturbances which, they insist, often marred the symmetry of the Tridentine sessions. How could these quarrels, these noisy recriminations, these all but pugilistic encounters, have taken place, if no freedom of discussion was allowed to the fathers? But was not some one to have, of necessity and to prevent confusion, the right and duty of presenting to the Council the subjects which merited consideration? And who could perform this task with greater propriety and with more accurate judgment than the Supreme Pontiff, either personally or through his legates? We have already seen that such was the case in all the early General Councils. The emperor Marcian wrote to Pope St. Leo I. that in the coming œcumenical Council of Chalcedon, the bishops would establish "what would profit the Christian religion and Catholic faith, according as his Holiness would define." And the empress Pulcheria wrote to the same Pope that the fathers of Chalcedon would profess what he should decree—"te auctore decernant." We have shown that whatever concerning faith was defined at Chalcedon, was so effected simply in accordance with the *Dogmatic Epistle* of Pope St. Leo I. to Flavian.

Similar arguments are presented by all the early Councils. But there are innumerable proofs that the fathers of Trent enjoyed perfect liberty. Thus, Cardinal Farnese wrote to the legates in the name of Paul III., on May 25, 1546, that during that session (the 5th) they should communicate the sentiments of the Pontiff to the synodals, "but not as though a command were being given, but rather so that the opinion of the majority having been found, a wise decision be reached." And the Council itself declares, Sess. 24, in its decree *On Reformation*, ch. 21, the significance of that phrase which so displeased Sarpi: "*proponentibus legatis*": "Since the Holy Synod desires that its decrees furnish no occasion for doubt in times to come, . . . it declares that in its use of those words, 'the legates proposing,' it does not intend that any change be effected in the manner of treating affairs which has ever obtained in General Councils." Therefore as our adversaries willingly admit that in preceding Councils there was sufficient discussion to satisfy the most litigious minds, they should conclude that the Tridentine fathers had every opportunity of manifesting their sentiments. If the interest of the Popes ever led them to wish to intimidate the synodals of Trent, it could have been only in matters of discipline, in which they naturally wished to preserve their pristine authority; and it is proved by the *Acts* of the Council, by the narratives of the ambassadors, and by the admissions of Fra Paolo and his commentator (Le Courayer), that the bishops of France and Spain often expressed themselves on such matters in a manner very displeasing to the court of Rome. Sarpi asserts that in the Council of Trent the Italians, all devoted to the Pontiff, tyrannized over the other bishops, and that the prelates nearly always emitted their wishes by the simple *placet*. Now this assertion of tyranny on the part of the Italians is mere assertion, and nothing more; as to the *placet ne vobis*?, propounded by the legates, that was never used unless in the arrangement of the date of the next session, in a proposition to adjourn, or in some such case of minor importance. Never was this question put when a case of doctrine was to be decided.

Very little need be said in reply to the charges of wicked-

ness and ignorance brought against the synodals of Trent. The dogmatic value of the conciliar doctrinal decisions, as well as the respect due to the disciplinary Canons, would be in no way impaired, were history to show indeed that Protestant writers have been guilty of no exaggeration in the premises. This mine has been worked for all it is worth; and nevertheless, its yield has been very small. We know the names of all the synodals, and of nearly all the officials; the biographies of nearly all the notables are known, but the wicked and the ignorant seem to have formed a very insignificant minority. It is quite natural for us to suppose, knowing, as we do, that there was a lamentable relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline at that period, that the Council of Trent should have numbered among its members some of those who made a Reformation necessary. But the accusations of our opponents are to be charily credited; it is always to be expected that a criminal shall calumniate his judge.

It is said that the Papal legates at Trent antagonized many efforts to reform abuses, and that of those abuses which were condemned, many are still rampant. It is much easier to declaim against abuses, than it is to prevent their remedies from suscitating worse ones. And no one will deny that the regulations issued at Trent did abolish many abuses; some of the enactments would have been better observed, remarks Bergier, "If powerful men had not found their interest in preventing it. It is absurd to insist, on the one hand, that the Church has no right to make laws, and on the other, to reprove her for being unable to effect their execution. In throwing off the yoke of the Church, Protestants have appeared to put themselves under that of the civil government; but they always revolt against that, whenever it weighs heavily. To hear them talk, one would suppose that there are no abuses among themselves; but is there a greater one than the liberty to form a new schism whenever a preacher is able to find partisans?"

We are told that the Council of Trent was a failure; inasmuch as, instead of putting an end to the dissensions among Christians, its decrees gave rise to new ones. How many Bulls have been necessary since the famous Synod was dis-

solved, in order to decide questions which the Tridentines dared not to handle ; *e. g.*, on matters of grace. Even in our day, a Congregation periodically meets at Rome for the express and sole purpose of explaining the meaning of the decrees at Trent. And does it not seem that the obscurity of many of the Tridentine decrees is affected, owing to the unwillingness, or perhaps impotence of the synodals, to condemn certain prominent theologians ? No Catholic pretends that a General Council will, or can, put an end to disputes or to cavilling. Be a decision ever so clear, there will always arise subtle spirits who, by forced interpretations, will give to them even fantastic meanings ; witness, the disputes of Protestants as to the meaning of the Scriptures, even though they contend that the simple and the ignorant can find in the Sacred Text their rule of faith. But there can be no comparison between the disputes of Protestants in Biblical matters and the controversies obtaining among Catholic theologians in regard to undecided doctrinal points. The disputations of these latter entail no schism between the adversaries ; you never hear them anathematizing each other as heretics ; each one is ever ready to renounce his pet theory, if the Church deems proper to decide in the premises, and he will do so *quamprimum*. As to the many papal Bulls rendered necessary by the contentions on divine grace which troubled the fold of Christ during the last century, there would have been no need of those documents, had all the disputants been sincerely submissive to the Tridentine enactments. It is but too true that many of those gentry spoke of those decrees with as little respect as would have been fitting on the tongues of Protestants ; that they gave a Protestant interpretation to the scriptural and patristic passages which seemed to favor their own theories ; and that they even accused the orthodox of semi-pelagianism, just as Protestants accuse the fathers of Trent. Could the Council have foreseen these troubles, its condemnatory decrees would have been more numerous.

But the authority of the Council of Trent, it is urged, is regarded as null by many very good Catholics, as is evident from the fact that the decrees were not received in France ;

that Spain and the Netherlands received them only with restrictions. If this objection is meant to cover matters of faith, the reply is that any Catholic country which would have rejected the Tridentine doctrinal decisions, would have been stamped, by the very fact, as heretical; and it matters little that in some lands the decrees of Trent were not confirmed by royal letters-patent or registered in the Acts of parliament. Among the twenty-three articles which the French juriconsults, speaking to Henry III. in 1579, pronounced contrary to the Gallican "maxims and liberties," not one regarded doctrine. Le Courayer, the Sarpian commentator who adduces this objection, himself admits that the Tridentine decrees have always been the rule of faith in France; that the French bishops all adopted the *Profession of Faith* of Pope Pius IV.; and that even in the opposition of the Estates or parliaments to the acceptance of the Council, it was always declared that the French embraced the faith as contained in its definitions. However, some Protestant polemics have held that France never received the Council of Trent, either as to dogma or discipline. Thus Leibnitz, who, when trying, in very good faith, to compass some efficacious means for the actuation of a reunion of all Christians in one fold, assumed as a preliminary that the Tridentine assembly should be regarded as not having had existence. But in reply to the sanguine philosopher, Bossuet showed that all Catholic bishops were unanimous in upholding the œcumenicity of the Council of Trent, and its consequent infallibility in matters of faith; and that, in France as everywhere else, any pretense of deliberation as to an acceptance of the conciliary doctrinal decrees would be a simple question as to whether the nation would be Catholic or heretical (1). Concerning the question of fact, it is certain that in Italy, the Holy Roman Empire, and Poland, the Council of Trent was received without any reservation. In the Spanish dominions, it was received "without prejudice to the rights and prerogatives of the king"; and certainly it has never been reckoned among said rights, etc., that the monarch of most Catholic Spain should reject, at his will or ca-

(1) Cf. *The Spirit of Leibnitz*, vol. II.

price, the decisions of a General Council in matters of doctrine. The clergy of distant Mexico realized this truth, when, in their provincial synod of 1585, under the presidency of their archbishop, Peter Moya de Contreras, they ordered the promulgation and execution of the Tridentine enactments, whether they concerned faith or discipline. As to Portugal, the letter of King Sebastian to Pope Pius IV., dated Oct. 2, 1564, proves that the decrees were all, without exception, promulgated in that kingdom and in its colonies. That Poland willingly, and at once, received all the decrees, is evinced by the *Acts* of the General Estates of 1564, held under the auspices of King Sigismund III., and by the letter of Cardinal Commendon, nuncio at the Polish court, to Cardinal Borromeo.

Ranke would have us believe that when the synodals of Trent convened, "the great question was to determine, from among those opinions which leaned toward the Protestant system, which one could be received as concordant with the Catholic Gospel." Such was certainly the "great question" for the rebels to Church authority; but the Tridentine fathers saw before themselves only the great question of maintaining the dogmas of Catholicism in their integrity. The German historian affects to see "Pole, present in this Council, defending with energy" those opinions which leaned toward the Protestant system; and he coolly informs us that "many of the members of the Council held views which agreed *completely* with those of the Protestants." When treating of the Innovators in Italy, we disculpated Cardinal Pole, as well as Vittoria Colonna, Michelangelo, and other devoted Catholics, of this charge; and here we need add merely the remark that among the 255 Tridentine fathers, only six or seven expressed opinions of a slightly unorthodox tendency, and every one of these withdrew their assertions by signing the conciliar decrees. Ranke is ever anxious to claim the zealous relative of Henry VIII. as a sympathizer with the Reformers; and he finds it very "singular" that Pole should have been seized with sickness, and forced to leave the Council, "pre-occupied only with the personal disquiet caused by the condemnation of his opinion." The singularity of Pole's case was shared by scores of the synodals who, either

from age, infirmity, or anxiety, succumbed during the Council. Ranke accuses Pope Paul III. of low chicanery in transferring the Council to Bologna, because of an epidemic raging in Trent. "The true reason is found in the fact that the temporal interests of the Papacy were again in opposition to its spiritual interests." The German historian, like all Protestant critics of the Pope-Kings, can never discern any other than thoughts of temporal aggrandizement, or at least of temporal comfort, in all the designs of the successors of St. Peter. But Ranke studiously omits to say that only fourteen of the synodals opposed the transfer; and thirteen of these were subjects of the emperor, who wished the assembly to remain at Trent, in accordance with his thinly-veiled imperialistic pretensions to direct the synodal actions. After his success against the Protestant League of Smalkald, Charles V. had begun to pose in the usual attitude of a German emperor toward the Holy See; and it was to secure the full liberty of the Council, that Paul III. transferred its sessions to a city within his own territories. In reference to this matter of the transfer Ranke also forgets, quite conveniently, to note that it was of their own will that the immense majority of the prelates moved to Bologna, while those who remained at Trent were compelled by the emperor to their course. It is futile for Ranke to allege the comparative innocuousness of the malady then rampant in Trent; for we know from letters of the French bishops, impartial witnesses in the premises, that the epidemic was very dangerous, and that many, even of the household of the legates, had succumbed (1). Ranke tells us that the Tridentine prelates, at one time, were ready to "overwhelm the court of Rome with a reformation which had hovered over it for many a year"; that certain Spanish bishops proposed, "under the form of censures, several articles which had for their object the diminution of the papal authority." But these prelates were those who remained at Trent under the hand of the emperor; and the mentioned articles, while manifesting the imperial mind of Charles V., were never considered in conciliar session, the imperialistic prelates never

(1) These letters were published by Ribier, in the *Letters and State Memoires*, vol. I., p. 622.

having held such a reunion, although Ranke affects to discern a species of schism in the Council itself, between the partisans of the Pontiff and those of the emperor. Ranke says that the Council "condescended to ask the Pope for a confirmation of its Canons"; but how can that be styled a condescension which is a formality whereby a Council simply actuates the chief condition of its own œcumenicity? It is not a condescension to ask for that which alone can render synodal decrees obligatory on the faithful. Ranke thinks that the Tridentine fathers "refounded the hierarchy; theoretically by their Canons on ordination, and practically by their Canons on reformation." Does the German historian imply that the Middle Age knew nothing of either the theory or the practice of Canon Law? Certainly the rights and duties of each class of the hierarchy, both in essential and in variable matters, were fully determined many centuries before the Council of Trent. It is a pity that Ranke does not inform us, either explicitly or implicitly, as to his meaning in this sentence: "In the Catholicism of previous ages there was an element of Protestantism, which was now (in the Council of Trent) forever excluded." Ranke often implies that the Church ought to be ashamed of the negotiations which accompanied the celebration of the Council of Trent; but the Church has been so little ashamed of them that historians like Rinaldi and Pallavicino give us, with the utmost ingenuousness, most copious details of all their ramifications. The German historian, with a naiveté that has since become the fashion with a certain class of writers, wishes us to rely especially upon his presentations, because of the new documents which, according to himself, he has unearthed; as though the Vatican and other valuable Archives were unknown lands before his advent. It is certain that Ranke does not give any document of note concerning the Council of Trent which Pallavicino has not adduced, and with more truth of detail; and it is also certain that all of the correspondence in regard to the negotiations on which Ranke dilates was published long before by Mansi, whereas Ranke frequently copies, and often *verbatim*, Paolo Sarpi, in strange disregard of his own admissions as to this writer's veracity.

The theologian will probably, for many years to come, have recourse to the pages of Pallavicino, Alexandre, Mansi, Fleury, and Bergier, for his necessary researches in regard to the Council of Trent. The general reader will be satisfied with the information afforded by Darras, Rohrbacher, Pastor, and other Catholic historians of merit; and if he wishes to apprehend the spirit of the Tridentine fathers, and to appreciate thoroughly the difficulties under which they labored, he can do no better than assimilate the reflections made by Cantù (1). Our heterodox friends, whether Protestant or rationalistic, will probably continue to rely upon Sarpi, or upon such verbal variations of that writer's lucubration as their pet historians may see fit to present; for since no Protestant or rationalistic commentator on the Council of Trent has yet disembarassed himself from the Sarpian chains, we are justified in supposing that men of that ilk will ever regard the fetters as sources of strength. And nevertheless, Ranke, whom many Catholics praise as comparatively impartial, but who constantly seeks for some little inexactness of detail which may warrant his diffidence toward Pallavicino, is often compelled to judge of Sarpi with a severity which is seldom exceeded by the comments of any Catholic polemic (2). Thus the German historian admits that Sarpi is addicted to the mutilation and malquotation of documents "in order to put bishops in an odious light; he is full of gall and hate; his entire *History* is inspired by a systematic opposition and a violent hatred toward the court of Rome." Ranke tells us that Sarpi takes care, when copying documents concerning the Council, to reject everything which might give one a good impression regarding it; "he exerts himself to produce an unfavorable impression." Ranke says that Sarpi changes the words of the papal instructions; "because he does not wish to admit that the Pontiff ever showed any inclination" for a reconciliation with the Protestants. We are also told that Sarpi puts words into the mouth of the Pope which his Holiness never uttered; and although Ranke represents the embittered Venetian as "the head of the Cath-

(1) *Heretics of Italy*, Discourses 18 and 47.

(2) In the *Appendix* to the vol. I. of his *Papacy During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*.

olic (!) opposition," he declares that the Sarpian *History* is "the first instance of such a work written with a predetermination to vilify, applying the system to all facts—things which are the object of historical study."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE PONTIFICATE OF SIXTUS V.

To the rank and file of the heterodox the name of Pope Sixtus V., if known at all, recalls certain fantastic tales which lack any historical foundation, but which have become popular because nearly all Protestant and philosophistic historians have derived their notions of this great Pontiff from a charlatanesque effusion which would have been buried in oblivion with its author, were it not a mass of lubricity and of vomitings against the See of Rome. Gregorio Leti, historiographer to Charles II. of England, was born in Milan in 1630, and he resided in Italy until riotous living and consequent poverty tempted him to better his fortunes by apostasy at Lucerne. That Protestants should look on him as an authority in matters which regard the Papacy, is one of the curiosities of literature; for the Swiss Calvinists deemed it their duty to order their hangman to burn his works at the place of execution. By order of the Genevan Council, which Leti styled "an Inquisition more horrible than that of Rome" (1), the *Itinerary*, the *Languishing Vatican*, and the *Political Balance* were cast into the flames, being pronounced "contrary to faith, and dangerous to morality and to the State"; and their author was deprived of the Genevan citizenship which his diatribes against the Scarlet Woman had merited for him. Leti himself did not dare to insist upon the truth of his allegations against Sixtus V.; when the dauphin of France asked him concerning the matter, he replied that when a thing was well

(1) Leti says that Pope Paul IV. derived his idea of establishing the Holy Office from a perusal of Calvin's book against Servetus; and that the Pontiff so informed the Sacred College in a public consistory. Leti gives as his authority for this assertion a book by Mendi, entitled *The Revolutions in Rome against the Tribunal of the Inquisition*; but since Cantù was unable to unearth that work, we may safely refuse to accept such an account of the origin of the Roman Inquisition.

imagined, it was as good as truth. Certainly the little Felix Peretti, clothed in rags and taking care of pigs, forms a poetical picture for one who afterward beholds him under the light emitted by the triple crown, and who would seize an opportunity to moralize on the mutability of human fortunes; but the annals of his times show that the boy came from a family which, though humble, was not plunged in abject poverty. His father was chief magistrate—*priore* of Montalto, his native commune. As for Leti's narrative of the election of the cardinal of Montalto (so Peretti had been generally styled) to the tiara, we ask the good sense of the reader to decide whether the Sacred College, after only five days of Conclave, would have elected a man who was capable of playing *Puncinello* as Leti represents him as having played it. And we must remember that Peretti and all his characteristics were very well known by his fellow cardinals, and that therefore we cannot avoid regarding them as fools, if they were deceived in the manner described by the Milanese apostate, in a work written a century after the event. Having told us how Peretti had gone among the electors to urge his own candidacy, coughing and tottering so as to appear more dead than alive, Leti thus describes the final scene. "As soon as he saw that he was sure of the tiara, Montalto rose to his feet, and without waiting until the counting was finished, he threw out into the centre of the hall the staff which he had always used when walking, and stood perfectly erect, so that he appeared to be a foot taller than he had been. But what was much more astonishing, he spat up to the ceiling (1) with a strength such as a man of thirty would scarcely have shown. Perceiving this, the cardinals exchanged glances, and the cardinal-dean seeing that the cardinals of San Sisto and Alessandria made gestures of repentance, exclaimed: 'Wait a moment. There is an error in the votes; the count is wrong.' But Montalto intrepidly cried 'It is correct'; and immediately chanted the *Te Deum Laudamus* in so high and sonorous a tone that his voice rang through the hall, although two hours previously he could not utter a word without coughing two or three

(1) We leave to the reader other reflections as to the probability of this exhibition, and merely ask him to remember the height of the rooms in the Vatican, and to note that Leti does not say that Sixtus spat toward the ceiling, but up to it—*sputò nella soffitta*.

times. . . . When a master of ceremonies asked him, as is customary, whether he accepted the Popedom, he turned upon the questioner a grave and majestic countenance, and replied : ' We cannot accept what we have already accepted ; but nevertheless we would accept still another, because we feel that we have sufficient vigor and talent to rule, with the divine help, two worlds, to say nothing of one Popedom.' These words were pronounced so loudly that all heard them, and Farnese turned to Santa Severina, and said : ' These gentlemen thought to elect a gudgeon, whom they could rule at will ; but I see that we have a Pope who will hold us all as gudgeons.' . . . While the masters of ceremonies were vesting him with the pontifical robes, they were thunderstruck on seeing the agility which he displayed in donning the robes, moving his arms with incredible ease and vigor, just as though, as it was observed by one who was present, there were danger in delay. Then Cardinal Rusticucci, who was at his side, and remarked the wonderful change, whispered in his ear : ' Holy Father, the Pontificate is an excellent medicine ; it makes aged cardinals grow young, and sick ones healthy.' And the Pope replied : ' So we have learned by experience.' " But let us leave the phantasmagorias of Leti, and study the real Sixtus V., as he is depicted by Cicarelli (1), a contemporary and reliable author ; by Novaez, Tempesti, Segretain, and Cantù (2).

Felix Peretti was born at Montalto, near Ascoli, in 1521. In his eleventh year an uncle, a Franciscan Conventual, having observed the boy's talent and piety, encouraged him to join the disciples of St. Francis ; and in time he arrived at the highest dignities of the order. It is recorded that in 1552, while he was preaching in the church of Santi Apostoli in Rome, there was handed to him a paper containing the points on which he had been dilating, with the assertion " Thou

(1) *Life of Sixtus V.*, Folligno, 1610.

(2) The reader will scarcely look to Don Pasquino for information concerning Sixtus V.; but some of that worthy's effusions are peculiarly pungent. Thus, when the Pontiff revived certain indictments which Gregory XIII., his too lenient predecessor, had disregarded, Pasquino described a dialogue between the statues of Sts. Peter and Paul in front of the Vatican Basilica. St. Peter is leaving the square ; and St. Paul asks him why he is going. Peter replies : " I am in danger. I may be arrested for having denied my Master." Then Paul reflected : " Then I also must flee ; for Sixtus will charge me with my persecutions of the Christians."

liest" placed opposite each section. As most of the points were on the all-important matter of justification, then so fearfully travestied by Protestantism, Peretti deemed it prudent to forestall any possible charge of heresy by sending the letter to the grand-inquisitor, Michael Ghislieri, afterward Pope St. Pius V. Ghislieri, calm but inexorable, came to the friar's cell to examine him on the alleged misrepresentations of Catholic doctrine; and Peretti never forgot the terrible impression which the interview produced in his soul. But Ghislieri was both charmed with the manner of the friar, and pleased with his theological ability and accuracy; from that day the warmest friendship united them. Peretti was a bosom friend of St. Philip Neri, St. Ignatius Loyola, and many other zealous persons who were then resident in Rome; and as he rivalled them all in a desire to banish all scandals from the sanctuary, he made many enemies. When he undertook the duties of inquisitor in the Venetian dominions, the jealousy of the Most Serene endangered his life on two occasions; and in later years men were wont to say that when he departed from Venice, he had given as a reason that he had vowed to become Pope, and that therefore he could not remain to be strangled. Pius IV. appointed Peretti one of his theologians at the Council of Trent; and afterward sent him as legate to Spain in the matter of the celebrated Carranza (1). Raised to the Sacred College in 1570, and made archbishop of Fermo, he resigned his diocese in 1577, that he might devote all his time to an edition of the Fathers which Pius IV. had ordered him to prepare. While engaged in this task, he was encouraged by the admiring friendship of St. Charles Borromeo, and he was supervising the publication of the *Works of St. Ambrose* when he heard of the death of Gregory XIII., which had occurred on April 10, 1585. In the ensuing Conclave, there were six parties among the forty-two cardinals who were present. The first was headed by Farnese; the second by d'Este; the third by the cardinal of Alessandria; the fourth by the cardinal dei Medici; the fifth by d'Altemps; the sixth by the cardinal of St. Sixtus, a nephew of the late Pontiff. Fourteen of the cardinals seemed

(1) See our Vol. II., p. 400.

to their brethren to be worthy of the tiara ; and among them was Peretti, now generally styled the cardinal of Montalto. Cicarelli says : “ Montalto was a learned man, quiet and amiable to all. He depended on no one, having few relations ; his nearest of kin were two sons of his sister, who were too young to aspire to any office or dignity. His zeal for religion was ardent, and his nature was benign. During the course of his reign, the effects of his goodness pleased many, and enraged others. His election was facilitated by his great dexterity in honoring the cardinals, in lauding them, in amplifying their authority, and in auguring for them every happiness. He had led a tranquil life, far from the tumults of the world in a little villa near St. Mary Major’s, where he dwelled in great humility and with a small household. When he sometimes joined the other cardinals to discuss difficult matters, he was never contentious, and he tried little to bring them to his way of thinking ; on the contrary, he yielded easily to others. He sustained injury and outrage without bitterness ; sometimes, in the consistory, he heard himself styled ‘ the ass of the March of Ancona,’ but either he feigned not to have heard the remark, or he affected to regard it as a bit of pleasantry. Nay, more ; the morning after his nephew was assassinated, he manifested in the consistory no sign of trouble, nor did he demand any satisfaction ; in fact, had it not been known that he loved his relatives tenderly, he would have been deemed without feeling. But he bore such things, so as not to make himself odious. When there was question of princes and their affairs, he excused and defended them, unless the dignity and jurisdiction of the Holy See were involved ; of these he was always a protector. He was ever polite, not only to his own, but to strangers. Owing to these and other virtues, the way of the Pontificate was easily open to him. And he was greatly aided by the fact that all the cardinals knew that the king of Spain loved him, and esteemed him as a very learned and very virtuous cardinal. And his cause was served no less by his having never shown any sign of ambition, and by his having been ever ready to conciliate the other cardinals by every kind of good service.” It was testimony like this that forced

Ranke to reject the tale of Leti, and to say of that romancer's imputations : "It is not by such means that the highest dignities are obtained " (1). And Sismondi, who would have but too gladly pronounced another verdict, after having reviewed our Pontiff's career, declared : "He occupied a glorious place in the midst of a series of Pontiffs who were celebrated alike for the purity of their morals, for the sincerity of their religious zeal, and for forgetfulness of their personal interests " (2).

From the day of his coronation, May 1, 1585, Sixtus V. seemed to realize that his reign was to be of short duration, for he entered upon it with impetuous zeal, and continued in that course until his death. Although his contemporaries agree in stating that he was exceedingly amiable in private life, still he was never known to laugh; and they say that when indignant, his language cut to the quick (3). Sixtus V. was certainly severe; but probably such a temperament was providential after the reign of the gentle Gregory XIII. Gregory (Buoncompagni) was a wise and irreproachable administrator in theory; but the view of crime excited only his tears, and the wicked could always count on his clemency. During his reign assassinations were of hourly occurrence; each noble was at least suspected of keeping a troop of *bravi* in his pay. Sixtus determined that his justice should be inexorable; he renewed the edict of Gregory against the carrying of fire-arms, and unlike that Pontiff, a few days after his installation he caused two brothers, who had violated the law, to be hung at the bridge of San Angelo. Thirty years previously, Attilio Braschi had murdered his cousin, together with that relative's wife and two children. The trial had begun, but influence had caused its proceedings to be quashed. Sixtus ordered the trial to be resumed, and justice to be administered; whereupon Rome read the pasquinade which we have mentioned. The enemies of the Pope-Kings are prone to dwell upon this side of the character of Sixtus V.; and

(1) *Papacy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, b. IV., no. 4.

(2) *History of the Italian Republics*, vol. XVI., p. 188.

(3) "Radevano il pelo." TEMPESTI; *Life of Sixtus V.*, vol. I., p. 123. Rome, 1754.—*Sixtus V. Supreme Pontiff*, MS. in the Altieri Library in Rome.—*Life of Sixtus V., Corrected by His Own Hand*, MS. in the same Library, cited by Ranke and Cantù.

they leave their hearers possessed with the idea that severity was his most salient characteristic. But our Pontiff actuated many beneficent projects for the temporal welfare of his subjects ; and death alone prevented the actuation of others which he had devised. Thus, he endeavored to increase both wool and silk industries among his people. To give an impetus to the latter, he decreed that in every acre of land at least five mulberry trees should be planted immediately, the Papal treasury bearing the expense ; he devoted a large portion of his own villa, now the Villa dei Massini, to the raising of silk worms ; he established weaving looms in the houses surrounding the Piazza di Termini ; and when a Venetian Jew, Magino di Gabriele, promised to furnish the secret of producing two yields of silk a year, Sixtus allowed to him the monopoly for sixty years, permitted him and his family to reside outside the Ghetto, and gave him a royalty of an ounce of gold for each pound of silk, besides five per cent. of all the profits which the pontifical treasury might gain by his invention (1). Sixtus V. effected much for artistic and antiquarian Rome. He raised the great obelisk in the Square of the Vatican ; he completed the dome of St. Peter's ; he made many new streets ; the number of beautiful improvements which he made in the churches of the city is marvellous ; he designed and began the palace of Monte Cavallo (the Quirinal), and he built that of the Lateran ; among the many works of antiquity which he restored, we mention only the horses of Praxiteles and Phydias now admired on the hill of the Quirinal. By the fostering care of the Popes the ancient Roman aqueducts had been kept in constant repair, and the Eternal City had always been the envy of all European capitals on account of its superabundance of the purest water ; but Sixtus V. brought an additional supply in the Acqua Felice, at an enormous expense and in defiance of the opinion of the best engineers, and the main outlet of this aqueduct (near the Baths of Diocletian) is one of the ornaments of Rome. But we must refer the reader to the pages of Cicarelli, if he desires to know all that Sixtus V. effected, in five years, for the culture and comfort of his temporal subjects.

(1) CANTU ; *Heretics of Italy*, Discourse XXXIX.

Sixtus V. found the financial affairs of the Holy See in an evil condition. After the lavish expenditures of Leo X., all undertaken for worthy, and some for holy purposes, Adrian VI. had succeeded to an empty treasury, and with great difficulty he managed to send 40,000 ducats to help the Hungarians in their fight against the Turks, and he was scarcely able to equip three ships of war to aid the gallant Hospitalers in their defence of Rhodes. Clement VII., after seeing his capital sacked by the troops of Charles V., had been obliged, in his efforts to succor that same Charles V. when trying to resist the Islamites, to levy unusual taxes and make heavy indebtedness for his successors. Paul III. had been forced to demand a general subsidy from his subjects; and when St. Pius V. was obliged to bear far more than his share in the prosecution of the triumphant campaign of Lepanto, it seemed a miracle that he should have been able to aid the French court, to succor the persecuted Catholics of England, to help Mary Stuart, and to give two millions of golden scudi to the poor of his States. "Sixtus V. did not introduce a good system of finance; but, at that period, who knew such a one? Nevertheless, after having spent 600,000 scudi in warring against the Turks, 50,000 on the obelisks, 200,000 on the aqueduct of the Acqua Felice, 800,000 in provisioning Rome, he left in his treasury four millions which were mentioned, to our surprise, in the Treaty of Tolentino" (1). One of the most important acts of this Pontificate was the institution of several new Roman Congregations. Already there were the Congregations of the Index, that of the Inquisition, one for the Execution and Interpretation of the Tridentine Decrees, another of Bishops and Regulars, the Segnatura, and the Consulta; and Sixtus V. added greatly to the importance of these. He instituted the Congregation for the foundation of new dioceses; that of Rites and Ceremonies; and several for the consideration of cases brought for decision by the Holy See. The temporal policy of Sixtus V. rivalled that of the grandest of the Roman Pontiffs. He intended to crush the Turk by an alliance of Poland with Persia, a conquest of Egypt, and a piercing of the Isthmus of Suez in order to re-

(1) CANTU; *loc. cit.*

store the commercial primacy of the Italians. His chief motive, one which animated his every political act, was the preservation of the faith; therefore he excited Philip II. to undertake the invasion of England and a vindication of Mary Stuart, and he meditated an attack on Geneva. All of these points would merit our consideration; but our limits force us to treat chiefly of the relations between Sixtus V. and Henry of Navarre.

Sixtus V. understood thoroughly the *Gesta Dei per Francos*; the prominent and, we may say it, the necessary part which Providence has assigned to France in the movement of civilization. It was his influence which counterbalanced that of Philip II. over the League, and prevented the triumph of that monarch's egotistic policy, thus assuring the political and religious unity of France. The first great demonstration of the reign of Sixtus V. was the Bull of Excommunication and Deposition pronounced against Henry IV. When treating of the attempted Protestantization of France, and of the conversion of Henry IV., we traced the events which compelled Sixtus to issue this decree; and it ought not be necessary to prove that in this act the Pontiff was not the servile instrument of the interested anger of Philip II. In pronouncing Henry of Navarre excommunicated, and therefore incapable of wearing the crown of France, Sixtus V. simply applied a principle of the Canon Law and of the fundamental law of France. At that time the laws of all Christian nations condemned the relapsed heretic to the stake; Henry of Navarre was civilly dead, as the humblest Catholic magistrate would have declared, but the Pontiff alone was sufficiently high-placed to pronounce definitive sentence in the case of a sovereign. If the reader will read the Bull *Ab immemorsa*, he will perceive that it was not an ebullition of passion, a mere satisfaction of obstinate prejudice; but rather a pronouncement by the head of Christian society, insisting upon the right of that society to protect its dearest interests. Nor did Sixtus propose, as Philip II. would have had him propose, to do any more than vindicate the principle which was involved; he did not intend to obstinately refuse all future compromises which the march of events might necessitate.

As we have seen, when considering the conduct of Henry IV. after his excommunication, this very Bull was no obstacle to an understanding between the prince and the Pope, once that the former showed an inclination to follow the path of duty. The following are the principal passages of the Bull *Ab inmensa*. “Sixtus, Bishop, Servant of the servants of God, in perpetual remembrance of this Act. The authority accorded to the Blessed Peter and his successors, by the immense power of the Eternal King, exceeds all the powers of the kings and princes of the earth. Resting on the immovable rock, never deviating from what is just, neither in adversity nor in prosperity, it emits its infallible judgments over all. It watches with particular care that the divine laws be not violated; and if it finds men resisting the ordinances of God, it visits them with severe punishment. Be they ever so powerful, it expels them from their thrones, as so many ministers of the haughty Lucifer, and it humbles them in the dust. Therefore, in accordance with the care imposed upon us for all the churches, peoples, and nations; and in order that the destruction of impious and detestable monstrosities may contribute to the salvation of souls, both during our pontificate and for all time to come, and bring repose to all parts of Christendom, and especially to that great kingdom of France where the Christian religion has so flourished, and the faith and devotion of whose kings have been so grand, leading them to perform so many services to the Roman Church that they have merited the glorious surname of Most Christian; and finally, that we may not be charged by God with having neglected our duty; we are now compelled to use our weapons, spiritual indeed, but stronger than any ramparts, against those two children of ire, Henry of Bourbon, once king of Navarre, and Henry of Bourbon, once prince of Condé. This Henry, once a king, from the early days of his youth, followed the heresies and errors of Calvin, and gave to them his constant support, down to the time when he yielded to the pious and frequent exhortations of the illustrious Charles IX., king of France, and of our dear daughter in Christ, Queen Catharine, and also of his uncle and our dear son, the cardinal Charles of Bourbon, as well as to the prayers

of the duke Louis of Montpensier; when, after having examined the demonstrations of many eminent and virtuous theologians, he was converted, as was believed, to the Catholic Apostolic Roman faith, and publicly abjured and anathematized in Paris all opinions which are contrary to the Catholic faith, formally professing that same Catholic faith. . . . But a short time afterward, this vacillating prince renounced the Catholic faith, his obedience to this Apostolic See, and all that he had sworn to observe. . . . We, compelled by our duty to employ the sword of punishment against these men, and grieving because their many crimes force us to severity against the degenerate descendants of the illustrious family of Bourbon, which has ever been distinguished for virtue and for its veneration of this Apostolic See; do now pronounce from this sublime throne, in virtue of the power given to us by the King of kings, and by the authority of Sts. Peter and Paul and our own, that Henry, once king, and also Henry of Condé, are relapsed and impenitent heretics, guilty of high-treason to the Divine Majesty, and enemies of Christian orthodoxy; and that they have incurred the censures contained in the sacred Canons and Apostolic Constitutions against relapsed and impenitent heretics, and that by this fact they and their descendants are incapable of succeeding to any duchy, principality, domain, or kingdom whatsoever, and especially to the kingdom of France. . . . Over and above all this, and in so far as it is necessary, we deprive forever Henry, once king of Navarre, and the other Henry, of all their principalities and fiefs; and we declare them and their descendants forever incapable of possessing or succeeding to any principality, duchies, fiefs, or kingdoms whatsoever, and especially to the kingdom of France. . . . We forbid all persons to obey their laws and orders; and declare that all who disregard this interdiction are excommunicated, by the very fact." This Bull is dated the 5th of the Ides of Sept., 1585.

Elsewhere we have descanted sufficiently on the principle, universally acknowledged in Catholic times, that a heretic could not wear a Christian crown (1). Here we shall remark merely that, so far as France is concerned, if there was no

(1) Vol. II., ch. xv.

precise text of civil legislation, as there was in other countries, which declared that the Roman Pontiff could and ought to depose a heretical prince ; if in France the kings were slow to proclaim a supremacy which threatened their omnipotence ; it is certain that even there the deposing power was expressly recognized as possessed by the French bishops (1), and that French kings so often invoked the deposing power of the Pope in their quarrels with others, that they equivalently proclaimed the supreme political magistracy of the Holy See. This fact was well understood by the League ; and therefore it had solicited the Bull *Ab immensa*, and Sixtus knew that he could not refuse it. But the Pontiff differed from the League on one very important point. So horrible was the idea of a Protestant king to the great Catholic heart of France, that it could not suppose the possibility of the culprit being ever cleansed from his stain. Here was an opportunity for the House of Lorraine ; and Guise and his partisans availed themselves of the stepping-stone for their vaulting ambition. Loudly proclaiming the theory that religious contumacy was so terrible a crime that its consequent inability for office could not be removed, they influenced the Faculty of Paris, too often subservient to the powerful of the nonce, to decree excommunication against all who would presume to say that a relapsed heretic could be received to penance, and then reinstated in his dignities. Sixtus V. was not the man to wait a moment in rebuking this appeal to anarchy in an absurd and illogical defiance of his supreme authority. Hence he ordered the secretary of the Consistory to write to the arrogant Faculty : " His Holiness has condemned most strongly the audacity of the Sorbonne in daring to usurp a power which belongs only to this Holy See and to Councils " (2). The partisans of the League could not, or would not see, for a long time, that while it was necessary to the maintenance of Catholicism in France that the relapsed Bourbon should be denounced juridically as incapable of reigning over the Land of the Lilies, it might be advisable for the supreme judge of Christendom to exempt the culprit, if really repentant, from

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 216.

(2) "*Detestata est Sanctitas Sua Sorbonæ temeritatem, quæ sibi vindicare audeat nec hujus Sanctæ Sedis opera sunt, et ad eam et Concilia spectant.*"

the perpetual duration of his punishment. Sixtus V. was ever willing to make this exception; for he felt that the interests of France demanded such a mitigation of the canonical penalty. Undoubtedly the Guises had attained great popularity in France; and when the last of the Valois would be summoned to his dread account, the proximity of the Guises to the throne would be considered in conjunction with their sacrifices for the faith and their country, and would form a good title to the crown. And certainly Catholicism had nothing but good to expect from the House of Lorraine. But Sixtus V. could not forget that Henry of Navarre was in possession, before his excommunication, of a direct hereditary right; and this right of heredity was then regarded as a guarantee of stability in a government. Therefore the Pontiff reflected that if he wished to foil the schemes of Philip II., who was aiming to secure the French crown for himself or for one of his family; and if he desired to avoid the danger to France of having her crown perpetually disputed by one who was strong in his right of blood; he must direct his policy so as to effect the return of Henry de Bourbon to the Church. In this design he was greatly encouraged by the knowledge that, although Henry had been addicted to dissimulation; and although he had shown that religious dogmas had as yet but little hold on his mind or heart; it was certain that the prince shared none of the Huguenot animosities toward Rome, and that he also realized very well that a French monarch must, of necessity, be a Catholic. Animated by these considerations, when the time came that Sixtus applied to himself, in reference to Henry III., the words of God in regard to Saul (repenting for having made Saul king), the Pontiff would not aid the Lorraines when they attacked the "king of the *mignons*," and he refused to give his niece in marriage to the duke de Guise.

On Dec. 22, 1588, Henry III. procured the murder of Duke Henry de Guise (1); the cardinal de Guise was impris-

(1) The more exalted of the Leaguers had resolved to change the Law of Succession, even during the lifetime of Henry III., in favor of Henry de Guise. Henry III. prohibited Guise from entering the capital, but the order was disregarded; the bourgeois took arms to defend his claim; barricades were erected, the royal guard disarmed, and the king was a prisoner in his palace. Those who defend Guise from the charge of criminal ambition point

oned, and then murdered ; and the archbishop of Lyons, the dukes de Nemours and d'Elbeuf, the marquis de Joinville, and the president de Neuilly were imprisoned. When the Papal legate, Cardinal Morosini, presented himself for an audience with the wretched monarch, he was refused admittance, and received the following letter. "My lord legate, now I am a king, and I have resolved to suffer no more outrages. I shall keep this resolution, strengthened by the example of our Holy Father the Pope, remembering well that he is wont to say that we must make men obey us, and that we must punish those who offend us. I shall see you to-morrow, if so you desire. Adieu. Henry." The crimes of Henry III. had long previously deprived him of the respect of his people ; and now, incapable of leading the League in a defence of Catholicism and France, he had struck down its head. Thus he broke the last tie which bound his subjects to him, and he forced the League into revolutionary courses. The murder of the cardinal de Guise drew upon him the sentence of excommunication, launched by our Pontiff on May 5, 1589. When Pope Sixtus heard of the assassination of Henry III. by the fanatical Clement, he refused the request of the pious widow, Louise de Vandemont, to order the solemn requiem which the Papal court always celebrates for the sovereigns who have died in the communion of the Church. Some writers have concluded from this fact that the Pontiff believed those who said that the wretched Henry died before he had an opportunity to confess. But it is certain that the

to the fact of the non-seizure of the royal person. While Catharine was negotiating for the preservation of some shadow of authority for her son, he escaped to Chartres ; but he soon made a treaty with the League, which rendered that body master of the government, Guise being made lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Henry de Guise, however, was not enough of a revolutionist to receive the crown from a seditious mob, though he might have accepted it from the deputies of the nation. Surprised at his moderation, the Parisians assented to his making a treaty with Henry III. (the Edict of Union, July 21, 1588) by which the king again declared himself the head of the League, accorded a general amnesty for the past, gave to the League several cities as "places of surety," and convoked the States-General at Blois. This assembly declared the Edict of Union the law of the state, and added clauses which further weakened the royal authority. Henry III. now resolved the death of Guise ; and the rash soldier despised the warnings which he received in reference to the design. He entered the royal council, as was his custom ; ten assassins attacked him ; he fought to the death ; and died, exclaiming, "God, have mercy !" This murder only increased the determination of the Leaguers ; the victim's brother, the duke de Mayenne, took his place ; the Sorbonne declared all Frenchmen free from allegiance to Henry III. ; and this prince had no resource but to throw himself into the arms of Henry of Navarre.

royal widow sent Montmort to the Pope with an attestation as to all the circumstances of her husband's demise ; and that this document (1) told of Henry's repentance, of his submission to the excommunication, and of the piety with which he received the last Sacraments. The real reason for the rigor of Sixtus is found in a letter which d'Ossat, French envoy at the Vatican, wrote to the queen-dowager, on Aug. 7, 1590. D'Ossat gives a conversation which he held with Cardinal Santa Severina, in which his Eminence told him that the Bull of Excommunication mentioned as its cause not only the murder of the cardinal de Guise, but also the incarceration of the cardinal de Bourbon and of the archbishop of Lyons ; and that since the wounded monarch, although he had time, had not, by ordering the liberation of the prelate, furnished the really efficacious proof of his repentance, the Holy See could not glorify a sovereign who was execrated by his people, both because of his personal immorality, and because he had assured the progress of heresy, so far as his power permitted. We shall say no more about the policy of Sixtus V. in reference to Henry of Navarre ; as to the consequences of that policy, we have noted them when treating of Henry's conversion.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE PONTIFICATE OF CLEMENT VIII. CAMPANELLA.

On Jan. 8, 1592, fifty-two cardinals entered into Conclave to elect a successor to Pope Innocent IX., who had occupied the Chair of Peter during only two months. In many previous Conclaves the electors had been beset by difficulties growing out of the pretensions of this or that sovereign to a controlling voice in their selection of an incumbent of the primatial See of Christendom ; but in the present case their Eminences were confronted by a threat, on the part of a prince who had frequently merited well of the Church, to

(1) This certificate was signed by Charles d'Orleans, grand prior of France ; the duke d'Epemon ; the marshal de Biron ; the grand ecuyer Roger de Bellegarde ; the captain of the body guards, Chateauvieux ; by d'O, governor of Paris ; and by five others.

refuse obedience to a Pontiff who would not have been chosen from among those whom he had designated as acceptable to himself. Philip II. of Spain, ever intent on his projects for Spanish aggrandizement at the expense of France, was playing the League against Henry IV.; and he felt that his success depended on the attitude of the Holy See toward the French monarch. In his endeavor to secure the election of a Pope whom he might expect to favor his views, Philip relied upon the efforts of the cardinal of Montalto, who, although a nephew of Sixtus V. and therefore naturally favorable to Henry, was nevertheless the head of the Spanish faction in the Sacred College. Montalto proposed to his colleagues the name of Cardinal Santorio, the most esteemed of the five candidates urged by the Spanish king. Immediately it became evident that Santorio had the probabilities in his favor; for thirty-six cardinals, the necessary two-thirds, appeared disposed to vote for him, when the *scrutinium* should be held, Madruzzi (the head of the Austrian party) having brought over his followers to an alliance with the pro-Spaniards. Then occurred an incident both sad and amusing. Montalto and Madruzzi, deeming the election as good as made, proceeded to the cell of Santorio with their news. The tidings were overheard by some of Santorio's attendants; and in accordance with an old custom which gave to the domestics of a Pope-elect all of his former household trappings, they began to sack the cell, as an earnest of what they were to have when they would pillage their master's palace. In the meantime, Santorio was informing the cardinals who were assembled in the Pauline Chapel, that he would assume the name of Clement; but it was soon found that although the next Pope would indeed be a Clement, Santorio would not be the man. When the ballot was announced, it appeared that some of the electors had changed their minds as to the propriety of electing one of King Philip's favored five; for there were not thirty-six votes for Santorio. Again and again their Eminences tried to agree, but in vain; and finally, Cardinal Ascanio Colonna insisting that "it seemed to be the will of God that Santorio should not be Pope," attention was turned to other candidates. It was soon demonstrated

that one of the pro-Spanish five could not be elected; and then the name of Ippolito Aldobrandini, whom Philip had designated as the least obnoxious of his non-partisans, was brought forward. Aldobrandini was universally respected as learned, prudent, and above all, holy. On Jan. 20 he was elected, and assumed the name of Clement VIII. (1)

Ippolito Aldobrandini was a son of a patrician juriconsult of Florence who had fled from his native city on account of difficulties with the Medici, and had settled in Urbino. The young Ippolito won the friendship of Alexander Farnese, bishop of Spoleto; and the prelate accorded him a pension which enabled him to study at first in Rome, and finally in Bologna, where he took his degrees. Attached to the papal nunciature in Spain, he so distinguished himself that on his return to Rome he was made an auditor of the *Ruota*. Sixtus V. raised him to the Sacred College, and sent him as legate to Poland, where he contributed to the liberation of Maximilian of Austria, then a prisoner in that country. This action greatly pleased Philip of Spain, and therefore he afterward designated Aldobrandini as his choice for the tiara, if no one of his five candidates could secure it. The contemporary Cicarelli says of the election of Clement VIII. that all Rome rejoiced at the elevation of one in whom were united "integrity of life, great learning, and diplomatic skill." The most anxious hours of Pope Clement VIII. were those which were occupied with the affairs of Henry IV.; but we have seen already his success in inducing that monarch to ignore the invalid absolution at Saint-Denis, and to be really reconciled with the Church by that Papal authority which had censured him. As a souvenir of this happy event, the Pontiff ordered medals to be struck off, bearing his own portrait on one side, and that of Henry on the other; and on his part the king decreed that ever after the French monarchs should address a cardinal as "Dear Cousin," instead of "Dear Friend," as had hitherto been customary. But three months after the reconciliation of Henry, there happened an event which, had the king not been en-

(1) In his autobiography, Santorio says of this incident of his life: "That was the most painful moment I ever experienced. Shall I dare to admit it? Yes; I was so oppressed by anxiety, that drops of blood oozed from every part of my body."

dowed with more than an ordinary measure of good sense, would have caused a serious rupture between the newly-made friends. On Dec. 27, 1595, an attempt on the life of Henry was made by one Jean Châtel, the son of a Parisian woollen draper. Fortunately, at the instant when the blow was given, the king had bent his body in order to raise two officers who had knelt before him; and the dagger merely broke one of his teeth. When the wretched Châtel was questioned, he declared that he was a Parisian; that he had studied under the Jesuits; and that he had learned from those teachers, as well as from other priests, that it was a duty to use every means for the defence of religion against impious tyranny. The magistrates of Paris immediately searched the Jesuit college; and in the room of Guignard, the librarian, they found some writings which contained very bitter denunciations of both Henry IV. and his predecessor. The unlucky librarian was arrested; and although he claimed rightly the benefit of the general amnesty proclaimed by Henry, he was condemned to be hung because he had not destroyed the obnoxious papers. All the members of the Society were expelled from the kingdom, excepting in a few provinces, where the parliaments showed a knowledge of logic and an appreciation of justice. When Clement VIII. heard of these outrages, he protested most vigorously to d'Ossat, the French ambassador, that it would have been but just to punish any individuals of the Society, had they been proved guilty; but that every principle of right and equity was violated by the expulsion of all the members of an order which had merited well of the Church (1). One of the curious features of this parliamentary persecution was the fact that the pretendedly zealous magistrates of Paris had themselves been guilty, and to a much greater degree, of the crime which they condemned in Guignard. They had made war against Henry the Huguenot with guns and bayonets, not with mere pen and ink; and by what right did they refuse to Guignard the benefit of an amnesty behind which they sheltered themselves? No one will ever charge Sismondi with partiality for the Society of Jesus; but he says of this

(1) BERAULT-BERCASTEL; *History of the Church*, vol. III.

parliamentary madness: "We know not which is the most condemnable; a fanaticism which armed an assassin against the king, or the cruelty, undue haste, and cowardly servility of the magistracy, a body which was not content with putting the young culprit to death amid atrocious torments, but punished even innocent men whose olden offences had been forgiven, taking no time for investigation, and exiling in forty-eight hours a religious society which had not been heard in its own defence, and for an attempt at regicide in which it had no share. And this was not only a scandalous iniquity, but an act of political cowardice; for this parliament which condemned the entire Jesuit order because of certain writings against the royal authority which had been penned by some of those religious, was the same parliament which, only in the previous year, had sanctioned rebellion, and had at least tacitly approved the murderous deed of James Clement. In reality, all this severity tended simply to excuse the parliament's own preceding opposition to the royal authority" (1). It is not strange that Pope Clement VIII. should have insisted, whenever he gave audience to d'Ossat, upon the necessity of reparation being made to the Jesuits, so far as it could be made, by his Majesty of France; and it is to the honor of Henry IV. that he recognized the guilt of the Parisian parliament. In vain did Sully urge upon the royal consideration the well-known predilection of the Jesuits for the Spanish monarch, and the consequent theory that the Society could not be friendly to Henry; the king shrewdly replied: "I know very well that the Jesuits are much more interested in the grandeur of the House of Austria-Spain than in that of the House of Bourbon; but the reason of that fact is patent. In Spain the Jesuits are honored; but in France they experience only contradictions and affronts. And then remember that if the king of Spain has won them by benefits, they must be capable of gratitude; therefore I too have it in my power to attach them to my interests. Finally, if the Jesuits are as obstinately perverse as they are said to be, prudence bids me to conquer them by generosity, rather than drive them to desperation." A royal decree was

(1) *History of the French*; vol. XXI.

issued, recalling the Society to France; but the parliament refused to register the document, and deputed its president to lay a protest at the feet of Henry. The parliamentary discourse was artfully prepared; but the monarch's improvised reply was a thorough refutation of its arguments; it was as strong in its logic as it was moderate in its terminology. "Gentlemen, I am grateful to you for the anxiety which you display for the safety of my royal person. But I know your sentiments thoroughly; whereas you are ignorant of mine. When I began to think of recalling the Jesuits, I reflected that two sorts of persons would oppose me; namely, the followers of the pretended Reformation, and certain ecclesiastics of not very edifying life. The Jesuits are reproached with drawing unto themselves men of talent; but I esteem them for that very reason, for when I levy an army, I want good soldiers, and with all my heart I wish that you would admit only the worthy into your body. Men say that the Jesuits enter into every city, as best they can; but did I not enter into my kingdom in the same manner? You would implicate them in the affair of Châtel; but Châtel himself did not implicate them. And even if a Jesuit had struck that blow, of which I only think in order to thank God for my humiliation and for my escape, would it be just to punish all the Jesuits? Must all the Apostles suffer for the act of one Judas? You cast up the League to the Jesuits; but that association was a contagion of the time. The Jesuits thought that they were doing right; and many others were likewise deceived. You say that the king of Spain makes use of the Jesuits; and I reply that I desire to do the same thing. Since the whole world deems the Jesuits useful, I want them in my dominions; and since heretofore they were merely tolerated, I wish that hereafter they be authorized. You may leave this matter in my hands, for I have managed more difficult business." The parliament registered the royal decree.

One of the objects nearest to the heart of Clement VIII. was the conclusion of a treaty of peace between France and Spain; and his efforts were seconded energetically by his legate to Henry, the cardinal Alexander dei Medici, arch-

bishop of Florence, a pious and moderate, but very perspicacious prelate. After many unsuccessful negotiations, during which the skill and affability of the legate had full scope for their exercise, peace was finally proclaimed in the Treaty of Vervins, May 2, 1598; the contracting parties, with the cardinal as mediator, agreeing to restore matters to the condition in which they had been before the war. But our Pontiff soon found reason for grief in the preparations of Henry IV. to actuate what had been always the chief aim of his policy, the destruction of the power of Austria. In 1610 the king was about to head the army for an invasion of the Empire, when the dagger of Ravallac cut short his career. The reader may be interested in the following letter which was written, shortly after this catastrophe, by St. Francis de Sales to his friend, M. Deshayes. "No death in Europe could be more lamented than that of the great Henry. But who will not wonder with you at the vanity and deceitfulness of all the grandeurs of this world? Here was a prince who was grand in his ancestry, in his personal valor and victories, in fine, in every earthly quality; and who would not have thought that this grandeur had sworn an inviolable fidelity to him, so that even his last moment would have been enlivened by the applause of all, as he met a glorious death? One would certainly have thought that so grand a life would terminate amid the spoils of the Orient, after a final overthrow of heresy and of Islamism. For this enterprise there would have been an abundance of time in the fifteen or twenty years which seemed to be guaranteed to him by his rugged constitution. But no; this long series of grandeurs finishes in a death which has no grandeur whatsoever; and he who would almost have been termed immortal, because of his having escaped from so many great risks, falls under the ignoble stroke of a dagger wielded by a nameless youth. The best fortune of this great monarch was his becoming a son of the Church, and therefore the father of France; his becoming a sheep of the Great Shepherd, and therefore himself the shepherd of all his people; the conversion of his heart to God, and thereby converting unto himself the hearts of all good Catholics. This felicity alone leads me to hope that the sweet mercy of

Our Heavenly Father moved the royal heart of Henry, in his last moments, to that contrition which is necessary for a happy death" (1).

The eminent prudence of Clement VIII. manifested itself in his attitude during the dispute on the harmony of grace with the free will of man, a dispute which the Dominicans and Jesuits prosecuted with so much violence of language, that their war of words caused as much clamor in Europe as had been produced by the swords of the Huguenots. We shall treat of this matter when we arrive at the subject of Jansenism; here we merely note that by a Brief of Jan. 10, 1595, our Pontiff imposed silence on the vituperative religious, and appointed the celebrated Congregation *de Auxiliis*, composed of eight of the best theologians in Rome, to examine the question. The zeal of Clement VIII. for the propagation of the faith was manifested in his defiance of the wishes of the king of Spain by opening the missionary field of Japan to all the Religious Orders; that monarch having pretended that none but Jesuits, and none of them save his own subjects, should preach the faith to the Japanese. The apostolic labors of St. Francis Xavier and his successors had converted millions of these pagans to the religion of Christ, when, in 1579, the visitor of the Society of Jesus for Japan, Valegnani, was impressed by the fact that his brethren were not sufficiently numerous for the needs of the awaiting harvest. On his return to Rome, he proposed that other religious should be invited to aid in the good work; but many of the Society rejecting the idea, the general laid the matter before the Pontiff, then Gregory XIII. The Holy See did not wish to decide, before consulting the king of Portugal, as the Japanese missions were then under his protection. Perhaps the Portuguese decided against the employment of other religious, and perhaps he returned no reply; at any rate, the affair remained in abeyance until 1585, when, Philip II. having become also king of Portugal, the facile Pope Gregory XIII. was induced to prohibit all religious who were not Jesuits from laboring in Japan. Rohrbacher makes some very pertinent remarks on this decision. "The system of evangelizing and

(1) *Works of St. Francis de Sales*, 10^e, III.

governing the Christians of Japan through members of only one Religious Congregation who were all subjects of the same temporal sovereign, had the advantage of a greater uniformity in administration, so long as that sovereign sustained and aided that Congregation. But were discords to arise, terrible consequences would ensue ; any day the Japanese Christians might be abandoned like sheep without a shepherd. And that is not all. Let us suppose that the king of Spain and Portugal will always love and help the Society of Jesus. May not the English and Dutch merchants suggest to the Japanese emperor that the Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits are only the advance guard of the king of Spain, who seeks to seize on Japan ; that for this purpose he names the bishops of Japan, and sends only Jesuits, and Jesuits who are his subjects, into Japan ; that, in fine, it is for this purpose that a native Japanese clergy is not formed ? These Dutchmen and Englishmen know the policy of the Spanish monarch ; and they have dared, the former in order to preserve their rights, the latter for their national independence, to war upon him, to expel or kill the Jesuits, and to trample on the Cross. Japan should do the same ; or like America, it will become a Spanish province. Let us suppose that the heretical merchants of Holland and England said all this to the emperor of Japan. Would not reasons of State prompt him to expel the Jesuits, and to exterminate the Christians ?" (1) The time did come when these Dutchmen and Englishmen adopted the measures here supposed by the French historian. Having incited a persecution of the Japanese Christians, the Dutch loaned their artillery to the sovereign against whom the converts, in self protection, had revolted ; and the progeny of Calvin had the satisfaction of seeing the name of Christ almost ignored in Japan. Then for years they enjoyed the privilege of trading with Japan, but only on condition that they always performed, before landing, what the Japanese called the *ye fumi*, that is, they trampled on the crucifix (2).

(1) *Universal History of the Church*, vol. XXV.

(2) Protestant writers have thought to palliate this sacrilege of the Dutch by saying that they did not believe in honoring images ; but was that fact an excuse for despoiling them ? And the Hollanders knew well that the Japanese pagans regarded the trampling on the Cross as equivalent to a renunciation of Christianity. These gentry, however little they knew of

But before the then flourishing infant Church of Japan was visited with dire persecution, the Jesuit missionaries were reinforced by many other apostles ; firstly, because of a false report that they had all been expelled from the empire, and secondly, because of the prudent foresight of Clement VIII. In 1592, a rumor reached the Philippine Islands that the Japanese sovereign had banished the Jesuits ; and immediately the governor asked Father Pedro Baptista and three other Franciscans to proceed to the care of the young church. Baptista thought of the prohibition of Gregory XIII., and consulted with the best theologians in the Philippines. It was decided unanimously that it was the duty of Baptista, in the circumstances, to go to the aid of Christians who were in danger of suffering a shipwreck of faith ; and to strengthen their position, the theologians cited a Bull of Sixtus V. which, they said, revoked that of his predecessor, inasmuch as it allowed the Franciscans to act as missionaries "in all the Indies." The little band of Franciscans went to Japan, and found that the Jesuits were still at their posts. When Pope Clement heard of the state of affairs, he issued a brief permitting the members of all Religious Orders to labor in Japan. Many rushed to the field of toil and martyrdom ; and from that day the sons of St. Francis, especially, rivalled the Jesuits in their noble labors.

It was Pope Clement VIII. who decreed the laureate to Torquato Tasso. In 1594, the poet learned that our Pontiff, at the instance of his nephew, the cardinal Aldobrandini, had decreed him the honors of a triumph at the Capitol. "They are preparing my coffin," he replied ; but as no poet would dream of declining the laureate, he set out for the Eternal City. On the way from Naples, where he had been residing for some time, he stopped three days with his beloved Benedictines of Montecasino. "If misfortune come to you," said the abbot, "come to us. This monastery is used to giving hospitality to the unhappy." Tasso answered : "I go to Rome to be crowned laureate on the Capitol, taking as companions

the New Testament, had, like most Protestants of to-day, a certain superficial acquaintance with the Old ; and they must have remembered the story of Eleazar and the food offered to the idols, even though they might not have known that Christ reprobates those who are ashamed of Him.

of my triumph sickness and poverty. However, I go willingly; for I love the Eternal City as the centre of the faith. My refuge has always been the Church,—the Church, my mother, more tender than any mother.” Arriving at the gates of the Catholic metropolis, Tasso found an immense multitude—prelates, nobles, knights, and citizens—waiting to salute him and to escort him to the Vatican. Cardinal Aldobrandini took him in his own carriage to the palace, where the Pontiff welcomed him, saying, “We are about to confer upon you the crown of laurel, which you will honor, whereas hitherto it has honored those who have worn it.” His reception over, his cardinal protector would have taken Tasso to his own palace to wait for the coronation ceremonies; but the poet felt that his end was drawing near, and begged to be allowed to lodge in the Hieronymite convent of Sant’ Onofrio on the Janiculum. In this home of peace, and often reposing under the branches of the oak which, only a few days before (1), had sheltered St. Philip Neri and his class of little Romans, the wearied genius hearkened to the gentle Hieronymites as they prepared him for his last journey. Toward the end he wrote to a friend: “The world has so far conquered as to lead me, a beggar, to the grave; whereas I had thought to have had some profit from that glory which, in spite of those who wish it not, will attend my writings.” He made a holy death, in his fifty-second year, on April 25, 1595. During his magnificent funeral ceremonies, which were attended by the entire pontifical court, the laurel crown was placed on his brow. The monument which Cardinal Aldobrandini had designed to erect over the remains of his *protégé* was, for some reason, never undertaken; but Cardinal Bevilacqua, of Ferrara, disinterred the body, and placed it in a small mausoleum in Sant’ Onofrio. Afterward, Pius IX., at his private expense, erected a magnificent monument, and placed the remains therein (1857), in a beautifully renovated chapel of the same church.

We have mentioned the name of St. Philip Neri. A firm and tender friendship had united the youths Ippolito Aldobrandini and Philip dei Neri in the year 1535, when they were

(1) St. Philip died just one month before Tasso.

making their studies for the priesthood; and when the former was raised to the Supreme Pontificate, he wished to enrol his saintly friend in the Sacred College. But whenever the project was mentioned, Philip affected to regard it as a joke; and the Pontiff soon realized that honors were painful to his humility. The duties of the Popedom and Philip's own preoccupations with his Oratory prevented frequent meetings of the friends; but their correspondence was regular, and its tenor is uniquely interesting. We subjoin two letters which were written while the saint was suffering from a dangerous illness. "Most Holy Father, who am I that cardinals, especially their Eminences of Cusa and Medici, should visit me? I needed a little manna; and therefore the latter procured for me two ounces from the Hospital of Santo Spirito, to which institution he had presented a quantity. He remained with me until the second hour of the night, telling me so many nice things about your Holiness; but I do think that he exaggerated, because I am of opinion that a Supreme Pontiff ought to be transformed into humility itself. At the seventh hour of the night Christ came to me, strengthening me with the Sacrament of His Body. But you have not deigned to come even once to our church; while Christ, who is both God and Man, comes whenever I wish for Him. And you are only a man. Your father was a saintly man; His Father is God. Your mother was the Lady Agnesina, a most holy woman; His mother is the Virgin of virgins. I would say much more, were I willing to yield to my displeasure. Now I command your Holiness to condescend to grant me a favor. I want you to allow me to place among the runs of the Torre degli Specchi the daughter of Claudio Neri, of whose children you promised, long ago, to take care. Remember that a Supreme Pontiff must keep his promises. Therefore leave this affair to me, allowing me to use your authority, if it be necessary. You will do so, I am sure, especially since I am certain of the girl's vocation; and now I prostrate myself at the feet of your Holiness." Pope Clement replied: "The Pontiff observes that the first part of your letter betrays somewhat of a spirit of ambition, since you make great boast of the visits that cardinals pay you. If you mean to

insinuate that their Eminences are pious men, no one doubts the fact. Now you know that if the Pontiff has not called upon you, it is your own fault; for you have frequently refused to allow him to make you a cardinal. As to your commands, I yield; you may scold those good nuns in your usual fashion, severely and with my authority, if they do not obey you immediately. On the other hand, the Pontiff again orders you to look after your health, and to not resume hearing confessions without his permission. Finally, the Pontiff orders you to pray for him and for the welfare of the Universal Church, whenever you receive Our Lord."

In 1598, Clement VIII. reunited the duchy of Ferrara to the Papal States, Duke Alfonso II. having died without issue, and the Holy See having repeatedly declared that it would not accord the investiture to any prince who did not belong to the elder branch of the House of Este (1). Alfonso II. was thrice married; and when he abandoned hope of having a direct heir, he vainly tried to induce the Holy See to confer the future investiture on the person of his family whom he would name. In his will it was found that he had named as his heir Cesare d'Este, his cousin; and this prince immediately notified the sovereigns of Europe of his accession to the throne of Ferrara. Clement VIII. ordered the usurper to abandon his pretensions; and when he refused, the Pontiff sent an army against him. Cesare finally yielded; Ferrara became Pontifical territory; and Cesare was recognized as duke of Modena and of Reggio. In 1599 our Pontiff was greatly afflicted by the political aberrations of certain Dominican friars, headed by the celebrated Thomas Campanella, in the kingdom of Naples. This scandal is worthy of our attention both because of the scientific reputation of Campanella, and because of the revival of his memory effected in 1889 by the erection of the mendacious monument to

(1) In the eighth century Ferrara, following the fortunes of the exarchate of Ravenna, was seized by the Lombard Astolphus. When Pepin defeated Astolphus, he gave the duchy to the Holy See. In 986 Pope John XV. enfeoffed Ferrara to the marquis Tedaldo, who was also count of Modena and of Reggio. In 1185, Azzolino d'Este received the fief from Pope Urban III., and in 1243 Pope Innocent IV. confirmed the House of Este in its possession, conferring on Azzo Novello d'Este the title of Defender of the Church, but requiring that every succeeding duke should receive the investiture from the Pope-King. This law was observed until the definitive annexation of Ferrara to the States of the Church.

Giordano Bruno in the Eternal City. We shall devote a chapter to Bruno, but here we must afford a little space to his enforced associate in the Roman monument, which places Huss, Arnold of Brescia, Servetus, and Campanella in the same category with the philosopher of Nola. There may be some general reason for so treating the Bohemian fanatic and the cut-throat of Brescia. The comparison of Bruno with Servetus, the victim of Calvin, may be tolerated, with a smile at the designer's ungrateful disregard of the feelings of Protestants. But Campanella and Bruno! "Hyperion to a satyr!" Bruno was a Christian only by baptism; Campanella was ever a devout Catholic. Campanella, a martyr to science! His devotion to science caused him no trouble more annoying than some cloister squabbles; politics, mere politics, involved him in serious difficulty. As well ascribe the fate of Savonarola to his zeal for morals. Campanella, a victim of the Inquisition! His only relations with that tribunal came from its interposition to save him from the Neapolitan courts, which would have consigned him to the scaffold for high treason to the Spanish crown. Campanella was born at Stilo, in the kingdom of Naples, in 1568. At the age of fourteen he entered the Dominican Order, and in the course of time became very distinguished in the public disputes on philosophical questions, which were then the fashion of the day in Italy. But his attacks on the peripatetics (1) procured him many enemies in his own Order, and in 1590 he sought the protection of the Marquis Lavello, one of his Neapolitan admirers. During the next eight years we find him disputing at Rome and Florence, and teaching in the Universities of Pisa and Padua. In 1598 he returned to Stilo, and it was soon rumored that he was occupied in projects for the subversion of the Spanish domination. He frequently preached, and wrote that the year 1600 would unfold great changes in the kingdom; that recent extraordinary inundations, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions prognosticated a

(1) "Italy produced the first school of philosophy of a modern character; for the school of Telesius soon followed that of the platonist Marsilio Ficino, and that of the peripatetic Pomponazzi. . . . How is it that the names of Campanella and Bacon are so diversely regarded: the latter as of one who opened the modern era, and the former scarcely remembered? Campanella devoted himself to all the knowable; Bacon confined himself to the natural sciences." CANTU, *Modern Philosophy*, § 1.

coming reformation in both civil and ecclesiastical matters ; that he was to be an instrument of Providence in all this, for he " was born to abolish three great evils—tyranny, sophism, and hypocrisy ; everything was in darkness when he struck the light " (1). He reasoned on several recent astronomical discoveries, and announced that his studies showed him the near advent of the reign of eternal reason in the life of humanity (2). Great revolutions, he said, generally occur every eight centuries ; the latest previous one was the Incarnation of the Word. Whether Campanella was the instigator or a tool was never made known ; but a conspiracy was formed against Spanish rule, and four bishops and three hundred friars of various orders were the leading spirits. Of the three processes of the trial now extant, one tends to show that the design was to establish a republic in Calabria ; the second insists that the kingdom was to be given to the Holy See ; and the third indicates a wish to hand the country over to the Turks ; but it is noteworthy that in the process finally finished in the Holy Office at Rome nearly all the previous witnesses retracted. When the conspiracy was discovered, the viceroy's forces captured nearly all the leaders. The laics were hung, and the "*privilegium fori*" consigned the ecclesiastics, Campanella excepted, to the Inquisition (3) ; the viceroy insisting on this exception, probably at the instigation of Campanella's private enemies. Confined in Castel Sant' Elmo for twenty-seven years, the Holy See again and again vainly endeavored to procure his release ; but Pope Paul V., who sent Schoppe to Naples for that purpose, succeeded in obtaining permission for him to correspond with his friends, and to receive every convenience for literary work. Finally, Pope Urban VIII. availed himself of the accusation of magical practices made against the philosopher, insisting that such a charge placed the case within the sole jurisdiction of the Inquisition ; and he succeeded in obtaining the friar's extradition. Campanella was at once enrolled in the Papal

(1) *Philosophical Poems*.

(2) *On the Meaning of Things and on Magic*, IV., 20.

(3) Writing to Cardinal Farnese, Campanella says that his clerical comrades pleaded guilty to the charge of "rebelling in order to be free to become heretics." Had they answered only to the charge of treason, he says, "all would have been executed, without any appeal to the Pope."

household, and an annual pension was assigned to him. Caressed by all that was learned in Rome, he passed several years in happy study ; but in 1634 the Spanish residents, who continued to detest his name, made an open attack on the French Embassy where he was visiting, and tried to obtain possession of his person. He was saved by the Papal police, but by the advice of the Pontiff he at once betook himself to France. Cardinal Richelieu received him with open arms, and made him a counsellor of state. He was also elected president of the French Academy, lately founded by Richelieu. To the day of his death, on May 21, 1639, he continually corresponded with Pope Urban VIII. What is there in this career to indicate the martyr to science, the victim of papal tyranny ; in fine, the fit companion of Bruno as that unfortunate receives the ignorant or diabolic homage of so-called liberalism ? Campanella was a profound Catholic, albeit an exceedingly intolerant one. He would have no dispute with an innovator. He would ask : " Who sent you to preach, God or the devil ? If God, prove it by miracles." And if he fails, said Campanella, " let the heretic burn. . . . The first error committed (during the Lutheran movement) was in allowing Luther to live after the Diets of Worms and Augsburg ; and if Charles V. did so, as they say, in order to keep the Pope in apprehension, and thus oblige him to succor Charles in his aspirations to universal monarchy, he acted against every reason of state policy ; for to weaken the Pontiff is to weaken all Christianity, the people soon revolting under pretext of freedom of conscience " (1). He counselled the king of Spain to have always two or three religious—Dominicans, Jesuits, or Franciscans,—in his supreme council ; and every commanding general, he said, should have a religious adviser (2). Such sentiments must sound strange to the *Italianissimi* of to-day ; but they came naturally from Campanella, who thought that " the same constellation which drew fetid effluvia from the cadaverous minds of heretics, brought forth balsamic exhalations from the exact minds of the founders of the Minims, Jesuits, Capuchins, etc." (3)

(1) *City of the Sun*, ch. xvii.—*Spanish Monarchy*, ch. xvii.

(2) *Political Aphorisms*, passim.

(3) *Ibid.*, 70.

He advises all governments to allow no Lutherans within their limits ; because, he contends, these sectarians deny the free-will of man, and can excuse crime by the plea that they are fated to sin (1). As for the Calvinist dogma of predestination, "it renders all princes wicked, the peoples seditious, and theologians traitors" (2). The following passage (3), if read by the committee before it accepted Ferrari's design for Bruno's statue, would probably have caused its rejection : "The Papacy belongs to no one in particular, but to all Christendom, and whatever the Church possesses is common to all. The Italians ought to encourage the wealth of religious corporations, because it belongs to them all, and lessens the strength of Italy's rivals. . . . No Italian sovereign should aspire to a rule over the others, but all, whenever the direct line of succession becomes extinct, should proclaim the Roman Church heir to their dominions. Thus in course of time an Italian monarchy would be established. The Italian republics ought to make a law that whenever they fall under the rule of tyrants, their government devolves on the Roman Church." In reality, Campanella aimed at a reformation of the world, and by means of Catholicism. His enthusiasm desecrated a near conversion of the nations, as prophesied by St. Bridget of Sweden, the Abbot Joachim, Dionysius the Carthusian, St. Vincent Ferrer, and St. Catherine of Siena, the last of whom had predicted that the sons of St. Dominic would carry the olive of peace to the Turks (4). He declared that the day of Antichrist was near, if not already come,— "it is now here, or will come in 1630"; and he "was born to combat the schools of Antichrist," which schools were everywhere active ; for "where Mohammed and Luther do not rule, there dominate Machiavelli and politicians" (5).

When Clement VIII. died, on March 5, 1605, he left to his successor two precious legacies, a pacified France and an Italy freed from Spanish preponderance. The character of this Pontiff must have been admirable, since even Ranke thus describes it. "The new Pope showed the most exemplary

(1) *Ibid.*, 84, 87.

(2) *Letters*, *passim*.

(3) *Discourse II. on the Papacy*.

(4) Campanella's words as given in a contemporary account of the Calabrese conspiracy. published in 1845 by Capialbi.

(5) *Letter to the Pope and Cardinals*.

activity in the exercise of his dignity. From early morn he was busy ; at mid-day audiences began, all reports were read and examined, all despatches discussed, legal questions were investigated, precedents were compared. Frequently the Pope showed himself better informed than the referendaries charged with the reports. He labored as assiduously as when he was a simple auditor of the *Ruota*. He paid no less attention to the details of the internal administration of his government than to European politics, or to the great interests of the spiritual power. . . . Every evening Baronius heard his confession ; every morning he celebrated Mass. During the first years of his Pontificate twelve poor persons dined with him each day. He thought nothing of the pleasures of the table, and he fasted every Friday and Saturday. After the week's labor, his Sunday recreation was found in the company of some pious monks or of the fathers of the Vallicella, with whom he discoursed on profound religious subjects. These austere habits, continued under the tiara, increased the reputation of virtue, piety, and exemplary life which he had hitherto enjoyed. . . . In his person were always observed those sentiments and manners which agree with the idea of a good, pious, and wise man." Such was the view of the character of Clement VIII. taken by all the authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But in our day the enemies of the Papacy have represented this Pontiff as a cruel tyrant, who, because of an abominable thirst for gold, and a desire to enrich his relatives, did not scruple to shed the blood of an entire innocent family. Naturally this accusation has been re-echoed by the virulent school which has obtained almost absolute control of the Italian unitarian movement—a school which adopts any means to injure the Holy See (1) ; but the subject-matter of the charge is of sufficient importance to demand a special chapter for its treatment.

(1) Among the most distinguished of the propagators of incredulity and anarchy, pre-eminence must be assigned to Bianchi-Giovini, author of a *History of the Popes*; to Mistrall, a revealer of *The Mysteries of the Vatican*; and to Petruccelli della Gattina, who furnished the world with *Memoirs of Judas Iscariot*.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE TRAGEDY OF BEATRICE CENCI.*

In 1854 the famous Tuscan revolutionist, Francis Dominick Guerrazzi, published in Pisa a so-called history of *Beatrice Cenci*, which, being a tissue of historical falsehoods, of obscenities, ribaldries, and blasphemies, was well calculated to further the work of the secret societies in Italy. Having issued his romance as a "history," it was but consistent in Guerrazzi to declare that, in order to give the world a true account of Pope Clement's atrocious conduct in the Cenci matter, he had "searched the records of the past; read the accusations and the defence; compared narratives, writings, and memoirs; hearkened to distant tradition; ... opened ancient tombs, and questioned the ashes, for if one knows how to interrogate them, even ashes will speak." Guerrazzi certainly caused the ashes of the Cenci to flatter his own political passions; but, as we shall see, he elicited from them no advantage for history. He himself admits that the reader will try in vain to find any honey in his book; alluding to the fact of its having been composed in prison, he says that "the anguish of a prisoner produces poison, not honey" (1), and he convinces us of the fact when we arrive at this passage: "Beatrice Cenci, a maiden of sixteen, was condemned by Clement VIII., vicar of Christ, to an ignominious death, because of a parricide not committed by her. ... The avaricious cruelty of the priests drank the blood, and devoured the goods of the victim." In 1872 the government of Victor Emmanuel allowed a "Roman" committee to place a memorial tablet in the Roman Capitol, to perpetuate the remembrance of the priestly iniquity toward the Cenci family, and the task of composing the inscription was assigned to Guer-

* This chapter appeared as an article in the *Amer. Cath. Quarterly Review*, vol. XII.

(1) During the Tuscan revolution of 1848, Guerrazzi, then a celebrated lawyer, became Minister of the Interior, and in March, 1849, was made head of the provisional government. On the restoration of the Grand-Duke, in April, Guerrazzi was imprisoned for four years. He was a man of undoubted genius and a fine romancer, but the term "historical" would ill belt any of his plays or tales.

razzi. Owing to the peculiarities of epigraphic style, the effusion does not readily bear translation: *Beatrice Cenci—Morte acerba—Fiore di giovinezza perduto—Gioie d'amore negate—Censo, unica colpa, rapito—Sepolcro disperso—Tanto non me dolsero—Quanto la fama per lungo secolo contaminata—Ora che per voi si può—Sorelle Romane—Rendete alle ossa il sepolcro—Alla memoria la fama—Cio facendo gioverete—Alla giustizia eterna—Alla patria—A me ed anco a voi.* This inscription is consistent with Guerrazzi's presentation of the Cenci tragedy, and with the view of it which is held by those whose ignorant sympathies have been excited by the lovely portrait of Beatrice by Guido Reni (1).

Desirous of discovering whether the charges made by Guerrazzi, and also by the poet Niccolini, were supported by evidence, Philip Scolari diligently sought for information among the Italian libraries and archives, especially among those of the city of Venice, and published the result of his investigations—a thorough confutation of the ex-dictator (2). But before we recur to Scolari's vindication of Pope Clement VIII., it may be well to lay before the reader Muratori's account of the Cenci matter: "In this year (1599) a rare instance of ribaldry and of justice caused much comment in Rome and in all Italy. Francis Cenci, a Roman noble, abounded in riches, for he had inherited from his father an annual income of more than 80,000 scudi; but much more did he abound in iniquity. His least vice was that of the most degrading kind of lust; his greatest, the utter absence of all sense of religion. His first marriage brought him five sons and two daughters; his second, no children. Toward his sons he was incredibly cruel, and to his daughters he was bestial. The elder daughter appealed to the Pope, and thus escaped from trouble, for the Pontiff compelled her father to bestow her in marriage. Beatrice, the younger, remained at home; and when she had matured into beauty, she succumbed to the disordered inclinations of her father, he having taught her that so wicked an act was not sinful. The

(1) Paul Delaroche also exercised his genius on a tableau of *Beatrice Cenci Walking to the Scaffold*. The two tragedies by Custine and Bysshe Shelley are justly celebrated.

(2) *Beatrice Cenci, a Criminal Case of the Sixteenth Century; an Historical Memoir by Philip Scolari.* Milan, 1856.

perverted man even dared to abuse his daughter in the presence of his wife, the girl's stepmother. But finally the child, realizing the brutality of her parent, commenced to revolt, and then he compelled by violence what he had previously obtained by fraud. In vain did the girl appeal to her relations. Then, being unable to endure such a miserable life, she imitated her sister, and sent to the Pontiff a memorial, written also in the name of her stepmother. Perhaps this was not presented; it certainly effected nothing, and was not afterward found in the secretariate when it would have served to some purpose. The father discovered this appeal, and increased his cruelty, placing both his wife and daughter under lock and key. Reduced to desperation, they now planned his death, and easily secured the aid of James, the eldest son and a married man, who had felt his father's tyranny. One night, while the old man was sleeping, he was killed by two hired assassins, and the body was so disposed in an orchard that it appeared that death had ensued from an accidental fall. But God did not permit the enormous crime of parricide to remain undiscovered. The criminals were arrested, and they yielded to torture. When Pope Clement had read the whole process, he ordered the wretches to be dragged at the tails of horses. Then the principal lawyers of Rome interceded for the guilty ones. At first the Pontiff refused to hear them; but the celebrated Farinaccio having obtained an audience, he so dilated, during an interview of four hours, upon the wickedness of the murdered man, and upon the extraordinary wrongs of the children—not to excuse the crime, but to procure a lesser punishment—that the Holy Father relented, and suspended the course of justice. Then there was hope for the lives, at least, of the delinquents; but just at that time a matricide was perpetrated in another noble family, and the Pope became so exacerbated that he ordered the immediate execution of the Cenci. On September 11th a high scaffold was erected in the Piazza di Ponte, and the two women and the brothers, James and Bernard, were led to it. Bernard, however, was pardoned and set at liberty, he being only fifteen years old, and being proved innocent of complicity in the murder. The women were be-

headed, and James received death from the strokes of the mace. All the spectators were filled with compassion, for they remembered the iniquity of the father, the cause of so much woe; and they especially admired the youth and beauty of Beatrice, and her wonderful courage when she mounted the scaffold and laid her head on the block. Many persons fainted, and owing to the great crowd, not a few were trampled upon, or injured by the vehicles. The narrative of this horrible event spread throughout Italy, and various judgments were passed upon it. Farinaccio left an authentic memorial in *Quest.* 120, No. 172, and in *Book I., Cons. 66*, where he says: ‘If we could have furnished proof of the violence offered by Francis to his daughter, she would not have been condemned to death, because he who commits such brutality ceases to be a father.’” In the main, this narrative of Muratori is correct, and it agrees with that of Moroni, in his *Dictionary*. But, notwithstanding the assertion of Muratori to the contrary, it is certain that the young Bernard was cognizant of, and consentient to, the murder of his father. The lawyer Farinaccio, in his appeal to the Pope, admits that the boy “confesses his assent to the work of the assassin Olimpio,” and he quotes these words of the confession: “Olimpio spoke with James and my brother Paul, and said that he wished to kill our father, because our father had dishonored him, and had expelled him from the fortress. He also said that our sister Beatrice was discontented with our father, because he kept her imprisoned, and she could no longer endure such a life; he also said that Beatrice wished our father’s death, and desired Olimpio to effect it with the consent of James, Paul, and myself; . . . and James, Paul, and I told him to do what he deemed best.”

And now for the documentary evidence concerning the trial of the Cenci. The first document found by Scolari is a “Note” of John Mocenigo, Venetian ambassador to the Holy See, addressed to the Senate under date of September 11th, 1599, and in it we read: “This morning the Cenci, convicted of the murder of their father, were executed.” Throughout the report there is not the slightest insinuation that the trial had not been conducted according to the Ro-

man jurisprudence of the day. There is expressed no doubt of the guilt of the unfortunates, not a hint as to any unworthy motive on the part of the judges or of the sovereign. But let us come to the process. Scolari drew it from two authentic codices, which he carefully compared, and found to be substantially alike. The first belonged to the library of Thomas Farsetti, a Venetian patrician, and it is Codex No. 79, Class 6, of the Appendix to the Italian MSS., now preserved in the Library of St. Mark. Ten of its pages are devoted to the narrative of the Cenci horror, and the writer, a Bolognese named Charles Ricci, entitles his work : "Death of James and Beatrice Cenci, brother and sister, and of Lucretia, their stepmother, parricides, in Rome, on Saturday, September 11th, 1599." The other codex, numbered 1771, now belonging to the Cicogna family, has a narration entitled : "The ignominious and memorable death of James and Beatrice Cenci, parricides of Francis Cenci, and of his second wife, Lucretia, in the year 1599." From this process we gather :

1. *The Causes of the Murder.*—It appears that Francis Cenci, only son of the treasurer of Pope Pius V., had an annual income of 80,000 scudi, and was, by his most abominable life, the cause of his own ruin, of that of his family, and of many strangers. . . . That his least vice was the sin against nature ; his greatest, disbelief in God. That he had already been fined 200 scudi for the above sin against nature. The only good he ever performed in his life was the erection of the church of St. Thomas in the courtyard of his palace ; and this he did, with the intention of burying therein all his sons, whom, even in their infancy, he hated. . . . That Francis was again imprisoned for new sensualities, and his sons besought the Pope to order the execution of one who was a disgrace to the house of Cenci ; but that the Pontiff repelled them as rebels against their parent. That the count was liberated with a fine of 500,000 scudi, and he thereafter hated his sons more blindly than ever. That the elder daughter influenced the Pope, by means of a memorial, to order her marriage with the Count Gabbriello di Gubbio, and her father could not avoid the payment of a magnificent dowry. That in order to preclude a similar stroke of policy on the part of Be-

atrice, he confined her in apartments into which he alone entered, and where he loaded her with blows. That meanwhile, his sons Rocco and Christopher having been killed, he would not give even one cent for their funerals, and declared that he would not be happy until all his sons were dead; that then he would joyfully burn all his possessions. That this infamous man committed actions, and used language, which ought not to be mentioned. That when she had grown mature and beautiful, Beatrice began to prize her honor, whereupon her father cruelly beat her. That being unable to endure the bestial scandals of her opprobrious and miserable life, she sent a memorial to the Pontiff, but it was lost, and when most needed, it could not be found.

II. *The Plot*.—That one of the frequenters of the Cenci palace was a young, handsome, and lively gentleman named Guerra, who had fallen in love with Beatrice, and was much hated by Count Francis, because he was a friend of the sons. That owing to this hatred, Guerra visited the ladies only when the Count was away from home. That Guerra learned, and showed his will to effect, the desires of the women; that when he delayed, Beatrice urged him to the deed. That he opened his mind to James, the elder brother, who willingly joined in the plot against a father who never gave him any money, although he had a family to support. That James, in the apartments of Guerra, and according to the wishes of his sister and stepmother, arranged his father's murder, selecting for the purpose two of the father's vassals who were most hostile to him,—one called Marzio, a friend of the sons, and another named Olimpio, who had been castellan for the Colonna at Rocca Petrella. . . . Guerra agreed with these assassins to pay them 2,000 scudi for the killing of Francis Cenci—that is, he would pay one third of the sum in Rome, and the two women would pay the balance in Rocca Petrella (1), when the deed was accomplished.

III. *The Parricide*.—That during the night of September 9th, 1598, opium having been given to the old man by the two women, and he having, therefore, fallen into a deep sleep,

(1) Count Francis had signified his intention of passing the warm season in this castle, and the plotters resolved to there execute their design.

Marzio and Olimpio were led to his apartment by said women, who caressed them in encouragement to their work. That said Marzio and Olimpio returned from the Count's chamber, declaring that they pitied an old man in his sleep. That Beatrice, indignant, upbraided them as cowards and breakers of their word, and cried out: "Very well—since your cowardice demands it, I myself will kill my father, and you will get little by it." After this fulminating reproach, the two vassals returned to the Count's chamber. That they plunged a nail into one of his eyes, and drove it deep with a mallet; they drove another nail into his neck, and thus was that miserable soul seized by the devil (*sic*). That the deed being accomplished, the young girl gave a full purse to the murderers, and a gold-trimmed cloak to Marzio for himself. Then both the assassins departed. That then the two women wrapped the corpse in a sheet, and threw it from an old balcony which looked over an orchard, allowing it to fall among the limbs of a tree, so that in the morning it would be believed that the Count had started for a necessary near the balcony, and had fallen over and been caught in the branches of the tree—an idea which was readily accepted.

IV. *The Accusation*.—That the death becoming known in the morning, the wife and daughter wept for the loss of the husband and father. . . . That the Neapolitan Court deemed it its duty, since Rocca Petrella was in the kingdom of Naples, to inform the Court of Rome of the event; but some months passed, during which the youngest of the Cenci family died, and thus there remained in the castle only the stepmother, Beatrice, James and a third brother, Bernard, only fourteen years old. That Guerra, hearing of the investigations of justice, sent assassins to kill Marzio and Olimpio, that they might not testify against the Cenci, but Olimpio alone perished. That Marzio was arrested in Naples and confessed everything. That in Rome James and Bernard Cenci were imprisoned in Corte Savella, while Lucretia and Beatrice were confined in their own palace, whence, on the arrival of Marzio from Naples, they were transferred to prison, and confronted by his depositions.

V. *The Trial*.—That the process having been commenced, all the Cenci rested their case on a denial, and so firm was

Beatrice in refusing to recognize the gold-trimmed mantle given by her to Marzio, that she so filled him with admiration that he withdrew the deposition made at Naples, and died under the torture rather than recede from his retraction. That, therefore, the legal justification for torturing the Cenci being wanting, the Court left them in quiet in the castle for some months. That perchance, however, the murderer of Olimpio was arrested, and he revealed everything, whereupon Guerra fled from Rome disguised as a charcoal burner. That this flight, joined to the confessions of the prisoners, warranted the application of torture to the Cenci ; that James, Bernard, and Lucretia did not face the trial, but at once confirmed the avowals. That Beatrice, however, whether under the influence of sweet words, of threats, or of the cord, would admit nothing, so that even the judge, Ulysses Moscati, was confounded. That Moscati, having referred everything to the Pontiff, His Holiness relieved him of the case, fearing that he might be influenced into excessive tenderness by the beauty of Beatrice. That the Pope ordered that while the girl was attached to the cord, and before she should be subjected to further torment, her stepmother and brothers should be brought before her. That James and the others besought her not to persist in a denial which would only expose her to suffering, and would injure her soul instead of saving it. That then Beatrice answered them : " You wish, then, to disgrace our house ? " Then turning to the attendants, she said : " Unbind me. Let me be examined and what I ought to deny, I will deny." That then she confessed that she had procured the murder of her father. That immediately all were accorded more liberty, and the whole family were allowed each other's society after a separation of five months. That they dined together, and were then led to the prison of the Tor di Nona. That in consequence of the avowal of the parricide, the Pope ordered that the horrid crime should be punished by drawing at the tails of horses ; but this severe sentence so affected many cardinals and princes, that they interceded for the Cenci, whereupon the Pontiff remarked : " I would not have thought that Rome could furnish people to defend parricides." That, however, the Pope listened,

for four consecutive hours, to the arguments of the defenders, and then took their writings ; that he was so concerned about the case that he remained up all night, closeted with Cardinal Zacchia dei Nobili, studying the papers ; that he seemed so satisfied with the arguments that many hoped for a commutation of the sentence. That the Pope finally ordered a suspension of execution in order that he might more fully consider the case. When reflecting on this process, the reader should note particularly that during the trial the violation of Beatrice was not proved, for the unfortunate persisted in silence on that point, remaining firm in the intention she had announced in prison : "Unbind me, and what I ought to deny, I will deny," which meant : "I will avow my crime, but not its cause ; I will die sooner than publish my own dishonor." Had she revealed her provocation, she would, in all probability, have at least escaped death.

VI. *The Punishment.*—That meanwhile a horrid matricide occurred in Rome, namely, the murder of Constance, marchioness-dowager of Oriolo, by her younger son, Paul Santacroce ; that this event so affected the Pontiff that on the morning of September 10th, 1599, he summoned Mgr. Taverna, governor of Rome, and placing the case of the Cenci in his hands, ordered that justice should be satisfied as soon as possible. That the culprits were executed on the following morning, and that Beatrice, especially, died like a Christian penitent, even blessing the cord which bound her arms, saying in a loud voice : "Oh ! sweet cord, bind this body to chastisement and corruption, that my soul may obtain eternal glory !"

The process shows us, therefore, that Count Francis Cenci was deliberately assassinated by counsel and procurement of his wife and children ; that the accused confessed their guilt ; that Clement VIII. patiently listened to the intercessory arguments of the best advocates of Rome ; that he devoted the vigils of the entire night to a consideration of these reasonings ; that the occurrence of a similar crime caused him to give rein to justice. Nevertheless, Guerrazzi says that "Beatrice Cenci, a virgin of sixteen years, was condemned by Clement VIII., the vicar of Christ, to an ignominious death, for a crime not committed by her," and he asserts that the

reason for this outrage was the desire of the Pontiff to appropriate the wealth of the Cenci—"the avaricious cruelty of the priests drank the blood, and devoured the goods of the victim." Now, even if we disregard the value of the process as a synchronous, authentic, and, therefore, an incontestably conclusive piece of evidence, how comes it that the powerful connections of the Cenci raised no cry of horror, emitted no protest, because of the Papal injustice? How comes it that all Rome, all Italy, seems to have entertained no suspicions in the matter? Perhaps fear was the cause of this silence. But we know that just as in ancient Rome there were never wanting writers to register the cruelties of those emperors who caused the world to tremble, so, in mediæval and modern Papal Rome there were always men willing not only to note the real vices and crimes of guilty Popes, but even to do as Guerrazzi has done—to accuse all Popes, even without reason. Was it only in the sixteenth century, and during the reign of a Pontiff whom history does not present as ever having inspired anybody with fear, that Papal crimes were covered by the trembling veil of silence? And we should remember that in the time of Clement VIII., the war excited by Luther against the Papacy was at its height, that even Italy was overrun by the emissaries of heresy. What was to restrain these virulent enemies of Rome from penning such a narrative as Guerrazzi excogitated, had there been the slightest foundation for it? There, too, were the foreign ambassadors to the Roman Court; there especially those Venetian agents whose *Relations* to their Senate always gave even the minutest of gossip details of the hour. But Guerrazzi's accusation of murderous robbery falls to the ground, if we reflect that the criminal jurisprudence of Rome contained the maxim that the crime of parricide did not entail confiscation of property. "*Singulariter in hoc crimine non habet locum pœna confiscationis bonorum; sed ista deferuntur venientibus ab intestato*"—a maxim which corresponds with that of the Roman law, that "the assassin of him to whom he was to succeed, is admitted to the succession, even though he be unworthy of it" (1). Neither Clement nor his nephews

(1) Commentary of Carpanus *In Cap. Omnium Novell. Tit. De Jure Fisci*. Milan. 1583.

could hope for any inheritance *ab intestato* from the Cenci, for their families, the Aldobrandini and Barberini, were not connected with the house of Cenci. Again, before her death, Beatrice was allowed to make her will, and, according to this instrument, the Archconfraternity *delle Stimate* received 15,000 scudi, and fifty poor girls received dowries; therefore, the property of Beatrice was not confiscated. Finally, the great lawyer Farinaccio made the greatest effort of his professional career in his defence of the Cenci, and in his works, published after the death of Clement VIII., he dwells much and earnestly upon the tragic affair. Now, had there been any foundation for Guerrazzi's accusation, the advocate would certainly have known of it; and what an excellent opportunity of adding to his reputation it would have afforded him. He needed only to declare that he had lost his case simply because of the covetousness of the sovereign, who was determined to effect the ruin of his clients. But, on the contrary, he says: "This crime was so horrible, so unheard-of—a daughter and a wife plotting, and paying for, the murder of a father and husband—that we may say that only the great magnanimity of the most holy Pontiff freed the young Bernard from the penalty of death. And we trusted to obtain the same pardon for Beatrice, if she had furnished—which she would not—proof of that provocation which we alleged in her favor."

CHAPTER XXXI.

GIORDANO BRUNO.

There is little in the character, career, or teachings of Giordano Bruno which would induce the serious historian to accord to him more than a passing notice. His notoriety is merely adventitious. The contemporaries of the unfortunate, his very few friends and his many opponents, gave to posterity scarcely more than a bare mention of his name; so far were they from entertaining the notion advanced by a noisy school of our modern free-thinkers, to the effect that the philosopher of Nola was "the herald of a new civilization, and the innocent martyr of clerical intolerance." For more

than a century after the death of this man whom we are asked to salute as "the hero of thought," and to whom the furtherers of his mendacious Roman monument ask us to extend "a tardy tribute of gratitude and admiration," the literary world preserved an almost absolute silence in regard to him. Bruno perished in 1600; and the first notable reflections upon his career were emitted in 1702 by Bayle. Had Bruno been indeed the demigod whom the votaries of the Dark Lantern offer to our veneration, this eloquent silence would have been broken; the friends of the Papacy would have paid some attention to the memory of one who had so foully calumniated the revered institution, were it only by way of defending the Holy See from his aspersions; but we find not a word about this supposedly grand genius in the pages of Baronio, Orsi, or Rinaldi; and when Quetif and Echard mention him, it is after a coolly academical fashion. The foes of the Pope-Kings, who were never wanting, would not have been reticent in regard to the alleged "light of the universe"; but until the time of Bayle and Grosley, they thought it prudent "not to disturb Camerina." However, in our day the enemies of the Church have brought to light a legendary Bruno; and they seem to be ignorant or careless of the fact that the archives of Venice and of Rome render their conspiracy futile. It is because of the sublime effrontery of the Brethren of the Three Points, and in order that the reader may appreciate the hideousness of the studied insult to the Holy See which is covered by the monument in the Campo dei Fiori, that we devote a chapter to the life and doctrines of Giordano Bruno. In March, 1885, the following document was circulated throughout the civilized world by the Masonic Lodges now encamped in the City of the Popes:

"INTERNATIONAL SUBSCRIPTION FOR A MONUMENT TO GIORDANO BRUNO IN THE CAMPO DEI FIORI.

*At nos quantumvis fatis versemur iniquis,
Propositum tamen incicti sercamus et ausus,
... ut mortem minime exhorrescimus ipsam.
Viribus ergo animi haud mortali sublimur ulli.*

(G. BRUNO, *De Monade*, Num. et Fig. c. 1.)

"If no name were attached to these verses, every man of intellect would say that they breathed of Bruno and the Renais-

sance. Those *fati iniqui* speak of the tragic combat which the Middle Age waged against thought at the time of the Renaissance; that *propositum* and that *ausus* show how thought realized its own temerity; the phrase *mortem minime exhorrescimus* is a presentiment; the *viribus*, etc., show the mission of a philosopher. To conceive and to accomplish this mission, and to die—behold the energy which results in determination, character, death, and triumph. In two Italians, Dante and Bruno, the resolve to prefer truth to life approached the sublime, and therefore these two will always be the beacons of Italian genius; the former in art, the latter in science. In some measure, we have paid our debt to Dante, as men and as Italians; but to Bruno? The historian of the Roman empire regarded fifteen years—the period we have passed in Rome—as a long space in a man's life. We were brought hither by the heroes of the national resurrection, who were themselves preceded by the heroes of the intellectual resurrection, the greatest of whom was Bruno. And on the spot where he was burnt, as yet there is nothing to remind us of his grand personality. The monument which we propose to raise in memory of Bruno will have, above all else, a profound moral significance: Gratitude to the hero of thought, to the herald of the New Philosophy, which allows us to think and speak with freedom. It will have also a deep civil significance: The proclamation of our resolution, and a determination to keep it unconquerably, as befits men who wish to make that country great which they have created with great sacrifices. And our aspirations will be echoed by every cultured people in Europe; for the Nolan carried the word of the new civilization to Switzerland, to France, to Germany, to England, to Bohemia. He was the exquisite voice of the world, or as he styled himself, *the awakener of sleeping souls*, declaring that to the proclaimer of truth every land is his country. And nevertheless, a return to Italy and a death in Rome appeared to Bruno to form a necessary climax for his opposition of the Renaissance to the Middle Age, and to constitute an obedience to the call of the Most High *who had destined him to be a foremost and extraordinary minister to the better Age which was at hand*. That better Age

now erects a monument in his honor, and hails him as THE AWAKENER OF SLEEPING SOULS. This monument is a grand reparation, and a tribute of gratitude and admiration; and *it is not and cannot be an instrument of religious or political passions*. The erection of a monument to Bruno, the martyr to freedom of conscience, proves that this freedom shall be found everywhere, and that it must be respected by all. Inspired by these sentiments, we have placed our work under the protection of the illustrious personages here mentioned, who have agreed to form an Honorary International Committee" (1). It shall be our task to show that the new philosophy of which Bruno is represented as the "herald," was a denial of God, and an assimilation of man to the beasts of the field; that it would have been hard to find a subject more fit than Bruno for the idolatry of the sect which now flatters itself that it has nearly attained the object of its long and pertinacious struggles—the enthronization of atheism (or is it devil-worship?) in the seat of revealed truth.

Before we sketch the salient features of the career of Bruno, we shall note briefly the impressions which that career has produced in the minds of his principal biographers.

(1) It may be well to contribute to the notoriety which these "illustrious personages" have coveted. They are: FRANCE—Victor Hugo, Ernest Renan, Paul Bert, Th. Ribot, A. Espinas, G. de Mortillet. ENGLAND—Herbert Spencer, Algernon Swinburne, Charles Bradlaugh. GERMANY—E. Haeckel, L. Büchner, E. Erdmann, R. Jhering, K. Fischer, E. Zeller. SPAIN—Emil Castelar, N. Salmeron, F. Giner, M. Morayta, E. Chao. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY—R. Hamerling, Louis Kossuth, J. Nordmann, C. Thaler. PORTUGAL—T. Braga, T. Bastos. ROMANIA—C. A. Rosetti. SWEDEN-NORWAY—H. Ihsen, E. Meyer. BELGIUM—E. de Laveleye, P. Janson. HOLLAND—S. V. Houten, W. H. Zouteveen. SWITZERLAND—M. Monnier, Th. Dufour. GREECE—S. Lambros. RUSSIA—N. Grof. UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—H. E. Wright, Col. (sic) Robert Ingersoll. ITALY—M. Amadei, R. Ardigò, A. Bertani, D. Berti, R. Bonghi, G. Bovio, O. Gaetani di Sernoneta, B. Cairoli, G. Carducci, F. Cavallotti, L. Cremona, E. Ferrari, L. Ferri, G. Giovi, A. Lemmi, T. Mamiani, T. Masserani, M. Minghetti, J. Moleschott, G. Nicotera, G. Petroni, L. Pianciani, M. Rapisardi, G. Rosa, A. Saffi, S. Spaventa, G. Trezza, Pasquale Villari, A. Vera, G. Zanardelli.—It is morally certain that nearly all of the Italian members of this committee knew that they were falsifying history when they adhered to the terms of this circular. Of course the intellect of Italy is but scantily represented in the list; Berti, Mamiani, and Villari being the only scholars of great reputation. But all the others, although merely of that calibre which is possessed by men whom the accidents of revolution send to the surface, are educated sufficiently to justify us in charging them with bad faith. It is gratifying to observe that in this list, as well as in that of the "adhesions" to the scandalous project, there are only two or three names of Romans of any social standing. As to the foreign members of the International Honorary Committee, bad faith must be ascribed to Spencer, Hugo, Renan, Kossuth, De Laveleye; ignorance may excuse the others. It is noteworthy that among the many professors, military men, nobles, and academical laureates, who figure in this Masonic dance, the sole daunter of a title is the would-be doughty champion of infidelity in our country.

As we have remarked already, the contemporaries of the Nolan speculativist give us very little information concerning him. Avidalius Valens, the Wechel brothers, Henry Alstedt, and the famous convert from Lutheranism, Schopp, all but the last of whom either edited or commentated certain of his writings, are the sole authors of the sixteenth century who treat of him in any way, and their combined information would scarcely fill three of our pages. In the seventeenth century, and in the early eighteenth, Bayle, the prince of the philosophic sceptics of that day, has no words of praise for the Nolan. "The hypothesis of Bruno," says this rival of Voltaire in his peculiar talent, "is really the same as that of Spinoza. Between these two atheists the sole difference is one of method; Bruno adopting that of the rhetoricians, and Spinoza that of the geometricians. Each hypothesis exceeds in extravagance all that others have ever advanced; each is the most monstrous that could be excogitated; and each is diametrically contradicted by the most evident conceptions of the human mind" (1). Brucker, whom Protestants term "the father of the history of philosophy," says of the Brunonian system: "I defy the most acute genius to understand it, and the most patient of men to read it. Everything is wrapped in clouds and in mysterious expressions, the meaning of which probably Bruno himself did not know" (2). Bailly avers that "Bruno knew only enough of astronomy to explain the sphere" (3). Barbieri says: "Bruno destroyed philosophy, under the pretext of freeing it from Peripateticism. His powerful imagination veiled his intelligence, and he reasoned like a person in hysterics" (4). Berti, the latest notable panegyrist of the Nolan, blames Giannone, the Josephist historian of Naples, for giving only a few words to the career of Bruno, and for admitting that he discredited the endeavor to renovate philosophical science; "observing no law or just medium, and thus fixing more firmly the errors of the schools" (5). Nor does Carlo Botta wish to trouble himself

(1) *Critical Dictionary*, art. *Bruno*.

(2) *Critical History of Philosophy*, vol. V., p. 12.

(3) *History of Modern Astronomy*, vol. V., p. 531. Parma, 1794.

(4) *Neapolitan Mathematicians and Philosophers*, p. 119.

(5) *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*, bk. XXXIV., ch. viii.

about Bruno. "I shall not pause to talk about him who taught that Moses was an impostor and a sorcerer; that the Scriptures smack of the fabulous; and many other worse blasphemies. He was burnt at Rome—an abominable antidote for crazy opinions" (1). The ever impartial and judicious Cantù says: "Intolerant and sarcastic, Bruno praises himself as much as he despises all others. He insists dogmatically upon opinions which are more than contested. He is wanting in gravity when he treats of the most serious problems, repeatedly jesting on sacred matters. He attacks the Immaculate Conception, and of course, Transubstantiation, which is logically incompatible with his notion of a one, sole substance. Whenever he finds religious doctrine at variance with reason, he relies on the latter. He often puts the most extravagant opinions on the tongues of his interlocutors; and then neglects to refute them. He undertakes 'to abolish the puerile fear of death,' because his philosophy 'tears away the gloomy veil of a crazy sentiment concerning Orcus and the avaricious Charon, which poisons the best part of our lives' (2). Bruno was a rationalist two centuries before Hegel, to whom he gave the formula of the concord of contradictories" (3). Gioberti mentions the name of Bruno only three times in the course of his four volumes of *Introduction to the Study of Philosophy*; and although he eulogizes Campanella, whom the Roman monument unhistorically and wickedly forces into comradeship with the Nolan, the great ontologist charges the latter with having discredited, rather than promoted the study of philosophy. "The license and extravagance of philosophers like Pomponazzio, Bruno, and Cardano discredited totally the speculative sciences, and excited a reasonable fear in men of piety and of common sense, who did not possess that exquisite wisdom of certain moderns which deems it not unworthy of religion to be the laughing-stock of bad philosophers" (4). Fiorentino, although pronouncing Bruno a "supreme philosopher," nevertheless admits: "It would be futile labor to seek in the works of Bruno any rigid and mathematical demonstration" (5). It is for Fiorentino to explain

(1) *History of Italy*, bk. XV.(2) *The Supper of Ash-Wednesday*.(3) *Heretics of Italy*, vol. III., p. 153.(4) *Loc. cit.*, vol. I., p. 156.(5) *Telesio*; vol. II., p. 50. Florence, 1874.

this inconsistency. Another admirer of Bruno, Spaventa, while also pronouncing the "supremacy" of his hero, naively admits that it is impossible to make a satisfactory extract from his ethical works. "His notions," says Spaventa, "are so enveloped in allegories and fantastic figures, that only a love of science, and a love of this supremely unfortunate philosopher, can induce one to endure the ennui produced by his writings" (1). Balan, one of the calmest of Bruno's critics, finds in his speculations: "Neither order, nor precision, nor lucidity. So verbose is he, so obscure and confused, that often we doubt whether he understands what he is penning. His reasons are intricate and disconnected; he continually wanders around the circumference, without knowing the position of the centre; but worst of all, he is always vituperating those from whom he has stolen the theory which he proclaims as his own" (2). Previti, a Jesuit author, the latest of the notable explorers in the Brunonian hazes, arrives at the necessary conclusion that if the Roman monument rightly proclaims the Nolan theorizer as the supreme philosopher of Italy, then Italian philosophy has been, during the last few centuries, wretchedly degraded (3).

Filippo Bruno was born in Nola, one of the most ancient cities of the kingdom of Naples, in 1548. In his writings he frequently boasts of his connection with an imaginary noble family *dei Bruni*; and he tells how his father was an intimate friend of the poet Tansillo, and of many other illustrious personages. But he speaks of his mother's people with very little respect. However, the truth, as derived from such of his writings as were penned in his more lucid moments, seems to be that his father was a plebeian, a common soldier, with no revenue other than his miserable pay and his precarious booty; and that the boy was indebted for his early education to a maternal uncle. This relative took Filippo to Naples when he was eleven years old, in order that his already manifested talents might be cultivated in the University of the capital. In his sixteenth year the lad resolved to enter the Dominican Order; and he received the habit in

(1) *Essays on Philosophy*; vol. I., p. 142. Naples, 1867.

(2) *Giordano Bruno*; Bologna, 1886.

(3) *Giordano Bruno and His Times*; Prato, 1887.

that famous convent of San Domenico Maggiore, which had been the seat of the University in the time of St. Thomas of Aquino, who was one of its professors, and which was one of the chief glories of Naples until the revolution of 1860 turned its venerable halls to profane uses. Whether he himself selected the name of Giordano which he now assumed, we do not know ; but the name should have been a harbinger of a happy life in religion, for it was that of the successor of St. Dominic, a fine mind and a great heart, who thought of nothing else on earth but the glorification of the Church and of his Order. Some writers contend that the novitiate of Fra Giordano was redolent of a spirit of insubordination ; and that his superiors should not have received his solemn profession. Be this as it may, Bruno himself tells us that he was, at this period, “a restive and disgusted man, content with nothing, and as fantastic as a dog who has received a thousand scoldings” (1). In 1572 he was raised to the priesthood, and was transferred to a convent in Campagna, the chief town of the district of that name in the province of Salerno. The locality was delicious ; but he soon complained of the climate, and was transferred to another establishment. For three years he wandered from one convent to another, now complaining of the food, then lamenting because of uncongenial brethren, or growling at some superior’s presumed injustice. Finally he was sent back to San Domenico Maggiore ; but he soon frightened his fellow-religious by frequent manifestations of sympathy with the Arian and Semiarian doctrines which had lately been introduced into the kingdom. The nature of his doubts concerning the Blessed Trinity may be learned from his *Cause, Principle, and One*, which he published at London in 1584, and from his replies to the Venetian inquisitors in 1592. He professed to doubt that there is any real distinction between the three Divine Persons ; he could discern only the rational and logical distinction of the attributes. He declared that the Son figures the intellect of the Father ; the Holy Ghost figures the soul of the universe. Then, perverting the sense of the Scriptures, he insisted that his theory was consonant with the text in *Wisdom*, ch. i., v. 7,

(1) Thus in the Prologue to his comedy of the *Candelaio*.

"For the Spirit of the Lord hath filled the whole world, and that which containeth all things hath knowledge of the voice." He traced an agreement between his own and the Pythagorean idea ; and the more readily, because he had already conceived a hatred for all things Aristotelian. He proudly quoted these lines of Virgil's *Æneid*, bk. VI., v. 724, etc., as illustrative of his position :

*Principio cælum ac terras camposque liquentes
Lucentemque globum lunc titaniaque astra
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et toto se corpore miscet.*

Of course he rejected the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation. "*He could not understand* how the Divinity, infinite in its nature, could form one *suppositum* with the Humanity, which is finite by nature." In vain did Bruno's superiors strive to confirm the tottering faith of their arrogant subject ; and finally the Neapolitan provincial perceived that his duty commanded him to denounce the recalcitrant to the Inquisition. While the indictment was being prepared, Bruno fled to Rome, taking refuge in the Minerva, the mother-house of his Order, and the residence of its master-general. He was received kindly by the head of the Preaching Friars, although he had incurred censure by his flight from his convent. But in a few days he learned that his provincial had sent the documents in his case to Rome ; and as he knew that if he stood trial, he must either retract or be condignly punished, he fled from the Eternal City in secular dress, and he had cast the die. Some years afterward, while he was residing in Venice, Bruno told Giovanni Mocenigo that he had fled from Rome because he had been accused of having thrown into the Tiber the man who had denounced him to the Holy Office (1). That this was one of the innumerable lies fabricated by Bruno in order to make himself an object of interest, is evident from the utter absence of any such charge in either the Venetian or the Roman trial.

Our limits preclude a minute narrative of the wanderings of Bruno from the time he cast off the Dominican habit, and

(1) See the second Denunciation by Mocenigo, in the *Venetian Process*.

with it all connection with the Church of God. After a short stay in Genoa and Venice, where he supported himself by pedagogy, the year 1577 found him in Geneva, the "Rome of the Reformation." It is strange that Brucker should represent the apostate as attending lectures and sermons by Calvin in this city (1); that heresiarch had been in his grave for thirteen years when Bruno entered Geneva. As he approached the city, the Nolan donned his Dominican robes, and then betook himself to an inn. Why he put on his olden religious habit can be only a matter of conjecture. Certainly the dress was most offensive to the Calvinists of Geneva, who were more bitter toward everything savoring of monasticism than were any other progeny of the Reformation; and it was also obnoxious to the colony of Italian apostates who had formed in Geneva what they styled the "Italian Church," for it reminded them of the dread tribunal of the Inquisition, to escape which they had exiled themselves. Previti may have penetrated the reason of the comedy, when he ascribed it to a fond hope of gaining credit with both the Genevans and the Italian exiles, by a presentation of himself as a victim of the tyranny of Rome and of the friars. "And he was a stainless victim, as was indicated by the white tunic which was for him, as well as for his olden brethren, a symbol of purity. It may be urged that such conduct would have been hypocrisy; but Bruno was always a hypocrite, whether facing his judges, or in the company of his protectors" (2). The Italian Consistory of Geneva deputed Caracciolo, who was a species of little Pope for his companions in apostasy, to investigate the strange apparition; and when the envoy found that the Dominican tunic and scapular covered a "martyr to truth" like himself, he advised the wearer to doff the insignia of Satan. His arguments prevailed, and Bruno appeared in public in the guise of a cavalier, sword and all. The name of Filippo Bruno was recorded in the Register of the Italian conventicle (3); but it is untrue that a series of dispu-

(1) "*Docerant tunc magna auctoritate in schola Genevensi Calvinus et Beza.*"—*Loc. cit.*, p. 18.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, p. 81.

(3) In the Archives of Geneva (Historical Portfolio, No. 1477 bis) there is preserved a list of the names of the Italians resident in the city from 1550 to 1607; and at the year 1573 occurs the record, "Filippo Bruno of the Kingdom of Naples."

tations with the Genevan ministers converted the Nolan to their creed. A man who dreamed of founding a philosophy without Christianity would not have accepted a Calvinist travesty of Christianity; and we know that Bruno told Caracciolo that he had come to Geneva with the object of finding security, and not in order to profess a new religion (1). Again, the Calvinian yoke was the most intolerable of all despotisms, and Bruno could endure no subjection. He remembered the fate of Servetus, Gentile, Biandrata, Ochino, Castalion, and innumerable others who had presumed to question the infallibility of Protestant creeds. Too many of the Calvinist disputations led to the dungeon or to the scaffold; and Bruno possessed a certain kind of prudence. Nor did the theology of the "Italian Church" attract him. According to the Italian exiles, our Lord was a mere man, although a mediator with God. "He had been announced by the Prophets, was born of the race of David, was raised by the Father to the dignity of the Christ, and he was the most invincible of kings, for whom God created a new and regenerated world" (2). But if Bruno joined neither the Arianizing Italians of Geneva nor the Calvinists; if he regarded both systems as mere transitory symbols of that natural religion in which he foresaw all religious forms disappearing; how was he to procure food and clothing? During two months and a half he labored at the poorly-recompensed task of a proof-reader; and then he proceeded to France, in which land, then agitated by the throes of politico-religious discord, he fancied that better prospects awaited him.

Bruno spent about a month in Lyons; and then he went to Toulouse, because, if we are to credit his assertion, "there was a famous University in that city." It was here that he first announced himself as a professor of philosophy; and some authors contend that he passed a successful examination in the University, and received the doctorate. Berti, his latest panegyrist, thought to prove that the second University in France had thus honored him; and M. Pont, librarian of Toulouse, was requested by the librarian of the Uni-

(1) Venet. Trial, *Allegation IX.*

(2) SCHOMANN; *Catechism*, cited by Cantù, *Univ. Hist.*, vol. IX., p. 559.

versity of Turin, Sig. Goresio, to furnish any corroborative testimony afforded by the Toulousan archives. But Berti acknowledges that the reply was returned that there was no trace of Bruno's connection with the University of Toulouse in the archives of the establishment (1). Bruno seems to have found enough of pedagogical employment in Toulouse to secure him a comfortable living; but in 1579 he sought in Paris a wider stage for the exhibition of his talents. He obtained the good will of Henry III. by dedicating to that imbecile "king of the mignons" a theory of mnemonics which he had developed from the *Art of Memorizing*, written by Lullo. To show his appreciation of Bruno's work, the monarch offered him a chair in the Sorbonne; and when the philosopher demurred to the rule which obliged every lecturer in the University to assist at Mass each morning, he was appointed to an "extraordinary" professorship, a position to which the unpleasant duty was not attached. For a time the teachings of Bruno in Paris were harmless extravagancies; but when his *Shadows of Ideas* appeared, it was evident that he had thrown off his mask, and was bent on war against all revealed truth. In this first of his avowedly heterodox writings, the Nolan formulates his rationalistic and pantheistic sentiments. He terms Christianity a sect; he insists that all mysteries must disappear before the growth of human intelligence, declaring that they were instituted only for eyes which had not been so strengthened as to endure safely the full light of reason. If the reader is acquainted with the character of Henry III., he will experience mental nausea when he peruses Bruno's fulsome dedication of the *Shadows* to that prince. We give a specimen passage as an illustration of the calibre of the man whom the projectors of the Roman monument extolled as modest and independent. "Who does not know that great gifts must be presented to great personages, and the greatest to the greatest of men? It is clear, therefore, that this work of mine, which must be numbered among the very greatest ones, because of the grandeur of its subject, because of the singular power of invention which has produced it, and because of the accuracy

(1) *Loc. cit.*, p. 113.

of its demonstrations, should be dedicated to your Majesty, the brilliant light of your people, a most shining mirror of virtue, and a most profound genius. It remains for you who are so generous, powerful, and wise, to accept it graciously, and to examine it with mature judgment." In the summer of 1583, love of change, which was one of Bruno's characteristics, prompted him to visit England, then under the sway of Elizabeth. King Henry furnished him with recommendatory letters to his ambassador at the court of St. James's, Michel de Castelnau, Sieur de Mauvissier; and undoubtedly it was because of these credentials that Castelnau, a fervent Catholic, sheltered the wanderer in his mansion.

One of the first acts of Bruno, after his arrival in London, was the publication of his *Explanation of the Thirty Seals*, dedicated to Castelnau, and preceded by a letter to the doctors of Oxford. He announced himself to these presumed grave and reverend gentlemen as a "Doctor of the most elaborate philosophy; professor of the purest and most harmless wisdom; recognized by all the principal Academies of Europe; unknown only to barbarians; the awakener of sleeping geniuses; the tamer of presumptuous and recalcitrant ignorance; a universal philanthropist; as all his actions proclaim. One who loves an Italian no more than an Englishman, a man no more than a woman, a mitre no more than a crown, a lawyer no more than a soldier, the hooded no more than the hoodless; but who loves that man the most whose conversation is the most peaceful, civil, and useful; one who cares not for an anointed head, or marked forehead, or clean hands, but only for the mind and for the cultured intellect; one who is detested by hypocrites and by the propagators of insanity, but who is revered by the upright, and applauded by every noble genius." Lamentable indeed must have been the decadence of Oxford, when the reading of this effusion, than which Cagliostro could not have devised a more flashy advertisement, did not prevent the promotion of Bruno to a chair in the University. During three months "the herald of the New Philosophy" discoursed on the Immortality of the Soul and on the Quintuple Sphere. In regard to the first subject, he taught that after death the body "ag-

glomerates" atoms upon atoms unto itself, thus fabricating a new body; and that this process will be repeated *ad infinitum*. He averred that the human soul is the same, in specific and generical essence, as that of a fly, of an oyster, or of any animated thing; that it is the same spirit which animates and moves a plant, a beast, or a man; that the effects of this spirit are different, inasmuch as it makes use of different bodily instruments; that now the soul, a most simple monad, draws to itself a multitude of atoms by "agglomeration," and then it abandons them by "exglomeration." In his *Cabal of the Steed Pegasus*, published in London in 1585, the Nolan gives an exquisite development of his idea on "transformism." "Were the head of a serpent to assume the form of a human head, were the snake to develop a bust, were its tongue to become wider, were its shoulders to become more pronounced, were it to put forth hands and feet; it would breathe, walk, understand, and talk like a man, because then it would be nothing else than a man. On the contrary, a man would be only a serpent, were he to draw into himself his arms and legs, were all his bones to unite in forming a spine; he would have more or less vivid an intellect; instead of talking, he would hiss; instead of walking, he would glide; instead of building a house for himself, he would bore a hole for a dwelling. From this you can understand how it is that many animals may have much more intellect than man possesses." After edifying the dons of Oxford with these ebullitions of genius, he dismissed his opponents with:

"I nunc, stulte, minas mortis fatumque timeto."

The lectures on the *Quintuple Sphere* also excited the indignation of the Oxonians; for the "apostle of free thought" taught that the "flaming bodies" in the heavens are "real ambassadors of God," since they show "an infinite effect of an infinite cause." He insisted that his New Philosophy frees the soul of man from its prison, enables man to inspect the "infinite universe," and overthrows the power of "the sophists and asses who force philosophy to return to heaven, if it wishes to recover its lost ascendancy" (1). These and simi-

(1) *Italian Works of G. Bruno*; vol. I., p. 129. Leipzig, 1830.

lar insanities caused his expulsion from Oxford, despite what he called his victory over Dr. Leyson, "who was as discourteous as a hog, while the patience and politeness of the other (Bruno) plainly indicated that he was a Neapolitan, born and educated in a more refined atmosphere." Bruno dwells with much complacency on the splendid reception and respectful attention accorded to him by "the virgin-queen"; and he may tell the truth here, for Italian renegades were ever welcome to the head of the English Church Establishment, and at that time the "language of *si*" was greatly affected by the courtiers and by all Englishmen who were at all cultured, while Italian artists and scientists were extravagantly admired. It is not improbable, therefore, that it was some special graciousness extended toward him that led the Nolan to term Queen Elizabeth "the unique Diana, who is to us all what the sun is to the stars." Wharton asserts that during his residence in London, our wanderer became a member of a secret society of atheists; but there is no reason to suppose that any such body existed in the England of that day; and if there was such a society, it is very improbable that it would have given fellowship to so loose-tongued a person as Bruno. It has been said that Bruno was a Mason; and that Wharton alluded to the adepts of the Square and Triangle. Had the Nolan lived in our day, undoubtedly he would have been a brilliant light in the Lodges; but there was nothing in the Masonry of the sixteenth century to attract a man of his character. Indeed, it is certain that he would not have been initiated; it was not until Bruno had been dead for more than a century, that Masonry fell under the ban of the Church, and became the natural home for men of his ilk (1). Before we accompany Bruno out of England, we must observe that he has no words of praise for the men of that country, unless in the case of those, few in number, who petted him. The dons of Oxford, he says, "are more like hogs and ploughmen than like anything else" (2). He declares that he was the sole wise man in the University; and

(1) Pope Clement XII., the first Pontiff to condemn Masonry, issued his Constitution *In Eminenti* on April 24, 1738.

(2) *Supper of Ash-Wednesday*, p. 18.

he congratulates himself, because "such a man, even if alone, can easily triumph over the general ignorance; for entire worlds are worth less than one discerning person, and all the fools combined cannot equal one sage. . . . What shall I say of the Nolan? Is it improper for me to praise him, when he is as near to me as I am to myself? No reasonable man will blame me, since such a course is sometimes necessary. Who blames Phydias for avowing that such and such works are his? If in our day men glorify Columbus because he was the one of whom it had been predicted: '*No-vos detegat orbes, nec sit terris ultima Thule*,' what should men do to Bruno, who has discovered the way to mount to heaven, to walk along the circumference of the stars, to turn one's back to the convex surface of the firmament? Human reason, so long oppressed, has sometimes deplored its terrible debasement; and in a moment of lucidity it has cried to the divine mind which often communicates with the soul: 'Who will ascend to heaven, and recover for me my lost genius?' *And who but Bruno could go?*" (1) If Bruno found the "as-ininity and hoggishness" of the Oxonians brought into fuller evidence by their velvet robes and golden necklaces, their twelve rings on two fingers (2), he could scarcely be expected to find any charms in the society of the English knights and gentry. He was disgusted with their manners at table; especially with their habit of passing a drinking vessel from mouth to mouth. "When one guest has drunk from it, he passes it on, smeared with grease; and each succeeding drinker deposits on the rim a lot of bread-crumbs or bits of meat or whatever remnants of food may have been clinging to his mustaches" (3). He describes the streets of London as reeking with filth, the houses as utterly wanting in the sanitary conveniences which were common in Italy. The manners of the lower orders, whom he terms half-savages, terrify him; he says that the blow of an English fist, which he often felt, is "worse than the kick of an ox or of a mule." But he salaciously smacks his lips at the thought of the charms of English women. "They are gracious, polite, pulpy, tender, soft, blond-haired, with red and white cheeks, lips of sugar,

(1) *Italian Works of Bruno*, vol. I., p. 137.(2) *Ibid.*, p. 22.(3) *Ibid.*, p. 150.

and divine eyes. . . . They are made of some celestial substance " (1).

In 1586 Bruno departed from England, and after a short stay in France, he went to Germany. His first resting-place was Marburg; and he registered his name on the roll of the University as "Giordano of Nola, Neapolitan, Doctor in Roman Theology." However, permission to lecture was denied to him; and he proceeded to Wittemberg, which he styled the "Athens of Protestantism." In order to recruit his drooping finances, he laid aside his wonted arrogance for a time, and announced himself to the academical senate as "a student in the halls of the Muses"; whereupon he was licensed to lecture on metaphysics in their relation to astronomy, physics, and mathematics, and also to explain the *Organon* of Aristotle. His metaphysico-astronomical lectures were published at Wittemberg in 1588, preceded by a dedication to King Henry III. of France, and by a letter to Filesac, rector of the Sorbonne. These discourses, substantially the same ones which he had delivered in Paris, were comparatively harmless, so long as he taught that "there are myriads of worlds, and a synod of stars, all inhabited; that our earth is a small atom launched into space, having no special importance and no pre-eminence over the innumerable other earths which move in the infinite ætherial regions; and that all nature is determined and produced by equal and invariable laws." But he soon ventured to proclaim: "Science is contradicted by the doctrine which, like the Christian system, regards our earth as the scene of a redemption of the human race, and which sees on the earth a supernatural order which had its beginning in Adam, and its complement in Christ." He drew from the Copernican system the necessity of a new philosophy, and of a new religion which would agree with that philosophy. He avowed that he had come to Wittemberg with the determination to destroy the philosophy which men had received for centuries, and to also destroy Christianity, because that religion could not be made to agree with the latest discoveries and criterions of science. His theories produced no

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 125.

great excitement in the stolid Wittenbergers, probably because they were familiar with the equally insane ravings of their Lutheran teachers. In fact, Bruno felt that he was justified in congratulating his auditors, because "they did not turn up their noses at him, nor grind their teeth, nor puff out their cheeks, nor hammer on the benches" (1). Of course the Nolan affected to think, and perhaps he did think, that the Wittenberg authorities tolerated him because of his immense reputation; and therefore he flattered them by declaring that he had never met any pupils who knew so well how to preserve intact their philosophical liberty (2). During his second year in Wittenberg, Bruno lectured on the *Organon* of Aristotle; but ere the course was finished, he bade an "affectionate" farewell to the birthplace of the Reformation. He tells us why he abandoned a city which furnished him with ample means of living, and with full liberty to spout his vagaries. "I found in Wittenberg two factions, Calvinist philosophers and Lutheran theologians; and among the latter was Alberico Gentile, whom I had known in England as a professor of jurisprudence. This gentleman favored me greatly, and procured for me a chair from which I dictated lectures; but when death came to the old duke, a Lutheran, and he was succeeded by his Calvinist son, the Lutheran party was persecuted, and therefore I proceeded to Prague" (3). It is evident, therefore, that it was a sort of gratitude which impelled Bruno to eulogize Luther, the spiritual father of his protectors, styling him "the liberator of genius, the sole Reformer who prepared the way for the triumph of reason, the new Hercules who battered down the adamantine gates of hell."

In Bohemia our wanderer followed a line of conduct very different from that which he had pursued in Switzerland, France, England, and Germany. Since the emperor Rudolph II., although forced to tolerate heresy in Germany, was determined to prevent that pest from desolating his kingdom of Bohemia, the Nolan deemed it prudent to abstain from his ordinary tenor of language; and he avoided care-

(1) "Non nasum intortistis, non sannas exacuistis, buccæ non sunt inflatæ, pulpita non strepuerunt, in me non est furor scholasticus incitatus."—*Latin Works*, p. 624.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Venetian Trial, *Allegation IX.*

fully the society of all whose orthodoxy was questioned. Being unable to teach, he tried to obtain funds by publishing one hundred and sixty *Theses Against the Mathematicians and Philosophers of the Day*, dedicating the work to the emperor, and naturally eschewing many of his real sentiments. But in spite of his care, the general tone of the book was such that Rudolph, while sending to him a present of 300 thalers, requested him to leave the country. The duchy of Brunswick next received the honor of a visit from Bruno; but he tried in vain to obtain an introduction to court circles. Bartholmess and some other biographers of the Nolan say that he was charged with the education of the duke Henry Julius; but Bruno would have mentioned that fact in some one of his works, had it really happened. He never omitted the slightest opportunity of drawing attention to anything which would indicate his importance. Again, the duke Henry Julius was twenty-five years old when Bruno arrived in Helmstaedt, the capital of Brunswick. In the spring of 1590 he saw himself menaced with persecution by the Evangelico-Lutherans of Helmstaedt; and he proceeded to Frankfort, where religious animosities were then less rampant than in any other city of Germany. During his trial at Venice, Bruno stated that his object in visiting Frankfort was the publication of his work entitled *Number, Monad, and Figure*. Having given this book to the press, he paid a short visit to Zurich, where he replenished his purse by giving private lessons in philosophy, and also busied himself in the preparation of a work which, according to him, was to have been a complete development of every human science (1). He had scarcely returned to Frankfort, when he abandoned the comparative comfort which he was enjoying; and went to Venice, the land of The Ten and a hot-bed of the Inquisition. Some writers discern a trick of the Holy Office in this risky proceeding; others ascribe it to an irresistible longing to breathe again the air of beautiful Italy. It appears, however, that the sole cause of this journey to Venice, which was to entail the catastrophe of Bruno's life, was his consummate and

(1) So he told Bertano, a bookseller of Antwerp, whom he met in Zurich, and who thus testified in the Venetian trial. See *Allegation VI*.

irrepressible vanity, his overpowering desire of being an object of interest. A bookseller, Ciotto by name, returning in 1591 from the Lenten Fair of Frankfort, brought to Venice a copy of the book just published by Bruno. The work fell into the hands of Giovanni Mocenigo, an influential patrician; and it filled him with such raptures, that he sent a highly complimentary letter to the author, and begged him to come to Venice, tendering him the hospitality of the Mocenigo palace, and expressing his desire to study sublime philosophy under so consummate a master. Confident that the protection of so powerful a patrician as Mocenigo would ward off any annoyance on the part of the orthodox Most Serene Republic (1), Bruno hastened to the shores of the Adriatic. So long as he restricted his teachings to an explanation of his "Art of Memory," of which Mocenigo was especially enamored, his protector continued to esteem him; but the poor man could not avoid, for any length of time, a satisfaction of his animosity against Christianity. The true character of his guest was made evident to the patrician by declamations like the following: "The system presented by the Church is not that which the Apostles advanced. . . . The assertion that God is triune is a display of ignorance and a blasphemy against the Divine Majesty. . . . All friars are asses. . . . I am very fond of women; but as yet I have not enjoyed as many as Solomon enjoyed. Certainly the Church errs egregiously when she condemns as sin that which is perfectly natural, and which I hold to be a very meritorious thing." Mocenigo rebuked Bruno for these and similar utterances. "I told him that he was worse than a Lutheran, and that I was a good Catholic; that he should confine himself to the subjects that I wished him to explain, when I invited him to my house. He laughed, and replied: 'When you rise from the grave, you will see how much of a reward

(1) The Mocenigo family was one of the most conspicuous among the Venetian aristocracy. It had already given four doges to the republic; Tommaso in 1414, Pietro in 1474, Giovanni in 1478, and Alvise in 1570. The denouncer of Bruno should not be confounded with that Giovanni who went as ambassador to France in 1558, nor with that one who was commissary in Candia some years later. The Giovanni of Bruno's acquaintance was one of the *Savi in Eresia* (Experts in Heresy)—three nobles who were chosen annually to report to the doge every movement of the Inquisition, and whose presence at trials was necessary for the validity of all the acts of the tribunal. See the *Familiar Letters of Gior. Battista Leoni*; Venice, 1592.

you will have merited by your goodness'' (1). Shortly after this ebullition Bruno visited Padua; "for what would his contemporaries have thought of the reformer of the heavenly and sublunary worlds, if he had never cut any figure at Padua?" (2) But the "herald of modern thought" was not appreciated in the home of the great University; he obtained very few pupils, and they were foreigners. After a stay of two months, the emptiness of his purse forced him to return to Venice; and during the night of May 23, 1592, emissaries of the Holy Office took him from the palace of Mocenigo, and lodged him in the prison of the Inquisition.

Six days after his arrest, Bruno was led before the tribunal which, according to the laws of Venice, was to decide whether he was a pertinacious heretic, and therefore subject to the penalty provided for such enemies of both Church and State. The members of the court were Mgr. Taberna, the Apostolic nuncio; Mgr. Lorenzo Priuli, patriarch of Venice, who had been Venetian ambassador in France, while Bruno was lecturing in Paris; the inquisitor, Fra Giovanni Gabriele da Saluzzo, a most virtuous and erudite Dominican; and the three "experts in heresy," Luigi Foscarini, Sebastiano Barbarigo, and Tommaso Morosini—all, as their names indicate, members of the first families of the republic. The charges formulated in the denunciation of Bruno by Mocenigo were that the accused had repeatedly taught: I. That Catholics blaspheme when they say that in the Mass the bread and wine are transubstantiated into the Body and Blood of our Saviour. II. That the Holy Mass is an imposture. III. That all religions are false. IV. That Christ was a wretch, and a worker of evil deeds. V. That a distinction of three Persons in God would be an imperfection. VI. That our world is eternal, and that there is an infinity of worlds. VII. That God is continually making an infinite number of worlds. VIII. That Christ's miracles were only apparent ones, and that Christ was a magician. The Apostles were also magicians. He (Bruno) could work as many miracles as Christ, and more. Christ did not die voluntarily, and He fled whenever He was able. IX. That there is no

(1) Venetian trial, *Allegation VIII.*

(2) PREVITI; *loc. cit.*, bk. I., ch. xiii.

punishment for sin ; that the soul, the work of nature and not of God, passes from one animal into another ; and that men are born of corruption, like the brutes. X. That the Blessed Virgin could not, if a virgin, have given birth to Christ. XI. That the Catholic Faith is full of blasphemies against the Majesty of God. XII. That it cannot be proved that our faith merits anything before God. XIII. That in order to live properly, it is enough to do as we would have others do to us ; and that God laughs at all sins other than the violation of this principle. To this summary of Bruno's teachings, Mocenigo added that the accused had asserted that in comparison with his knowledge, that of St. Thomas and of all the other Doctors of the Church was nothing.

At the very outset of his trial, Bruno strove to ingratiate himself with his judges, protesting that he desired to be readmitted into the pale of the Church, and avowing repentance for having spoken and written "too philosophically, too rashly, and not sufficiently like a Christian." They who hold that the Nolan philosopher was ever determined to lay down his life in the cause of "truth," so violently oppressed by the Roman Church, should reflect on this appeal to the Venetian inquisitors : "I detest, abhor, and repent of having fallen into all the heresies and errors of which I have been guilty ; as well as all the doubts which I have expressed in regard to matters of Catholic faith. And I beseech this holy tribunal, which knows my weakness, to receive me into the bosom of the Holy Church, providing me with the opportune means for my salvation" (1). Two months were now allowed to Bruno for the consideration of his miserable position ; and when he was brought again into court, he repeated his avowal of repentance, finally falling on his knees, and exclaiming : "I humbly beg pardon from God, and from your lordships, for all my errors ; and I declare myself ready to comply with all that your prudence may order as expedient for my soul. And I beg you to punish me severely, so that by a public demonstration of penance I may cleanse my monastic habit from the stain I have put upon it ; but if, through the mercy of God and of your lordships, my life is spared, I shall so re-

(1) Venetian Trial, *Allegation XIII.*

form it that its tenor will be as edifying as it has hitherto been scandalous" (1). Had this protestation been sincere, the Roman catastrophe would not have occurred; but the event proved that the unfortunate was only aiming at a dismissal, with a view to a return to Frankfort, and to his vomit. The Venetian tribunal pronounced no judgment in the case; but on June 12, Cardinal Sanseverino demanded, on the part of the Holy See, the extradition of Bruno, that he might be tried by the Roman Inquisition. The request was granted on January 15, 1593 (not 1598, as asserted by Schopp and some biographers); and on Feb. 27, the unfortunate was lodged in the prison of the Holy Office in Rome (2).

After seven years of patient and charitable effort to induce Bruno to make a sincere retractation of his heresies, and when it had become evident that the recantation at Venice had been a mere mockery of truth, the Holy Office proceeded to the solemn degradation of the culprit, and to his condemnation to the stake. The sentence seems to have been executed; the unfortunate dying in his obstinacy, and, according to Schopp, contemptuously turning his gaze away from the crucifix which was held in encouragement before him. We say that the sentence "seems" to have been executed; for until 1891 the arguments showing that the execution was merely in effigy were more conclusive than were those which indicated its reality. A letter purporting to be from Gaspar Schopp, who was then residing in Rome (3), describes the execution; but many good critics have denied the authenticity of this epistle. Again, Schopp is alone in his assertion. The Vatican Archives contain documents of the trial, but not of

(1) *Ibid.*, Allegation XVII.

(2) The decree for the extradition of Bruno was signed by the doge Pasquale Cicogna, the same who had, a few months previously, appointed Galileo to a chair of mathematics in the University of Padua. Berti finds inconsistency in the dual action; but it was rather an indication of impartiality and good judgment.

(3) Convinced of his errors by the study of Baronio's *Annals*, this Lutheran scholar became a Catholic. Invited to Rome by Clement VIII., he wrote many pamphlets in defence of Catholicism, the Papacy, etc. But he was very litigious, and was given to paradoxes. In his presumed letter he says of Bruno's errors: "The Inquisition did not impute Lutheran doctrines to him. He was charged with having compared the Holy Ghost to the soul of the world; Moses, the prophets, the apostles, and even Christ, to the pagan hierophants. He admitted many Adams and many Hercules. He believed in magic, or at least he upheld it, and taught that Moses and Christ practised it. Whatever errors have been taught by the ancient pagans or by the most recent heretics were all advanced by this Bruno." (CANTU, *Illustrious Italians*, art. Bruno.)

the condemnation, nor is there any account of the execution ; whereas, in every similar case, both of these are detailed. Again, the *Relations* of the foreign ambassadors resident at the Holy See, which never omitted any such items, say nothing of this event. Not even in the correspondence of the Venetian ambassador, the agent of that Government which must have felt an especial interest in the fate of Bruno, since it had initiated his downfall, do we find any allusion to the alleged catastrophe (1). Cantù cites a MS. of the Medicean Archives (No. 1608), dated at Rome on the very day of Bruno's trial, which narrates the burning of an apostate friar a few days before. Here some mention of Bruno's catastrophe would naturally occur, but there is not a word. Finally, the celebrated Servite, Friar Paul Sarpi, who never missed an opportunity of attacking what he feigned to regard as Roman intolerance, Roman treachery, etc., although he continued this course for many years after the trial of Bruno (2), and although his own position of antagonism with the Roman *Curia* perforce kept him on the lookout for instances which might inculpate Rome and justify the recent rebellious conduct of Venice toward the Holy See, never alludes to the alleged fate of Bruno. The same silence is found in Ciaconio, Sandrini, Alfani, Manno, and d'Ossat, all of whom would scarcely have omitted to notice so important an event, had it really occurred. And how is it that the *Martyrology* of the Protestants is also silent on this matter? Truly, Bruno was no more a Protestant than he was a Buddhist ; but in those days, just as in our own, any person of Christian ancestry who antagonized Rome, and did not avow himself a Jew or a pagan, was claimed as their own by all the progeny of Luther. Such are the arguments which, until quite recently, appeared to justify the belief that Bruno was burnt in effigy, not in person. But in 1891 a document was

(1) The *Relations* of the Venetian ambassadors to the home government are rightly regarded by historians as the most precious, both for detail and accuracy, of all available sources for a knowledge of the events of the time.

(2) As late as December 6, 1611, we find Sarpi describing the execution at Rome (by strangling) of the French Abbé Dubois, for libels against the Jesuits, and claiming that the unfortunate had received a safe-conduct before journeying to Rome. At the same time he greatly decries Schopp, whom he describes as "meriting a greater punishment than burning in effigy."

unearthed, which leads us to believe that the philosopher of Nola did perish at the stake. Among the many institutions of mercy which have, for centuries, formed one of the chief glories of the Eternal City, one of the most interesting is that of the Confraternity of San Giovanni Decollato, the members of which devote themselves to the preparation of the capitally condemned for a happy death. For centuries this society has kept an exact record of all its unfortunate clients. Now, in the *Journal* of the "provisor" of the confraternity, which contains an account of the executions attended by the brethren from May 14, 1598 to Sept. 1, 1602, certain investigators appointed by the Crispi administration found, on page 87, the following narrative: "On Thursday, Feb. 16, 1600, at two hours of the night, it was intimated to our Company that in the morning justice was to be vindicated on an impenitent friar. Therefore, at six hours of the night the chaplain and the consolers, having assembled in Sant' Orsola, and having gone to the prison of Torre del Nona, and entered our chapel, and having made the accustomed prayers, the condemned apostate friar, Giordano Bruni (*sic*), a native of Nola in Naples, an impenitent heretic, was introduced. He having been exhorted by our brethren with all charity, we having also called to the work two Dominican priests, two from the Gesù, two Oratorians, and a Hieronymite. With every mark of affection and with much erudition, these priests showed the miserable man his many errors, but he remained fixed in his accursed obstinacy, confusing his intellect with a thousand perversities. His determination proving invincible, he was led by the officers of justice to the Campo di Fiori, and there having been stripped and bound to a stake, he was burned alive, our Company constantly chanting the Litanies, and the comforters exhorting him to the very last moment to abandon his obstinacy. But he finished his miserable life in it." Thus the question of the fate of the Philosopher of Nola appears to be finally settled. There need be no suspicion cast, great though be the temptation to do so, upon the authenticity of the decisive document; for although the unscrupulous Crispi presided at its delivery from the bowels of oblivion, the members of the Confraternity of San Giovanni De-

collato admitted that it was transcribed from their records.

We are not disposed to apologize for the Inquisition in the matter of its treatment of Bruno; undoubtedly the ends of justice and the interests of society would have been met most amply, had he been kept in rigid seclusion during the term of his natural life. As to the rights of the Holy Office in the premises, they have been vindicated by us in an apposite dissertation (1). Concerning the philosophy of the Nolan, the scope of our work forbids our saying more than we have said; however, we may observe with Previti that "Bruno had all the weaknesses of the pagan philosophers, all the hypocrisies of the Byzantine heretics, all the impudence of the innovators of his day, all the unbridledness of the sophists of the eighteenth century, and all the intolerance of our modern free-thinkers" (2). Some have regarded him as a heretic, others as an atheist; the fact is that he was each in turn, for in one and the same treatise you will find him a pantheist and a materialist, a sceptic and an incredulist, a Lutheranizer and an Arian. His admirers have affected to compare him with the Angelic Doctor; but in the sketch of his life and doctrines which we have given—a sketch which is brief indeed, but wanting in no important feature—where is the indication that he ever effected anything great, advanced anything new, opened up any new horizon for modern thought, or gave any impulse to his age? There have been hundreds of Italian speculatists whose intellects were more brilliant, their erudition more profound and exact, than those of Bruno; but the modern mania for "statuefication" has never been excited in their regard. In truth, it is not the genius of Bruno that is apotheosized in the Campo dei Fiori; it is the renegade from Catholicism, the deserter from the cloister, the foe of the Roman Pontiff, the contemner of Catholic philosophy, the hater of "everything which is called God."

(1) Vol. II., ch. xxxl.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, p. 6.

APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Of the Roman Pontiffs, Rulers of Principal Nations, Principal Councils, Ecclesiastical Writers, and Heretics.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Holy Rom. Emp'rs.</i>	<i>Eastern Emperors.</i>	<i>Eccl. Writers.</i>
<i>Date of Election.</i>	<i>Date of Death.</i>	<i>Date of Death.</i>	
Innocent VII., 1404	Wenceslaus(dep.), 1400	Manuel, 1425	Peter d'Ailly.
Gregory XII., 1406	Robert, 1410	John Paleologus	St. Vincent Ferrer.
Alexander V., 1409	Sigismund, 1437	II., 1448	John Gerson.
John XXIII., 1410	Albert II., 1439		Thomas De Walden.
Martin V., 1417	Frederick III., 1493	<i>Kings of England.</i>	St. Bernadine of Si-
Eugene IV., 1431		<i>Date of Death.</i>	ena.
Nicholas V., 1447	<i>Kings of France.</i>		Nicholas Tudeschl.
Calixtus III., 1455	<i>Date of Death.</i>	Henry IV., 1413	Alphonsus Tostat.
Pius II., 1458		Henry V., 1422	St. Lawrence Justin-
Paul II., 1464	Charles VI., 1422	Henry VI., 1471	ian.
Sixtus IV., 1471	Charles VII., 1461	Edward IV., 1483	St. John Capistrano.
Innocent VIII., 1484	Louis XI., 1483	Edward V., 1483	St. Antonine of Flor-
Alexander VI., 1492	Charles VIII., 1498	Richard III., 1485	ence.
			Nicholas Cusanus.
			John Torquemada.
			Denis the Carthusian.
			Thomas à Kempis.
			Bessarion.
			Platina.
			Gabriel Biel.

COUNCILS :

About 150 : Pisa, Constance, Basel, and the Sixteenth General (of Florence).

HERETICS :

John Huss, Jerome of Prague, Adamites, Peter De Osma, Fossaril.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Holy Rom. Emp'rs.</i>	<i>Kings of Spain.</i>	<i>Eccl. Writers.</i>
<i>Date of Election.</i>	<i>Date of Death.</i>	<i>(After the Union of the Var-</i> <i>ious Kingdoms.)</i>	
Pius III., 1503	Maximilian I., 1519	<i>Date of Death.</i>	Nicholas Tudeschl.
Julius II., 1503	Charles V., 1558		Tostat.
Leo X., 1513	Ferdinand I., 1564	Ferdinand the	St. Lawrence Justin-
Adrian VI., 1522	Maximilian II., 1576	Catholic, 1516	ian.
Clement VII., 1522		Charles V. (abd.), 1556	St. John Capistrano.
Paul III., 1534	<i>Kings of France.</i>	Philip II., 1598	St. Antoninus.
Julius III., 1550	<i>Date of Death.</i>		Nicholas Cusanus.
Marcellus II., 1555		<i>Kings of England.</i>	John Torquemada.
Paul IV., 1555	Louis XII., 1515	<i>Date of Death.</i>	Thomas à Kempis.
Pius IV., 1559	Francis I., 1547		Denis the Carthusian.
St. Pius V., 1566	Henry II., 1559	Henry VIII., 1547	Bessarion.
Gregory XIII., 1572	Francis II., 1560	Edward VI., 1553	Cajetan.
Sixtus V., 1585	Charles IX., 1574	Mary, 1558	Blessed John Fisher.
Urban VII., 1590	Henry III., 1589	Elizabeth, 1603	Erasmus.
Gregory XIV., 1590			Sadoletto.
Innocent IX., 1591			Pole.
Clement VIII., 1592			Melchior Canus.
			Soto.
			Louis de Blois.
			St. Charles Borromeo.
			Louis of Granada.
			Toledo.

COUNCILS :

About 100. Seventeenth General (of Trent).

HERETICS :

Luther, Zwingle, Calvin, Anabaptists, Anglicans, Anti-Trinitarians.

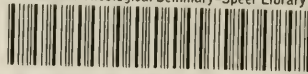
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STUDIES
IN
CHURCH HISTORY

BY

REV. REUBEN PARSONS, D. D.

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“That a theologian should be well versed in history, is shown by the fate of those who, through ignorance of history, have fallen into error. Whenever we theologians preach, argue, or explain Holy Writ, we enter the domain of history.”—

MELCHIOR CANUS, *Loc. Theol.*, B. XI., c. ii.

JOHN JOSEPH McVEY
PHILADELPHIA

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STUDIES IN CHURCH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE PONTIFICATE OF PAUL V. THE INTERDICT OF VENICE. THE PROHIBITION OF THE ENGLISH TEST OATH.

Pope Leo XI. (Alessandro dei Medici), the successor of Clement VIII., having died after a reign of only twenty-six days (1), sixty cardinals entered into Conclave, and on May 16, 1605, Camillo Borghese mounted the pontifical throne as Pope Paul V. Contemporary authors agree in asserting that Borghese had manifested, during his entire ecclesiastical career, every virtue befitting his state of life, and a more than ordinary capacity for government. As Fortiff, he was ever a lover of peace; and his every thought was directed to the preservation and spread of the Catholic faith. As Pope-King, he was lavish and unceasing in augmenting the artistic beauties of his capital; and his chief biographer, Bzovius, is eloquent in a description of all that this reign effected for the comfort and æsthetic delectation of the Romans. The visitor to the Eternal City especially lauds the memory of Paul V. when his admiring eyes are directed to the beauties of the Borghese Chapel in the Liberian Basilica, to the magnificent halls with which this Pontiff embellished the Quirinal, and above all, to what he effected for the completion of the Basilica of the Apostles; the artist and the architect will delight

(1) The totally unexpected death of this Pontiff gave rise to a report that he had been poisoned by means of a rose which was given to him during the ceremonies of his installation in the Lateran; but Cardinal Du Perron, who was present at the autopsy, testified that it proved that the death was due to catarrh of the stomach, superinduced by the exhaustion entailed by the long and fatiguing ceremonies in the basilica. When it became evident that the Pope would not survive his illness, great pressure was brought to bear upon him that he might be induced to enroll his grand-nephew in the Sacred College. The young man was worthy; but this scion of the Medici was of mould different from that of Leo X. and Clement VII., and he declared that it should never be said that he had effected nothing as Pope but the greater aggrandizement of his family. When his confessor joined the suppliant, he dismissed the imprudent man from his presence, chose another director, and would never again see the culprit. MURATORI; at y. 1605.—STRINGA *Life of Leo XI.*

in reading of the energy and generosity which he manifested in this, his greatest work, as they are set forth in the pages of Uldoini, Angelo Rocca, and Bonanni. In fine, as head of the Church, the fifth Paul was zealous; as man, his virtue was unimpeachable; as Pope-King, however, it must be admitted that his excessive nepotism prevented his subjects from praising him, as they otherwise would have gladly done, as one of the best of their sovereigns (1).

One of the first acts of Pope Paul V. was an assembling of the Congregation *De Divinis Auxiliis* which, as we have already noted, had been instituted by Clement VIII. for the purpose of producing harmony between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, then disputing most virulently on the relations of grace with free-will. Sixteen sessions of this body were held; and then, in 1606, for reasons which are not known, and also because of the controversy with the Venetian oligarchs, of which we shall soon treat, the Pontiff decided to promulgate no doctrinal decision. But having summoned the generals of the Friars-Preachers and the Society of Jesus, he handed to each the following Rescript: "In the matter *De Auxiliis* his Holiness, our lord the Pope, has signified to the debaters and consultors that they may retire to their homes. And his Holiness has declared that he will promulgate a declaration of his decision at some opportune time; but meanwhile he enjoins most severely on each party, when treating of this subject, not to dare to censure or in any way characterize the other. The Friars-Preachers and the Jesuits are both ordered to punish severely any of their members who may be delinquent in this matter. His Holiness wishes this his decree to be held inviolate; and therefore your Paternity will not be unfaithful to your office by neglecting to watch over its observance. Furthermore, each one of you will

(1) "The sole complaint made against this pontificate was founded on the Pope's excessive gifts to his nephews, who built, both inside and outside of Rome, palaces which were sufficiently superb to rival those of kings. One nephew alone, the prince of Sulmona, had an annual revenue of 100,000, and some say of 200,000 scudi, besides the money in his treasury. And no wonder; when Cardinal Borghese, he who had been Scipio Caffarelli, son of a sister of the Pope, was despotic minister in the holy court, and whenever an office became vacant, he gave it to some relative, thus causing public discontent. Therefore it was that Andrew Vettorelli said of this Pontiff: 'Had he been waiting in this characteristic profusion towards his relatives, all men say that he would have been regarded as one of the most blessed of Popes.'" MURATORI; *loc. cit.*

take occasion to inform his Holiness as to what you may have done in the premises." This decree was immediately forwarded by the Holy Office to the apostolic nuncios at Florence, Cracow, Naples, Venice, Madrid, Prague, and to those in France and Savoy; as well as to the inquisitors-general in Spain, Portugal, Milan, Genoa, Turin, Avignon, Malta, the Puglia, Sardinia, and Sicily; all of whom were enjoined to promulgate the document in their respective jurisdictions. We may here observe that on Dec. 1, 1611, Paul V. strictly prohibited the publication of any work treating of the disputed points, "even though said work advanced the pretext of commenting on St. Thomas, *aut alio modo*"; and that this prohibition was renewed by Urban VIII. on May 22, 1625, by Innocent X. on April 23, 1656, and by Innocent XII. on Jan. 28 and Feb. 6, 1694 (1).

No people have been more firm in their devotion to the Catholic faith than were the citizens of the venerable Venetian Republic, while that state existed as an independent nationality. And nevertheless we are about to narrate an episode of Venetian history, which has but few parallels in the annals of rebellion and schism. The reader must know that the Republic of Venice was the first state to receive the decrees of the Council of Trent; and that as a token of his appreciation of its promptitude, Pope Pius IV. presented to *La Serenissima* the magnificent palace in Rome yet styled "*di Venezia*"—a regal gift which elicited from the proud oligarchs the return present of the majestic palace "*Gritti*" in Venice, as a residence for the papal nuncios. But these interchanges of courtesy were by no means indicative of sterling sympathy between the *political* cabinets of Rome and Venice. Zealous as the Venetians had ever been in their attachment to Catholic doctrine and to every Catholic custom, they had, from

(1) "Would that both of the contending parties had observed this silence! As for me, although I shall ever cling to those columns of the Church, Sts. Augustine and Thomas, most firmly, and therefore shall ever believe in the doctrine of grace which is efficacious *per se* and gratuitous unto the glory of predestination; nevertheless I shall never be led out of that harbor of safety, a religious silence on this matter of controversy, which I have chosen, nor shall I ever fail to show a sincere and public reverence for the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs. And undoubtedly this resolution and refuge will be embraced by whoever is truly wise, and wishes for a quiet life." AMAT DE GRAVESON; *Eccles. Hist.*, Cent. XVII., Conversation ii.

time immemorial, been extremely jealous, suspicious, and extravagantly independent, in all their secular dealings with the Popes. Long before the days of Febronius, Giannone, etc., they had conceived the idea of the quasi-divinity of their state, and in their blind devotion to it, had advanced in what is now called "liberalism"—be it understood, however, only in their relations with Church disciplinary authority—as far as their Catholicism, in its utmost latitude, would allow. Thus, for centuries, the Republic had reserved to itself the right to build new churches or convents; all control over instruction, unless the purely religious; the regulation and protection of all the externals of divine worship; the examination of all documents arriving from Rome, and the consequent right of granting the *exequatur*. "We are slaves to our laws, and hence our liberty," grandiosely said their Serenities of *La Signoria* in excuse to Pope Pius IV. for their refusal to receive a bishop of his nomination. Ecclesiastical immunity was nearly a mere name in Venice, and the clergy were excluded from every governmental employment. In the debates of the Council, if affairs with Rome were brought forward, the doors were opened for the exit of all *papalisti*, i. e., all who had relatives or even intimate friends in the Roman States; and in 1525 the Ten had decreed that no debate on a Roman question could be shared by any member who had children, nephews, or nieces, in the Religious Orders. At the time of Paul V., the oligarchy had become so jealous of its jurisdiction over all ecclesiastics, that the Inquisitors of State having heard that guests of the papal nuncio had contended that "the secular government cannot judge clerics, unless permitted by a pontifical indult," it was ordered that any Venetian prelate who thus expressed himself, "should be described, in a book kept for such purpose, as *but little liked*, and occasion should be sought for the sequestration of his revenues; if he persisted, the utmost rigor should be used toward him, for gangrene needs iron and fire" (1). From time immemorial the Venetians had prohibited clergymen from holding real estate, and at this period they were compelled to sell any such property which they had acquired even

(1) *Statutes of the Inquisition of State*; Supplement, art. 3.

by the last will of a parent. It may be readily imagined that this state of things was not acceptable to a Pontiff like Paul V., a man of rigorous virtue, who was convinced that the Holy Spirit had prompted his election precisely in order to remedy the abuses which had lowered the dignity of the Holy See; who instituted a commission for the devisement of means "to check the presumption of secular government"; and who was wont to declare: "There can be no true piety, where an entire submission to the spiritual power is wanting." Very soon after his election this Pontiff anticipated a remark which the "great" Prussian Frederick is said to have made in reference to the meddlesomeness of the emperor Joseph II. Addressing the Venetian ambassador, Conterini, our Pontiff said: "My lord, we very much regret to learn that the Ten wish to play the sacristan, prescribing the hour for closing the churches, etc."

At first, Paul V. contented himself with beseeching the doge for a change in the republic's methods; but soon he felt it incumbent upon the Holy See to adopt severe measures. The crisis was precipitated by the imprisonment of two ecclesiastics by order of the Ten, and their threatened trial for immoralities by a civil tribunal. This violation of clerical immunity from civil process was considered by forty-one cardinals in full Consistory; and they all, with one sole exception—a Venetian—approved of the papal design to launch the censures of the Church upon the contumacious oligarchs. Accordingly, on Dec. 25, 1605, Pope Paul issued a Bull whereby excommunication and interdict were pronounced against the Venetians if, within twenty-four days, they did not submit to the wishes of the Holy See. Their Serenities expressed much grief on account of the pontifical action: but they manifested no symptoms of an inclination to yield. They even threatened to punish severely all persons who would dare to promulgate the Bull of Interdict, and they ordered the parish clergy to continue the administration of the Sacraments. The recalcitrants were either fined and imprisoned, or exiled. Among the banished were nearly all the Capuchins, Jesuits, and Theatines, who retired in processional order, bearing candles in their hands and crucifixes on their breasts.

But it is worthy of note, and the *Italianissimi* of our day would do well to observe the fact, that amid all the mental effervescence entailed by this disturbance of every religious relation, their Serenities suffered no insults to be offered to the clergy, and they tolerated no outrages against sacred things. On one occasion, when a friar allowed himself to indulge in invectives against the Holy Father, saying, among other absurdities, that Paul had become Saul, the Ten severely admonished the cowed censor; and as an "admonition" of their Serenities generally guaranteed its own observance, the complaints of such gentry against their chief superior were thereafter heard only in their own convents. It appears that, as a rule, the friars arrayed themselves, as far as they could, on the side of the oligarchs in this lamentable dissension with the Pope. Gregorio Leti was not absolutely mendacious when he asserted, in his buffoonesque *Life of Sixtus V.*, that "the Venetian friars would renounce, so to speak, God Himself, let alone the Pope and religion, for the sake of the republic"; but few will agree with Leti when he adds: "All friars should do the same; although I must admit that there are many scandalous instances of friars refusing to thus serve their sovereign." When so many religious were found wanting in the true spirit of their vocation, we need not be surprised on learning that there appeared innumerable pamphlets and other more pretentious works in attempted refutation of the equally innumerable vindications of the papal action which then saw the light (1). Among these "apologies" for the Holy See the most noteworthy was written by Cardinal Bellarmine at the request of the Pontiff, who was convinced that the known moderation of the great controversialist would avoid embittering the Most Serene, while contending for the just claims of the Holy See (2). It was not the fault of Bel-

(1) See the *Collection of Works on the Interdict Issued by the Presses of Venice and Rome*; Coira, 1607.

(2) Francesco Romolo Roberto Bellarmino, better known by us as Bellarmine, was born in 1542 at Montepulciano, near Florence, and was a nephew of Pope Marcellus II. (Marcello Cervino). At the age of eighteen, he entered the Society of Jesus; and in 1570 he was appointed to a chair of theology in Louvain, being the first Jesuit to occupy that position in the Belgian University. Here he taught for nearly seven years; finding time to compose a *Hebrew Grammar* and a work on *Ecclesiastical Writers*, as well as to take part in the Balan controversy. The years between 1576 and 1590 found him delivering in Rome the polemical lectures which form the body of his chief and truly great production, the *Con-*

larmino that Pope Paul V. did not abstain from his condign punishment of the oligarchs. In the Consistory in which the project was debated, many of their Eminences vented their indignation against the republic in bitter terms; Bellarmine breathed naught but reconciliation. This fact was well known, and hence the confidence of the Pontiff that with the aid of the cardinal of Capua he would gain the victory. Addressing their Serenities, the papal champion demonstrated that the arguments adduced by certain theologians in favor of the Venetian assumptions were without foundation. When those theologians, argued Bellarmine, tried to prove that the republic could with propriety condemn the papal censures, they adduced false interpretations of passages of Holy Writ. Their views were diametrically contrary to the Canons and ancient practice of the Church; and as to their citation of Gerson, they should have remembered that the great Frenchman was speaking, in the adduced passage, of circumstances afflicting the Church during the Great Western Schism, when a plurality of contending claimants for the tiara justified assumptions which could have no foundation when the Papacy

troversies Concerning Christian Faith, a work which is still unrivalled, and is especially praiseworthy for its author's gentlemanly treatment of his adversaries, more than one of whom were incapable of understanding such a method of argumentation. His treatise on the *Transfer of the Roman Empire from the Greeks to the Franks*, written in refutation of the courtier-theologistic absurdities of the Illyrian, Flaccus (See our vol. ii., p. 34), enhanced the reputation of Bellarmine as a polemic; and in 1589 Sixtus V. sent him to France as an assistant to the papal legate. He faithfully followed the Pontiff's policy in regard to the League, resisting all endeavors to make him a declared partisan of that association, and confining himself to ecclesiastical matters. Gregory XIV., more partial to the League than Sixtus V. had been, recalled Bellarmine from France, and for two years the theological athlete was provincial of the Neapolitan Jesuits. In 1597, Clement VIII. appointed him an Inquisitor, a member of the Congregation for the Examination of Bishops, and finally enrolled him in the Sacred College. In 1602, he was made archbishop of Capua, the Pontiff wishing, thinks Hefele, to have him at a distance. The probable motive of this deprivation of favor was Bellarmine's having pronounced in favor of the doctrine on grace as it was interpreted by his order, although, in his *Controversies*, he had advocated the Thomistic theory. "Notwithstanding his olden opinion," says Hefele, "he took sides with his order, and tried to influence the Pope to do the same. When the public sessions of the Congregation *De Auxiliis* were begun, Bellarmine was sent away from Rome, at the demand, as it would seem, of the Dominicans; the Pontiff consenting the more readily because he himself was a Thomistic theologian, and Bellarmine had endeavored to prevent any decision of the matter." While Bellarmine was attending to his diocese of Capua, he composed his *Catechism*, which is probably the best ever written, and has been translated into every European tongue, and also into Arabic, Armenian, and Syriac. We shall meet with Bellarmine in his position of member of the Inquisition, when we treat of Galileo. Besides the *Answer to the Book of James, King of Britain*, Bellarmine wrote another work in the interest of the English Catholics, his adversary being the famous William Barclay, a Scotch Catholic lawyer, who having found that his faith debarred him from

enjoyed its normal conditions. The immunity of her servants from civil process was a sacred thing in the eyes of the Church; and the law which contravened this exemption, as well as the other enactments which the Holy See lamented, rendered the position of the Venetian clergy more intolerable than that of the vilest subjects of the republic. Then the cardinal conjured the doge and senators, so justly renowned for wisdom and justice, to reflect on the importance of this grievous dissension with the Roman Pontiff. Let them exercise that spirit of equity which had hitherto rendered their decisions celebrated in the annals of jurisprudence; and finally, urged his Eminence, let their Serenities not give reason to the enemies of the Church for rejoicing because the Pontiff was beset most sadly by his friends (1)

It is not to be supposed that the Venetian malcontents derived much satisfaction from the realization that their dissension with Rome was eagerly fomented by England, Holland, and the Grisons, all of whom thought to plant thereby the pretended Reformation in the very heart of Italy. But cer-

all chance of practising his profession in the British dominions, had gone to Antwerp as a teacher of law, and had there written a treatise on *The Power of the Pope*, in which he greatly restricted the power of the Pontiff in temporal matters. Bellarmine's reply, published in 1610, displeased the parliament of Paris, ever intent on sustaining the supposed prerogatives of its royal master in face of the temporal claims of the Holy See; and the work was solemnly condemned by parliamentary decree on Nov. 26, 1610, its sale being prohibited as high-treason against his Majesty. Thus the holy controversialist saw himself condemned as a too ultra papist by the French parliamentarians, while Pope Sixtus V. had reproved him for granting to the Pontiff merely an *indirect* power in temporals, i. e., a power to be exercised only when the salvation of souls is jeopardized. In fact, Bellarmine's *Supreme Pontiff* had been placed on the *Index* by Sixtus V.; but Urban VII. erased the work from the list (For Bellarmine's theory, see our vol. ii., p. 203). The sanctity of Bellarmine was evident throughout his life, and it is patent even in his controversies. His canonization has been frequently broached; but not until the time of Benedict XIV. did the cause appear destined even to an initiation and then the storm against the Jesuits was brewing, and policy may have induced the Holy See to hesitate in canonizing a member of an order against which the courts of France, Spain, Naples, and Parma were evidently bound to proceed to extremities. The *Controversies* of Bellarmine were the subject of more talk than any other works of their time; during the life of their author twenty-two volumes were issued in England and Germany against them. So great was the fame which he enjoyed, that his contemporaries narrated how a German stood outside the residence of the Jesuits in Rome for several days, accompanied by a notary-public; and when the cardinal finally came forth, the admiring Teuton simply gazed on him, and then having caused the official scribe to draw up an attestation to the effect that he had really seen the great writer, he returned to boast of the fact in his own country. In every Protestant University chairs were founded for the express purpose of "refuting" the arguments of Bellarmine. It is interesting to note that Bellarmine received the priesthood while he was teaching at Louvain, and at the hands of Jansenius, then bishop of Ypres.

(1) FRIZON; *Life of Bellarmine*; Nancy, 1708.

tainly they were encouraged to persist in their revolt by the arguments of Paolo Sarpi, that Servite friar whose work on the Council of Trent has already received our attention, and who was, without doubt, one of the most talented men of his century. As "theologian of the Republic," he declared that all civil rulers derive their power immediately from God, and that said power is therefore independent of both Pontiff and people. In fact, the distinctive characteristic of Fra Paolo was an aversion to the Holy See. He contended that the power of the Pope was not to be blindly acknowledged; that each one of his commands should be scrutinized, in view of a determination as to its legitimacy and propriety; that an excommunication of a multitude was unjust and sacrilegious, and that the Tridentine Council erred when it pronounced that any one who persevered in the excommunicated state for a year, should be regarded as suspected of heresy; the secular magistracy had a perfect right to prevent the publication of a Bull of excommunication. Protestant polemics have affected to regard Fra Paolo as a sort of hero; but surely it required little courage to attack the *Curia Romana* in a Republic which was always most averse to the pretensions of that court. He has also been styled a liberal; but the Constitutions which he would have given to the Order of the Servites advise the use of torture; he would have no discussions in courts of justice; he wanted to oppress the colonies in the Levant; he thought that the entire Greek race was fit only for humiliations, scourgings, and a regimen of bread and water—"humanity should be kept in reserve for better peoples"; in certain affairs of state, he thought that secret poison was a better protector for the Republic than a public execution; he abominated the freedom of the press (1). Duplessis-Mornay, the "Pope of the Calvinists," and the physician Asselineau of Orleans, who were involved in the intrigues of Sarpi, hailed him as an Italian Luther; and Mornay writes that in 1609 the friar preached the Lenten course "with freedom and truth, to a large concourse of nobles and people, in spite of the remonstrances of the nuncio." Scaliger

(1) For these and other proofs of his illiberalism, see his *Opinion of Fra Paolo as to How the Republic Should be Governed, in Order to Have Perpetual Dominion*.

wrote, about that time, that Venice "would receive the Gospel very soon." Sarpi himself seems to have thought that the prospects of the Reformers in Italy were fairly bright, for, when writing, Feb. 18, 1612, about the "constancy in the faith" displayed by Marsilio, an apostatized Jesuit, he says: "I think that only reasons of state prevent many from coming out of the ditch of Rome." De Liquez, a companion of the famous Diodati, writes: "Fra Paolo assures me that he knows more than twelve or fifteen thousand persons who are ready to revolt against the Roman Church." Many of the Reformers thought that the French monarch, Henry IV., owing to his enmity to Austria, would favor the malcontents in Venice; but great was their consternation when this prince forwarded to their Serenities of the *Signoria* a letter of Diodati to Durand, a Calvinist preacher in Paris, in which the plots of the Venetian innovators were fully revealed. This direct denunciation (1) caused the oligarchs to reflect more seriously on their position in face of the head of the Church. The friends of the Pontiff began to breathe more freely, and Sarpi declared that "incredible harm had been effected by that letter" (2). Like all patriots of his stamp, he invoked the aid of foreigners. But Sully, although a Huguenot, preferred to use his influence to effect a reconciliation of their Serenities with Pope Paul. To the French monarch's prayers were now joined the good offices of Florence, the emperor, Spain, and Savoy; and in April, 1609, a papal nuncio was sent to Venice with very lenient conditions for a lifting of the interdict. The banished clerics, the Jesuits excepted, were to be allowed to return to the Republic; the *Serenissima* was to undergo no humiliation, nor was any retraction enjoined. Then the doge, Lionardo Donato, announced that "By the goodness of the Lord, the Holy Father had been enabled to perceive the candor of our hearts, the sincerity of our actions, and our continual deference toward the Holy See. The causes of the late differences were now removed; and their Serenities were well content to have attained the object

(1) Voltaire and Darn deny this move of King Henry, declaring that he would not have committed "so vile an action." But the *Memoirs of Duplessis-Mornay* leave no doubt in the matter.

(2) *Letter No. 44, to Dell' Isola.*

of their just desires, for they were devoted and most obsequious sons of the Holy See"; and therefore, the protestation against the late interdict was withdrawn by the Republic. It is to be noted that the two prisoners, who had been the occasion and the immediate cause of all the trouble, were placed aboard of two gondolas and given into the custody of Cardinal Joyeuse, the French ambassador to the Most Serene; his Eminence utilizing the opportunity to state that King Henry IV. had repeatedly enjoined him to advise the Venetians "to keep on good terms with the Pope."

Nicolo Contarini, afterward doge, a great friend of Fra Paolo, having been appointed historiographer of the *Serenissima*, wrote a narrative of the dissension; but when he died, the Ten sequestered the manuscript in the interests of peace. Afterward, the Senator, Anthony Querini, wrote another account which also remained unedited, but from which we are able to extract some of the author's conclusions after the late experience. 1. A contest which, even only in appearance, turns on religious affairs, is most dangerous, since it reaches into the very foundations of society. 2. The Pontiff will always have a great advantage in any contest, even though his claims be extravagant; for many temporal princes will aid him, both for the sake of his favor, and in order to oppress his opponents, under the cloak of religious zeal. 3. Nothing can be more dangerous to the public weal than a disagreement with the Pope. 4. If the Republic did not lose reputation in this struggle, since it did not abolish the contentious laws, nevertheless it yielded up the two prisoners (whose incarceration was the proximate bone of contention); and the two most powerful monarchs in the world guaranteed to the Pontiff that the *Serenissima* would never again enforce those laws.

The author of the *Defense of the Declaration of the French Clergy in 1682*, generally supposed to have been Bossuet, wishing to decry every pontifical interference with the temporal affairs of princes, finds comfort in the fact that Paul V. did not depose the Venetian doge or the Ten, as, for instance, St. Gregory VII. deposed the German Henry IV. The same author gladly acclaims the alleged fact that all the Venetians obeyed their Senate rather than Rome; and he rejoices in the

Senate's triumph which was effected by the continuance of the senatorial enactments which the Pope had condemned. But here the Eagle of Meaux, if indeed he was the author of the famous *Defense*, forgot that the case of the Most Serene was very different from that of the German sovereign. Unlike the latter case, the former involved no crime which necessarily entailed deposition; the disobedience of the oligarchs had not reached that point where it would amount to a practical heresy. Nothing is more certain than that the Venetian Senate recognized the *indirect* power of the Roman Pontiff in the temporal affairs of states (1). The question was whether the laws condemned by the Pontiff were really unjust; no canonical definition, insisted Donato (though absurdly), had yet been pronounced in the premises—*nulloque juris ordine servato*. The right of the Pope was not questioned. If the assumption of the Senate was correct; if, observes Cantù, "the laws in question had been just and befitting, the Pope (by his interference) would have exercised a *direct* power over an independent state, which power would have been in excess of his prerogatives, since the spiritual power of the Pope affects temporals solely when there is question of sin. For these reasons the Senate opposed Paul V., and it was not forced to retract them" (2). As to the assertion that the Venetians obeyed their Senate rather than the Pope, we know that thousands of friars, monks, nuns, and other religious preferred exile and its attendant evils—perhaps starvation, to disobedience of the papal authority. If the majority of the laity did not revolt against their Serenities, their failure to do so is no proof that they denied the pontifical claims. Do the millions of Catholics in Russia recognize the sway of right in their constant and often bloody persecutions? Do other millions in the France of to-day, and throughout Spanish America, assert the right of the Brethren of the Three Points to tyrannize over them, when they resign themselves to what appears to be (perhaps through their own excessive timidity) unavoidable, and trust in God for happier days?

(1) For the meaning of the distinction between the direct and indirect power, see our vol. II., p. 203.

(2) *Heretics of Italy*, Discourse 66, Note 33.

In reference to the champion of the Most Serene during this dissension, Fra Paolo Sarpi, we need say but little. We have already investigated his calibre, when treating of the Tridentine assembly; and we shall meet him again, when we consider the abolition of the Society of Jesus. Now we would merely say a few words as to his orthodoxy, concerning which there is a great diversity of opinion. He was an envenomed foe of the Jesuits, but that fact would not necessarily imply an apostasy from the faith. He bitterly opposed the Roman curia; but very little intelligence is required to distinguish that from the Church. He heartily applauded every assertion of the "Gallican liberties," and hence became such an absolutist that he contended that "if anything is withdrawn from the sovereign power of a prince, by that very fact he is dethroned." He even mocked at miracles, and praised the Huguenots. But all this is not apostasy. In fact, Sarpi considered religion as inviolable in its essence, provided that it took no part in affairs of state. Leti tells us (1) that in Rome, the zealots sought for the writings of Fra Paolo in order to burn them, while others hunted for them with the lantern of Diogenes. Courayer said: "Like Erasmus (?), the Servite was a Catholic in the gross, and a Protestant in detail." Gioberti numbers Sarpi among those who have erred in separating the idea of nationality from the religious spirit—men like Arnold of Brescia, Rienzi, Porcaro, and Baroncelli; and he ranks the friar with Machiavelli as "chief among the writers who have injured the patriotic spirit in Italy." Pallavicino held that "the teachings of this friar were seeds of atheism, for they destroyed the idea of certainty in any religion." Fontanini regards him as the type of a hypocrite who made use of his priestly character and a reputation for uprightness "merely to disseminate his doctrines in a way that would prevent their immediate detection as heretical." Quinet, an extravagant admirer of Sarpi, thinks that he remained in the Church until his demise, that he might play the spy, and denounce Catholicism with more effect. Bossuet was of the same opinion (2). It is due to the reputation of the distinguished

(1) *Political Balance*, Letter xvii.

(2) In the *Defence of the Declaration, etc.*; vol. i., pt. 2, b. 8, ch. xii. Also in the *History of the Variations of Protestantism*.

Order of which Fra Paolo was so unworthy a member, to note that his brethren nearly unanimously protested their aversion for his peculiar opinions, and that several of the best refutations of these teachings are by Servites. The chief of these Servite productions was written by Lelio Baglioni (1); and it so pleased Pope Paul V. that he enjoined upon its author the task of confuting the famous Dalmatian apostate De Dominis—a work which death prevented his completing.

It is not the least among the many glories of the Venetian Republic, that she who was, in her halcyon days, by far the most patriotic of European countries, did not allow her terrible alienation from Rome during the pontificate of Paul V. to throw her into the arms of the German reformers, as they had confidently expected would be her decision. A century and a half after this lamentable event, Albrizzi could write: "The most noteworthy characteristic of this august republic is her firm and inviolable attachment to the Catholic Church. The commanders of her armies, the governors of her fortresses, in their wars with the Turks, have defended the faith with their blood, and often amid most cruel torments. In most critical conjunctures this wise government has guarded most strictly the purity of the faith. . . . The souvenir of the many victories of Venice is renewed every year by some religious ceremony, performed with as much majesty as appropriateness; the doge, at the head of the senate, fulfils this pious duty" (2). And how could Venice have permanently disjoined herself from the Papacy, when her origin, her patrons, her very national festivals, and even the fine arts, in the love of which she found her greatest happiness, all proclaimed her thorough Catholicism? "Let any person of judgment tell us," cries Cantù, "whether that religion was likely to perish, which was then erecting so many sumptuous churches. When the public spirit was so identified with Catholicism, could an eminently conservative government have dreamed of so radical a revolution? We have studied many documents concerning the interdict of Venice,

(1) *On Ecclesiastical Powers and Immunities.*

(2) *The Stranger Enlightened as to the City of Venice*, Venice, 1771.

and while we have found much boldness and much discontent, we have always discerned Christian submission and a desire for reconciliation " (1).

One of the most important matters submitted to the decision of Paul V. was the liceity of subscribing to the famous Test Oath which James I. had tendered to the Catholics of England as a guarantee of some little alleviation of their terrible sufferings. When the son of the unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scots, first ascended the throne of his ancestors, he showed himself not very hostile to the Catholics of his kingdom; and when these children of persecution reflected on the sufferings of his mother, whom they preferred to regard as a martyr to her faith, rather than as a victim of conscienceless statecraft, they found it easy to believe that their young monarch and future king of England would return to the faith of his ancestors. The hope grew when they learned that James kept an agent in Rome, and that he had entreated the Holy See to enroll a Scotchman in the Sacred College. Then came the welcome intelligence that the king had conceived a deep admiration for Cardinal Bellarmine, and that in 1600 he had begged for the friendship of the great controversialist in a letter in which he avowed that he had found more solidity in any one of the cardinal's writings than in all the volumes which his Scottish preachers had produced in attacking them. The reply of Bellarmine to the royal letter, although it contained some excellent arguments showing that James was bound in conscience to embrace the Catholic faith, made such an impression on the mind of the prince, that he turned with increased ardor to the study of theology, for which science of sciences he fancied, during his entire life, that he possessed a special aptitude, although he knew that Sully, an excellent judge of ability and of character, styled him "the wisest fool in Europe." The hopes of the Catholics were dissipated almost as soon as James, in 1603, donned the English crown; it became evident that he found it an easy task to follow in the footsteps of his mother's murderess. Shortly after the judicial murder of the Jesuit, Garnet, who had been falsely accused of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, James devised

(1) *Loc. cit.*, p. 188.

a scheme which effectually, and for many years, divided the Catholic body in England into two factions. The king had determined to draw a line between those Catholics who believed in the power of the Pope to depose heretical sovereigns, and those who denied that power. Abbott, the Anglican incumbent of Canterbury, and Sir Christopher Perkins, a conforming Jesuit, were commissioned to frame a new oath of allegiance; and the document which resulted not only denied the deposing power of the Pontiff, but declared that to maintain that power was heretical and damnable. "The great, the only point of importance," remarks Lingard, "was the rejection of the temporal superiority attributed by many theologians to the Pontiff; and it is equally a matter of surprise that the king, on the one hand, should have allowed the introduction of a clause calculated to prevent his own purpose (1), and that the Catholics, on the other, did not petition that such clause should be totally expunged, or at least cleared from the hyperbolical and offensive epithets with which it was loaded" (2). The parliament approved this Test Oath; and the Catholics of England learned that those who would refuse to subscribe to it would incur perpetual imprisonment, the forfeiture of their entire personal property, and the confiscation of the income from real estate during their lives. It is interesting to note that the married among the gentler sex, who dared to refuse to acknowledge the divine right of the Pope-King of England to hold their consciences in his clutches, were imprisoned in the common jail until their "obstinacy" was, perchance, converted into an appropriate docility.

Great indeed must have been the astonishment of Pope Paul V. when he learned that the unfortunates who dared to risk their salvation by taking this oath were, nevertheless, as Catholic recusants who persisted in declaring that the Roman Pontiff was the sole head of the Church on earth, subjected to the following penalties, ordered by parliament on May 27th of this memorable year, 1606. I. No Catholic should appear

(1) Lingard surmises—on what ground, we cannot tell—that James, in the proposal of this measure, "had the intention of gradually relieving one portion of his Catholic subjects from the burden of the penal laws."

(2) *History of England*, vol. VII., ch. I., p. 91. English edit. 1883.

at the royal court, even reside within ten miles of London, or ever to go more than five miles from his residence without the written permission of the four nearest magistrates. II. No Catholic could practise the healing art; be a judge, lawyer, or clerk in any court; present to any living, school, or hospital, even though the founders of these benefices or institutions had expressly decreed that the right of presentation thereto should reside perpetually in his heirs, of whom said Catholic was the representative. III. No husband or wife could acquire any right of property from the other party in the contract, unless the union had been solemnized by a Protestant minister. If each child was not baptized by a Protestant minister within a month from its birth, the parents were to be fined one hundred pounds. The burial of the corpse of a Catholic should be in a Protestant cemetery; any infraction of this provision entailed a fine of twenty pounds on the executor. IV. Any Catholic child educated on the continent was deprived, from the day when he left England for that purpose, of any benefit by descent or gift, unless he returned to Britain and took the Test Oath, as well as the Oath of Supremacy; all his legacies or gifts were to go, in case of his recalcitrancy, to the next of his kin who was a Protestant. V. The house of every Catholic might be searched at any time; his books and furniture were to be burnt, if they even appeared to have any bearing upon or relationship with the Catholic religion or worship; and at any time his horses and weapons could be taken from him by the magistrates. VI. Absence from the services of the Establishment was to be punished as it had been during the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth; but hereafter the king should determine, in each case, whether he would be satisfied with the fine of twenty pounds per month, or would rather appropriate all the personal and two-thirds of the real estate of the victim. VII. Any person, whether Catholic, Protestant, Jew, or of any other or of no faith, who received a Catholic visitor or kept a Catholic servant in his service, was to pay ten pounds per month for each visitor and each servant (1).

(1) This must have been a terrible burden if, as La Boderie, the French ambassador, tells us, nearly every Protestant gentleman had a number of Catholic servants, regarding such as of superior fidelity.

But little consideration was necessary before Paul V. sent a Brief to the English Catholics, declaring that they could not subscribe to the Test without shipwreck of their religion. This document produced a profound impression in the minds even of those English Catholics who were disposed to look askance on the "temporal pretensions" of Rome; and the king caused the circulation of a report that the Brief was not authentic, but an invention of his ultra-Catholic rebellious subjects. When our Pontiff heard of this royal artifice, he expedited a more formal Brief of the same tenor as the other; and this document was conveyed to Blackwall, the arch-priest (1), accompanied by a strong and touching letter from Bellarmine tending to reanimate the failing courage of the venerable ecclesiastic. Whether Blackwall had been terrified by the execution of the missionary Drury (2), or really believed (which is scarcely credible) that the command of the Pontiff could be disregarded as the private *dictum* of Camillo Borghese (3), he had publicly announced that the Test Oath might be taken conscientiously by all English Catholics. Soon after this declaration, and before the arrival of the second Brief, the poor man had been arrested, and although he took the oath, had been cast into prison, the king refusing to grant the septuagenarian any other indulgence than an exemption from the execution which he had merited by his reception of Holy Orders on the continent. Blackwall had been bound to Bellarmine by the ties of friendship for more than forty years; and it is not improbable that the influence of the cardinal, supported by several objurgatory letters from Robert Parsons, finally procured his retractation, as some

(1) Such was the title given by Clement VIII. to the priest who, in the absence of the regular hierarchy, then exercised a quasi-episcopal jurisdiction over the English Catholics.

(2) As soon as James had heard of the Brief of the Pontiff, he ordered his bishops to tender the oath to all the Catholics in their dioceses; and the barbarous penalties due to high-treason were at once pronounced against all who refused to subscribe. Three priests, one of them Drury, who had all been already sentenced to death for presuming to celebrate Mass, were among the condemned. The prince de Joinville and the French ambassador succeeded in obtaining a commutation for two of these; but Drury was disemboweled. Drury had declared that while his private opinion favored the licity of taking the oath, he could not presume to prefer that opinion in face of the papal decision. La Boderie says that the real reason for Drury's execution was the discovery of a letter from Father Parsons, condemning the Test, on his person. LA BODERIE, *Despatches*, iii., 102, 256.—HOWELL; *State Trials*, II., 358.

(3) Lingard thinks that this was the opinion of Blackwall, and says that he refused to notify his flock officially of the reception of the Brief.

writers assert. Whether or not this disavowal was made, a new arch-priest, Berkhead, was substituted for him ; but the evil example of his defection produced sad effects during many years after death had freed him from his prison. The great majority of the faithful obeyed the injunctions of Berkhead, sustained by the exhortations of the Jesuit missionaries, and regarded the oath as tantamount to apostasy ; but very many fell back on the opinion of Blackwall as a justification of a course which, even according to their own sophisms, was rank cowardice and a grievous scandal. It is sad to note that while the immense mass of the Catholic commoners braved every sacrifice rather than refuse obedience to a Pontifical decree, all the proud Catholic peers (twenty in number), with but one exception, Lord Teynham, took the oath on several occasions during the reign of James (1).

The letter of Bellarmine to Blackwall very soon became public property, and of course fell into the hands of James. The modern Solomon, as his courtiers styled him when he was present, resolved to defend the propriety and necessity of the Test, and to thereby enhance his presumed great reputation as polemic and theologian. After much labor he issued a work which bore the title : *A Triple Wedge for a Triple Knot*; the triple knot being formed, as he presented the case, by the two Briefs of Paul V. and the letter of Bellarmine to Blackwall, and the triple wedge being the combination of his fancied refutations of the Roman claims. So assured was James of the profundity of his argumentation, and of the consequent success of his treatise, that on the frontispiece he quoted the passage of *Esdras*, " Truth is great, and it shall prevail." Bellarmine soon published a demonstration of the falsity of the royal premises, and of the absurdity of the conclusions ; indicating how the three wedges handled by James had not even touched the three knots in question. The king perceived no other way of vindicating the dignity of his ermine, soiled, as he told all the sovereigns of Europe in a second edition of his *Wedge*, by one who was not even of illustrious birth, than by appealing to all those princes to witness how this Roman cardinal had undertaken to sub-

(1) Teynham evaded the difficulty by never entering the House of Lords.

vert every throne in Christendom, by a doctrine which forbade a subject to swear fidelity to his liege lord and master. The kings of France and Denmark had already urged the crowned pedant to desist from his controversy; and while James could not well avoid receiving the remonstrance of Henry IV. with signs of respect, he had rebuked the Dane for presuming to give advice to a prince so very much wiser than himself. When the new edition was presented by special messengers to the sovereigns, the emperor and the king of Spain declined peremptorily to receive it; the others affected to be pleased with the compliment. Matthews, the incumbent of York, threw himself on his knees when the volume was brought to him, kissed it most tenderly, and declared that his Majesty's production should be cherished by him as the apple of his eye (1).

CHAPTER II.

THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

When the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, mounted the English throne in 1603, at least half of the nation was still Catholic (2), and the faithful looked forward to a speedy undoing of a work which had been consummated only by fraud, rapine, and judicial murder. James I. had assured them of toleration at the least, while he was as yet merely king of Scotland; and in the early days of his English reign he seemed to remember his promise to relieve the best portion of his subjects of the burden of the Penal Laws—a code which was, as one of the greatest legal luminaries of our day has said: “as savage as any that can be conceived since the foundation of the world” (3). In those days of hope the Jesuit Garnet felt justified in writing to his equally celebrated companion, Robert Parsons: “There hath happened a great al-

(1) *Dubynple's Memorials*; Letter of Young to James, June 19, 1609.

(2) JARDINE, *Gunpowder Plot*, p. 5. Strype says of the time of Elizabeth: “The faction of the Catholics in England is great, and able, if the kingdom were divided into three parts, to make two of them.” (*Annals*, III. 313.) At the execution of Father Oldcorne, 1606, a proof was given of their numbers. When the martyr invited all Catholics to pray with him, almost all present uncovered.

(3) Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, to *Lord Mayor Knill*, Nov. 9, 1895.

teration by the death of the queen. Great fears were, but all are turned into greatest security, and a golden time we have of unexpected freedom abroad. The Catholics have great cause to hope for great respect, in that the nobility all almost labour for it, and have good promise thereof from his Majesty" (1). This confidence of Garnet is confirmed by the contemporary Protestant bishop of Gloucester, Goodman, who says of the Catholics of that time: "Certainly they had great promises from him" (2). And, in fact, one of the first royal acts of James was a remission of many of the fines which the Catholics had incurred for not having attended the Protestant service; he said that he would not make merchandise of conscience. He bade to the royal presence many prominent Catholics, and assured them that he was favorably disposed toward those of their religion (3). He even bestowed titles and lucrative offices on some Catholics; he appointed Henry Howard, earl of Northampton, to the Privy Council (4); and in his first speech to Parliament he declared that he would not persecute the Papists, if they would but keep quiet. As a consequence of this mildness, thousands of perverts returned to the faith; in the diocese of Chester alone, more than a thousand abjured the heresy which they had feigned to embrace. But these conversions caused a panic among the fanatical and interested partisans of the Establishment; and in 1604 an Act of Parliament confirmed the bloody statutes of "good Queen Bess." Soon an order banishing all priests was promulgated, and Goodman could then write: "A gentlewoman was hanged only for relieving and harbouring a priest; a citizen was hanged only for being reconciled to the Church of Rome; besides the Penal Laws were such and so executed that they could not subsist." Terrible, indeed, had been the sufferings of the faithful during the reign of the daughter of Anne Boleyn; but during the reign of her successor, Catholics were wont to say that "although the times of Elizabeth were most cruel, they were the mildest and happiest in comparison to those of James I." (5). In 1605, Luisa de Carvajal, a noble Spanish lady who

(1) *Stonjhurst MSS., Anglia*, iii., 32.

(2) *Court of King James*, i., 86.

(3) *JARDINE, loc. cit.*, p. 18.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 20.

(5) *Stonjhurst MSS., Anglia*, vol. iii., p. 103.

had come to England for the purpose of encouraging and aiding the persecuted Catholics, wrote: "We can hardly go out to walk without seeing the heads and limbs of some of our dear and holy ones stuck upon the gates that divide the streets, and the birds of the air perching upon them" (1). Some few, indeed, of the captured priests died in loathsome dungeons after repeated and horrible tortures; but most of them suffered the death of "traitors" (2), in accordance with that horrible sentence, that each should "be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and there be hung by the neck, whilst still alive be laid upon the ground, his members be amputated, his entrails be drawn out of his belly, *he being still alive*, and be burned, his head cut off, and his body divided into four parts, and his head and quarters be placed where the king has been pleased to appoint." The lot of the lay Catholic of that day may be imagined by him who reads the *Jesuit Records*, gathered from the archives of the Society and from the annals of many old English Catholic families by Henry Foley, S. J. (3). Father Robert Parsons tells us that "not only in the shires and provinces, but in London itself, and under the eyes of the Court, the violence and insolency of continual searches grew to be intolerable; no night passing, commonly, but that soldiers and catchpoles broke into quiet men's houses when they were asleep, and not only

(1) *Life of Luisa de Carvajal*, by Lady Georgiana Fullerton, p. 226.

(2) In reference to the absurd claim of Protestant writers that priests were not executed because they presumed to say Mass and otherwise officiate as priests, but rather because of "treason," it is to be noted that in many cases the victim is described as a "traitor" precisely because he was "ordained a priest in parts beyond the sea by authority from the See of Rome, in contempt of the said queen's (or king's) crown and dignity, and also against the form of the statutes in this case published and provided." In fact, he was put to death simply for being a priest and saying Mass. On this subject, Hallam, who cannot be suspected of favoring Catholics, makes these remarks: "Treason, by the law of England and according to the common use of language, is the crime of rebellion or conspiracy against the Government. If a statute is made by which the celebration of certain religious rites is subjected to the same penalties as rebellion, or conspiracy, would any man free from prejudice, and not desirous to impose upon the uninformed, speak of persons convicted on such a statute as guilty of treason, without expressing in what sense he uses the words? . . . A man is punished for religion, when he incurs a penalty for its profession or exercise to which he was not liable on any other account. This is applicable to the great majority of capital convictions on this score under Elizabeth," (and under her immediate successors.) "The persons convicted could not be traitors in any fair sense of the word, because they were not chargeable with anything properly denominated treason." *Constitutional History*, ch. 3, p. 164, London, 1854.

(3) The *Clifton Tracts*, No. 50, may also be consulted with profit.

carried their persons into prisons at their pleasure, unless they would bribe excessively, but whatsoever liked them best (1). Doña Luisa de Carvajal writes that Catholics "never have a moment of peace and security, or hear a noise at the door without a beating of the heart, especially if they have a priest residing with them. Numbers of people answer me when I speak to them of religion, 'We have not the least doubt that the Catholic religion is the true one, but how is it possible to exist in such continual fear and trembling; not to be able, whether in bed or at meals, in the house or out of it, to enjoy the least tranquillity?' And thus, driven to despair, they risk, or rather forfeit, their hopes of salvation." In one year alone, 1605, six thousand recusants were cited before the courts for having neglected to attend the services of the Establishment, and each was fined £20 a month for himself, and £10 a month for each member of his family. When we consider the value of money at that time, we may imagine the burden which was thus inflicted upon even the wealthiest among the Catholics. In this same year, 1605, James I. invented the scheme of farming out his monied Catholic subjects to his needy and greedy Scotch favorites. Instead of availing himself of his privilege of refusing to receive the £20 per month for recusancy (2), and of taking in its place two-thirds of the victim's entire property; he turned the unfortunates over to his canny Scots, who received the right to exact, each one from his chosen prey, either all the accrued penalties or an annuity for himself. Innumerable families were thus ruined. Atrocities such as these were the cause, if not a justification, of the Gunpowder Plot. Commenting on the horrible persecution, the maddening oppression and refinements of cruelty, which drove a few despairing men to plan the sudden destruction of a king and of a parliament which were heaping upon Catholics the direst sufferings, and imperilling the souls of their children by the prohibition of Catholic worship and education, Lady Fullerton says:

(1) *Judgment of a Catholic Englishman*.

(2) Gardiner (*Hist.* i. 229 note) says that arrears were never demanded in the case of the fine of £20 per lunar month for non-attendance at the parish church. Father Gerard, however, a contemporary witness, distinctly states that they were. (*Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, ed. Morris, p. 62.)

"The sight of continual outrages, perpetrated under the name of law, worked like madness in their minds, and, oblivious of the Divine command not to do evil that good may come, they deemed it justifiable to use any means, however terrible, to deliver their brethren from a king who publicly drank 'damnation to the Papists'—one whose mother had died on the scaffold, consoled and strengthened in her mortal agony by the Catholic Faith—and from law-givers who placed them and their co-religionists beyond the pale of the law (1), tortured and slew their priests, seduced their children from the Faith, insulted and imprisoned their wives, invaded their homes, ruined their fortunes, confiscated their lands, and trod their rights under foot, and that for no other offence than worshipping God as every Christian had worshipped God for fifteen hundred years. No wonder that, yielding to human passion, they conceived the thought of swiftly and suddenly destroying the destroyers, forgetting Who has said, '*Vengeance is Mine, and I will repay.*' If extenuating circumstances can ever be pleaded for a great crime, the Gunpowder Plot may claim the benefit. Who shall dare to say that it exceeded the sin of the rulers who provoked it, or that the maddened victim does not deserve more mercy than the cold-blooded tyrant and ruthless oppressor? Be that as it may, they sinned, and they suffered, and all the Catholics of England suffered redoubled persecution through their guilty act. Fear made their enemies savage. The most sanguinary laws were passed, and all the fury of popular passion was let loose against them." It was while his blood was boiling with indignation because of these sanguinary laws and of this unbridled popular passion, that Sir Everard Digby wrote to Cecil this warning: "If your Lordship and the State think fit to deal severely with the Catholics, within brief space

(1) Sir Edward Hoby, a Protestant gentleman then residing in London, writes to Sir Thomas Esmonde: "My lord Salisbury showed me a paper in the king's own hand, under the name of his *Meditations*, which you would have said was an Act of Parliament, the form only wanting: 'All recusants, convict, and not communicating [*i. e.*, not taking the so-called sacrament in a Protestant church] shall stand in the case of excommunicate persons, whereby they are clean out of the king's protection, subject to many dangers, and, upon any injury offered, not plead in any of the king's courts. The king to choose whether he will take £20 a month or two parts of their living. All women to be incapable of their dowers or jointures.'"

there will be massacres, rebellions, and desperate attempts against the king and the State. For it is a general received reason among Catholics, that there is not that expecting and suffering course now to be run that was in the queen's time, who was the last of her line, and last in expectance to run violent courses against Catholics; for then it was hoped that the king that now is, would have been at least free from persecuting, as his promise was before his coming into this realm, and as divers his promises have been since his coming. All these promises every man sees broken" (1).

According to the generally accepted history of the Gunpowder Plot, the conspiracy originated in the mind of Robert Catesby; and was proposed to and acclaimed by John Wright, Thomas Winter, Guy Faukes (2), Thomas Percy, Christopher Wright, and Robert Keyes. These seven "gentlemen of blood and name," as Faukes described them, made the preparations for the explosion; and then they associated with themselves Francis Tresham and five other gentlemen whose wealth would be of help in sustaining the revolt which was expected to follow. The conspirators at first tried to lay a mine under the House of Lords; but they soon hired a cellar beneath the Peers' Chamber, and placed in it a quantity of gunpowder which Faukes was to fire by means of a train, when the king and parliament had assembled. It was the intention of the desperate men, in the midst of the excitement necessarily produced, to secure the person of one of the royal children, and to proclaim him or her as sover-

(1) In a valuable work which we shall soon notice, a namesake of Father John Gerard, the companion of Father Garnet, thus speaks of this famous letter: "It seems to have been always assumed that this celebrated letter, which is undated, was written after the failure of the Gunpowder Plot, and the consequent arrest of Sir Everard, and doubtless to some extent internal evidence supports this view, as the writer speaks of himself as deserving punishment, and of 'our offence.' It is, moreover, clear that the letter, which is undated, cannot have been written before May 4th, 1605, the date of Cecil's earldom. On the other hand, the whole tone of the document appears utterly inconsistent with the supposition that it was written by one branded with the stigma of such a crime as the Powder Plot. Some of the expressions used, especially in the opening sentence, appear, likewise, incompatible with such a supposition, and the letter bears the usual form of address for those sent in ordinary course of post, 'To the Right Hon. the Earl of Salisbury give these': it has moreover been sealed with a crest or coat-of-arms; all of which is quite unlike a document prepared by a prisoner for those who had him under lock and key. It is noteworthy, too, that at the trial, according to the testimony of the official account itself, on the very subject of the treatment of Catholics, Salisbury acknowledged 'that Sir E. Digby was his ally.'"

(2) He always wrote his name "Guldo Faukes."

eign under their guardianship. In order to provide for the nucleus of an army, they arranged a "hunting match" near Rugby, which was to be held at the time set for the explosion. But fortune favored the destined victims. On Oct. 26, 1605, ten days before the meeting of the parliament, Lord Monteagle, a Catholic peer, received an anonymous warning not to be present at the ceremony. He took the letter to the prime minister, Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, who (wonderful man) at once divined the nature of the threatening danger, although he took no apparent steps to obviate it until the morning of the eventful Fifth of November. Then it was that beneath the Peers' Chamber was found a quantity of powder, and with it Guy Faukes, who was waiting for the arrival of the king in order to fire his train. It was afterward discovered that the cellar and an adjacent house had been rented by Thomas Percy, a Catholic gentleman; and that on Nov. 4 he had left London, having learned that news of the Plot had probably reached the government. In a few hours the Londoners heard that the fugitive conspirators had made forcible seizures of arms and horses in Warwickshire; and in a few days it was learned that Catesby, the two Wrights, and Percy had been either killed or mortally wounded in a fight with the sheriff of Worcestershire, all the others but one (Robert Winter) having been taken prisoners. Two months afterward, Winter also was captured. After many examinations and torturings of the prisoners (1), Cecil,

(1) There is no room for doubt that torture was freely applied. Cecil, in his letter to Fawcett, of December 4, 1605, clearly intimates that this was the case, when he complains "most of the prisoners have wilfully forsworn that the priests knew anything in particular, and obstinately refuse to be accusers of them, yea, what torture soever they be put to." About the middle of November, Lord Dunfermline wrote to Salisbury [*Dom. James I.* xvi. 81] recommending that the prisoners should be confined apart and in darkness, that they should be examined by torchlight, and that the tortures should be slow and at intervals, as being thus most effectual. There is good reason to believe that the Jesuit lay-brother, Nicholas Owen, *alias* Littlejohn, actually died upon the rack. [See Father Gerard's *Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, p. 189.] Finally we have the king's instructions as to Faukes [*Gunpowder Plot Book*, No. 17.] "The gentler tortours are to be first usid unto him, *et sic per gradus ad una tendatur*, (and then gradually the heaviest) and so God speede your goodde worke." Gny's signature of November 9th would seem to prove that it was none of the "gentler tortours" which he had endured. In the Protestant account of the execution (*The Arraignement and Execution of the Late Traitors, etc.*, London, 1606) we read: "'Last of all came the great Devil of all, Faukes, who should have put fire to the powder. His body being weak with torture and sickness, he was scarce able to go up the ladder, but with much ado, by the help of the hangman, went high enough to brake his neck with the fall.'

writing on Dec. 4, had to admit that "Most of the prisoners have wilfully forsworn that the priests knew anything in particular, and obstinately refuse to be accusers of them, yea, what torture soever they be put to" (1). And nevertheless, the king had just written to Sir John Harrington that "the whole legion of Catholics were consulted," and that "the priests were to pacify their consciences, and the Pope confirm a general absolution for this glorious deed" (2). On Jan. 15, 1606, a reward was offered for the "peculiar practisers" of treason, the Jesuits Garnet, Gerard, and Greenway; and on Jan. 25, an Act of Parliament decreed the perpetual solemnization of the anniversary of the discovery of the plot which had been designed by "Many malignant and devilish Papists, Jesuits, and seminary priests, much envying the true and free possession of the Gospel by the nation under the greatest, most learned, and most religious monarch who had ever occupied the throne" (3). Then the English Church Establishment began to mark in its Calendar the Fifth of November as the anniversary of the "Papists' Conspiracy"; and then was instituted the Collect which represents the king, clergy, and people of England as having been, on that day, "by Popish treachery appointed as sheep to the slaughter, in a most barbarous and savage manner, beyond the examples of former ages." The trial of the surviving conspirators began on Jan. 27, and their indictment charged them with having yielded to the persuasions of Garnet and other Jesuits. They were executed, some on Jan. 30, and others on the following day. Garnet was captured, in company with another Jesuit, Oldcorne, on Jan. 30; and the latter, though not charged with any complicity in the Plot, suffered the usual disembowelling, etc., for having aided the former in his attempt to escape. Garnet was "examined" twenty-three times by the royal Council; and not only torture, but every kind of artifice, was used in vain to prove that he had been the instigator of the conspiracy. Finally he was brought to trial on March 28; and on May 3 the punishment of a traitor was inflicted upon him.

(1) To Favat. Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 6,178, fol. 625.

(2) See Harrington's account in *Nugæ Antiquæ*, i., 374.

(3) Statutes, 3d Year of James, ch. 1.

This account of the Gunpowder Plot, which for more than two centuries has been generally received as substantially correct, is mainly based upon the official narrative, which has reached us in four forms, each of which was intended for a special set of readers, and each of which varies from the others in essential matters. At once, therefore, we are justified in challenging its accuracy. The first version, meant for the general public, was the *King's Book*, or, as it was originally styled, a *Discourse of the Manner of the Discovery of the Gunpowder Plot* (1). The second was sent by Cecil to the English ambassadors at Madrid and Brussels, and to the lord-deputy in Ireland. The third was sent to Sir Thomas Parry, ambassador to Henry IV. of France. The fourth was the minute of Nov. 7, probably intended for the Privy Council, and which seems to have served the compilers of the *King's Book*, although it frequently differs from that narrative. "In the *King's Book*," says the judicious publicist who has most recently investigated the Plot, a second Father John Gerard, S. J., "a work which was not only to be disseminated broadcast at home, but to be translated and spread abroad, and, moreover, to be suited to the taste of its supposed author, the preternatural acuteness of the monarch is extolled in terms of most preposterous flattery, and his secretary is represented as altogether incredulous of danger, and unwilling to be convinced even by his royal master's wonderful interpretation of the mysterious warning. Nevertheless, not only is mention parenthetically introduced of the minister's 'customable and watchful care of the king and State, boiling within him,' of his laying up these things in his heart, 'like the Blessed Virgin Mary,' and being unable to rest till he had followed the matter farther,—but it is dexterously intimated that, for all his hardness of belief, he was sufficiently well informed before the warning came to hand, and that 'this accident did put him in mind of divers advertisements he had received from beyond the seas, wherewith he had acquainted as well the king himself, as divers of his Privy Councillors, concerning some business the Papists were in,

(1) Printed in the *Collected Works of King James* by Mountagne, by Barlow, in the *Gunpowder Treason*, and in Cobbett's *State Trials* as an appendix to the *Trial of Faukes and his companions*.

both at home and abroad, making combination amongst them for some combination against this Parliament time,' their object being to approach the king with a petition for toleration, 'which should be delivered in some such order, and so well backed, as the king should be loth to refuse their requests; like the sturdy beggars craving alms with one open hand, but carrying a stone in the other, in case of refusal'" (1).

Although the now generally accepted account of the Gunpowder Plot, a synopsis of which we have given, enjoys more than two centuries of possession; we cannot forget that not only at the time of the occurrence, but also during many years after the attendant excitement had subsided to some extent, there were very many zealous Protestants of more than ordinary intelligence who believed that Faukes and his companions were mere unwitting instruments of the policy of Cecil. The ministers of James I. themselves tacitly recognized the refusal of many to accept their version of the conspiracy, when they issued their *True and Perfect Relation* and the *Discourse of the Manner of the Discovery of the Gunpowder Plot*, avowing as their reason the fact that "there do pass from hand to hand divers uncertain, untrue, and incoherent reports and relations," wherefore they wish to enable "men to understand the birth and growth of the said abominable and detestable conspiracy" (2). Among the Protestants who suspected the complicity of Cecil we may cite Osborne, a Puritan of whom Lord Castlemaine said that "he was born before this Plot, and was also an inquisitive man, a frequenter of company, of a noted wit, of an excellent family, and as Protestant a one as any in the whole nation." This Osborne thinks that the conspiracy was "a neat device of the treasurer's, he being very plentiful in such plots" (3).

(1) *What Was the Gunpowder Plot? The Traditional Story Tested by Original Evidence.* London, 1897.

(2) "The *True and Perfect Relation* is certainly not deserving of the character which its title imports. It is not *true*, because many occurrences on the trial are wilfully misrepresented; and it is not *perfect*, because the whole evidence, and many facts and circumstances which must have happened, are omitted, and incidents are inserted which could not by possibility have taken place on the occasion. It is obviously a false and imperfect relation of the proceedings; a tale artfully garbled and misrepresented, like many others of the same age, to serve a State purpose, and intended and calculated to mislead the judgment of the world upon the facts of the case." JARDINE; *Criminal Trials*, ii., p. 235.

(3) *Traditional Memoirs*, 36. Edition 1811.

Goodman, the contemporary Protestant bishop of Gloucester, speaking of the indignation of the Catholics because of the king's refusal to keep his promises in the matter of toleration of their religion, says of Cecil: "The great statesman had intelligence of all this, and because he would show his service to the State, he would first contrive and then discover a treason, and the more odious and hateful the treason were, his service would be the greater and the more acceptable" (1). Usher, the contemporary Protestant archbishop of Armagh, was often heard to say that "if the Papists knew what he knew, the blame of the Gunpowder Treason would not lie on them" (2). Even King James, says Lord Cobham, used to speak of the Fifth of November as "Cecil's holiday" (3). And this belief in the complicity of Cecil is at least recorded, if not positively favored, by many historians during the next three or four generations. When Sanderson notes the charge (4), he has no word to repel it. Welwood says that Cecil knew of the Plot long before the "discovery," and that the letter to Monteagle was "a contrivance of his own" (5). Oldmixon writes that "there were some who insinuated that the Plot was of the king's own making, or that he was privy to it from first to last" (6). Carte does not believe that James knew anything of it, but considers it "not improbable" that Cecil was better informed (7). Burnet complains of the impudence of the papists who pretended that the conspiracy was an artifice of the minister's "to engage some desperate men into a plot, which he managed so that he could discover it when he pleased" (8). Fuller bears witness to the general belief, but considers it inconsistent with the well-known piety of King James (9). The Puritan Prynne is inclined to suspect Bancroft, the archbishop of Canterbury, of having

(1) *The Court of King James*, i., 102. Edition 1839.

(2) So writes the Jesuit, Martin Grene, to his brother Christopher on Jan. 1, 1665. Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, v., 67.

(3) *Advocate of Conscience Liberty*, p. 225. London, 1665.

(4) *History of Mary, Queen of Scots, and James I.*, p. 334. London, 1715.

(5) *Memoirs*, p. 22. Edinburgh, 1829.

(6) *History of England, Royal House of Stuart*, p. 27. London, 1730.

(7) *General History of England*, iii., p. 757. London, 1747.

(8) *History of His Own Times*, i., 11. Edinburgh, 1700.

(9) *Church History*, bk. x., § 39. London, 1655.

been engaged in the conspiracy (1). These testimonies lead us to regard the Gunpowder Plot as it was regarded by an anonymous Catholic writer of the eighteenth century, when he said: "I am far from denying the Gunpowder Plot. Nay, I believe as firmly that Catesby, with twelve more Popish associates, had a design to blow up King James, as I believe that the father of that same king was effectually blown up by the Earls of Murray, Morton, Bothwell, and others of the Reformed Church of Scotland. However. . . I humbly conceive I may say the king and parliament were in no danger of being hurt by it, and my reason is because they had not less a man than the prime minister of state for their tutelar angel; a person deeply read in politics; who had inherited the double spirit of his predecessor Walsingham, knew all his tricks of legerdemain, and could as reasonably discover plots as contrive them. . . This much at least is certain, that the letter written to Lord Monteagle, by which the Plot was discovered, had not a fool, but a very wise sophister for its author: for it was so craftily worded, that though it was mysterious enough on the one hand to prevent a full evidence that it was written on purpose to discover the Plot, yet it was clear enough on the other to be understood, with the help of a little consideration, as the event soon showed. Indeed, when it was brought to Secretary Cecil, he, poor gentleman, had not penetration enough to understand the meaning of it, and said it was certainly written by a madman. But there, I fear, he wronged himself. For the secretary was no madman. On the contrary, he had too much wit to explain it himself, and was too refined a politician to let slip so favorable an occasion of making his court to the king, who was to have the compliment made him of being the only Solomon wise enough to unfold this dark mystery. Which, while his Majesty was doing with a great deal of ease, the secretary was all the while at his elbow admiring and applauding his wonderful sagacity. . . So that, in all probability, the same man was the chief underhand contriver and discoverer of the Plot; and the greatest part of the bubbles

(1) *Antipathie of the English Lordly Prelacie to the Regall Monarchie and Civill Unity*, p. 151. London, 1689.

concerned in it were trapped into it by one who took sure care that none but themselves should be hurt by it. . . . But be that as it will, there is no doubt but that they who suffer themselves to be drawn into a plot like fools, deserve to be hanged for it like knaves" (1).

That long before its "discovery," the Gunpowder Plot was known to the ministers of James II., or at least to Cecil; that this knowledge was dissimulated, in order to make political capital out of it; and that there are good reasons for suspecting that Cecil manipulated the enterprise from its beginning for state purposes; has been recently very nearly demonstrated by the already cited patient and judicious polemic, the Jesuit, John Gerard. This author does not wish to ignore or to extenuate the objections which may seem to militate against his conclusions. "Why, it may reasonably be asked, if the government of the day were ready to go so far as is alleged, did they not go further? Why, being supremely anxious to incriminate the priests, did they not fabricate unequivocal evidence against them, instead of satisfying themselves with what appears to us far from conclusive? Why did they encumber their tale with incidents, which, if they did not really occur, could serve only to damage it, inasmuch as we, at this distance of time, can argue that they are impossible and absurd? How is it, moreover, that the absurdity was not patent to contemporaries, and was not urged by those who had every reason to dislike and mistrust the party in power? Considerations such as these undoubtedly deserve all attention, and must be fully weighed, but while they avail to establish a certain presumption in favour of the official story, I cannot but think that the sum of probabilities tells strongly the other way. It must be remembered that three centuries ago the intrinsic likelihood or unlikelihood of a tale did not go for much, and the accounts of plots in particular appear to have obtained general credence in proportion as they were incredible, as the case of Squires a few years earlier, and of Titus Oates somewhat later, sufficiently testify. It is moreover as difficult for us to enter into the crooked and complex methods of action which commended themselves

(1) *A Plain and Rational Account of the Catholic Faith*, p. 197. Rouen, 1721.

to the statesmen of the period, as to appreciate the force of the cumbrous and abusive harangues which earned for Sir Edward Coke the character of an incomparable pleader. On the other hand, it appears certain that they who had so long played the game must have understood it best, and, whatever else may be said of them, they always contrived to win. In regard of Father Garnet, for example, we may think the evidence adduced by the prosecution quite insufficient, but none the less it in fact availed not only to send him to the gallows, but to brand him in popular estimation for generations, and even for centuries, as the arch-traitor to whose machinations the whole enterprise was due. In the case of some individuals abnoxious to the government, it seems evident that downright forgery was actually practised." Gerard thinks that "the real history of the Plot, in all its stages, we shall, in all probability, never know"; but he has at least established the falsity of the commonly received version. We would here draw the attention of the reader to what is probably the principal point in this author's argument; namely, the moral certainty that the government of James I. had one or more agents among the conspirators, in accordance with the suggestion of Bancroft, the incumbent of Canterbury, when he insisted that the sole means of discovering the schemes of the Catholics was "to put some Judas amongst them" (1).

While there are not wanting reasons for the supposition that both Monteagle and Tresham were wilful betrayers of the Plot, it would seem that Thomas Percy had stronger claims to that equivocal distinction. Three years or so before the catastrophe, Percy was a Protestant and a very dissolute man; and when he became a Catholic, he showed himself zealous even unto turbulence, although at that very time he had two wives, one in London and one in the country. That some Catholics distrusted him is evident from the protestation of one Cary when, being interrogated concerning the Plot, he declared that "Percy was no Papist, but a Puritan." We also must distrust his sincerity, when we learn from the Protestant bishop, Goodman (2), on the authority of the great

(1) Thus in the Star Chamber, at the trial of Mr. Pound in 1604.

(2) *Court of James*, i., 105.

lawyer, Sir Francis Moore ("beyond all exception," says Goodman), that Moore, during the progress of the Plot, being often out on business at a late hour, "several times met Mr. Percy coming out of the great statesman's house, and wondered what his business should be there." Who of us will not also wonder that this chief conspirator should be holding stealthy converse with his ostensible future victim, unless it be supposed that the parties understood each other full well? Gerard draws attention to another suspicious circumstance. Three days before the "discovery," Percy returned from the north to the capital; and on Nov. 9, Cecil, writing to the foreign ambassadors, declared that the fact of this return had been learned only from Faukes after many denials. Now among the State Papers of England (1) there is a pass dated Oct. 25, and issued by the Commissioners of the North, stating that the bearer, Thomas Percy, *is posting to Court upon the king's special service, and calling on all mayors, sheriffs, and postmasters, to provide him with three good horses all along the road.* Was there any stealth in the movements of so open a traveller? As Gerard naturally concludes, "protestations of ignorance serve only to show that to seem ignorant was thought desirable." But Percy was killed when the conspirators were brought to bay. This fact may seem to militate against Percy's connection with Cecil; but at the time it was regarded as strange that any of the guilty men should have been slain, for they had no fire-arms, killed none of their assailants, and might all have been taken alive. Nevertheless, reflects Gerard, "the attacking party were not only allowed to shoot, but selected just the wrong men as their mark, precisely those who, being chiefly implicated in the beginnings of the Plot, could have afforded the most valuable information; for besides Percy, were shot down Catesby and the two Wrights, all deeply implicated from the first." Certainly Goodman had some reason to note that "Some will not stick to report that the great statesman, sending to apprehend these traitors, gave special charge and direction for Percy and Catesby, 'Let me never see them alive'; who it may be would have revealed some evil counsel given" (2). And we should

(1) *Dom. James I.*, xv., 106.(2) *Loc. cit.*, i., 106.

not forget that the government thought it necessary to explain how it had happened that Percy was not secured alive, and to protest that they had been anxious for his capture, but had been frustrated by the zeal of their subordinates. In the *King's Book* we read : " Although divers of the king's Proclamations were posted down after those traitors with all speed possible, declaring the odiousness of that bloody attempt, and the necessity to have Percy preserved alive, if it had been possible, . . . yet the far distance of the way, which was above an hundred miles, together with the extreme deepness thereof, joined also with the shortness of the day, was the cause that the hearty and loving affection of the king's good subjects in those parts prevented the speed of his Proclamations." This explanation does not satisfy Gerard, who remarks that the same couriers who were said to have been unable to hinder Percy's death by travelling from London to Holbeche in three days, contrived to ride in one day from Holbeche to London with the news of that death. There is another circumstance which appears to Gerard difficult of explanation. John Streete, who killed Percy and Catesby, received for that service a pension of two shillings per day, at least a pound of our money—" a large reward for having done the very thing that the government most desired to avoid, and for an action, moreover, involving no sort of personal risk, killing two practically unarmed men from behind a tree. If, however, he had silenced a dangerous witness, it is easy to understand the munificence of his recompense."

There is excellent reason for believing that Catesby also was in the pay of Cecil. Firstly, his character would accord with such insincerity ; and secondly, there is evidence that he was in secret communication with Cecil immediately before the arrest of Faukes. That he was not an honest man is shown by his having slandered Father Garnet at the very time when he appeared to be devoted to that Jesuit. Garnet wrote : " Master Catesby did me much wrong, and hath confessed that he told them he asked me a question in Queen Elizabeth's time of the powder action, and that I said it was lawful. All which is most untrue. He did it to draw in oth-

ers" (1). That he was in communication with Cecil is proved by the confession of George Bartlett, one of his servants, who, on his death-bed, declared that "his master went to Salisbury House several nights before the discovery, and was always brought privately in at a back door" (2). The mystery surrounding Tresham, the conspirator who is generally supposed to have written the letter to Monteagle, impels us to class him with Percy and Catesby as a tool of Cecil. The author of the *Politician's Catechism* speaks of Tresham as entering Cecil's mansion at midnight. But what is certain, observes Gerard, is that "Tresham did not fly like the rest when the 'discovery' had taken place, not only remaining in London, and showing himself openly in the streets, but actually presenting himself to the council, and offering them his services. Moreover, though his name was known to the government, at least on November 7th, as one of the accomplices, it was for several days omitted from their published proclamations, and not till the 12th was he taken into custody. Being confined in the tower, he was shortly attacked by a painful malady, and on December 23d he died, as was officially announced, of a 'strangury,' as Salisbury assures Cornwallis 'by a natural sickness, such as he hath been a long time subject to' (3). Throughout his sickness he himself and his friends loudly declared that should he survive it 'they feared not the course of justice' (4). Such confidence could be grounded only on his possession of knowledge which the authorities would not venture to reveal, and it is not surprising that his death should have been attributed, by the enemies of the government, to poison."

It is morally certain that Cecil knew of the proposed Plot nearly two years before he submitted Monteagle's letter to King James, thus enabling "the wisest fool in Europe" to exhibit his royal perspicacity, "like an angel of God." According to the developments on the trial of the surviving conspirators, the Plot was first devised in April, 1604. Now, in the Gunpowder Book (no. 236) we find that Sir Thomas Chal-

(1) *Gunpowder Plot Book*, 242.

(2) Notes of an anonymous correspondent of Anthony à Wood, preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

(3) Windwood, *Memorials*, ii., 189.

(4) Wood to Salisbury, December 23d, 1605.

loner, one of Cecil's "intelligencers," received the following letter from one of his agents, Henry Wright (1): "Good Sir Thomas, I am as eager for setting of the lodgings as you can be, and in truth whereas we desired but twenty, the discoverer had set and (if we accept it) can set above three score, but I told him that *the State would take it for good service if he set twenty of the most principal Jesuits and seminary priests*, and therewithal I gave him thirteen or fourteen names picked out of his own notes, among the which five of them were sworn to the secrecy. He saith absolutely that by God's grace (!) he will do it ere long, but he stayeth some few days purposely for the coming to town of Tesmond [Greenway] and Kempe, two principals; their lodgings are prepared, and they will be here, as he saith for certain, within these two days. *For the treason, Davies neither hath nor will unfold himself for the discovery of it till he hath his pardon for it under seal*, as I told you, which is now in great forwardness, and ready to be sealed so that you shall know all. Your worship's most devoted,

HEN. WRIGHT."

This letter was certainly written before April 25, 1605; for in the *Pardon Roll*, under that date, we read that the pardon mentioned in it as ready for Davies had just been expedited. And we must believe that the "treason," which Davies would not unfold "until he had his pardon under the great seal," was no other than the Gunpowder Plot. To believe otherwise would be an admission that Cecil was then engaged in the fabrication of a conspiracy which as yet the Catholics had not projected. "It was not the way of statesmen of the period," remarks Gerard, "when on the track of sedition, to relinquish the pursuit till they had sifted it to the bottom, and at this juncture, especially, every shred of evidence regarding Catholics and their conduct was threshed out to the uttermost. In consequence, we are able to say with certainty, that besides the enterprise of Catesby and his associates, there was no other conspiracy of any kind on foot. We have, moreover, already seen that the very same point thus by anticipation represented as all important, is that which after the 'discovery' every nerve was strained to establish, name-

(1) There is no evidence connecting this Wright with the two conspirators of that name.

ly, the complicity of the Catholic clergy. If we had no more than this internal evidence, it would abundantly suffice to assure us that the conspiracy thus sedulously watched was the same as that miraculously 'discovered' a year and a half later." But we have explicit evidence as to the time when Wright and Davies were engineering what was in reality Cecil's Gunpowder Plot. In the *Gunpowder Plot Book* (no. 237) we find an application to the king, made in April, 1606, and endorsed, "Touching Wright and his services performed in the damnable plot of the Powder Treason," couched in these terms: "If it may please your Majesty, can you remember that the Lord Chief Justice Popham and Sir Thomas Challoner, Kt., had a hand in the discovery of the practices of the Jesuits in the powder, and did from time to time reveal the same to your Majesty, *for two years' space almost, before the said treason burst forth by an obscure letter to the Lord Monteagle*, which your Majesty, like an angel of God, interpreted, touching the blow, then intended to have been given by powder? The man that informed Sir Thomas Challoner and the Lord Popham of the said Jesuitical practices, their meetings and traitorous designs in that matter, whereof from time to time they informed your Majesty, *was one Wright*, who hath your Majesty's hand for his so doing, and never received any reward for his pains and charges laid out concerning the same. This Wright, if the occasion serve, can do more service." Again, among the "Cecil Papers" preserved at Hatfield, and which the present marquis of Salisbury allowed Gerard to consult, there is a letter addressed to Cecil by a certain Thomas Coe, who claims to have previously forwarded to his Majesty "the primary intelligence of these late dangerous treasons," upon which communication the historian Lodge observes (1): "It should seem then that the famous letter transmitted to James by Lord Monteagle, for the right construction of which that prince's penetration hath been so highly extolled by some historians, was not the only previous intelligence communicated to him of the Gunpowder Treason."

If the reader's acquaintance with the England of Elizabeth

(1) *Illustrations*, III., 301.

and of James I. is merely casual, he may think that Cecil could have had no object in furthering, aye, perhaps in originating, so fearful a conspiracy as that of the Gunpowder Plot. Cecil was as ambitious as he was unscrupulous; he was a worthy heir of his father—William Cecil, Lord Burghley—and of Walsingham. He realized that his tenure of office was by no means secure; for, as Goodman assures us, “it is certain that the king did not love him” (1). James could have no exalted idea of the integrity of him who, while enjoying the entire confidence of Elizabeth, had held what she would have regarded as treasonable correspondence with the king of Scotland; nor could James have forgotten that the earl of Essex, when on his trial, had insisted that Cecil preferred that the English crown should pass to the Spanish Infanta, rather than to James, whom the wily secretary then ostentatiously repudiated. James was aware that Cecil was a secret pensioner of the king of Spain, even though he regarded as traitors all others who held any communication with that monarch (2). The king must have known that the Spanish ambassador pronounced Cecil a venal traitor, ready to sell his soul for money (3); and that the French envoy, La Boderie, declared that the secretary was an inveterate liar, even to his intimate friends (4). Again, James knew that the English people detested his minister. Osborne says: “He had forfeited the love of the people by the hate he expressed to their darling Essex, and the desire he had to render justice and prerogative arbitrary” (5). Sir Anthony Weldon says that “he was very much hated in England by reason of the fresh bleeding of that universally beloved earl of Essex, and for that clouded also in the king’s favour” (6). Even the apologist of Cecil, Sir Walter Cope, admits that “When living, the world observed with all admiration and applause; no sooner dead, but it seeketh finally to suppress his excellent parts, and load his memory with all imputations of corruption” (7). Here were reasons for an exercise of

(1) *Court of King James*, i., 44.

(2) Digby to the King, S. P., *Spain*, Aug. 8. GARDINER; *Hist.*, ii., 216.

(3) GARDINER; *ib.*, 215.

(4) LE FEVRE de la BODERIE; *Embassy*, i., 170.

(5) *Traditional Memoirs*, 181.

(6) *Court and Character of King James*, § 10.

(7) *Apology*, in the *Collectanea* of Gutch, i., 10.

Cecil's energy and craft, if he wished to remain the practical ruler of England. He should make it appear that he was necessary to James. Add to this desire his profound hatred of Catholicism, a sentiment which manifested itself in every possible contingency, and you have a reason for Cecil's furtherance, if not his contrivance, of the Gunpowder Plot. Nor should we forget that Cecil had been alarmed by an apparent tendency, on the part of James, to return to his early moderation in regard to the Catholics. In 1604 a Scotch Catholic gentleman, Sir James Lindsay, had brought from Rome a letter written by Pope Clement VIII. to his English Majesty, which was very friendly in its tone; and the notes on the royal reply, still preserved in the English Record Office (1), show that James had charged Lindsay, "by tongue," with a message to the Pontiff which the royal hand dared not to record in the notes. Cecil might well feel concerned because of this oral message, especially as the instructions which James did record were friendly in their tone: "You shall assure him that I shall never be forgetful of the continual proof I have had of his courtesy and long inclination towards me, and especially by this his so courteous and unexpected message, which I shall be careful to requite thankfully by all civil courtesies that shall be in my power, the particulars whereof I remit likewise to your declaration." And then he protests that he will ever inviolably observe two points: first, never to dissemble what he thinks, especially in matters of conscience; secondly, never to reject reason when he hears it urged on the other side. We may easily suppose that when Cecil learned that the head of the English Establishment had addressed the Roman Pontiff so courteously, he resolved to force upon his Majesty a policy of severity.

No person of sane mind now asserts that the Roman court had any connection with the Gunpowder Plot; or that the lay Catholics of England, outside the circle of less than a score of conspirators, were even cognizant of the desperate design. No reputable publicist accuses the English priesthood, as a body, of any complicity, direct or indirect, in the

(1) "Instructions to my trusty servant, Sir James Lindsay, for answer to the letter and commission brought by him from the Pope unto me." (P. R. O., *France*, b. 132).

matter; and very few moderns manifest any inclination to credit the charges which Cecil brought against the Jesuits, Garnet, Gerard, and Greenway. Among the alleged indications of guilt on the part of Father Gerard, the principal one was the reception of the Holy Eucharist by Catesby, Percy, John Wright, Faukes, and Winter, at the hands of Gerard, in confirmation of their oath of secrecy. This reception of the Holy Sacrament was attested at the trial by Faukes and Winter, the sole survivors of the five; but both of them swore that Gerard knew nothing of the oath, of which his sacerdotal action was supposed, by the infatuated communicants, to be a sanction. Winter testified that "they five administered the oath to each other in a chamber, *in which no other body was,*" and that then they proceeded to another room to receive the Holy Eucharist. And Faukes deposed that "the five did meet at a house in the fields beyond St. Clement's Inn, where they did confer and agree upon the Plot, and there they took a solemn oath and vows by all their force and power to execute the same, and of secrecy not to reveal it to any of their fellows, but to such as should be thought fit persons to enter into that action; and in the same house they did receive the Sacrament of Gerard the Jesuit, to perform their vow and oath of secrecy aforesaid. *But that Gerard was not acquainted with their purpose.*" An indication of guilt on the part of Garnet has been found by some in the presumed fact that he answered in the affirmative a question put to him by Catesby as to "*whether, for the good and promotion of the Catholic cause against heretics, it be lawful or not among many *nocents* to destroy some *innocents* also?*" Such were the terms in which the question was adduced by the prosecutor, Sir Edward Coke (1); but the virulent zealot exhibited no shadow of proof that the clause which we have underlined was contained, even implicitly, in the original question. Garnet insisted, and he is corroborated by Greenway (who was present at the time), that Catesby had proposed the adduced case of conscience as one which might be presented in the service of Austria, in which, he said, he was about to engage. It would seem that shortly after the initiation of the conspiracy, Cates-

(1) *Gunpowder Treason*, p. 165.

by had discovered that some of his associates had scruples as to their right to involve innocent persons in what they considered a justifiable action of war; and in order to quiet their consciences, he availed himself of the known fact that the king had allowed him to accept a captaincy in the service of the archduke, and asked Garnet whether, in the imminent contest, he could share in actions in which innocent parties would necessarily perish with the guilty. Garnet replied that both Catholic and Protestant theologians held that obedience in the premises was lawful, since in the contrary supposition an unjust aggressor could always prevent the aggrieved party from attaining his rights. This solution was presented by Catesby to his associates as satisfying their objections, and he gained his point. The manuscript relation by Father Greenway must be consulted by any one who desires details concerning the relations between Garnet and Catesby, from this time until the discovery of the Plot; none of the assertions or insinuations of Coke, during the trial, as to those relations, were sustained by even an apology for proof. According to Greenway, Garnet began to suspect, in the spring of 1605, that Catesby was engaged in preparations for some desperate enterprise against the government; and on May 8 he wrote to the Jesuit superiors at Rome a letter, from which, as it appears in Father Gerard's MSS. (ch. 5), we take this passage: "All are desperate. Diverse Catholics are offended with Jesuits; *they say that Jesuits doe impugne and hinder all forcible enterprizes.* I dare not informe myself of their affaires, because of prohibition of F. Generall for meddling in such affaires. So I cannot give you exact accompt. This I knowe by meare chance." In reply to this letter Garnet received one written in the name of the Holy Father, and one from the general of the Jesuits; both commanding him to abstain absolutely from political intrigue, and to exercise his authority as provincial of his order in England to discourage anything savoring of rebellion. One day, after a spirited insistence of his opinion that the terrible wrongs of the Catholics clearly justified the most violent measures for obtaining relief, Catesby avowed to Garnet that he had started a formidable conspiracy, and that he was will-

ing to impart the particulars to one whom he so revered. Instantly the provincial checked him ; the revelation was not made ; and when Garnet showed to Catesby the letters he had received from Rome, the ardent man insisted that the writers had been influenced by false information. Finally Catesby promised to hold his project in abeyance until the reception of another letter from the Pontiff, to whom both would send a special messenger, bearing an exact account of the condition of the English Catholics. The envoy departed, carrying also an entreaty, on the part of the provincial, that his Holiness would threaten to excommunicate such Catholics as would recur to violent measures in the existing circumstances. Garnet now flattered himself that he had allayed the tempest ; and he wrote to Father Parsons, who was then in Rome : " For anythinge wee can see, Catholicks are quiet, and likely to continew their ould patience, and to truste to the kyng and his sone for to rimidie al in tyme " (1). In October, however, Garnet found that his hopes were ill-founded. Catesby had revealed the entire Plot to Father Greenway in confession ; and when conjured to abandon his design, he had begged the confessor to procure the opinion of his provincial, also under the seal of confession. We transcribe Lingard's account of what now followed. " With this view the Jesuit applied to Garnet, and received in return a severe reprimand. He had done wrong (said Garnet) to entertain any mention of so dangerous a project ; he had done worse in imparting it to his superior. Nothing now remained but to divert the conspirator from his sanguinary purpose. Let him therefore employ every argument, every expedient in his power ; but at the same time, let him be careful to keep the present conversation secret from every man living, even from Catesby himself (2). This communication, however, plunged the unfortunate provincial into the deepest anxiety. Against his will, and in defiance of the precautions which he had taken, he was become privy to the particulars of the plot ; and that plot he found to exceed in

(1) In MS. of Gerard, dated Oct. 4, 1605.

(2) Lingard took these particulars from Greenway, who testifies to their truth, " or his salvation." See also Greenway's oral account in the *Apology* of Eudæmon Joannes, 259, 260, 290.

atrocities whatever the most fearful mind could have anticipated. The explosion, with its consequences, perpetually presented itself to his imagination; it disabled him from performing his missionary duties by day, it haunted his slumbers by night" (1).

When Garnet, Gerard, and Greenway were apprised of the "discovery" of the Plot, the provincial immediately sent to the royal council a declaration of his abhorrence of such schemes; and all three took measures for their safety. After many vicissitudes, Gerard and Greenway escaped to the continent (2). Garnet secreted himself at Hendlip, near Worcester, in the house of a brother-in-law of Lord Monteaigle. His hiding-place was betrayed by one of the prisoners taken at Holbeach, who hoped to merit pardon by the treachery; and together with Oldcorne, another Jesuit who had also been secreted at Hendlip, he was lodged in the Tower on Feb. 14, 1606. Hallam speaks of this capture of Garnet as "the damning circumstance against him, that he was taken at Hendlip in concealment along with the other conspirators" (3); and Lingard would have us believe that here regards this assertion of Hallam as "an unintentional mistake" (4). Hallam never made "mistakes" of this nature; his very merits as a publicist stamp his calumny as a conscious one. Only one of the "other" conspirators was taken in concealment—Robert Winter; and he was captured, not at Hendlip, but at Hagley Hall. It was three months after the taking of the "other" conspirators that Garnet was arrested in company with Oldcorne, who was never charged with complicity

(1) *History of England*, London edit. 1883, vol. vii., p. 60.

(2) While the baffled conspirators, on Nov. 6, were at Huddington House, the seat of Robert Winter, Greenway was summoned by Catesby, through his servant, Bates, to visit the unfortunates, hear their confessions, etc.; for they were in imminent danger of either death in battle or the slower death which their capture would entail. In his *Narrative*, which is generally a translation of Gerard's English one into Italian, he sometimes gives his own experiences; and in one of these instances, he says that he "went to assist these gentlemen with the Sacraments of the Church, understanding their danger and their need, and this with evident danger to his own person and life: and all those gentlemen could have borne witness that he publicly told them how he grieved not so much because of their wretched and shameful plight, and the extremity of their peril, as that by their headlong course they had given the heretics occasion to slander the whole body of Catholics in the kingdom, and that he flatly refused to stay in their company, lest the heretics should be able to calumniate himself and the other Fathers of the Society."

(3) *Const. Hist.*, i., 554.

(4) *Loc. cit.*, p. 72, in note.

in the Plot, but with having abetted his provincial in his attempt to escape. When Garnet was threatened with torture, if he did not avow his guilt, he replied : “ *Minare ista pueris* —use such threats to boys.” But his enemies thought that guile might effect what force could not ; and they instructed his warder to affect veneration for him as for a martyr, and to offer himself as a medium wherewith the prisoner might correspond with his friends. Garnet credited the protestations of the warder, and entered on a course of epistolary communication, every item of which was carried by the lieutenant of the Tower to the royal commissioners, and which furnished not one scintilla of evidence against any of the writers (1). Then the warder offered to introduce him into a passage-way, at the end of which was a door of Oldcorne’s cell. The two friends, he said, could easily converse through this thin partition. Overjoyed, Garnet held five conversations with Oldcorne, not knowing that in a recess formed in the passage-way two of Cecil’s emissaries were secreted for the purpose of reporting to their master all that was said. Nothing incriminatory of the Jesuits was gleaned by this artifice ; and when Oldcorne, soon afterward, was tortured, little more than an admission of these furtive conversations was extorted from him. On March 5, Garnet was again brought before the commissioners, and asked whether he had talked with Oldcorne in the Tower. If we are to believe the official reports of the trial, he replied in the negative ; and when he was told of his friend’s avowal, he insisted that if Oldcorne had been so weak as to accuse himself falsely, he would not prove so weak. Then, says the report, the testimony of the two hidden auditors of the conversations were read to him, and he admitted the fact. Several more examinations of Garnet were held before the trial ; and when that ensued, on March 28, the sole admission yet made by him was to the effect that he had known that Catesby was planning something against the government ; that he had urged the conspirator to desist ; and afterward he had learned from Greenway the object of the conspiracy, but could not reveal it, since it had been communicated to him under

(1) Some of these letters are still preserved in the English State Paper Office.

the seal of confession. The reader must remember that Catesby himself had authorized Greenway, in case of the discovery of the Plot, to break the seal of secrecy; else Garnet would have been unable to make even this admission. The result of the trial was a verdict of guilty; although any overt act of treason was neither proved nor attempted to be proved. Two months elapsed before his execution; and during this interval he found, as he imagined, sure means of corresponding with Greenway, whom he believed to be a prisoner in the Tower. His letter was laid before Cecil; but nothing incriminating him was found in it. Three weeks after he had written it, he was taken before the commissioners, and asked whether he had corresponded with the "traitor" Greenway. He denied, on his priesthood, says the official narrative, that he had sent letter or message to him, since their parting at Coughton. When the intercepted letter was shown to him, continues the record, he acknowledged it, but contended that he had done nothing wrong. Lingard speaks strangely on this matter: "In this instance, as in several others since his imprisonment, he had acted on the principle that no man is bound to betray himself; whence he ingeniously inferred that where the acknowledgment of a fact might endanger his life, it was lawful to deny it with the aid of equivocation, till it should be proved against him by direct evidence. Three days later he was interrogated a second time respecting the doctrine of equivocation, and boldly declared that the practice of requiring men to accuse themselves was barbarous and unjust; that in all such cases it was lawful to employ equivocation, and to confirm, if it were necessary, that equivocation with an oath; and that if Tresham, as had been pretended, had equivocated on his deathbed, he might have had reasons which would justify him in the sight of God (1). To these and similar avowals I ascribe his execution. By seeking shelter under equivocation, he had deprived himself of the protection which the truth might have afforded him; nor

(1) "This I acknowledge to be according to my opinion and the opinion of the schoolmen. And our reason is, for that, in cases of lawful equivocation, the speech by equivocation being saved from a lye, the same speech may be without perjury confirmed by oath, or by any other usual way, though it were by receiving the Sacrament, if just necessity so require." The original is in the State Paper Office in Garnet's handwriting.

could he in such circumstances reasonably complain if the king refused credit to his asseverations of innocence, and permitted the law to take its course." How Lingard could ascribe Garnet's execution to his avowal of certain opinions concerning the doctrine of equivocation, passes comprehension. Laying aside the question of the tenability of those opinions, it is certain that he advanced them only in the matter of his conversation with Oldcorne, and of his correspondence with Greenway. When pressed concerning the charge because of which alone he was being tried, namely, complicity in the Plot, he never equivocated; he boldly and consistently took his stand on the inviolability of the seal of sacramental confession. Therefore he had not "deprived himself of the protection which the truth might have afforded him." And Lingard may be asked to tell the occasions when, in the long course of Henrician, Edwardine, Elizabethan, and Stuart persecution, a stern adherence to pure and simple truth availed to save the accused from the scaffold. As to Garnet's alleged equivocations, some of them are rather downright falsehoods, and therefore we may well suspect that he never uttered them. Concerning what really happened at Garnet's trial we have no reliable information; as Jardine observes, there is no trial since the time of Henry VIII., about which we are so ignorant as we are of this one (1).

(1) The confession of Faukes, as published by Cecil, reads as follows: "I confesse that a practise in generall was first broken unto me against his Majestie, for releife of the Catholique cause, and not invented or propounded by myself. And this was first propounded unto me about Easter last was twelvemonth, beyond the Seas, in the Low countres of the Archdukes obeysance by Thomas Wynter, who came thereupon with me into England, and there wee imparted our purpose to three other Englishmen more, namely Robt Catesby, Thos Percy, and John Wright, who all five consulting together of the meanes how to execute the same, and taking a vowe among our selves for secrecie Catesby propounded to have it performed by Gunpowder, and by making a myne under the upper house of Parliament, which place wee made choice of the rather, because Religion having been uniously suppressed there, it was fittest that Justice and punishment should be executed there. This being resolved amongst us, Thomas Percy hired a howse at Westminster for that purpose, neare adjoining the Parl^t howse, and there wee beganne to make a myne about the xi of December 1604. The fyve that entered into the woork were Thomas Percye, Robert Catesby, Thomas Wynter, John Wright, and my self, and soon after wee tooke another unto us, Christopher Wright, having sworn him also, and taken the Sacrament for secrecie. When wee came to the verie foundation of the Wall of the house, which was about 3 yards thick, and found it a matter of great difficultie, we took to us another gentleman Robert [Wynter] *Keys* in like manner with our oathe and Sacrament as aforesaid. It was about Christmas when wee brought our myne unto the Wall, and about Candlemas we had wrought the Wall half through. And whilst they were a working, I stood as sentinell, to descrie any man that came neare, whereof I gave them warning, and so they ceased untill I gave them notice

CHAPTER III.

POPE URBAN VIII.; THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

The youth of Cardinal Maffeo Barberini was more marked by poetical, than by any other special talent; and under the guidance of the famous Aurelius Ursus, he greatly developed this gift. Some of his paraphrases of the Psalms, and many of his hymns, are admired to this day. Having ascended the many steps of the Curia Romana, he was made cardinal by Paul V. When, on the death of Gregory XV. in 1623, he was elevated to the Papal throne, Barberini was fifty-five years of age; but he was destined to spend twenty-one in a most eventful and stormy pontificate. He saw the commencements of the vexatious controversies to which Jansenism gave birth; it was during his reign that occurred the affair of Galileo. He founded the venerable College of the Propaganda, styled, after him, the Urban; he revised and corrected the *Roman Breviary*; he gave its present form to the celebrated Bull, *Cœna Domini* (1); he approved the

agayne to proceede. All wee seaven lay in the house, and had shott and powder, being resolved to dye in that place before we should yeild or be taken. As they were working upon the wall, they heard a rushing in a cellar of removing of coles; whereupon wee feared wee had been discovered, and they sent me to go to the cellar, who fynding that the coles were a selling, and that the Cellar was to be lett, viewing the commoditie thereof for our purpose, Percy went and hired the same for yearly Rent. Wee had before this provyded and brought into the house 20 barrells of Powder, which wee removed into the Cellar, and covered the same with billets and fagots, which we provided for that purpose. "About Easter, the Parliament being proroged tyll October next, wee dispersed our self and I retired into the Low countreyes, *by advice and direction of the rest, as well to acquaint Owen with the particulars of the plot, as also lest by my longer staye I might have grown suspicious, and so have come in question. In the meane tyme Percy, having the key of the Cellar, layd in more powder and wood into it. I returned about the beginning of September next and then receyving the key againe of Percy, we brought in more powder and billets to cover the same againe. And so I went for a tyme into the country, till the 30 of October. It was farther resolved amongst us that the same day that this action should have been performed some other of our confederates should have surprised the person of the Lady Elizabeth the Kings eldest daughter, who was kept in Warwickshire at the Lo. Harringtons house, and presently have proclaimed her for Queene, having a project of a Proclamation ready for the purpose, wherein we made no mention of altering of Religion, nor would have avowed the deed to be ours untill we should have had power enough to make our partie good, and then we would have avowed both. Concerning Duke Charles, the Kings second son, we had sundrie consultations how to sease on his person, but because wee found no meanes how to compasse it,—the Duke being kept near London,—where we had not forces enough, wee resolved to serve ourselves with the Lady Elizabeth."*

(1) It may interest the reader to note that one of this Pontiff's decrees forbade the use of snuff in the churches.

Order of the Visitation; and raised to the honors of the altar Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Louis de Gonzaga, Philip Neri, Francis Borgia, the Theatine Gaetano, and Felix of Cantalicio. During the whole of his reign, his lot, so far as human eyes could discern, was but a succession of chagrins, entailed by the unfortunate Thirty Years' War, the audacious conduct of his nephews, and the miserable intrigues of the Jansenists. His temporal subjects were fond of saying, alluding to the evil effects of his nepotism, that what the barbarians had not done to the detriment of their city, the Barberini effected (1). However, Urban VIII. was pious and learned, and he made the Eternal City a rendezvous for all who were artistic or studious.

The liturgist and ecclesiastical archaeologist will remember this Pontiff as having been the last to revise the text of the *Roman Breviary*, giving to it, in comparison with the olden *Offices*, a position analogous to that occupied by the *Vulgate* among all versions of the Scriptures. Leo X., Clement VII., Paul IV., Pius V., and Clement VIII., had already effected much toward what was not unaptly styled a "reformation" of the *Breviary*; but his own good judgment, supported by the avowals of many virtuous and learned men, convinced Urban VIII. that the work of "reformation" had not been completed (2). The punctuation in the *Psalter* was too often incorrect; therefore the punctuation of the *Vulgate* was substituted. In many of the hymns there were sins against prosody and against good metre; these errors were to be corrected, even though an entire hymn had to be rewritten. And too frequently, the text of the Homilies and Sermons was defective; therefore it was to be compared critically with the text in the most reliable of the editions or manuscripts of each Father's works. To remedy these defects of the *Breviary*, Urban VIII. instituted a special Con-

(1) "*Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecerunt Barberini.*" This saying was originated when the Pontiff ordered certain bronze beams to be removed from the atrium of the Pantheon, that their material might be devoted to the far nobler purpose of adorning the tomb of the Apostles in the Vatican Basilica. They were melted down, and partly served for the construction of the magnificent *Baldachino*.

(2) "*Piorum doctorumque virorum judicia et vota conquirentium in eo contineri non pauca, quæ sive a nitore institutionis excidissent, sive inchoata potius quam perfecta forent ab aliis, certe a nobis supremam manum imponi desiderarent.*" In Bull *Divinam psalmodiam*.

gregation of nine members, many of whom are admired to this day : Alciati (Terence), the Jesuit author who had begun the *History of the Council of Trent* which Pallavicino prosecuted and completed ; Rancato, the arranger of the Sessorian Library ; Luke Wadding, the Franciscan annalist ; Gavanto, a Barnabite, and the best liturgist at a time when good liturgists abounded ; Tegrini, secretary of the Congregation of Rites ; Sacchi, the pontifical sacristan ; Riccardi, Master of the Apostolic Palace ; Vulponi, of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri ; and Lanni, a prelate of the Segnatura. In reference to certain legends of the saints, which good historians pronounce inexact and perhaps baseless, and therefore unworthy of place in the *Breviary*, Gavanto says that they were generally retained, because of the possibility that they might be true (1). Urban VIII. reserved to his own poetical ability, supported by the opinions of four Jesuit litterateurs, Strada, Galluzzi, Sarbiewski, and Petrucci, the correction of the hymns in the *Breviary* (2). But the labors of this scholarly quintette have not pleased modern critics. The Abbé Batifol, author of the best history of the *Breviary* as yet issued (Paris, 1893), thinks that this reformation of the *Hymnal* was rather "a deformation of the work of Christian antiquity" ; and he compares it to the modern restorations of certain old pieces of sculpture—restorations which make one wish that the mutilated works had been left in their disfigured condition. Such also is the opinion of the Abbé U. Chevalier, a competent judge in liturgico-archæological matters, who ascribes the failure to an ignorance of the rules of rhythmic poetry, "a poetry which was absolutely unknown in the time of Urban VIII., when men dared to assert

(1) "*Quæ controversa erant, alioquin tamen gravis auctoris testimonio suffulta, aliquam haberent probabilitatem, retenta sunt eo modo quo erant, cum falsitatis argui non possint, quamvis fortasse altera sententia sit a pluribus recepta.*" Thus in his *Treasury of Sacred Rites*. This work, with the additions made by the Theatine, Merato, in 1736, by request of Card. Lambertini (afterward Pope Benedict XIV.), is the most widely-used and most reliable of all liturgical guides. To honor the memory of Gavanto, Benedict XIII. decreed that a Barnabite should always be found among the Consultors of the Congregation of Rites ; and Benedict XIV. conferred the same distinction upon the Theatines, because of the merits of Merato.

(2) Urban VIII., like Richelieu, took care that his court should ever present the appearance of an Academy. Two of his hymns, that on St. Martina, and that on St. Elizabeth of Portugal, are in the *Breviary*.

that the hymns of St. Thomas of Aquino were written in '*Etrusco rhythmo*'" (1).

In the year 1633 Urban VIII., in response to certain overtures from Queen Henrietta, the Catholic wife of Charles I., resolved to send an accredited agent to England. The memory of this quasi-legation has been revived in our day by the tentative efforts for a "corporate-reunion" put forth by certain well-meaning Anglicans; and the matter is worthy of more than a passing notice. At this time, of course, there was no Catholic bishop resident in England; but many of the faithful believed that virulent and open persecution would soon slacken sufficiently to warrant the Holy See in making the first step toward a revival of the English hierarchy. They were encouraged in this anticipation of relief by an expressed wish of King Charles that the Catholics might be allowed to take a modified oath of allegiance, instead of the Oath of Supremacy; and by an occasional display, on the part of Charles I. and the Anglican prelates, of a velleity to be satisfied with the Catholic blood which had already been shed. The Catholics had no solid reasons for their anticipations; indeed, they could not shut their eyes to the fact that whenever the king wanted money from the parliament, he promptly conciliated that body by unleashing the dogs of persecution, and that whenever the Anglican prelates observed any prospect of parliamentary interference with their temporalities, they warded off the evil by imitating the monarch. However, Pope Urban sent to England an Oratorian named Gregory Panzani, who was instructed to carefully examine into the state of affairs, but not to hold any communications with the incumbent of Canterbury (2). One of

(1) *L'Université Catholique* for 1891, p. 122, Paris, 1892.

(2) Lingard asks why this prohibition was given. It seems that Queen Henrietta had conceived the notion that if the Pontiff would raise some Englishman to the cardinalate, the conversion of the king would be facilitated. Lingard thinks that Laud may have been in the queen's mind when she formed this project. "Douglas left England to make the request about the middle of July, and reached Rome about a month later. Now the offer of that dignity was made to Laud in England on the 4th, and repeated on the 17th of August (Laud's *Diary*). This coincidence in point of time furnishes a strong presumption; and to it may be added that in December, Du Perron, the chief clergyman in the queen's household, proceeded to Paris, and to Bichi, the nuncio, spoke highly in favor of Laud, with regard to his religious principles, and his willingness to show favor to the Catholics (Dispatch of Bichi to Barberini, Dec., 1633). Hence I am inclined to think that the proposal of the cardinal's hat came to the new archbishop from Queen Henrietta, under the notion that there might

the first steps of Panzano was to consult Sir Francis Windebank, a secretary of state, concerning the special oath of allegiance which King Charles would like to tender to the Catholics; but Rome reproved the diplomat for alluding to the subject. Panzano strangely derived encouragement from the fact that the English Protestants had begun to apply the term "Saint" to the Apostle Peter; that the Psalms were once more chanted in the olden style; and that the Holy Name was often saluted with a bent head. But it need cause no surprise that he should have derived hope from the resumption of a study of the Fathers in the Universities, from an appearance of renewed respect for altars, and from a frequently expressed desire for "reunion," on the part of many Anglicans. These signs were reported to Rome, together with the saying of Windebank that reunion might be effected, if the Holy See were to abandon Communion under one species and the celibacy of the clergy. Barberini replied to this suggestion that such ideas would never be entertained by Rome; and that the English had better "look back upon the breach they had made, and attend to the motives which had actuated them. As to the points mentioned, the whole world was against them."

be some truth in the reports, which had been so long current, of Laud's secret attachment to the Catholic creed." This view of the matter is quite plausible; but there is no reason for believing that the project, conceived in the mind of a fond and credulous woman, was ever laid before the Pope. Such a proceeding would have been utterly preposterous. Rome well knew, and Lingard admits, that just before the supposed royal tender of a red hat to Laud as the price of his conversion, he had strained every nerve to convince the doubting Puritans of his uncompromising Protestantism. For instance, we learn from the *Strafford Papers* (II., 74) that the prelate had lately dragged before the Council, and procured the conviction of a schoolmaster and an innkeeper of Winchester, accused of bringing up Catholic scholars; and that he had procured an order for the public burning of a Catholic book, entitled *An Introduction to a Devout Life* (was it the beautiful work of St. Francis de Sales?). He had also procured the conviction of a Catholic priest named Morse, who had exerted himself for the relief of the plague-stricken in St. Giles's, and had received many of them into the Church. Lingard does not believe that Laud cherished any Catholic tendencies, so long as he was in the enjoyment of the good things of the Establishment; the historian deems such presumed tendencies fully disproved by the whole tenor of the prelate's conduct and writings. "There is, however, some reason to believe that, in the solitude of his cell, and with the prospect of the block before his eyes, he began to think more favorably of the Catholic Church. At least, I find Rosetti inquiring of Cardinal Barberini whether, if Laud should escape from the Tower, the Pope would afford him an asylum and a pension in Rome. He would be content with one thousand crowns (a very large sum in Italy for a bishop of that day). Barberini answered that Laud was in such bad repute in Rome, being looked upon as the cause of all the troubles in England, that it would previously be necessary that he should give good proof of his repentance; in which case he should receive assistance, though such assistance would give a color to the imputation that there had always been an understanding between him and Rome."

This reply was conveyed by Panzano to Lord Cottington, another secretary of state who had joined Windebank in his conferences with the Roman agent; but Cottington merely retorted that the events of the Reformation were still fresh in the minds of men. It soon became evident that although the king consented to the opening of a species of official intercourse with the court of Rome, sending thither Sir William Hamilton in a semi-official capacity, the royal object was purely political. Charles hoped to secure the good offices of the Pontiff in procuring a restoration of the Palatinate to his nephew (1), and in arranging a marriage between one of the sisters of that nephew and the king of Poland. If the Pope complied with the requests of Charles, a Catholic bishop would be allowed to reside in England. The scheme was futile; for the Pope would not use his influence in favor of a Protestant to the detriment of a Catholic prince, and the Polish monarch would not marry a Protestant. While the royal desires were being pressed in the Eternal City, two Anglican prelates, the incumbents of Chichester and Gloucester, had many conferences with Panzano. The former, Montagu, avowed that he was convinced that a central ecclesiastical authority was necessary, and that he was willing to admit the Pontiff's supreme authority in spirituals; but there the matter rested. Goodman of Gloucester, however, was attended in his last hours by the Franciscan friar, Francisus a Sancta Clara (2); and in his last will, he said: "I dye most constant in all the articles of our Christian faith, and in all the doctrines of God's Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church; whereof I do acknowledge the Church of Rome to be the Mother Church, as I do verily believe that no other Church hath any salvation in it, but only so far as it concurs with the Church of Rome" (3).

(1) Frederick V., the elector-palatine, had married the princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I. The nephew here mentioned was their son.

(2) This friar had written a book, in which, among certain concessions of minor moment, he had admitted the validity of Anglican Orders. The work was heartily condemned at Rome; but it was not officially reprobated—perhaps, as Rivington says (*Anglican Fallacies*, p. 53), because of "kindly policy." However, the too conciliatory author afterward published an apology for his rashness.

(3) The account of the mission of Panzano which is found in Nugent's *Memorials of Hampden* (II., App. A), and which was taken from the *Civil Wars* of Bisaccioni, is regarded

On Jan. 13, 1630, Pope Urban VIII. issued an Apostolic Constitution whereby he condemned and abolished a Religious Congregation of females bearing the name of Jesuitesses, who, although now almost forgotten, and utterly ignored by most historians, were then quite numerous in Italy and Flanders. A well-meaning English woman, named Ward, under the guidance of Gerard, superior of the Jesuit College of Antwerp, had founded a society the members of which, entirely directed by Jesuits, were to devote their lives to the instruction of their countrywomen. Very soon their training-school in Flanders had prepared more than two hundred of these female missionaries, bound by the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and following the Jesuit rule. They did not live in community, for that system was then impracticable in England, the chief scene of their labors. Ere long it became evident that zeal, rather than prudence, had presided at the birth of the organization; and it vainly sought the approbation of the Holy See. The Jesuitesses became worse than ridiculous when, not satisfied with terming their training-schools "Colleges" and "Novitiates," and with such a general imitation of their patrons as their sex permitted, they arrogated to themselves the office of public preaching. The condemnatory Constitution is as follows: "Although the General Councils of the Lateran and of Lyons strictly prohibited the institution of new Religious Congregations by private authority; and although our predecessors of happy memory, the Pontiffs John XXII. and Clement V., by their wise Constitutions condemned and abolished, as baneful, the Congregations of women which had been so instituted; nevertheless (as we have learned with great sorrow), in some places of Italy and of the countries beyond the Alps, certain women or girls have assumed the name of 'Jesuitesses,' and without the permission of the Holy See, have for several years united together under the pretext of following a religious life, adopting a dress different from that of other women, erecting Houses of Probation and buildings in the form of Colleges, establishing a superior-general of their

by Lingard as unreliable; but this historian praises as authentic the *Memoirs of Gregorio anzano* which were edited by Berrington (Birmingham, 1795).

pretended Congregation, and even pronouncing supposedly solemn vows (*ad instar solemnium*) in the hands of that superior, observing no laws of cloister and wandering at their pleasure, and under the pretense of promoting the salvation of souls they have undertaken many works which are unbecoming to the weakness of their sex and derogatory to virginal modesty—works which are with great diffidence undertaken by men of great experience, solid knowledge of the Word of God, and eminent innocence of life. Therefore We, wishing to free the field of the Church Militant from brambles, recently wrote to our venerable brother, the nuncio of this Apostolic See in the Netherlands, and also to certain ordinaries of that region, ordering them to admonish seriously the aforesaid women or girls, and to procure their abandonment of their audacious enterprise, and their return to a healthy state of mind. But those unfortunates had no fear of God, and paid no attention to the warning of the Apostolic See, thus risking their salvation and scandalizing all good persons by their arrogant contumacy. They continued in their course, and did not hesitate to utter many sentiments contrary to orthodox doctrine ; therefore we have resolved to coerce their temerity with the heaviest censure, and to uproot these weeds lest they spread further in the Church of God. Therefore . . . We now suppress altogether, perpetually abolish, and expel from the Church of God the pretended Congregation of women or girls styled Jesuitesses ; we wish and command all the faithful of Christ, to regard that Congregation as suppressed, abolished, and extinct ; and we decree that the aforesaid women or girls are not held to the observation of their aforesaid vows.”

The reader will find in the pages of Ranke a sufficiently faithful picture of the character of Pope Urban VIII., and of the rôle he played in the politics of his day ; but the German historian is unjust to this Pontiff when he says: “I find no Pope who possessed so strong a sentiment of his own individual importance. One day an objection, based on some ancient papal Constitutions, was made to him ; and he replied: ‘The decision of a living Pope is worth more than those of a hundred dead ones.’” We must remember that circumstan-

ces alter cases ; and while the judgment of any one Pope can never differ from those of a hundred of his predecessors in matters of faith or morals, it may happen that in affairs of discipline or politics, a Pontiff may come to a decision very different from that which the circumstances of their days entailed upon all previous Popes. But it is not true that Urban VIII. made little of the decisions of his predecessors, when he wished to attain some end of his own. Ranke gives no authority for the remark he places on the lips of Urban ; but we do know that often this Pontiff displayed a scrupulous regard for the decrees of other Popes, and sometimes under circumstances when a man of the temper of Ranke would have expected him to abrogate them, at least in practice. Thus, although Urban VIII. was one of the most nepotistic of Popes, he refused to confer the duchy of Urbino upon his nephew, the duke of Palestrina : and he refused, precisely because Pius V. had interdicted any future investiture of the fiefs of the Church.

We shall have occasion to give many details concerning this Pontiff's conduct in the affair of Galileo and in the Jansenistic controversy, when we pay special attention to those subjects ; but here we must speak at some length about a contest in which Urban VIII. was one of the most prominent figures (1). The hideously grand period of the Thirty Years' War, that era of crimes which were more horrible than any which had visited earth since the days of pagan antiquity, was prolific of prodigious beings—a kind of moral Centaurs—half brigands and half great men. The heroes of this struggle were portentously original ; and some of them, man-eaters and gold-consumers—for instance, Mansfeld, Halberstadt, and Wallenstein—were sovereignly detestable. Shakespeare would certainly have discerned a fit subject for his pen in Wallenstein ; that colossal satrap who would have been more at home in dark and violent Asia than in Europe ; that taciturn fighter who was never known to laugh, and whose soldiers declared that he communed with demons ; that ostensible Catholic who believed only in judicial astrol-

(1) Nearly all of the rest of this chapter appeared as an article in *The Amer. Cath. Quarterly Review*, vol. xx.

ogy, and who was neither Christian nor pagan nor human; that inscrutable sphynx and abyss of ambition, who is still as much of an enigma as he was during his life and in his death. And how well the divine William would have depicted him who was, in all probability, the sole disinterested, as he was certainly one of the most admirable military men of his day: Tilly, who was a virgin when he died, and had heard two Masses every day of his life. Shakespeare unrolled many panoramas of history, but he never gazed on one so striking as that which began with the campaigns of Tilly and closed with those of Condé and Turenne, and which resulted in the eclipse of the Spanish policy of Charles V. by that of Richelieu and Mazarin. The Thirty Years' War was the real end of the Middle Age, the end of that death agony which began with the crime of Philip the Fair at Anagni, and the consequence of which was to be the dissolution of the political and social organization which the Catholic Church had imposed upon the *Populus Christianus*—the Christian Republic. This war, strongly but penetratingly observes one of the most brilliant writers of modern France, and a judicious polemic, "which issued from the cowl which Luther had trampled under his feet, was a deliverance of the world from the conditions in which it had been placed by the Catholic Church and the Christian royalties; and, of course, such a gain warrants its glorification. This war was the Last Judgment, the valley of Jehosaphat, of the Middle Age; it was the resurrection of man, who had been suffocated by God for centuries, as though buried in a sepulchre; and at last man rose out of the ruins of God to put himself in the place of God. It was, in fine, a beginning of a realization of the frightful dream of Jean Paul (Richter), which we have seen actuated: 'There is no God; there is no Christ'; with this difference, however, that the souls in the dream of Jean Paul are desolate—eternally desolate—while modern souls are content, happy in their joys of hell" (1). Such a war will ever be interesting to the student of humanity, and its interest increases in presence of those contests which have lately convulsed Europe, and in presence of those changes which

(1) BARBEY D'AUREVILLE; *Deeds and Men*, vol. viii., p. 108, Paris, 1887.

have been recently experienced by the states which formed the Holy Roman Empire of the seventeenth century. But in presenting a succinct sketch of the Thirty Years' War, and a few apposite reflections, to the consideration of the student, we are chiefly actuated by a desire to investigate the legitimacy of the claims to apotheosis which many zealous Protestants advance in favor of Gustavus Adolphus (1).

The Latin and Teutonic races, united for an instant by Charlemagne, separated when that emperor died; the Latin following its destiny in Italy, France, and Spain, while the Teutonic retained, together with the imperial crown, about two-thirds of the Carolingian Empire. In the sixteenth century Germany was a federative empire, composed of both hereditary and elective monarchies and of free imperial cities, the latter veritable republics. The hereditary monarchies were governed by lay sovereigns; the elective by ecclesiastical princes, generally issued from powerful noble families. Over all these states, and uniting them together, reigned the Holy Roman Emperor, an elective sovereign who was not a lawful emperor until his election was confirmed by the founder of the empire, the Pope; and who, during the three previous centuries, had nearly always been chosen from among the members of the House of Hapsburg. Just as the prince-bishops were elected by the cathedral-chapters, so the emperor was chosen by seven electors. Three of these electors

(1) The student who desires detailed information concerning the Thirty Years' War should consult the works of Gindely, Ranke, Opel, Hurter, and Schreiber for the Palatine and Danish periods; those of Gfrörer and Droysen for the Swedish period; and those of Bougeant, Barthold, and Koch for the French period. He will also consult with profit the *History of Louis XIII.*, by Levassor; and the *Memoirs of Richelieu*. Valuable aid will be obtained in the biography of Tilly, by Klopp; in that of Wallenstein, by Ranke; in that of Mansfeld, by Villermont; and in that of Turenne, by Ramsay. The *Universal History of Cantù* gives probably the most impartial and satisfactory of all the succinct narratives. Among the more voluminous works treating especially of this subject, none can be compared with the *History of the Thirty Years' War*, by Charveriat (Paris, 1878), for erudition, grasp of subject, and historical acumen. As to the work of Schiller, so much lauded by Protestant writers on this subject, we need merely say that when Schiller, the poet, undertook to write his *History of the Thirty Years' War*, he ceased to be a poet, without becoming a historian. Nor would we expect that a subject of that nature would receive justice from one who could write, as Schiller did to Goethe: "You are right: healthy nature has no need of morality or of a natural law, and you might add that she needs not to rely on a divinity or on an immortality of the soul." When Schiller approached this chaos of brigandage and butchery, evidently he hoped to find literary capital in its prodigious and thrillingly dramatic personages. He certainly found the material for a grand work; but he brought forth an incoherent mass of platitudinous declamations.

were ecclesiastics, the archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves ; and the lay electors were the count-palatine, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg. The so-called Reformation produced in Germany political as well as religious convulsions. When a lay prince became a Protestant, no change occurred in the government of his states ; since the power continued to be transmitted by way of heredity. But when the sovereign was an ecclesiastic, his perversion to Protestantism necessarily entailed a radical modification of the political constitution of his states ; for the first act of a priest, when he had discovered the errors of popery, was an abandonment of celibacy, and therefore a transformation of his elective into a hereditary principality. A striking instance of the consequences of the apostasy of an ecclesiastical ruler may be discerned in the case of Albert of Brandenburg, a soldier-monk and grand-master of the Teutonic Knights, who became a "reformer," and by stealing the property of his Order, laid the foundation of the Protestant kingdom of Prussia. When the pervert was also an imperial elector, the constitution of the empire was affected ; for then, since three of the electors had embraced Protestantism, the majority in the electoral college passed to the innovators, and there was a danger of an elevation of a heretic to the imperial throne—an anomaly for which humanity was not prepared, and the actuation of which would have sapped the very foundation of the venerated institution. After thirty years of discord, Germany, exhausted by the wars of Charles V., was desirous of peace, even at the cost of an abandonment of religious controversy. On February 5, 1555, a Diet assembled at Augsburg, and a kind of truce was concluded between the Catholics and Lutherans ; the Calvinists, Zwinglians, and other sectarians being excluded, and declared unable to profit by any of the concessions made by the Catholics. Those princes who had adopted the *Confession of Augsburg*, as well as the Catholic princes and free states, were to enjoy a species of freedom of conscience ; that is, they could be either Catholics or Lutherans. The Evangelicals—so termed, after the fashion of *lucus a non lucendo*, because they paid more attention to the Old Testament than to the Gospel—were utterly

ignored in this transaction. The Lutheran princes and states were to retain possession of all the ecclesiastical domains which they had stolen before the Treaty of Passau in 1552. The reader will observe that liberty of conscience, or what passed for such, was here granted to princes and to the administrators of the free cities ; that is, to sovereigns, and not to subjects, of whom there was no thought in the premises. Each sovereign was to impose on his people whatever religion accorded with his conviction or suited his caprice, in actuation of the detestable and pre-eminently Protestant principle—in reality, a pagan canon—that the master of a country was, of right, master also of that country's religion ; *Cujus regio, ejus religio* (1). The aggrieved subjects, however, had one resource ; they could sell their property, and if they were then able to pay for the privilege, they could emigrate. After the Peace of Augsburg, Protestantism made great progress in Germany. Hitherto it had been confined to Saxony, Franconia, and Suabia ; but now it penetrated into Westphalia, Bavaria, and the duchy of Austria. Among the princely families, only three remained Catholic ; those of Austria, Bavaria, and Juliers-Cleves-Berg. And even these made many concessions to such of their subjects as became Protestants. Even the ecclesiastical princes gave full toleration to their heretical subjects. At the request of the emperor Ferdinand I., in hopes of preventing further apostasies, Pope Pius IV. accorded, in 1564, the use of the chalice to lay communicants in the duchy of Austria. Of course this concession encouraged the demand of others ; and Maximilian II. requested Pope Pius V. to sanction the marriage of the clergy. The Pontiff most energetically refused (2). Such was the condition of Germany in 1612, when Mathias became emperor. Feeling that his advanced age would not allow him to confront satis-

(1) This principle was promulgated by nearly all the Protestant juriconsults of that day. The celebrated Hugo Grotius contended : " In arbitrio est summi imperit quamnam religio publice exerceatur ; Idque præcipuum inter majestatis jura ponunt omnes qui politica scripserunt." Certainly this was the most complete of tyrannies, if applied in the fulness of its consequences, and not restrained by the written constitutions which men were obliged to devise as makeshifts, when they had abolished the supreme guardian of justice and of right.

(2) PFISFER : *German History*, vol. vii., p. 463.—RANKE : *On German History*. p. 25.
—BARRE, *History of Germany*, vol. ix., p. 90.

factorily the difficulties of his position, Mathias procured the recognition of his cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, as king of Bohemia in 1617, and as king of Hungary in 1618. This action was equivalent to a proclamation that Ferdinand was to be the next emperor ; and as that prince was a zealous Catholic, the Protestants anticipated danger for themselves, and resolved to forestall it. An occasion for action was furnished by a prohibition to erect Protestant temples in his domains, issued by the archbishop of Prague, in accordance with that very Protestant maxim that each ruler should be the guide of his people in religious matters. Led by Count Mathias of Thurn, the Protestants of Bohemia arose in revolt ; and the "defenestration" of Prague—the pitching of several royal councillors out of a window, sixty feet from the ground, so that blood might not be shed in the council-chamber—was the signal for the Thirty Years' War.

The first period of this war, or series of wars, is generally styled the Palatine Period, because of the prominent part taken in it by the elector-palatine Frederick V., a weak and yet ambitious prince whom the Bohemian rebels acclaimed as their king ; and who was recommended to their appreciation by his triple position of head of the Protestant League, nephew of the stadtholder of Holland, and son-in-law of the royal theologian, James I. of England. In the ensuing contest, Ferdinand was succored by the duke of Bavaria, a zealous Catholic ; and by the elector of Saxony, a Lutheran, but therefore an enemy of the Calvinists, who were the mainstay of the early rebels. The palatine was conquered ; the defeat of Calvinism was complete ; but although the emperor triumphed, he excited the ire of the Lutherans by occupying the palatinate, and above all, by conferring the electoral dignity on a Catholic prince. The palatine, because of his revolt and usurpation, had undoubtedly merited to be placed under the ban of the empire, and had certainly forfeited his estates ; but the emperor should not have disposed of the electoral dignity without the concurrence of the electoral college. This seizure of the hereditary states of the palatine, and the transfer of the electorate to the Bavarian, became the chief pretexts for the continuance of the war ; for although the elect-

ors ratified the Bavarian's elevation to their circle, their action was more or less compulsory.

During the first period of the war, which lasted from 1618 to 1623, England and Holland gave some aid to the palatine ; Spain naturally supported Austria, for their crowns were worn by near kinsmen, and their interests were supposed to be identical ; France was neutral, but was then more favorable to the Hapsburgs than to their adversaries. When the palatine period of the war terminated with an apparent triumph of the emperor and of Catholicism, the Protestants everywhere took the alarm ; and German Calvinists especially feared for the tenure of the dominions and estates which they had stolen from Catholic ecclesiastics. They renewed the contest ; and the Danish monarch, who also coveted the goods of the Church, placed himself at their head, incited and supported by France and England. But like the palatine, the Dane was beaten ; and although the Treaty of Lubeck restored to him his hereditary dominions, he was forced to abandon his German allies. The emperor, foreseeing no obstacles, now published, on March 6, 1629, his famous Edict of Restitution. As we have observed, the Peace of Augsburg, in 1555, had allowed the Lutherans to retain the ecclesiastical domains and properties which they had "annexed" before the Peace of Passau, in 1552. But while sanctioning these usurpations, the Peace of Augsburg had pronounced that thereafter when a bishop, abbot, or beneficed clergyman apostatized, he should, by the fact, lose his bishopric, abbey, or benefice ; and this clause was called the "ecclesiastical reservation." However, in spite of this reservation, the usurpations had continued ; and the ecclesiastical princes often called upon the emperor to enforce its observation. The immediate successors of Ferdinand I., not very hostile to Protestantism, had paid no attention to these demands ; but things changed with the advent of Ferdinand II., and by the Edict of Restitution the Protestants were forced to restore the domains of two archbishoprics, Magdeburg and Bremen, and of twelve bishoprics, to say nothing of an immense number of exspoliated abbeys and convents. In Saxony alone, the reformers were obliged to relinquish their sacrilegious

grasp on 120 abbeys and convents, besides many houses of mendicant friars (1). This measure, so irritating to hundreds of Protestant nobles and upstarts who had begun to assume some prominence, owing to their acquisition of the goods of the sanctuary, was destined to figure among the pretexts alleged by Gustavus Adolphus in justification of his interference in German affairs (2). It is painful to have to notice, in this connection, that a large number of these recovered properties, instead of being restored to their rightful owners, or of being used for religious or educational purposes, fell into the hands of Catholic laymen; and in 1632 Pope Urban VIII. declared that the torments inflicted on Germany by the Swedes were in punishment of this scandal (3). After the enforcement of the Edict of Restitution, the growing power of the emperor, and the tyrannies of Wallenstein, frightened even the Catholics; and, therefore, they joined the Protestants in demanding the dismissal of the noble *condottiere*. Ferdinand relied on the Catholics for the election of his son as "king of the Romans" (and, therefore, future emperor); and he unwillingly ordered his arrogant commander to retire to his estates (4).

(1) HURTER; *History of the Emperor Ferdinand II.*, vol. iii., p. 30.

(2) HURTER; *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 41.—RANKE; *History of Wallenstein*, p. 167.

(3) HURTER; *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 74.

(4) Albert Wenceslaus Ralsko was born in Bohemia on the little estate or farm of Hermanic, the sole possession of one of the branches of the Ralskos of Wallenstein. He made his first campaign in a war against the Turks, and under the command of Basta, a pupil of Alexander Farnese. Through the good offices of the archbishop of Prague, he obtained the hand of a wealthy Moravian widow who, dying soon afterward, left him some very valuable estates. Meanwhile he had amassed considerable wealth of his own by such means as nearly all *condottieri* then used; and in 1617 he was able to recruit a large number of soldiers of fortune, and led them to the service of the archduke Ferdinand of Styria in the campaign against Venice. When Bohemia revolted, Wallenstein, then colonel of a Moravian regiment, declared for Ferdinand. Although he took no part in the battle of the White Mountain, he profited by its results; and devoted a large portion of his booted spoils of war to the purchase of the lordship of Friedland, and many other confiscated estates, at a low figure. Hence in a short time the poor Czech Slav found himself wealthy in lands, and obtained from Ferdinand the title of duke of Friedland. Shortly afterward, he offered to raise and support, at no expense to the imperial treasury, 20,000 soldiers; if he were allowed to head them against Italy, Hungary, or German rebels. Accordingly, in 1625 he was made general-in-chief of all the armies of the Holy Roman Empire, and received carte-blanche for his recruiting schemes. (HURTER, *History of the Emperor Ferdinand II.*, vol. II., p. 418). After the campaign of 1627, that of Silesia, he was made prince of Sagan, which dignity gave him the right of sitting in the College of Princes of Silesia; but the ambitious Bohemian aimed at an equality with the princes of the empire, and demanded the duchy of Mecklenburg. He received it as security for his war expenses, and in 1629 its full sovereignty was conferred on him. From this time Wallenstein was in continual strife with the electors. The struggle was, in reality, a continuation of that which had subsisted

Many writers attribute the fall of Wallenstein, and also the refusal of the electors to accommodate Ferdinand in the promotion of his son, to the influence of the agent of Richelieu, the celebrated "grey cardinal," the Capuchin, Joseph (François Le Clerc du Tremblay). But it is certain that the electors had decided on asking for the dismissal of Wallenstein, and on refusing the election of the "king of the Romans," before Father Joseph arrived at Ratisbon, where the discussions were held. The rôle of the Capuchin at the Diet of Ratisbon was simply that of a peacemaker. Ranke affects to regard the *alter ego* of Richelieu as a cunning schemer; he says that "deceitful subtlety never was so active" as it was in the diplomatic successes of Friar Joseph in Germany (1). Such being the estimation in which the famous Capuchin is generally held, the reader may welcome a few words concerning his career. Few historians have devoted much time to Friar Joseph. His constant devotion to the great Minister, his invariable connection with every political act of that prelate, gave him the designation of the Grey Cardinal, and he was the red cardinal's "familiar demon." This is about all which is told us by Bazin and by Henri Martin, who have dwelt more on this subject than other writers. The impressive play of Bulwer is the source of the ideas which very many hold concerning both Richelieu and his Capuchin secretary, and these ideas are as just as would be an estimate of Joan of Arc derived from the absurd play of Schiller or the obscene poem of Voltaire. According to Bulwer, the friar-secretary was a man of low cunning—a sneak, but at the same time ambitious, and he was as ready to betray the secrets of the confessional

since the transfer of the empire, by Pope John XII., from the Franks to the Germans, in 962; the emperors ever striving to extend their power, and the electors determined on limiting it. Wallenstein always regarded the electors as his adversaries. He purposely confounded the different titles to authority which the emperor enjoyed; the sovereignty in whatever hereditary states he might have, and the suzerainty in the Holy Roman Empire. This confusion effected to some extent, Wallenstein insisted that Ferdinand should be master in Germany, just as he was in his hereditary states, and just as the kings of France and Spain were in their kingdoms; there should be no electors, the empire should pass from father to son by right. Ferdinand II. was too faithful to duty to enter upon such a violation of the obligations imposed on him by the constitution of the empire; and the Bohemian adventurer, flattering himself that he could eventually dispose of the emperor as he already did of the court and the army, entered the fatal path which was to lead him to treason and to death. See HURTER; *loc. cit.*—SCHREIBER; *Maximilian I.*—RANKE; *History of Wallenstein*.—CHARVÉRIAT; *Thirty Years' War*.

(1) *The Papacy in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, bk. vii., ch. 4.

as his master was to use them. Although less famous, because the subject of less attention, than the two Abbots Suger, than St. John Capistrano, than the Franciscans Calatagirone and Ximenes, his career must be interesting, if only because of its connection with that of the great Richelieu. François le Clerc du Tremblay was born of noble parents in 1577. From his sixteenth year he desired to become a religious, but to please his family he entered the army, and at the siege of Amiens was noticed for his bravery by the constable de Montmorency. When his relative, M. de Mesle de Berzean, was sent as extraordinary ambassador to Elizabeth of England, the young François accompanied him, and the woes of the English Catholics and the many devastations of heresy so excited the zeal of the apostolate in his heart, that on his return to France in 1599 he joined the Capuchin branch of the Franciscan Order. He soon acquired fame as a preacher and controversialist, and it was while engaged in a mission at Poitou, in 1619, that he formed his first relations with Armand du Plessis de Richelieu, then bishop of Luçon. Friar Joseph (for such was the name adopted by Du Tremblay in religion) soon became cognizant of the sublime genius and extraordinary administrative talent of the provincial prelate, and he drew the attention of the queen, Marie dei Medici, to his discovery. This was the starting point of Richelieu's glorious career. But Friar Joseph had been known as a zealous churchman and as an accomplished diplomatist several years before he became connected with Richelieu. In 1615 Rome had appreciated his apostolic spirit, when, bearing letters of approbation from Louis XIII., he laid before the Holy See three grand projects—viz., the establishment of permanent missions to combat heresy in France; a new crusade against the Crescent; and the foundation of the Daughters of Calvary, a society destined to perpetual meditation on the woes of Mary at the feet of her crucified Son. Joseph's first diplomatic achievement was the effecting of the Treaty of Loudun, in 1615, between the court and the faction of the prince de Condé, without that schismatic clause which the Third Estate—then composed chiefly of heretics and bad Catholics—wished to insert: *i. e.*, that the king, being

sovereign in his realm, could recognize in it no superior, *spiritual* or temporal. To compass the withdrawal of this clause, the royal minister Villeroi sought the aid of our friar, then making his provincial visitation to the houses of his Order in Poitou. The nuncio Ubadani also added his entreaties, and Joseph, who had long ago gained the esteem of Condé, began a series of negotiations which finally succeeded; and thus was obviated a danger which threatened France with the same horrors as those experienced by England at the hands of Henry VIII. That this blessing was due to the exertions of the Capuchin provincial, was openly acknowledged by Villeroi, who entering Tours after the signature of the treaty, cried out to the applauding citizens: "Thank not me, but Friar Joseph!" Marie dei Medici did not forget the warm recommendation of the bishop of Luçon proffered by the humble Capuchin. It was through her influence that Richelieu was raised to the cardinalate in 1622, and two years afterward was made prime minister of France. One of his first acts was to send the following letter to Friar Joseph: "As you have been the chief agent used by God in according me my present honors, I feel it a duty to inform you, before all others, that the king has hearkened to the queen's prayer to appoint me his prime minister. I also beg you to make all possible haste to come and share with me the management of affairs, some of which are of such a nature that I can confide them to no other person. Come, then, at once to receive the proof of the esteem in which you are held by the Cardinal de Richelieu." Friar Joseph has been called ambitious, and yet he constantly refused many dignities offered him. The See of Albi was tendered him in vain, as well as the projected diocese of La Rochelle. Certainly King Louis XIII. again and again named him to the Holy See (firstly in 1635) for a cardinal's hat, but we know not whether, if accorded him, he would have accepted the honor voluntarily; he always protested to Richelieu that the habit of St. Francis was the dearest thing to him on earth. In view of the prevalent idea that the friar-secretary was an unscrupulous intriguer and an associate of roysterers, it is curious to note that, according to the records of the time, he was as

faithful to his monastic duties as any friar in the cloister. Friar Joseph was sixty-one years of age when, a stroke of apoplexy warning him to prepare for death, he retired to a house of his Order in the Rue Saint-Honoré, despite the solicitations of Richelieu. But the cardinal availed himself of an important business conference with Cardinal de Bichi to insist on Joseph's return. The friar acquiesced, attended the conference, but was seized the same day by a second stroke, and died three days afterward, December 18, 1638. He was buried with all the honors due to a cardinal, and was followed to the tomb by the Parliament and all that was noble in Paris. Richelieu composed the following epitaph, which was engraved on the tomb: "In everlasting memory of the Rev. Father Joseph le Clerc, Capuchin.—Here lies one whose virtues will never be forgotten; one who, in order to bear the yoke of the Lord, abandoned in his youth parents, titles, and wealth, and lived very poor in a very poor Order. Made Provincial in that Order, he benefited the Church by his writings and his discourses. He filled many public offices, to which he was providentially called by the Most Christian King Louis, in a holy and a prudent manner; carefully serving God, his prince, and his country, with seraphic devotion and wonderful tranquillity of spirit. He observed, to the last day of his life, the entire rule to which he had dedicated himself; although, for the good of the Church, he had been dispensed from it by three successive Pontiffs. By his missions and his advice he resisted heresy in France and in England, and he sustained the courage of the Christians in the East. Amid the wealth and the allurements of the court he led a life of poverty and austerity, and before his death had been named to the cardinalate."

The House of Austria was now called to confront a new adversary, the king of Sweden; and France was to support him more actively than she had the Danish monarch. This period of the Thirty Years' War claims more attention than we have considered necessary to devote to the Palatine and Danish periods; for the Lion of the North, the "king of snows," is almost venerated by the average Protestant. Were Protestantism capable of making saints, and having made

them, of conscientiously praying to them, Gustavus Adolphus would have been canonized. On December 9, 1594, in the castle of Stockholm, a son was born to Charles, duke of Sudermania, the third son of that king, Gustavus Wasa, who had introduced Protestantism into Sweden (1). In remembrance of this monarch, and of his maternal grandfather, Adolphus of Holstein, the babe was christened as Gustavus Adolphus. Ten years before this event, the famous Danish astronomer (and astrologist), Tycho-Brahe, had discovered a new star in the constellation of Cassiopea; and it was said, when Gustavus Adolphus appeared, that the scientist had declared that the heavenly birth prognosticated the coming of a northern prince who was to be the saviour of the then nascent and persecuted "Protestant Church." Charles of Sudermania mounted the Swedish throne in 1604; and one of his chief cares was the careful education of his heir. Besides his paternal language, the young prince learned to use fluently the Latin, Italian, French, German, and Dutch tongues; and when he had attained to the age of eleven, his father made him assist at the sessions of the Council of State and at the reception of ambassadors. In 1611 the death of Charles IX. made Gustavus Adolphus king of Sweden; and one of his first acts was the appointment of his former tutor, Axel Oxenstierna, to the royal chancellorship. To the day of his death he showed the utmost confidence in this faithful servant. Gustavus Adolphus was an intense absolutist. Until he ascended the throne the Swedish Diets had assembled regularly, and had shared the initiative with the monarch. But the young king ordained that thereafter he alone should enjoy this prerogative; the Diet having merely the privilege of

(1) The Treaty of Calmar, 1397, had united Sweden, Norway, and Denmark under one crown, although each of these Scandinavian kingdoms retained its own liberties and privileges. But the Swedes refused to be bound by the agreement, and during the fifteenth century they were governed by administrators chosen from the family of the Sture. Christian II. of Denmark endeavored to restore the union of the three kingdoms; and as Pope Leo X. supported his claims, the Swedes became hostile to the Holy See. When Christian returned to Denmark, after his conquest of Sweden, Gustavus Ericson, one of the noble family of the Wasa, headed a revolt, was proclaimed administrator, and finally became king of Sweden, in 1523, under the name of Gustavus Wasa. The discontent of the Swedes with Pope Leo X. encouraged Wasa to seize the property of the Church in order to replete his exhausted treasury; and as an excuse, he found that the true gospel had just been announced at Wittenberg.—GEROER; *Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and His Times*, Stuttgart, 1863.—DROYSEN; *Gustavus Adolphus*, Leipsic, 1869.

respectfully presenting a remonstrance at the close of the session. Again, hitherto the royal power had been limited not only by the Diet, but by the Reichsrath or Council of the Kingdom, which was composed of the leading nobles, and had always been accustomed to deliberate with the sovereign on all important matters. Gustavus allowed this body to subsist in name; but he consulted, when he cared to do so, and only then, five special Councils—those of justice, war, marine, foreign affairs, and finance—every member of which was designated by himself. Gustavus Wasa had already deprived the clergy of much of their authority and influence; but Gustavus Adolphus resolved to render his ministers docile creatures of his royal will. He instituted a consistory, so composed that he might always rely upon the subservience of the majority to any desire or whim of his Majesty. This sycophantic body appointed all the pastors, exercised over printed matter a rigid censorship which the Roman Index would have admired rather than imitated, and presided over all literary and eleemosynary institutions. As to religious liberty, the mind of Gustavus Adolphus, like that of every Protestant prince of his day, harbored but one idea on the subject; it was the duty and the privilege of his subjects to profess the creed which their royal master might chance to adopt as his own. Immediately on his accession, the Diet of Nyköping agreed with its lord that Lutheranism was to be maintained in Sweden, even though extreme measures were necessary for that end; and in 1617 the Diet of Oebro obeyed the royal will by decreeing that the penalty for high treason should be visited upon every Swede who, even in the privacy of his own house, and only in the bosom of his family, would be guilty of any Catholic practices. In fact, many persons, and in 1623 three public functionaries, mounted the scaffold in accordance with this law (1). In fine, with the advent of Gustavus Adolphus, all the institutions of the Middle Ages vanished from Sweden, and the government became an absolute monarchy, without a vestige of either civil or religious liberty.

The sole object of Gustavus Adolphus was to augment his kingdom, and to dominate. The Swedes were for him merely

(1) GFRORER; *loc. cit.*, pp. 70, 109, 125.

so many instruments for the advancement of his glory. He continued the policy of his family, the acquisition of the Baltic regions, and a consequent conversion of that sea into a Swedish lake. In 1629, after long and cruel wars, he possessed all the Baltic shores, excepting those of Denmark, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania. The greater part of the still coveted territory was a dependency of the Holy Roman Empire, at the head of which was the House of Austria, then the most powerful in Christendom. But Germany was divided by the greed for ecclesiastical property and domains; and the emperor had alienated the Protestants by his Edict of Restitution—a measure which was perfectly legal and otherwise legitimate, since it simply ordered the observance of the Peace of Augsburg, when it enjoined upon the Protestants a surrender of goods which they had seized in violation of that treaty. However, this edict was an act of bad policy on the part of Ferdinand; for it lost for him the support of many of the German princes, especially that of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the former of whom had ever been warmly attached to the House of Hapsburg. While this fever agitated Germany, Gustavus Adolphus determined to actuate his dream of Baltic conquest.

At this period, France had resolved to perfect, to “round out” her frontiers by the annexation of Alsace, and to diminish the power of Austria by procuring the transfer of the imperial crown to the House of Bavaria. Therefore, since France and Sweden had a common adversary, it was natural for them to unite; and Richelieu thought that when Gustavus had served his purpose, he could easily withdraw from the alliance. By the influence of the cardinal, the war between Sweden and Poland was terminated by the armistice of Altmark; and Gustavus was then free to attend to Germany. The ambitious monarch had no justification for interfering in German affairs; and he was so well convinced of this fact, that he did not dare to assemble the Swedish Diet in order to go through the farce of asking its opinion as to the advisability of declaring war. He simply informed some of the most docile members of his sufficiently docile council that a state of war “already subsisted” between the empire and

Sweden, and that the sole question for consideration was, as to which of the parties should make the attack (1). Nothing was more certain than that the emperor Ferdinand had in no way menaced Sweden; if he had thought of creating an imperial fleet in the Baltic, it was merely for the defeat of Denmark. Gustavus vaunted himself as the defender of the German princes, but none of these had asked his aid; the duke of Pomerania had even begged him to stay away from Germany. It is interesting to note that Frederick II. of Prussia, who was not at all scrupulous about the ethics of conquest, after detailing the complaints of Gustavus against the emperor, declared that "none of these reasons could justify the arming of nations against each other, the ruination of the most flourishing provinces, and a prodigal effusion of human blood, in order to satisfy the ambition and caprice of one man" (2). That he might the more successfully pose as the offended and innocent party, Gustavus affected to consider Germany and Sweden as having been placed already in a state of hostility by the emperor's interference in Poland; and therefore he did not deign to declare war—a course which was unprecedented in those days. At that time, statesmen were more punctilious, to say the least, than they are in our day; then, the world would have been astounded had a king of Sardinia invaded the territories of the Pope and of the king of the Two Sicilies, without the formality of a declaration of war. Whether or not Gustavus Adolphus, like many of the *condottieri* of his time, preserved something of the gentleman even amid the ruffianliness of the brigand, he seems to have felt the necessity of excusing his filibustering conduct; for he caused trusty agents to scatter throughout Europe copies of a manifesto written in Latin, entitled, "Reasons why the king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, has been forced to disembark on German soil with an army." They who would fain regard the royal adventurer as an angel of the Most High, bearing the flaming sword of a Macchabee in defence of the persecuted children of God, will perforce observe that the sentiments of this justificatory document are

(1) RICHELIEU; *Memoirs*, vol. v., p. 147.—GFRORER; *loc. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 134.

(2) *Works of Frederick II.*, edition 1789, vol. i., p. 55.—KÖCH; *loc. cit.*, in Introduction, p. 7.

of the earth, earthly. "The king of Sweden has done all that he could to prevent this war (an absolute falsehood). He has long closed his ears to the urgent appeals (which did not exist) of his relatives and his co-religionists in Germany, because he still hoped that the emperor would cease to persecute these innocents (Ferdinand had persecuted no one). But he finds himself obliged by the strongest of reasons (greed of territory), to obtain by the sword that satisfaction which has been refused to his prayers. The imperialists have intercepted his letters (which was their right) to the prince of Transylvania, Bethlen Gabor (a sworn vassal of the Turk, and usurper of the crown of Hungary), and maltreated the messenger. The emperor has fomented discord between Sweden and Poland, and has furnished two armies to King Sigismund (to aid this prince against an iniquitous invasion). . . . He has tried to dominate the Baltic, which is a violation of the rights of Sweden, to which country, in common with Denmark, that sea has always belonged (a new clause in the law of nations). . . . under the pretence of punishing rebels, and of causing a restitution of ecclesiastical property, the emperor has oppressed all the princes of Germany, and has tried to force them under his yoke (Ferdinand merely upheld the German constitution). The emperor has rejected all my propositions of peace (which were purposely so couched that no German patriot could accept them); and nothing remains for the king of Sweden but war in order to obtain justice (a Scandinaldo-German empire)." In this manifesto, the alleged Macchabee scarcely alludes to religious questions. Indeed, he caused the Genevan professor, Spanheim, to compose a work in proof of the fact that his Swedish majesty was not undertaking a religious war.

Gustavus Adolphus owed his first successes in Germany to the excellence of his troops, inured to hardship and thoroughly drilled in his Polish campaigns. Nor should it be forgotten that the Swede alone directed his army, as he did his policy; whereas Ferdinand could effect nothing without the concurrence of the electors. Complete unity fought for the former; perpetual discord harassed the latter. But in spite of these advantages, Gustavus remained for six months with-

out doing anything but occupy the mouths of the Oder ; then the Treaty of Berwald, concluded with France, enabled him to capture Frankfort, and thus to master the entire river. Compelling his brother-in-law, the elector of Brandenburg, to a less than half-hearted alliance, he obtained control of the basin of the Elbe. The elector of Saxony, frightened by the Edict of Restitution, was as yet neutral ; but when Tilly summoned him, in the name of the emperor, to lay down his arms, he perforce joined the Swede. This alliance was decisive for Gustavus. Having no longer any fear for his rear, he pushed forward and vanquished Tilly at Leipsic, thanks to the disobedience of Pappenheim more than to the unwieldiness of the imperial army, still hampered by the now antiquated Spanish tactics. Gustavus could now have advanced to Vienna, but he preferred to wait for reinforcements ; meanwhile invading Franconia and the ecclesiastical electorates of the Rhine. Had he been animated, as is asserted *usque ad nauseam*, by the sole desire of saving German Protestantism, he would have marched on the Austrian capital immediately after his victory at Leipsic ; for, in order to checkmate him, the emperor would have abrogated the Edict of Restitution, which, indeed, had been renounced so far as Saxony was concerned. But then Gustavus would have returned to his kingdom of snow with naught but glory for his profit. There would have remained no further need for his presence in Germany ; and if he attempted to annex any German soil, the now contented Protestants would have joined the Catholics in driving him beyond the Baltic. Gustavus entertained no idea of being content with the reputation of a Protestant Macchabee ; and since he was not yet sufficiently powerful to wrest any concession of territory from the emperor, he seized upon what was at his mercy, the ecclesiastical states on the Main and the Rhine. At this juncture he illustrated his views on the matter of religious toleration. Erfurt, then a populous city, was a dependency of the archbishop-elect of Mayence ; but this prelate had always allowed it to govern itself in an independence similar to that of the imperial free cities. Under the protection of the archbishop-elect, the Protestant maxim of *Cujus regio, etc.*, had never been actual-

ed. The Lutherans had been allowed to live in peace with their fellow-citizens. But when this alleged champion of religious liberty entered Erfurt, he issued a pronunciamento declaring that all Catholics were excluded from his favor; and he heeded the prayers of the municipal council not to expel all the priests, only on condition that these should swear lasting fidelity to the king of Sweden. Then he decreed that all the Protestant ministers and University professors should be exempted from war taxes; but he levied a double-quota on the Catholic clergy (1).

The successes of Gustavus Adolphus alarmed Richelieu, who had wished to lessen the power of Austria, but in favor of France and Bavaria, Catholic powers, rather than for the aggrandizement of Protestant Sweden. Therefore, the sagacious cardinal-minister insisted that Gustavus should spare the Catholic League—that is, the Catholic princes of Germany. But the Swedish monarch would make no distinction between the emperor and the Catholic princes; and his good fortune rendered him impatient of Richelieu's dictation. He even threatened to attack France. Then Richelieu withdrew his subsidies; but Gustavus felt the loss scarcely at all, having then at his command the resources of the richest parts of Germany. Meanwhile the command of the imperial army had been restored to Wallenstein. Perceiving that his enemy was menacing his communications with the north, Gustavus concentrated his forces near Nuremberg, and finally, on November 16, 1632, he defeated Wallenstein at Lutzen, but perished on the field (2). Had the Lion of the North survived the battle of Lutzen, would he have remained contented with the foundation of a Scandinavian empire entirely enclosing the Baltic? Or would he have mounted the throne of Germany? Certainly there were many in Germany who

(1) KLOPP; *Tilly*, vol. ii., p. 343.—GFRORER, *loc. cit.*, p. 671.

(2) Duke Francis Albert of Saxe-Lauenburg, who was with Gustavus during nearly the whole of the battle, has been accused of assassinating him. But the testimony of the royal page, August Leubeling, and of the royal chamberlain, Truchsess, both of whom were in immediate attendance on Gustavus at the fatal moment, shows that the ball which he received in the back came from the imperial cuirassiers, who had surrounded him and his staff, and out of whose ranks he was trying to cut his way. Unhorsed, he extended his hands for relief to Leubeling, and as the page was trying to raise him from the ground, a cuirassier shot him through the head.—GFRORER; *loc. cit.*, p. 786.—MAUVILLON; *History of Gustavus Adolphus*, p. 572.

talked at that time of placing on his brow the imperial crown. But had he attempted the latter project, he would have failed; for not only would he have encountered a Franco-Hispano-Austrian opposition, but he would have had to withstand the enmity of even the Protestants of Germany, whom Ferdinand would assuredly have conciliated by a revocation of the Edict of Restitution. Already the elector of Saxony had refused to aid him at Lutzen, and had formed the design of heading a third party for the purpose of forcing a peace between Sweden and the empire.

Not for a moment had Gustavus Adolphus any intention to establish in Germany either civil or religious liberty. If he delivered the German princes from the suzerainty of their emperor, it was to impose upon them one which was still more severe, since it had no limit or criterion but his own will. As to religious liberty, no prince of the day clung with such tenacity to the soul-enthraling maxim of *Cujus regio*; and if he did not apply the principle in Germany with as much zeal as he had exhibited in Sweden, it was because of his need of the friendship of Richelieu. His admirers are probably correct in their estimate of the sincerity of their hero as a Lutheran; but precisely because of that sincerity, he could have favored no system of religious equality. Whenever he did manifest some show of justice to German Catholics, it was because the politician momentarily dominated the fanatic. Gustavus Adolphus used religion as a means for the increase of his earthly power—for the foundation of a Scandinavian empire; and in actuating his design, he certainly displayed great craft as a statesman, and consummate ability as a general. As a general, he introduced a revolution in military tactics; he rendered his army more manageable than any other; his artillery was lighter in the handling, and more numerous; his genius on the field was great. Probably he was really pious; but his fondness for preaching and psalm-singing savored of cant. It was a good stroke of policy for Gustavus, when about to leave his icy regions in order to seek his fortune with the aid of the millions of Richelieu, to vaunt himself the envoy of the Most High. Alaric, Attila, Mohammed, Cromwell, and other formidable mystics, have al-

ways insisted upon a divine vocation when about to appropriate the things of earth ; and as Gustavus was of the same mould, he did well in posing as a Judas Macchabeus. But we can scarcely suppose a Macchabeus guilty of such mendacious hypocrisy as that manifested by Gustavus Adolphus when he bade farewell to the Estates of Sweden : " Let no one believe that I precipitate myself into this war without good reason. I call the Omnipotent God, in whose presence I speak, to witness that I do not fight for my own pleasure. I am forced to the combat. The emperor has offended me in the gravest manner. He aids my enemies ; he persecutes my co-religionists, the Protestants of Germany, who are groaning under the yoke of the Pope, and who extend toward me their suppliant hands. . . . Before separating from you, I invoke upon you the protection of the Almighty ; and you especially, valiant nobles, I recommend to the divine protection. *Be worthy descendants of the ancient Goths!*" But whether the piety of Gustavus Adolphus was sincere or feigned, it is certain that his impartial contemporaries regarded him as a politician rather than as a devotee. Pope Urban VIII. would never discern in him the declared adversary of the Catholic Church ; he persisted in regarding the Swedish monarch as merely the foe of the House of Austria ; and it was said that when the news of the king's death reached the Vatican, the Pontiff offered Mass for the departed soul (1). The private life of Gustavus Adolphus, if compared with that of most Protestant princes of his day, was exemplary ; he seems to have cherished but one immoral intimacy, and that one did not last for a long time. Glory was the chief love of his inmost heart ; but it is certain that in order to satisfy his passion, he could forget his solemn promises, and that his interests were often considered before the dictates of justice (2).

After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedes and German Protestants lost ground ; they were beaten at Nord-

(1) DROYSEN ; *loc. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 665. Richelieu, in his *Memoirs*, merely says : " When the Pope heard this news, he went to the national church of the Germans, and celebrated a low mass."

(2) For instance, his treatment of the palatine, his invasion of Pomerania, and his imprisonment of the elector of Brandenburg to the alliance.

lingen, and the House of Austria recovered its power. By the Treaty of Prague, May 30, 1635, the emperor drew to his side many of the Protestants; and his authority became as great as it had been after the defeats of the palatine and of the Danish king. But at the moment when nothing seemed to thwart his triumph, France called upon him to halt. Hitherto, Richelieu had combated Austria in merely an indirect manner; now he declared open war. Then ensued the most brilliant period of the Thirty Years' War, illustrated on the part of France by Condé and Turenne; and on the part of Austria and Spain, by the Italians, Montecuculli and Piccolomini. The struggle was an alternation of successes and reverses on both sides. For an instant the Austrians and Spaniards invaded France; but were repelled before they could reach Paris. Then the French and Swedes transferred the war to Germany; but they could not penetrate to Vienna. Little by little, exhaustion was entailed by the gigantic efforts put forth by both parties, and despite the stubborn opposition of Spain, Austria resolved to make peace. Like nearly all the treaties of modern times, the Peace of Westphalia was not inspired by principle. Convenience, not justice, was the thing sought. "Accomplished facts," which some innocents deem the discovery of Napoleon III. and Lord Palmerston, had been already consecrated by the Peace of Augsburg, in the permission accorded to the Protestants to retain the goods of the Church which they had stolen before the year 1552; and the Peace of Westphalia repeated the consecration by allowing the thieves to retain what they had annexed before 1624. Whatever could be obtained was demanded; nothing was ceded that could be withheld or recovered. The unity of the Holy Roman Empire in Germany was weakened, inasmuch as the emperor lost much of his power, to the profit of the German sovereigns. The treaty pleased no one. The Catholics lamented the loss of much ecclesiastical dominion and property; and the Protestants were irritated by the prohibition to purloin any more. The ratifications of the treaty were exchanged in 1649, in spite of the efforts of Chigi, the papal nuncio at Vienna. In January, 1651, Pope Innocent X., in his Bull *Zelus Domus Dei*, pro-

tested against the usurpation of ecclesiastical goods, and declared the treaty null. In fact, the signatories had exceeded their powers in suppressing bishoprics without the consent of the Holy See, and in disposing of goods which did not belong to them. The Pope alone regarded the rights of things; the signers looked upon everything from a point of view, the basis of which was brute force (1). One of the chief results of the Peace of Westphalia was the loss by Germany of that primacy which she had enjoyed in the Middle Ages. The Germans had feared the supremacy of the Latin race, and hence, if for no other reason, many of them had espoused the cause of the Reformation: and hence, also, they combated Spain, and Spain being Catholic, they warred also on Catholicism. But they succeeded only in consolidating the House of Austria, which thenceforward until our days retained a supremacy in Germany, and an overwhelming share in the dominion of Italy. As Cantù observes: "Instead of abolishing the empire, the Germans abolished the Pope; instead of acquiring civil and municipal liberty, they obtained the privilege of not going to Mass or to confession, and of singing the Psalms in German. Italy suffered still more; her fruitful division into little states disappearing before the Austro-Spanish domination which was no longer counterbalanced by France, although this domination was compelled to some degree of restraint by the republics of Venice and Genoa" (2).

The Peace of Westphalia was the first compact entered into by the European powers in accordance with the new *jus publicum*, based upon the idea of a material balance of power. Thirty years of unprofitable slaughter, and of indiscriminate destruction of nearly all civilizing agencies (3), had convinced sovereigns that for some time, neither Catholicism nor heresy would attain a securely dominant position, and by the famous

(1) BOUGEANT; *History of the Treaty of Westphalia*, vol. iii., p. 631.—RANKE; *The Roman Popes*, vol. ii., p. 566.

(2) *Heretics of Italy*. Discourse 47.

(3) The Holy See succeeded in saving from amid the devastations of the Thirty Years' War the great Palatine Library of Heidelberg, which was transported to Rome, and afterward, in 1815, restored. We may here note that although Rome fulfilled her part of the agreement of the Congress of Vienna concerning the restoration of objects of art, etc., to their rightful owners, many of her own artistic and literary properties were retained in various capitals.

treaty they agreed on mutual toleration. Then Protestantism acquired a legal existence in a large part of Europe, and Rome began to fear that the days of heresy were to be long in those regions. But the chief reason for which Pope Innocent X. reprobated the Peace of Westphalia was found in its sanction of that absolutely pagan canon that the sovereign of a country is, of right, the master and sole *ratio essendi* of that country's religion. With this principle legally sanctioned and enforced, it is no wonder that an end was put for a time to the Catholic renaissance which had followed the celebration of the Council of Trent. But the temporal dominion of the Roman Pontiff in the States of the Church obtained some advantages at this time. Urban VIII. recovered Montefeltro, Urbino, Pesaro, and Sinigaglia; and he firmly resisted the efforts of his nephews to obtain these territories in fief.

And now a word about the position occupied during the Thirty Years' War by two prominent churchmen, Pope Urban VIII. and Cardinal Richelieu. Urban VIII. deemed it his duty, both as Pontiff and as temporal sovereign, to take an active part in the politics of his time. In considering the questions which then divided Germany into two hostile parties, and which entailed a bloody rivalry between France and the House of Hapsburg, the Pope thought it proper to pronounce against Austria and Spain. Like nearly all of his predecessors in the papal chair, Urban VIII. dreaded any increase of the imperial power in Italy. In pursuance of a policy which was both natural and proper in a Pope, he allied himself with France in the question of the Valtelline, an Italian valley parallel with the Engaddine, through which flows the Adda as far as the Lake of Como, between two mountain ranges, which separate it from Venice on the south and from the Grisons on the north. All Europe was at this time convulsed because of this little valley; for its position gave to its occupier immense strategic advantages. The Hapsburgs were dominant in Germany; a branch of the family reigned in Spain, in the Milanese, in Naples, and also in most of the New World. Was the Valtelline to become a Spanish possession? Then it would be a road for an army from Germany into Italy; let the Swiss and the Grisons

espouse which side they would. France, quite naturally, coveted the Valtelline, if for no other reason than to check the power of Austria. Then there were the Grisons, sustained by Switzerland, Holland, and more or less openly by England. No wonder, therefore, that Urban VIII. sided with France in this phase of the Thirty Years' War. The great Richelieu was then at the head of affairs in the land of the Lilies; and he so shaped his anti-Austrian policy, that many of his best friends reproved him for acting contrary to the interests of the Church. It is not for us to apologize for his action in allying the Eldest Daughter of the Church with a monarch whose triumph could not but be detrimental to Catholicism. He certainly felt ashamed of his policy, and shed tears of compunction when deciding upon it in full council. He thought to cover his shame under the papal mantle, by trying to obtain at least an indirect sanction for his diplomacy from the Pontiff. The imperial arms had triumphed in Germany, an army was about to act in Poland against the Swedes, and the Spaniards had furnished another for service against the Netherlanders; another force was to attack the duke of Mantua, then under the protection of France. Wallenstein, the man who gives history so many surprises, was so enraged at Pope Urban for his non-approval of the Edict of Restitution, that he urged the emperor to send an expedition against Rome—another one of the many undertaken by a German imperial army—saying that as a century had passed since the emperor Charles V. had sacked the papal capital, the booty would now be of immense value. At this juncture Richelieu concluded his alliance with Gustavus Adolphus; providing, however, that the Swedes should promise to tolerate the Catholic religion wherever he found it. The emperor loudly complained of the pontifical refusal to condemn directly the contract between the cardinal and the Swedish king, and of the hesitancy of the Holy See in pronouncing the war a religious war. The reclamations of Ferdinand II. were presented to the Pontiff by Pazmany, archbishop of Gran; and were supported in full consistory by the Spanish envoy, Cardinal Borgia, who went so far as to reproach the Pope with a culpable indifference toward the

true interests of the Catholic Church (1). The Sacred College was divided as to the course to be pursued; and prompted by Cardinal Ludovisi, some of their Eminences even advised the convocation of a General Council to consider the matter. It is evident that, unlike all Protestant historians, Urban VIII. did not regard the Thirty Years' War as one of religion, but rather as one of worldly interests. The same may be said of Richelieu, who intended to cast Gustavus Adolphus aside, so soon as he had served the purposes of France.

CHAPTER IV.

GALILEO.

Not merely because he was a prince among astronomers does Galileo Galilei deserve the homage of true scientists. His greatest glory was that of a consummate mechanician; and nevertheless, he was immediately admired as an astronomer, while his appreciation as a mechanician was of slow growth. Popular enthusiasm acclaimed his indagations of the stellar mysteries; but they who were termed wise derided his mechanical inventions. It is a very ordinary experience for great minds not to be appreciated by their compatriots; but Galileo did not quickly receive the praise of foreigners. Even the keen-minded Descartes, when travelling in order to find truth in conferences with the learned outside of France, arrived in Florence during the period of Galileo's highest renown; and blinded mathematician as he was, he did not care to meet the glory of Italy. It is amusing to us of the nineteenth century to read the letter of the father of modern philosophy to Mersenne, innocently proclaiming that he does not deem the writings of Galileo worthy of serious examination. The brilliant Frenchman seems to have missed the fact

(1) A few years after this reproval of Urban VIII. by the Imperialists, the Gallicans, more loyal to their king than to the Holy See, upbraided Innocent XI. because of his resistance to the pretensions of Louis XIV., with being not only a protector of Protestants, but a Protestant himself. It was then that Lafontaine wrote his verses to the effect that the entire Protestant party was "well pleased with the Pope; and that the Chevalier de Sillery prayed that the Pontiff might be converted to Catholicism."

that the reasonings of the Italian scientist were far more valuable than his inventions; and that the Italian's methods, bringing speculation into the field of unprejudiced experience, gave to him, equally with himself, the right to be considered as the restorer of modern philosophy. Harken to the judgment of the impartial Cantù: "Not to rely entirely on authority; to neglect investigations into the essence of things, demonstrations *a priori*, abstractions assumed as realities, hypotheses adopted as theories; to regard doubt as the father of inventions and the path to truth; to wish only for truth, and to search for it with scrupulous watchfulness, with calculation, with geometrical precision, rather than with reliance upon dialectics, which can indeed demonstrate what is found, but can find nothing; not to oppose authorities to authorities, but to oppose to the assertions of philosophers the great book of nature 'which does much with little, and whose operations are equally wonderful'; such was the method with which Galileo put in practice what Bacon reduced to theory. Hence the title of restorer of science belongs to Galileo rather than to Bacon; the former had made his discoveries before 1620, when the *Organon* appeared. Bacon pretended to furnish an *Organon*, that is, a method of making inventions, but he invented nothing; Galileo, who invented so many things, thought that he had derived them all from intuition, from inspiration. . . . If Bacon put forth a programme of future discoveries, he possessed no inventive genius, and therefore made no discoveries; his method was admirable, but although he described with precision, celebrated with enthusiasm, preached with eloquence, he used that method for no great end. Notwithstanding all this, our philosopher had less influence than Descartes or Bacon; because he thought less of convincing others and of inducing them to research, than he did of enlightening himself, and of applying. In fact, the isochronism of the pendulum was used by him for the measurement of time, and of the pulsations of the arteries; he established the laws of consonance, of dissonance, and of colors, in the lost treatise on *Sight and Colors*; he wrote a book on fortifications, as yet unedited; knowing that longitude could be determined by the Satellites of Jupiter, he

offered to Spain a plan, the importance of which was not appreciated" (1).

School-children are frequently told that in a time of most dense ignorance Galileo, an Italian astronomer, discovered that the earth moves around the sun; that this doctrine was contrary to that of the Catholic Church, and that therefore the unfortunate scientist was seized by the Inquisition, thrown into a dungeon, and tortured; that finally he retracted his teaching, but that, nevertheless, even while ostensibly yielding, he muttered: "And yet the earth does move." Very few Protestants even suspect any exaggeration in these assertions; still fewer appear to know that Galileo did *not* discover that the earth moves around the sun; that this doctrine was *not* contrary to that of the Catholic Church; that the imprisonment of Galileo was merely nominal, and that he was subjected to no torture whatever; that the famous remark "*E pur si muove*" is a work of imagination. Galileo did not discover that the earth moves around the sun. The ancient Greeks certainly knew that the earth is round, that it is isolated in space, and that it moves. Aristotle and Ptolemy undertook to refute the last theory. According to Cicero, Nicetas asserted the motion of the earth. Philolaus, says Eusebius, thought that the earth moved around the region of fire, in an oblique circle. Aristarchus of Samos, says Archimedes, sustained the immobility of the sun, and that the earth turned around it as around a centre. Seneca thinks it "well to inquire whether the rest of the universe moves around a stationary earth, or whether the earth moves in a stationary universe" (2). The Irish Ferghil (Virgilius), bishop of Salzburg in the eighth century, taught the existence of the antipodes. Dante certainly believed in the antipodes and in central attraction (3). Copernicus himself never pretended to be the author of the system which bears his name; although to this humble Polish priest belongs the glory of having precisely formulated that system, and at a time when a knowledge of it had almost vanished from among men.

The heliocentric system was not contrary to the doctrine

(1) CANTU: *Illustrious Italians*, Milan, 1877.

(2) *Natural Questions*, VII., 2.

(3) "Il punto a cui son tratti tutti i vesi." *Hell*, canto 34.

of the Catholic Church. She never has proposed and she can not propose to her children any system of merely physical science as a matter of faith. Certainly, if any system contradicts her teachings, she exercises her right to condemn it. Most churchmen of the early seventeenth century, quite naturally followers of the generally received scientific theories of their day, rejected the idea of a motion of the earth around the sun; but the Church did not force them to such rejection. Had such been the mind of the Church, Copernicus and his many forerunners would not have been regarded as good Catholics; and Copernicus himself would not have dedicated his *Revolutions of the Heavenly Orbs* to Pope Paul III., saying, "If men who are ignorant in mathematics pretend to condemn my book because of certain passages of Scripture which they distort to suit themselves, I despise their vain attacks." Calcagnini, who died in 1540, would not have publicly taught at Ferrara that "the heavens stand, but the earth moves." But if the Church was not hostile to purely scientific innovations, Luther and Melancthon were not so liberal. In his *Table Talk* Luther says: "Men pay heed to an astrologer who contends that it is the earth that moves, and not the heavens or the firmament, the sun and the moon. If a man yearns for a reputation as a profound scientist, he should invent some new system. This madman would subvert the whole science of astronomy; but Scripture tells us that Joshua bade the sun, and not the earth to stand still." In his *Principles of the Science of Physics*, Melancthon says: "The eyes testify that the heavens revolve every twenty-four hours; and nevertheless some men, either from love of novelty or to parade their genius, insist that the earth moves, and that the eighth sphere and the sun do not revolve. Every true believer is obliged to accept the truth as revealed by God, and to be contented with it."

It is certain that for many years Galileo was admired and cherished by the most learned ecclesiastics of Rome; that three successive pontiffs gave him many tokens of esteem; that he was one of the most honored members of the celebrated Academy of the *Lincei*. The cardinal del Monte, writing to the grand-duke of Tuscany, says: "During his

sojourn at Rome Galileo has given much satisfaction, and I believe that he has received the same; for he has enjoyed good opportunities to exhibit his inventions, and the best-informed men of the Eternal City regard them as most wonderful and accurate. If we were living in the olden days of Rome, the worth of Galileo, I think, would be recognized by a statue on the Capitoline." A famous scientist, the Carmelite Foscarini, published in 1615—only a year before Galileo's first trouble with the Inquisition—a theological apology for the philosopher and the Copernican system, which was dedicated to Fantoni, general of the Carmelites, and approved by the ecclesiastical authorities of Naples. On May 15 of the same year, Mgr. Dini, a Roman prelate and an old pupil of Galileo, writes that there is no fear that the Copernican system will be condemned; and that as to Galileo himself, "he should fortify his position with arguments well-founded both in Scripture and mathematics"; and that in the meantime he may be assured of the writer's own influence with the Sacred College in his favor, and of the protection of Prince Cesi, the founder and president of the Lincei. Indeed, as late as February 16, 1616, Galileo wrote to Picchena that he found among the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries much displeasure because of "the diabolic opposition of his persecutors." How happened it then, that Galileo found himself cited before an ecclesiastical tribunal? In accounting for this fact little weight need be attached to the sentiments and conduct of those who, in his day as at all times, appear to be tolerated by God for the trial of genius. Men who argued against the movement of the earth because the earth has no limbs, muscles, and sinews (1); men who would decry the heliocentric system with the words, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye looking up to heaven?" (2)—such persons could have had no influence upon the Roman Congregations. Nor would these tribunals have exercised their power merely because Galileo was contradicted by Tassoni, Vieta, Mon-

(1) Thus Chiaramonti of Cesena.

(2) Thus the Dominican Caccini, preaching the Advent course in S. Maria Novella in Florence. But Maraffi, General of the Dominicans, writing to Galileo on January 10, 1615, deplored the extravagance of Caccini, who, he said, had previously been forced to apologize in Bologna for other absurdities in the pulpit.

taigne, Bacon, Pascal, and other great thinkers of the time (1) The fault of Galileo consisted in his confusing revealed truths with physical discoveries; and in teaching in what sense Scripture passages were to be taken, explaining them by demonstrations of calculation and experience. Everyone admits with Dante (2) that the Scriptures adopt popular ideas for the sake of perspicuity. But Galileo said that in the Scriptures "are found propositions which, taken literally, are false; that Holy Writ, out of regard for the incapacity of the people, expresses itself inexactly, even when treating of solemn dogmas; that in questions concerning natural things, philosophical argument should avail more than sacred." These assertions unsettled all science, founded as it then was on revelation; "the earth," says Cantù, "ceased to be regarded as the largest, warmest, and most illuminated of the planetary bodies. It no longer enjoyed a pre-eminence in creation as the home of a privileged being, but became one of many in the group of unexplored planets and in no way distinguished from the others. Fearing that science was aggrandizing itself only to war on God, the timid repudiated it. Only later did the better minds understand that the faith fears no learning; that historic criticism can be independent and impartial without becoming irreligious. Then good sense estimated at their true value the accusations launched against the Church because of the affair of Galileo; it distinguished simple assertions from articles of faith, positive and necessary prohibitions from prudential and disciplinary provisions, the oracles of the Church from the deliberations of a particular tribunal. To such a tribunal a denunciation was made that Galileo or his disciples had asserted that God is

(1) Tassoni, a very independent thinker, thus reasoned: "Stand still in the middle of a room, and look at the sun through a window opening toward the south. Now, if the sun stands still and the window moves so quickly, the sun will instantly disappear from your vision." Vieta, a consummate algebraist, thought the Copernican system derived from a fallacious geometry. Montaigne said that probably before a thousand years a third system would supplant the two others. Descartes sometimes denied the Copernican theory. Bacon derided it as repugnant to natural philosophy. Pascal, in his *Thoughts* deemed it "wise not to sound the depths of the Copernican opinion." As late as 1806 the Milanese Pini, in his *Incredibility of the Movement of the Earth*, sustained the Ptolemaic idea.

(2) "Per questo la Scrittura condescende

A nostra facoltate; e piedi e mano

A Dio attribuisce, ed altro intende."

—*Paradise*, iv., 43-45.

an accident and not a substance, a personal being; that miracles are not miracles at all. Then the Pontiff declared that, for the termination of scandal, Galileo should be cited and admonished by the Sacred Congregation" (1).

In 1615 Galileo addressed to the grand-duchess Christina, grandmother of the reigning Cosmo II., an exhaustive defence of his doctrine, in which, after adducing the scientific arguments for his system, he turns to the dangerous part of the defence, protesting, however, his sincere adhesion "to all that the Church teaches in matters of faith." Citing in his favor St. Augustine, Baronio (2), and the decrees of Trent, which order us to follow the unanimous teaching of the Fathers when there is question of faith and morals (not of cosmogony) Galileo denies that the Bible teaches astronomy and physics. He holds with St. Augustine (3) that those who quote Scripture in questions of physics, explain it according to their preconceived opinions. He inveighs with St. Jerome (4) against the rash interpreters who make the Bible say what they will. He says with St. Jerome (5) and St. Thomas of Aquin (6) that in order that it may be understood by the Hebrews, the Old Testament expresses itself, in matters indifferent to salvation, according to the opinions and parlance of the nation and the time. As to things of nature, insists Galileo, the sacred text is less clear than the visible work of the Creator, which "He has given up to their consideration" (7). When Galileo had finished this interesting *Apology*, he set out for Rome, ostensibly in order to make converts to his system, in reality because he had received a

(1) In an excellent biography of Galileo, published in the *Correspondant* of 1847, p. 481-520, Alfred de Falloux says: "The gauntlet was flung to the theologians, and unfortunately those who lifted it fancied that their task was a defense of religion. The Inquisition took charge of the affair. . . . A religious denounces a scientist, other religious denounce him, and from this it is concluded that there is an antagonism between the Church and science. But the case was the very contrary. Here religious merely entered into academic animosities, prejudices, and retaliations. Monks, friars, etc., are prominent in the history of Galileo, not as systematic opponents of his doctrines, but because religious houses were then hotbeds of scientific preoccupation and controversy; and the same Galileo who was accused by certain Dominicans and Jesuits was defended, at the very same time, by other Dominicans and Jesuits."

(2) Baronio had remarked to Galileo that "the Scriptures teach how to go to heaven, but not how heaven is made."

(3) *Genesis, ad litt.*, II., 18, 19; § 37-40; II. 17, § 38.

(4) *To Paulinus*.

(5) *On Jeremiah xxviii.*

(6) *On Job xxvii.*

(7) *Eccles.*, iii., 11.

secret summons from the Inquisition. So we are informed by Mgr. Queringhi, who writes to Cardinal Alexander d'Este on Jan. 1, 1616: "The coming of Galileo to Rome was not, as is believed, altogether voluntary. They wish him to explain how he can reconcile the movement of the earth with the contrary teaching of Scripture." And in a despatch to his government dated Sept. 11, 1632, the Tuscan ambassador, Niccolini, announces the discovery, in the records of the Holy Office, of a document proving that Galileo "was sent to Rome" because of his attachment to the theory of the rotation of the earth. In the letter to Picchena already cited, Galileo's allusion to his personal safety shows that it had been in some danger; therefore his going to Rome was scarcely voluntary. He reached the Eternal City in Dec., 1615, and was honorably received and entertained by the most distinguished people. But the Inquisition had already interfered in his affairs, and had examined his *Letters on the Solar Spots*. Two propositions, one on the immobility of the sun, and another on the movement of the earth, were extracted from this work, and by order of Pope Paul V., eleven consulting theologians of the Holy Office undertook to "qualify" them. On Feb. 24, these qualifiers gave their opinion that the first proposition was "absurd and false in theology, and formally heretical, because it is expressly contrary to Sacred Scripture." The second proposition was qualified as "absurd and false in philosophy, and from a theological point of view, at least erroneous in faith." On Feb. 26, by virtue of a papal order, issued because of these qualifications, Galileo was conducted to the palace of the Holy Office, where he was introduced to Cardinal Bellarmine, who was attended by the commissary, Segnizio de Lauda, a notary, and two witnesses. Bellarmine represented to the philosopher the "errors of his opinion," and then the commissary commanded him, in the name of the Holy Office, "to abandon entirely the said opinion that the sun is the centre of the universe and immovable, and that the earth moves; also to abstain from upholding, teaching, or defending said opinion in any way whatever, by word or by writing."

The text of the notification of the qualifier's report, made

on Feb. 25 to the assessor and commissary of the Holy Office by the cardinal-inquisitor, Mellini, and published in 1867 by Henry de l' Epinois (1), shows that the Pontiff had ordered the imprisonment of Galileo, if he proved recalcitrant. However, on May 26, the philosopher having requested of Bellarmine an attestation that he had, on the above occasion, made no abjuration of his opinions, the cardinal gave him the following certificate: "We, Robert, Cardinal Bellarmine, having learned that Galileo has been calumniated, and that it has been said that he abjured in our presence, and that he was condemned to salutary penance; since we have been requested to do so, we declare, in accordance with truth, that the aforesaid Galileo made no abjuration of any kind, in our hands or in those of any other person—so far as we know—either in Rome or anywhere else, of his opinions and teachings; that he was subjected to no penance of any sort; that he was simply informed of the declaration of the Holy Father published by the Congregation of the Index, to the effect that the teaching attributed to Copernicus that the earth moves around the sun and that the sun occupies the centre of the universe without moving from east to west, is contrary to Sacred Scripture, and that consequently it is not permitted to defend or uphold it. In testimony, etc., this May 26, 1616. Robert, Card. Bellarmine." Galileo's own interpretation of the condemnation of the two propositions is found in one of his letters written on the very day he heard it in the palace of the Holy Office: "The Church has merely decided that the Copernican teaching does not agree with Scripture; and hence those books alone are condemned, in which it is sought to prove, *ex professo*, that said teaching does not disagree with the Bible."

On March 5, the Congregation of the Index issued a decree in which the opinion affirming the double movement of the earth and the immobility of the sun was declared "false and entirely contrary to Sacred Scripture," and it was proclaimed that said opinion "could not be professed or defended." The work of Copernicus, *Revolutions of the Heavenly Orbs* (2), and

(1) *Process and Condemnation of Galileo, according to Unedited Documents.*

(2) The Copernican system was again condemned in 1619 by the same Congregation, in the condemnation of Kepler's *Abridgment of the Astronomy of Copernicus*; and in 1620

that of Diego de Zuniga, a *Commentary on Job*, in which this Spanish philosopher had only incidentally adduced the Copernican theory, were condemned "until corrected"; the writings of Foscarini were absolutely condemned; Galileo and Kepler were not named, but the former's work on the Solar Spots, and many of the latter's writings were implicitly condemned, as the sentence included "all the writings in which said teaching is inculcated." In his letter to Picchena dated March 6, Galileo says nothing of the episode of Feb. 26, for that affair was regarded as personal between himself and the Congregation; the world was supposed to be ignorant of it. But he alludes to the fact that the decree of March 5 does not mention his name, and he insists that he runs no danger in Rome. On March 12, Pope Paul V. accorded him an audience of three-quarters of an hour, and at his farewell his Holiness assured the philosopher that his security was certain, so long as Paul V. occupied the Papal throne. Informing the grand-duke Cosmo of the departure of Galileo from Rome, the Cardinal del Monte says: "He departs with an unstained reputation, and with the praise of all who have met him. He has realized how futile have been the calumnies of his enemies, who, as he himself affirms, have had no other intention than to make him lose the favor of your Serene Highness. I, who have often conversed with him, and with those who are acquainted with late events, assure your Highness that Galileo can personally be charged with nothing."

During the next few years Galileo observed the silence imposed upon him by Rome; but his correspondence shows that he always hoped that if the obnoxious prohibition was not expressly removed, it would be at least ignored through a toleration of the condemned opinion. After a time he seems

appeared a *Note* of the Congregation, indicating the corrections which would have to be made before the work of Copernicus could appear in Italy. In this *Note* it was again declared that the double movement of the earth "is contrary to Scripture and its true and Catholic interpretation." The names and works of Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Zuniga, and Foscarini remained on the Index for two centuries. In 1835 by order of Gregory XVI., a new *Catalogue* of condemned works was issued by Friar Thomas Anthony Degola, secretary of the Congregation of the Index, and an order was promulgated for the destruction of all copies of the *Catalogue* of 1819, which had been the last issued. In the new *Catalogue* the above names do not occur.

to have resolved to try how far Rome would allow him to go. In 1618 he distributed a few copies of his *Discourse on the Flow and Reflow of the Sea*, written two years before, and in which he defended the Copernican system. From Aug., 1618, to Jan., 1619, three comets claimed the attention of the scientific. Galileo expressed to a few friends his partly true opinion that comets were not, as was commonly thought, bodies analogous to the planets, but that they were optical phenomena, analogous to halos and parheliions, and produced by earthly exhalations of extreme tenuity which had arrived at a height greater than that of the moon. In 1619 the Jesuit professor Grassi pronounced a public discourse in the Roman College, in which he contended that comets are true stars. Galileo knew that comets are not solid masses. "Assimilating, with reason," says Th. Henry Martin (1), "the planets to the earth, he doubtless feared, without daring to say so, that this legitimate assimilation (but condemned by the Roman Congregation) would be compromised before science by an assimilation between the comets and the planets. Instead of restricting this assimilation, opposing the massiveness and solidity of the planets to the lightness and fluidity of the comets, he was led to deny all assimilation between these bodies, by an hypothesis too like that of Aristotle and of the Peripatetician, Chiaramonti. This hypothesis of Galileo, which M. Arago can scarcely pardon, was excusable in that day, as we know from the nearly similar opinion of Kepler (2), and from the doubt which even Cassini entertained until 1653." With the aid and under the name of his disciple, Mario Guiducci, for our philosopher was then an invalid, Galileo published in 1619 a *Discourse on Comets*. Then Grassi issued, under the name of Lotario Sarsi Sigenzano, a violent pamphlet entitled an *Astronomical and Philosophical Balance* in which, before touching the subject of comets, he made a personal attack on Galileo, contesting his principal discoveries, and denouncing his persistent adherence to a condemned system. In spite of this provocation, Galileo remained quiet during the last two years of Paul V. and the two years of the reign of Gregory XV.

(1) *Galileo and the Rights of Science*, Paris, 1868, ch. 4. (2) *Ibi.*, pt. 2, ch. 12.

In 1621, Galileo lost his protector, the grand-duke Cosmo II., but in 1623 he was gratified on beholding the elevation to the Papacy of his friend, Matthew Barberini. A poet himself, Urban VIII. had always favored poets; but he was much given to the more severe studies. In 1612, on June 15, he had written to Galileo that he would read the philosopher's books, "to confirm me in my opinion, which agrees with yours, and to admire with everyone the fruit of your rare intellect." In 1620, he had composed verses in praise of Galileo, and afterward, in 1635, he had them printed and published. Invited by the Pontiff to visit him in Rome, Galileo did so in the spring of 1624, and they held many long interviews, during which they discoursed on astronomy (1). When they separated, Galileo took with him letters of recommendation from the Pontiff to the new grand-duke, Ferdinand II., who, when under the influence of his minister, Cioli, was very unfavorable to new ideas. Urban tells the prince that as long as Jupiter courses in the heavens with his four satellites, so long will the glory of Galileo keep him company; that Galileo is dear to his own Pontifical heart, not only because of his scientific merits, but for others which make a person dear to any Pope; that he cannot allow Galileo to depart from Rome without recommending him to the generous patronage of the Medici, whose name he has located among the stars.

From the date of Urban's election, Galileo trusted to behold an early dissipation of the cloud which hung over him. We have remarked that he was already disposed to discover the limits of the Roman indulgence in his regard. He had written, in 1620, his masterpiece of polemics, the *Essayist* (*Il Saggiatore*), in reply to the *Balance* of the Jesuit Grassi; and his brethren of the Roman Lincei had obtained its approbation by the official examiner, the Dominican Riccardi. In regard to this work, we shall only note that Galileo contend-

(1) During this visit of Galileo to Urban VIII., the Pontiff evinced no disposition to allow the teaching of the new system *as true*; but he told Cardinal Hohenzoller that the Church had not condemned the Copernican hypothesis as *heretical*; she had condemned it only as *rash*. See the *Works of Galileo Galilei, First Complete Edition, Prepared from the Authentic Palatine MSS. by the Director-Professor, Eugene Alberti*; Florence, 1842-56; vol. vi., p. 296.

ed that even if the Copernican system was condemned, scientific men were not therefore justified in withholding good reasons for its rejection; they ought to try to defend its condemnation. He also insisted that since this system was condemned, scientists should endeavor to find another, which would not be untenable like the Peripatetic, nor incomplete like that of Tycho Brahe. Pope Urban had the *Essayist* read during his meals, and enjoyed it very much; yet it was denounced to the Inquisition. The cardinal who was delegated to report on it took for consultor the Theatine general, Guevarra; and the result was an unqualified eulogy of the book (1). The author began to hope that although Urban VIII. would not cease to regard his system with displeasure, he would, nevertheless, allow a little evasion of the decree of 1616. Time proved that his hopes were ill-founded; and he therefore commenced a work which would exhaustively detail and examine the arguments for and against the heliocentric system. This work was destined to precipitate the catastrophe of his life.

In his *Dialogue on the Two Principal Systems Concerning the World*, published in 1632 with the approbation of the Master of the Apostolic Palace, Galileo assigns the exposition of his opinions to his pupil and friend, some time dead, Salviati of Florence. Galileo himself is not named, but he is often indicated by his title of *Linceo*. The part of an impartial and judicious investigator is filled by the Venetian senator, Sagredo, another deceased friend of the author. The defence of the Peripatetic system is confided to one Simplicius, who uses absurd arguments, and will yield to none; who is, in fine, a fair representative of Galileo's opponents. Whether or not Urban VIII. believed what the foes of Galileo declared, that under the name of Simplicius he himself was held up to ridicule, it is certain that now he manifested less sympathy for our philosopher. Not long before this period he had told Castelli that if it had depended on him, the decree of 1616 would not have been issued (2); but a despatch of the

(1) *Ibid.*, vol. ix., p. 79.

(2) On March 16, 1630, the Benedictine Castelli wrote to Galileo: "A few days ago Father Campanella, in an interview with his Holiness, told him that he had been trying to convert

ambassador Niccolini, dated Sept. 5, 1632, proves that Urban had been made to believe that Galileo had deceived him as to the nature of the *Dialogue*, and that religion had been compromised by the authorization of that work by the Roman censors. This and the next despatches of Niccolini show that the Pontiff believed that Galileo had cited Scripture as favoring his arguments. It is evident, then, remarks Th. Henry Martin, that Urban had not read the book, "and that there had been represented as cited in it certain passages which were found only in two of Galileo's letters, written before 1616, and never printed." On Sept. 11, Niccolini was informed that in the Archives of the Holy Office there had been discovered a long forgotten minute of the personal injunction made, in the name of the Inquisition, to Galileo and accepted by him on Feb. 26, 1616. The case now assumed a serious aspect. A special commission, after a month of consideration, presented to the Pope a memorial in which several charges were made against the philosopher. Riccardi, the Master of the Apostolic Palace, after having examined the *Dialogue*, and having granted the *imprimatur* for Rome, had consented to the publication of the work in Florence, providing that the author would insert a *Preface* written by himself, Riccardi. Galileo was now blamed for having placed the *imprimatur* at the head of the book without an express permission from Riccardi, and without having submitted the proofs to the same, as would have been done, had the work been issued in Rome. No complaint of course, could be made concerning the *Preface*, but in regard to the body of the work the commission found fault with the presentation of the Copernican system as a certainty; it also blamed the author for depreciating "the opposing writers, of whom the Church habitually makes use," and for presenting as "not decided" a question already "settled by a dogmatic definition." However, the commission did not advise the suppression of the *Dialogue*; it merely suggested some corrections. But finally,

certain Germans to the Catholic faith, and had found them well disposed, but that the condemnation of the Copernican system had scandalized them more than anything else could have done. His Holiness replied in precisely these words: "We never wished that decree, and if it had depended on us, it would not have been made." This letter of Castelli is found in the *Works*, edit. Alberi, vol. ix., p. 196.

the prohibition and promise of Feb. 26, 1616, were set forth (1).

On Sept. 23, 1632, Galileo was cited to appear again before the Inquisition. In endeavoring to discover what followed this second summons (concerning his first trial in 1616 there is no question as to either imprisonment or torture), it would appear to us that no better source of information can be desired than the original *Process*. But since Libri (2), Perchappe (3), Bertrand (4), and others insinuate—according to what principles of criticism the reader must judge—that as this record has been nearly always in the hands of ecclesiastics, they *may* have destroyed evidence of their own cruelty, we shall here adduce the testimony of the Tuscan ambassador, Niccolini. This evidence ought to be acceptable to our adversaries; for the writer was an intense partisan of Galileo, and would not have hidden anything likely to excite sympathy for his hero. Add to this the fact that these despatches are directed to Galileo's own sovereign, himself a warm admirer of the philosopher. Galileo arrived in Rome on February 13, 1633, and under date of March 13 Niccolini writes: "The Pope told me that he had shown to Galileo a favor never accorded to another, in allowing him to reside in my house instead of in the Holy Office. . . . His Holiness said that he could not avoid having Galileo brought to the Holy

(1) In reference to this stage of Galileo's troubles, the following extracts from the despatches of Niccolini to the grand-duke are interesting. Under date of Aug. 21, 1632, he writes: "I understand from some friends that there is no thought of prohibiting the book, but only of changing some phrases." On Sept. 5: "His Holiness grew very angry, and suddenly cried out that even his Galileo had meddled where he ought not; that he had entered into questions the most serious and dangerous that could be found in these times. . . . The Pope added that he had shown every kindness to Galileo, and had committed his case, not to the general Inquisition, as he ought to have done, but to a specially instituted Congregation."

(2) *History of Mathematical Science in Italy*, Paris, 1841; vol. iv., pp. 155-294.

(3) *Galileo: His Life and Discoveries*, Paris, 1896.

(4) *Founders of Modern Astronomy*, Paris, 1865.—When Napoleon invaded Rome in 1809, among the literary and historical monuments which he stole was the original *Process* of Galileo. The Holy See vainly demanded it from the government of the Restoration. While it was yet in France the astronomer Delambre consulted it, but very negligently, as is evinced by the inexactness of his quotations when writing to Venturi the letter published in 1821 by the latter. Delambre did not appreciate the *Process* very highly, probably because, like Barbier (*Critical Examination of Historical Dictionaries*, Paris, 1820), he could find no proof of his own assertion that Galileo had been tortured. The volume was finally consigned to Comm. Rossi, to be restored to the Vatican in 1846, and there it still remains.

Office for the examination ; and I replied that my gratitude would be doubled if he would exempt Galileo from this appearance, but he answered that he could not do so. . . . He concluded with the promise to assign Galileo certain rooms which are the most convenient in the Holy Office." On April 16 the ambassador says : "He has a servant and every convenience. The reverend commissary assigned him the apartments of the judge of the tribunal. My own servants carry his meals from my house." . . .

About two months later (June 18) Niccolini continues : "I have again besought for a termination of the cause of Galileo, and His Holiness replied that the affair is ended, and that Galileo will be summoned some morning of next week to the Holy Office, to hear the decision. . . . In regard to the person of Galileo, he ought to be imprisoned for some time, because he disobeyed the orders of 1616 ; but the Pope says that after the publication of the sentence he will consider with me as to what can be done to afflict him as little as possible." On June 26 : "Monday evening Galileo was summoned to the Holy Office, and on Tuesday morning he proceeded thither to learn what was required of him. He was detained, and on Wednesday he was taken to the Minerva, before the lords-cardinals and the prelates of the Congregation, where the sentence was read, and he was forced to abjure his opinion. The sentence includes the prohibition of his book, and his condemnation to the prison of the Holy Office during the pleasure of His Holiness, because, as they declare, he disobeyed the order given him sixteen years ago in this matter (1). But this condemnation was commuted by His Holiness to a residence in the gardens of the Trinità dei Monti." On July 3 : "His Holiness told me that although it was rather early to diminish the penance of Galileo, he had been content to allow him to reside at first in the gardens of the Grand Duke, and that now he could proceed to Siena, there to reside in a convent or with my lord the archbishop" (2).

(1) Of the ten cardinals forming the tribunal, and all of whose names are at the head of the preamble, three did not sign the document. These were Gaspar Borgia, Zaccaria, and Francis Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII. One of the signers, Anthony Barberini, a brother of the Pontiff and a Capuchian friar, tried hard to obtain a remission of the entire penance.

(2) July 6 found Galileo at Siena, dwelling with his old friend and disciple, the arch-

According, therefore, to Niccolini, the imprisonment of Galileo was merely nominal, and there is no mention of any infliction of torture. But let us examine further this question of torture. It is said that the *Process* itself furnishes an indication of the infliction of torture; that in the fourth interrogatory, on June 21, torture was menaced; that in the sentence the judges declared that they had "deemed it necessary to proceed to a *rigorous* examination" of the accused. It is true that torture was threatened, but the menace was not executed. In a decree issued by Urban VIII. on June 16, 1633, and first published by L'Epinois, it was ordered that Galileo "should be questioned as to his intention [in publishing the *Dialogue*], and that he should be menaced with torture. If he does not yield to the threat, he must be made to pronounce, in full session of the Holy Office, an abjuration for stroug suspicion of heresy." On June 21, in the fourth and last interrogatory, but without any mention of the above decree, Galileo was questioned as to his intention in the *Dialogue* in regard to the Copernican system. In reply he would only admit that, cherishing his hypothesis, and feeling proud of the arguments adduced for it before 1616, he had given in the *Dialogue* more strength to the Copernican than to the other opinion. Refusing, therefore, to avow the imputed intention, he was threatened with torture. Then he replied—with what truth let his ultra-admirers imagine: "I have not held the Copernican system since I was ordered to abandon it [seventeen years before]. But I am in your hands. Do with me what you will." This refusal to acknowledge the imputed intention had been foreseen by Pope Urban, and, as he had provided for the contingency, the tribunal did not fulfil the threat of torture, but proceeded to the act of abjuration. As for the words "rigorous examination" used in the sentence, they do not necessarily imply that torture had been inflicted; they can easily refer to the threat pronounced in the fourth interrogatory.

But, according to the code of laws binding upon the inquis-

bishop Ascanio Piccolomini. On December 16, the Cardina. Francis Barberini having obtained this favor, he arrived at his own villa of Arcetri, and here he resided almost constantly until his death on January 8, 1642.

itors, which are fully given in the *Directory* of Eymeric (1), the official guide of the Holy Office, torture could not have been inflicted on Galileo. It is prescribed that when the accused denies the charges, and they have not been substantiated, and he has not yet furnished a good defence, he shall "be put to the question, in order that the truth may be reached,"—provided, however, that the consulters so advise. Now Galileo was not obstinate; he had no inclination to become a martyr for science. In his sentence the judges say: "We deemed it necessary to proceed to a rigorous examination, and thou didst reply like a Catholic—*respondisti Catholicè*." Having thus answered, he could not be tortured. It is sad to hear him uttering what his judges must have known to be a lie: "For some time before the determination of the Holy Office, and before I received that command [the order of 1616], I had been indifferent as to the two opinions of Ptolemy and Copernicus, and had held that both were disputable and that both could be true in nature. But after the above mentioned determination, being assured by the prudence of my superiors, all my doubts ceased, and I held, as I now hold, the theory of Ptolemy as true,—that is, that the earth does not, and the sun does move." If Galileo had undergone torture, he would scarcely have omitted to mention it among his many grievances, when, a few days after his departure from Rome, on July 23, he wrote from Siena to Gioli, minister of the grand duke: "I address you, prompted by a desire to escape from the long *weariness* of a more than six months' imprisonment, and from the trouble and *affliction of mind* of a whole year, coupled with many *inconveniences* and *bodily dangers*."

And now a few words as to the authenticity of the "*E pur si muove*." In the formula of abjuration, after having avowed that his *Dialogue* favors the "false" doctrine of the movement of the earth around the sun, and having admitted his violation of the prohibition of 1616, Galileo "affirms and swears, with his hand on the holy Gospels," that "with a sincere heart

(1) *Directory for Inquisitors*, by Friar Nicholas Eymeric, of the Order of Preachers; Commentated by Francis Pegna, S. T. D. and J. U. D., Auditor of Causes in the Apostolic Palace. Part III., on the Practice of the Inquisitorial Office, chapter on the Third Way of Ending a Trial for Faith. Venice, 1595.

and unfeigned faith he abjures, anathematizes and detests the aforesaid errors and heresies," for which he has been justly condemned as "strongly suspected of heresy." And he promises not only to abstain hereafter from all heretical doctrine, but also to denounce all heretics to the Inquisition or the ordinary of the locality (1). Motives of both personal and general interest certainly decided an act of apparent submission; but in performing it Galileo could not, without risk of destroying himself, have given himself the questionable satisfaction of a merely childish contradiction. Undoubtedly he thought that the earth moved, and probably the inquisitors knew that he so thought. But had he made the famous remark, he would not have been dismissed two days afterward. If Galileo risked so much by the quoted ebullition at so fatally decisive a moment, how comes it that never after, either by speech or in writing, did he expressly contradict his abjuration by openly professing his system? Certainly, when writing in confidence to some intimates, he would insist upon his innocence from a religious point of view; but in all other instances his reticence was persistent. Every opportunity and temptation to break this imposed silence was presented when he wrote to Diodati, then in Paris, on July 25, 1634, complaining of the violence of his enemies toward himself and his teachings,—a violence which he would answer only by silence. Nor does he contradict his abjuration in his letter written in 1637 to King Ladislaus of Poland, whom he asks to compare his *Dialogue* with the sentence pronounced against its author, and to see if its doctrine is more pernicious than that of Luther and Calvin, as Urban VIII. was said to believe. Nor, again, does he advocate his system in his letter to Pieresc on February 21, 1636, in which he insists on the injustice of his condemnation. When he writes to Rinuccini on March 29, 1641, he evades a direct answer to an attempt to obtain an avowal of his real mind. Cantù says that he has read, in the valuable archives of the Rinuccini family at Florence, an autograph letter of Galileo,

(1) Merely on the faith of an anonymous note, Libri and Parchappe assert that Galileo went through this humiliating ordeal clad only in his shirt. The process says nothing of this; and men who were accustomed to adopt every means to enhance the solemnity of a recantation, would not have failed to mention such a fact, had it an existence.

written during the last days of his life, in which, for some reason or other, he denies the Copernican theory, and advances the physical arguments which combat it. And, in truth, these were of such a nature, that a scientist might well hesitate before condemning them; just as now, after the incontestable arguments which were unknown to the contemporaries of Galileo, it would be impossible for him to doubt the truth of the Copernican system. Galileo himself supposed that the earth revolved in the air, which "does not seem obliged to obey its movement." The judicious Alberi, who inserted this letter in his valuable edition of Galileo's *Works*, at first thought that here Galileo really abandoned his system, thus giving an indication of senile weakness; afterward, however, the sagacious editor regarded the missive as a piece of irony in which the author veiled the real sentiments which the Inquisition would not allow him to avow. This is also the opinion of Th. Henry Martin, who carefully examines and explains the letter. Rinuccini had informed Galileo that Pieroni had found, for certain fixed stars, a small annual parallax of a few seconds—a proof of the annual motion of the earth; but, on the other hand, he said that he had read a new book which seemed to establish the immobility of the earth in the centre of the universe, because the horizon always divides the sphere of the fixed into two exactly equal parts. Rinuccini prayed Galileo to banish from his mind all anxiety concerning the Copernican system.

"But had Rinuccini forgotten," asks Martin, "that in 1633 the Inquisition had forced Galileo to abjure this system, and that the sentence had been lessened only because of his promise to forever renounce that *heresy*, and to denounce all *heretics* and *suspects*? What was Galileo to do, since he still believed in the Copernican system? With a disciple whose convictions were so easily unsettled, and who was, at the same time, so indiscreet in his questions, Galileo had to be even more prudent than with his other correspondents. Was he to reply that, after his condemnation, he could not touch that subject? No; but he dares to refute the objection which puzzles his short-sighted disciple; maintaining, however, for form's sake, the imposed abjuration. It was not a very sin-

cere act ; but could Galileo have been sincere in that matter ? And at what cost ? Abusive severity renders dissimulation excusable. In his reply, on March 29, 1641, Galileo begins with this irony : ‘ The falsity of the Copernican system ought not to be doubted, especially by us Catholics, who have the irrefragable authority of Holy Writ, interpreted by the greatest masters of theology, whose unanimous consent renders us certain of the stability of the earth placed in the centre, and of the mobility of the sun around it.’ Galileo does not say, and he is quite right in not saying, that the question has been decided by *the Church* or by *the Pope*. As to the pretended teachings of the Scriptures in matters of astronomy, and as to the astronomical commentaries of theologians on these texts, Galileo himself had already told us what a sincerely Catholic scientist can, and ought to think of them. He had done this in his letter to the grand-duchess Christina, written in 1615, and published with his consent at Strasbourg in 1636. He greatly desired that copies of this letter should be introduced into Italy for the confusion of his enemies, as he wrote to Friar Micanzio on June 28, 1636. And on May 9, 1637, he wrote to Guerrini that he hoped to soon have some copies of it. Are we to suppose, then, that between May 9, 1637, and March 29, 1641, a period during which his correspondence with Liceti shows in him such strength of character, that Galileo embraced the opinion of his enemies ? No ; but he feared that Rinuccini would be less discreet than Micanzio ; therefore he wrote to Rinuccini a letter which could be shown without danger, but which says what he wished to say. . . . Then he said ironically, as he had said in the *Essayist* in 1623, that the Copernican system having been condemned, and that of Ptolemy and the Peripatetics having become untenable, scientists should endeavor to find a third system in which astronomical science and the theologians could agree. Penetrating to the depth of the matter, he shows that the objection troubling Rinuccini rests only on a begging of the question, and not on a real observation of the perpetual and rigorously exact equality of the visible celestial hemisphere. Concerning the annual parallaxes of the fixed stars, he says that if the observation of Pieroni is true, human

reasoning must lead one to infer that the earth is not immovable in the centre of the sphere. Then he hastens to add that if Pieroni could be deceived in his belief that he has found a parallax of some seconds, then those who pretend that the extent of the visible hemisphere never varies, not even for one or two seconds of a degree, may have been much more easily deceived. Thus the objection against the Copernican system is reduced to nothing. Without any repetition by Galileo, it is clear that this system is favored by human reasoning, and that it is opposed only by the theological arguments drawn from certain sacred texts which some wish to regard as teaching astronomy. This letter, therefore, favors the system which it ironically disavows. This letter of a venerable man of seventy-seven years is another proof of that fine discernment and of that vivacity of spirit which Galileo preserved to the end of his life " (1).

Having shown that the imprisonment of Galileo was merely nominal, and that no torture was inflicted upon him, we must now briefly examine the decisions of the Roman Congregations in his case, with a view to their doctrinal consequences. Protestant polemics gladly proclaim these decisions as destructive of the Catholic doctrine of Infallibility. Certain Catholic writers have enunciated views on the matter which can serve only to confirm the opinion that the Church and science are implacable foes. For instance, the Viscount de Bonald, with that severity which is generally characteristic of lay theologians, insists that the double movement of the earth has never been and never can be proved; that even to-day he who defends the Copernican system is "guilty of rashness" in contradicting the natural sense of the Scriptures; that if the old system was an illusion, the Bible favors said illusion (2). This author would advise, therefore, if he were logical, the Pope and the Roman Inquisition to revoke the decree of toleration issued in favor of the Galilean theory on September 17, 1822; and would have them condemn the many scientific ecclesiastics,

(1) *Loc. cit.*, ch. 9.

(2) *Galileo, the Holy Office, and the System of the World*, in the *Correspondent of Dec.* 25, 1854. See also this author's *Moses and Modern Geologists*, Avignon, 1835.

like Secchi and Matignon, who "rashly oppose the natural sense" of the Scriptures (1).

Again, there are other Catholic critics whose views, though far more moderate than those of M. de Bonald, are almost equally untenable. Thus it is quite common to hear that Galileo was always allowed to teach his system "as an astronomical supposition"; whereas the official documents show that our philosopher was prohibited, in 1616, to uphold "said opinion in any way whatsoever"; and that in 1633 he was punished for having disobeyed this injunction by publishing a work in which there were no interpretations of sacred texts. Among the critics of this class the most eminent are the astronomer Lalande (2), the Abbé Berauld-Bercastel (3), Bergier (4), and Feller (5),—all of whom copy the Protestant Mallet du Pan, whose errors are carefully noted by Th. Martin (6).

Other Catholic polemics, such as Alzog (7) and Höffler (8), hold that the Copernican system, having been advanced too soon, was dangerous to both science and religion, and that this pretended fact justifies the action of the Inquisition. But the official records evince that the new system was condemned "as false and altogether contrary to Scripture," and not as a mere matter imprudently or prematurely advanced. Nay, more: the sentence of 1633 expressly states that even though Galileo had presented his system only as probably true, still he would have offended; for, in the words of the decree, "an opinion cannot be provable when it has been declared and defined to be contrary to Sacred Scripture."

(1) In 1842 a certain Abbé Matalène published in Paris a book entitled *Anti-Copernicus, a New Astronomy*; but his ecclesiastical superiors sharply reminded him that he had no right to compromise the clergy by such extravagancies.

(2) *Voyage in Italy*, 1786.

(3) *Ecc. Hist.*, 1778-85.

(4) *Diet. Theol.*

(5) *Diet. Hist.*, art. *Galileo*.

(6) *Galileo and the Rights of Science*, Paris, 1868.—Among the errors of Mallet du Pan, which Martin with undue severity stigmatizes as "lies," are to be noted his pretence that Bellarmine did not, in 1616, interdict any astronomical hypothesis; the assertion that Galileo caused his apologetic letter to Christendom to be printed before his condemnation; the declaration that no *imprimatur* was really given for the publication of Galileo's *Dialogue*. Pretending to give extracts from a certain despatch of Guicciardini, Mallet du Pan asserts that they show that Galileo wished to force the Pontiff to make a religious dogma of his system; whereas the reading of the despatch causes one to almost justify Martin when he says that Mallet "not only mistakes, but is an impostor."

(7) *Church Hist.*, Fr. transl., Paris, 1855, vol. iii., p. 249.

(8) *Encyc. Diet. Theol. Cath.*, art. *Galileo*.

M. Adolphe Valson (1) contends that the Copernican proposition concerning the movement of the earth was not condemned as "heretical," if taken by itself; and that in condemning the other Copernican theory on the non-movement of the sun, the Inquisition was right, since the sun has a movement of its own. As to the first assertion, it is true that the theory of the earth's movement was not condemned as "heretical," but it was declared "false and altogether contrary to Scripture." As to Valson's second remark, there was no question of any special movement of the sun; this movement, toward the constellation of Hercules, was utterly unknown at that time; but what the Inquisition forbade Galileo to deny was the movement of the sun *around the earth*.

Very different from the opinions of the above critics is that of Tiraboschi (2), who admits that vulgar prejudices caused the prohibition of 1616, and the condemnation of 1633, and declares that these decisions were pronounced by a fallible tribunal, and not by the Church. He shows that at first Galileo found his discoveries favorably received in Rome, but that the angry Peripatetics soon adopted the Bible as a weapon against him. However, being ignorant of the fact that the *Preface* to the condemned *Dialogue* had been written, not by Galileo, but by the examiner Riccardi, Tiraboschi accuses the scientist of bad faith. He declares that the Congregations erred because of a too great devotion to Peripateticism.

About the year 1825 Olivieri, General of the Dominicans and commissary of the Holy Office, wrote a dissertation on the affair of Galileo (3), in which he gave a very curious apology for the Congregations. The teachings of Copernicus and Galileo, said Olivieri, were not condemned because they did not agree with the Bible, but because these two scientists upheld them with bad arguments, which, being

(1) In the *Review of Christian Economy* for Dec., 1865, and Jan. and Feb., 1866.

(2) *First Historical Memoir, on the First Advocates of the Copernican System*, read in the Modenese Academy *dei Dissonanti* in 1792, inserted in the Venetian edition of the *Hist. Ital. Litt.* 1796. *Second Memoir, on the Condemnation of Galileo and the Copernican System*, read in 1793.

(3) Not edited until 1855, in the *Université Catholique*.

contrary to sound philosophy, seemed therefore opposed to Scripture. If Galileo, continued Olivieri, had known the gravity of the air, and had not obstinately attributed the tides to a combination of the diurnal and annual revolutions of the earth, things would have gone differently; for the Church has ever encouraged any real progress—one which is free from errors. Olivieri also contended that the real cause of all the misfortunes of Galileo was his having provoked the “vengeance” of Urban VIII. (1). A decisive refutation of all these assertions was given by Govi (2).

It is manifest that from the beginning of the affair of Galileo, five courses were open to the ecclesiastical authorities. The philosopher and his friends would have been satisfied if, firstly, it were acknowledged that the new system was not contrary to Catholic faith; secondly, if liberty of discussion were allowed in its regard; and, thirdly, if both the Copernicians and Peripatetics were forbidden to adduce Biblical texts in their debates. Certainly ecclesiastical tradition as well as prudence, both ever favorable to toleration in such matters, would seem to have counselled one of these three courses. Cardinal Matthew Barberini, afterward Pope Urban VIII., Cardinal Bellarmine, and other moderate Peripatetics, preferred a fourth course,—namely, to leave liberty only to the Peripatetics, and, while not deciding against the new system, to interdict it as rash and dangerous under the circumstances. In 1632 Urban VIII. adopted a fifth course,—namely, to procure the condemnation of the

(1) We have already observed that Galileo had obtained the approbation of the Master of the Apostolic Palace for his work entitled *A Dialogue on the Two Principal Systems Concerning the World*, published in 1632, and that in this *Dialogue* he had represented one Simplicius, a fool, as defending the Peripatetic system. Cantù seems inclined to credit the assertion that Pope Urban VIII. fancied that Galileo had intended the world to discern the Pontiff in the guise of Simplicius; and he thinks that the approbation of the Master for the work might have been, “if not obtained by fraud, at least drawn from the Master by some of those artifices which are known to those who have had any relations with public censors of books”; and he adds: “While the learned were indicating certain errors in the *Dialogue*, the envious were whispering to Urban VIII. that Galileo, after the Pontiff had treated him so kindly, not only forgot his promise of silence, but ridiculed his Holiness in the character of Simplicius, even causing conversations he had held with Urban to be spoken in the *Dialogue*. Urban, who had the passions of a man and a literateur, repented the real or supposed injury,” etc.

(2) *The Holy Office, Copernicus, and Galileo, Considered in Reference to a Posthumous Dissertation of Father Olivieri*, Turin, 1872.

Copernican system as false in philosophy, erroneous in theology, and contrary to Sacred Scripture.

Now arises the question : *By whom* was the doctrine of the movement of the earth thus condemned? Certainly, it was through the influence of Paul V. and of Urban VIII., respectively, that the decisions of 1616 and 1633 were rendered; but neither *their* authority as Pontiffs nor that of *the Church* was implicated. As men these Popes were opposed to the system of Galileo; but as Popes their names are not signed in the famous decisions. Both are published only in the name of the Congregations. This absence of the Pontifical ratification is remarked by Descartes in three letters to Mersenne, and by Gassendi (1). The Jesuit Riccioli (2) invokes against the teachings of Galileo the authority of "the Congregations delegated by the Pope"; but he does not contend that the Pope can delegate his infallibility. The absence of the Pontifical ratification in the decisions against Galileo is noted by the Benedictine Caramuel (3), who, after declaring that the new system is absurd, asks himself what the Church would do if, "which is impossible," the movement of the earth were ever demonstrated. He replies that the Church would declare that "the Roman Congregations, having decided without the Papal ratification, were mistaken." In fine, let it be remembered that neither in 1616 nor in 1633 did the supreme authority of the Church pronounce a decision concerning the Copernican system. Muratori, writing in Italy a century before the works of Galileo were removed from the Index, says that the Copernican system was condemned "not by an edict of the Supreme Pontiff, but by the Congregation of the Holy Office. . . . To-day this system is everywhere in vogue, and Catholics are not forbidden to hold it" (4). Tiraboschi specially insists on our admiring the "Providence of God in favor of His Church; since, at a time when the majority of theologians firmly believed that the Copernican system was contrary to the Sacred Scriptures, the

(1) *Impressed Motion*, Lyons, 1658, vol. iii., epist. 2.

(2) *Almagestum Novum*, Bologna, 1651, vol. i., pt. 2, p. 489.

(3) *Fundamental Theology*, Lyons, 1676. The passages are cited by Boulx, in his *Condemnation of Galileo*, Arras, 1866, p. 25-29.

(4) *Annals of Italy*, year 1633.

Church was not permitted to give a solemn decision on the matter”(1). No Catholic will assert that the Roman Inquisition has never committed any errors; and in the case of Galileo it was the Inquisition that erred, and not the Pontiff; and even though the Pontiff had erred, the decision was not one concerning faith or morals,—one, that is, which can form the object matter of Infallibility.

“Whenever,” says Cantù, “there is opened a new scientific or philosophical horizon, even the most elevated intellects are stricken with fright, as when America was discovered, and when steam and electricity were first applied. What wonder if contradiction befell the Copernican system, which appeared to subvert the order not only of the physical but of the moral world; which seemed to threaten faith and morals, just as it changed the reciprocal position of the heavenly bodies? What wonder if it seemed impious and scandalous to subject man and his habitation to the same laws which regulate the other phenomena of nature? Was it not for this reason that, quite recently, Hegel denied the movement of the earth? When the Reformation had spread, and men were substituting their individual for the canonical interpretation of the Scriptures, churchmen were frightened on seeing certain verses interpreted in a new manner, and they went so far as to condemn Galileo. Nor should we forget that until Foucault furnished it, in our own days, there was no physical proof of the movement of the earth. Foucault gave it in the progressive deviation of the oscillating plane of a pendulum suspended from a fixed point. But no serious person will repeat the absurdities of Libri (2), of Arduini (3), and of similar writers, confuted by Biot (4), Alberi, Martin, and by common-sense.”

He who would understand the great catastrophe in the life of Galileo must consult the writings of the scientist, and the invaluable documents published by Alberi in his great edition of the *Works* (5). It is *not true*, as Libri and, after him, many Protestants insist, that the officers of the Inquisition

(1) *Memoir II.*, *loc. cit.*

(2) *Loc. cit.*

(3) *The First Born of Galileo*, Florence, 1864.

(4) In Michaud's *Universal Biography*, and in two dissertations in the *Journal des Savants* for March, July and October, 1858.

(5) In sixteen large volumes, Florence, 1842-56.

destroyed or secreted nearly all the papers of Galileo. All his principal works remain, and nearly all the minor ones. A few of his MSS. were destroyed by one of his grandsons, who felt some scruples about preserving any writings of one condemned by the Holy Office. Most of the important works and of the correspondence were collected by Galileo's disciple, Viviani, who bequeathed them to a nephew, Panzanini; the heirs of this nephew sold some of them as waste paper, but nearly all were recovered by Giambattista Nelli, whose son Clement used them and part of Viviani's collection in his *Life of Galileo*, published in 1793. When publishing his edition of the *Works*, Alberi promised to give to the world a *Life* based upon documents in his hands, but he failed to do so. However, this *Life* would not have been complete, as there were many documents which he could not procure. Thanks to Theiner, Prefect of the Vatican Archives, who communicated these papers to M. Henri de l'Epinois, the world received, in 1867, much light on the affairs of the great scientist, in the valuable work of the same L'Epinois (1).

CHAPTER V.

JANSENISM.

No problem has so troubled philosophers and theologians, in every age and of every religion, as that of a conciliation of the two great factors of human destiny, Divine Grace and Free Will. Men seem to have forgotten, or not to have realized, that human reason can never reconcile, in an absolutely satisfactory manner, two terms the exact significance of which it cannot comprehend. It is not surprising that an attempt to explain satisfactorily the reciprocal action of grace and free will should so frequently result in either an annihilation of man under the divine action, or an obscuring of God's entity by the prominence given to man. It has been well said that this enterprise is like that of one who would undertake to solve an equation, the terms of which he does not

(1) GALILEO: *His Trial and Condemnation, According to Uncited Documents*

know. Certainly man knows not the precise nature of the supernatural. Neither can he figure to himself, with any degree of exactness, the condition in which the fall of Adam left the will of that unfortunate and of his descendants. We cannot determine the real nature of God's action on His creatures. We realize scarcely at all what are the rights of God's justice, or the claims of His love. And how little we know concerning the divine attributes. When we fancy that we have attained to some appreciation of them by a petty comparison of them with the faculties of our own souls, we have temporarily ignored the utter absence of any proportion between the infinite and the finite. It is certain, in fine, that we can apply to the Creator's nature or actions no reasonings which are based on the condition of a creature. Nevertheless, Greek philosophy assumed to speculate on the relation of man's liberty with the concurrent providence of God over all things created ; and Fatalism and Stoicism resulted. Oriental speculation entered the field ; and Pantheism was born. Scarcely had the Christian Church issued from the catacombs, than many of her children began to exercise their recovered breath in debating on a redoubtable mystery concerning which, during the days of their probation, they had been content to know that they were free to apostatize, but that they had the grace to die for their faith. Then the monk Pelagius insisted that we do not inherit the guilt of Adam ; that therefore our free will is what it was in paradise ; that consequently we need no divine grace. Conquered by the decisions of seven Roman Pontiffs, by those of twenty-four synods and by that of the General Council of Ephesus ; its absurdities revealed by St. Augustine, who then came to be known as " the doctor of grace " ; Pelagianism again showed itself in a modified form, so plausibly urging the needlessness of grace for the beginning of faith and for final perseverance, that many learned and saintly men thought that Semi-Pelagianism alone could safeguard free will. Finally defeated by the writings of Sts. Augustine, Fulgentius, and Prosper, the ultra partisans of free will made way for the diametrically opposite school of the Predestinationists, who taught that the Saviour had died for the elect alone, and that the fall of Adam had

destroyed free will. This melancholy belief soon vanished; and when it reappeared under the pen of Goteschalk in the ninth century, it met its fate at the hands of Hincmar of Rheims. Not until the fourteenth century was another attempt made to terminate the supposed conflict between the two great gifts of God to man. Wyckliffe arose; and both divine and human liberty were denied, fatality supplanting them. Then the world heard Luther pronouncing "free will a slave," or rather a non-entity; since, according to the father of Protestantism, grace and concupiscence each necessitate the will of man, of course not violently or by coercion, but nevertheless invincibly. In the face of all these pretenders to the honor of terminating what did not and cannot exist—a struggle for existence between grace and free will, the Church never attempted to explain their necessary harmony in such a way as to give absolute satisfaction to the curiosity of man. Leaving to her schools of theologians all freedom of speculation as to why, how, etc., when her definitions were not called into question, she called upon her children to acknowledge, on the part of God, an absolute and supreme dominion over all His creatures, and an efficacious wish to save all men through a knowledge of His Son and an application of that Son's merits as Redeemer; and on the part of man, a supernatural destiny, guilt of original sin, a need of supernatural grace, and free will. When the reader has finished his study of Jansenism, which was simply an attempt to subvert each and every opinion concerning grace which was tolerated by the Church, he will probably feel that it would have been well for all the followers of the bishop of Ypres, and for many of his opponents, if they had been content with a reception of the truths presented by the representative of Christ on earth; if they had thought with St. Francis de Sales that the difficulties presented by each side of the controversy were terrible, and that to make a good use of grace is better than to dispute concerning its nature.

Michael Baius, born in 1513 in Hainaut, was a professor in the University of Louvain. He taught many errors concerning grace, free will, original sin, charity, the death of Christ, etc., all of which are found in the sixty-six proposi-

tions condemned in 1576 by Pius V. The errors of Baius which regard the state of innocence were a kind of Pelagianism; those concerning fallen nature were a mixture of Lutheranism and Calvinism; and those regarding restored nature were akin to the contradictory errors of the Predestinationists and the Pelagians. In regard to innocent nature, Baius taught that "God was obliged, by justice and because of a right possessed by the creature, to create man for eternal happiness; that sanctifying grace, and the other gifts which the Church calls gratuitous and supernatural, and which God conferred on Adam, were natural and due to him; therefore, man can attain salvation by strength of his own nature." As to fallen nature, Baius held that free will can only sin; all that man wills he freely wills, and hence even "when he necessarily wills he freely wills." Concerning restored nature, Baius contended that "every good work merits eternal life of its own nature, independently of the divine disposition and of the merits of Christ"; but he also insisted that "man escapes the punishment due to sin, only by an imputation of Christ's merits, and this imputation is not accorded to all, but only to the predestined." In fact, as St. Liguori expresses the idea, the entire teaching of Baius on the three states of man's nature is the consequence of his principle that there are but two loves: theological charity, by which God is loved above all else as the last end; and concupiscence, by which one is attached to creatures, also as to a last end. Between these two loves, according to Baius, there is no medium. Baius died in the communion of the Church. His most determined opponents, Cardinal Granvelle and the Jesuit, Toledo, admitted his knowledge, humility, and simplicity.

Cornelius Jansen was born in 1585 at Arcquoï, near Leerdam in Holland. He made his course of Humanities at Utrecht; but his philosophical and theological studies were pursued at Louvain under the tuition of James Baius, a nephew of the famous Michael, and under James Janson, both zealous defenders of Baianism. One of his intimate friends at the University was John du Verger de Haurrane (better known as Saint-Cyran, from the abbey given to him

in 1617, by the bishop of Poitiers), of whom Petau, who had been his fellow-student at the Sorbonne, said that "he was a restless, vain, and presumptuous spirit." Jansenius obtained his degree in 1619; and his learning caused his being sent to Spain, on important business of the University. By his efforts the Spanish government was induced to revoke the permission accorded to the Jesuits, to teach Humanities and philosophy in Louvain. In 1630 he became professor of Scripture, and published his *Commentaries on the Pentateuch, Wisdom and the Gospels*. He was made bishop of Ypres in 1635, chiefly because of a pamphlet entitled the *Gallic Mars*, which he had written in the interest of Spain. During the twenty years preceding his death, which occurred on May 6, 1638, Jansenius had labored on a work called *Augustinus*, at first styled an *Apology for Baius*, in which he aimed at an exposition of the doctrine of St. Augustine on grace and predestination, and a refutation of Lessius and Molina (1). In both the preface and the epilogue to his book Jansenius professed his submission to the decisions of the Holy See; but we cannot forget that his correspondence with Saint-Cyran nullified this declaration. He presumes to lament "the ignorance of the court of Rome in matters of faith" (2); he condemns all the scholastics, St. Thomas included, and says that if the Thomists and Jesuits continue their disputes until the day of judgment, they will wander still more from the truth than they have hitherto done, "and already they are a hundred leagues away from it"; he pronounces St. Thomas insipid to him who has studied St. Au-

(1) Leonard Lessius, born in Brabant, in 1554, entered the Society of Jesus, and studied theology under Suarez. He became a professor at Louvain in 1585, and after a life of constant polemics died in 1623. The Universities of Louvain and Douay vainly endeavored to induce Rome and the Sorbonne to condemn his doctrines as they had done. The great object of the discussion was the teaching of Lessius on grace and predestination, which is analogous to that of Molina. Indeed, Lessius composed his work on *Efficacious Grace* in defence of Molina against the Thomists. Louis Molina, also a Jesuit, was born in Castile in 1535. His work on the *Agreement of Grace and Free Will* was attacked by the Dominicans, and even by some of his brethren, e. g., Henriquez (d. 1603) who said that "it prepares the way of Antichrist by its affectation of sustaining the natural power of free will against the merits of Christ, the aid of grace, and predestination." In 1598 Clement VIII. established the Congregation *De Auxiliis*, which considered the Molinist system, but the dispute continued until 1607, when Paul V. prohibited each party to accuse the other of heresy. From that time Molinism has been a permitted opinion, but ever attacked by the Thomists, and by both true and false Augustinians.

(2) Letter 21.

gustine (1); he avows that his work "will not be approved by his judges" (2); and he admits that his teachings "will stupefy the world" (3). With such a master it is no wonder that Saint-Cyran declared: "It is God Himself who is destroying the Church. The bishops, ecclesiastics, and religious of to-day, as a rule, have none of the spirit of Christianity, of grace, or of the Church. If the religious of his order were true sons of St. Bernard, they would devote themselves to the destruction of scholastic theology; even St. Thomas ruined true theology by human reasonings and the principles of Aristotle" (4). However, we may hope that the final protestation of Jansenius was sincere. "I am human," he said in his last testament, "and like all men, am liable to error; hence I submit my work to the judgment of the Holy See and of my mother, the Roman Church. From this moment I receive, retract, condemn, and anathematize, all that the Church decides that I ought to receive, retract, condemn, or anathematize" (5). The executors of Jansenius did not consult the Holy See, but issued the *Augustinus* in 1640, and Jansenism—that "bastard Protestantism," as it is not unaptly defined by Louis Blanc (6), commenced its career.

A brief notice of some of the most prominent figures in the history of Jansenism is necessary. The abbé de Saint-Cyran is described for us by no less a personage than St. Vincent de Paul. His duplicity, according to the saint, was extraordinary. He affirmed, in the saint's hearing, that "if in one place, he had told the truth to persons capable of appreciating it, and then he went to a place where the same truth would not be understood, he would teach the contrary." And he defended his theory, adds St. Vincent, by the alleged example of our Saviour, who "did the same, and advised others to so act." One day he told the saint that "God had given him great knowledge; He had revealed to him that there had been no Church for five or six hundred years.

(1) Lett. 16.

(2) Lett. 131.

(3) Lett. 113.

(4) Testimony of the Abbé de Prières against Saint-Cyran.

(5) At the end of his *Life*, prefixed to the *Augustinus*.(6) *History of the French Revolution*, vol. I., page 201; Paris, 1847. This famous socialist and moderate radical says: "If Jansenism had no other celebrity than that of a theological thesis, we might not notice it. But no; Jansenism, while giving a religious varnish to the political passions of the magistracy, aided the onward march of the *bourgeoisie*."

Originally the Church was like a great river with limpid water; but now that which seems to be the Church is only mud. The bed of the river is indeed the same; but the waters are different. I told him that Calvin and all other heretics had advanced the same pretext in justification of their errors; and he replied that the undertaking of Calvin was not at all an evil thing, but that Calvin had defended his project badly" (1). On another occasion he said that "in his mind the Scriptures were clearer than they were in themselves." But his pride was hidden under an air of simplicity and of mortification; and many of the clergy and very many of the female religious were seduced by his insinuating manners. The imprisonment of Saint-Cyran by Richelieu has led certain historians to aver that the great cardinal was jealous of one who exercised so much power over the souls of men; and it is said that the abbé would not have been confined in the chateau of Vincennes, had his independence not prevented his acceptance of a bishopric at the hands of the minister who thought to thus acquire dominion over his intellect. No proof has been adduced to sustain this assertion; and the entire career of Richelieu shows that personal hatred never influenced his political actions, even though he had been capable of condescending to such a sentiment. The great minister had excellent and purely political reasons for his treatment of the standard-bearer of Jansenism in France. Having been reared in the midst of the "wars of religion," a conflagration enkindled by theological disputes, the cardinal realized that a religious error can soon become a political engine to the detriment of the state; and he had practical reasons for regarding Jansenism as such an engine. Although Jansenius, in 1637, had endeavored to further a subversion of the Spanish domination over Belgium, in order to create partisans for himself; nevertheless he had soon sought for a reconciliation with Philip II., and had therefore published the *Gallie Mars*, a bitter diatribe against the kings of France, from Clovis to Louis XIII. Again, there was reason for believing that Jansenius had been privy to an attempt to assassinate the cardinal-minister. Saint-Germain, almoner of

(1) Letter cited by Abelly, bishop of Rhodéz, in his *Life of St. Vincent de Paul*.

Queen Mary dei Medici, wrote to Chamontel that he knew that Jansenius had advised the crime of Alpheston in the Palais de Bruxelles, whereby several were wounded, although the intended victim escaped unhurt (1). Furthermore, Saint-Cyran had abetted the seditious projects of Gaston d'Orleans (2). We must believe, therefore, that not petty malice, but reasons of state, added to the fact that Saint-Cyran had inspired the seven propositions condemned by the Faculty of Paris, caused the incarceration of the Jansenist leader. The death of Richelieu opened the gates of his prison to Saint-Cyran; but he died shortly afterward, having been stricken by apoplexy, and having made no sign of retractation.

Anthony Arnauld, called "the great Arnauld" and sometimes the "Pope of the Jansenists," was a man of vast genius, of undoubted erudition, and of great eloquence. All the Arnaulds, in fact, formed the very soul of Jansenism. Arnauld d'Andilly, a brother of the great Arnauld, had fifteen children, most of whom retired to Port Royal of Paris or to the Champs (3). The few who remained in the world great-

(1) In the *History of Duchesne*. (2) VARIN; *The Truth Concerning the Arnaulds*.

(3) This famous monastic establishment received its name, *Portus Regius* or *Port-Royal des Champs*, from the fact that in 1204 Odon de Sully, bishop of Paris, erected a nunnery for Cisterciens on that site in compliance with a vow made there by King Philip Augustus. The nuns were styled Daughters of St. Bernard, and besides the ordinary monastic duties they conducted an excellent school for young girls. The rule of St. Benedict having been much neglected by the nuns for many years, Mother Angélique Arnauld signalized her superiority by a thorough restoration of the primitive discipline in 1608. In 1625 part of the community was detached to found a new house in Paris, and this establishment came to be known as Port-Royal de Paris. In 1636 the house of Les Champs was entirely abandoned by the nuns; and it became a retreat for many pious men who wished to devote their lives, although nearly all of them remained seculars, to solitude, penance, study, and the instruction of noble youths. Besides the Arnaulds, the more illustrious of these solitaires were Le Maître de Sacy, Nicole, Lancelot, and Le Nain de Tillemont. The elder Racine studied at Port-Royal, and Pascal was one of its habitual frequenters. During the disputations consequent on the condemnation of the five propositions of Jansenius, the Port-Royalists contested the authority of Pope Innocent X., and the Calvinists of the day were wont to say that the solitaires would find it difficult to prove that they were not Protestants. During the Fronde, it was notorious that Port-Royal and its sympathizers were hostile to the government. Under the rule of Mazarin, most malcontents sought an asylum at Port-Royal. During the reign of Louis XIV. they were prosecuted because, as the monarch said, "they would have been just as seditious as the Calvinists of the Netherlands, if they had possessed sufficient energy." In 1656, having refused to subscribe the famous Formula condemnatory of the five propositions, the solitaires of the *Champs* were expelled from their retreat, and the nuns of Port-Royal de Paris were nearly all located in other communities. The few who had submitted were allowed to retain their old residence, and the community lasted until the horrors of the Revolution involved it in the fate of all the religious establishments

ly aided Jansenism by their intrigues. The entire family were proud and intractable, whether courtiers or religious. Racine said of them to Nicole: "You place them a little below David and Solomon. That is not enough. Locate them above these personages. You may cause their humility to suffer a little, but fear not; they are wont to bless those who afflict them in that way." At Port-Royal des Champs, near Paris, the great Arnauld had two sisters, Agnes and Angélique; the former a superioress of Bernardines, the latter at the head of a convent of the Holy Sacrament, aggregated to the abbey. Saint-Cyran had indoctrinated both these communities with Jansenism; and when Arnauld was excluded from the Sorbonne, he retired to the Champs, being soon followed by his brother d'Andilly, and by many others of the party, such as Pascal, Nicole, Saint-Marthe, etc. The new solitaries entered upon lives of mortification and prayer, fully equal to those of the olden anchorites of Egypt; and the female religious, who were subject to Agnes and Angélique, rivalled them. They never conversed on other matters than the primitive Church, the ancient Canons, and SS. Paul and Augustine. In a short time, in accordance with Arnauld's opposition to frequent Communion, they began to avoid the altar; Mother Angélique abstained from Communion for five months, even though the Paschal time intervened, and many of her religious abstained for eighteen months. When Rome reproved them, the infatuated women paid no heed; for, they said, "Popes Liberius and Honorius had fallen into heresy," and during their own days "the Scribes and Pharisees had joined with Caiaphas to condemn Christ." If St. Jerome had any experience with religious of this stamp, he may be pardoned for that rather ungallant remark: "Women imbibe error more easily than men receive it, because they

of France. Justice demands that we record the heroic patience of both the solitaries of the *Champs* and the hallucinated daughters of Mother Angélique during a persecution which might well have been foregone, or at least rendered less severe. The Jesuit confessor of Louis XIV., Le Tellier (he had just been appointed) is said to have instigated these acts of repression, and naturally the Society of Jesus became more odious to the Jansenists. Concerning this matter the judicious Picot observes: "We are far from crediting all the foul charges made against Le Tellier; but granting that he was the author of the dissolution of Port-Royal, that hotbed of error, was his action a crime? And if it was a crime, it was his own. Why should all the Jesuits in the world be held responsible for it?"

are lightminded ; they spread error more rapidly than men do, since they are loquacious ; and they are slower in abandoning error than men are, on account of their obstinacy" (1). After a time the solitaries of Port Royal paid less attention to their genuflections, prostrations, etc. ; and instead of the mattock and the spade, with which they had procured their food, they took up the pen in favor of Jansenism. To attract the world, they treated nearly every subject which had attractions for the human mind ; and it is well said that they did much for modern literature and science. Among the numerous works composed at Port Royal the very first place must be accorded to the *Provincial Letters* of Pascal, the most spirited, adroit, and biting pamphlet ever published ; but which so mutilates and misconstrues the writings of his adversaries, the Jesuit casuists, as to force even an admirer to doubt Pascal's good faith. We shall devote a special chapter to Pascal.

The history of Jansenism may be divided into seven periods :
 I. From the publication of *Augustinus* to the submission of the famous five propositions to the judgment of the Holy See.
 II. From that submission to the rise of the question of "fact."
 III. From the rise of that question to the issue of the "formula" by Alexander VII., and which the French clergy were obliged to sign.
 IV. A period of dissensions arising from this formula.
 V. The "Peace of Clement IX."
 VI. The tumults occasioned by the famous "Case of Conscience."
 VII. To our own day.

FROM THE PUBLICATION OF "AUGUSTINUS" TO THE SUBMISSION OF THE FIVE PROPOSITIONS.

The Protestant world applauded the book of Jansenius. Grotius declared that if Rome had approved the work, the unity of Christendom would have been restored. Leideker, a Dutch minister of celebrity, and author of a *History of Jansenism*, recognized its doctrine as Calvinistic, and reproved its followers for want of logic in not abandoning Romanism, which had become infected with Pelagianism. Bolgeni

(1) *To Ctesiphont.*

gives many testimonies of Calvinists recognizing Jansenism as conformable to their own ideas (1). But the Catholic world was horrified at *Augustinus*, and on Aug. 1, 1641, Urban VIII. prohibited it. On March 6, 1642, the Bull *In eminenti* condemned it as renewing the errors of Baius, anathematized by Pius V. and Gregory XIII. In an assembly of the Faculty of the University of Paris, July 1, 1649, Nicholas Cornet, syndic of the Faculty, presented for its consideration seven propositions which, though cancelled by the Revisers, had been printed among their theses by certain of the Bachelors. The Faculty reduced these propositions to five: I. Some of God's commandments are impossible to the just who wish to observe them, and who, to that end, exert all their strength. (This teaching had been, in substance, proscribed by the Council of Trent, sess. 6, c. 11, can. 18.) II. In the state of fallen nature, interior grace is never resisted (Jansenius does not say this in so many words, but in many places he implies it). III. In the state of fallen nature, in order to merit or demerit, man need not enjoy a liberty without necessity; it is enough for him to be free from any coercion. (These are almost the very words of Jansenius (2), and the Council of Trent had already decided that grace, even when efficacious, imposes no necessity on the human will.) IV. The Semipelagians admitted the necessity of antecedent grace for all good works, even for the beginning of faith; but they were heretics because they said that man's will could submit to it or resist it, V. It is a Semipelagian error to say that Christ died for all men. (Jansenius declares (3) that the fathers regarded as heretical the doctrine that Christ died for all men; that St. Augustine taught that He died only for the predestined, and that He prayed no more for the reprobate than for the demons). At first the Faculty of Paris did not agree as to the course to be pursued in regard to these propositions, and referred the matter to an episcopal assembly, to be held in 1650. The bishops, however, deemed the subject of such importance, that they sent the propositions to Pope Innocent X., who immediately deputed certain cardinals to examine them.

(1) In his pamphlet entitled *Are the Jansenists Jacobins?* Rome, 1794.

(2) In his *Grace of Christ*, b. vi.

(3) *Grace of Christ*, b. iii., c. 2.

II. FROM THE SUBMISSION OF THE FIVE PROPOSITIONS TO THE HOLY SEE, TO THE RISE OF THE QUESTION OF "FACT."

The Jansenists now sent the famous doctor of the Sorbonne, Saint-Amour, to defend their cause at Rome. He was assisted by Desmares, of the Oratory of Jesus, and four other doctors. On July 10, 1651, the Jansenist deputies were received by the Pontiff, and Saint-Amour insisted that the five propositions had been insidiously drawn up; that, indeed, they could be taken in a heretical sense, but no one defended that interpretation; that, however, they could be understood in an orthodox sense; and that the foes of the Jansenists wished their condemnation so that the latent Catholic meaning would appear to be condemned. He begged, therefore, in the name of eleven French bishops, that the Holy See would define nothing concerning the five propositions, until the deputies had been heard. To this the Pope replied that if the question was to turn on the propositions condemned by Urban VIII., no new examination could be undertaken; if new questions arose, they could be discussed. Saint-Amour greatly praises the kindness of Innocent X., and the full liberty of discussion he allowed the delegates during the thirty-six Congregations held on this matter (1). Finally, after more than two years of deliberation, the Pontiff pronounced his decision in the Bull *Cum occasione*, wherein he pronounced the five propositions heretical. The Faculty of Paris, having received the Bull on Aug. 1, ordered its registration, and condemned to expulsion any member who would sustain any of the five propositions; and in their assembly of 1657 the French bishops publicly avowed their adherence to the Papal declaration. In view of the subsequent conduct of the Jansenists, it is well to note here that before this condemnation, the innovators had defended the doctrine of the *Augustinus* as orthodox, and had insisted that the famous propositions had been taught by Jansenius in a Catholic sense. Among many proofs of this fact we cite the celebrated "three-column" document, read by the Jansenist deputies in the Congregation of May 19, 1653, held in the presence of the Pontiff. In this document, three versions of each proposition are given, each version in a separate column.

(1) In his *Journal*, p. 98.

In the first column, each proposition appears in its heretical (Calvinist or Lutheran) guise ; although Saint-Amour insisted that if it were properly considered, it would prove orthodox. In the second column, appears each proposition in the sense sustained by the Jansenists as Catholic. In the third column we find each proposition in the sense which the Jansenists held to be Pelagian, and taught by the Molinists. We transcribe this document as given by Saint-Amour.

FIRST PROPOSITION.

Heretical.

To all the just, however much they may wish and endeavor, according to their present strength from great and even efficacious grace, the commands of God are impossible ; and they lack, so long as they live, grace by which they may, without sin, obey even one of God's commands. This proposition is heretical, Calvinistic or Lutheran, and condemned by the Council of Trent.

Jansenistic.

Some of God's precepts are completely and proximately impossible to certain of the just ; that is, they cannot be fulfilled by these just ones, no matter how these may wish and endeavor to fulfil them, according to their present weak ability ; they being destitute of the efficacious aid necessary to full will and operation. They lack the efficacious grace which could make said precepts possible ; that is, they lack that special aid, without which the justified man, according to the Council of Trent, cannot persevere in his received justice, that is, in the observance of God's commands.

Molinistic.

To the just who wish and endeavor to obey, according to their present strength, all the precepts of God are possible through grace, subject to their own free will ; nor do they ever lack that grace which is necessary for the good work, or, at least, for prayer, and by which said precepts may be made possible.

SECOND PROPOSITION.

Heretical.

In the state of fallen nature, interior efficacious grace is never resisted ; because in regard to efficacious grace, man's will is merely passive, and like something inanimate, assents to nothing and performs nothing. *

Jansenistic.

The grace of Christ, necessary to every act of piety, is never resisted ; that is, the effect, for which it is proximately given by God, is never frustrated.

Molinistic.

The grace of Christ, necessary to every act of piety, to operation, or at least, to prayer, is, in the state of fallen nature, sometimes resisted ; that is, it is sometimes defrauded of that effect for which it is proximately given by God.

* To this proposition was subjoined : " Another erroneous interpretation : In the state of fallen nature, interior grace is never resisted, if grace be regarded as a mere enlightening of the intellect and a persuasion of the will. This proposition is false and erroneous, since, as St. Augustine teaches (*Grace of Christ*), such a grace is not a true grace of Christ." Also this one : " Another erroneous interpretation : In the state of fallen nature, grace is never resisted as far as regards the ulterior effect, to which it disposes ; since grace is slight and gives only an inchoate will. This proposition is false and erroneous."

THIRD PROPOSITION.

Heretical.

For meriting or demeriting, in the state of fallen nature, there is not required in man a freedom from natural necessity, such as is also found in undeliberate motions; but mere freedom from coercion is sufficient.

Jansenistic.

For meriting or demeriting in the state of fallen nature, freedom from a necessity of infallibility is not required; but freedom from coercion is sufficient, if the essence of liberty and of merit be precisely considered: although, because of man's condition, there be always found an indifference as to power, by which the will, even when subject to grace proximately necessary and of itself efficacious, may not wish (to correspond)—but the will can never not wish (to correspond) at the time it is subject to grace.

Molinistic.

For meriting or demeriting in the state of fallen nature, freedom from a necessity of infallibility is required; that is, there is a necessity for a proximate indifference as to operating or not operating, by which indifference the will, endowed with all the prerequisites for operating, may bend itself freely, now toward one side, then toward the other.

FOURTH PROPOSITION.

Heretical.

The grace of Christ is such that the free will of man, moved and excited by it, cannot, even if it desires to do so, dissent. To pronounce otherwise, is Semipelagian.

Jansenistic.

The Semipelagians admitted the necessity of antecedent grace for all imperfect acts, even for the beginning of faith; and they were heretics inasmuch as they taught that grace is such that the will may or may not assent to it, that is, that grace is not, of itself, efficacious.

Molinistic.

The Semipelagians did not admit the necessity of antecedent interior grace for all imperfect acts, and also for the beginning of faith: nor did their error consist in asserting that grace is not, of itself, efficacious.

FIFTH PROPOSITION.

Heretical.

Christ died only for the predestined; so that only these, through the merit of His death, receive true faith and justification.

Jansenistic.

It is Semipelagian to say that Christ died for all men, without exception, in the sense that all, without exception, receive, through His death, the grace necessary for salvation, which grace it is in the power of man's free will to acquire, without the aid of grace, of itself efficacious.

Molinistic.

It is not Semipelagian, but Catholic, to say that Christ, by His death, communicated to all men, without exception, the grace proximately necessary to operation, or at least, to beginning and to prayer.

In the preface to this document the Jansenist deputies thus addressed the Pontiff: "Most Holy Father, the question is not concerning an unnatural and evil signification which might be attributed to these propositions, and which we reject; but it regards the legitimate sense which we defend. . . . We develop for your Holiness the legitimate sense of each proposition as we defend it. . . . We openly declare our sentiments regarding the opinions of the Calvinist and Pelagian sects, and we frankly explain our belief, which holds a middle place between their erroneous opinions." And Saint-Amour says: "We had wished to indicate, not the sense as gathered from the terms, but that sense which the propositions bore, as far as Jansenius was concerned, and as they concerned us who endeavored to prevent their condemnation." There was no dispute, therefore, concerning the sense of the contents of the first or third columns, which was already condemned by the Jansenists and by Jansenius himself; the entire question concerned the sense of the second column, a sense taught in the *Augustinus*, and upheld as Catholic by the Jansenists. "This was the sense," remarks Bolgeni (1), "which occupied a middle place between the heresies of Calvin and of Pelagius; the sense rejected by the adversaries of the Jansenists, and which these adversaries were imploring the Holy See to condemn; the sense, to sustain which the deputies of eleven French bishops untiringly labored; the sense, in the condemnation of which was avowedly included the reprobation of the doctrine of Jansenius and of his defenders; the sense, in fine, which Saint-Amour wished, as he protested, Rome to approve, in order that approbation might accrue to the *Augustinus*. Such, undeniably, was the state of the case; the proofs are public and authentic. If, after the condemnation, the Jansenists changed their language; if they denied what they had openly affirmed; such a retreat, adopted perforce by men of such consummate talent, is a clear demonstration of the ruin of their cause."

III. FROM THE RISE OF THE QUESTION "OF FACT," TO THE ISSUE OF THE "FORMULA" BY POPE ALEXANDER VII.

Many were the efforts of the Jansenists to evade the Bull

(1) *Doctrinal Facts*, vol. I., c. 1: Rome, 1795.

of Innocent X. condemning the five propositions ; but the most specious subterfuge was the one excogitated by Anthony Arnould, and thus expressed by him in a letter to the University of Douay : “ This proposition, ‘ the doctrine of Jansenius has been condemned,’ gives rise to two questions. The first is one of *right*, that is, whether the five propositions have been justly condemned, and whether they are heretical ; the second is one of *fact*, whether the heretical doctrine of the five propositions was effectively taught by Jansenius.” Arnould admitted the infallibility of the Church in deciding the question of *right*, and hence avowed that the five propositions are heretical, when taken in the obvious sense ; but he denied the infallibility of the Church in deciding the question of *fact*, and hence he contended that the Church was mistaken in this matter ; that the five propositions are not in the *Augustinus* ; and that the teaching of that book is most Catholic. Behold the origin of the question of *Dogmatic Facts*. This distinction of *right* and *fact* was proposed for examination in an assembly of thirty-eight bishops, convened in Paris in 1654, and the following conclusions were reached : “ The five propositions do not fully express all the poison scattered through the large volume of Jansenius, but they most accurately express the substance of that book’s teaching. . . . The Bull of Innocent X. condemned the five propositions *as taught by Jansenius*.” And the bishops recognized dogmatic facts as a subject-matter of the infallibility of the Church, for they said that the Jansenists, by their late distinction of right from fact, “ had tried to take away a part of the deposit of faith confided to the Chair of Peter by Christ.” De Marca, archbishop of Toulouse, was charged with the duty of informing the Holy See of the acts of the assembly, and the Pontiff replied in a Brief of Sept. 29, saying : “ In the five propositions, we condemned the doctrine contained in the book of Cornelius Jansenius, entitled *Augustinus*.” In the *Relations* of Abp. de Marca, he attests that “ the ecclesiastical judgment of the assembly of 1654, confirmed by a Papal Brief, was respectfully received throughout the kingdom, and that the Faculty of Paris imitated the Pontiff’s censure on Jan. 31, 1656, “ expelling, by that act, the great Arnould from its

bosom." On Oct. 16, Pope Alexander VII. issued his Bull *Ad Sacram B. Petri Sedem*, declaring: "We, who took part in all those Congregations (as Cardinal Chigi, he had been a member), in which, by the Apostolic authority, the said cause was discussed with the greatest possible care, do now approve and renew the aforesaid Constitution, declaration, and definition of our predecessor Innocent; and we again condemn the five propositions taken from the aforesaid book of Cornelius Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, entitled *Augustinus*; and we declare and define them to be condemned, according to the sense understood by the same author." This Bull was sent to all the bishops of France, and was accompanied by a formula, to be signed by all ecclesiastics. The formula read as follows: "I sincerely submit to the Constitution of Pope Innocent X., dated May 31, 1653, according to its true meaning, as determined by the Constitution of our Holy Father, Pope Alexander VII., dated Oct. 16, 1656. And I acknowledge that I am obliged in conscience to obey these Constitutions; and I condemn in heart and with tongue the teachings of the five propositions of Cornelius Jansenius, contained in his book entitled *Augustinus*, which the aforesaid two Pontiffs and the bishops have condemned, and which doctrine is not that of St. Augustine, the said Jansenius having wrongly interpreted the meaning of the holy doctor." This formula was approved by the assembly of 1661; and in April, 1664, Louis XIV. issued an edict, registered in parliament on the 29th, ordering all University aspirants, and all candidates for benefices, to sign it. On May 2, the Faculty of Paris subscribed it.

IV. DISSENSIONS ARISING FROM THE FORMULA.

On June 8, 1661, during the absence of Cardinal de Retz, archbishop of Paris, his grand-vicars issued an ordinance prescribing the signing of the formula, but permitting to the clergy an entire mental reservation as to the fact decided in the Pontifical decrees; concerning this fact, said the officials, a respectful silence was sufficient. On receipt of information of this proceeding, the Pontiff issued a Brief, dated Aug. 1, declaring that it was "no less false than rash to assert that, in the time of Innocent X. there had been only a question of

the orthodoxy of the five propositions; for, at that time, not only were the propositions themselves considered, but inquiry was made as to whether they were found in the *Augustinus* of Jansenius." This Brief induced the grand-vicars to revoke their ordinance as "contrary to two Pontifical Constitutions, and that they might furnish an example of that obedience and submission of will which Catholics owe to the Apostolic decisions"; and on October 30, they published a second ordinance commanding the clergy of Paris to sign the formula "sincerely and heartily." On February 15, 1665, Alexander VII. issued his Bull *Regiminis Apostolici*, in which he inserted a new formula, as follows: I, N., submit to the Apostolic Constitutions of Innocent X., dated May 31, 1653; and of Alexander VII., dated Oct. 16, 1656; and I sincerely reject and condemn the five propositions taken from the book of Cornelius Jansenius entitled *Augustinus*, and I condemn them in the sense understood by their author, just as, by the aforesaid Constitutions, the Apostolic See condemned them. So I swear, etc." But four bishops, those of Alet, Beauvais, Angers, and Pamiers, issued pastorals expressly permitting the distinction between *fact* and *right* in signing the new formula. By a decree of the Council of State, the king suppressed these pastorals, and he afterward besought the Pontiff to order a canonical trial of the contumacious prelates, with a view to their deposition. The Congregation of the Index prohibited the pastorals; and nineteen bishops, fearing serious trouble, induced the nuncio to intercede with the new Pope, Clement IX., and beg him to be content with a pure and simple signature to the formula, on the part of the four bishops, and to refrain from a demand for an explicit retraction of the pastorals. The Pontiff accepted the compromise.

V. THE "PEACE OF CLEMENT IX."

The affair of the bishops of Alet, Beauvais, Angers, and Pamiers, gave origin to this species of compromise which became famous on account of the claim, put forward by the Jansenists, that Pope Clement had recognized their distinction between fact and right—a claim, as we shall show, which had no foundation. The four bishops wrote to the Pontiff

in September, 1668, saying: "We, to whom nothing is more at heart than peace and unity, and reverence for the Apostolic See, resolved to imitate their conduct (that is, to sign the formula in the spirit of the other bishops). Wherefore, having convoked diocesan synods, as they had done, and having ordered a new subscription, we also signed our names. What they had enjoined upon their clergy, we also enjoined; the submission to the Apostolic Constitutions which they had commanded, we also commanded; and just as before we had been united with them in doctrine, so then we joined them in this form of discipline." On September 17, the four bishops informed the nuncio, Bargellini, of their subscription, and a few days afterward, the bishop of Laon, who had been one of the mediators, wrote to the Pontiff that the four prelates, "by a new and sincere subscription, had conformed their conduct to that of the other bishops"; but he adds that "they had differed somewhat from the rest, in the manner of their subscription." On September 28, the Pope wrote to Louis XIV., expressing his consolation, "because of the pure and simple subscription, by the four bishops, to the formula." Notwithstanding this apparent concord, rumors soon spread through France that the presumed converts were insincere; and the great Jansenist historian of this epoch, Gerberon, informs us that the Jesuit confessor to Louis XIV. reproved the nuncio for his credulous indulgence in promoting a compromise which "through the weakness of a quarter of an hour, had destroyed the work of twenty years." These rumors reached Rome; and the Pope demanded of each of the four bishops an authentic declaration that he had signed the formula conformably to the Constitutions of Innocent X. and Alexander VII. Accordingly, the bishops sent to the Pontiff a legitimately certified deposition to that effect; but the *Relation* of Cardinal Rospigliosi (nephew of Clement IX.) informs us that notwithstanding this declaration, "many writings appeared in France and in Rome, asserting that the four bishops had insisted, in the verbal *Acts* of their synods, that the five propositions, if understood in the sense of Jansenius, were not condemned by the Pontiff." Thereupon Pope Clement ordered his nuncio to investigate this report;

and that prelate assigned the task to the bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne, who had been one of the mediators in promoting the "peace." In due time the Pontiff received the following declaration, signed by this prelate and by Anthony Arnould: "The four bishops and the other ecclesiastics have acted in the best of faith, and have only intended to show their zeal for the faith of the Church, and their profound submission to the Holy See." They had condemned the five propositions, insisted the declaration, in all sincerity and without any restriction, in every sense in which the Church condemned them; they were far from entertaining in their hearts any design to renew the said errors, and "as to the finding of these propositions in the book of Jansenius, they again manifested, and ordered to be manifested, that reverence and that obedience to the Holy See which ought to be exhibited when that See proscribes books; according to the consent of all theologians, according to the Catholic doctrine of all past centuries, and according to the doctrine advanced in the latest times by the most strenuous defenders of the authority of the Holy See, such as the cardinals Baronio, Bellarmine, Pallavicino, and the priests Petau and Sirmond; which doctrine is conformable to the intent of the Apostolic Constitutions, and consists in this, that nothing be said, written, or taught, contrary to the decisions of the Pontiffs." And in conclusion, the bishop of Chalons and Anthony Arnould added: "And having especially ascertained the mind of the four bishops, and the contents of the verbal processes (of their synods), we declare and testify that the doctrine contained in this writing agrees with that in the verbal processes, and that nothing in these is contrary to said doctrine. This is our declaration, and that of the nineteen bishops who wrote to his Holiness."

The reader cannot fail to observe that this document is equivocal; and that the four bishops, by a mental reservation which, if used by their opponents, would have produced howls of disgust from the Jansenists, were still able to interpret to their own advantage the extent and kind of obedience "due to the Holy See." In fact, it is registered in the verbal processes of their synods that these apparently submissive

prelates clearly announced to their clergy the presumed distinction between *fact* and *right*, according to which they should understand the signature to the formula (1). Hence it was, as the Jansenist Fovilloux tells us, that "the majority had no difficulty in signing the formula, no matter what was their belief concerning the *fact*" (2). Gerberon flatters himself that "there were very few ecclesiastics who refused to sign the formula, although very few believed that the five propositions were to be found in Jansenius" (3). The same is admitted by Nicole (4). Such, in a few words, is the history of the famous "Peace of Clement IX." of which the Jansenists always boasted as an admission, on the part of Rome, of the tenability of the distinction between *fact* and *right* in the matter of condemning dogmatic writings (5). It forms an excellent illustration of that delicacy of conscience, that uncompromising love of truth, which, according to Jansenistic apologists, was a characteristic of their sect, and diametrically opposed to the laxity of their opponents in the matter of mental reservations (6). That Clement IX. was far from admitting the tenability of the Jansenistic distinction, no further proof is needed than that furnished by his Brief of January 19, 1669, to the four bishops: "You informed us that, according to the orders of the Apostolic Letters, you had sincerely subscribed, and had caused to be subscribed, the formula issued in the Letters of the same Alexander VII. . . . Because, most firmly adhering to the Constitutions of our predecessors, we would never have permitted any exception or restriction in regard to them. . . . Now, however, since we have received proofs of your true and entire obedience in sincerely subscribing to the formula, etc."

(1) Bolgeni says that the four bishops took good care to have the subscriptions entered, not in a register, but on loose sheets, and "these sheets were, for a long time, so secretly hidden, that a copy could not be procured. The bishop of Pamiers refused a copy to the canons of his cathedral who demanded one, and who caused the Chancery to give them an authentic certificate of this refusal. After the death of Bishop Henry Arnauld in 1692, the verbal process of his synod could not be found, either in the Chancery or in the Secretariate; by chance a copy was found in a volume of *Augustinus*." *Loc. cit.*, c. 16.

(2) *History of the Case of Conscience*, vol. i., p. 6.

(3) *Gen. Hist. of Jansenism*; Amsterdam, 1700.

(4) *Human Faith*, pt. II., c. 10; Lyons, 1664.

(5) See especially the Jansenist GOURLIN: *Jansenius and Jansenism*, Louvain, 1790.

(6) As to the conduct of Port Royal in signing the formula, even Cousin admits that it was "lacking in truthfulness."

VI. THE CASE OF CONSCIENCE ON "RESPECTFUL SILENCE."

IN the year 1701 the dissensions caused by Jansenism received a new impetus from an unknown source. A certain confessor had for many years been the director of an ecclesiastic, and had been warned by some parties that his penitent's orthodoxy was not above suspicion; that, therefore, said penitent was unworthy of absolution. The case was probably supposititious; but the alleged confessor was said to have examined his penitent as to his faith, and being in doubt, to have formulated the case for solution by the doctors of Paris. He had questioned the penitent as to his dispositions in the matter of the Formula, and now presented this state of affairs to the Faculty: "The ecclesiastic declared that he now condemned, and always had condemned the five propositions without any restriction, and in all the senses in which the Church condemned them; also in the sense of Jansenius as explained by Innocent XII. on Nov. 24, 1696, in a Brief to the bishops of Belgium. In this disposition he signed the Formula. As to the *fact* of Jansenius, since Mgr. de Perefex, archbishop of Paris, declared that he is either ignorant or malignant who holds that the Church demands the same submission in matters of *fact* as in those of *faith*, the ecclesiastic avowed that he did not equally submit to definitions of *fact* and to decisions concerning *faith*; but rather deemed that in regard to matters of *fact*, a deference consisting of respectful silence was sufficient."

Forty doctors of the Sorbonne signed their names, on July 20, 1701, to a solution of this case, deciding that the ecclesiastic was secure in conscience; and this decision was reprinted at Rouen with the names of seventeen others. In a pastoral dated Feb. 22, 1703, Cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, condemned this decision as "contrary to the Constitutions of Innocent X., Alexander VII., and Innocent XII.; and as tending to revive questions already decided; as favorable to the use of equivocations, mental reservations, and perjuries; as derogatory to the authority of the Church." On Feb. 12, 1703, Pope Clement XI. also condemned the decision of the Sorbonne; and in March the majority of the approvers retracted their opinion, being followed, very soon, by all

others with one exception. This solitary obstinate was Canon Petitpied; and on Nov. 4, 1705, a vote of 150 doctors expelled him from their body, and declared that the proposition defended in the "Case" was the same as that for sustaining which Arnauld had been ejected. On July 16, 1705, Clement XI. issued the Bull *Vineam Domini Sabaoth*, defining that: "The obedience due to the aforesaid Constitutions (those of Innocent X. and Alexander VII.) is not given by a respectful silence. All the faithful of Christ must condemn, not only with the tongue but from the heart, that condemned interpretation of the five propositions of the book of Jansenius which the words of these propositions present; nor can they licitly subscribe the aforesaid Formula with any other mind or intention." The Pontiff styles the Jansenists "disturbers of peace," "upholders of error," "impious," and "sectarians"; they are "rebels to the truth who cease not to contradict the Church with vain distinctions invented to deceive the unwary. . . . So excessive is their impudence that, despising the characteristics of an honorable man, and the rules of Christian sincerity, they hesitate not to declare that he who does not really believe the doctrine contained in the book of Jansenius to be heretical, may subscribe without sin to the Formula of Alexander VII." Many were the books and pamphlets which the Jansenists now issued, attacking this Bull, although the French bishops expressly declared, in their Assembly held soon afterward, that they heartily received it.

VII. FROM THE CASE ON "RESPECTFUL SILENCE" TO OUR DAY.

In 1709 the religious of Port Royal, whose obstinacy, though ever covered by a veil of ostentatious docility, justified Beaumont, archbishop of Paris, in designating them as "pure as angels, but proud as demons," were ejected from their cloister by the constables of Louis XIV. From the very beginning of Jansenism, its partisans had exerted every energy to gain over members of religious orders. "Much will be gained," Jansenius had said, "if Pilmot (a *nom de guerre* of *Augustinus*) is seconded by some such society. These gentry are peculiar, when they espouse a cause. Once embarked, they go to every extreme." Saint-Cyran had some success with

the Oratory of Jesus, a community established in 1611 by Cardinal de Bérulle in France on the model of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri at Rome, and introduced in Louvain by Jansenius as an offset to the Jesuit influence (1). In this society, Saint-Cyran found the celebrated Pasquier Quesnel, one of the most elegant and unctuous writers of his day; a man of untiring mental and physical activity, and a distinguished director of consciences. Embracing Jansenism, Quesnel published his *New Testament in French, with Reflections on Each Verse* (Paris, 1699), and the errors contained in this book gave origin to the Bull *Unigenitus* of Clement XI., issued in Sept., 1713 (2). This Bull condemned a hundred and one of Quesnel's propositions and prohibited the *Reflections*, and any work which would defend their author. The archbishop of Paris, affecting an absurd neutrality between the Pontiff and Quesnel, refused to receive the Bull. The Sorbonne at first received it, then repudiated it; and very soon, chapters, schools, and families were in dissension regarding it.

When the regent d'Orleans took the reins of power, he recalled the Jansenist exiles, and conferred bishoprics on many of them. They soon became persecutors, and appealed to a Pope better informed or to a future Council. Clement XI.

(1) At the outbreak of the first French Revolution the Oratorians governed sixty colleges and six seminaries in France. Bossuet, enlogizing Bourgoins, their second general, says in 1662: "Cardinal de Bérulle wished to give to his society no other spirit than that of the Church, no other rules than her canons, no other superiors than her bishops, no other ties than charity, no other vows than those of baptism and of the priesthood; it was to be a society in which holy liberty made a holy engagement, in which men obeyed without depending, in which a superior governed without commanding, in which all authority resided in kindness, in which respect received no aid from fear—a society in which charity, banishing fear, works a great miracle, and in which, with no yoke but itself, it captivates and even annihilates self-will; a society which, in order to form true priests, leads them to the source of truth, where they will ever have in hand the Scriptures, to investigate untiringly the letter by the spirit, to develop the spirit by prayer, depth by retirement."

(2) Jansenius had taught that interior grace is never resisted; he had called the contrary doctrine Semipelagianism. Quesnel taught that grace is an operation of God's omnipotence which no one can resist; he compared the action of grace to that by which God created the world, and operated the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ (*prop.* 10). Thence he concluded that when God wishes to save a soul, it is infallibly saved (*prop.* 12). Therefore, 1st, when a soul is not saved, it is because God did not wish it to be saved, which is directly contradicted by St. Paul. 2d, if a man sins, it is because grace was wanting—another error proscribed by Scripture and by St. Augustine. 3d, in order to sin or to do good, to merit or to demerit, man need not be free from necessity; it is enough for him to be exempt from constraint or violence, because, when he has grace, he necessarily obeys it, and when he has it not, he cannot act. This doctrine was condemned in the third proposition of Jansenius.

condemned the appeal, and whoever refused to receive the *Unigenitus*. Noailles, with the Sorbonne and the parliament, now protectors of Jansenism because of an old aversion for Rome, appealed to a Council; the dissipated regent soon tired of theology, and prohibited all disputations publications, but could not procure silence. The war progressed between the recipients of the Bull and the appellants. Then, since so many priests were interdicted, came the distinction between a confessor and a director—a new tangle for consciences. John Soanen, bishop of Senez, and a warm Jansenist, being suspended and exiled, styled himself “a prisoner of Jesus Christ,” and received a kind of worship from his partisans. Francis Paris, a deacon of St. Medard’s at Paris, wished to revive Port Royal and to form a kind of La Trappe in the poorest suburb of the capital; to never approach the Sacraments unless when he felt driven by the Spirit, and hence not to receive them for years at a time. This fanatic, while receiving the Viaticum, protested against the Bull. After his death, Paris was regarded as a martyr of the cause; miracles at his tomb were reported, and many pilgrims, after convulsions during which they cursed the Bull, recovered their health. “All this,” observes Cantù, “in the Paris of the duke d’Orleans and of Voltaire, and these ‘miracles’ were credited by those who ridiculed the prodigies of the Jesuits in the Indies! The government was forced to close the cemetery, and then the cures and miracles multiplied (1). The question of Jansenism was prolonged for some time, but it remained tranquil in the schools, from which it should never have come forth” (2). If Jansenism can be regarded from a purely worldly point of view, then the following remark of the same author is judicious: “Such contests, revealing a period of much unoccupied activity, and of much leisure, become interesting when one sees in them the sole refuge of free discussion under a most absolute king, who would have tolerated debate and opposition in no other form; to thinkers, they will seem something mid-way between Catholicism,

(1) Then it was that appeared the satire:

*De par le roi, defense a Dieu
De faire miracle en ce lieu.*

(2) *Univ. Hist.*, b. xvi., ch. ii.

Protestantism, and philosophy, through which, by its resistance in politics and by its combat with a relaxed morality, modern renovation was helped, and a reproof of idealism renewed practical life. . . . To-day the practical importance of Jansenism has ceased, and we know its object better than it was then known."

Th. Lavallée defines very clearly the seditious spirit of Jansenism, and shows that the enthusiasts of Port Royal were the ancestors of the modern so-called liberals: "Under Louis XIV. the opposition had retired into religious controversy, to which the king devoted all the time not claimed by war and diplomacy; it had a great, though mysterious and badly understood, influence on the fall of the monarchy. The Jansenists, a kind of Puritans toward Catholicism, defended grace in the style of Calvin; they made of God an inflexible master, and of man a slave. The appearance of this sect disquieted the government; Richelieu, dreading in it a mitigated Calvinism, and seeing most of his enemies in its ranks, persecuted it. But after his death it developed; it united intimately with the parliament, and took a very active part in the troubles of the Fronde, furnishing to the cardinal de Retz his most zealous auxiliaries. . . . Mazarin resolved to destroy the sect. Jansenism, with its doctrines on grace, its opposition to the court of Rome, its antipathy to the Holy Communion, became a species of bastard Lutheranism, a Reformation without private examination. . . . Louis XIV. was convinced that these sectarians, if they possessed the same energy, would prove just as seditious as the Calvinists. . . . He found in Jansenism everything he had antagonized: the nobles, the magistracy, the remnants of the Fronde, and finally, behind all, the reformers. Jansenism, being the party of the entire opposition, had profited by the faults and reverses of Louis XIV. . . . its opposition was calumnious and contemptible. . . . *Its complete expression may be found in the duke de Saint-Simon, full of hate, envy, and egoism; hugging his dignity, so as to become perfectly ridiculous; desperate because he had nothing to do, but having a hand in everything; eavesdropping at every door, and gleaning scandals from every source.* And during all this time, in the wake

of these obscure disputes, was developing the last heir of the Lutheran idea and of all its consequences, the 'philosophy' of the eighteenth century" (1).

Cousin says: "Nowadays we may tell the truth concerning Jansenism. Let us tell it, therefore, without hesitation. Jansenism was an immoderate and intemperate Christianity. Undoubtedly it had its roots in Catholicism; but, without wishing it, and perhaps without knowing it (this may explain the wonderful influence of Port Royal), it leaned toward Calvinism in more ways than one; it was based on two dogmas—those of original sin and grace—which it exaggerated and falsified in theory and practice. . . . Immense was the humility of the Jansenists, derived from the consciousness of our own nothingness; and immense was their pride, arising from an appreciation of God's action in us. From this pride came their inordinate attachment for their own conceits as for things coming from God; and it gave them an extraordinary courage to resist, in the name of God, all earthly powers, even the greatest of all, the Holy See. Hence, in a word, came an incomparable grandeur, and excesses of every kind in doctrine and in conduct; grandeur and excesses commingled together, aiding each other and perishing together, because they were from the same principle—the nothingness of our nature, and the unique and invincible force of grace. A vain enterprise, indeed, would it be to separate the grandeur of Port Royal from its excesses, its good from its evil deeds, its truth from its falsities; in it, everything has the same spirit, all arises from the same foundation. To modify Port Royal is to annihilate it. We must recognize in Port Royal certain eminent qualities which recommend it to the veneration of ages; straightforwardness (!), consistency, intrepidity; but let us also admit its want of common sense and of moderation, that is, of true wisdom" (2).

It is interesting to note that Voltaire was very hostile to Jansenism. In the seventy volumes of his works, he never neglects a chance to attack the "rebels," whom he regarded

(1) *History of the French*, vol. iii., p. 253, and *passim*, 6th edit., Paris, 1847.

(2) *Skepticism of Pascal*, in *the Revue de Deux Mondes*, vol. ix., 1845.

as a kind of political heretics. In his *Voice of the Sage and of the People* we read: "A Jansenist is really a fool, a bad citizen, and a rebel. He is a fool, because he takes his private notions for demonstrated truths; he is a bad citizen, because he troubles the order of the state; he is a rebel, because he disobeys." Writing to d'Argental, in Dec., 1765, he gives an interpretation to his formula, "*écraser l'infâme*," very different from the usual one: "The word 'infamous' has always signified Jansenism, a harsh, cruel, and barbarous sect, more hostile to the royal authority than Presbyterianism is, and that is saying not a little." In May, 1768, he says to the same d'Argental: "I regret that France is one-half frivolous, and the other half barbarous. The barbarians are the Jansenists. Your ministry does not know them well enough; they are Presbyterians, more dangerous than those of England." On Dec. 4, 1776, he writes to the chevalier de Chastellux: "What is called Jansenism will be an inundation of barbarism, if it is allowed to progress. It is a faction of atrocious energumens, encouraged by the ever present pretext of upholding the national rights against the encroachments of Rome; it would burn common sense in the Place de Grève. The Presbyterians of England and the Anabaptists of Munster were never so dangerous as these marauders."

In all the annals of religious polemics there is probably no more salient instance of unreasoning perversity, than that exhibited by the Jansenists. Anthony Arnould, and after him the entire school, insisted that while the Church is infallible in her dealings with revealed truth, her inerrability does not extend to "mere matters of fact"; and that since the existence of the five propositions in the *Augustinus* was a fact not revealed by God, no one was obliged to heed their condemnation by the Holy See. It would be outside our historical province to dilate upon the theological reasons for the rejection of this theory; but the reader will perceive that God would have endowed His Church with a useless prerogative, if, while asserting such or such teaching to be revealed truth, she were unable to discover unerringly whether the contrary or the said teaching is present or not in a given

document. Nor would the Church, in rendering a decision as to her discovery, claim infallibility as to a mere human fact. The existence or absence of heresy in a certain book is something more than a mere fact. It is a *factum cum jure conjunctum*, a fact necessarily amenable to the judicial authority of the supreme guardian of truth on earth. Were the writer of these pages to formulate therein a declaration that, like the Blessed Queen of Heaven, he was born into this world unstained by the guilt of original sin, he would advance a heresy; since it is a matter of faith that all the children of Adam, Mary alone excepted, are inheritors of Adam's guilt at the moment of their conception. Here is a fact which the Church would draw to her tribunal, if she deemed the case worthy of notice; and nevertheless, this fact involves the existence of the writer, which certainly has not been revealed by God. Were the Church unable to decide unerringly in this concrete fact, and in all other concrete facts in which truth and morals are involved, of what use to humanity would be her possession of an infallible knowledge of divine truth in the abstract? Anthony Arnauld and his tribe closed their minds to this evidence of their absurdity; but they were not the first innovators to make a distinction between heresies which were to be condemned and heretical writings which were to be defended. In the Council of Nice, after the doctrine of Arius had been condemned, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nice advanced this subterfuge as an excuse for their abstention from signing the anathema pronounced against the heresiarch; and their memorial is couched in terms so similar to those used by Tamburini, the prince of Italian Jansenists (1), that only the latter's mention of Jansenius instead of Arius, and of the *Augustinus* instead of the *Thalia*, would prevent a confusion of the two documents (2). Perhaps it is needless to note that the Nicene fathers rejected the memorial and excommunicated its authors (3). But let us see how the other early General Councils regarded Dogmatic Facts. In the first session of the Council of Ephesus were read the letter of St. Cyril to Nes-

(1) In his Letter I. to the Bishop of Brestia.

(2) See the memorial in Labbe's *Collection*, vol. II., col. 59, and in Fleury, *ek.* XI., no. 12.

(3) GELASIUS CYZIC.: *Hist. of the Council of Nice*, bk. III., ch. 2.

torius, and that of Nestorius to St. Cyril. The former was approved as conformable to the Nicene decisions, while the latter was condemned as contrary to them; and from that time whoever rejected the former or approved the latter was regarded as a heretic. Here we see that the definitions of the Ephesine assembly are based on the contents of the writings of St. Cyril and of Nestorius; in other words we have a proof that the synodals held the infallibility of the Church in deciding Dogmatic Facts. In the fourth session of the Council of Chalcedon the fathers listened to the *Dogmatic Epistle* of St. Leo I. to Flavian, and declared it conformable to the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds, and to the Ephesine decrees. Here the synodal action is based not on any abstract doctrine, but on the Letter of St. Leo as a dogmatic definition. Therefore the Council of Chalcedon contradicts the Jansenistic theory. In the Fifth General Council a Dogmatic Fact was directly considered and settled when the assembly proclaimed that heresy was found in the writings of Theodore of Mopsueste, Theodoret, and Iba; and in this definition there is no question of isolated propositions, but rather a direct anathema against the books and letters of the three culprits. Of this fact the reader will be convinced by even a casual glance at our dissertation on the Three Chapters (1). There is no need of adducing the actions of any later Councils in support of our position. The Jansenists claimed to be Catholics; and therefore they should have recognized the Catholic principle that the universal and constant practice of the Church is an irrefragable evidence of her teaching. As to the impudent assertion of these sectarians that the five propositions are not contained in the *Augustinus*, that Jansenius never taught the doctrine which those propositions advance, we need only remember that Arnould himself, speaking of the first proposition, used these words: "It is drawn, almost word for word, from a passage in the book of the bishop of Ypres, where it is justified by a large number of very clear sayings of St. Augustine" (2). And one of the lights among the innovators, Fovilloux, frankly admits: "The five propositions were most true and most

(1) Vol. I., p. 359.

(2) *Considerations on the Entire rise of M. Cornet*, no. 17.

Catholic, in the sense according to which the bishop of Ypres defended them against the errors of the Jesuits" (1). Lalane, one of the deputies who sustained the cause of the Jansenists at Rome, declares that "they contain the faith of the Church, and the true doctrine concerning the grace of Christ" (2). Truly we must admire the effrontery which would assert that the five propositions are not in the *Augustinus*; that the doctrine of Jansenius is not at all consonant with that which they present. But there were many Jansenists who admitted that the five propositions were to be found in the great work of their leader; the meaning, however, they contended, was very different from that doctrine which was condemned by Rome. The reader has examined the three-column document extracted from the *Journal* of Saint-Amour. Now the papal tribunals had no concern about the contents of the first and third columns; their consideration was directed to the meaning of the contents of the second, defended as orthodox by the Jansenists, and condemned as heretical by their adversaries. When the Pope decided the question, he also pronounced on the sense of the second column, that is, on that meaning which was entertained, according to the avowal of his followers, by Jansenius. No wonder that Jurieu, the luminary of Calvinism, thus commented on the final subterfuge of the hard-pressed sectarians: "Since the meaning of Jansenius was so often and so precisely explained to the Pope and the judges, it is absurd to suppose that they ignored the real sense of the words in order to substitute one which they might attribute to Jansenius, that is, a sense which was unfounded and upheld by no one. Is it naturally possible for men to act in such a manner? I know not whether such an absurdity has ever been committed; but if we are to credit the Jansenists, it was committed in Rome. But we must not suppose men insane when the supposition is not necessary" (3).

Why were the Jansenists so obstinate in their refusal to condemn the *Augustinus*? In the first place, the distinction between *right* and *fact* was exceedingly specious; and it had

(1) *Defense of the Theologians*, p. 355.

(2) *On the Victorious Grace of Jesus Christ*.

(3) *Spirit of Arnault*, part I., observ. 10.

been put forth by their "great" Arnauld, and adopted by such luminaries as Pascal, Nicole, etc., who were undoubtedly men of extraordinary talent and of profound learning. Experience teaches that the immense majority of even thinking men are easily led by the authority of great names, and that they do not think for themselves on all those occasions when they fancy that they are indubitably exercising their mental autonomy. The *Provincial Letters* of Pascal, of which we shall have much to say when we consider the career of that effulgent genius, were well calculated to entrance even those who flattered themselves that they did not belong to the crowd; and the masterpiece had done its work before the condemnation of the famous distinction. As for the posterior obstinacy of the Jansenists, if it is not a mystery explainable only by innate human perversity aided by direct Satanic intervention, the following reasons may account for it. It is lamentably true that among the first opponents of the Jansenistic distinction there were many whose arguments were often weak, and whose good ones were badly presented. Thus Péréfixe, archbishop of Paris, issued a pastoral letter in which he conceded that the Church did not ask us to receive her decisions on dogmatic facts as matters of "divine faith"; that she merely regarded them as of faith midway between divine and human, or, as he complacently chose to term it, of "ecclesiastical faith." This discovery was acclaimed by Tourneley, among other theologians; and it served as a fine argument for the innovators, for in the last analysis this species of faith was purely human—a species which was perfectly compatible with a rejection of the papal definition in the premises, especially when that rejection was apparently mollified by that "respectful silence" which they promised but did not observe. Another and perhaps the most influential reason for the perversity of the Jansenists will be appreciated by him who reflects that these gentry were all, to a man, afflicted by that terrible malady which seems to be incurable, although it requires no diagnosis—Jesuitaphobia, a disease which had just then appeared for the first time. The self-styled followers of the great doctor of grace regarded, or affected to regard the Molinist doctrine, generally held by the

sons of St. Ignatius, as "nothing else than the Pelagian heresy, variously modified and newly embellished" (1). Whether the Jansenists hated this system because it was patronized by the Jesuits, or they hated the Jesuits because those religious were foremost among the Molinists, it is certain that the average Jansenist was as hungry a Jesuitophagus as any Masonic Lodge of our day could covet as a member. He ever proclaimed that it was owing to the intrigues and generally diabolic arts of the "black pope" and his subjects that Roman Pontiffs issued their Bulls against his sect; that bishops wrote their pastorals, kings published their edicts, and the clergy held their Assemblies, under the same inspiration. Even when the Society of Jesus had succumbed, for a time, to the united attacks of Jansenists, Freemasons, and all others of that ilk, there were modern Arnaulds and Nicoles to scatter the germs of the plague originally disseminated by the "learned and pious bishop of Ypres."

Much has been written by Protestant as well as by Jansenist authors concerning the piety of these sectarians. We relinquish to the ascetic theologian the very easy task of demonstrating that true piety cannot subsist in a heart which ignores the virtue of obedience to legitimate authority. It is more in our province to examine the chief evidence of Jansenistic sanctity, or rather of God's approval of Jansenist doctrine; namely, the miracles which were said to have been performed at the tomb of the Jansenist presumed saint, Paris the deacon. Carré de Montgeron, the prolix historiographer of this once famed individual, adduces eight alleged miracles said to have occurred through the intercession of his hero. Three cases were of paralysis; one of dropsy; one of cancer; two of blindness; and one of so complicated a complaint that the description is unintelligible. The official declarations of these events are certainly authentic; but they do not prove that the apparent prodigies were miracles. In the first place, it is a maxim of common sense, and one received by all hagiologists, that the circumstances surrounding a true miracle cannot partake of the grotesque, still less of the immodest. Nevertheless, the Jansenist priest, Reynaud, a witness of what he

(1) TAMBURINI: *Analysis of Tertullian's "Prescriptions,"* § 119; Brescia, 1781.

narrates, is constrained to avow, in his *Mystery of Iniquity*, that the prodigies of the cemetery of Saint-Médard were frequently offensive to purity, and sometimes involved in positive criminality—in fine, “*une œuvre épouvantable*.” Secondly, not one of the eight instances adduced by Montgeron necessarily implies a direct interference of God with the laws of nature (1). We are justified, therefore, in dismissing the pretension of the Jansenists that God worked miracles through the intercession of the prominent leaders of their faction; that, in fine, divine approval was given to the doctrine of Jansenius. But let us give some consideration to the principles of the chief Jansenists; with the rank and file of the party, especially the hallucinated daughters of Mère Angélique, we need not concern ourselves, for it appears certain that these, and pre-eminently the latter, were victims of superior intellects and of their own want of independence. Sincerity is one of the fundamental traits of a pious character. But we have heard the opinion of St. Vincent de Paul, an accurate observer and a model of charity, in reference to the duplicity of Saint-Cyran. Now hearken to Singlin, the successor of Saint-Cyran as director of Port-Royal, and therefore presumed-most austere in non-respect of persons, as he guides the soul of the gay duchess de Longueville: “Persons of your station should be content with moderation in diet, without having recourse to abstinences and austerities, which may be as dangerous to the mind as to the body” (2). Would one suppose that this advice was given by one of a sect which regarded the “laxism” of the Jesuits as an invention of the devil? But, as Racine wrote to Nicole: “Let a man or a woman lead a life of debauchery, and you will ever hope for their salvation, if they are favorable to you; but if they are as virtuous as possible, and do not praise you, you will foresee the judgment of God against them.” Hearken to the opinion of the infamous Cardinal de Retz, a school-friend of Arnauld, and always a protector and protected of the Jansenists. Speaking of the relations of one of his *amies faciles*, the princess de Gueméné, with Arnauld d’Andilly, this wretched ecclesiastic

(1) This fact is admirably and succinctly demonstrated by Bonriot, in his *Miracles and their Counterfeits*; pt. II., ch. iv.,; Paris, 1895.

(2) FONTAINE: *Memoires*, vol. II., p. 235.

says: "The devil appeared to her very often, invoked by the conjurations of M. d' Andilly, who forced him, I believe, to frighten his penitent, with whom he himself was even much more in love than I was, although in God, purely and spiritually" (1).

This d' Andilly, the patriarch of the Jansenist faction, was indeed partial to friendships, the platonicism of which might have been questioned. Thus we learn from his son that "it was easily seen that his greatest love was not given to his children"; and we are informed that "new friendships were more acceptable to him than old ones" (2). After the princess de Gueméné came the marchioness de Sablé, to whom d' Andilly used to address the most tender notes; and if we care not to accept the stories of the cynical Tallemant des Réaux, we may reflect on the remark of that brilliant and amiable friend of the Jansenists, Mme. de Sévigné: "The good man d' Andilly preferred to save a soul which resided in a

(1) The Gondi, now better known by their French title of Retz, were originally an illustrious family of Florence which was distinguished in the days of Charlemagne. Anthony dei Gondi was one of the suite of Catharine dei Medici when she passed into France, and he became maggiordomo to Henry II. His son, Albert, became Duc de Retz and a marshal of France, and it was he who induced Henry III. to join Henry of Navarre against the League. Henry, a son of Albert, was the De Retz of our text. They who rely upon this infamous ecclesiastic as an authority concerning the events of his day, especially regarding the great Richelieu, should remember his character. "In his *Memoires*," says Sainte-Beuve, "where he speaks so candidly of himself, he continually uses such expressions as 'theatre' and 'comedy'; he regards everything simply as a play; and frequently, when speaking of the principal personages with whom he has to deal, he treats them exactly as a stage-manager would his actors. . . . He openly presents himself as an able *impresario*, arranging his work. . . . There are some passages in his *Memoires* where he seems to try to rival Molière rather than to combat Mazarin." In Book I. he tells us that when made coadjutor to his uncle, he "ceased to frequent the pit, and went on the stage." When this work was read by the poet J. B. Rousseau, he declared that it was "a salmagundi of good and bad, written sometimes well and sometimes miserably, and very tedious. . . . I am astonished when I see a priest, an archbishop, a cardinal, a gentleman, a man of mature age, describing himself, as he does, as a duellist, a concubinary, and, what is worse, a deliberate hypocrite,—one who, during a retreat made in the seminary, took a resolution to be wicked before God and good before the world." In 1675 the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, in his *Maxims*, said of De Retz: "His imagination, rather than his memory, supplies him with facts." Mme. de Sévigné, writing to her daughter concerning her correspondence with De Retz, said: "If anything foolish drops from your pen he will be as much charmed as if it were serious." One or two exquisite morsels of this famous authority will illustrate his honesty: "Scruples and greatness have always been incompatible." "The crime of usurping a crown is so grand that it may pass for a virtue." Speaking of his conspiracy against the life of Richelieu (1636), he said: "The crime appeared to me to be consecrated by grand examples, and justified and honored by great risks." Truly did De Retz say of himself (B. I.) that he possessed, in all probability, a character less fitted for a churchman than that of any other person in the world.

(2) *Memoires of the Abbé Arnauld*, pt. I., ch. 2.

beautiful body, rather than one of another sort" (1). But granting that the delightful Mme. de Sévigné, although sufficiently Jansenistic to consider "both St. Augustine and St. Paul as Jansenists" (2), may have written too often while under the empire of feminine caprice, we would ask whether the great Arnauld, the head and front of Jansenism, could have been a very pious man, when he, like nearly all his comrades (notably Fontaine), represented the priestly debauchee, De Retz, as a martyr to episcopal tyranny, and pardoned his depravity. "in consideration of his excellent qualities, and because of his great desire to become the friend of men of merit" (3). We would also ask whether piety could have had a firm foundation where both petty vanity and diabolic arrogance were paramount. The arrogance of the entire tribe of the Arnaulds appears sufficiently from the preceding pages; and each of them was fond of proclaiming the petty vanity of the others. D' Andilly himself, who, according to Tallemant des Réaux (4), was ever windy—*tous les Arnauld ont du vent* (said Mme. des Loges), is always vaunting the good blood, proud connections, and merits of each of his family (5). He tells us that if the great Arnauld writes well, it is because "he simply talks like all the family"; and then the doctor returns the compliment with the assurance that "in his brother eloquence is a hereditary blessing." The second Angélique, one of his daughters, says that he and all the family had "great facility in praising each other" (6). But listen to Anthony Le Maistre, the converted lawyer whom Saint-Cyran brought to Port-Royal to furnish Pascal with materials for the *Provincial Letters*. In the fervor of his newly-embraced asceticism, Le Maistre compares his conversion to that of St. Paulinus; and then, lest we may not know how great a man he has been, he enumerates all his titles to glory. Writing to Singlin (7), he thus indicates his Jansenistic modesty and simplicity: "Probably there has never been an instance, during the last century, of a man in my place and condition, amid the corruption of the palace and

(1) Letter 527, dated Aug. 19, 1676. (2) Letter 757, dated July 14, 1680.

(3) *Memoires of Fontaine*, vol. ii. (4) *Historiettes*, vol. iv., p. 63; second edition.

(5) SAINTE-BEUVE; *Port-Royal*, vol. ii., p. 244. (6) VARIN; vol. ii., p. 42.

(7) FONTAINE; vol. i., p. 54.

in the flower of his age, enjoying all the advantages of birth and the vanity of eloquence, with a reputation fully established, exercising a most honorable profession, having a large fortune and the very grandest prospects, suddenly breaking all these ties; becoming poor instead of striving for wealth; embracing the austerities of penance instead of the pleasures which had been mine; entering into solitude, after having been used to society and business; condemning himself to perpetual silence (?), when hitherto he had never spoken without being applauded. And nevertheless, our century is so dense that although this event is more wonderful and rarer than the giving of sight to the blind or the bestowal of speech on the dumb, it considers the fact only as something extraordinary; whereas it should be revered as a holy thing. God is now known so little, that one of His most striking works is not recognized." Can we imagine such an effusion coming from the pen of any one of the great penitents to whom the Church has decreed the honors of her altars? And Le Maistre thinks that he should be ranked with St. Paulinus!

CHAPTER VI.

PASCAL AND HIS "PROVINCIAL LETTERS."

Blaise Pascal was in his eighth year when his father, Etienne, president of the *Cour des Aides* in Clermont, brought his family to Paris in 1631. The early childhood of Blaise was spent amid surroundings which were well calculated to cause his brilliant talents to develop into a premature precocity. Nearly every day he found himself in the society of the most celebrated scientists of that period; for it was in the house of his father that the great Academy of Science originated, although it was not formally instituted under the royal seal until 1666. But notwithstanding this early forcing of his talents, we must wonder when we picture this boy, scarcely twelve years of age, developing, without assistance, a full course of geometry, and writing an excellent treatise on sounds. We may easily believe that at this period, as his sister writes

(1), Pascal already wished to know the reason of everything which came under his notice. When only sixteen, he composed his treatise on Conic Sections, to the astonishment of Descartes, who could not believe, for some time, that the lad was its author. At eighteen, in order to relieve his father, then royal Intendant of Rouen (2), of much fatigue in preparing his tax-lists, he invented his famous arithmetical machine; but the necessary study, combined with the difficulty of making the mechanicians understand what was required of them, permanently undermined a constitution which was already weak. In later days he said that he had never been without pain, since his eighteenth year. His elder sister, Mme. Perier, says of her brother's character at this time: "By a special protection of God he had been preserved from the vices so often found in youth; and what appears more strange in a person of his temperament, he was never drawn toward incredulity in religious matters. Although he was so young, he regarded incredulists as men relying upon the false principle that human reason is superior to all else. His grand mind, so vast and so filled with curiosity, which sought so eagerly for the cause of everything, was in religious

(1) *Letters, Treatises, and Memoires of Mme. Perier, and of Jacqueline, Sisters of Pascal; and of His Niece, Margaret Perier.* Edition Faugère. This work, together with the *Collection of Documents to Serve for a History of Port-Royal*, Utrecht, 1740, contains nearly all the contemporary and authentic documents which are necessary for a thorough study of the life and character of Pascal. The best edition of his scientific and polemical works is that of Bossut, Paris, 1779. Of all the works written in illustration of the life and character of Pascal, the most impartial, comprehensive, and philosophical, is that by Abbé Maynard, *Pascal; His Life and Character, His Writings and His Genius*, Paris, 1850.

(2) The elder Pascal owed his position of Intendant to the delicate and supreme sense of justice which ever distinguished the great Richelieu. When Etienne took up his residence in Paris, nearly all his income was derived from bonds of the Hotel-de-Ville. War and other expenses had caused the government to draw from the funds of the municipality to such an extent, that the bonds afforded a very small revenue to their holders; and one day the cardinal-minister heard that Etienne, in an interview with the chancellor Séguier, had joined many other bondholders in charging him with injustice. Fearing arrest, the imprudent man fled to Auvergne, leaving his young children to the care of Gilberte, their eldest sister. Shortly after his departure it happened that Mme. d'Alguillon, the cardinal's niece, having designed to produce a play of Scudéry for the amusement of his Eminence, who devoted much of his little leisure to the drama, one of the principal parts was assigned to the young Jacqueline Pascal, who had quite a reputation as an artist and poet. Richelieu was so pleased with the talent and grace of the girl, that she ventured to beg for her father's restoration to favor. The request was granted, and when Etienne presented himself to thank Richelieu, the prelate said: "Take good care of your children; for I want to make something great of them." Etienne soon received his appointment, and two years afterward the cardinal died, before he could aid in contributing to a celebrity which he had probably divined.

matters, as submissive as that of a child" (1). And in the *Collection* of Utrecht we read: "The more the brother and sister (Jacqueline) advanced in years, the more their innocence became remarkable—that innocence which befits good people of the world, but with which one is far from God, when he loves amusements which are not according to the spirit of God." The reader will perceive in this passage the Jansenistic rigidism which was unknown to Gilberte, Blaise, and Jacqueline, in their happy days of youth; but what the writer would have termed genuine piety entered into the hearts of all the Pascals when Blaise experienced his "first conversion," that is, the exchange of pure and simple Christianity for Jansenistic exaggeration.

In January, 1646, the elder Pascal fell on some ice, and broke a rib. Two amateur surgeons, the Bailleurs brothers, were summoned to his couch. Both these gentlemen had long followed the spiritual direction of Guillebert, the pastor of Rouville, who had been a disciple of that luminary of Jansenism, Saint-Cyran, of whom we have given many characteristic traits in our chapter on the subtle heresy. "While they tried to heal the body of M. Pascal, they became the physicians of his soul" (2), that is, they read to the patient and his family the works of Jansenius, Arnauld, Saint-Cyran, and other partisans of the new doctrines. Of all the family the first to be affected with the poison was Blaise; as his sister expresses the idea: "God so enlightened him by these readings, that he perfectly realized that the Christian religion obliges us to live for God alone, to have no object but Him. This truth appeared to him so evident, so useful and necessary, that thenceforth he renounced all other studies in order to devote himself to that one thing which Jesus Christ termed necessary" (3). In this passage Jacqueline exaggerates not a little; for while it is true that her brother did finally renounce all study except that of the things of God, and thereby was enabled to produce the *Thoughts*, his greatest work, nevertheless in the meantime he applied himself to science "as an amusement," or as a palliative for his phys-

(1) *Letters, Treatises, etc.*, p. 10.

(2) BESOIGNE; *History of the Abbey of Port-Royal*, vol. iv., p. 443; Cologne, 1756.

(3) *Letters, etc.*, p. 8.

ical sufferings. Had he continued to devote himself to science, would Pascal have attained, asks Maynard, to that place in its annals which he occupies in those of philosophy and literature; "would he now sit at the side of Newton, just as he is enthroned at the side of Bossuet?" (1) One of the first acts of Pascal, after his submission to the spiritual direction of the Jansenist, Guillebert, was to induce Jacqueline to renounce the world in spirit, thus preparing her for an eventual entrance into the conventual life; and very soon Etienne and the elder sister, Mme. Perier, entrusted the care of their souls to the same Guillebert. The great and final conversion of Pascal, as he and his family styled it, occurred in 1654. During the previous three years, paralysis had seized on his legs, and he could not walk without the aid of crutches. He could drink nothing cold, and it was only drop by drop that he was able to drink at all. His headaches were nearly insupportable; and an internal fire seemed to devour him (2). His physicians prescribed travel for distraction; and in the autumn of 1649 he left Rouen for Paris, accompanied by Jacqueline. The brother and sister settled permanently in the great city; and their principal devotions were generally performed in the church of Port-Royal de Paris, whither they preferably went in order to profit by the sermons of Singlin. The famous preacher soon convinced Jacqueline that she was called to the life of a religious; and successive conferences with him led her to desire admission among the daughters of Mother Angélique. In due time the veil was taken, and thenceforth Jacqueline, in innumerable letters and in every interview with her brother in the parlor of the convent, overwhelmed him with arguments to the effect that he should abandon the idea of marriage, and also all the legitimate pleasures of the world which her Jansenistic rigidism denounced as infallible harbingers of eternal damnation. The sisterly concern of the young religious gave to her reasonings an eloquence greater than that of Singlin; she conquered, and Pascal sought refuge among the solitaries of Port-Royal-des-Champs, taking for his director, at

(1) *Ubi supra*, pt. i., § 2.

(2) Mme. Perier, in the *Letters, etc.*, p. 15—*Collection of Utrecht*, p. 253.

the instance of Singlin, the famous Sacy, "who was of very good blood" (1). At the time of his "second conversion," Pascal was in his thirty-second year; and although he soon left the Champs for Port-Royal of Paris, and afterward resumed his residence in the world, the remainder of his life was one continued act of renunciation of every superfluity. He realized fully that his genius was extraordinary, and he knew that his written words were entrancingly eloquent; therefore he endeavored to subdue all emotions of pride by physical penance. Next to his skin he always wore a cincture, armed with sharp points of iron, and frequently he would increase its power of inflicting pain by pressing his elbows against his sides. His resignation was sublime, his prayer continual. His kindness to the poor was truly Christian; and sick though he constantly was, he found it painful to reflect that there were thousands of more unfortunate persons whose sufferings could not be assuaged as his were, thanks to the sisterly devotion of Mme. Perier. When he felt that his end was near, he besought this tender nurse to have him conveyed to the Hospital of the Incurables, so that, since he could not alleviate the pains of its inmates, he might at least die in their company (2). There was found among the *Fragments* of Pascal a page without title, but which Faugère, and not without reason, styled a Profession of Faith. From among its sublime passages we extract the following, as manifesting virtues which, we trust, were acceptable to God, as cherished by a heart which perhaps was not mortally wounded by the heresy in which circumstances involved a perplexed brain. "I love poverty, because Jesus Christ loved it. I love the goods of the world, because they enable one to succor the unfortunate. I am faithful to every person. I do not do evil to those who have harmed me; but I desire for them a condition like my own—one in which

(1) Such is the naive observation of Jacqueline (*Letters*, p. 362), probably induced by her idolatry of everything Arnauldist. Sacy was a nephew of Anthony Arnauld; and the daughters of Mother Angélique were all taught to worship "the eloquent family."

(2) If we are to believe Mme. de Genlis, the poor, wrecked body of Pascal was not allowed to rest even in the tomb. She narrates that when the Regent d'Orléans needed, one day, a human skeleton for some alchemical indagation, he sent to Saint-Etienne-du-Mont for one. The one brought to him was that of Pascal. MICHELET; *History of the Revolution*, vol. I., p. 77. Paris, 1847.

neither good nor evil comes from men. I try to be just, sincere, and faithful to all, and I cherish tenderness for those whom God has united to me in close relationship. Whether I am alone or in the presence of men, I perform all my actions knowing that they are seen by that God who will judge them, and to whom I have dedicated them. Behold my sentiments! I thank my Redeemer, every day of my life, for having placed them in my heart; and for having changed a man full of weakness and concupiscence into one exempt from these evils, by means of His grace, to which all the glory of the change is due, since of myself I was naught but misery and error" (1).

There may be some doubt as to the persistency of the Jansenistic sentiments of Pascal, when one reads the following words, taken from a letter to Mlle. de Roannez, written in the early days of 1656. "Without its head the body can live no more than the head can without the body. I do not know that any members of the Church are more attached than we are to this unity of the body of the Church. (How well they showed their attachment!) We know that all the virtues, martyrdom, austerity, and every kind of good works, are useless when one is outside of the Church, and not in communion with the Pope, the head of the Church. I shall never separate myself from this communion; at least I pray God to give me this grace, without which I shall be lost forever" (2). Even in his seventeenth *Provincial Letter* he had said: "Thanks be to God I have no attachment on earth other than to the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Roman Church, in which I wish to live and to die; that is, in communion with the Pope, the supreme head of the Church, outside of which, as I am fully convinced, there is no salvation." But the words of the dying Pascal to Beurrier cause us to tremble at the thought that this grand genius may have written his own condemnation, when he declared: "*All the virtues, martyrdom, austerity, and every kind of good works, are useless when one is not in communion with the Pope, the head of the Church.*" Beurrier, pastor of the church of Saint-Etienne-du-Mont, assisted at the deathbed of Pascal; and

(1) *Thoughts, Fragments, etc.*, vol. i., p. 243.(2) *Ibid.*, p. 36.

having heard from his penitent certain allusions to his dissensions with Arnauld and Nicole as to the question of "respectful silence" (1), he interpreted those incomplete remarks as indicative of a retraction of Pascal's Jansenism. How the good pastor could have come to this conclusion, in face of his penitent's defence of the *Provincial Letters*, is inexplicable. Pascal declared to Beurrier: "I can assure you, now that I am on the point of rendering to God an account of all my actions, that my conscience reproaches me with nothing, and that I had no evil motive in the composition of that work, having written it solely for the glory of God, and in defence of the truth, *being impelled by no passion against the Jesuits.*" The reader shall soon judge of the sincerity of this last protestation; and he will probably suspect, if he hesitates to give the lie to a dying man, that Pascal was as much a victim of hallucination as were any of the confiding religious of Port-Royal. Pascal died in 1663; and two years afterward Péréfixe, archbishop of Paris, sent for Beurrier, and asked him whether it was not true that the celebrated author of the *Provincial Letters* had died without the rites of the Church. "It is not true," replied the *curé*, "I myself administered the last Sacraments to him." Then the prelate asked whether Beurrier had not known that Pascal was a Jansenist; whereupon the priest declared that the dying man had charged Arnauld and his followers with "going too far in the matter of grace, and with failing in submission to the Holy See." When, about a year afterward, the Jesuit apologist, Canard (called Annat), mentioned this assertion of Beurrier in one of his writings against Arnauld and Nicole, the family of Pascal, ever persistent in their Jansenism, joined the leaders of the sect in producing innumerable vindications of the purity of their relative's Jansenism. Mme. Perier headed this movement, and in the course of her labors she wrote to Beurrier: "I humbly beseech you to kindly search your memory for all the words which my brother uttered to you. Then you will see that although his expressions may have seemed to warrant your conclusion that those gentlemen (Arnauld, Nicole, Saint-Marthe, etc.) had gone too far in the

(1) See our Chap. 4, p. 101.

matter of grace ; nevertheless, he really wished to convey the contrary idea, simply saying, as he did, that they were then not so far advanced in their opinions as they had been " (1). The *cure* of convenient memory complied with the request, found that he had erred, and there the matter remained, and still remains.

Now for a few words on Pascal as a scientist. He shares with Fermat the honor of having invented the calculation of probabilities ; but his proceedings in the matter were independent of those of Fermat. To Pascal the theory of curves owes much ; and his labors on the cycloid enabled the Netherlander, Huygens, the precursor of Newton, to measure the oscillations of the pendulum. The great Laplace, the father of modern astronomy, ranked Pascal as one of the eleven consummate geometers whom the world had produced. As a physicist, Pascal merits a place at the side of Galileo and Torricelli. But Pascal abandoned science when he found that faith opened up horizons far too vast for science to contemplate. In the *Logic* of Port-Royal, he says : " Men use their reason in order to master the sciences ; but on the contrary, they ought to make use of the sciences for the improvement of their reason. . . . Men are not born to spend their time in measuring lines, in examining the relations of angles, in considering the various movements of matter. Their minds are too grand, their lives too short, their time too precious, to be devoted to such trivialities ; but they are obliged to be just, equitable, judicious in their speech, in all their actions, and in all the affairs which they handle. To this end they should exercise and form themselves." Although, in one of his early enthusiasms for science, he had instituted a parallel between Christ and Archimedes (2), he afterward wrote at the head of one of his *Thoughts*, the Biblical phrase, " Vanity of Vanities " ; and then he moralized : " A knowledge of external things will not console me in time of affliction, if I am ignorant of the principles of morality ; but the science of morals will always compensate for an ignorance of external matters. I passed much time in the study of abstract science, and I was disgusted with its want of communicability. When

(1) *Letters, etc.*, p. 90.(2) *Works*, vol. ii., p. 330. Edit. Bossut.

I began the study of man, I soon discovered that those abstract sciences are not fitting for him, and that I injured my condition more by acquiring them than other men injure theirs by ignoring them. I have pardoned those who know little about them" (1). This contempt for science had been derived from Sacy, whose spirit was the perfection of that of Jansenius and of Saint-Cyran. Fontaine tells us that when Pascal abandoned himself to the direction of Singlin, that presumed prudent connoisseur of souls sent his penitent to Port-Royal, "so that Arnauld might put on him the yoke of science, and Sacy teach him to despise it" (2). It was after some conferences with Sacy that Pascal decided to write "against those who delve too deeply into science" (3). Science had been for Pascal "an instrument for the improvement of his reason"; and after his experience of its comparative inability to satisfy his aspirations, he used it only as "a trial of his strength," putting forth the fulness of that strength only when more noble tasks demanded his attention. But, as Villemain observes (4), the scientific studies of Pascal were of great profit to his eloquence. From those studies he derived the precision, lucidity, and vigor which are characteristics of his style. Our age would profit, remarks Maynard, by a sincere study of the style of Pascal, in whom art and nature seemed to have met in perfect unity. "Not that Pascal is imitable, any more than other writers of genius are imitable; we should copy these men, and think like them, for their style and their thought are the same thing. And now that no other god than art is often recognized, no other inspiration than calculation, no other literary theory than a jugglery of words, could anything be more healthy than a study of the grand *naturel* who was so strange to all affectation, and to all the tricks of a vain rhetoric?" (5)

From Voltaire and Condorcet down to Cousin, many publicists have charged Pascal with skepticism, fanaticism, and superstition. That he was a fanatic, though in a sense not meant by his accusers, may be admitted. That he was superstitious has never been proved; the sole instance of credulity

(1) *Thoughts, etc.*, vol. i., p. 198.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 55.

(3) *Thoughts, etc.*, vol. i., p. 235.

(4) *Essay on Pascal*.

(5) *Loc. cit.*, pt. ii., ch. 4, art. 4.

on his part is that of his belief in the alleged miracle of the Holy Thorn—and such a belief is not necessarily included in the domain of superstition. A brief account of this episode of the Holy Thorn will not prove without interest, and it will serve as an illustration of that vivid faith of Pascal which certain philosophists would fain discredit. Pascal had just entered upon his bitter warfare against the Jesuits by the publication of his first *Provincial Letter*, when an extraordinary occurrence seemed to indicate to his inflamed imagination that Heaven approved of his polemics. Margâret Perier, his niece, then twelve years of age, and a pupil of the nuns of Port-Royal, had been afflicted with a lachrymal fistula in the left eye for more than three years. The nasal bones had become so diseased, that the least pressure caused a fetid matter to exude from nostrils, eye, and mouth; and the stench was so great that the poor child had to be isolated for most of the time. The disease yielded to no treatment, and the physicians had resolved to operate by fire during the coming spring (1656). Now it happened that on March 24 a priest named La Potherie sent to Port-Royal an authenticated relic of one of the sacred thorns of the venerated crown of Jesus. The entire community assembled in the church to pray before the Holy Thorn, and among them was the little niece of Pascal. Sister Flavia, in whose special care the afflicted child had been placed, happening to cast her eye on the sufferer, was moved to apply the relic on the diseased organs. That same evening, when the good Sister was surrounded by her charges, the little Marguerite suddenly exclaimed: "Sister, my eye is cured!" An examination was made, and indeed there appeared no trace of the late malady. Mother Agnes, a sister of Angélique, was informed, and by degrees the news of the prodigy spread throughout Paris. On March 31, Dalencé, the physician who had attended Marguerite, examined the lately diseased parts, and pronounced the cure a miracle. Other physicians did the same; and the Periers and Pascals united in founding, in memory of the prodigy, a perpetual Mass which was chanted down to the time of the Revolution, when Port-Royal disappeared. When Pascal decided that this event was a miracle, he was not as prudent as are the Roman authorities in

similar cases. There was no certainty that the cure of his niece had not been a purely natural affair. Dalencé testified that he had not seen the patient for two months before the presumed miracle. Might not nature have been working the cure in that interval? Pope Benedict XIII. opined, as a private individual, in favor of the miracle; but the Sacred Congregation of Rites has never accepted as conclusive such evidence as the Jansenists adduced in the present instance. The frivolous travesties of ratiocination generally presented by the giants of agnostic criticism cannot withstand the shock of the evidence which leads the Roman Congregation of Rites to proclaim the miraculous nature of a given occurrence. When Joseph II., the philosophistic German emperor and "sacristy-sweep," visited the Eternal City during the Conclave of 1769, which resulted in the election of Pope Clement XIV., he had resolved, like a true philosopher, to ridicule everything papal; and, among other enterprises, he sought to belittle the precautions taken by the Sacred Congregation in cases of canonization. Having requested to be allowed to examine some evidence regarding an alleged miracle then being considered by the tribunal, he obtained it; took it home and subjected it to a hypercritically thorough investigation. The result was not what the pupil of Kaunitz had fondly anticipated; and he was constrained to remark, when returning the documents, that if all the testimony favoring the truth of "Roman miracles" were as conclusive as that which he had just weighed in his rationalistic balance, no sane jurist would reject it. Judge of the imperial consternation when he learned that the Congregation of Rites had rejected as insufficient the evidence which he had deemed satisfactory. We do not know whether Joseph II. again feigned to condemn Roman views of the miraculous; but we do know that if our contemporaries of the pretendedly scientific school of historical criticism were to peruse the documents just mentioned, they would simply resort to ridicule. With the rank and file of men, ridicule succeeds where reason would fail. Few men are capable of sustaining the painful march of argumentation; and still smaller is the number of those who are above being influenced by a brilliant display of wit. Even educated and thinking

persons not unfrequently succumb to raillery, and prefer vivacity to truth.

Let us now consider the charge of skepticism, as brought most forcibly against Pascal by no less an authority than Cousin. According to the great eclectic, the melancholy temperament of Pascal led him to the very brink of the gulf of universal doubt; his sole means of avoiding the fatal plunge was the asylum afforded by a voluntarily blind faith. But this blind and unreasoning faith, says Cousin, rendered the piety of Pascal ferocious; and its persistent struggle with the ever-combative spirit of doubt shed a sombre and uncertain tint over all of Pascal's philosophy. "His religion," continues Cousin, "is not the Christianity of Arnauld, Malebranche, Fénelon, and Bossuet—a solid and sweet fruit of an alliance between reason and the heart in a wisely cultivated soul; it is a bitter fruit, ripened in the desolate region of doubt, under the burning breath of despair. Pascal wished to believe, and he did everything which was necessary to be done in order that he might finally believe. . . . Pascal ended by believing; but since he did so in spite of his reason, he continued to believe only by doubling his resistance to reason, by constant and painful sacrifices, by the mortification of his flesh, and above all, by the mortification of his mind. His faith was that unquiet and unhappy faith which he tried to communicate to his fellows. He did not design to address himself to reason, unless to humiliate and crush it. He spoke to the heart in order to frighten and charm it at the same time; he spoke to the will in order to affect it by all its determining motives, truth alone excepted. Such an apology for Christianity would have been a peculiar monument, one with skepticism for its vestibule, and for its sanctuary a faith both sombre and not sure of itself" (1). In this and similar passages Cousin travesties the condition of Pascal; making him a seeker after religion, whereas he had always been a believing Christian. And Cousin himself, in the preface to the very work in which this passage is found, makes this admission: "I have not said that Pascal was a skeptic in religion. Such an assertion would be too much of an absurdity. Pascal

(1) *Loc. cit.*, p. 163.

believed in Christianity with all the powers of his soul. . . . Pascal was a skeptic in philosophy, and not in religion." Pascal believed in Christianity "with all the powers of his soul"; and nevertheless, "he did so in spite of his reason, and by redoubling his resistance to reason"? How can these two assertions be reconciled? But ought Pascal be termed a skeptic because, like Descartes, he made use of the "philosophical doubt"? The species of skepticism which Pascal used, but only for the nonce, was a means, not an object. So soon as he had used it, he destroyed it (1). Through doubt Descartes wished to arrive at that philosophical truth which would give to him religious truth; also through doubt Pascal wished to arrive at that religious truth which would give to him the philosophical. Each wished to pull down in order to build on a more secure foundation. They differed inasmuch as Descartes left the atheist to condemn himself by the voice of his own reason; Pascal shows the incredulist that reason, be it ever so mighty, helps him but little when unaided by revelation. Pascal did not declare all philosophy impossible, but insufficient. The rationalist asserts that reason is all-powerful; Pascal says that reason can take the first steps, not the last ones. There certainly are some isolated passages in the *Thoughts* which, at first acquaintance, seem redolent of skepticism; but, asks Maynard, ought we destroy an edifice because we know not where to re-locate a few fallen bricks? Cousin himself says: "There is a little of everything in these various notes which are styled *Thoughts*; and we ought to consider the general and dominating spirit, not such or such a passage, taken independently of the rest" (2). But in what period of the life of Pascal shall we seek for traces of that skepticism which Cousin finds in the depths of that grand soul? Certainly there is no such trace before 1649, and the three years before 1649 were spent in the fervor of the "first conversion." It was then that Pascal was so little of a skeptic that he all but thrust his dearest sister into a convent, and all but quarrelled with his father for opposing the project; it was then that he wrote the most sublimely

(1) BORDAS-DUMOULIN; *Eulogy on Pascal*.

(2) In the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Dec. 15, 1844.

Christian letters he ever penned (1). Sainte-Beuve discovers traces of the troublesome doubt in the period 1649-1654, embracing the years between the first and the "grand conversion"; when, as he avers, Pascal had begun to dissipate, "in every way." This is mere assertion, and Sainte-Beuve does not attempt to support it with a grain of proof; therefore we are prepared to accept the admission of the great critic that "*perhaps* Pascal never doubted more than when he believed most." But granting that the faith of Pascal did sometimes suffer from the onslaughts of the demon of incredulity, has not that been the fate of nearly every adult Christian, and especially of nearly every person of genius, who really or fanciedly perceives the *pro* and the *contra* of every mystery?

The fifth decade of the nineteenth century saw a notable addition to the already numerous *Pascaliana*. Nearly every name in literary France seemed to be connected, in one way or another, with that of Pascal. It was the ambition of all to present some new view of his character and genius; and happy was he who fancied that he had discovered some secret passage in the life of one of the most remarkable of Frenchmen. While this mania was at its height, in 1843, Cousin published (2) a just-discovered fragment which seemed destined to astound the admirers of Pascal. Like all who claim to have snatched a work from oblivion, Cousin proceeded to vaunt the value of his discovery, which was nothing less than a *Discourse on the Passions of Love*, presumedly from the pen of Pascal, and found among the MSS. of Saint-Germain-Gèvres. The salaciously inclined could not but perceive a promise of something, on the part of the hitherto supposed immaculate of Port-Royal, which would rival the similarly-entitled work of Ovid; and Cousin was careful to excite the curiosity of his public. He was obliged to admit that "the precepts of the art of loving, as given in this singular work, are very different from those of Ovid"; but he led men to believe that they were about to have a glimpse at Pascal, not merely a declaimer on love in the abstract, but a lover in the concrete. "In more than one passage I discern the

(1) *Thoughts, Letters, etc.*, vol. 1., p. 1-17.

(2) In the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Sept. 15, 1843.

throbs of a still troubled heart; and in the chaste and tender emotion with which the author depicts the charms of what he terms a deep friendship, I think that I hear the secret echo and the involuntary revelation of an affection which Pascal entertained for a lady of the *grand monde*. One does not thus speak of so intimate a sentiment, when he has not cherished it in his heart" (1). Certainly we may suppose that if Pascal was the author of this *Discourse*, he probably depicted the emotions of his own heart; for we know that he never wrote for the sake of writing, but only when under the empire of a personal sentiment. But did Pascal write this essay? It should not be compared, for an instant, to the lubricious verses which the pagan Ovid addressed to the courtesans and debauched matrons of ancient Rome; but we would feel a something akin to pain, were we obliged to regard this code of gallantry, laid at the feet of the brilliant ladies of the court of the grand monarch, as having come from the pen which produced the *Thoughts*. Cousin affects to think that because the *Discourse* was found in a Benedictine monastery, those monks, "allied to Port-Royal," must have regarded the essay as authentic. This argument is unworthy of a school-girl. But perhaps the real mind of the Benedictines in this matter may be discerned in the fact that in the volume discovered by Cousin was read, immediately after the title, "*It is attributed to M. Pascal.*" Again, if Pascal wrote this discourse, it is very strange that it is never mentioned by Mme. Perier, or by Marguerite Perier, or by Jacqueline, all of whom dilated on their great relative's productions, in season and out of season; and that no writer of Port-Royal ever heard of it. Finally, no person who has read the undoubted works of Pascal, can recognize the mind of their author in such sentiments as these: "That life is happy which begins with love, and ends with ambition. If I could choose, I would ask for such a life. . . . Who can doubt that we are in this world for nothing else than love? . . . Man is born for pleasure; he feels that it is so, and he wants no other proof. Therefore he yields to his reason, when he gives himself up to pleasure."

(1) *On the Thoughts of Pascal*, p. 384.

Nicole had reason to say, in his later days: "The great heresy of the world is no longer Calvinism or Lutheranism, but atheism"; and probably no man did so much to prepare the triumph of atheism as the great pupil of Nicole, Blaise Pascal. We have heard the dying author of the *Provincial Letters* protesting that sincerity had prompted their composition; and now we must examine their nature and their consequences. Voltaire says: "They are based on false foundations. The fact is evident; but truth was not their object, so much as the amusement of the public." True; but this "amusement" was designed as a vehicle by which to convey a poison which was to be disastrous. The Protestant Schöll terms the book: "A partisan work in which bad faith attributed to the Jesuits suspected opinions which, for some time past, they themselves had condemned." When such are the judgments which many freethinkers and Protestants have been constrained to pronounce on the *Letters*, it is not strange that De Maistre should style them "immortal lies"; and that De Bonald should brand their author as "a sublime forger." Great is the contrast between these opinions and those which the reader must have formed, after following us in our brief sketch of the career of Pascal. But it must be remembered that the tribe of Arnauld had ruined the sincere nature which had entrusted itself to their guidance; Pascal was not an erudite, and the researches necessary for his task were prepared by falsifiers for him to mould into shape. Pascal ingenuously admits that of all the authors whose opinions he stigmatizes, Escobar alone was read by him. The *Provincial Letters* form a masterpiece; but, as Mme. de Grignan remarked, "one constantly finds in them a Jesuit fool pronouncing absurdities" (1); and the worst enemies of the sons of Loyola have

(1) Justice demands that we record that Mme. de Sévigné, the *spirituelle* mother of Mme. de Grignan, endeavored to convince her daughter of the solidity of Pascal's argumentation. Under date of Dec. 21, 1689, she writes: "Very often, for amusement's sake, we read the *Petites Lettres*. What charm! And how my son does read them! Then I think of my daughter, and how that *excess of exact reasoning* would be worthy of her; but your brother says that you find that *it is always the same thing*. Well, so much the better! Can any style be more perfect, any raillery more incisive, more natural, more delicate, a more worthy child of those dialogues of Plato which are so beautiful? And when, after the ten first letters, he addresses the reverend fathers (of the Society), what seriousness, what solidity, what strength, what eloquence, what love of God and of truth, what a way of defend-

never accused them of developing or producing fools. With all their incontestable literary merit, well observes De Maistre, "if the *Provincial Letters* had been written against the Capuchins, they would have ceased, long ago, to attract attention."

The Duc de Liancourt held intimate relations with Port-Royal; and when he went to confession, one day, to a Sulpician priest named Picoté, and hesitated to promise a cessation of those relations, the confessor told him to return, in a day or two, for definite advice. Instead of returning, the duke spread the report that the priests of Saint-Sulpice had refused him absolution; and he even induced St. Vincent de Paul to confer on the subject with Olier, Bretonvilliers, and other Sulpician clergymen. The result of this consultation was a reference of the case of conscience to the Sorbonne; and many of the Faculty opined that while the confessor did well in refusing absolution in the premises, nevertheless he could not refuse the Eucharist to the duke if he should kneel at the Communion rail in the presence of third parties, since to do so would be a manifestation of the secret judgment delivered in the tribunal of penance (1). Here was a fine occasion for Arnauld to resume the debates interdicted by the Constitution of Innocent X.; and he issued his *Second Letter to a Duke and Peer*. Two propositions were extracted from this document, brought to the notice of the Sorbonne, and in spite of the endeavors of Saint-Amour and sixty-two Port-Royalist doctors, censured by 127 out of 130 members. While the Faculty were considering the pamphlet of Arnauld, the partisans of this agitator were urging him to write another *brochure*. Ever ready to augment the glory of "the grand family," the patriarch produced another defense of his position; but when it was read in Port-Royal, no acclamations attested its value as a polemic. Then the disappointed leader turned to Pascal, and asked the "*jeune et curieux*" to undertake the task. In a few days the first of the *Provincial Letters* appeared, and Arnauld cried: "That is excellent; it will take; it must be printed" (2).

ing truth and making it known! All this is found in the eight last letters, which have a very different tone; and I am sure that you have only skipped over them, picking out the pleasant passages." See also the letter of Jan. 8. 1690.

(1) FAILLON: *Life of M. Olier*, vol. II., p. 170.

(2) This account of the birth of the first *Provincial Letter* is taken from the narrative of Margaret Perier, *Letters, etc.*, p. 460.

Printed it was, and its success was marvellous. A letter from Mlle. de Scudéry, an ornament of the Hotel de Rambouillet, and "the tenth Muse" of the seventeenth century, will show how the curious production was received in the "grand world." "Your letter is thoroughly ingenious and very well written. It narrates without narrating; it sheds light on the most obscure matters in the world; its raillery is delicate; it instructs those who do not understand certain things, while it doubles the pleasure of those who already know all about them; it is, in fine, an excellent *apologie*, or if you wish, a delicate and innocent censure. And there is so much art, so much spirit, so much judgment in this letter, that I would very much like to know who wrote it" (1). Praise from Sir Hubert is praise indeed; and when Mlle. de Scudéry appreciated the first *Provincial* so highly, we are curious to know her opinion of the *Thoughts*, an immeasurably finer work. Very soon all Paris, and ere long all France, was deafened with the chatter of women, as well as with the bawlings of men, all prating or howling about "the proximate power" and the "sufficient grace which does not suffice"—"things," said Mazarin, "which they understand about as well as I do." Intensely interesting to the crowd, rather because of their charming irony and their wealth of calumny, than because of their unchallenged literary beauties, the *Letters* became an arsenal of weapons for those freethinkers who scorned to declare themselves Protestants, but affected to ridicule everything Catholic. Never, perhaps, had the demon of irony been so effectively unchained for an onslaught against holy things; "the Jesuits," well said Lherminier, "apparently received the blows; but with them religion was also struck. Pascal had prepared the way; Voltaire might now come." In fact, Pascal lied and calumniated, in these *Letters*, nearly as brazenly as the Sage of Ferney himself,

(1) The first *Letter* appeared as the production of a certain Louis of Montalto, addressed to a friend in the provinces; and when all the *Letters* had been written, they were collected under the title: *Letters Written by Louis of Montalto to a Provincial Friend and to the Reverend Jesuit Fathers Concerning the Moral and Political Teachings of Those Fathers*. Written originally in French, they were immediately translated into Latin by Nicole, who adopted for the nonce the pen-name of Wendrock. Nicole added some very virulent notes, in which he attacked many Jesuits personally, and with an unjustifiable bitterness as wonderful as the lies which he concocted.

whatever may have been his inward "piety." Everywhere he misinterprets, and often he changes the words of the writers whose sayings he attacks; sometimes he mutilates a passage, and again he adds to one, according as his views demand; frequently he suppresses words which precede or follow those which he quotes, whereas the suppressed passages would give the real meaning of the author. We shall give one or two instances of this method of controversy as perfected by Pascal, and which Protestant polemics frequently adopt in our own day. In the sixth *Letter*, we are introduced to a travesty of part of the fourth chapter of the treatise on *Alms* by the Jesuit, Vasquez. From this chapter Pascal pretends to draw the conclusion that according to the casuists (1) of the Society of Jesus, wealthy persons, especially sovereigns, are not obliged to give alms to the poor, simply because they never have any *superfluous* revenue. If the context of Vasquez is examined, it will be seen that instead of being a "laxist" in this matter, he is really somewhat of a "rigidist"; for he decides that laics and ecclesiastics are bound to succor the needy out of their superfluities, and sometimes even out of what is *necessary* in their respective states of life. Pascal takes good care to hide the fact that Vasquez is lamenting the blindness of those rich persons who, in their own estimation, never have a sufficiency of worldly gear, and who consequently, again in their own estimation, have no superfluous revenue from which they can derive alms for the needy. A grosser calumny than this against Vasquez is uttered in the sixth *Letter*, where the Jesuit Bauni is accused of teaching that a confessor must not refuse absolution to a person who remains in a proximate occasion of sin, if the penitent declares that it would be *in-*

(1) A casuist is a theologian who teaches religious morality, as developed in the solution of cases of conscience. Traces of casuistry are found in the *Acts* of the Apostles, in the *Epistles* of St. Paul, and especially in the *Letters* of St. Cyprian, who decides many questions of conscience submitted to him. The ancient penitential system was the source of ancient casuistry; and when that system disappeared, casuistry assumed a more scientific form, firstly, in the *Penitential Books*, and secondly, in the *Casuistical Summary* of St. Raymond of Penafort (13th Cent.). Casuistic discussions were interrupted by the more radical polemics necessitated by the Reformation; but toward the end of the sixteenth century, they were resumed with great ardor by the new Society of Jesus, the members of which made of casuistry one of the most fruitful branches of theological science. The doctrine of *probableism*, energetically propagated by the Jesuits, gave rise to vivid discussions, the foes of the Society accusing it of substituting a lax morality for the severe spirit of the primitive Church. Hence the combat, a phase of which we are now describing.

convenient to abandon that occasion. Bauni expressly states that absolution can be accorded, only when the occasion of sin is *not proximate or evil in itself*.

We have said that the zealots of Port-Royal supplied to Pascal the theological erudition which was necessary for the production of a work like the *Provincial Letters*; but the reader must not suppose that the Port-Royalists originated the many calumnies concerning the Jesuits and their doctrine with which the *Letters* abound. Nearly all these absurdities had been uttered by Calvin in his diatribe entitled, *The Moral Theology of the Papists*; and in 1632 the Calvinist minister, Dumoulin, had added some in his *Catalogue or Enumeration of Roman Traditions*. In 1644 this last work had reappeared under the title of *The Moral Theology of the Jesuits*, with some unimportant changes which were attributed to Arnauld; and it had been refuted by the Jesuit, Caussin, in his *Answer to the Moral Theology, etc.*, as well as by another Jesuit, Lemoine, in his *Apologetic Manifest*. When Pascal had given a charming literary dressing to all the calumnies and many of the ravings of these works, the Jesuits found it an easy task to demonstrate the Protestant origin of them all (1). It is not within the scope of our work to enter on a review of the *Provincial Letters*, great though be the temptation. Their falsehoods have been refuted scores of times by masters in the science of criticism (2). Sometimes these calumnies have been sustained by the authority

(1) See the *Replies to the Provincial Letters, Published by the Secretary of Port-Royal against the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, on the Subject of the Moral Teachings of the Jesuits*; Liège, 1658. During the twenty-five years beginning with 1669 there appeared, from time to time, instalments of the *Practical Morality of the Jesuits*, an encyclopædia of lies in eight volumes, written under the direction of Arnauld, who died while engaged in the melancholy task. Arnauld borrowed most of his charges from Protestant sources, and from the *Jesuitical Theatre*, a Spanish production (now very rare), which had been condemned by Philip IV., by the Spanish Inquisition, and by the Holy See. In order to give value to the calumnies of the *Theatre*, Arnauld attributed it, with sublime effrontery, to Hildephonsus de Sancto Thoma, afterward bishop of Malaga. The prelate proved to the satisfaction of Pope Innocent XI. that he was not, and could not be, the author; but nevertheless, Arnauld, Pascal, and all the Port-Royalists repeated the calumny. Probably Pascal thought that he was justified in following, for the good of Port-Royal, the presumed Jesuitical principle that the end justifies the means. At this time the Jansenist leaders also availed themselves of the diatribes written by certain ex-Jesuit apostates, notably the work of Larrige, published in 1647, and entitled, *The Jesuits Sent to the Scaffold for Many Capital Crimes*. It is due to Larrige to record that he retracted, and died repentant.

(2) The cited work of Maynard is especially valuable for its detailed analysis of the *Letters*.

of a great name; for the intrigues of the progeny of Jan-
senius were always manifold, and often they would have
brought the blush of shame to the cheek of a Machia-
velli. Once these gentry succeeded in sheltering themselves
in the folds of the cardinalitial scarlet; whereupon the an-
gelic Fénelon administered a stinging rebuke to his blinded
Eminence: "Nothing can so defame a religious organization
as to charge it, in the face of all Christendom, with teaching
false doctrine, with insubordination toward episcopal author-
ity, and with a desire to be the masters and the judges of the
bishops. The heavier a charge is, the more conclusive ought
to be the evidence supporting it. The cardinal must prove
the truth of the alleged facts, or he will be branded as an ar-
rant slanderer. If he merely continues in a course of vague
complaints and declamations, he will act in the ordinary fash-
ion of rabid authors of defamatory libels" (1).

A gentle but powerful soul thus apostrophized the author
of the *Provincial Letters*: "Pascal, your genius committed a
great crime—that of forming an alliance between falsehood
and the language of the frank (*sic*) people, which is perhaps
indestructible. You gave stability to the dictionary of calum-
ny; it still forms the rule" (2). Pleasantry and sarcasm,
when handled by genius, are probably the most powerful
weapons in a warfare of polemics; and Pascal was the first
to discern their value in religious debates. Pascal has been
styled the Boileau of casuistry and of bad theological taste;
but Boileau did not attack the good as well as the bad. Pas-
cal apparently attacked the moral system of the Jesuits alone;
and in reality he attacked the moral teachings of the Church,
just as Molière afterward, though unintentionally, brought
all piety into disrepute by his lashings of hypocrisy. "The
Provincial Letters are the *Tartuffe* of the false casuists," re-
marks Maynard, "just as the *Tartuffe* was the *Provincial
Letters* of the false devotees. In both cases the thrusts ap-
peared to be directed against the masks; but they struck the
countenance, and penetrated even to the heart. There was

(1) Fénelon's *Memorial to the King* in 1712. . . . Louis-Antoine de Noailles, cardinal-arch-
bishop of Paris, was the subject of this denunciation.

(2) RAVENAN; *The Existence and the Institute of the Jesuits*, 5th Edit., p. 36, Paris,
1847.

but one difference between Molière and Pascal. The former, justly suspected of atheism (1), was perfectly aware of the consequences of his words; while the latter, deceived by his prejudices and by his friends, did not perceive the destructiveness of his work. . . . When he was on his deathbed, if Pascal could have foreseen the progress of impiety at the end of the seventeenth century; if he could have heard his calumnious inventions against the Jesuits being used against the Church amid the orgies of the Regency, and throughout the eighteenth century; would he not have regretted his composition of the *Provincial Letters*? . . . Like all the profoundly religious minds of his day, Pascal heard the rumbling of the coming storm; but he did not realize that he had furnished the vapors to the clouds. Incredulism, however, did realize that fact; it perceived that in the persons of the Jesuits, religion was being assailed, and that other hands would soon turn the anti-Jesuit warfare into one against Christianity" (2).

(1) The atheism of Molière, concerning which Maynard is so certain, is at least problematical. The reader will not credit the charge, if he consults Taschereau's *History of the Life and Works of Molière*, Paris, 1844. In the *Monde* (Paris) for 1873 may be found an excellent disquisition on *The Sources of Tartuffe* by the abbé Davin, in which it is proved that the terrible engine of war, the *Tartuffe*, inspired by Louis XIV. himself, was not designed as a weapon against the Jesuits, as the Jansenists and their modern representatives, the anti-clericals and freethinkers, would have us believe. On the contrary, it is capable of proof that Molière held up to ridicule, in his masterpiece, the Jansenists themselves. That the Jesuits were the target for the great playwright's raillery, can be believed only by him who knows nothing about the men and events of those days. If such was the mind of Molière, if the men of his time so understood it; would Louis XIV., whose confessor was then a Jesuit, and who had just then given his own name to the principal Jesuit college in Paris, have allowed the comedy to be played and applauded in his presence? Would the comedy have received, on that occasion, the applause of the Papal legate, and of all the bishops then present in Paris—all of them friends of the Jesuits? Would the Jesuits themselves have lauded the comedy? Would the Jesuit Rapin have written to Bussi Rabutin, on Aug. 13, 1672, six months before the death of Molière, congratulating his brethren on having the great author for "one of their friends"? Would the Jesuit, Bouhours, have written the epitaph of Molière? Would Father Vavassor have upbraided the French for not giving to the great corrector of morals a splendid funeral—*Gens ingrats, tuis invade, Galli, bonis*? And would the Jansenists, as Molière tells us, have denounced the play "with frightful fury"? But what more do we need than the testimony of Boileau, the great friend of the Jansenists? Writing to Brossette, he said: "When Molière had composed his *Tartuffe*, he recited the first three acts to the king; and the piece so pleased his Majesty that he praised it so highly as to irritate the foes of Molière, and above all, the devotee cabal. (The identity of these devotees is now shown by the introduction of Péréfixe.) M. de Péréfixe, archbishop of Paris, placed himself at their head, and complained about the comedy to the king. His Majesty was frequently troubled in the matter; and finally he told Molière that he had better not play the piece in public, as the devotees were an implacable set." It is certain that Molière lived and died the foe of Jansenism, which was an enemy of the stage; and that in his person, together with those of Corneille and Fenelon, French Puritanism found allied against it the pulpit, comedy, and tragedy.

(2) MAYNARD; *loc. cit.* pt. II., ch. 2.

No weapon better than the *Provincial Letters* was wielded by that anti-Christian conspiracy of the eighteenth century which originated in the ranks of the Jansenists—a conspiracy which enabled D'Alembert, on May 4, 1762, to write to Voltaire : “ In the expulsion of the Jesuits, the parliaments were the accomplices of the decrees of supreme justice in favor of philosophy ; for they received their orders from the philosophers, without knowing it. . . . As for me, I now see everything in *couleur de rose* ; and I perceive the Jansenists dying a pleasant death next year, after having put the Jesuits to a violent death this year (1). I see toleration established, the Protestants recalled, the priests all married, confession abolished, and fanaticism crushed—all so easily effected, that the doing of it all will be scarcely perceptible.”

Marguerite Perier, who was sometimes styled the Egerian nymph of the Jansenists, persevered in her obstinacy until her death in her eighty-eighth year, in 1733. Almost with her last breath she insisted that the Papal Bull *Unigenitus* was a patent condemnation of the chief articles of the Catholic faith. It is to the loving care of this niece of Pascal that we owe the preservation of many of her uncle's writings ; as well as much valuable information concerning her relatives and the principal Jansenist leaders. One of her letters ends with a passage which would be touching, if we could close our eyes to its sublime effrontery : “ Such were the lives of all the members of my family. I am now alone. They all died, loving the truth indomitably. Like Simon Machabæus, the last of the great brothers, I can say that all of my dearest ones died in the service of God, and in the love of truth. I am alone ; God grant that I may never be wanting in their perseverance ! I beg for this grace with all my heart ” (2). Jacqueline, the youngest sister of Pascal, died in 1661, because of the remorse which afflicted her on account of her signature to the *Formula* prescribed by Pope Alexander VII. She never could agree with her brother and certain other

(1) D'Alembert alludes here to the suppression of eighty Jesuit colleges by the parliament of Paris in April, 1762. The suppression of the entire Society in France did not occur until the following November ; and the Papal Brief suppressing the Society throughout the world was not issued until July 31, 1773.

(2) *Letters, etc.*, p. 433.

Jansenists in the opinion that a "respectful silence" was sufficient in the matter of the condemnation of the Five Propositions. This otherwise gentle Sister Euphemia of Port-Royal demanded inexorable war against the Pontifical decree. She moaned because she "had seen the truth betrayed, and by her brother"; nothing but death was now welcome to her. The "bastard Protestantism" of the Jansenists is proclaimed in few documents with more clearness than in a letter which Jacqueline wrote to Arnauld, lamenting that the *Pastoral* of the Parisian vicars-general (ordering all the clergy and religious to sign the *Formula*) was "not worse than it was, so that she might reject it with perfect freedom." Her courage was too ingrained in her nature, her contempt of duplicity (unless when her Jansenistic interests were at stake) was too pronounced, to allow her to willingly descend to that moral cowardice which the vicars-general encouraged. Speaking of those of her fellow-sectarians who adopted the policy of "respectful silence," she says: "I cannot hide the pain which pierces my heart when I discover unfaithfulness in those *to whom alone God has entrusted the deposit of His truth*; when I learn that they have not the courage to suffer, even unto death, for its avowal. What should we fear? We may be dispersed; we may see our temporalities confiscated; we may incur imprisonment, or even death. But ought not such things be our glory? You say that they may cut us off from the Church. Who does not know that no one can be cut off from the Church in spite of himself; and that since the spirit of Christ is the tie which binds us members with Him and with each other, it follows that we may indeed be deprived of the marks of union, but that we cannot lose the effects of that union, so long as we preserve charity, without which no one is a living member of the holy body. . . . Shall the faithful, they who know and defend the truth; shall the Catholic Church use disguise, and descend to simulation? It does not become young women to defend the cause of truth; but since our bishops show the courage of girls, let us girls display the courage of bishops." A few days had passed since Jacqueline had signed the *Formula*, when she felt the hand of death upon her. She declared that it was

remorse that was killing her; she was "the first victim of the signature," and she "wished to know that at least one person became a willing holocaust for truth." Jacqueline was thirty-six years of age when she went to her account on October 4, 1661. Varin asks whether Mothers Angélique and Agnes really believed in Jansenism. Probably the reader will agree with the judicious critic, and apply the saying also to Jacqueline, when he replies: "They suffered for the name of Jansenius; but they believed only in their family and in God. Who would dare to anathematize them? Anathema to those who deceived them, perhaps; anathema to them, never!" (1).

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: THE
SEMINARY OF SAINT-SULPICE; THE SISTERS OF CHARITY;
AND THE BROTHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS.

The historical fact that Jesus never abandons His Spouse, has rarely been evinced in a more striking manner than in the France of the latter part of the sixteenth century, and of the early years of the seventeenth. We have already seen many of the evil effects of the French civil, or as they are generally and inaccurately styled, the "religious wars" which Calvinism brought upon the Land of the Lilies. The worst consequence of these discords was an immense damage to the spirit of faith even among the orthodox, and therefore the generation of a license which became nearly universal. Not even the sanctuary of the Most High was spared from contamination. But there came a change in which the omnipotent hand was manifested. Sanctity reflowered in the cloister; the court was purified to some extent; cities were no longer mere dens of iniquity; and the holy fire was rekindled in the pulpit. In 1603, the Reformed Carmelites, founded by St. Teresa, were introduced into France by Cardinal de Bérulle and Blessed Mary of the Incarnation. In 1610, the Order of the Visitation was founded by St. Francis

(1) *The Truth Concerning the Arnaulds*, vol. ii., p. 294.

de Sales. In 1611, came that Oratory which was to effect so much for every branch of science, as well as for virtue. Then arose that Reform of the Benedictines known as "Les Feuillants," which gave to liturgical science the Cardinal Bona on whom Don Pasquino exercised a neat play on words (1). The fame and influence of the Lazarists and of the Sisters of Charity, founded by St. Vincent de Paul, are worldwide. Then also originated, in rapid succession, the Ursulines of Madame de Sainte-Beuve, the Daughters of Providence, the Religious of the Perpetual Adoration, and many other glorious organizations. It was during that epoch of reform that the brave Marshal de Joyeuse became a Capuchin; that the Duc de Gondi entered the Oratory; that innumerable other flowers of society were transplanted by the heavenly Gardener into His own preserves. It would certainly interest the student, and profit him much, if we were to descant at length upon all these fruits of a glorious reformation; but the scope of our work warns us to confine our researches to such religious foundations as are of worldwide influence, or whose happy lot it has been to receive, in a pre-eminent degree, the attacks which are a guarantee of the smiles of Heaven upon their members—the unintermittent onslaughts of the foes of "all that is called God." Among the institutions of the former class place must be accorded to the Grand Seminary of Saint-Sulpice, "the praise of which is in all the churches," and which was founded by "a true and intrepid reformer, a great pastor of souls." This apostrophe to the Ven. Abbé Olier by his latest biographer forms an epitome of the mortal career of one of the most saintly and one of the most successfully laborious men of modern times—one whom Bossuet, a good judge of the men with whom he came in contact, and who knew how to choose his words, did not hesitate to term: "A most excellent man, who exhaled the odor of sanctity" (2).

Jean-Jacques Olier de Verneuil was born in Paris on

(1) "*Vana solacisnū ne te conturbet imago;
Esset Papa Bonus, si Bona Papa foret.*"

(2) For the few details which we give concerning the life of Olier we are indebted to FAILLON; *Life of Olier*, Paris, 1860, and to LANJURE; *Life of Olier, Founder of the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice and of the Colony of Montreal*, Montreal, 1884.

Sept. 20, 1608. He came of a family which had belonged to the "nobility of the robe" for many generations, and his father's magisterial career had culminated in his appointment, by Henry IV., to the royal Council of State. In accordance with the custom obtaining among persons of rank in that time, his mother, Marie Dolu, Dame d'Ivoy, placed her infant out to nurse; and in after years it was regarded as a prognostic that the little Jean had received his first nourishment in that very parish of Saint-Sulpice, which he was to regenerate completely. From almost the earliest dawn of his intelligence, a profound respect for the holy tabernacle was manifested by the child who was destined to renew ecclesiastical fervor by means of increased devotion to the Blessed Sacrament; and when he displayed bad humor, his nurse needed only to take him into Saint-Sulpice, to restore his placidity. "When I was only seven years old," he afterward remarked, "I had so exalted an idea of priestly holiness, that I thought that the clergy led no life outside that of God; and if I saw one turn his head in the sanctuary, I felt real pain, for I believed that he was like the saints in heaven, when he had donned the sacerdotal vestments." And this moral transformation of the recipient of Holy Orders, this intimate communication of the life of the Divine Victim to the priest's own, was to be the predominant thought of Olier in the maturer years of his manhood. But these first movements of grace did not interfere with his boyishness. It took considerable time for grace to dominate his ardent nature. In 1617, King Louis XIII. appointed M. de Verneuil royal Intendant at Lyons; and here the family became intimate with the prince-bishop of Geneva, the saintly Francis de Sales. The early piety of Jean had not prevented him from becoming much like other children; and when the mother told St. Francis that the boy caused her great anxiety, the prelate replied: "Well, well; let us not be too hard upon children. Remember that high spirits are not sin. And take comfort, dear Madame; for I tell you that God has chosen this boy to effect much good in His Church." This prediction was narrated by one of the auditors, M. Chaillard, a Protonotary Apostolic, and pastor of Villefranche in the Beau-

jolais. The incident was afterward represented in a painting which, according to Faillon, may yet be seen in the church of the Madeleine, in Besançon. In his sixteenth year, Jean resolved to become a priest; and at first he thought of joining the Carthusians. Then he asked in vain to be admitted among the Franciscans; but God had willed that he should sanctify himself and others in the secular priesthood. He was destined to convince men of what they too often forget; namely, that the most exalted holiness should be no more peculiar to the regular, than to the secular priest. As he was to say, when he had more experience: "If priests who are detached from the world are said to live like religious, it is only a sign of the corruption of the age; for it ought to be said that religious lead the life of priests; since priests are bound to live in such wise, and religious are bound to imitate the holiness of priests, to follow in their footsteps and sanctify themselves by practicing those rules of perfection which were originally given to the clergy" (1). His family were gratified by his final choice of the secular priesthood; but principally, despite their unaffected piety, because of their desire to see him attain to the highest ecclesiastical dignities—a wish which was easily satisfied by persons of their social rank, thanks to the detestable methods of promotion which then almost universally obtained. His resolution was scarcely communicated to them when they procured for the sixteen-year-old boy the *Commenda* of the Priory of the Benedictines of La Trinité at Clisson, in the diocese of Nantes (2); and soon afterward he was made commendatory abbot of Pebrac and a canon of the Chapter of Brioude. Our young abbé followed the fashion of the day in maintaining an expensive household, grand equipages, etc.; but it pleased God to

(1) For this matter of sacerdotal perfection, see Card. Manning's Preface to a *Life of St. Charles Borromeo*.

(2) The reader will remember that in those days "commendatory" abbots and priors were the order of the day; that is, the title of Abbé, now given, on the European continent, to all secular priests, was then adopted by every perfumed gallant who frequented the circles of the *élite* while enjoying or awaiting the emoluments of some benefice to which some friend's *Jus patronatus* was to present him. The acting beneficiary, however, was always a priest, and generally irreproachable. Let not the reader believe that every abbé of whom he reads, was a priest. This abuse of the "right of patronage" is retained in the Protestant Church of England to-day; and, as was never the case in Catholic lands, the livings are often sold at public auction by their Anglican owners.

open his eyes to his imminent danger. His mother had begun to pray that if he were to become a priest, he might be a worthy one; but his real awakening occurred in 1630, when he went to Rome for the purpose of acquiring an erudition which the Sorbonne could then no longer afford. In the Eternal City he was attacked by ophthalmia, and the best physicians decided that a resumption of study would be impossible. This blow made him realize the necessity of giving his whole heart to God; and he determined to place his future formally under the protection of Our Lady of Loreto. With the sole exception of those who have visited Loreto in a Catholic spirit, probably only those who have read Venillot's touchingly exquisite narrative of his own pilgrimage (1), can understand the sentiments of young Olier as he approached the most celebrated sanctuary of the Mother of God, in order to seal his conversion. He had made the journey of a hundred miles on foot, and despite the heat, in winter garments. But he tells us that prayer was his solace on the road, and that he then composed several hymns in honor of her whom he then besought as a forgiving parent. Unfortunately his humility led him to destroy these effusions of an overcharged heart. He says that as he was entering the town, a possessed woman shouted to him, "Young French Abbé, if you do not live hereafter like a man of God, you will suffer terribly." He went into the church—not the Holy House itself, for that he would not approach, until he had confessed—and casting himself in spirit at the feet of Mary, he begged her to procure for him the gift of death, if sin were again to stain his life. The divine light had entered his soul; and on the instant, his corporal eyes regained their pristine health. When Olier returned to France, it was evident to all that the Babe of the Manger had transformed him. No more luxurious carriages, costly clothing, and fawning servants, for him; thenceforward he could say, "Stripped of everything, I bear the cross of poverty—*Nudus sequor nulam crucem*." At once he devoted himself to the spiritual instruction of the poor. If he could not induce them to come to his house, or to receive him in their squalid quarters, he would manage to en-

(1) *Rome and Loreto*, Paris, 1839.

counter them, as it were, by chance in the streets. Then they received, perforce, both encouragement and religious aid.

God had designed that a religious revival among the secular clergy of France should be effected, not directly by the episcopate or by means of any order of regulars, but by one of their own number. All whose special vocation it was to labor, at that period, for the sanctification of the ecclesiastical state, were secular priests. Such were St. Vincent de Paul; the holy Oratorian, de Condren, and Jean Eudes. A new epoch in the life of Olier began when he placed the direction of his conscience in the discretion of St. Vincent de Paul; and by his advice retired to the house of the Priests of the Mission (Lazarists (1)) to make a retreat, in preparation for his reception of the priesthood. He was ordained on May 21, 1633. During two years St. Vincent tended this budding plant of sanctity; and then Charles de Condren, superior of the Oratory (2), began to perfect it unto mature beauty. Probably no one person exercised such influence as that of Condren, in preparing the way for the great work of Olier's life; and his submission to the Oratorian's spiritual guidance was due to the counsels of Mother Agnes of Jesus, a Dominican prioress who died in the odor of sanctity in 1634, and whose holy interest in the future reformer had been approved by God in many supernatural ways (3). So eminent was the sanctity of Condren, that Bossuet said that "his memory was ever fresh, and it was sweet to the whole Church, like a compound of many perfumes"; and he was revered by St. Vincent and St. Jane Frances de Chantal. The latter said of him: "If God gave our blessed founder (St. Francis de Sales) for the instruction of men, it seems to me that He has made Father de Condren capable of instructing angels."

(1) The term "Lazarist" is popularly applied to a member of the Congregation of the Mission founded by St. Vincent de Paul in 1617. The mother-house of the society was that of St. Lazare in Paris.

(2) This Congregation of secular priests had been instituted by Berulle in 1611, on the model of that founded by St. Philip Neri in Rome in 1554. The French Oratory was confirmed by Pope Paul V. in 1613.

(3) See the *Life of the Ven. Mother Agnes of Jesus*, by M. de Lantages; Paris, 1863. The Holy See has solemnly declared that this holy Dominican nun practised all Christian virtues in a heroic degree. Olier declared that when Mother Agnes died, she bequeathed to him her own guardian-angel, to assist his; "not as the angel of his person, but of his office."

When this holy director first received Olier under his spiritual care, he conceived the idea of entrusting to him the actuation of his own project for the foundation of a Grand Seminary; but he kept silence, and during eighteen months he directed his energies to implant in the mind of his charge all of his own appreciation of what a priest should be. Olier desired to aid in the evangelization of the savages in Canada; but his friend advised him to undertake the field afforded by the rural districts of his own land, and accordingly, with a number of zealous comrades, he accomplished this task with almost miraculous success.

When Olier returned to Paris after these missions, he found the capital in a frenzy of joy because of the birth of a Dauphin—that prince who was to be the Grand Monarch of France for seventy-two years. Olier loved the royal House of France; because he held the Christian conception of Christian royalty; and for him the sovereign was the incarnation of his country. For years he had prayed to God to grant an heir to Louis XIII.; and now, after a childlessness of twenty-three years, the queen, Anne of Austria, had gratified the hopes of the nation. In later days Louis XIV. heard how our abbé had prayed for his advent; and once, on noticing Abbé Picoté, a Sulpitian, crossing the courtyard of the Louvre, he summoned him to the presence-chamber, and recommended himself to the prayers of the community. Picoté replied: “It is needless for you to ask for them, Sire; I can tell your Majesty that you have cost M. Olier and all of us many strokes of the discipline.” Olier often wished, during the minority of Louis XIV., that he might be appointed preceptor to the heir to the throne; tutor of the prince “Dien-donné” whose birth he attributed to the favor of Mary. But God had called him to a position, even more exalted than that of educator of a Dauphin; he was destined to train those whom antiquity styled “sons of God.” Our limits compel us to omit any account of the wondrous good effected by the Abbé Olier in the parish of Saint-Sulpice from the time when he became its *curé*, in 1642. Suffice it to say that the Faubourg de Saint-Germain, which constituted the larger part of the parish, had become the abode of an im-

mense number of professed libertines and atheists ; for during the previous century, it had been a stronghold of the Calvinists. Books on the diabolic art were sold at the very door of the church ; and once, when the police were on their rounds, they found in a respectable mansion an altar dedicated to Satan, with the inscription, "Thanks to thee, Lucifer ; thanks to thee, Beelzebub ; thanks to thee, Azrael." The altar was a travesty of the Catholic one ; the Missal was arranged somewhat like our own ; and the candles were black. We do not read whether these wretches celebrated a parody of the Holy Mass, or whether they procured for it a consecrated Host, that they might spit upon it, and otherwise outrage it ; like the modern emanations of the Masonic Lodges in Italy and France. It must be noted, however, that such horrors produced a sadder impresson upon every sort of men in that day, than they do in our time. So prevalent had sorcery become in those days, that the prudent Condren deemed it a duty to master the so-called principles of that false science, and to publish, by request of Richelieu, a treatise on its wickedness. It would be a gracious task to narrate how Olier renovated what was little better than an abode of Satan ; to tell of his fearful persecutions, and of his heroic submission to the will of God ; to give some account of his influence over persons of the highest rank, as well as over the most lowly of God's creatures ; to show how he induced the abjuration of King Charles II. from Protestantism (1) ; to indicate his admirable behavior during the troubles of the Fronde ; and to praise his steadfast zeal in the inculcation of Catholic truth. But we must pass to a sketch of the Abbé Olier's greatest work.

"A solid piety toward the Blessed Sacrament, and toward the Blessed Virgin, both which devotions are being lessened

(1) The authority for this assertion of the abjuration of King Charles during his residence in France, and owing to the instructions of Olier, is M. de Bretonvilliers, his successor in the curacy of Saint-Sulpice. Having stated the fact in his *Memoires*, he subjoins, "I can say no more at present." Burnet says, in his *History*, that Charles did change his religion, while in Paris, although the fact was unknown to most of his courtiers. There are passages in letters of Charles to Pope Alexander VII., and to others, after the Restoration, in which he tries to excuse himself from not openly professing Catholicism. Reasons of state, however, made him defer this avowal until he lay on his death-bed. For very interesting information on this subject, see the *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, by Henry Foley, S. J., Series XII., p. 93.

by the innovators of our day, must be the veritable heritage of your house." Thus the angelic Fénelon, who had been trained by Olier, epitomized the spirit of his master in an address to the seminarians of Saint-Sulpice. At the moment when Jansenism had almost succeeded in instilling its poison into every vein of the ecclesiastical body in France, Olier felt that he was called by God to undertake the formation of priests who would be imbued with the true traditions of Catholic piety. And Fénelon lived to be able to testify to his master's success when, writing to Pope Clement XI. in 1705, he was forced to accuse nearly all the French ecclesiastical bodies of rebellion to the authority of the Holy See, but added that "The seminarists of Saint-Sulpice alone are earnest and resolute in expelling this pest; on which account they are held as vile and detestable by the cardinal-archbishop" (1). Some time before Olier accepted the curacy of Saint-Sulpice, he had established, with the aid of a few brother-priests, an excellent seminary at Vaugirard; and as soon as he was settled in his new charge, he resolved to transfer the institution to that locality. His primary object was the reformation of his parish with the aid of a body of clergy trained by his community; but he also wished to form a new race of priests, not merely for the diocese of Paris, but for the whole kingdom. Four of the vicars of the previous pastor joined the community he had brought from Vaugirard; and the zealous superior besought Mary to send him other worthy laborers in the glorious field. In a few weeks he found himself at the head of fifty clergymen who were rivals only in piety and self-denial. A very pretty story is narrated which shows, to some extent, the spirit with which Olier had animated his companions, especially in regard to the love and habitual practice of prayer. M. Bretonvilliers and M. Bourbon, being in Milan, visited the shrine of St. Charles Borromeo. While they were absorbed in prayer, a canon opened the tomb, that they might view the body; but

(1) "*Soll sunt San-Sulpitiani seminaristæ quibus cordi sit hanc labem a se depellere; unde a Cardinale Archiepiscopo riles et inrivi habentur.*" This prelate was Cardinal de Noailles, who joined four other bishops in appealing to a General Council against the Bull *Unigenitus*, whereby Clement XI. condemned 101 Quesnellian Jansenistic propositions. He recanted in 1728.

they did not observe the action, being so engrossed with their devotions. They prayed during three hours, never once raising their eyes; whereupon one of the observers remarked: "We have the body of St. Charles, but those gentlemen have his spirit." And that the same spirit yet reigns, in a considerable degree, in Saint-Sulpice, is admitted by all who have enjoyed the acquaintance of the community. One of Olier's first steps was to provide for the sustenance of his establishment; dividing the revenues of his curacy into three portions, of which the first was for the poor, the second for the retired clergy of the parish, and the third for the community. For himself, nothing was reserved. The diet of the Sulpitians was to be very simple: "Each one shall have a bowl of soup and a small piece of boiled meat for dinner, but no dessert. A little roast mutton for supper." The Benedictine abbot of Saint-Germain recognized the independence of the community on Oct. 23, 1645 (1); and the royal letters-patent were immediately issued. After incredible labor and many contradictions, the magnificent church and new buildings of the Seminary were inaugurated on Aug. 15, 1651. Olier would allow no one to call him the founder of this great institution. "You know," he would insist, "that it was Jesus who, through His holy Mother, founded this establishment." It is to be noted that the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice has never been formally erected into a Congregation; although the authors of the *Kirchen Lexicon* mistakenly assert the contrary. It soon began to assume that character; but it was not constituted as such, and has never taken the name. Olier created the Seminary for the secular clergy, and he wished for it no existence distinct from the clerical body; it was to be, as he expressed the idea, "entirely merged therein." It were a vain effort to attempt to indicate even a shadow of the good that has been effected by this, in many more senses than one, Grand Seminary; and the institution is a monument not only to Abbé Olier, but also to that sweet and

(1) The parish of Saint-Sulpice was a kind of city in itself, being under the civil, as well as ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Abbot of Saint-Germain. It included the present parishes of Saint-Sulpice, St. Germain-des-Prés, St. Francois Xavier, Ste. Clotilde, St. Thomas d' Aquin, Notre-Dame des Champs, Gros Caillon, and the Hôtel des Invalides; and numbered 450,000 souls.

holy Dominicaness, Mother Agnes of Jesus, who had encouraged him to make it the crowning glory of his career. So impressed was the holy founder by the sense of his obligation to Mother Agnes, that shortly after the inauguration of the new seminary buildings, he joined the Third Order of St. Dominic, together with several other priests of his community. Before dismissing the subject of the Seminary, we shall quote a passage from a letter signed by all the bishops of France, which shows how well they appreciated the work of Olier. In 1725, the General Assembly of the French Clergy, when soliciting from Pope Benedict XIII. the canonization of Mother Agnes, wrote to the Pontiff: "We desire the public veneration of this virgin more especially, because, if we may use the expression, she gave birth in the Lord to that excellent priest, Jean-Jacques Olier, who is the glory and ornament of our clergy; and because she led him to a more perfect life, and thus conferred incalculable benefits upon the Church. We need to allude only to the abundant fruits gathered daily from the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice, which was instituted by that holy priest. From this Seminary, as from a citadel of religion and a school of piety, there issues an innumerable procession of bishops and priests who are powerful in word and in example; who are strong in faith; and who are rooted and founded in charity." The reader may not remember that it was owing to the religious zeal of Olier that Montreal came into existence. To this humble priest the "City of Mary" truly owes the most brilliant pages of its history; pages redolent of glory in the annals of God's Church. Its Sulpitian seminary is always training six hundred levites for the service of the altar in Canada and our country. The colleges of the Fathers of the Holy Cross, of the Jesuits, of the Oblates, of the Clerks of St. Viateur; the almost innumerable communities of female religious educators; rival that seminary in zeal. And all these tokens of the activity of the Canadian Church are so many gems in the crown of Olier. This model to the secular priesthood was only forty-eight years old, when God called him to his reward in 1656; but truly it might have been said of him that "*in tempore breve, explevit tempora*

multa." His death, solaced by the presence of St. Vincent de Paul, was that of a saint, and it occurred on the Feast of St. Francis de Paul. The bereavement of the Sulpitians was thus mollified by St. Vincent: "Witnessing, as I do, the affliction entailed upon you by the death of your loved founder, I would like to assuage your grief by restoring him to life. But since he cannot be presented to you in body, I shall present to you his spirit, his better part. . . . His spirit you still have; and as God deems him worthy of a home in Paradise, you should gladly accord him place in your hearts. If his spirit can be with you, he will have all that he desired during life. You can now satisfy that desire. It was said in the Old Law that if a man died without children, his brother should raise up seed to him. Your father, whom, seeing that he was so young, I may term your brother, is dead, and in one sense, without children; for his wish was to convert the whole world by sanctifying the clergy. Raise up children to him, by giving him as many holy sacrifices as there are priests in the Church."

Among the many institutions of benevolence founded by St. Vincent de Paul, none has excited such universal admiration as that of the Sisters of Charity. We need not dwell upon their duties, or upon the manner in which they fulfil them; Catholic, heretic, and infidel are all familiar with them. Down to the time of St. Vincent de Paul it had been generally held that the cloister alone could validly protect those who wished to dedicate their virginity to God; but the new apostle of humanity thought that there were many women who could aid the world while mingling with it, shielded from harm by the fear and love of God. "Your convents," said he to his first Sisters, "are to be the houses of the poor; the parochial church will be your chapel; the streets of the city will form your cloister; your seclusion will be obedience, your grating (*la grille*) the fear of God, your veils holy modesty. It is my desire that you treat every suffering person as a doting mother treats her only child." In every part of the world where the daughters of St. Vincent have penetrated (and where are they not found?) we hear an echo of that remark of Chateaubriand: "No person can see the

Sisters of Charity attending the sick, dressing their wounds, making their beds, washing their clothes, without looking upon these devoted women as so many holy victims voluntarily marching to death, through an excess of love and charity for their neighbor." Even the cynical Voltaire, who defiled everything Catholic as much as he could, was constrained to admit: "Perhaps there is on the earth nothing so grand as this sacrifice of beauty, youth, and position, made by the more delicate sex, in order to succor the mass of sufferers in our hospitals, the very sight of whom is so humiliating to our pride, and so repugnant to our delicacy."

Voltaire thought it good, necessary, and of the very essence of things in a well-ordered state, that "there should be in it ignorant tatterdemalions; when the populace begins to reason, all is lost" (1). Fifty years before the Sage of Ferney penned this sentiment, a Christian hero, a saint, a priest of the Most High, had renounced his not inconsiderable patrimony at the feet of the poor, and devoted his energies to the foundation and perfection of an institute which was to combat the cynical idea. And to this day that brainless mob of fancied freethinkers which adores Voltaire as its patriarch, assails the sons of Blessed La Salle, because of their care of the victims of poverty, with the name of "*ignorantins*"; while those who are jealous of the success attained re-echo the senseless cry. At the death of Blessed John Baptist de La Salle, the little seed planted by his devoted hand in 1679 had already produced abundant fruit: the Brothers of the Christian Schools numbered 274, and their pupils 9,885. Under his successors in the general-superiorship, the good work went on; the number of "ignorant tatterdemalions" growing steadily less and less, until the storm of the great Revolution overtook 36,000 pupils in the schools of the Brothers. Then Voltaire might have smiled; for he would have beheld a vast increase in the number of those ignorant unfortunates, whose misery, according to his philosophy, was a necessary lubricator of the state machinery. In the eighth year of the One and Indivisible Republic, the Minister of the Interior himself made this report of the success of the revolutionary peda-

(1) In a letter to Damillaville.

gogues who had supplanted the Christian Brothers and other Catholic teachers of the poor : "The primary schools are nearly everywhere deserted. Two causes have contributed to this result. The first is the abominable selection of those who are styled instructors ; for the greater part these are unprincipled and uneducated persons, who owe their appointments only to a pretended civism, which is nothing else than an absence of all morality and all decorum. The second cause is to be found in the force of those religious opinions which still subsist, and which the laws have too violently shocked, and the new teachers too insolently condemned " (1). Portalis well said, in the *Corps Législatif*, one year after the issue of this report : "It is time for theory to be silent in the presence of facts. There should be no instruction without education, and there can be no education without morality and religion. Our instructors have taught in the desert ; for it has been imprudently decreed that religion should never be mentioned in the schools. Instruction has been null for the last ten years. Our children have been given over to a most dangerous idleness and to a most alarming vagabondage. They have no idea of a Divinity, and no notion of the just and the unjust ; hence their ferocious and barbarous manners, and hence a ferocious people." The decree of August 18, 1792, suppressing the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, declared that "a truly free state could tolerate no corporate bodies, not even those which, devoted to public instruction, have deserved well of their country " ; and thenceforth every kind of extravagance in matters of education was the order of the day. The destruction of every kind of superiority ; of all aristocracies, those of the learned as well as the social ones ; and a substitution in their place of the "breeches-less " democracy,—such was the avowed object of the "anti-clericals " of that day. And what shall we say of the text-books put into the hands of the children by the new educators ? We pass the many instances in which the ears of innocence were assailed by obscenities, and refer only to the "Alphabet of the Breeches-less " (the *Sans-Culottes*).

(1) National Archives, folio 173,001. See the work of Albert Duruy, *Public Instruction and the Revolution*, Paris, 1882.

Question: "What was the Bastille?" Answer: "It was a frightful prison, in which the tyrant buried alive all who murmured against his tyranny." Q.: "What is a good *Sans-Culotte*?" A.: "He is a brave man, whose soul can not be corrupted by the gold of despots." Q.: "What are the virtues of the *Sans-Culottes*?" A.: "All." And in the New Republican Catechism, recommended by the Convention, the question is put: "Does not the whole world form one republic?" The reply is: "Not yet, but the time is coming." No wonder that the governing spirits of the First Empire were always complaining of the general ignorance of the nation; as Victor Pierre expressed the idea, "All was destroyed, nothing was built." Albert Duruy, who is not addicted to praises of the France of old, and who always pleads extenuating circumstances for the Convention and the Directory, is forced to admit, at the end of his above-cited work, that the efforts of the state to supply the places of the Catholic teachers of the children of the people "had no other result than a profound debasement of education." Under the Consulate, a few of the dispersed Christian Brothers united at Lyons, and recommenced their task of popular instruction. In 1805 Pope Pius VII. blessed at Lyons the reviving Congregation, and in 1808 Napoleon acknowledged its legal existence. Great indeed had been the change from the gloomy days of the Terror, but the time had not yet come when M. Thiers was to say to Count Mole: "Monsieur le Comte, I have been a Universitarian a long time; but I avow to-day that I would like to see the Brothers of the Christian Schools not only in every city, not only in every town and village, but in every house." Like the Sisters of Charity, the Brothers of the Christian Schools have not failed to respond to the progressive march which our day has effected in the methods of instruction. Both of these organizations have penetrated into every quarter of the globe to spread the advantages of Christian training, and to testify to the undying fidelity of missionary France. They have become familiar to the people on the banks of the Nile, as well as to those on the Thames; they are blessed in both Americas, from India to the Antilles, from Mt. Atlas to Madagascar.

During the course of some reflections on the course now being pursued (1895) by the Third French Republic in reference to religious associations, we met with a work by the Marquis de Mirabeau (1), the father of the celebrated tribune; which work, being from anything but a "clerical" pen, astounded us by its zealous though calm defence of the religious orders, then (1755) the object of parliamentary attack and of private cupidity. The reader may be interested in a summary of some of Mirabeau's most salient arguments.

The marquis had asserted the apparently paradoxical view that whereas most economists contend that states are depopulated by celibacy and war, the contrary is the case. He had established his paradox so far as concerned "that order of things which is the more easily abandoned to a kind of public anathema," when he entered on the more especially economical question. Accepting the principle that new inhabitants should be tolerated in a state only in proportion to the means of subsistence, he concluded that "the more this subsistence is voluntarily restricted by those who occupy the land, the more of it will be left for newcomers. Religious establishments, therefore, are most useful to a numerous population. Whether it be by order of the king or by that of St. Benedict or St. Dominic that a large number of persons agree voluntarily to live on five cents a day, such institutions will always be of great help to the population, if only because they leave a margin and so much more of the means of living to the rest. I do not contend that all religious live at this rate, . . . but I do hold that the revenue and expenses of the abbey I have cited as an illustration, and those of many others I have visited, show that such houses, far from harming the population, benefit it (2). . . Again, everyone knows that the majority of the great monastic establishments, to-day so rich, were once mere deserts, and that we owe the redemption of more than a half of our lands to the perseverance of their first cen-

(1) *The Friend of Men*, vol. i., p. 35. Hamburg, 1758.

(2) Mirabeau had instanced the case of an abbey in his own neighborhood, the revenue of which was only six thousand francs, and which sufficed for thirty-five subjects and four servants. "Now," demanded the Marquis, "I would ask whether a private gentleman, living on his own estate with six thousand francs a year, would be any better off? On the contrary, he, his wife and children would have found this revenue scarcely sufficient, whereas it was enough for thirty-nine by virtue of a peculiar institution."

obites. But passing by the certainty of title, an article so sacred in sound politics and so out of fashion to-day, let us consider the present state of affairs. It is now a proverb that the Benedictines, for example, spend a hundred on their property to produce one. I know of certain causeways and other works, so useful to the state, which cost thrice the value of the abbeys which constructed them (1). Private resources never suffice for these long and expensive undertakings; and they are a joyous ambition for those bodies which regard themselves as perpetual, and which are ever minors as to alienation, but always of age for preservation." At that time more than a half of the houses in the Faubourg St. Germain, and in several other quarters of Paris, belonged to various mendicant orders; and great was the envy felt of these landlords. But the friars had built these houses in the olden time, in places then almost worthless. "Let us suppose that the Carmelites have a hundred thousand francs of revenue. They have taken that sum from no one, and it is but right that their superfluous revenue should go to support other Carmelites." Mirabeau doubted whether the mendicants were ever allowed to beg, unless as a means of subsistence while engaged in works of charity. But it is a fact, said he, that "foreseeing, like Joseph, the years of sterility to come, they made provision for regular revenues." Just as in our day, so then the *monacophobists* alleged that Protestant states were more prosperous and populous than Catholic ones, and they ascribed this supposed superiority to the absence of religious in the former. To this Mirabeau replied that Sweden had entirely changed her government when accepting the pretended Reformation; and her banishment of the monks, etc., did not prevent the depopulation of the country and the miseries consequent on the reigns of Charles XI. and Charles XII. Holland re-established her religious orders at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but her change of policy was not the cause of her decreased commerce and her diminished importance. The celebrated Danes, said Mirabeau, "who formerly made Europe tremble,

(1) During the Middle Age one of the most active and beneficent religious organizations was that of the Bridge-Building Friars; *Fratres Pontifices*,—skilled engineers and mechanics, whose duty it was to attend to the construction and care of bridges.

are no more; and now that two centuries have passed since the orders were expelled, it is time that the ancient nursery of heroes should be replenished," if the theory of the radicals be true. At the time the marquis wrote those lines other publicists were complaining that England was depopulated. They endeavored to account for the fact, but without touching the real reason,—namely, that England had become wealthy, and that "riches increase consumption, while they proportionately diminish the population."

Mirabeau might have added the republic of Venice to his list of illustrations. At the very period when she was the most "monk-ridden" (the fourteenth century) she was at the height of her power, prosperity, and population. The population of the republic was then over 15,000,000. From the mouth of the Po, the Lion of St. Mark stood guard over the provinces of Bergamo, Brescia, Verona, Crema, Vicenza, Padua, the March of Treviso, Feltre, Belluno, Rovigo, Ravenna, Gorizia, Friuli excepting Aquileja, Istria excepting Trieste, Zara, Spalatro and the islands along the line of Dalmatia and Albania, Veglia, Zante, Corfu, Lepanto, Patrasso, Neapolis, Argos, Corinth, Crete, Cyprus, and many small islands of the Archipelago. One may judge of the wealth of the republic, if, remembering the at least four times greater value of money at that time, he notes that every year the Venetian mint coined \$4,000,000. In the capital there were over a thousand nobles whose revenue was from 5,000 to 8,000 dollars; a very large income where a beautiful palace could be bought for \$3,000. When the Senate wished to make an elegant present to Louis Gonzaga, Lord of Mantua, it bought a palace for \$6,500. The mercantile marine then numbered 345 vessels of large tonnage, manned by 38,000 sailors. Thus this priest-ridden republic had developed from the little colony of the lagoon of Rivo Alto, trying to hide from the devastating Attila (y. 452); and between priests, monks, friars, nuns, *et id genus omne*, it managed to preserve an independent and ever-glorious existence for a longer period than that enjoyed even by ancient Rome. Even when Bonaparte calumniously styled the Venetians a "lazy, cowardly population, not made at all for liberty," and, by falsely declaring the re-

public bankrupt in money and in honor, tried to justify the greatest political crime of his life, even then (1797) Venice had on her vessels of war and in her fortifications over 5,000 cannon. She had 185 men-of-war in commission, and an ardent youth ready to take the field. The "Murazzi" (the colossal marble dike extending from Malamocco to Chioggia, and closing the entrance to the lagunes) would of itself prove that their Serenities had not lost their public spirit under the blighting influence of priestly dominion. This wonderful work had just been completed when the Gospel of St. Mark, the treasure guarded by her winged Lion of the Piazzetta, was replaced by the *Bonnet Rouge* of the Liberator.

Catholic libraries are filled with apologies for our religious orders, and probably our readers need no instruction in the premises beyond that of their own experience. Such of them as have read that incomparable work, Montalembert's *Monks of the West*, are well convinced of the great services rendered by the orders in redeeming barren lands, in cultivating knowledge in half-barbarous times, and at least in preserving in their monasteries the relics of a rich antiquity. They do not believe that the property of these beneficent and laborious associations would be of more benefit to the nation, if it were consigned to the hands of private individuals; and still less do they believe that legalized robbers should be allowed to play havoc with vested rights for the aggrandizement of adventurers, whether they be red-shirted mobocrats, Knights of the Bourse, or the pampered darlings of a court. Without doubt there have been, at times, many abuses in the orders; if there had not, Luther and many other freethinkers of that ilk would not have been tolerated so long as they were. But the devastators of to-day do not justify their frenzy by any allegation of present abuses; the secret societies have decreed that the orders must go: "*Le Roi le veut*," and that suffices. Were there any grave abuses to be reformed in our orders it would be meritorious and noble to effect the reformation; although Catholics may be pardoned for deeming the Church (the only *raison d'être* for any order's existence) the proper power to undertake the delicate task. Even Catholics sometimes go astray when ruminating on this

question of abuses in the human element of the Church. Let us hearken to the words of a writer of common-sense and rare powers of penetration, who had seen much of abuses of all sorts, and of futile attempts to remedy them during the first French Revolution: "Certainly it is a beautiful mission to eradicate abuses; all great legislators, all great rulers, have acquired durable glory only as reformers of abuses. . . . Of course there is no abuse where there is no evil. . . . The first and most dangerous of all abuses is our own pride. Undoubtedly there were abuses under the old *régime*; but we must say at once that in order to successfully destroy an abuse—that is, in order to cut at the root so that the plant may not shoot forth again—the reformer must be free from bias; and this is utterly impossible in the midst of that effervescence which is inseparable from all political tempests. Again, it is absurd to confound an *abuse* with the *thing* abused" (1). Our reformers might also attend with profit to the profound words of Joseph de Maistre: "Every abuse is an evil, and it might therefore seem that all that causes its removal is a good; but it will not be one if a very delicate distinction is not made. In fine, an abuse being merely a bad use of a good thing, one must take care, in removing the defects which corrupt it, not to attack its substance. Here is where innovators nearly always fail. An able jockey does not break the legs of a runaway horse in order to cure him" (2). It would seem that the present foes of our orders, at least such of them as are not mere iconoclasts or downright thieves, were before the eyes of M. de Bonald when he wrote: "Small-minded persons see in the very best institutions only their deficiencies; and in the very worst, only their advantages. The former disposition produces revolutions; the latter prolongs them" (3).

Our religious really love the poor, the weak, the sick, because they have learned to see in them the members of Jesus Christ, Himself a sufferer. Those who are put in their place can bring to their task at best a mere platonic love, which

(1) BEFFRAY de RIGNY (Cousin James); *Neological Dictionary of Men and Things*, vol. i., art. *Abuses*. Paris, 1820.

(2) *Letters and Minor Works*; vol. II., p. 489. Paris, 1856.

(3) *Political Opinions*; Paris, 1829.

has its source not in the warmth of faith, but in a mere vague and unreliable philanthropy. At first one would not realize the difference between these two very different points of departure; but let any one of those who charge our religious with systematic misintelligence become an inmate of one of their institutions, and he will very quickly perceive it. The philanthropist will erect an imposing monument for a hospital—a vast and uniform building that will satisfy his sole object of gathering together the greatest number of sufferers and thus make an imposing appearance. But such is not the ideal of the religious hospital. Charity will think less of a grand effect than of some way of fostering an illusion on the part of her patients, that they are at their own firesides and in the tender hands of their own kin. And it is natural that the religious should excel the secular in this work; for it was the Catholic Church that first conceived and actuated, after her acquisition of freedom in the fourth century, the idea of systematic care of the infirm, and it was to religious confraternities that her first patients owed relief. Then for the first time the world saw what were the compensations of sickness; and, as St. Jerome attests, the poor were wont to envy the lot of the sick. Speaking of the abolition of the educational orders by Joseph II. the eminent Italian historian, Cantù, thus writes: “This was a despotic act, by which was destroyed the precious right of everyone to select for himself such tenor of life as he may deem most conducive to his welfare. It subverted the established and legitimate rights of property; for the religious had acquired their property either by their own industry, or had received it by voluntary donation, for the purpose of exercising charity or for expiatory devotions; that is, in plain words, they had acquired their goods just as any private individual rightly acquires his own. The people loved the religious because of their charity and the instruction given by them; and when it was asserted that these friars, etc., contributed nothing to the public well-being, they retorted by asking how much the lazy and demoralized rich afforded. Education was attacked at the very root. Mathematics and physics were lauded as of more value than any knowledge of the beautiful and good: with those attain-

ments the happiness of mankind was to be secured ; for man is a body, and when the needs of the body are satisfied everything is gained. These religious had prated too much about the soul : now let the soul be relegated behind matter. Behold, then, that while the world ought ever to advance, these philosophists tried to destroy Christianity,—that is, to thrust the world back eighteen centuries, even to relegate it to the days of Epicurus or of Plato.”

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGIOUS AGITATORS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY :

BORRI, THE “PHŒNIX OF NATURE” ; LOMBARDI.

In the year 1681 there was published at Cologne a curious book, entitled *The Key of the Cabinet of the Chevalier J. F. Borri, by Means of Which We May Receive Various and Very Curious Scientific, Chemical and Political Instructions, and Many Beautiful Secrets*. Among many of the learned of the time this work procured for its author the credit of being the “Phœnix of nature, and the glory of all Europe” (1). It is indeed a peculiar production. Elemental spirits and cosmetics ; the philosopher’s stone, and nostrums not unlike those of our day ; sublime theology, puerile spiritualistic speculations, and very comprehensible magic ; all forming an *olla podrida* of science which would gratify even Pico della Mirandola, who could discourse learnedly on every subject, “and on some others.” The author evinces much pride in his learning ; but he naively avows that he is a charlatan, and that the credulity of the masses is his plaything and his means of subsistence. He shows us how his successful chicanery made him “a great man,” and he boastfully says : “My companions were princes and nobles, ladies both beautiful and ugly, physicians, prelates, friars, and nuns. Some of these yearned for the friendship of devils, and others preferred that of the angels. Many were investigators of the diseases of humanity ; many also were indagators into the

(1) BARCH ; *Origin and Progress of Chemistry*, in the Magliabecchiana Library, cited by Cantù.

mysteries hidden in the stars. There were some who wished to penetrate into the secrets of the Deity ; but nearly all sought for the philosopher's stone."

Joseph Francis Borri was born at Milan in 1625, and was the son of a famous physician, who attained senatorial rank in his native city. His early studies were prosecuted at Rome ; and after he had completed a course of chemistry and medicine at the *Sapienza*, then at the height of its fame, his reputation merited for him an appointment in the pontifical household. Dissolute conduct, however, soon entailed the loss of this position ; and in 1654 he was about to receive condign punishment, when he suddenly manifested what seemed to be unmistakable signs of amendment, and even of an approach to holiness. According to his own account, frequent heavenly visions soon signalized his advance on the road to perfection ; and in these he was inspired by God to reform the world by a restoration of the Catholic faith to that fervor and purity which, long centuries before, as he contended, it had so unfortunately lost. Nor was he himself simply the physician Borri ; he was a "Pro-Christ," that is, pre-eminently the defender of the Saviour, and ere twenty years passed, he would establish "the reign of the Most High." By his exertions, all men were to be brought into one fold. Some, quite naturally, would resist his merciful efforts in their behalf, and would deride his saving doctrines ; but all these, even the Roman Pontiff, if he presumed to be of their number, would be exterminated. The new reformer, like most of that ilk, was a firm believer in the efficacy of the material sword as an instrument for the furtherance of spiritual progress ; and his chief means of converting the world to his peculiar development of Catholicism was to be the Papal army, which would receive him as its commander. While pursuing his military vocation, he was to be girt with a sword presented to him by St. Michael the Archangel. He confidently declared that the funds necessary for the great enterprise would not be wanting, thanks to his alchemical knowledge. With a select body of his invincible soldiers, he would march on the Eternal City, and sweep from the earth the defilers of the Holy of Holies. Then a new Pontiff, one

friendly to Borri, and therefore acceptable to God, would occupy the Chair of Peter.

Probably no heresiarch ever evolved from his own imagination such extravagancies as those conceived by Borri; but many of his hallucinations would imply that he fancied himself, in turn, Arnold of Brescia, Cola di Rienzi, Savonarola, Luther, Zwingli, and—if his knowledge of the future was real—the red-shirted Nicene filibuster of our day. His theological notions were, to a great extent, peculiarly his own (1). He taught that the Son of God, from all eternity, was not content with His glory; and therefore He induced the Father to create *ad extra*. The essence of the Word is generated; the divinity of the Holy Ghost is inspired; both Persons are inferior to the Father. The Blessed Virgin is a goddess; she is the daughter of the Father, and an incarnation of the Holy Spirit. In everything she is the equal of the Son. She is styled “full of grace,” because she was born of a virgin. She is present in the Holy Eucharist. In the Canon of the Mass and in the *Ave Maria* we should entitle her, “*Uninspirata Filia Altissimi*.” The Eternal Father having commanded Lucifer to adore Jesus and His mother, the proud spirit refused to obey, and, together with many of his companions, was thrust into the abyss of hell. Some other angels, however, secretly sympathized with Lucifer, although they did not openly defy the Eternal; and these were exiled from heaven to the atmosphere around the earth. It was through the instrumentality of these spirits that God created matter and the irrational brutes, but man came directly from God, and has a divine soul. Creation was compulsory on the part of the Deity; and neither is God a free agent when He confers grace on man, for if man has faith, God must grant His grace to him.

It will be perceived at once that Borri was a thorough believer in the Protestant theory of private and independent interpretation of the Bible. He styled his disciples Reason-

(1) Gregorio Leti, the author of that buffoonesque *Life of Sixtus V.* (See our vol. iii., p. 536), which is so much quoted by credulous Protestants, gives us, in his *Life of the Cavalier Borri*, an account of his client's theological speculations. Leti was also the author of the *Embassy of Romulus to the Romans*, a rare work printed at Brussels in 1671, which was falsely attributed to Borri. This book was reproduced in the *Literary Amenities*, vol. v.

ables and Evangelicals; and he imparted to them his own "divine mission" by the imposition of hands. They were bound by vows of fraternal love, inviolable secrecy, obedience to Christ and the angels, and poverty. This last vow implied the renunciation of all property into the hands of the hierophant. When success crowned the labors of the new reformer, the Church would enjoy peace during a thousand years. The soldiers whom Borri would lead from victory to victory until this devoutly desired consummation was reached, would celebrate their final triumph by forming a new monastic order, which would far excel in worth and influence those founded by Sts. Augustine, Basil, Anthony, Benedict, Francis, or Dominic—all very holy men, but not so prudent and perspicacious as Borri. Meanwhile not a few presumed sane persons devoutly believed in the audacious charlatan, and these he initiated into his mysteries with solemn incantations and other paraphernalia calculated to impress the imaginations and exalt enthusiasm.

On the death of Pope Innocent X., Borri thought that the time had arrived for the actuation of his grandest scheme, especially as many members of the Sacred College were notoriously favorable to a policy which would subvert the Spanish domination in Italy. But not until 1659 did he dare to commit any overt act of sedition; and then he was impelled by a wish to anticipate the Milanese authorities, who had been made cognizant of his designs, and were about to undertake an investigation. How Borri succeeded in avoiding trouble with the civil power for so many years, is a mystery; still more wonderful it is that he did not fall into the hands of the Inquisition, if, as is popularly supposed, the familiars of that dread tribunal were omnipresent and almost preternaturally sagacious in tracking the scent of heresy and insubordination. Probably the agents of the Holy Office, that bugbear of Protestant imagination, were less ubiquitous and less alert than were their brethren of the Spanish royal tribunal (1). Be this as it may, the machinations of

(1) King Phillip II. greatly feared that his Lombard subjects might imbibe heretical opinions from their intercourse with the neighboring Swiss and the Valdesi of Piedmont. To obviate this danger, the Spanish monarch begged Pope Plus IV. to allow him to introduce the Spanish Inquisition, that is, a tribunal independent not only of the ordinary civil magis-

Borri had been known to many for nearly five years, when he resolved to strike his initiatory blow for the reformation of Christian doctrine and the happiness of mankind. Hastily summoning his most trusted adherents, he unfolded his programme. His partisans were to assemble in the great Square of Milan, and reinforced by the mob, whose leaders he had prudently secured, they were to raise cries of "Hurrah for Calvin!" "Death to the priests!" "Down with Spain!" The archiepiscopal palace and that of the governor were then to be stormed, the prelate and the principal clergy were to be slaughtered, and Borri himself was to be proclaimed duke of Milan. Then were to begin the salutary campaigns against the other Italian governments, especially that which ruled from the Seven Hills; then, at length! the lion and the lamb were to lie down together, and perennial joy was to be the lot of man.

But the millenium had not yet arrived. By some means the Milanese governor was informed of the plot, and many of the conspirators were arrested. To us who are accustomed to tales illustrating the extreme severity of the penal codes of that period, and who have often shivered with horror, especially at the thought of the English method of punishing high-treason which was in vogue even at the dawn of the nineteenth century, it must seem strange that these wretches escaped with an exceedingly light penalty. Only seven were punished in any manner whatever. After a solemn abjuration of their errors in religious matters, they were sent to

trates, but independent also of the bishops. For a long time the Pontiff refused, but in 1563 he consented, to the dismay of the Milanese, who sent a commission to Rome to implore the Holy See to allow Lombardy to remain, as to religious matters, subject to the supervision of the Roman Inquisition. At the same time another commission was sent to the Council of Trent, then in session, to represent to the synodals that "if the Spanish inquisitors, under the very eyes of the king, often abused their office, what might they not do when far removed from his inspection?" St. Charles Borromeo was also besought to use his influence against the introduction of the obnoxious tribunal into his archdiocese, especially as it was notorious that whenever heresy had raised its head in Milan or its Duchy—which was not often—the culprit was not a Milanese, "and because a healthy body needs no medicine, nor is rigor needful where there is no superstition." These and other reclamations resulted in a suspension of the royal decree, and it was soon forgotten, Lombardy being allowed to remain, as ever, subject to the ordinary Inquisitorial direction of each bishop, and of the lenient Roman "Holy Office"—a tribunal which must not be confounded, as is frequently the case, with the Spanish Inquisition. For this necessary distinction, see our chapter on the "Inquisition," vol. II.

Rome to be judged by the Inquisition, and this fearful tribunal condemned them to wear, for a short time, a yellow mantle as a sign of their guilt. Then they were dismissed to their homes. Borri the firebrand, however, was not to escape so easily. He had succeeded in avoiding arrest, and in finding safety in Switzerland, where he was welcomed and feasted as an escaped victim of the Inquisition. Meanwhile his trial, *in contumaciam*, was pushed at Rome, and his condemnation ran as follows: "All his heretical writings are to be burned; all his goods, movable and immovable, are confiscated. Under pain of excommunication, to be incurred by the very fact, all persons are forbidden to have any relations with him; and we order all patriarchs and primates to arrest the said Borri, and to inform us when he is arrested, so that we may decide as to the ulterior disposition of his case." In accordance with this decree, on Jan. 3, 1661, a portrait of Borri was carried by the public executioner to the Campo dei Fiori in Rome, and hung from a gallows, after which hanging "in effigy" it was burnt, together with copies of his writings. When the news of this *auto da fe* reached Borri, then at Strasbourg, he retaliated on the Holy See by inducing the Protestants of that city to burn, with much parade, a statue of the Pontiff. Then he proceeded to Holland, and laying aside his religious speculations, he set to work to accumulate wealth by means of his legitimate medical and chemical knowledge, which was undeniably profound, and, for that time, exact. From all parts of Europe the great and wealthy came to consult him, and his coffers were soon replenished; but the charlatan persisted in rivalling the sage, and ere long his credit so diminished, that he deemed it well to cultivate a new field in Hamburg. Here he met the celebrated Queen Christina of Sweden, and her vivacious intelligence was not proof against the wiles and unscrupulous science of the pretended theurgist (1).

(1) We seize this opportunity to present a brief comment on the career of this celebrated woman. Heiress to the throne of Gustavus Adolphus, her father, the Swedes desecrated in her, though she was but six years of age, the eyes, forehead, and general expression of the "Lion of the North"; and her accession was acclaimed with enthusiasm, the chancellor Oxenstierna being recognized as president of a Council of Regency during her minority. The young princess developed into a learned woman, and as soon as she attained her majority, she invited to her court the most learned scholars of Europe. Many accepted the call,

Having fleeced her Majesty out of much money with the pretext of consummating his nearly finished "great work," the transmutation of metals, he experimented on the gullibility of the Danes. King Frederick III. bowed to the superior wisdom of the Milanese, and not only aided him pecuniarily in his presumed efforts to manufacture gold, but made him his chief, though secret, political adviser. But on the demise of this monarch, his successor, Christian V. gave him some money to leave the kingdom. Borri now determined to court the smiles of fortune in the Ottoman Empire, but while journeying through Moravia, he was apprehended by the imperial authorities, and sent to Rome. His trial by the Inquisition resulted in his being adjudged to beg pardon of Christendom for the scandals he had given, and to be taken to the Holy House of Loreto, there to beseech the Blessed Virgin to pardon his insults to her; after which he was confined in Castel Sant 'Angelo. The sentence decreed his imprisonment for life; but after a few years, he was allowed to leave the fortress whenever a sick person desired his attendance; in fine, providing that he returned at night, he was free during

and were royally entertained. Among these foreigners who were asked to spread the light of learning among the denizens of the "kingdom of snow," the most famous were the priests Gassendi and Daniel Huet; the Calvinists, Claude Saumaise de Semur and Samuel Bochart of Rouen; and Hugo Grotius. Christina was very masculine in taste and in appearance; a daring rider; careless in her dress and simple in her diet; insensible to cold or heat; and scarcely acquainted with sleep. Her eccentricities were loudly magnified when, after many years of study, she announced her resolution to abdicate, in order that she might be free to become a Catholic; of course she was mad, in the eyes of all worldlings and of all heretics. It is amusing to hear the Prussian Frederick II. who would not have abandoned one ounce of material substance for all the spirituality in the universe, and who feigned to be a *dilettante* in matters of philosophy which he could not understand, gravely pronouncing: "The descent of Christina from the throne appeared to all the wise to be a mere whim, neither infamous nor laudable; for an abdication of a sceptre confers grandeur only when the determining motives are important." When Christina refused to marry her cousin, Charles Gustavus, and resigned the Swedish crown in his favor, she reserved to herself full sovereignty over her own person, over all her attending nobles and servants, and over the castle of Nikoping, her large estates in Pomerania, and the islands of Oeland, Gotland, Osel, Wollin, Usedom, and several other territories. Therefore she was still a sovereign; and when, in 1657, while residing at Fontainebleau, she caused her grand-equerrie, the marquis of Monaldeschi, to be put to death for high-treason, she thought that she but exercised her royal right, whatever jurists might have thought of her right to play the queen in other lands than Sweden. However, Louis XIV., so tenacious and punctilious, shut his eyes to the matter. Christina resided in Rome until her death in 1689. Her magnificent library was bought by Pope Alexander VIII.; and it was incorporated in the Vatican Library under the name of the *Ottoboniana*. CANTU: *Univ. Hist.*, bk. xvi., ch. 27—*Life of Christina, Written by Herself*; in Archenholz's *Memoirs*, Amsterdam, 1791-1799—*MS. of Casati on the Queen of Sweden*, cited by Ranke.

the day. Certainly, the supposed wonted tortures of the Inquisition were not very trying to the health of this victim, for he withstood them for twenty-three years, dying in his seventy-first year, in 1695.

While this wayward scientist was furthering the projects of his eccentric ambition, and for many years after he was reduced to silence, the Holy Office was continually troubled by the need of obviating the evils caused by a horde of misguided enthusiasts, who, in every part of Italy, were inventing and striving to propagate fantastic theories and practices of devotion. The archives of the Inquisition are full of descriptions of superstitious books, prayers, pious tales, new-fangled scapulars, etc., which were circulated at this time to the great scandal of the truly devout. Thus there was eagerly read by many a New Revelation which was said to be the complement of that of Christ, and to lead to a monastic perfection more sublime than any saint of God had yet excogitated (1). Some of these ultra-devotees were real blasphemers; for instance, that Sicilian nun, a sister Teresa, who declared that her visions had demonstrated that she was a fourth Person of the Blessed Trinity. Many yielded credence to her ravings. Then there was an association bound by a Vow of Blood, as the members styled their promise to defend the belief in the Immaculate Conception (not yet a dogma of faith) with the sword. In 1693 a sect entitled Knights of the Apocalypse was founded by Augustine Gabrino of Brescia, having for its object a defense of the Church against Antichrist; Gabrino called himself the Monarch of the Holy Trinity; and on Palm Sunday of 1693, while the choir of St. Peter's in Rome was chanting, "Who is this King of Glory," he rushed among

(1) It is interesting to note that amid all the hallucinations entailed by his apostasy, Renan preserved some of the sublime conceptions of his early and Christian years. In his *Apostles* he also shows that he appreciated the sublimity of the cenobitic life. "The modern spirit has shown itself very severe against cenobitism. We have forgotten that the soul of man tastes the greatest joys in community life; we no longer chant the words of the *Canticle* on the beauty of brethren dwelling in unity. But when modern individualism shall have gathered its last fruits; when humanity belittled, saddened, and made impotent, returns to grand institutions and to strong discipline; when our miserable bourgeois society, or rather our world of pygmies, is subdued by the whips of the heroic and idealist part of humanity; then community life will be appreciated as it was of old.... egotism, the essential law of civilized society, will not suffice for grand souls; all will be allies against vulgarity; men will find sense in the words of Jesus and in the ideas of the Middle Age concerning poverty."

the officiating clergy, sword in hand, crying : " I am the King of Glory." The pontiff pardoned him ; but having repeated the demonstration in other churches, he was placed in a lunatic asylum. Anthony Oliva of Reggio, theologian to Cardinal Barberini when only twenty years old, was a participant in the insurrection of Tommas' Aniello of Amalfi (known by us as Masaniello) in 1647, and afterward became a celebrated professor of natural sciences in Pisa. Returning to Rome, he was favored by Pope and prelates ; but in the reign of Alexander VIII. he was found guilty of having instituted an Academy in the house of one of the papal officials, the object of which was the destruction of presumed abuses in the Church. He escaped earthly punishment by throwing himself out of a window of the prison of the Inquisition, and thus breaking his skull. Mysticism, the dominating passion of these and many other eccentrics of that day on the Continent, was well regulated in the mind of a St. Teresa ; but with too many its pursuit resulted as in the case of that Fra Egidio, who having learned that a simple old woman could love God more than a fine theologian would necessarily love Him, ran into the street, crying : " Come, all ye good women ! Love our Lord God, and you will be greater than St. Buonaventure."

It was this false mysticism which actuated, from the year 1633, a priest named Giacomo Lombardi, who in time, as we learn from the decree of the Holy Office pronounced against his doctrines on March 28, 1675, disseminated doctrines which were erroneous and dangerous to the Catholic faith. These he taught to his many disciples, whom he called his spiritual children, and whom he held under his sway ; his pretext being to instruct them in the spiritual life, and in the observance of the Commandments of God and of the Church. He sought also to confirm his teaching with miracles, prophecies, revelations, visions, and interior voices in himself and in certain of his followers. All these were false, and contained the same vain and nonsensical theories and notions. He was examined in 1642, and avowed the teachings imputed to him, declaring that he had infused wisdom. He was therefore obliged to make a public retractation, and was forbidden to thenceforward gather together disciples, or to write on spiritual sub-

jects. Again, in 1666, he was ordered to no longer use or distribute oil or water blessed by himself as more efficacious than those blessed by other priests, or to formulate commands for the spirits of persons whom he pretended to be possessed. It was clearly proved, however, that he frequently and publicly contravened against these prohibitions. So great was his affectation of sanctity that he allowed, and even ordered, his disciples to keep registers of his presumed miracles. To his own knowledge, his followers believed him to be a saint. Some proclaimed that he was confirmed in grace; that he had never sinned, even venially; that consequently he had no need of the Sacrament of Penance; and, as a matter of fact, he had omitted going to Confession for more than a year. Some went so far as to say that he was conceived without original sin, and in this he never corrected them. They called him the Great Saint, the One Servant of God, putting him immediately after the Blessed Virgin. He had, according to them, the Keys of Heaven, to admit whomsoever he pleased; he understood the Scriptures as if he had written them himself; all the rules that he laid down were dictated by the Holy Ghost; and his new Baptism assured those who remained faithful of not even passing through Purgatory on their way to heaven. These ridiculous excesses they strove to confirm, taking foolish and voluntary flights of imagination for divine revelations. While all this was being taken into consideration by the inquisitorial tribunal, Lombardi died, in 1673. Many continued to persist in his doctrines, under the pretence of thereby the better fulfilling the Christian law and giving themselves to God, and they were not content with rashly disobeying, or with eluding, by sophistry and subterfuge, the precepts of their superiors; they even dared to circulate the report that Lombardi was not dead, but merely transferred to another place, and there kept in life to return as Pope and Reformer of the Church. This he had caused them to believe by the fantastic prophecies of a reformation which he had often uttered. Moreover many of his disciples pretended that the same coming reformation was revealed to them from above.

The following extract from the inquisitorial decree of 1675 should be read by those who believe that the Catholic Church

encourages such superstitions as those entertained by the disciples of Lombardi. "In order that the Catholic faith, without which it is impossible to please God, may be preserved pure and free from all contagion or suspicion of heresy, and in virtue of the authority bestowed on us, we hereby forbid all persons, of either sex, and of whatever condition, rank, or dignity, ecclesiastical or civil, even regulars or nuns, or individuals of other designations, to believe in the doctrines named after Giacomo Lombardi, to retain them in writing or in print, to write them, or to communicate them to any one whomsoever either by word of mouth or by written document. We prohibit, and declare prohibited, the writings of Lombardi entitled: *The Grief of the Soul, Spiritual Simplicity, A Treatise on Exteriority, Words of the Minister of the Altar, or Book of Prophecies*; as likewise all the Rules, Documents, Warnings, written or dictated by him, taken from his writings, or otherwise copied, and in general all works and writings by, or concerning Lombardi. We command all who possess such writings, or know of other persons possessing them, to deposit them within a month's time in the hands of the bishops or inquisitors, or to warn them of their whereabouts. We likewise forbid all persons to conduct themselves in the above-mentioned manner; to call themselves spiritual children or followers of Lombardi; or join for such purpose, in any place, time, manner, under any pretext, even of friendship or relationship or other bond of union otherwise good and spiritual, under any motive of assembling whatsoever, be it concert, entertainment, or other. We equally forbid all persons, who in the past called themselves the children of Lombardi, to dress differently from others; to speak or treat of their so-called Master and Father, or of his doctrines or rules; to use or distribute oil or water or to deal with spirits in the above-mentioned manner; to use any garment worn or touched by Lombardi; to do other similar deeds; to take part in the cure of the sick or possessed; or even to communicate with one another, unless they have had in the first instance the express permission of their Ordinary. Under the penalty of excommunication *latae sententiae*, to us reserved, we command all the faithful of whatever sex, condition, or

rank, to inform within twelve days the Ordinaries or Inquisitors, of all violations of these orders. We give the latter all due and necessary power, so that, according to our commands, they may proceed to judicial investigation for reference to us. And we warn all our subjects to punctually obey this present Edict, which we desire to be affixed at the doors of churches, and in public places of reunion, and which will be binding on all as if it had been personally intimated to each one."

Besides Borri and Lombardi there were many other agitators who, during the seventeenth century, continued to proclaim themselves and their doctrines thoroughly orthodox, while the latter, especially when reduced to practice, were redolent of heresy. We have treated of Jansenism at some length; and only one of the other ebullitions of a false spirituality, Quietism, is of sufficient importance to merit our attention. However, this pre-eminently scandalous and pernicious system demands a special chapter for its consideration.

CHAPTER IX.

LOUIS XIV. AND THE HOLY SEE.

The royal edict of March 20, 1682, whereby Louis XIV. pretended to give the force of civil law to the famous *Declaration* which an assembly of the French clergy had emitted by royal order, as enunciatory of the belief of the French Church on the matters involved, never escapes the attention of a careful historian. But too little consideration is generally accorded to the fact that a precedent for the adoption of this *Declaration* had been established in 1663 by the then young and impulsive monarch; and we seldom meet with any allusion to the event which produced that precedent. Probably the reader's study of French history has shown to him how frequently Pope Alexander VII. (Fabio Chigi) resisted the policy of Cardinal Mazarin, the successor of the great Richelieu. This resistance procured for the Pontiff many enemies at the court of France; and the death of Maz-

arin in 1661 led to no diminution of their hostility. The tension between the two courts was encouraged rather than lessened by Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este, then representing the Most Christian King at the Vatican. This very un-Italian disposition of the cardinal was well-known to the members of his household; and they were ever ready to defend, *per fas aut nefas*, the real or fancied privileges which their ambassadorial connection secured to them. Among those privileges there was one "franchise" or immunity which had been arrogated by all the foreign ambassadors in Rome for many years, and in spite of many pontifical derogatory decrees. It was contended that exemption from civil process, on the part of the papal tribunals, was enjoyed by all the ambassadorial servants, etc., not only for acts committed in the residences of their Excellencies, but also for deeds performed in the quarter surrounding those residences; and as the limits of these quarters were variable, according to the caprice of each ambassador, justice not unfrequently was thwarted. The anti-papal Sismondi admits that since the ambassadors permitted no pontifical police or tax-gatherers to enter the "privileged" districts, "These quarters had become the asylum of all the malefactors of the land. Not only did they flee thither in order to escape justice, and not only did they turn these quarters into headquarters for smuggling operations, but they went from there to commit crimes in the neighborhood" (1). Another Protestant authority of celebrity, and a contemporary of Louis XIV., Leibnitz, speaks in similar terms of these foreign jurisdictions in the papal capital; and adds that the members of the ambassadorial households "derived considerable revenue from the assassins and other wretches whom they sheltered, and whom they saved from justice" (2). On one occasion, certain followers of Cardinal d'Este killed several of the papal police who had entered the French quarter in the exercise of their duty; and although satisfaction was given for the insult, the contested "franchises" were still claimed. The climax of trouble was attained in 1662, when d'Este was recalled, and the duke de

(1) *History of the French*, vol. xxv., p. 552. Paris, 1833.

(2) *Works of Leibnitz*; vol. iii., p. 154. Edlt. Foucher de Careil.

Créqui arrived as French ambassador. At this time Don Mario Chigi, a brother of the Pontiff, held a position which was equivalent, in all but name, to that of a prime-minister; but the new envoy fancied that his own rank as peer of France exempted him from the duty of making the first visit of ceremony to one who was not, in the fullest sense, the representative of the Pope-King. Probably Créqui had reason on his side; but Pope Alexander complained to the grand monarch, and the punctilious ambassador was ordered to conform to the usages which he found in force at the Vatican. The self-love of Créqui was offended; and he eagerly awaited an occasion for revenge. On Aug. 22, a detachment of the Corsican guards entered the French quarter in the exercise of their functions, and were attacked by a superior force of French soldiers in the service of Créqui (1). The Corsicans retired to their barracks, and their indignant comrades immediately rushed to the embassy, then resident in the Farnese palace. Musket volleys were being exchanged between the parties, when the carriage of the duchess de Créqui, returning from a visit, entered the square, between the two lines of fire. One of her pages was killed, and two of her servants were wounded. Créqui found here his opportunity, and he immediately accused the Roman court, or at least the Chigi family, with having plotted against his life and the honor of his royal master. The Pope sent a messenger to convey the regrets of his Holiness; but Créqui threatened to pitch the envoy from the windows, if he dared to enter the embassy. The governor of Rome tendered guards for the defense of the building; but the pretendedly infuriated man affected to believe that they were destined to murder him. Then he summoned to his side all the Frenchmen in Rome, as well as all the scum of humanity to be found in his "privileged" quarter; and having posed, for some days, as the head of an army in a hostile territory, he bade a theatrical farewell to the Eternal City.

Before the papal explanations reached the French monarch, he had received Créqui's version of the affair. The Abbé

(1) Muratori says that many of Créqui's officers were Protestants. *Annals of Italy*, at v 1662.

Régnier-Desmarais, an attaché in the suite of Créqui, wrote an account of the origin and consequences of this embroglio (1); but he was careful to publish only those documents which militated for the royal side of the case. In our day, however, the papal side of the question has been presented (2); and it reflects no credit on Louis XIV. So deeply did he feel the fancied insult to his dignity, that he at once ordered the nuncio, Piccolomini, to be conducted to the frontier of the kingdom; and he even prepared to invade the papal domain of Avignon. Then, when he had learned that the Pontiff was ready to accord every reasonable satisfaction, he submitted to his Holiness the following conditions as "preliminaries" for future negotiations: "If the Pope wishes sincerely to satisfy his Majesty, then, in order that his deeds may correspond to his words, let him take the hat from Cardinal Imperiali (the governor of Rome), the author of the attack against his Majesty in the person of his ambassador. Let the Pope immediately deliver to the king Don Mario (the brother of the Pontiff), to be treated as his Majesty pleases; it being capable of proof that Don Mario took part in the said attack, acting in concert with Cardinal Imperiali. Let the Pope cause the captain, lieutenant, and ensign of the Corsican guards, with fifty of the privates, to be hung in the Piazza Farnese; and let all the Corsicans, now in the service of the Holy See, be banished forever from the Papal States. Let the Pope cause also to be hung, in the Piazza Navona, the *barghello* of Rome (commander of the archers), together with fifty constables. Let the Pope promise to send as legate to France, as bearer of the apology of his Holiness, the person whom the king will be pleased to name. When these things shall have been performed *as a beginning*, we may indeed believe that the Pope desires to satisfy the king" (3). No wonder that Alexander VII. refused to consider, for a moment, conditions which were almost worthy of one of the Hohenstaufen, and which the acute intelligence of Louis XIV.

(1) *History of the Dissensions of the Court of France with that of Rome, Because of the Affair of the Corsicans.* Paris, 1707.

(2) By Charles Gérin, in the Introduction to his *Historical Researches Concerning the Assembly of the Clergy of France in 1682.* Paris, 1869.

(3) RÉGNIER-DESMARAIS: *loc. cit.*

must have known to be destined to rejection. The injustice of these demands should have been evident to the monarch; for the explanations of the Pope, penned in all candor and simplicity, had been corroborated by the judgment of one of the wisest minds of the time. Nine days after the riot, Queen Christina of Sweden, then resident in Rome, had written the following letter to Lionne, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs: "I cannot avoid telling you certain truths which you will not hear from persons who are not so sincere and disinterested as I am. It is certain that the followers of M. de Créqui have conducted themselves in this city in the most extraordinary manner; and that they have been guilty of insolence which would not have been tolerated in Rome, had it not been for the extreme respect which is felt here for an ambassador of France. Of course M. de Créqui is not to blame for the excesses of his people, since he has used all his authority to keep them within the bounds of decency; but in spite of his severity, they have continued, in a thousand ways, to abuse the indulgence with which this government has treated them. They have outraged not only the citizens, but the guards and soldiers of the Pope on their posts; and especially have they insulted the Corsicans. After long suffering, the Corsicans finally yielded to a desire for vengeance. The sole cause of this unhappy incident has been the evil conduct of the ambassador's followers, drawing on themselves the rage of the Corsicans; and whatever may be said to you, the incident has had no consequences, unless those which have been imagined by persons who are enemies of the repose of Rome, and perhaps of the king's own glory—persons who, on this occasion, subordinate the king's service to their own interest. I know that you distrust me; but be not deceived. No one in the world has been more displeased, aye, horrified, than I have been, because of this event; and had my sentiments been regarded, prompt and exemplary punishment would have followed it, and the ambassador would have received such full satisfaction, that he would have dared to make no complaints to the king. There is here no lack of good-will to satisfy the king; but the very nature of this ecclesiastical government, which is very slow

in the matter of executions, has not permitted the doing of all that you desire. But many demonstrations have been made; and I trust that they will satisfy the goodness and generosity of the king, more than they have gratified the passions and the interests of his ministers" (1). Two days after this letter was sent to Lionne, the queen wrote to King Louis: "My good brother, I know not what reasons induced M. de Créquy to leave this court, since he deemed it proper to withhold them from me, and I do not care to peer into mysteries which are, perhaps, beyond my capacity. But I can assure your Majesty that since the lamentable event, nothing has happened which could displease you. It is unfortunate for this court that the ambassador would not be content with any of the demonstrations offered to him; and that he has departed, leaving no hope of his ever being satisfied. I was a witness of many projects put forth for his contentment, and to dissipate the suspicions which he had conceived." The correspondence of Créquy with the king is interesting, inasmuch as it shows how the wily diplomat impelled his royal master to what was the most disgraceful procedure of his reign. Writing from Florence, whither he had retired, Créquy says: "Your Majesty should continue to display the same vigor which you showed in the beginning of this affair; and the more *éclat* you produce, the more will the timid court of Rome be inclined to satisfy you. It was with this in view that, contrary to the advice of many, I deemed it well to attack directly the relatives of the Pope, in the five propositions which I sent to the foreign ambassadors in Rome. A lordly procedure like this appears to me to befit the grandeur of your Majesty; and they (the relatives of the Pontiff) will derive from it a fear that extreme measures will be taken against them." King Louis vainly tried to corrupt some of the members of the Sacred College; and when he found that they were all invincibly attached to the Holy See, he mobilized a *corps d'armée* for an invasion of the Roman States. Alexander VII. made preparations for defense; but when he saw that none of the Catholic powers manifested any disposition to come to his aid, he so far yielded to brutal force as

(1) REGNIER-DESMARAIS; *loc. cit.*

to consent, in a treaty signed at Pisa, to send a cardinal to Paris who would bear the regrets of the Pontiff for the unfortunate affair of the Corsican guards. His Christian Majesty having also insisted on the erection in Rome of a pyramidal monument proclaiming that "thenceforth no Corsicans could serve the Apostolic See," the puerility was conceded; but a few years afterward, the king's good sense, and probably a feeling of shame, led him to countenance the destruction of the memorial. Prudence had compelled the Pontiff to yield in this matter all that justice to the tiara would permit him to yield; but with his own hand he drew up, and then deposited among his private papers (1), on Feb. 18, 1664, the following protest: "After we had used every possible means known to our paternal zeal, in order to prevent his Majesty from accomplishing his threats; and after we had gone so far as to consent to exorbitant satisfactions which the entire world knows to have been by no means due; we saw that his Majesty's anger was unappeasable. Then we prepared, during the past year, for the defence of our subjects, devoting to that purpose the sum of two millions—an amount which we have increased this year, trusting that we would receive the aid which we had besought from the emperor, from the republic of Venice, and from Catholic kings and princes. But since none of these have contributed the smallest sum to our defence, all alleging impediments of various kinds; and since the governor of Milan has allowed free passage to the French troops advancing to attack us, while he forbade such passage to the forces which we raised in Switzerland; and since the Venetians have furnished arms and provisions to the said attacking army; and since the Genoese and the duke of Savoy have done the same; and since France expects the same aid from the dukes of Tuscany and of Mantua; and finally, since the dukes of Parma and of Modena have made very large levies of troops: Therefore, in order that our successors and posterity may know that we have been compelled to these trans-

(1) This protest, generally ignored by modern historians, was found in the Vatican Archives by the Napoleonic captors of Pope Pius VII.; and was transported, with most of the other documents, to Paris. Daunou, the ex-Oratorian publicist and historian, found it while searching the archives, and inserted it in his *Essay on the Temporal Power of the Popes* (1818), vol. ii.

actions by violence, and by a well-founded fear of the arms of his Most Christian Majesty, as well as by the need of obviating the greater evils which would accrue to Italy from a war waged by so great a power against the Apostolic See, now abandoned by the Catholic princes whose succor we had asked; we protest before God, before the glorious Apostles Peter and Paul, that we have never ordered or approved said transactions; and we declare that said acts and satisfactions were not effected by our free will, but were procured by insurmountable force and violence, and by a necessity of obviating evils which a war waged by France in Italy would have entailed on religion, on the Holy See, and on its subjects and vassals.

ALEXANDER PAPA VII. ; *manu propria.*"

The celebrated Paul Pellisson, a converted Huguenot, whose writings are too seldom consulted by those who presumed study the records of the time, before they attempt to comment on the reign of Louis XIV., says that during the course of this dissension with Pope Alexander VII., there was no allusion to the tendency often exhibited on similar occasions by the jurisconsults of France, "sometimes usefully, but always dangerously, to re-establish the *Pragmatic Sanction* (1); nor was there any talk of prohibiting any sending of money to Rome, or of assembling National Councils in order to define the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction—a matter which is almost never approached, without the participants going further than they intended" (2). Pellisson had witnessed the debates of the Assembly of the Clergy of 1682, and this allusion is both just and delicate; but he erred in supposing that the dissension with Alexander VII. was not made available for an attack on the pontifical prerogatives. In fact, this dissension furnished an occasion for an exhibition of a perfect outline of the Four Propositions which were soon to cause so much trouble. While his troops were marching toward the Papal States, King Louis instigated the Sorbonne to express its aversion for the matter of certain theses, favorable to the "ultramontane" claims, which had recently been defended on its benches; and to gratify the monarch, the Theological

(1) For the meaning and history of this document, see our vol. iii., p. 170.

(2) *History of Louis XIV.*, vol. i., p. 227.

Faculty, headed by the archbishop of Paris, solemnly presented to his Majesty, on May 8, 1663, these six Articles : I. "It is not a teaching of the Faculty that the Supreme Pontiff has any authority in temporals over the Most Christian King ; indeed the Faculty has always opposed those who recognize (in the Pontiff) even a merely indirect authority in such temporals." II. "It is a teaching of the same Faculty that the Most Christian King neither recognizes nor has any superior other than God, in temporals ; and this teaching is the ancient doctrine of the Faculty, it having never swerved from said teaching." III. "It is a teaching of the Faculty that the subjects of the Most Christian King so owe to him fealty and obedience, that under no pretext can they ever be absolved from them." IV. "The Faculty declares that it does not approve, and that it never has approved, any propositions which are opposed to the authority of the Most Christian King, or to the Canons received in this kingdom ; for instance, (the proposition asserting) that the Pontiff can depose a bishop, in contradiction to those Canons." V. "It is not a teaching of the Faculty that the Supreme Pontiff is superior to a General Council." VI. "It is not a teaching or a dogma of the Faculty that the Supreme Pontiff is infallible, without the assent of the Church (to his declarations)." The reader will probably discern in these merely negative expressions an indication of the embarrassment in which the doctors of the Sorbonne found themselves ; an embarrassment afterward avowed by Coqueulin, chancellor of the Church of Paris, in his discourse as "Promoter" of the Assembly of 1682 (1). It is worthy of note that the extreme Gallican, Fleury, observed : "This proposition, that it is not a teaching of the Faculty that the Pope is infallible, is captious ; for it merely says that the Faculty does not adopt that doctrine, and it does not follow from its declaration that the Faculty rejects the doctrine, or prohibits the teaching of it" (2). In fact, although interested polemics have ignored the predicament of the Sorbonne, it is certain that the Faculty would not have adopted the six propositions, so strong was the opposition among the religious and even in the secular houses of the Sorbonne and Navarre, had not the

(1) *Procès-Verbal of the Clergy*, vol. v., p. 419.(2) *Minor Works of Fleury*, p. 130.

parliament begun a persecution by suspending the syndic, because of his opposition to the Gallicans. The entire episode of the six articles was due to the parliamentary mania for interference in religious matters, rather than to any initiative of Louis XIV. The perfidious zeal of the magistrates in exciting a distrust of the ecclesiastical power in the breast of their young monarch, availing themselves of the pride so natural in one who occupied, at so early an age, the position of first layman in Christendom, has been unwittingly indicated to us by Deslions, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and a friend of "the great" Arnauld, in his manuscript *Diary*, telling us, at the date 1663, that "M. de Liancourt, having visited the *procureur-général*, informed him (Deslions) that this officer had seen the king in regard to the thesis (1), and that when his Majesty asked him what had brought him to the Louvre, he had replied that 'it was in order to learn *whether his Majesty willed that the Pope should be able to take the crown from his royal head, whenever his Holiness pleased*' ; and that the king being thunderstruck by the question, he had explained to his Majesty the meaning of the Bull *Unam Sanctam*, whereupon the king opened his eyes at the *novelty*" (2). The reader will note that this *novelty* was then nearly four centuries old, having been issued by Pope Boniface VIII. in 1302. However, we may allow this item to pass with a smile, for the king may have deferred to the superior canonical knowledge of his procurator ; but we find it strange that the royal jealousy for the temporals of the crown should have induced Louis to countenance the fear of his jurists in the matter of the pontifical infallibility. On March 21, 1662, writing to Henri de Maupas, bishop of Puy, who was then soliciting at Rome, in the name of the French king and nation, the canonization of the then Blessed Francis de Sales, the monarch had spoken of papal infallibility in terms which would have more than satisfied any "ultramontane." After congratulating the prelate on having procured a shortening of the delay usually demanded between beatification and canonization, Louis said : "We had not hoped for so great a fa-

(1) The thesis which M. Drouet de Villeneuve, bachelor in theology in the house of Navarre, had defended before the Sorbonne in defense of the papal infallibility, etc.

(2) B. I., MS. Fr. Sorbonne, 1258, cited by Gérin, *ubi supra*.

vor; and this celerity, in a matter of such importance, shows that the mind of his Holiness has been extraordinarily impressed by Him who gives to the Pontiff INFALLIBILITY *in those things which he establishes in the Church for her utility and for the greater glory of God*" (1). This admission did not prevent the king from allowing the advocate-general, Talon, to denounce the "ultramontane" theses in parliament; nor did it impel him to interfere when a parliamentary deputation appeared before the Faculty of the Sorbonne on Jan. 22, 1663, and having prohibited the defense of any "ultramontane" teachings, ordered the decree to be read before all the doctors, and to be inscribed in the Registers of the Faculty. To the credit of the Sorbonne be it said that at first the Faculty refused to obey, consenting only to deliberate on the matter; and it was only when Grandin, the syndic, had been suspended, that seventy timid doctors signed the six equivocal articles. Nineteen years afterward, when the Sorbonne hesitated to register the famous Four Articles of 1682, the procurator, Harlay, complacently reminded the chancellor, Le Tellier, of the pressure exercised on the doctors in 1663, advising a repetition of the operation.

Peace having been made with the court of Rome, as we have seen, the royal counsellors and the Gallican jurists bided the time when they could make an attack under the sanction of an authority more august than that of a mere Faculty of a University. "They remained faithful," says Gérin, "to that policy of *humiliating Rome*—a policy the secret of which Bossuet has handed down to us; and until they could provoke another onslaught, they continued to load with chains that Gallican Church whose liberties they constantly pretended to defend. Those very men who so exalted the authority of a General Council, when there was a question of attenuating that of the Pope, presumed to subject the Council to the secular power. They had arrogated to themselves the right of permitting or of prohibiting all provincial Synods, assemblies which the latest General Councils had ordered to be held, at least, every three years; and 'although the cessation of these assemblies had been the chief cause of a re-

(1) B. L. MSS. Fr. 20, 657.

laxation of discipline,' they prohibited them, being 'afraid of a union of four bishops' (1). They extended still further the limits of that secular jurisdiction which Fleury terms 'the great servitude of the Gallican Church' (2). The opportunity so eagerly desired was afforded to the Gallican jurists by the culmination of the question of the *Regalia*—a question which was but too similar to that concerning Investitures which distracted Church and Empire during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries (3). *La Régale* was the term by which was known the "right" which the crown of France had arrogated to itself, for several centuries, of appropriating the revenues of certain bishoprics during the vacancy of the sees; and also of nominating to the benefices which were of episcopal collation in said sees; both of these "rights" being exercised until the new ordinaries had taken the oath of fidelity to the monarch, and had registered the oath in the *Chambre des Comptes*. This so-called right was an exceptional one; and it had originated, in certain dioceses, in the pious foundations of certain princes, and in the protection which those princes had accorded to the churches, when widowed of their pastors, against the violence and cupidity of the feudal nobles. The Second General Council of Lyons (y. 1274) had authorized the *Regalia* in those dioceses where it was already established; but had prohibited its introduction into others. Very many of the French dioceses, notably those of Languedoc, Guyenne, Provence, and Dauphiny, had always been exempt from the custom; and just as after the Second Council of Lyons, so before it, all the monarchs had spoken of the *Regalia* as of an entirely exceptional affair. None of the mediæval French sovereigns would have presumed to intro-

(1) *Minor Works of Fleury*; p. 137.

(2) It is interesting to hear the ultra-Gallican, Fleury, telling how "The parliament disputed with the ecclesiastical authority for the right of judging the bishops; and when unfortunately a scandalous bishop was found, his crimes were regarded as irremediable evils, to be tolerated until his death." *Minor Works*, p. 171. And hearken to this admission: "The appeals for abuse (of power, on the part of bishops) ruined ecclesiastical jurisdiction. According to the laws, this appeal was to be entertained only when the matter was very grave, and when the bishop had notoriously exceeded his rights, or when his action involved the liberties of the Gallican Church. As a matter of fact, the appeal *comme d'abus* became the rule; it was the ordinary means whereby a bad priest retained his benefice, in spite of his bishop, tiring out the prelate with never-ending prosecutions." (*Ibid.* in *Préface*, p. 30).

(3) See our vol. II., ch. 13.

duce the custom where it did not already exist. But in time, the parliaments endeavored to establish the notion that the *Regalia* was a right inherent in the crown, and every exception to it a consequence of the pure favor of His Majesty. When Henry IV. declared in an edict of 1606 (art. 27), that he "understood the right of *Regalia* in the sense of his predecessors, without any extension of it to the churches exempted from it," the parliament indeed registered the document; but on April 24, 1608, the same body pronounced its judgment that "The king enjoys the right of *Regalia* in the diocese of Belley, *just as in every other diocese of his kingdom.*" Henry prohibited the execution of the judgment. During his entire reign, Louis XIII. exhibited the same deference to the rights of the Church. But with the advent of Louis XIV. the hopes of the Gallican jurists were encouraged; for, as it was declared in the Assembly of the Clergy of 1682, "since 1638 there was scarcely any assembly of the clergy that did not appoint a commission for the *Regalia*" (1). In 1673 and 1675 there were issued two royal declarations to the effect that all the French dioceses were subject to the obnoxious custom; and that such prelates as had not yet "closed the *Regalia*" (2), should do so in six months. Caulet, bishop of Pamiers, and Pavillon, bishop of Alet, refused to obey the order; and although they had been at the head of their dioceses, one for thirty-six, and the other for thirty-two years, the king declared that the *Regalia* was not yet "closed" by them, and he began to distribute not only the benefices which were then vacant in their jurisdictions, but also many which were then occupied. Of course the determined prelates refused to recognize the royal appointees. Pavillon died in 1677; but Caulet, expiating, as far as it was possible, his error in having adhered to the Jansenistic theories in regard to the Formula of Pope Alexander VII. (y. 1665), showed himself superior to his isolation and his failing years by resisting not only the royal officers, but also his metropolitan, the archbishop of Toulouse, the blind creature of the court. The history of this lamentable affair is at the easy command

(1) *Procès-Verbal*, vol. v., p. 378. *Report of M. Chéron to the Assembly of 1682.*

(2) *Clore la Régale* was the phrase applied to the taking and registering of the oath.

of the student. We shall only note that when Caulet and Pavillon appealed to Pope Innocent XI., that Pontiff vigorously upheld their resistance. Then the government of His Most Christian Majesty undertook to gain a victory by means of confiscation, imprisonment, and even by a condemnation to death, and an execution in effigy, of Cerle, the vicar-capitular of Pamiers. Finally, in order to put an end to the question of the *Regalia*, which, though in an inferior degree, had become, like the olden contest on Investitures, a monumental scandal to Christendom, the Gallican jurists convoked the famous Assembly of the French Clergy of 1682, to which we shall devote a special chapter.

Had this question of the *Regalia* involved a mere matter of money, as all rationalistic and nearly all Protestant historians shamelessly assert, neither the Roman Pontiff nor the high-toned Louis XIV. would have allowed it to induce a rupture between them. No fact in history is more evident than that the Holy See had nothing to gain, from a pecuniary point of view, by its opposition to the royal claims. During a vacancy in a diocese which was not subject to the *Regalia*, the episcopal revenues were always employed by the Cathedral Chapter in the interests of their flock, or they were reserved for the future incumbent. We are not surprised when pamphleteers who are termed historians ignore this fact; but it is rather strange that a really erudite publicist and statesman should assert the contrary. When such a man as Jules Favre utterly travesties the truth in regard to the *Regalia*, in an address to the political representatives of his nation, one is sickened by his mendacity. On March 21, 1861, at the time when his brethren of the Dark Lantern were conducting the Italian Revolution which was to eventuate in a temporary abolition of the secular dominion of the Supreme Pontiff, the great political leader dared to thus perorate in the French Chamber of Deputies: "Did Louis XIV. escape the attacks of Rome? Louis XIV. was, as you know, a religious king; he *had signed* the edict which consecrated the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But *after* this considerable concession to the Holy See, *he was the object of its anathemas*. And why? Always, gentlemen, *because of a question of money*. The Holy

See put forth the pretension of *arrogating to itself* a collection of the revenues of all the benefices which were vacant in the kingdom. The king refused ; he assembled his clergy ; and *to the Bull which Clement XI. had fulminated against him, he replied by the Four Articles of the Declaration of 1682*" (1). The scholarly attainments of Jules Favre compel us to qualify each of these sentences as not merely an egregious blunder, but as a deliberate lie. Firstly, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which Favre assigns to a date previous to the Assembly of 1682, occurred three years after that Assembly, namely, in 1685. Secondly, the famous revocation was not "a concession to the Holy See." At the time of the revocation, Louis XIV. was on bad terms with the Roman court, and precisely because of the actions of the Assembly of 1682. The king was just then not at all disposed to effect anything which would please the Pontiff. After the revocation, Louis tried to obtain from Rome an endorsement of his measure ; but he succeeded only in inducing the Pontiff to order a *Te Deum* for the conversion of many heretics. The parliamentary records show that the advocates-general found fault with the Holy See, in full session, for blaming King Louis because of his peculiar method of extirpating heresy from his kingdom. Thirdly, no Pope ever made Louis XIV. the "object of his anathemas." Had Jules Favre been animated by a love of truth, and not by that virulent hatred of Rome which was his Masonic endowment, he would have proclaimed that while the Pontiff (Innocent XI.) plainly informed His Majesty that he was incurring the risk of future excommunication, nothing approaching anathema was ever pronounced. Fourthly, the dissension between the Roman and French courts was not "a question of money," in the sense that Rome was trying to fill her coffers with the revenues of French churches. The question was whether the service of the altar ; the education of the priesthood, and the proper support of the clergy ; the care of the sick, the poor, and the orphans ; were to be abandoned for the pecuniary aggrandizement of royal favorites. Not a document has ever been produced in favor of the barefaced assertion that the revenues of a diocese, *sede*

(1) Thus reported in the *Paris Moniteur* of March 22, 1861.

vacante, were claimed by the Holy See. Fifthly, Clement XI. no more “fulminated a Bull” against Louis XIV. than did any other Pope; and if he had done so, his action could not have been rebuked as Favre asserts: “To the Bull which Clement XI. had fulminated against him, he replied by the Four Articles of the Declaration of 1682.” Pope Clement XI. did not ascend the papal throne until the year 1700. It is not improbable that long life is the destiny of the lie which Jules Favre helped to rejuvenate; for such lies nourish the life-blood of the sect which Favre illustrated. Several years after the ebullition had been stigmatized by all sincere erudites, Camille Rousset, a professor in the University, historiographer of the Ministry of War, member and laureate of the French Academy, etc., etc., did not hesitate to say, in a generally profound work on Louvois: “To whom belonged the right of receiving the revenues of vacant benefices; to the king or to the Pope? This *question of money* had quickly become one of general politics. The financial skirmish had ended in a battle between the ecclesiastical and lay powers, between the Church and the Empire.” And Camille Rousset is a historian “crowned by the Institute”—an institution *quantum mutata ab illa!* However, from the school of Favre and Rousset we could expect only such denunciations of papal arrogance; they affect to read history as the Protestant historian, Larrey, a contemporary of the grand monarch, read it when he congratulated Louis on his “not having wished to deviate from the firmness of his royal predecessors, who knew how to maintain their *right of Regalia* or of *investiture against the tyranny and usurpation of the court of Rome*” (1). But it is painful to find the spirit of party so influencing the pious and learned Cardinal de Bausset, as to make him regret that a Roman Pontiff should have been so zealous “in a question like that of the *Regalia*, which had nothing to do with religion or morality.” Bausset lived at a time when he could have regarded the aberrations of his Gallican predecessors with judicial equanimity; and we wonder that a mind so logical as that of Bausset could have blamed His Holiness for condemning “the conduct of so religious a

(1) *History of Louis XIV.*, vol. v., p. 71. Berlin, 1714.

prince as Louis XIV., one toward whom the Church had incurred so many obligations" (1).

It is a remarkable fact that nearly all modern historians, while they ever display a feverish and frequently unjustified zeal in denouncing the attitude of monarchs whom inclination or force of circumstances has brought into hostile contact with parliaments and constitutions, are always at least complacently silent, when the secular Majesties lay sacrilegious hands on the things of the sanctuary. Especially is this spirit characteristic of most of the moderns who have pretended to unfold the panorama of French history; whether Frenchmen or of other nationality, too many of these authors are imbued with the spirit either of Jansenism, or of Protestantism, or of Rationalism, or of that which is the synthesis of all these pests—the Revolution. Our ears are dinned by lamentations concerning the encroachments of post-mediæval French sovereigns, especially of those of the elder Bourbon line, on the privileges of the nobles, on the rights of parliaments, on the franchises of communes, etc.; and when Louis XIV. is brought upon the scene, we are treated to most eloquent tirades on his affected omnipotence (2).

(1) *Life of Bossuet*; bk. vi., § 5. Paris, 1846.

(2) Nearly all English and German historians, not one of whom either does justice to the grand qualities of Louis XIV., or evinces any true appreciation of his reign, eagerly seize on a neat little concoction of certain unreliable French Memoirists—that now incessantly quoted phrase, "I am the State," as a verbal picture of the monarch's entire career. Did Louis XIV. ever use this phrase? Did the self-contained, dignified, and gentlemanly sovereign of then really polite France descend so low as to use such language, and in circumstances and with adjuncts befitting a guard-room, perhaps, but assuredly not appropriate in the presence of a parliament? Voltaire tells us that in 1655 the seventeen-year-old King rushed into the parliament chamber, "in top-boots, and whip in hand," and ordered the president to put an end to such assemblages. But Voltaire gives no authority for this assertion, and his own age renders it improbable that he had heard of the event from an eye-witness. If he did, it is strange that not one contemporary author mentions the supposed fact. The younger Laetelle, writing in 1820 in the *Biographie Michaul* (vol. xxv.), repeats the story of Voltaire, and so does Sismondi in his *History of the French* (vol. xxiv.). Henri Martin carefully notes the king's whip and top-boots; but it is strange that so grave an author should confound the "bed of justice"—a solemn session of Parliament, during which the king sat on a pile of cushions—with a piece of bedroom furniture, and that he should find fault with the royal untruthness in going to bed with boots and spurs unremoved. (*History of France*, vol. xii., p. 467; Paris, 1858, 4th edit.) Then Martin informs us that Louis prohibited all self-initiated meetings of Parliament, in "four words": that is, this author insinuates that the monarch cried, "I am the State," when the president pleaded that the good of the country might require such meetings. Lavalée (*History of the French*, vol. lii., p. 197; Paris, 1847) and Bonnechese (in the *Biographie Didot*, art. *Louis XIV.*) also harp on the boots, spurs, and whip of the young king. "who could well say, 'L'Etat—c'est moi:'" that is, according to these writers, if he did not use these very words, he might

These declamations are sometimes justified, to a considerable extent; but the sincere Catholic student of history insists that much of their force might have been exercised in showing how the olden royalty was almost as ready as its modern successor has been in an attempt to enslave the Church. When Louis XIV. took his stand in the matter of the *Regalia*, he experienced too little resistance on the part of the French bishops. The vaunted protector of the "liberties" of the Gallican Church found a body of sycophants at his feet; and he could easily issue his declarations of 1673 and 1675. Louis XIV. was a profoundly religious man, if not such in his personal practice during his early manhood, at least always such at heart; and perhaps, therefore, his success might not have entailed irretrievable damage on the Church of France. But was it certain that succeeding rulers would know when, or would be willing, to put a limit to their encroachments? Fortunately for France, and therefore for Christendom, the gage of battle was lifted by the Roman Pontiff, the true protector of the true liberties of all the Churches. Far from us be any inclination to institute a parallel between Louis XIV., the upholder of the right of

well have done so; "for they were the sincere expression of a belief, and even the simple expression of a fact." Dareste observes (*History of France*, vol. v., p. 353; Paris, 1738), that the first writer to mention the whip in the hand of Louis on this occasion was the Abbé Choisy, who wrote about the year 1700; but who, admits Dareste (who believes in the boots and spurs), was by no means a reliable authority. But in the *Mémoires* of Choisy, published in the *Collection Petitot* (Series II., vol. 63), there is no mention of the whip. As for the top-boots which displease so many, and which Voltaire puts on the king during his supposed outburst against the parliament in April, 1655, one of the most impartial writers of modern France, A. Chenuel, (*Monarchical Administration in France*, vol. ii., p. 32; Paris, 1855) draws our attention to the fact that the king was hunting when he suddenly resolved on facing his parliament; and that, at any rate, if he had not gone in his carriage, he would necessarily have been in top-boots, for these were then the habitual foot-gear of three-fourths of the population. And, after reminding us that Paris still deserved its ancient name, *Lutetia*, this author cites the commissary La Mare, who says that "those of us who saw the commencement of the reign of his Majesty Louis XIV., remember how the streets of Paris were so muddy that it was necessary to wear top-boots." Now, there is no good foundation for this story of whip, boots, and spurs; nor is there any at all for its adoring phrase, "I am the State." The Duke de Noailles, who was the first to draw attention to this matter (*loc. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 667), says: "Louis XIV., resolute in abolishing the political pretensions advanced by the parliament after the Fronde, and in restricting that body to its judiciary functions, may have shown some passion in the execution of his task, but he never acted in the cavalier fashion attributed to him—a fashion so little consistent that his ideas of the royal dignity, and with his respect for the great bodies of the State. He executed his design, firstly, in the session of December 22, 1665, with all the solemnity of a 'bed of justice'; and, secondly, without that solemnity in the session of April 23

Regalia, and the German emperors who deluged the best part of Europe with blood, rather than loosen their hold on cross and ring in the matter of Investitures ; but it is certain that the policy of the grand monarch, no less than that of the Hohenstaufen, tended to a refusal to the Church of a right to hold property. And from the days of Arnould of Brescia to those of Henry VIII. of England, history showed Pope Innocent XI. that an attack on ecclesiastical property was always followed by religious revolution. Innocent XI. was inflexible in his resistance, because his foresight was accurate ; and he appreciated correctly the spirit of the Gallican jurists who were blinding the perceptions of their ambitious sovereign. In 1650, Antoine Estienne, librarian-in-ordinary to the king, had published at Paris, *avec privilège*, a *Remonstrance* to His Majesty, wherein the author, hiding under the pseudonyme of François Paumier, taught that "the kings of France have a sovereign right over the temporalities of all the churches of the kingdom, and the power to use those temporalities, by advice of their Council, in all the necessities of the state ; that the clergy are naturally incapable, by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, of acquiring or pos-

1667.... These were the only sessions at which Louis XIV. assisted, and the *Journal* of Olivier d'Ormesson, which enters into minute details of them, makes no mention of the arrogant speech which has been so much censured." And it is to be noted that the *Journal* cited by De Noailles is most favorable to the parliamentary cause, and therefore it would not have omitted to record any arrogance on the part of the monarch. Nothing can be more absurd than the supposition fostered by our modern *doctrinaires*, and almost universally accepted, that all France was submissive to the nod of Louis XIV. "When we see the royal power so extensive and so effective," says De Tocqueville, "we might be led to believe that all independence of spirit had disappeared with public liberty, and that the French had become used to subjection ; if so, we would be greatly mistaken, for the old *régime* was not one of servility. Amid many institutions already prepared for absolute power, liberty survived." (*The Old Régime and the Revolution* ; chap. xi., Paris, 1856). Louis XIV. well knew, remarks De Carné, "how to direct reform without unchaining revolution ; and he was always influenced by the *truly* liberal ideas which had slowly but surely made their way from the time of St. Louis to that of Richelieu." (*The Administrative School of Louis XIV.*, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July, 1857). No ruler has ever been so much and perhaps so extravagantly praised by the literary men of his day as Louis XIV. ; but, to use the words of De Noailles, the universal hymn was sincere, and it contained many daring expressions which excluded all servility. The duties of a sovereign have seldom been more clearly enunciated than they were by Racine, in his great play of *Athalie* (act 4, scene 3), which was first presented, before the grand monarch's whole court, in 1691 ; that is, at a period when he was in the very zenith of his glory, and therefore, as is presumed, at the culmination of his arrogance. The same may be said of the address of Boileau to the king, in 1669, one year after the taking of the Aix-la-Chapelle ; and of many sentiments in the *Characters* of La Bruyère. Let the reader examine these passages, and then decide whether it is at all probable that the monarch who permitted, nay gladly acclaimed, such

sessing any immovable property ; that the ecclesiastics are merely *usufructuarii* of one-third of the church estates, and care-takers of the other two-thirds ; that the supreme law on which this principle (of robbing the Church) is founded, is the well-being of the people, a law which does away with every exemption, and which sometimes turns sovereign injustice into sovereign equity ; that one of the chief reasons for which the clergy have ever been allowed to acquire property, was that the kings might, in future necessities, find a present, easy, and powerful remedy for those necessities." This naive document, which may have been studied by the Juarez and the Cavours of our day, appeared during the minority of Louis XIV. ; but its principles were again inculcated in the famous *Letters : Ne Repugnate* (y. 1750). In 1669, Vayer de Boutigny, an instrument used by Colbert when he wished to attack the prerogatives of the Church, published his treatise on *The Authority of Kings in the Administration of the Church*, in which he attributed to the king not only a temporal, but also a spiritual supremacy over the Church in France. These may suffice as specimens of the opinions which Colbert, the chief counsellor of the monarch in ecclesiastico-temporal matters, obtained from

sentiments, would have exclaimed : "*L'Etat—c'est moi.*" While Louis XIV. was yet a boy, Cardinal Mazarin said of him that "he had in him the material for four kings and an honest man" ; and if we read the *Memoirs* which the king prepared for the guidance of his heir, we shall not only find much truth in the saying of the Cardinal-Minister, but we will agree with the not too partial Sismondi when he says that these *Memoirs* give an exalted idea of the extent and accuracy of the king's views, and show us how hard he labored to perform his duty as a ruler, and also how profound was the moral sentiment which animated him. In these *Memoirs*, Louis XIV. shows us the sense in which he would have used the famous phrase, if it ever could have been uttered by him. He would simply have meant to express the idea of a community of interest subsisting between king and country : "My son, we must think much more of the welfare of our subjects than of our own. It would seem that they are a part of ourselves, for they are the members of a body of which we are the head. It is only for their advantage that we should make laws for them, and our power over them should be exercised solely for their well-being. . . . The position of a king is great, noble, and flattering, when the king feels that he can fulfil all the engagements into which he has entered. . . . When the king has the State before his mind, he labors for himself : the welfare of one is the glory of the other. When the State is prosperous and powerful, he who is the cause of all this, is glorious, and he consequently enjoys, even more than his subjects, the agreeable side of life." Little need be said about that phrase, "I have almost had to wait—*J'ai failli attendre.*" another saying which is often ascribed to the exquisitely polite Louis XIV. Such a *petitesse* would not have escaped the notice of the crotchety duke de Saint-Simon ; but he tells us, on the contrary, in his *Memoires*, vol. xii., that "the king never allowed an uncomplaisant word to escape him, and if he had to reprimand or correct, which rarely happened, he always did so with more or less of kindness, never with anger, and seldom with asperity."

the magistrates, court-theologians, and others of that ilk whom he was wont to consult. Of course the Gallican jurists did not openly advocate the extreme views which we have just cited; they were defended before an Assembly of the Clergy for the first time in 1690, and then by the Councillor of state, Pussort, an uncle and disciple of Colbert (1).

Pope Innocent XI. was convinced, and rightly, that Louis XIV. would never present as principles the heretical notions advanced by publicists like Estienne, Vayer, and Pussort; but he saw that the monarch's practice in regard to Church property was a partial actuation of those theories. The *Memoirs* of the time, especially those of Mad. de Sévigné and the duke de Saint-Simon, speak in such a matter-of-course fashion of the king's disposal of ecclesiastical revenues, that it is evident that his conduct caused no surprise; even the contemporary ecclesiastical writers deplore the evil in a merely perfunctorial fashion. We must not forget, however, that in this matter Louis XIV. followed a course to which he was seemingly invited by the injudicious Concordat which Pope Leo X. had concluded with Francis I. in 1516—a measure which we have frequently been obliged to criticise unfavorably. By this Concordat, *commende* (2) and pensions from ecclesiastical revenues, which had hitherto been exceptionally allowed for the good of religion, became the order of the day; the kings were enabled to provide comfortable incomes for a horde of parasites by a practical secularization of the patrimony of the poor. Anthony Arnould, writing in 1681, says: "The abuse of *commende* causes right-minded persons to groan. If the Church could tolerate the *commende* when they were given to pious persons, who, called to the ecclesiastical state,

(1) See the *Memoirs* of the Abbé Le Gendre, p. 118. Paris, 1733.

(2) Even in the fourth century, as we learn from St. Ambrose (*epist. ii.*), the administration of a vacant diocese or abbey was often entrusted to a person already enjoying another benefice. During the time of the barbaric invasions, the *commende* furnished a means of supporting expelled bishops or religious, they transferring the revenues of their own charges to some powerful person, while reserving their titles, and trusting to resume the revenues in more propitious times. Naturally abuses arose; and after many remedial regulations during the course of centuries, especially by Boniface VIII., Clement V., Gregory XIII., and Innocent X., the Council of Trent proscribed the *commende*, unless as mere titles of honor. In France and Germany, however, where the disciplinary decrees of Trent were not received, the abuses continued. At the Revolution, the *commende* disappeared in France.

made good use of their revenues by aiding the poor, instructing the ignorant, and converting sinners by force of the Gospel preached by zealous men; it is now an abomination to see so many of them in unworthy hands. . . . Abbeys are given to boys of fifteen, who do not intend to become monks. A dispensation is asked from the Pope; and if he does not concede it, they do without it" (1). Take the instance of Cluny, that nursery of saints and doctors, and one of the chief glories of mediæval Europe. In spite of the ancient canons, of the Concordat of Leo X., and of the Council of Trent, Richelieu and Mazarin had been commendataries of this venerable abbey; and on the death of Mazarin it should have passed under the rule of an abbot chosen by its monks, and from among themselves. But Louis XIV. wanted its revenues for that creature of his policy in Italy, Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este. The resistance of the monks was long and energetic; as is evinced by the correspondence of Gaumont, the royal commissioner, with Colbert and Le Tellier; but finally, after expelling some of the monks, and after the intimidation of others, His Majesty gained his point. When the cardinal died in 1672, the monks elected one of their brethren, Dom Bertrand de Beuvron; but the Council of State annulled their act, and during eleven years the temporalities were administered by Pellisson, the *maitre des requêtes*. In 1670 the king nominated to the grand-priorship of the French division of the Knights of Malta a son of one of the bastards of Henry IV.; and it is melancholy to read in the remonstrance of the knights, already in their decadence, that if M. de Vendome had been a natural *son* of a king, and not merely a *grandson*, they would have concurred willingly in the royal appointment (2). The ancient and glorious abbeys of Chelles and of Fontevrault were delivered to relatives of two of the concubines of the grand monarch. Pope Innocent XI. opposed all such transactions by every possible means; and in the Bull whereby he condemned the *Regalia*, we read his refusal to countenance the gift of the abbeys of Saint-Germain des Prés and of Saint-Denis to the Count de Vexin,

(1) MS. Fr. 12986 in Nat. Library.

(2) DEPPING; *Administrative Correspondence Under Louis XIV.*, vol. iv., p. 500. Paris, 1852.

one of the sons of the king by the Montespan. Unfortunately, the concourse of the French bishops was wanting in the efforts of the Pontiff. We have said enough to convince the reader that Joseph de Maistre did not exaggerate, when he said: "The *Regalia* tended directly to an introduction of the investiture by cross and ring, to change a benefice into a fief" (1). That such was really the disposition of the royal jurists who were then consulted by Louis XIV., is evident to all who are able to examine certain engravings designed by Pierre Lepautre at this period, for the ornamentation of the many works which the dispute on the *Regalia* caused to appear (2). One of these pictures represents Pope Adrian I. and Charlemagne seated under the same canopy, and on chairs of the same height, as though they were potentates of equal rank. The Pontiff holds a Bull whereby he is granting the right of investiture to the king of the Franks, as is indicated by this inscription: "Pope Adrian declares that the archbishops and bishops shall receive investiture from the king." These words are taken from a Constitution which Adrian I. *was said* to have published at Rome in 774; but which was certainly forged in either the eleventh or twelfth century by some schismatics in the interest of the German emperors. The effrontery of the Gallican circulators of this engraving is inexplicable, when we reflect that several years before it appeared, those firm Gallican leaders, Archbishop de Marca and Noel Alexandre, had proclaimed their agreement with Baronio's demonstration that the cited document was a forgery (3). Another engraving tries to show that the bishops of France sympathize with King Louis in his dissension with the Holy See; and the designer hesitates not to compare that monarch, in his fancied laudation of him, with the sacrilegious Philip the Fair. We see the king holding a *lit de justice*, and with his chancellor at his feet, listening to a bishop who is reading to him this passage from the Bull in which Clement V. condemned the Templars: "*Motum et*

(1) *The Gallican Church*, bk. ii., ch. 2.

(2) They are to be seen in the National Library at Paris: *Collection of Fontanien*, and the *Work of Pierre Lepautre*.

(3) BARONIO; *Annals*, y. 744.—PAGE; *ibid.*—DE MARCA; *Harmony of Church and Empire*, bk. 8.—ALEXANDRE; *Hist. Eccl., Cent. VIII.*—BIANCHI; *Ecclesiastical Power*, vol. ii.

zelum regis in hac parte approbamus et laudum præconis efferrimus." And we read, by way of a translation of this passage, "We approve and infinitely praise the zeal manifested by the king against the usurpations of Boniface VIII." When such incitations to revolt against the pontifical authority were tolerated by most of the bishops of France, is it wonderful that in his report on the *Regalia*, on Dec. 11, 1681, Archbishop le Tellier was obliged to acknowledge that the king conferred, *pleno jure*, benefices to which the care of souls was annexed? Is it strange that the same prelate was forced to deplore the fact that the titulars of those benefices "were exercising the spiritual functions attached to them, without recourse to the authority of the Church"; and that those beneficiaries "had received from the hand of the prince the spiritual weapons which Jesus Christ had conferred on His Church alone"? (1). Should we not wonder, in fine, on realizing the supineness of so many of the French bishops of that day, not that Louis XIV. went so far on the road to schism, but that he did not continue in that road to its bitter end? With one-half of the encouragement which Louis XIV. received from his prelates and jurists, one of the Hohenstaufen would have embraced Islam.

In 1687 the dissension between the Holy See and Louis XIV. was aggravated by the determination of Pope Innocent XI. to apply to France a prohibition which he had already enforced in regard to other powers. The Pontiff had resolved, at the very beginning of his reign, to put an end to those "franchises" which were preposterously claimed by the foreign ambassadors in Rome, and which, as we have seen, had been the occasion of the lamentable episode of the Corsican Guards; he announced that thenceforth he would recognize no resident envoy who did not expressly renounce the hitherto claimed immunities. In 1680 he had enforced this determination in the case of Poland; in 1683 he had done the same in regard to Spain; and soon afterward the emperor had signified his readiness to observe the general regulation. The agitation consequent on the *Declaration* of 1682 was at its height when, on Jan. 30, 1687, the duke d'Estrées, ambas-

(1) *Procès-Verbal of the Clergy*, vol. 7., p. 434.

sador of His Christian Majesty, died in Rome; and Rannucci, the papal nuncio in Paris, informed the king of what would certainly be required of his new envoy, endeavoring also to render compliance more reasonable by the example of the other powers. But Louis was in no mood, at that time, to yield one iota to a Roman demand; he replied to Rannucci that "he was not accustomed to regulate his conduct by that of others; that God had put him on his throne to give, not to receive example" (1). The marquis de Lavardin was accredited to the Holy See, and he was instructed to maintain the obnoxious "franchises." This action of the grand monarch was reprobated by some of his grossest flatterers. Thus, Bussy-Rabutin wrote to Mme. de Sévigné: "Let us tell the truth; these 'franchises' are condemnable, since they procure impunity for criminals" (2). And Mme. de La Fayette (Marie Proche de la Vergue), one of the stars of the Hotel de Rambouillet, says: "We may defend the course adopted by the Pope in the affair of the 'franchises'; and we may also excuse his being offended at everything done in the Assembly of the Clergy" (3). The new envoy was a vainer and more presumptuous man than even that Créquy who had embroiled his master with Pope Alexander VII.; and it is not improbable that these qualities prompted his selection. Rome must have been astonished, when this ambassador entered her gates with an escort of eight hundred armed men; but she did not then know that previous to his arrival, he had sent into the city four hundred other soldiers, disguised as travellers, who were already quartered in houses near the Palazzo Farnese. Quite naturally the Pontiff refused to grant an audience to this singular envoy; but the unabashed man, ignoring the censures which his *quasi* brigandage had brought upon him, entered the French national church of St. Louis on the eve of Christmas, under pretext of devotion, though probably in a spirit of bravado. The *Memoirs* of Avrigny, Le Gendre, and of Coulauges inform us that Lavardin constantly kept up an appearance of being encamped in an en-

(1) SISMONDI; *History of the French*, vol. xxv., p. 554.—AVRIGNY, *Chronological Memoirs*, vol. iiii., p. 304. Paris, 1720.

(2) ROUSSET; *History of Louvois*.

(3) *Memoirs on the Court of France in 1688*. Paris, 1690.

emy's country; *reveille* in the morning, calling of roll, relieving of sentinels, etc., and even trenches dug at the exit of every street leading into the Piazza Farnese. Meanwhile the Romans simply laughed at the poor man's theatricals; and the Pope thought it wise, says Avrigny, "to let him cool down in his palace." When the French court learned that the Pontiff refused to grant an audience to Lavardin, its first impulse urged it to declare war on Rome. Prompted by Colbert, the advocate-general, Talon, as violent as he was servile, pronounced in parliament a discourse, of which the following passages are not the most worthy of the reprobation which they have received from even publicists who were hostile to the Church (1). "A king whom victory follows everywhere, and whose moderation alone has placed limits to his conquests, will not suffer the Pope to rob the ambassadors of all sovereigns of their franchises, and to include among those envoys the representative of him whose prerogatives should be superior to those of other monarchs. We may rest assured that the king will take every vigorous resolution, during his entire reign, which will ward off this disgrace from France. Is it not just that *he who has the right to compel Rome to recognize him as her sovereign*, should receive, in the person of his ambassadors, all the marks of respect and of deference which are due to the dignity of his crown, and to his own sacred person?" It is not strange that, after this outburst from one of the royal cabinet, Louvois should have sent orders to the intendant of Provence to prepare transports for fifteen battalions which were to sail for Civita Vecchia at the dawn of spring. But this army was not sent. When spring arrived, the League of Augsburg was being prepared against France; and Louis XIV. deemed it prudent to secure the electorate of Cologne for Cardinal Furstemberg—a measure which could not succeed, without the aid of the Pontiff. The effort of the Most Christian king to conciliate the Pontiff reminds one of the "diplomacy" exercised in later days toward the Holy See, by the German emperor, Joseph II., by the two Napoleons, and by Ca-

(1) For instance, the Jansenist, Feydeau, in his *Diary*, at date, Jan. 29, 1688; and Sismondi, *loc. cit.*, vol. xxv., p. 557.

vour. Camille Rousset has revealed the secrets of this negotiation; and they were certainly unworthy of a Son of St. Louis (1). The royal wiles having failed, His Majesty, in the presence of his confessor, the Jesuit La Chaise, and of the archbishop of Paris, ordered his *procureur-général* to file a notice of an appeal to a future General Council against all past or future acts of the Holy See in derogation of the royal claims. The act of appeal was drawn on Sept. 27; and the Gallican jurists and parliamentary theologians urged the king to convoke a National Council. Louis perceived that he was being impelled toward schism, and he bluntly refused to follow the insidious counsel; and it is noteworthy that while he caused the act of appeal to be read to all the bishops who were then in Paris, *he did not request one bishop*

(1) "Louis XIV. resolved to make an extraordinary effort to conciliate the Pope; and he entrusted the delicate task to Chamlay (afterward marshal-general of the royal armies). Chamlay, disguised as a Flemish gentleman, and under the name of the Viscount d'Orchamps, received his instructions from M. de Croissy on July 6. Nothing is more strange than these instructions; all is mystery. The negotiator was to leave Paris stealthily; he was to reach Venice, and there remain hidden, until the postulation of Cardinal de Furstenberg, and then he was to hurry to Rome. Then all sorts of precautions were to be taken; he was to be seen neither by the marquis de Lavardin, nor by Cardinal d'Estrées, nor by any other Frenchmen. In case of discovery, he was to preserve his secret; he should pretend that he wanted to see the Pope on account of certain heavy sins he had committed, as he needed some special graces for the repose of his conscience. Then, still disguised as a Flemish gentleman, he was to seek an audience of the Pope in his private apartment. Having obtained the audience, he was to discover himself to the Pontiff, and then he should hand to his Holiness the king's letter, providing that the Pope was willing to receive it as though under the seal of confession, promising solemnly to speak of it to no person. If the Pontiff made this promise, Chamlay was to arrange the peace of Europe, the question of the Bulls for the new bishops, and the difficulties concerning the *Regalia*. . . . These three points having been settled, he was to approach the question of the franchises If the Pope refused, he was to withdraw; but before taking leave, he was to be careful in obtaining the royal letter, and not to conceal from his Holiness that if he were ever to make known the advances made by the king, both his Majesty and Chamlay would give him the lie. . . . The Viscount d'Orchamps arrived in Rome. Cassoni, on whom he had relied for a secret introduction to the Pope, remained deaf to all arguments, insensible to every seduction. Then he addressed himself to Cardinal Cibo; but his Eminence was as inflexible as Cassoni. Not knowing what to do, and in spite of his instructions, he revealed himself to the marquis of Lavardin. Then they took Cardinal d'Estrées into their confidence; and he, after another unsuccessful application to Cardinal Cibo, went straight to the Pope, and asked for an audience for a secret envoy from Louis XIV. He obtained only an abrupt refusal, and an order to never again touch such a subject. . . . On Aug. 18, Louvois and Croissy sent separate orders to Chamlay to return to Paris. . . . On Sept. 6, a royal letter was sent to Cardinal d'Estrées: it was most virulent, full of recriminations and threats, and declaring that the king now broke off all relations with Innocent XI. When the Pontiff had heard the letter, his sole reply was an invocation of the Justice of God. Then he summoned his secretary; and there, before Cardinal d'Estrées, he arranged for the expedition of the Bull conferring the archbishopric of Cologne on Prince Clement of Bavaria, exclaiming: 'Let the world fall; God will punish the guilty.' " *Loc. cit.*, pt. II., vol. II., p. 63 *et seq.*

in the realm to adhere to it. This fact must be remembered; many of the French prelates had strained their orthodoxy to its utmost limits, but neither now nor afterward did they pass those limits, as was acknowledged by the papal counsellors when, on the occasion of the nomination of Forbin-Janson to the cardinalate, the question was raised as to whether he had incurred the censures pronounced by Pius II. against appellants from the Pope to a General Council. In fact, the courtier-bishops had reflected seriously on their position. "They had sounded," says Joseph de Maistre, "the abyss which yawned before them. They were wise; they merely thanked His Majesty most humbly for the honor which he had conferred on them by informing them of his acts. There was certainly weakness and even servility in this reply, thanking the king for honoring the bishops by informing them of an act which referred exclusively to religion; but that was not a period of religious intrepidity, and of priestly devotedness. We may praise these bishops for having ward-offed a blow which was aimed at religion, even while they observed the exterior forms of respect for the dealer. When there is no rampart to defend one from bullets, a sack of wool is of some value" (1).

The zeal of the Gallican jurists in Paris had many dangerous imitators in the provinces. A magistrate in Poitiers hesitated not to declare publicly that "Louis XIV. was the visible head of the French Church" (2). The diatribes which the court encouraged were scarcely less virulent than this ebullition, even though they were flimsily orthodox. One of these appeared at Versailles under the form of a letter addressed by the king to Cardinal d'Estrées, which His Eminence was supposed to read to the Pontiff. By order of His Holiness, but without any official signature, an answer to this document, refuting the royal assertions, point by point, was prepared at Rome, and with good consequences; for the Protestant Leibnitz, a witness of them, says: "The public is satisfied with the reply of Rome to the letter to the Cardinal d'Estrées" (3). In 1689 the king manifested a sincere de-

(1) *Loc. cit.*, bk. ii., ch. 7.

(2) *Memoirs of Nicholas Foucault*, p. 541. Paris, 1730.

(3) *Works of Leibnitz*, vol. iii., p. 152. Edit. Foucher de Careil.

sire for reconciliation with the Holy See. Lavardin was recalled ; and his successor, the duke de Chaulnes, was instructed to renounce all claim to the "franchises," and to promise the retrocession of Avignon, which the royal troops had occupied. A new Pontiff, Alexander VIII., now sat on the throne of St. Peter ; but the king was disappointed, if he thought that his schemes would now be viewed in any different light from that in which they had been judged by Innocent XI. Alexander VIII. refused to issue the Bulls for the consecration of the many bishops-elect who were waiting for the papal confirmation of their royal nominations ; promising to comply with the king's request, only when the candidates, all of whom had signed the *Declaration* of 1682, would have made a retraction of that act. By his Constitution *Inter multiplices*, the Pontiff "annulled, invalidated, and quashed" all the acts of the famous Assembly which concerned the ecclesiastical power ; but hoping that the French bishops themselves would soon spontaneously make the desired retraction, he deferred the publication of the document. However, finding himself, a few months afterward, in imminent danger of death, he summoned to his room twelve cardinals, and promulgated the Constitution ; then, two days before he died, he wrote to King Louis, informing His Majesty of this, the "last act of his apostolate," and begging the prince to see that it was enforced throughout France. This letter was carried to the king by the already famous abbé (afterward cardinal) Melchior de Polignac ; and the young priest added his own eloquence so convincingly to that of the deceased Pontiff, that when he had departed, Louis said : "I have just been arguing with a man, and a young one, who continually contradicted me, without angering me for one instant" (1). The next Pope, Innocent XII., although Louis XIV. expected much from him, having favored his election, was as firm as Innocent XI. and Alexander VIII. in defending the interests of the Church. He was, personally, very favorable to the House of Bourbon ; thus, when Charles II., the childless king of Spain, consulted him as to his choice of an heir, he designated the grandson of Louis XIV., him who

(1) TOPIN ; *Europe and the Bourbons Under Louis XIV.*, p. 23. Paris, 1830.

afterward obtained the Spanish crown (1). But when the French monarch touched on the matter of confirming the episcopal nominations which were awaiting his decision, Innocent XII. repeated the injunctions of his two immediate predecessors, refusing the necessary Bulls until the acts of 1682 had been disavowed. How the firmness of the Pontiff was rewarded; how the French bishops disavowed the *Declaration* of 1682; and how the grand monarch made a complete retractation of the acts which were unworthy of the Eldest Son of the Church; we shall show in the following dissertation on the famous Assembly.

CHAPTER X.

GALLICANISM. THE DECLARATION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE FRENCH CLERGY IN 1682.

During the course of our disquisitions we have found so many occasions for comment on the theories of Gallican polemics concerning the relations of the Holy See with its spiritual subjects, and in regard to the relations of the spiritual hierarchy with the state, that no introduction to the study which we now approach is needed. We would remark, however, that although long usage has consecrated the application of the term "Gallican" to the principles once defended by so many "cismontane" publicists, and which were formally adopted by the Assembly which now claims our attention; that term is, nevertheless, a misnomer. Courtier-theologism and its consequent quasi-deification of the sovereign (or in the case of a republic, statolatry) have never been peculiarly French. But the term "Gallican" is especially misleading when it is applied to those who held anti-Roman views in regard to the internal government of the Church, and concerning the determination of matters of doctrine; for there was proportionably no larger number of decentralizing and anti-infallibilist theorizers in France than there was in any other country on this side of the Alps. Accuracy, therefore, would

(1) MIGNET; *Introduction to the History of the Spanish Succession*, Paris, 1845.—RANKE; *Papacy*, bk. viii., 17.—MOROSINI; *Relation on Rome*. Florence, 1707.

be attained more readily if, instead of the term "Gallican," we would apply the adjective "ecclesiarchist" to the school which, before the Œcumenical Council of the Vatican, held that the supreme definitory and governmental power of the Church resided in the Church taken in her universality, the Pope being the centre of unity and enjoying a primacy of honor and of (strange admission, in the premises) jurisdiction; and the same ratiocination would assign the term "cathedrarchist" to the more ancient teaching of the papal effective supremacy (1). Such or similar terms would probably have been employed by Catholic publicists, had they not been influenced by the pre-eminent position which France has continually held in Christendom, almost from the day of her baptism at Rheims; and by the ability of the French anti-infallibilists, which was always far greater than that of those of other nationalities.

Before we enter upon a study of the famous Assembly of 1682, we would remind the reader that before the thirteenth century, history makes no mention of those "liberties of the French Church," in the name of which the Assembly was convoked; and that, far from being understood by the subjects of King St. Louis as the Gallicans interpreted them, those words then signified the immunities or franchises which the holy monarch and his successors accorded to the ecclesiastics, by way of protection against the exactions of the royal officers and the feudal lords. In his ordinance of April, 1228, St. Louis, or rather, his mother, Blanche of Castile, then regent, says not a word about the relations of the clergy or the laity with the Roman Pontiff; and so favorable did it prove to the Church, that we find, in 1250, Pope Innocent IV. thanking the queen-mother for having issued it. But long afterward, during the Great Western Schism, which, as we have seen, can be charged, in last analysis, to the tyranny of Philip the Fair; the French clergy sought to protect themselves, by means of the royal authority, against the demands of rival Popes whose titles they could not satisfactorily weigh, again styling their ancient customs "liberties of the

(1) LE NOIR; *The Theological Dictionary of Bergier Adapted to the Intellectual Movement of the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*, art. *Gallicanism*. Paris, 1876.

French Church." Then the legists adopted the phrase to cover their usurpations of the rights of ecclesiastics and of the Holy See. Thus came into existence parliamentary Gallicanism, a very different thing from the episcopal, as Bossuet wrote to Cardinal d'Estrées: "In my sermon I was necessarily obliged to speak of the liberties of the French Church, and I proposed two things to myself; firstly, not to diminish at all the veritable grandeur of the Holy See, and secondly, to explain those liberties as the *bishops* understand them, and not as the *magistrates* interpret them" (1). The reader cannot too carefully bear in mind the delinquencies of the parliamentary jurists which were covered by the specious cloak of "liberties of the French Church." Fleury, than whom few Gallicans were more zealous, says: "They who cry so loudly about these liberties attack them bitterly when they push the claims of the king to excess; and herein the injustice of Dumoulin is insupportable. When there is a question of blaming the Pope, he talks only of ancient Canons; and when the king is concerned, no usage is either new or abusive. Dumoulin, as well as the jurists who follow his maxims, are like the modern heretics; and they would willingly subject even the spiritual power to the temporal sway of the prince. If some foreigner, zealous for the rights of the Church, and not disposed to flatter the secular power, were to undertake a treatise on the *Servitudes* of the French Church, he would find abundant material. . . . They who think that because the Pope is not their temporal ruler, they need observe no restraint when speaking of his rights, cause us to suspect that their zeal for the king comes from either interested flattery or servile fear" (2).

Gallican publicists generally laud the Assembly of 1682 as having been composed of men who were eminent in both piety and learning. The famous juriconsult, Dupin (*l'ainé*), ventures the assertion that "no assembly ever contained so many bishops and ecclesiastics who were noted for virtue and enlightenment" (3); and he adduces, as corroborative of his opinion, the brilliant picture which the most satisfactory bi-

(1) Letter of Dec., 1681.

(2) *Minor Works (New)*; p. 156, *et seqq.*

(3) *Manual of French Ecclesiastical Law*. Paris, 1845.

ographer of Bossuet presents to our gaze, as he descants on the French Church of that day. "The Church of France was then distinguished, in an eminent degree, for those virtues, talents, regularity of morals, and a spirit of order and submission, which assure the success of religion, and the peace of empires. In the first rank were seen bishops whose names have been consecrated by the respect and admiration of posterity; or whose virtues, perhaps less striking, but no less useful, have rendered their memories dear to the dioceses which they governed. In a lower rank was a multitude of ecclesiastics spread throughout France, many of whom, by their example and their writings, incited all classes of society to love of religion, to a taste for virtue; and to respect for morality; while others founded or directed establishments of all kinds, which Christian charity had prepared for poverty, misfortune, and every human infirmity. Religious Orders or secular Congregations devoted themselves with as much zeal as disinterestedness to every branch of public instruction; or consecrated themselves to those profound investigations which still enrich every great library in Europe. Such was the beautiful spectacle presented by the Church of France at the time when the Assembly of 1682 was opened" (1). Bausset has good reason to admire "the beautiful spectacle presented by the Church of France," no less in the seventeenth century than at any other period since it issued from the Baptistry of Rheims; but his implication that the Assembly of 1682 was composed of the *élite* of that generally pious and enlightened body, in fine, that it well and properly represented the Church of France, is contradicted by the cold facts of history. It shall be our task to show that most of the thirty-six bishops, and most of the thirty-eight priests, who formed the famous Assembly, were by no means of a calibre which would justify a favorable comparison of them with the members of "any other ecclesiastical assembly." In the first place, we must note that at the time of the opening of the Assembly of 1682, the Church of France was in a state of decadence; Louis XIV., sincerely pious though he was, especially at that time, thanks to the influence of Mme. de Maintenon, had neverthe-

1) BAUSSET; *History of Bossuet*, bk. vi. Paris, 1846.

less delivered or allowed to be delivered, many blows against the purity and liberty of the French episcopal body. The progress of reformation, incited by the Council of Trent, and which even the philosophistic Cousin acclaimed with admiration (1), had been arrested. Sts. Francis de Sales and Chantal, Sts. Vincent de Paul and Francis Regis, Eudes and Condren, Olier and Bourdaloue, had gone to their reward; and their places were not filled. Certainly there remained one of that galaxy of saints which will ever be the chief glory of the France of the seventeenth century,—that holy canon of Rheims, whom we now venerate as Blessed La Salle, the founder of the Brothers of the Christian Schools; but such an abbé was not of the material which the Gallican jurists desired for the Assembly which was to defend the “liberties” of their Church from the “encroachments” of Rome, and instead of nominating him, they procured the election of his unworthy fellow-canon, the epicurean, Maucroix, of whom the best thing that could be said was that, in the words of Le Gendre, he was “*homo lepore et venustate affluens, non tam suis quam alienis luminibus clarus*—fit, in fine, to become the secretary of the Assembly. None of the holy ecclesiastics just mentioned would have served the cause of Gallicanism; all of them, and all who were at all similar to them, whether regulars or seculars, religious or women of the world, ever demonstrated their childlike fidelity to the Holy See. There were the communities instituted by Olier at Saint-Sulpice, by Bourdoise at Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, and by Claude Bernard at the Seminary des Trente-trois; all destined to bind France and

(1) “The religious spirit, after having overflowed in the civil wars, and given birth to the great crimes and great virtues of the League, purified but not weakened by the Edict of Nantes and the policy of Henry IV., found new force in peace, and covered France no longer with factions armed against each other, but with pious institutions in which tired souls hastened to find a refuge. Everywhere the ancient Orders were reformed, and new ones founded. Richelieu undertook courageously a reformation of the clergy, created seminaries, and fixed the Sorbonne as their model and tribunal. Berulle instituted the Oratory, and Cæsar de Bus the Christian Doctrine. The Jesuits, born in the middle of the sixteenth century, and who had so quickly spread over France, and who had been momentarily decried and even banished because of their share in culpable excesses (?), gradually regained favor under the ægis of the immense services which their heroism was rendering, every day beyond the ocean, to Christianity and civilization. The Order of St. Benedict revived in a salutary reform, and the Benedictines of Saint-Maur foreshadowed their gigantic labors. But who could enumerate the beautiful institutions destined to women, during the first half of the seventeenth century?” *Studies on the Celebrated Women of the 17th Century. Mme. de Longueville*, ch. 1.

Rome more closely. No "ultramontane" ever spoke more fervently against Gallicanism than did St. Vincent de Paul, the friend and disciple of that champion of the Papacy, the dean of the Theological Faculty of Paris, the Carmelite Duval; and so odious to the Gallican jurists, for many years, was the very memory of the apostle of charity, that on Jan. 4, 1738, the Parliament of Paris ordered the suppression of the Papal Bull for his canonization. The grand institution of the Foreign Missions, founded by the Abbé Vincent de Meurs in 1663, was ever distinguished for its "ultramontanism"; and the Jesuit Bagot, its spiritual director for many years, was bitterly censured by his Gallican contemporaries. The records of the time tell of the parliamentary persecutions which afflicted the last years of Jean Eudes, the founder of the Eudists. In fine, none of the founders or reformers of religious communities in the France of the seventeenth century held the doctrines which were formulated in the Four Propositions; and it is certain, from the admission of the bishops of 1682, that "ultramontane maxims" were very prevalent in ecclesiastical circles during the reign of Louis XIII. and during the minority of Louis XIV.—precisely the period when the Catholic renaissance in France most flourished.

Joseph de Maistre tells us of an archbishop of Mohilew, who, in the hearing of the entire Russian court, cried out, as the crowned ecclesiastico-political autocrat of the Muscovites entered the hall: "Behold my Pope!" (1). And Gérin asks his reader whether there was much difference between his Grace of Mohilew and the two prelates who were successively presidents of the Assembly of 1682. The judgments of that interesting anecdotist, the duke de Saint-Simon, but too frequently need revision; but his portrait of François Harlay de Champvallon, archbishop of Paris, duke de Saint-Cloud and peer of France, commander of the royal orders, provost of the Sorbonne and of the College of Navarre, abbot of Jumiège, etc., etc., is confirmed by contemporary evidence. Speaking of the disgrace and death of the prelate, Saint-Simon says: "Harlay had reigned over the clergy through the declared favor of the king. . . . His course during the famous

(1) *Letter to the Archbishop of Ragusa*, 1816.

Assembly of 1682 had confirmed him in the favor of the monarch. His profound learning, the eloquence and ease of his sermons, his happy choice of subjects, the able government of his diocese, and his capacity for business, were counter-balanced by his private conduct, his habits of gallantry, and his manners *de courtisan de grand air*. His broad, just, and solid intelligence, which made him a grand bishop, so far as government was concerned, and which made him an amiable *grand seigneur* and a perfect courtier, could not reconcile him to sudden disgrace. . . . He was abandoned by all, when he could no longer dispose of bishoprics and abbeys. All the charms of his body and mind, which were very great and natural to him, disappeared. . . . Father Gaillard preached his funeral eulogy at Notre-Dame; the subject was very delicate, and the end had been terrible (1). The celebrated Jesuit made up his mind; he praised what could be praised, and cut short the matter of morality" (2). Nearly all the public acts of Harlay were redolent of his abject servility to the will of the king; and he continually sought for occasions for demonstrations of his "loyalty." One instance of this propensity is very eloquent. Alexander VII. had canonized the holy bishop of Geneva, Francis de Sales, on April 19, 1665; and for more than a year Harlay, then archbishop of Rouen, had taken no official cognizance of the fact. On Nov. 5, the prelate wrote to Le Tellier, the secretary of state: "The Daughters of the Visitation of this city have sent to me the Bull of Canonization of M. de Sales, bishop of Geneva; at the same time urging me to perform a function in his honor. Having read the Bull, I found therein two things which appear to me to be worthy of consideration. Firstly, this Bull is not addressed to the bishops—a procedure which is contrary to the customary form when Apostolic Constitutions are sent for promulgation: 'Wherefore we command our venerable brethren, the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, etc.' Secondly, accompanying this Bull *there are no letters-patent*

(1) After the sudden death of Harlay, on Aug. 12, 1695, Mme. de Coulanges wrote to Mme. de Sévigné: "They are trying to find some one who will undertake to deliver a funeral oration; and they say that only two little matters render the task difficult—the prelate's life and his death."

(2) *Memoirs*, vol. i., ch. 17.

of his Majesty; in spite of the fact that the Royal Council has declared that this formality is so essential, that only the Bulls for Jubilees and the private Briefs of the *Penitentiaria* are exempted from it. I may add, in the third place, that *this Bull has not been sent to me by a person who has the power, in this kingdom, to forward to me any Papal Bull or Brief*. Therefore, Monsieur, in order that I may do nothing in this matter which might derogate from the rights or intentions of his Majesty, I beg of you to acquaint his Majesty with my scruples ; etc.,” *usque ad nauseam* (1). If the reader still thinks that Harlay may have been one of those prelates whose “spirit of order and submission” is so extolled by Bausset, let him meditate on the readiness of this future president of the Assembly to insult the Supreme Pontiff in the person of a Papal ambassador. In Nov., 1678, the nuncio, Varese, died at Paris, after having received the Last Sacraments from a Capuchin friar, his ordinary confessor, and after having requested the burial of his body in the church of the Theatines. Pretending that the “liberties” of the Church of France had been violated by the friar and his superior, Harlay ordered the arrest of the former, and transported the latter’s body to the parochial church. The poor Capuchin was tried in the archiepiscopal court for having “usurped” the prerogative of the parish clergy, and he was prohibited to administer any Sacraments in the diocese of Paris ; although it is certain that then as now, as even the panegyrists of Harlay admit, papal nuncios exercised episcopal jurisdiction in their own residences, being subject to no territorial episcopal authority (2). Two years after this exhibition of his “spirit of submission” to ecclesiastical law, Harlay dared to boast of his alleged moderation, telling the members of the Assembly of 1680 that “they would undoubtedly agree with his belief that the culprit might properly have been punished more severely.” And that Assembly, a worthy forerunner of that of 1682, thanked its president “for having, on the said occasion, sustained so justly and temperately the authority of the ordinaries, and the rights of the

(1) MS. Fr. 20,740, in the National Library at Paris.

(2) LE GENDRE : *Memoires*, p. 153.

parish-priests" (1). Truly this archbishop must have been one of those of his Gallican brethren who gave Bossuet "good reason to fear" for the future of the French Church (2); and it is not strange that the Eagle of Meaux afterward declared: "In all these things the late archbishop of Paris merely flattered the court, hearkened to the ministers, and blindly executed their wills, just like a valet" (3). Well might Fénelon, writing to Louis XIV., say of this prelate, who, together with Colbert, influenced the Assembly of 1682 more than any other: "You have an archbishop who is corrupt, scandalous, incorrigible, false, malign, astute, an enemy of every virtue, and one who causes every honest man to groan. You make good use of him, since he dreams of nothing else than how to gratify you by his flatteries. For more than twenty years he has enjoyed your confidence by prostituting his honor. You deliver honest men into his hands, and allow him to tyrannize over the Church. You treat no virtuous prelate so well as you treat him." Need we say any more concerning this first president of the Assembly of 1682? He must have been indeed a disgrace to the Church of France, when his character compelled the gentle Fénelon to thus upbraid his royal protector. In fine, Harlay was a perfect specimen of a courtier-bishop, one of that class which so commonly glittered at the court of the Hohenstaufen in the olden time, and the perpetuation of which was to become one of the chief reasons for the German religious rebellion of the sixteenth century. In the words of Sainte-Beuve, in Harlay "the Catholic and the Christian yielded precedence to the subject. God and the Pope came afterward. 'The king above all' was his motto" (4).

The second president of the Assembly of 1682 was Charles-Maurice le Tellier, a son of the celebrated chancellor, a brother of the marquis de Louvois, and archbishop of Rheims. Born in 1642, he was in his eleventh year when the king conferred on him the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Pierre de Lagny; and when the Pope refused to confirm the nomination.

(1) *Procès-Verbal of the Clergy*, vol. v., p. 327.

(2) *Letter to M. de Ranée*, Sept., 1681.

(3) So says his secretary, Ledieu, in his *Diary*.

(4) *New Monday Chats*, vol. v.

the Grand Council of State issued a decree empowering the boy to enjoy the revenues of the abbey, "just as though the Papal Bull had been expedited" (1). The lad made his ecclesiastical studies with distinction, and four years after his ordination, he was made coadjutor to the archbishop of Rheims. When he succeeded to the see of Rheims, he immediately manifested his contempt for the pontifical authority, and for the ecclesiastical canons, by an act which scandalized even Harlay. Writing to Colbert on Aug. 10, 1671, Harlay says: "Monseigneur the coadjutor of Rheims is the first in the Church of God to cause the cross to be borne before him, ere he has received the *Pallium*, according to the rules of the *Pontificale*, from the hands of a commissary-apostolic. Whether he has done well or not, I leave to you" (2). Pope Innocent XI. deemed it prudent to ignore this indication of insubordination, probably because the prelate took care to assure his Holiness that he regarded the Roman Pontiff as being thenceforth to him "*unam hanc lucem in tenebris, hoc robur apostolicum in infirmitate, et summum illud discipline studium*" (3). But we find him writing to the royal procurator-general, on June 24, 1681, as follows: "I deserve the good opinion of me which you entertain, only because of my sincere desire to do my duty always with the firmness and dignity which befit one *whom fortune has raised* to a position so eminent as mine. *In every difficult contingency of my life, I shall always regulate my conduct by your advice and example. This is not at all a compliment, but my sincere intention*" (4). The spirit of this letter precludes any necessity of dilating on the character of this second president of the Assembly of 1682. Our limits forbid a notice of all the members of this convention; but our object, a refutation of the too prevalent idea that they represented the piety and ecclesiastical learning of France, demands a brief sketch of the most prominent among them. Jacques-Nicolas Colbert, titular archbishop of Carthage, and coadjutor to the archbishop of Rouen, was a son of that great Colbert whom Mazarin bequeathed to Louis XIV., just as Richelieu had bequeathed the Italian diplomat to Louis

(1) MS. Fr. 20,750, in the National Library at Paris.

(2) *Correspondence of Colbert*, 157.

(3) MS. Fr. 20,709, Nat. Libr.

(4) MS. Fr. 17,416, Nat. Libr.

XIII.; and who, although he performed inestimable services for France in the political order, greatly injured her by the avidity with which he ever seized on her richest benefices for the endowment of his relatives (1). The young Nicolas was only twenty-six years of age, when his father persuaded the king to ask Pope Innocent XI. to appoint him to the coadjutorship of Rouen. His episcopal novitiate was signalized by his signature to the Four Articles, the Assembly having admitted him to a seat as alternate for the incumbent of Rouen. When he succeeded to that see, he tried, like Le Tellier, to evade the obligation of receiving the *Pallium* from the Pontiff, who had refused to accord that essential until Colbert would have given the satisfactions which the Holy See had imposed on all the deputies of 1682 who had been promoted to the mitre since that date. He commissioned a number of experts in history to delve into the records of the past, in order to find, if possible, examples which might justify his disobedience. Among these experts was the famous Baluze, who seems to have been dismayed at the probable consequences of his complicity. On Sept. 24, 1691, Baluze writes: "According to my promise, Monseigneur, I send whatever I have been able to gather in reference to your difficulty with Rome in the matter of the *Pallium*. I now take the liberty of repeating what I have already told you; that this memorial should be kept secret. You might write to Rome that you have discovered proofs that the Popes have not always insisted on the necessity, as an essential, of an archbishop's receiving the *Pallium* before he exercises his functions; and you might say that the ancient bishops of France thought that when the *Pallium* was refused without legitimate cause, the archbishop was not bound to abstain from the exercise of his ministry. I beg you most humbly, Monseigneur, to reply as soon as you receive this memorial, so that I may not suffer because of it" (2). Joined to this document is a memorandum in the writing of the perturbed pre-

(1) Two of his sisters held the great abbeys of Sainte-Claire de Reims, and of Lis, near Melun. One of his brothers, bishop of Auxerre, having died in 1676, he put in his place his cousin Andrew, who, together with another cousin, the bishop of Montauban, attended the Assembly of 1682. His son Anthony wore the grand-cross of Malta. The eldest of all his sons, the marquis de Seignelay, enjoyed many benefices, although he remained a layman.

(2) *Correspondence of Colbert*, vol. vii.

late: "To write to the Pope, skilfully giving him to understand that I can exercise my functions without a *Pallium*. . . . To make him understand that I shall officiate, even if he refuses the *Pallium*." His Grace of Rouen finally yielded; but it was only in obedience to the command of Louis XIV., and not because he wished to obey "the prescriptions of the Canon Law, and the usage of France," which he recognized as admitting his need of the *Pallium* in order to officiate legitimately as an archbishop (1). Like the archbishop of Rheims, Colbert was fond of luxury; and this trait caused Fénelon, not yet a bishop, to write to him on April 8, 1692: "Will not those two mansions (2), which were regarded as beautiful by so many cardinals and by so many princes of the blood-royal, suffice for you? Have you no more urgent use for your money? Remember, Monseigneur, that your ecclesiastical revenues are the patrimony of the poor, that those poor persons are your children, and that on every side they are dying of hunger. I tell you what Dom Bartholomew said to Pius IV. when that Pope showed his buildings; '*Dic ut lapides isti panes fiant.*'" Saint-Simon, in his eulogy on this Archbishop Colbert, observes that the prelate was "often at loggerheads with the Jesuits"; but he might have added, observes Gérin, that therein he was like Le Tellier, who "kept up an extensive correspondence with Quesnel"; and that he threw himself into the arms of the Jansenists, like his cousin, Colbert de Croissy, bishop of Montpellier. "What a pleasant Jansenism," exclaims Le Gendre, "was that of this archbishop! In his pastorals he thundered against laxism; but he kept a corps of musicians, and no furniture was sumptuous enough for him. He cried out against ecclesiastics who were too worldly; and he was an inveterate gambler. He loved the company of women, and he was a high liver. Having lived too fast, he died young, and of a cancer. His Jansenism consisted in a supreme hatred of the Jesuits, and in allowing his grand-vicars, very depraved men, to rule his vast diocese according to the maxims of the Jansenist fac-

(1) Letter to the King. *Ibid.*

(2) The chateau de Gaillon, built by the great cardinal d'Amboise, and another archiepiscopal residence.

tion" (1). Another metropolitan worthy of mention was Phélypeaux de la Vrillière, archbishop of Bourges, a brother of the marquis de Chateauneuf, secretary of state. Chateauneuf was the minister who had been charged with the execution, in the diocese of Pamier, of the edicts concerning the *Regalia*; and he was persuaded that his brother would defend his acts in the Assembly. Brulart de Genlis, archbishop of Embrun, should not be forgotten. Son of a lieutenant-general, and brother of three colonels and of a captain of a ship of the line, he had in his diocese a reputation more military than ecclesiastical. He was so much of a flatterer, says Racine (2), that Louis XIV. was wont to ridicule him before the court. Louis d'Anglure de Bourlemont, archbishop of Bordeaux, had been an auditor of the *Ruota* in Rome during the affair of the Corsican Guards, of which we have treated in the previous chapter. During the entire controversy, he held with Colbert a correspondence which shows that like his brother, the archbishop of Toulouse, whom we have already met as an antagonist of Pope Alexander VII., he was ever ready to sacrifice the dearest interests of the Church to every unjust pretension of the civil power. Jean-Baptiste Colbert de Saint-Pouange de Villecerf, bishop of Montauban, and a cousin of the great Colbert, was more of a financier than a bishop; and according to the authors of *Christian Gaul*, he was in constant altercation "with his Chapter and with all of his clergy, both secular and regular, on account of his extravagant contributions to the royal exchequer" (3). François Bouthillier de Chavigny, bishop of Troyes, was a man of fine intelligence, but a thorough worldling. Very little of his time was spent in his diocese; he preferred the society of Paris, especially that of its ladies, who were very fond of him, but would call him "that dog of a bishop," when he won their money at play. It is edifying to learn that in 1697 he resigned his diocese, and entered on a life of penance (4).

(1) *Loc. cit.*, p. 75.

(2) *Historical Fragments.*

(3) Vol. xiii., col. 71.

(4) "Reflection began to disturb his pleasures, and he disputed with it; but finally experience taught him that he would always be conquered, if he did not cast off his chains in such fashion as would prevent his resuming them. . . . He informed the king that he needed retirement and penance; and that he would never have the strength to seek them, so long as any pretext whatever retained him in society. He tendered to the king the resignation of his diocese, telling his Majesty that if he wished to fill his servant with gratitude, he would

Gilbert de Choiseul du Plessis-Praslin, bishop of Tournai, was the first Frenchman to occupy that see after the French conquest of the Low Countries. He had been bishop of Comminges; and as such he had played an equivocal part in that period of the Jansenistic troubles which preceded the "Peace of the Church." He had arranged a scheme of compromise which paved the way for doubts in faith; and consequently, says Racine, "the bishop of Comminges was piqued by the contempt which the Pope manifested for him" (1). His character is indicated in his correspondence with Archbishop Le Tellier, in reference to an intrigue which the precious pair were conducting to the detriment of Choiseul's metropolitan, the archbishop of Cambrai. "I send you, Monseigneur, the consent of our Chapter, and that of the community of Saint-Amant. Only with great difficulty have I obtained them; *it was only respect for the will of the king that procured them. . . . When I told the Chapter that the king so willed, all submissively obeyed.* The community of Saint-Amant at first proposed to remonstrate with his Majesty, but when I showed them that such action would probably displease the king, they gave to me the document which I now forward to you. . . . *When the present abbot was about to be blessed by me, just before the ceremony, I was informed that the Pope had prohibited it. The prince was then here in command of the forces; so I sent to him to learn what was to be done. He summoned the governor and the intendant; and having heard their opinion, he told me to proceed with the function. I proceeded.*" (2). It was to be expected that one so subservient to the royal wishes would not fail the king in the important Assembly of 1682; indeed, the zeal of Choiseul carried him so much further than his Majesty had intended, that the Assembly, seeing that he was about to advance downright her-

give the bishopric to the Abbé de Chavigny, his nephew, who had enough of age, and much more of virtue and learning. The king loved my lord of Troyes, in spite of his dissipation; and he accorded his request on the spot. After the audience, the bishop returned to Paris, but would not speak to a soul; and on the next day he departed for Troyes, where he effected all that he had proposed, never afterward seeing any person saving his nephew and his priests, even on matters of business, but remaining entirely consecrated to prayer, penance, and perfect solitude." SAINT-SIMON: *Memoires*, vol. i., p. 271.

(1) *Abridgement of the History of Port-Royal*, Edit. Regnier, vol. iv., p. 542.

(2) MS. Fr. 6,901, Nat. Libr.

esy in the composition of the Four Articles which had been entrusted to him, withdrew the commission from him, and confided it to Bossuet (1). Antoine de Noailles, bishop and count of Chalons, and destined to be archbishop of Paris, was a man of real virtue ; but he neutralized its effects by a weakness of character which made him a plaything for the Jansenists, no less than for the court. Sebastien de Guémadeuc, bishop of Saint-Malo, was so hare-brained that Mme. de Sévigné, a relative, styled him "a mitred linnet," when he was sixty years old. Complaining of the dearth of amusement in Brittany at that time, she says : "But my lord of Saint-Malo, a mitred linnet at his sixtieth year, has begun to amuse us. Do you think he does so with the prayers of the Forty Hours ? He gives a ball and a grand supper to all the ladies—a public scandal" (2). Alphonse de Valbelle, bishop of Alet, was a cousin of the husband of that daughter of Mme. de Sévigné to whom the charming writer addressed the best of her letters. She often speaks of him as a coxcomb—*un freluquet* ; as one "who is a flatterer, who gambles, who sups with the ladies, who goes to the opera, and who resides not in his diocese—things which surprise one at first, but to which one grows accustomed" (3). This is the Valbelle who tried to add to the troubles of Fénelon, his metropolitan, in the matter of the *Maxims of the Saints*. "He suggested to the Assembly that it was not enough to condemn the *Maxims* ; that at the same time they should censure all the writings in which my lord of Cambrai had defended that work. The archbishop responded modestly that he agreed, with all his heart. This reply did not satisfy my lord of Saint-Omer (4), who yearned to distinguish himself, and to be a subject of conversation. He took fire, and emitted a lot of lengthy and violent arguments to which my lord of Cambrai listened serenely, and returned not a word. When the Provençal was tired, my lord of Cambrai observed that he had nothing to add to the reply he had already made to the suggestion of his lordship of Saint-Omer ; that it was for the other prelates

(1) *Notes of Fleury*.

(2) Letter to Mme. de Grignan, Dec. 8, 1675.

(3) To same, Aug. 4, 1680.

(4) Valbelle had been transferred to the see of Saint-Omer shortly after the Assembly of 1682.

to decide in the matter. Then my lords of Arras and Tournai hastened to range themselves on the side of my lord of Cambrai, indignantly imposing silence on his lordship of Saint-Omer, who continued to mutter and gnash his teeth" (1). Roquette, bishop of Autun, whose name occurs frequently in the writings of the seventeenth century, was a man of any and every party, according to his interests of the moment. If we do not wish to credit Daniel de Cosnac, bishop of Valence, himself a champion intriguer, when he describes Roquette as "uniting in himself all the characteristics of *Tartuffe*" (2), we may at least believe the authors of *Christian Gaul* when they represent him as despoiling his clergy at every dictate of royal caprice. Daquin, bishop of Frejus, was indebted for his mitre to the influence of his brother, the chief physician of the king. Le Gendre says that "he was odious to his people, and a man of bad reputation." François Placide de Baudri de Piancour, bishop of Mende, had been abbot of the monastery of Croix-Saint-Leufroi (Evreux), a celebrated nursery of monastic learning and virtue founded by St. Leufroi in the eighth century. He was a friend of Harlay; and therefore it is not surprising that, in return for a rich bishopric, he should have resigned his abbatial crozier in order that the *commendam* might be given to Pelot, a son of the president of the parliament of Rouen. Fear of fatiguing the reader leads us to omit any notice of several other episcopal members of the Assembly of 1682, whose records might well be adduced in refutation of the too prevalent idea which would make French Christianity responsible for the aberrations of Gallican jurists and court-theologians. A word, however, should be devoted to Forbin-Janson, bishop of Beauvais, who was entrusted, together with Cardinal d'Estrées, with the negotiations at Rome which were entailed by the events of 1682. Janson would have been enrolled in the Sacred College by Pope Innocent XI., as that Pontiff declared in full Consistory, had he not demonstrated his unworthiness by his conduct while representing the Most Christian King in Poland. He had concluded a secret treaty with the Sublime Porte, whereby the Turks were invited to occupy Poland;

(1) SAINT-SIMON; *loc. cit.*, vol. II., p. 3.

(2) *Memoirs*, vol. II., p. 195.

and this action merited for him, on the part of Innocent XI., the name of "the Turkish prelate" (1). We may also observe that when Pope Alexander VIII., in order to humor Louis XIV., raised Janson to the Sacred College, the wits of Paris termed him "Cardinal Bontemps," because Bontemps, the favorite valet of the king, had chiefly contributed to his elevation. When he was sent to request Pope Clement XI. to invest Philip V. (grandson of Louis XIV., whom that monarch had made king of Spain) with the crown of Naples, he conducted himself so insolently that he nearly failed in his object. The marquis of Louville, an agent of Philip V., narrates the strange proceedings of Janson and the duke d'Uzeda, another agent of Philip, whom the prelate had imbued with his own animosities against the court of Rome. "They had both adopted a singular method of ingratiating themselves with the Roman court. They would frequently and everywhere, even at the table before their servants, remark that the Pope was a knave; that the cardinals were robbers; that the sovereigns ought to throw off the yoke of such rascals; and they would utter other observations of similar diplomatic tenor" (2). Such was the material of which the majority of the episcopal members of the Assembly of 1682 was composed. France was filled, at that time, with prelates and priests who exercised a salutary influence over their countrymen, and whose memories are still held in benediction by those whom the fell spirit of the Revolution has not rendered unworthy of the Land of the Lilies. For instance, there was Henri de Barillon, bishop of Luçon, who supported himself on his own patrimony, turning over the revenues from all his benefices to the poor; who, from his private funds built and endowed a seminary and three hospitals; and who, with the same money, continually aided the persecuted Catholics of England and Ireland, and encouraged the mis-

(1) "The bishop of Marseilles (at this time Janson occupied that see) did not boast only to the French court that he had effected the Peace of Zurawno; he proclaimed the fact to all Poland. The whole world believed it, for the Peace favored the designs of Louis XIV. and the emperor was made to fear that the Turks were about to annex his hereditary states." SALVANDY: *History of Sobieski*, vol. ii., p. 69. Paris, 1850—Writing to her daughter on April 29, 1676, Mme. de Sévigné asked: "What do you think of our happiness in having our friend, the Turk, come into Hungary?"

(2) *Memoires of Louville*, vol. i., p. 253. Edit. 1818, Paris.

sionaries in the Indies. There was Armand de Béthune, bishop of Puy, who, when raised to the mitre, would not retain his commendatory abbey of Vernouse ; who did not once visit the court, but passed his episcopal career among his people, founding asylums, reforming monasteries and nunneries, and beautifying churches. There was François de Nesmond, bishop of Bayeux, who would accept no benefice save that of his bishopric, but who nevertheless erected two seminaries and a hospital. There was Jean-Baptiste de Beaumanoir de Lavardin, bishop of Rennes, of whose sanctity we have the following attestation, written in the register of their hospital by the gentle Sisters whom he aided in their work of mercy : "He lived and died a saint, seeking only the glory of God, the good of the province, and the prosperity of those who had the honor of his guidance. His was a straight-forward soul, never influenced by favor or interest. His charity exceeded his other virtues ; two years before his death he sold all his family silver, distributing the proceeds among the poor, his cathedral, and the poor scholars who were preparing for the priesthood. In short, he was the first bishop of the kingdom. Louis XIV. rendered him justice after his death, although he had not been very well pleased with him, on account of his course in that Assembly of the Clergy which was held to treat of the matter of the *Regalia*, where only he, my lord of Grenoble, and a third, defended the rights of the Pope. Speaking of the action of these three prelates, the king said concerning the others : '*It is not the fault of those gentlemen that I have not donned the turban*'" (1). We need devote no space to the ecclesiastics "of the second order," since their voices in the Assembly were merely consultative, not deliberative. Suffice it to say that, just as in the case of the episcopal members, so their election was not a free choice of the French clergy ; all were designated, and practically chosen, by Louis XIV. But this matter of the election of members to the famous convention merits special consideration.

When his Most Christian Majesty of France had resolved on a convocation of the clergy of his kingdom in order to terminate, if possible, his dissension with the Holy See in

(1) DOM PIOLIN ; *History of the Church of Mans*, vol. vi., p. 358. Paris, 1870.

the matter of the *Regalia*, he was confronted by a serious difficulty. Of course he wished that the projected convention should present an authoritative front to expectant France, and that it should produce a powerful impression on the mind of the Holy See. Only a National Council could serve this double purpose ; but if such an assembly were proposed, his object would be frustrated by an observance of the canonical forms without which it would be illegitimate. Firstly, the consent of the Roman Pontiff would be necessary ; and it was not to be expected that the Head of the Church would authorize a reunion which was ostentatiously designed to deny his prerogatives. Secondly, a National Council would entail the necessity of inviting every bishop in France ; and the royal counsellors knew well that such a convention would not approve their schemes. There remained, therefore, only the alternative of convoking one of those quinquennial Assemblies which the laws of the kingdom prescribed, and which were attended by only a portion of the French clergy. But here there arose another difficulty. The king was seeking for a theological decision ; and an Assembly of the Clergy, so called, was summoned simply as an order of the state, and under the protection of the monarch, not as an episcopal body to judge of doctrine and to promulgate canons of discipline. In spite of this cold fact, the royal jurists intended to give to the coming Assembly a spiritual character ; and when they met, the episcopal members solemnly claimed that character, when they refused the demand of their priestly colleagues to be accorded deliberative votes. By the mouth of the archbishop of Paris, the bishops declared : “ The members of the second order have deliberative votes in temporal matters ; *but since the object of this Assembly is nearly entirely spiritual,*” the demand should be rejected (1). The manifest incompetence of the Assembly in spiritual matters has been plain to nearly all Gallican apologists ; but they have feigned to discover in the “ precautions ” taken by the king an assurance of the authority of the men whom he summoned—a position worthy of those who, to use the words of Gérin, “ had less of respect for the Councils of Nice and Trent than for the Assembly of

(1) *Procès-Verbal*, vol. v., p. 329.

1682, and who would have abandoned a half of the *Creed* for the Four Articles" (1). As for the "precautions" taken by Louis XIV., we shall show that they served not to secure a representation of the Church of France, but rather to secure an attendance of men who would do the will of the court. In all the Assemblies of the Clergy since the minority of Louis XIV., the court had signified to the Provincial Assemblies the names either of those whom it would like to see in the General Assembly, or of those whom it would reject, if they were sent to it. Here is a specimen of these warnings: "To our loving lieges. Having learned that in the last Assembly of your province measures were taken to depute N.... to the General Assembly of the Clergy, we send you this letter to inform you that for very important reasons concerning the good of our service, we will that notwithstanding any engagement which you may have made in regard to the said N...., you choose another deputy in his place. Fail not in this, for such is our pleasure" (2). And here is a specimen of the obedience always accorded to such missives: "Monsieur, today was held the Provincial Assembly of the Clergy, in which my lord the archbishop of Bourges was appointed a deputy to the General Assembly, after the members had learned that such was his Majesty's desire" (3). For the General Assembly of 1682, however, other "precautions" were taken. The court not only designated the deputies, but it furnished to each Provincial Assembly a model of the instructions, *procuration*, which it was to give to its deputies. This *procuracion* had been composed by Harlay, under orders from the king; but his Majesty delicately desired that his part in the matter should be veiled. On June 16, 1681, Colbert wrote to Harlay: "My lord, as his Majesty has deemed it best that he should not appear to have determined the matters to be treated in the Assembly, he has resolved to give orders, *by word of mouth*, to the agents-general of the clergy that they send this *procuracion* to the archbishops, explaining to them that it has been drawn by commissioners appointed in the last Assembly, . . . His Majesty will see that the provincial intendants re-

(1) *Historical Researches on the Assembly of the Clergy in 1682*. Paris, 1868.

(2) *Register of the Secretariate of the King's Household*, 1675, in the National Archives.

(3) Poncet de la Rivière to Colbert, dated Bourges, May 14, 1675; in the *Mémoires de Colbert*, 171.

ceive orders to explain to the archbishops *his intentions* in regard to the said *procuration* " (1). The king was very careful that the Provincial Assemblies, which were to choose deputies for the general convention, should be composed of men who would do his bidding. Writing to the archbishop of Besançon, on Aug. 10, 1681, he says: "I make known to you that I consider it necessary that you call to your Provincial Assembly the bishop of Belley and *such abbés as have been benefited by me*, and only those of high dignity. . . . I doubt not that you will effect all that I ask of you " (2). And Colbert takes care to say to the prelate at the same time: "You will see by the accompanying letter from the king *what are his Majesty's intentions as to the persons who are to be admitted to your Provincial Assembly in order to name, etc.*" On Sept. 21, 1681, Colbert signified to the archbishop of Rouen the royal desire for the nomination of the bishop of Lisieux as a deputy from that province; and the prelate having been named, but being prevented by an accident from going to Paris, his Majesty considerably relieved the electors of trouble by himself nominating the bishop of Avranches. We could examine, one by one, the records of the election of every other member of the Assembly of 1682; and in nearly every case the result would be a corroboration of the assertion that the signers of the Four Articles cannot be regarded as representatives of the Church of France. Only one additional testimony do we wish to adduce, that of the intrepid Cerle, the legitimate administrator of the diocese of Pamiers, whom we have seen executed in effigy because of his defense of the real "liberties" of ecclesiastical France. On Aug. 4, 1681, in accordance with the orders Cerle had given from his place of exile, there was found affixed to the portal of the archiepiscopal palace in Toulouse the following protest: "The nomination of deputies is not free; for it is notorious that his lordship of Toulouse has been ordered to procure the nomination of the bishops of Montauban and of Lavaur, although they are absent, and of the official and theological of Paris, who do not belong to the province of Toulouse, and have no benefices in that province " (3).

(1) *Register of the Secretariate*, 1681.

(2) MS. Fr. 6,657, Nat. Libr.

(3) MS. Fr. 6,902, Nat. Libr.

When the event had proved the truth of Cerle's assertion, he caused to be nailed on the door of the archiepiscopal palace in Paris his second protest: "Jean Cerles, priest; vicar-general and official of the Church of Pamiers, in the vacancy of the see, confirmed by the Apostolic authority: 'The care taken by my lord the archbishop of Toulouse to cause the parliament to condemn to the flames our act of protestation against his Provincial Assembly, has given such publicity to our opposition, that now there is undoubtedly no bishop in the kingdom unacquainted with it. The event has confirmed our prediction concerning the nomination of their lordships the bishops of Montauban and of Lavaur for the first order of deputies, and of the official and theologal of Paris for the second. Our protest against the choice of these deputies has been justified; it is notorious that these nominations were inspired and even specified by the court. Therefore they are suspicious in the eyes of the churches, since the question is one of defending the interests of the churches against the pretensions of his Majesty. . . . The matters in question cannot be discussed in a General Assembly; since a decision concerning them is now pending at the tribunal of the Holy See. Again, even though the Holy See had not reserved this decision to itself, the matter, being of a general nature, could be considered only in a National Council; and the convocation of such a convention would need the approbation of the Pope" (1). Concluding his protest, Cerle applied to the other Provincial Assemblies the reasonings he had advanced in regard to that of Toulouse.

A very eloquent illustration of the character of the Assembly of 1682 is found in the care taken by the court to prevent the attendance of the archbishop of Lyons, whose primatial dignity—attached to that see down to the time of the Revolution—would have given to him the presidency of the convention. The firmness of Camille de Neuville de Villeroy, uncle of the marshal de Villeroy, was too well known to the Gallican jurists of the day; and he had openly declared that the future Assembly could never be regarded as, in any sense, a National Council. "He commanded at Lyons," writes Saint-Simon,

(2) *Ibi*, and No. 25,043.

“and with an authority of the olden time. The intendants bore their being of no importance with bad grace ; the archbishop continually watched their conduct. Several were recalled, because of their troubles with the prelate ; and finally the king, being tired of changing his intendants without success, sent to Lyons the duke de Villeroy, the governor of the province, having given full powers to him, and also a list of counsellors from which his uncle might select an intendant, and thus give a little rest to his Majesty. But the good little man told his nephew at once that he was a fool ; that he might put his list in his pocket, and inform the king that the archbishop esteemed all the counsellors so highly, that he could not prefer any one of them ; that he would not be tricked into asking for a certain intendant, knowing that such a course would close his mouth when he should afterward find it necessary to complain of the officer ; that his mouth was a door which he himself would never close, and a means whereby to keep the intendants in check or to have them removed, so that he might remain the master. He kept his word ; and no one was ever so much the master in Lyons as he was, until the day of his death ” (1). It is not strange that the Provincial Assembly of Lyons received orders to not depute their archbishop to the General Assembly. And such orders ensured their own observance. Listen to the cool warning which the chancellor, Le Tellier, administered to Le Camus, bishop of Grenoble, when that prelate, a suffragan of Vienne, showed signs of an opposition to the royal choice of deputies from that province : “As for your own conduct, I must remark that having noticed your belief that a province cannot yield the right of *Regalia* to the king, and your conviction that the health of my lord of Viviers will not permit the province of Vienne to entrust its interests to his care, I fear lest you, when you attend the Provincial Assembly, *may propose to insert in the instructions a prohibition to grant the Regalia, and that you may protest against the nomination of my lord of Viviers—things which would indicate, on your part, an opposition to the general sentiment, and which would not at all avail you in an attempt to actuate your own ; My Lord of Viviers*

(1) *Diary of Dangeau*, Sept. 29, 1686.

will certainly be made a deputy, in spite of your opposition, and of that of my lord, the archbishop of Vienne" (1). Sometimes the chancellor, in order to secure the co-operation of a recalcitrant prelate, stooped to the lowest chicanery, making solemn promises which he knew that he could not and would not fulfil. One of the holiest prelates in France was Cardinal Grimaldi, archbishop of Aix, who was, like Mazarin, "an Italian by blood, but a Frenchman in heart." When he received the order to convoke the Assembly of his province in order to select four deputies to the General Assembly, he wrote to Le Tellier a letter from which we take the following passages. "In the discourse which he delivered to the last Assembly of the Clergy, the archbishop of Rheims very judiciously remarked that all the bishops have always regarded the right of *Regalia* as a servitude, which, especially in all that concerns the collation of benefices, can be conceded only when the Church herself consents. Therefore, Monsieur, it would seem that since *the Assembly designed by you will not be canonical, it will not represent sufficiently the sentiments of the Church of France in regard to the present questions, since the voice of that Church can be heard only in a National Council; and that therefore whatever that Assembly effects will not terminate the affair of the Regalia, but rather, instead of pacifying matters, it will augment the present dissension. . . . Believe me, Monsieur, that the archbishops and bishops cannot follow the instructions (the procuration) sent to them, without a violation of the solemn oath which they took at their consecration; for in those instructions the Pope is plainly condemned, and they are asked to act against the interests of the Holy See.*" The reply to this letter was written by the king himself. His Majesty enjoined on "his good cousin" (2) a convocation of the Assembly of Aix, "setting aside all other considerations." It would seem, however, that Le Tellier realized that not even the direct command of the king would cause Grimaldi to swerve from his duty; for he joined to the royal letter a note by himself, promising that the affair of the *Regalia* should

(1) *Archives*, G 8.

(2) Since the days of Henry IV., such was the style with which the French kings always addressed a cardinal.

not be touched in the imminent General Assembly (1). The inflexible cardinal was even allowed to present to the members of his Provincial Assembly a form of instructions for their deputies to the general convention, which expressly ordered those deputies not to even allude to the *Regalia*. Grimaldi therefore convoked the Provincial Assembly; but his indignation must have been great, when he found that, immediately after the meeting of the members, Morant, the royal intendant of Aix, presented to them a copy of the *procur-ation* which had been drawn at Paris. Grimaldi was firm to the last; he refused to sign the instructions; and the deputies of Aix went to the Assembly of 1682 without the countenance of their metropolitan.

On Feb. 3, 1682, the so-called General Assembly of the French Clergy formally recognized the right of *Regalia* as a royal prerogative; and not content with having thus defied the Roman Pontiff, it had the audacity to ask for the Papal blessing on its action (2). By a Brief dated April 11, Pope Innocent XI. condemned this concession; and he thus rebuked the sacrilegious presumption of the prelates: "Not without horror did we read that part of your letter in which you tell us that having abandoned your right, you have conferred it on the king; as though you were the disposers, not the guardians of the churches committed to your care; and as though those churches and their spiritual rights could be granted to the secular power by the bishops who ought to devote themselves to slavery, if it were necessary to preserve those churches and rights." Like many other publicists, Dupin asserts that this Brief of Innocent XI. was the cause of the promulgation of the Four Articles. "The affair of the *Regalia* was soon terminated, to the satisfaction of both the king and the Assembly. Nevertheless, the Pope refused his approbation, and thus he rendered it more necessary to settle the principles of ecclesiastical power by a declaration." But it is certain that the Assembly, which was opened on Oct. 1, 1681, took up the project of the Four Articles on Nov. 24; that on Nov. 26, it appointed the commission for the Six Articles of the Sorbonne; and that it subscribed the Declar-

(1) *Archives*, C. 8.

(2) *Procès-Verbal*, vol. v., p. 453.

ation on March 19, 1682, three weeks before the date of the Papal Brief. Coming now to the history of these famous propositions, we must first observe that many of the counsellors of Louis XIV. had urged him to force the Assembly to not limit itself to a preference for "cismontane" doctrine on the Papacy, but to pronounce theological censure on the contrary maxims. Fortunately wiser counsels prevailed; and Bossuet had the satisfaction of beholding the Assembly restraining itself within the comparatively moderate limits which he had indicated in his opening address. We now give the text of the charter of Gallicanism, so far as it can be said to have had a charter—the famous *Declaration of the French Clergy on Ecclesiastical Power*. "Many persons endeavor to overturn the decrees of the Gallican Church, her liberties which our ancestors upheld with so much zeal, and the foundations of those liberties which are based on the holy Canons and on the tradition of the Fathers. And there are also some who, under the pretext of these liberties, do not hesitate to attack the primacy of St. Peter and of his successors, the Roman Pontiffs, which was instituted by Jesus Christ; and to deny that obedience which all Christians owe to the venerable majesty of the Apostolic See which teaches the faith and preserves the unity of the Church. On the other hand, heretics omit nothing which may represent this power, which includes the peace of the Church, as insupportable to kings and peoples; trusting by this artifice to separate simple souls from the communion of the Church and of Jesus Christ. With the intention of remedying these evils, we, archbishops and bishops, and other deputies, representing the French Church, assembled in Paris by order of the king—*mandato regio*, have deemed it proper to establish and declare: I. That St. Peter and his successors, the vicars of Jesus Christ, and the Church herself, received power from God, over spiritual things alone, and not over temporal and civil things; the Lord teaching that His kingdom is not of this world, and also that the things of Caesar should be given to Caesar, and the things of God to God; and the saying of the Apostle remaining, that 'every soul be subject to higher powers, for there is no power but from God, and those that are, are or-

dained of God, and therefore he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God.' We declare therefore that kings and rulers are not subjected by order of God to any ecclesiastical power in temporal matters; that they cannot be deposed, either directly or indirectly, by the authority of the keys of the Church; that their subjects cannot be dispensed or absolved from the submission and obedience which is due to them, and that this teaching, so necessary for the public tranquillity and for the peace of both Church and State, should be firmly upheld as consonant with the word of God, with the tradition of the Fathers, and with the examples of the saints. II. That the fulness of power over spiritual things, enjoyed by the Holy Apostolic See and the successors of St. Peter, the Vicars of Jesus Christ, is that which is indicated in the fourth and fifth sessions of the Holy Œcumenical Council of Constance, approved by the Holy Apostolic See, confirmed by the practice of the entire Church, and in all times religiously observed by the French Church; and that the Church of France does not approve the opinion of those who attack these Decrees (of Constance,) or who weaken them by saying that their authority is not well established, that they have not been approved, and that they were meant only for cases arising during times of schism. III. That therefore the use of the Apostolic power ought to be regulated according to the Canons which have been made by the Spirit of God, and consecrated by general respect; that the regulations, customs, and constitutions of the kingdom should be maintained, and that the limits fixed by our forefathers should remain immovable; that it is for the grandeur of the Holy Apostolic See, that the laws and customs introduced with the consent of that eminent See, and of the churches, should preserve their stability. IV. That although the Supreme Pontiff has the principal part in questions of faith, and although his decrees affect all the churches and each particular church; nevertheless, his decision is not irreformable, until the assent of the Church has been given." The *Declaration* was subscribed on March 19; on the following day Louis XIV. signed an edict whereby the teaching of the Four Articles became obligatory throughout France; and on the 25th the

parliament registered the edict. Immediately after he had read the Declaration, Pope Innocent XI. addressed to all the bishops of France a Brief, *Paternæ caritati*, annulling the acts of the Assembly which referred to the *Regalia*.

The Pontifical Brief was received by the Assembly with dismay; and many of the members appeared to be ready for open rebellion. The archbishop of Rheims made some annotations on the margin of his copy of the Brief which plainly indicate how much of the "piety and spirit of submission," discerned in this prelate and most of his comrades by La Luzerne, Bausset, and other Gallican apologists, really subsisted (1). One of the passages of the Brief is qualified as "a malicious equivocation." Another is said to have been prompted by "a desire to say something smart." One sentence is characterized as "pitiable." In another the Pontiff is said to "insult without motive." According to the archbishop, the members of the Assembly had spoken "with sincerity; but the author of the Brief was in very bad faith." Then the prelate quibbles by asking *why, if the Declaration* "is manifestly null," the signers should be asked to retract it. Le Tellier consoles himself with the thought that if "the counsellors of the Pope have exposed the Church to grave dangers, the Assembly, by its good conduct, will obviate them"; and he declares that "in good time and place the remedies of law will not fail the Assembly." But if many of the bishops seemed to be willing to plunge into an abyss of schism, Louis XIV. was not so foolish. On May 6, the Assembly signed a *Protest* against the Brief *Paternæ caritati*, declaring that "the French Church governed itself by its own laws"; and it prepared to send a copy of the document to every bishop in the realm. But the king prohibited the rash act, and suspended the sessions. Finally, on June 29, although the Assembly had by no means finished the business which its programme had announced (2), his Majesty ordered his sycophantic prelates to return to their dioceses. "He broke up the Assembly," says Joseph de Maistre, "with so much wisdom and timeliness, that one almost pardons him for

(1) MS. Fr. 20,765, Nat. Libr.

(2) *Procès-Verbal*, vol. v., p. 375, *et seqq.*

having convoked it" (1). But the prelates knew not how to retire with dignity. Before they separated, says Le Tellier, who himself probably drew up the insolent manifesto (2), they declared that "they had abstained from formulating a resolution against the Brief of his Holiness, *only out of obedience to the king*," and that they might have "*shown to all Christendom*" how his Holiness had "*manifested little regard for the dignity of the episcopate*." Louis XIV. was certainly ashamed of the conduct of his courtier-prelates; for he would not allow the *Procès-Verbal* of their sessions to be deposited in the Archives of the Clergy. Only after the death of the archbishop of Rheims, did his nephew, the Abbé de Louvois, succeed in consigning the *Procès* to that sanctuary of French ecclesiastical history. It is worthy of note that this record of the acts of the famous Assembly of 1682, now exhibited under glass to the curious visitor, and opened at the page where the signatures to the Four Articles are recorded, terminates with the words which Fulbert of Chartres, writing in the tenth century, addressed to the pusillanimous bishops of his day: "There is not in France a bishop whose heart is accessible to pity, or whom zeal for religion will so inflame as to induce him to resist the onslaughts of error, and to excite hope in the grief-stricken. The courage of Denis is dead, and the piety of Martin is not seen. Thou also, Blessed Father Hilary, who once didst defend the unity of the Church with the sword of the Holy Ghost; thou also hast abandoned us. O sorrowful and desolate Church of France!" (3).

Bausset, echoing the voices of the great majority of Gallican apologists, and naturally of all Protestant publicists who have treated of the history of the doctrine of papal infallibility, insists that "The *Declaration of the Assembly of 1682* did not encounter, and could not encounter, any opposition in France" (4). Bausset wrote at a time when courtier-theologism, only stunned by the Revolution, and not as yet convinced that its days were numbered in France, still paraded a travesty of true devotion to the heir of St. Louis as the

(1) *The Gallican Church*, bk. ii., ch. 11.

(2) A copy of this puerile pronouncement, with annotations in the writing of Le Tellier, is preserved in the National Library at Paris, MS. Fr. 20,765.

(3) *Epist.* 21, to Abbo.

(4) *Loc. cit.*, bk. vi., § 15.

chief characteristic of French Catholicity ; and we must remember, also, that many of Bausset's judgments on the famous Assembly were formed without the aid of the documents which publicists of our day are able to consult. The truth is that the anti-Gallican opposition in the Faculty of Paris—that “permanent Council of France,” as it was then termed—was, at the time of the Assembly, composed of the majority of its members, and of men who were the most learned and pious in the capital. This claim is easily established. I. That the “ultramontanes” in the Faculty outnumbered the Gallicans is evinced by an examination of the papers of Colbert, among which there is a list of those who were “for or against Rome”—a document prepared for the minister by his Gallican confidants (1) ; and by consulting the admissions of his *procureur-général* to the parliament (2). The Colbertian list assigns 753 doctors to the Faculty, who were divided as follows. Archbishops and bishops, nearly all from the Sorbonne, 44 ; The House of the Sorbonne, 169 ; College of Navarre, 83 ; Mendicant Friars (Franciscans, 34, Dominicans, 38, Augustinians, 33, Carmelites, 19), 124 ; Bernardines and Monks of Cluny, 43 ; Canons of St. Victor and Premonstratensians, 6 ; Cholets, 10 ; Cardinal Lemoine, 1 ; Saint-Sulpice, 12 ; Seminary of the Foreign Missions, 3 ; Miscellaneous, 258. Now concerning the House of the Sorbonne, the *procureur* (Achille de Harlay) says : “With the exception of six or seven, all of the House of the Sorbonne are hostile to the *Declaration*. The professors, with the exception of Pirot, the syndic (3), are so opposed to it, that even those who are paid by the king will not teach any of the propositions which were presented to his Majesty in 1663. . . . The residents in the House of the Sorbonne are very numerous ; and excepting five or six, they are united in their ultramontane sentiments.” As for the House of Navarre, the list tells us that “Gnyard is entirely devoted to Rome, the

(1) MSS. Colbert, vol. vii.

(2) *Project of Reformation for the Faculty*, 1682 and 1685, among the papers of Harlay.

(3) Pirot had been nominated by Archbishop Harlay ; and in violation of the statute which reserved this election to the professors. In violation of another statute which prescribed a term of two years for the syndic, Harlay procured the retention of Pirot for many years.

Jesuits and the monks. He knows well his business of doctor, although *he has not studied the originals*, and is therefore obstinate in the opinions received beyond the mountains (1). Navarre, the monks, and all the ignorant follow him. Saussy is a good Thomist; I never hear him say anything in the Faculty but what favors Rome. Ligny belongs entirely to Guyard. Vinot knows something, but he also belongs to Guyard." Achille de Harlay says that only one professor in the House of Navarre teaches the "maxims of the kingdom." Saint-Sulpice, the Seminary of the Foreign Missions, and the community of Saint-Nicolas de Chardonnet, are noted in the list as "extremists for the papal authority." The same authority says that "nothing can be expected from the Carmelites, the Augustinians, and least of all, from the Franciscans, who make profession of following Rome in all things." But we need enter into no more details; Archbishop Le Tellier, in a letter dated March 29, 1681, told the royal ministers that if the Parisian Faculty of Theology was "not forced to teach sound doctrine"; if those professors who died were not "replaced by good ones"; if the Gallicans "were not well treated"; if, in fine, "things remained in their present condition, our maxims would be forgotten." II. That the "ultramontanes" in the Faculty of Paris were, to say the least, among its most illustrious doctors, is proved by the confidants of Colbert, when they rank among the prize members such prominent "papalists" as Cornet, the grand-master of Navarre; Grandin, syndic and professor in the same establishment; and the professors Chamillard, Lestocq, Leblond, Despérier, Guyard, Saussy, Vinot, and Ligny. Certainly our position is unassailable, if "ultramontane" doctrines were taught in 1682 by all the professors of the House of Navarre, excepting Lefèvre; and by all those of the Sorbonne, excepting Pirot. III. The piety of these "ultramontanes" is guaranteed by the Colbertian list. One is qualified as being "of exemplary virtue." Another is "the director of several nunneries." One is described as "selling his patrimony in order to succor poor scholars." The edifying life of another "has

(1) Archbishop Le Tellier ascribes the ultramontanism of Pope Innocent XI. to the same neglect—"he has never read reliable books." Let us pity Le Tellier.

procured for him the reputation of an apostle." But listen to Fleury, whose Gallicanism was a part of his being, as he compares the two schools in his *Discourse* on the Gallican "liberties" (1). "In France there are no regulars who do not believe in the infallibility. And not only the régulars, but even the communities of priests which have no privileges and are subject to the bishops, lean to this side as being more conformable to piety. The regulars, who almost alone have preserved the traditions and practice of devotion, have caused this doctrine to pass into the direction of consciences. The ancient doctrine (*of course Fleury terms his school ancient*) has remained among doctors who are often less pious and exemplary in their conduct than those who teach the new. Sometimes the opponents of the new are profane and libertine jurists and politicians, who render odious the truths which they defend."

On May 2, 1682, a parliamentary deputation, composed of the first president, the *procureur-général*, and six counsellors, visited the Sorbonne, for the purpose of ordering the Faculty to inscribe the *Declaration* on its registers. An eye-witness of what followed (2) tells us that Bétille, the senior doctor, to whom belonged the right of presiding over the meetings, and of announcing the decisions of the Faculty, was a very old man; and that when the president of the deputation signified the royal wish, "the good man simply answered: '*Gratias agimus amplissimas*'; that then the president did not appear content, and the good man added: '*Facultas pollicetur obsequium*'; whereupon the president arose and departed with his companions." However, the three hundred doctors in attendance were not disposed to acquiesce in this high-handed

(1) We speak of the *Discourse* as Fleury really wrote it; not as the Gallican versions of the last century mutilated it. In 1807, M. Emery, superior of Saint-Sulpice in Paris, discovered and published the original manuscript, which Fleury had never sent to the press. The Abbé de Bonnaire, a Jansenist, had got possession of this manuscript after the death of Fleury, and had printed it, adding notes by himself which were so injurious to the Holy See that on Sept. 9, 1723, the royal council condemned the book. This addition by Bonnaire was often reprinted; and it was, as to text, nearly as Fleury had written, the notes by Bonnaire having been directed against many of the passages in that text which the Jansenist regarded as too favorable to the Pope. But in 1743, Boncher d'Argis printed another edition, in which were modified or omitted the many passages in which Fleury had condemned the parliamentary Gallican theories.

(2) *MS. of Saint-Sulpice*, vol. iv., cited by Gérin.

proceeding; and they proposed to their syndic, Pirot, that a deliberation should be ordered. Pirot replied that a royal order should not be discussed; and the doctors separated. A few days afterward the *procureur-général* asked for a copy of the act of registration; and he received the reply that a custom of the Faculty required that anything done by it should not be considered as valid, until it should have been approved in a subsequent session. The next meeting would be held on June 1. When that session had been held without any attempt to actuate the royal wishes, Colbert resolved to intimidate the Faculty. Meanwhile, on June 15, one of the doctors, Chamillard, vicar of Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, delivered in the Sorbonne a discourse in which the following passage occurred. "Many great personages of this kingdom and even of this Faculty, persons who are celebrated for both learning and piety, and who are warm defenders of the interests of the Most Christian King, have vigorously sustained propositions which are contrary to some of these (of the *Declaration*). The clergy of France were unable, in their last Assembly, to so determine these propositions, that they would necessarily demand unwavering assent. Such power can be found only in an Œcumenical Council of all the bishops. Our Assembly was unable even to so determine the propositions, that this Faculty should be obliged to receive them. If one of our bachelors or professors is firmly convinced of the truth of the contrary propositions, how can you force them to defend in public things which they do not believe? It is our duty, therefore, to deliver our bachelors and professors from a burden which would weigh as heavily on their consciences as on our own" (1). Such sentiments, applauded by a majority of the Faculty, showed to the court the futility of waiting for that body's voluntary registration of the *Declaration*. On June 16, at six o'clock in the morning, an usher from the parliament served the dean of the Faculty with an order for a discontinuance of its meetings, and with a summons for the dean and certain specified professors to appear before the parliament in an hour's time. When the cited individuals showed themselves at the bar of

(1) *MS. of Saint-Sulpice*, vol. iv., p. 2,405.

the House, the first president thus addressed them: "The court would never have believed that you would defer the registration which it ordered. Your disobedience causes it to regret that it has honored you with its esteem. Persuaded that you do not deserve its confidence any longer, it now forbids you to assemble again, until it shall have prescribed the manner of your meeting—which it will take care to do, before July 1." Then the president asked whether the registrar of the Faculty was present with his books; and when that officer appeared, he was ordered to record the *Declaration*, then and there. Such was the fashion in which "the Faculty of Paris registered the *Declaration* of 1682"; and Harlay announced his victory to the chancellor, Le Tellier, declaring that he had executed the orders of the king the more willingly, because he had been assured that "the *mauvais parti* had a majority of fifteen votes" in the Faculty (1). On June 21, eight of the most outspoken "ultramontane" doctors were arrested, and exiled to different parts of France. Then twelve doctors, who had been members of the Assembly of 1682, were ordered to obtain the signatures of their fellows to a supplication, the text of which had been composed by the royal jurists, asking that the Faculty might be allowed to reassemble. It is noteworthy that although this document did not profess a belief in the Four Articles, merely speaking in general terms about respect for the royal edicts; and although the circulators counted as fifteen signatures those of fifteen friars, whereas the royal council had recently decreed that each of the Mendicant Orders should have only two votes in the Faculty, irrespective of the number of its doctors; nevertheless, out of 753 doctors, only 162 gave their signatures.

When treating, in the previous dissertation, of the dissensions of the grand monarch with the Holy See, we described briefly the refusal of three successive Pontiffs to confirm the election to bishoprics of such ecclesiastics as had not renounced all sympathy with the teachings of the *Declaration* on ecclesiastical power. It is a pleasure to be able to narrate how the bishops of France and their sovereign made their *amende*

(1) MSS. Harlay, Fr. 165, in the Nat. Libr.

honorable to the visible Head of the Church. In the first place we must remember that the Pontiffs did not require the French bishops-elect to subscribe four propositions contradicting those in the *Declaration*. The doctrine contained in those propositions was abandoned to the pens of theologians until such time as the Holy Spirit would dictate a decision in regard to it. But the Holy See did condemn those who affected to render the Gallican maxims obligatory on the French clergy; and therefore the bishops-elect (who had been members of the Assembly of 1682) were required, as a condition *sine qua non* of their canonical institution, to renounce the *Declaration*, that is, to regard it as though it had not been emitted. Shortly after his accession, Innocent XII. declared in full Consistory, that he was perfectly willing to confirm those royal nominees who had not been members of the criminated Assembly; and the royal council was divided as to the advisability of accepting the pontifical offer. Finally, the king resolved to make this first concession to the Pontiff; and after an apparently interminable correspondence with Rome, during which the method of the final and all-important concession was discussed, it was also agreed that each nominee who had belonged to the Assembly should write to the Pontiff a letter in which the principal point would be treated in conformity with a model already tendered by his Holiness (1). On Sept. 14, 1693, each bishop-elect wrote the following letter: "Most Blessed Father, now that

(1) On Dec. 21, 1691, the minister of foreign affairs, Colbert de Croissy, wrote to the archbishop of Rouen: "The king orders me to forward to you the enclosed three models for a letter on the matter of the Bulls. One was prepared by the ministers of the Pope; the two others by Cardinals d'Estrées and Forbin. His Majesty wishes you to examine them, and to give him your opinion concerning them." The draft prepared at the papal court is as follows: "*Ex corde docemus super rebus gestis quæ Sanctitati Vestre valde displicuerunt, ac proinde id quod circa potestatem ecclesiasticam et Pontificiam auctoritatem decretum, vel in ecclesiarum præjudicium deliberatum censeri potuit, quod a mente nostra prorsus alienum fuisse testamur. PRO NON DECRETO ET NON DELIBERATO HABEMUS, et habendum esse declaramus.*" The draft prepared by Card. d'Estrées was couched in these terms: "*Ac proinde id quod ex quibusdam verbis, circa potestatem ecclesiasticam et Pontificiam auctoritatem decretum, vel in ecclesiarum præjudicium deliberatum censeri potest, PRO NON DECRETO circa dictam potestatem et auctoritatem, ET NON DELIBERATO in ecclesiarum præjudicium HABEMUS ET HABENDUM ESSE DECLARAMUS.*" Forbin-Janson used this language: "*Ac proinde quod sive circa potestatem ecclesiasticam, sive Pontificiam auctoritatem, decretum censeri potest, sive in præjudicium ecclesiarum deliberatum, id tam a mente nostra alienum fuisse testamur, ET PRO NON DELIBERATO ET NON DECRETO HABEMUS ET HABENDUM ESSE DECLARAMUS.*"

all Christians are sharing the happiness of the exultant Church, and are finding easy access to your paternal beneficence, nothing could be more unfortunate for me than to know that I am excluded from the favor of your Holiness. And since I perceive that such is my condition because of my having been a member of the Assembly of the French Clergy which was held at Paris in 1682; therefore, prostrate at the feet of your Blessedness, I profess and declare that with all my heart I regret whatever was done in the aforesaid Assembly to the great displeasure of your Holiness and of your predecessors; and that therefore *I regard as not decreed, and I declare that it should be held as not decreed, all that was therein pronounced in reference to the ecclesiastical power and the Pontifical authority.* Furthermore, I regard as not asserted all that was therein pronounced concerning the rights of churches; for it was not my intention to derogate in any way from the rights of said churches. And now in token of the profound respect which I owe to your Holiness, I am ready to so conduct myself toward you for the remainder of my life, and to so show my zeal for the rights of the churches, that your Holiness will desire nothing more from me. I hope and most humbly entreat that when your Holiness will have read this letter, you will show that I have been received into your favor; and that you will deign to appoint me to the diocese for which the Most Christian King has named me, so that I may labor for the salvation of souls, the glory of the Christian religion, and for the rights and dignity of my see. Meanwhile I again promise and swear true and sincere obedience to your Blessedness; The Successor of the Blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles; the Vicar of Christ Our Lord; and the Head of the Entire Militant Church." Many Gallican apologists have endeavored to minimize the significance of this letter, repeating the words of Bossuet: "It is of no importance, since it is the work of a few private individuals," whereas the *Declaration* "was adopted in a General Assembly of the Clergy, and sent to all the churches" (1). However, when it suited the Gallicans to do so, they could decry the authority of a General Assem-

-, (1) *Diary of Ledieu*, the secretary of Bossuet.

bly of the French Clergy, even though they were willing to term the pronouncements of the Assembly of 1682 "dogmas of the French Church" (1). Harlay found it necessary "to take precautions, in the act of registration of the *Declaration*, against the imagination of those bishops who would have transformed an Assembly of the Clergy into a National Council of France" (2). And listen to the royal chancellor, Henri-François d'Aguesseau, as he describes the authority of the Assembly of 1705, because it had received the Bull *Ineum Domini* which condemned the Jansenist *Case of Conscience*: "The president seemed to be very much displeased, and with reason, with the opinion of certain bishops in the Assembly of the Clergy, who believed that they represented the Church of France when they received the papal Constitution; as though an Assembly of the Clergy, which is, properly speaking, only a *Chambre des Comptes Ecclesiastiques*, could ever pass for a National Council" (3).

The retraction of the bishops did not fully restore the olden happy relations of France with the Holy See; ere such a consummation could be reached, the king would be obliged to retract his part in the *Declaration*. Certainly Louis XIV. had not conceived any intention to introduce new dogmas into the body of Catholic teaching; but his edict of March 20, 1682, had effectively attempted such an enterprising usurpation, albeit unrecognized by its author. Therefore Pope Innocent XII. was both logical and confident when he said, in his Consistorial Allocution of Jan. 9, 1692, after some praise of the monarch's devotion to the Church: "We believe that he himself will soon declare that edict void; for he has often given us reason to expect that declaration." However, it was not until Sept. 14, 1693, that the Son of St. Louis sent to the Vicar of Christ the following retraction: "Most Holy Father; I have always hoped much from the elevation of your Holiness to the pontificate; both for the glory of the Church, and for the advancement of our holy religion; and now I rejoice on account of all that you have effected for one and the other. Therefore my filial respect for

(1) D'AGUESSEAU; *Works*, vol. xiii., p. 512. Paris, 1789.

(2) *Ibi*, p. 245.

(3) *Ibi*, p. 241.

your Holiness in now redoubled ; and since I wish to manifest this devotion by the strongest proofs that I can furnish, I now inform your Holiness that I have given the necessary orders to the effect that the contents of my edict of March 22, 1682, concerning the *Declaration* emitted by the clergy of France, be not observed. Desiring not only that your Holiness be acquainted with my sentiments, but also that the entire world may learn from this particular fact, what is my veneration for your grand and holy qualities ; I trust that your Blessedness will reply to it with every demonstration of your paternal affection for me. I pray to God, in the meantime, that He may preserve your Holiness for many years ; and that they may be as happy as they are invoked for you, Most Holy Father, by your devoted son, LOUIS." Although a copy of this filially-submissive letter was immediately sent to the parliament, as is proved by its being found among the papers of the president, Harlay, and as is also shown by a letter of Pontchartrain (secretary of state) to that president (1), no French publicist ever alluded to the document until it was cited, for the first time in France, nearly a century after it was written ; that is, in 1789, in the thirteenth volume of the works of the chancellor, d'Aguesseau. In Italy it had been published by Cardinal Sfondrati in 1695 (2) ; by the Dominican, Serri, in 1732 (3) ; and by the Franciscan, P. Bianchi, in 1734 (4). Ellies Dupin and the Jesuit, d'Avrigny, who devote much attention to the retraction of the bishops, give none to that of the king. Even when d'Aguesseau cited the letter, trying to weaken its significance, he took good care not to publish its text. It remained for Artaud to copy the original in the Vatican Archives, and then to make it known

(1) On Sept. 21, 1693, Pontchartrain wrote to Achille de Harlay : "The king orders me, Monsieur, to send you the two enclosed letters, so that you may know all that has been done in regard to so important an affair, which he thinks that these letters will terminate ; and he sends you the letters, so that you may give the necessary orders which must proceed from you, in order that the promise given by the king in his letter may be fulfilled." And on the same day the secretary wrote again : "I fear, Monsieur, that in my letter of this morning I did not speak with sufficient clearness, when I did not tell you that while his Majesty wishes you to fulfil the promise which he gave to the Pope in the letter of which I sent you a copy, nevertheless, he desires that you put in writing or make public nothing concerning the matter, until the courier returns from Rome, and his Majesty learns that his expectations have been satisfied."

(2) In the second edition of his *Gaul Vindicated*.

(3) In his *Roman Pontiff*.

(4) In his *Ecclesiastical Power*.

to his countrymen (1). The dissimulation of the Gallican publicists could profit them nothing; for Louis XIV. remained faithful to the promise he had given to the Pontiff. A posthumous writing of Chancellor d'Agnesseau testifies to this fidelity. "This letter of King Louis XIV. to Pope Innocent XII. was the seal of reconciliation between the court of Rome and the clergy of France; and in conformity with the promise which it contained, his Majesty no longer insisted on the observance of his edict of March, 1682, which compelled all aspirants for promotion to defend the *Declaration*. . . . His Majesty ceasing to impose this obligation, although allowing full liberty for the defense of the *Declaration*, as had been the case before the edict was issued" (2). After this avowal of a well-informed and interested Gallican jurist, the elder Dupin should have abstained from his vain attempt to minimize the victory of the Holy See by asserting: "For love of peace, and when his authority suffered nothing by the disposition, Louis XIV. could manifest a willingness to *relax a little* in the severe execution of his edict" (3). A most curious explanation of the causes of the king's retraction is advanced by the famous *Conventionnel* and unfrocked Oratorian, Daunou: "The court of Rome already foresaw the imminent weakening of the intellectual and moral faculties of Louis XIV.; and in 1693 it succeeded in frightening him sufficiently to obtain the letter" (4). The horrors of his revolutionary career must have obscured the memory of the once erudite religious, when he forgot that the king made his retraction precisely at the time when, twenty-two years before the end of his glorious reign, he was manifesting the lucidity of his intellect and the firmness of his will in a serene and indomitable resistance against the combined forces of Europe; and when his moral faculties were, and had

(1) In his *History of Pius VII.*, 3d edit., vol. ii., p. 170. When Napoleon stole the Archives of the Vatican, the letter of Louis XIV. was deposited in the National Archives, then in the *Hôtel de Soubise*. De Pradt says that one day Napoleon called at the Archives, and asked for the royal letter; that he took it to the Tuilleries, and threw it into the fire, saying: "Its ashes will trouble us no longer." Now Mgr. Marino Marini, who had been charged by the pontifical government with the recovery of the stolen Archives, told Artaud in 1825 that he had brought the identical document back from Paris, and he handed it to the *chevalier* for examination.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, vol. xiii., p. 423.

(3) *Ubi supra*, p. xxii.

(4) *Essay on the Temporal Power of the Popes*, vol. ii., p. 194. Paris, 1818.

been for many years, under the safe tutelage of his pious wife, Mme. de Maintenon. Another strange subterfuge of Gallican publicists, and one advanced by those who most exalt the royal prerogatives, is the contention that Louis XIV. could not revoke, by a simple act of his will, an edict which had been registered in parliament. In other words, it is asserted that even though the Four Articles were null, the edict commanding their observance was irrefragable. Valuable indeed would be the discovery that, during the reign of the grand monarch, there existed a constitutional provision justifying this position.

We may now conclude this dissertation. Enough has been said to show that the signers of the Four Articles were incompetent to decree them as enunciatory of the belief of the French Church on the matters involved; enough to prove that the majority of the signers, as was avowed by the *procureur-général*, Achille de Harlay, "would have changed their opinion on the morrow, and with their whole hearts, had permission been given to them" (1). But a few words should be devoted to the part taken by Bossuet in this Assembly. The Eagle of Meaux certainly carried his condescendence to the secular power to the verge of schism; but he did not cross the line. He prevented the adoption of schismatical resolutions; and was himself empowered to draft the platform of the Assembly. He had taken no part in promoting the *Declaration*; on the contrary he had declared to the archbishop of Rheims: "You will have the glory of having terminated the affair of the *Regalia*, but that glory will be obscured by those odious propositions." And when Colbert, La Chaise, and Harlay had incited the king to give express orders for the framing of the document, Bossuet tried to defer the catastrophe by proposing "an examination of tradition," which would certainly have given enough time for some development of prudence. Fleury admits that Bossuet showed little inclination to touch the question of the papal power; that he said to the bishop of Tournai: "You will widen the chasm, instead of closing it" (2). Writing to

(1) "*Une assemblée du clergé dont la plupart changeraient demain, et de bon cœur, si l'on le leur permettrait.*" Letter to Colbert, June 2, 1682. MSS. Fr. 17,417, in Nat. Libr.

(2) *Notes of Fleury.*

M. de Rance (1), and to the bishop of Castorie (2), he expresses his fear for the consequences. It was this very fear that produced that admirable opening discourse on *The Unity of the Church* which led Joseph de Maistre to say: "Bossuet should have died after his sermon on *Unity*, just as Scipio Africanus died after the battle of Zama. After the episode of 1682 the bishop of Meaux fell from that height on which his so many marvellous works had placed him" (3). And many years afterward, Bossuet could say with just pride: "Celebrated cardinals have written to me from Rome, assuring me that the Pontiff both read and approved my discourse" (4). In framing the Four Articles, the astute prelate had tried to please the monarch, and at the same time not to offend what he termed the *teneras Romanorum aures*; but he soon heard the resonant protestations of bishops in all parts of Christendom against his compromise. Then he began the famous *Defense of the Declaration* which he continued to revise until the day of his death, and which was not published until twenty-six years had passed over his grave (5). Louis XIV., to whom Bossuet had confided the manuscript, would never consent to its publication; and it is amusing to read the blunder, or worse, of the elder Dupin: "Bossuet felt that it was time to unfold to the eyes of the Christian world the proofs on which was based the *Declaration* of 1682, and to silence its opponents. He confounded them in an admirable work which occupied much time in preparation, and which he published under the title, *Defense, etc.*" (6). At the very beginning of the preface the work is described as posthumous—*opus posthumum*. No controversialist has merited so well of the Church as Bossuet, excepting in this sole matter of the *Declaration* and its *Defense* (7); and even in spite

(1) Letter of Sept. 10, 1681.

(2) Letter of Sept. 22, 1681.

(3) *The Gallican Church*, bk. ii., ch. 12.

(4) Letter to Mme. de Luynes, 1693.

(5) For the opinion of the eminent scholar, the marquis Maffei, contrary to Bossuet's authorship of the *Defense*, see our vol. i., p. 480, in Note.

(6) *Ubi supra*, p. xxxv.

(7) The many refutations of the *Defense* are at the easy command of the student; we would merely quote the judgment which that consummate theologian, Pope Benedict XIV., passed upon it. In a Brief to the archbishop of Compostella, dated July 31, 1749, he says: "You must know that a few years ago there was published a work with the object of defending the propositions emitted by the clergy of France in the Assembly of 1682. Although the name of the author of the book is not given, everyone knows that it was written

of this one weakness, he will ever be placed in the very first rank of ecclesiastical apologists. When the great Napoleon, on March 17, 1811, presiding over a session of the Ecclesiastical Commission, called on the Abbé Emery to give his views on the subject then under discussion, that famous Sulpician replied: "Here in France we are obliged to uphold the Four Articles, but the doctrine of that *Declaration* should be received in its entirety. Now we are told in the preamble that 'the primacy of St. Peter and of the Roman Pontiffs, his successors, was instituted by Jesus Christ; and that all Christians owe obedience to it.' And again we are told that the Four Articles were decreed in order to prevent 'any attacks on that primacy, under the cloak of the liberties of the French Church.'" The disconcerted emperor then having tried to entrap Emery into some approbation of his conduct toward the Holy See, the abbé replied: "Sire, concerning this matter I can harbor no sentiment other than that of Bossuet, whose great authority your Majesty so properly respects, and whom you are pleased to so frequently quote (1). Now this grand prelate, in his *Defense of the Declaration*, contends expressly that the independence and full liberty of the Sovereign Pontiff are necessary for the free exercise of his spiritual authority throughout the world, and in such a multiplicity of kingdoms and empires." That Bossuet was sincerely attached to the Holy See in his inmost heart must be the judgment of all who have studied his writings as a whole; but there is too much reason to believe that Arnauld had him in his mind when he complained of certain bishops

by Bossuet, bishop of Meaux. It would be difficult to find another book which so contradicts the doctrine on the authority of the Holy See which is professed by the entire Catholic Church, saving only in France. During the pontificate of our predecessor, Clement XII. there was a question of condemning this work; but the project was not executed, both because of the respect due to a man like Bossuet, to whom religion owes so much, and because there subsisted a too-well-founded fear of exciting new troubles."

(1) M. de Fontaines, one of the few really honest servants of Napoleon—the one who, when Napoleon told him that "he was always thinking of his duke d'Engbien," retorted that he thought "that his Majesty seemed to be thinking much more about the duke"—often complained about the emperor's abuse of the name of Bossuet. "He quotes Bossuet in every contingency; he would imitate the prelate's Gallicanism, or rather he would make the prelate a Napoleonist. . . . Bossuet wished for a powerful royalty and a free religion. Hence the emperor concludes that he desired a royalty which would be a despot over religion just as over everything else; and Napoleon admires him for the heresy with which he credits him." So said Fontaines to M. de Narbonne. VILLEMARIN: *Souvenirs*; M. de Narbonne; c. 2.

of France who had "immense talents and little generosity" (1); and that Sainte-Beuve, recalling the saying of M. de Treville that Bossuet "had no back-bone—*n'avait pas d'os*," probably accounted for the Gallicanism of the prelate when he wrote: "Bossuet was pliant and rather feeble in the face of power, and he had much condescension for the world. He was the first to recognize this weak side of his character; and one day, when taking leave of a superioress of a certain community in Meaux, having made the customary parting request, 'Pray for me,' the religious asked what favor she should beg, whereupon he replied: 'Pray that I may not have too much *complaisance* for the world'" (2).

CHAPTER XI.

THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES. MADAME DE MAINTENON.

When Henry IV., in April, 1598, published his celebrated edict for the pacification of his sorely-tried kingdom, he proclaimed that his motive was: "To arrange matters so that the Holy Name of God might be adored by all his subjects; and if it had not pleased him to enjoin that divine worship should have but one form, he wished that it should have, at least, one intention, and be so regulated that it should cause no trouble among his people." By this famous edict Henry consecrated France to the principle of religious toleration, at a time when every other sovereign, orthodox or heretical, insisted that a civil ruler cannot, without offence to God, manifest indifference as to the faith professed by his subjects. But if the reader has accompanied us in our investigations of the attempts to Protestantize France, and in our narration of the conversion of Henry IV., he must have perceived that the immense majority of Frenchmen would with difficulty have been reconciled to any derogation from their rights, if that derogation was actuated merely for the bene-

(1) *Anecdotes on M. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, Taken from Letters of M. Arnauld*: MS. Fr. 12,844, in the Nat. Libr.

(2) *Ubi supra*, May 19, 1862.

fit of a factious minority (1). Still less was it probable that they would calmly discern a principle in that grant of concessions which they regarded as mere necessities of the moment. It was evident, even during the reign of Henry IV., that instead of terminating civil discord, the Edict of Nantes would generate dissensions which a hand of iron alone could compress. The successor of Henry IV. could thank that Edict for thirty years of struggle, during which the unity of France was greatly endangered; but Richelieu understood that Protestantism was the Revolution of that time, and he combatted it with a resolution which partly compensated for his encouragement of it in those states which were hostile to France. Richelieu had reason to say to Louis XIII.: "The Huguenots share the government with your Majesty." In their assembly at Saumur, the Calvinists had applauded the duke de Rohan, when he counselled them to form a new French state on the plan of the States of Holland, with a fundamental law based on the constitution "of the Reformed Churches of France." In 1626 Richelieu vainly tried to conciliate the Huguenots. Alluding to his course during the Thirty Years' War, he said that by this attempt at conciliation he would "scandalize the world for the last time"; and he prophesied correctly, for the more zealous Catholics soon styled him "the Cardinal of La Rochelle, the Pope of the Huguenots, and the Patriarch of the Atheists." Regard for the safety of France compelled the cardinal-minister to reduce La Rochelle (2); and then Louis XIII. issued the Edict

(1) See our vol. ii., ch. 22, 23, 24.

(2) This bulwark of Calvinism in France, this centre of rebellion and constant menace against the integrity of French nationality, had defied the crown for two hundred years. From the day of its revolt against Louis XI., in favor of his brother, the duke of Guyenne, down to the capture of Amiens by Henry IV., devotion to France had been an unknown quantity to the Rochellois; and as soon as the latter event ceased to impress their minds, they made war on Louis XIII. Many good patriots deemed the reduction of La Rochelle impossible; many also thought that Louis would do better by aiding Mantua and Montferat against Spain than by warring against his own subjects, rebels though they were. But Friar Joseph realized, and he forced the king, Richelieu, and Cardinal de Bérulle, to realize, that La Rochelle was a hot-bed of discord for France, that it was a port of entry for hostile foreigners, especially for the English, whose queen had been convinced by Blancard, the Rochellois deputy, that it was better for her to lose Ireland than to permit the surrender of La Rochelle to King Louis; that Huguenot rebellion and Protestant arrogance would continue to torment France so long as the formidable rock remained the arsenal of treason. The celebrated siege was undertaken, and Friar Joseph—present to the end—was its moving spirit: advising with the engineers whom he had employed to construct the famous

of Nîmes, withdrawing from the Huguenots their military privileges, as well as that right to hold certain cities as guarantees, which the Edict of Nantes had accorded to them. Finally, Louis XIV. revoked the Edict entirely in 1685.

By the Edict of Nantes the Protestants had been placed on a nearly equal footing with the orthodox in matters of right and privilege; the sole difference being that the Huguenots could publicly follow the Calvinistic worship in only certain defined districts—nowhere was there to be any interference with heretical services, when conducted in private. As to civil rights, appointments to positions in the army and in the government, etc., the Edict declared that there should be no distinction between Catholic and Protestant. In reference to the justice of the abolition of this equality, Catholic publicists are divided into two opposite schools of thought. Many Catholic writers look on the matter as does Segretain: “In reality, this monument of pacification (the Edict of Nantes) was a sovereignly irritating and impolitic act; and it will dishonor the memory of Henry IV., so long as the violation of one’s oath is regarded as perjury. It is a fundamental principle of Christian civilization that truth alone has rights, and that what is due to truth is violated by granting those rights to error. But by the side of this inflexible principle, is there no room for a compromise with the exigencies of facts? Did not the holy and paternal Clement VIII. wish Henry to be as kind as possible to his olden co-religionists? Would not Clement have accepted as natural and reasonable every toleration, understood in the grammatical sense of the term, which did not compromise any of the superior interests of truth and Christian society?” (1). Very different from this judgment is that of Pellissier: “Two results were attained (by the Edict of Nantes). The monarchy was consolidated, and delivered from feudal oligarchy and from

like; animating the spirits of the soldiers, and working as indefatigably as did Angoulême or Bassompierre. Of course Richelieu was also on the spot, and had been intrusted by Louis XIII. with absolute command; but so great was the part of the Capuchin secretary in the siege, that after it had been brought to a successful issue, the king publicly avowed that, like Abraham, the friar had hoped against hope, that God had rewarded his faith, and that history would accord to him, as much as to Cardinal de Bérulle, the glory attending the enterprise.

(1) *Sixtus V. and Henry IV.*, p. 275. Paris, 1861.

municipal anarchy. Religion was freed from political despotism, and was placed in the superior sphere of conscience, as the natural and intimate relation of the soul with God. The Edict of Nantes and the Peace of Vervins put an end to the violent reclamations which had threatened to compromise and dishonor the Catholic reaction; and renascent orthodoxy resumed discussion, the sole weapon which befits it. Such was the ardor of this spirit of controversy that, twenty years afterward, Richelieu, then bishop of Luçon, consecrated the leisures of his political exile to the publication of a *Method to Convert Those Who Are Separated From The Church*" (1). We cannot accept either the judgment of Segretain or that of Pellissier in its entirety; but it is certain that no measure adopted by Louis XIV., during his eventful reign of seventy-two years, was so popular as the revocation of that which was rightly designated as the Great Charter of Protestantism in France.

(1) *The Sixteenth Century*, p. 271. Paris, 1887. . . . What does Pellissier mean by the phrase, "consecrated the leisures of his political exile"? As yet, Richelieu had not mingled with politics; he was simply a devoted and active bishop, and he wrote the cited *Method* in an apostolic spirit. In 1606, while Richelieu was only a deacon, and still devoted to his theological studies alone, Henry IV. named him for the bishopric of Luçon: "Since the said Du Plessis," wrote the King to d'Hallincourt, his ambassador to the Holy See, "has not yet reached the age required by the canons, and since I am quite sure that his merit and ability supply this defect, you will beg his Holiness to grant the necessary dispensation; for the said Du Plessis is in every way capable of serving the Church of God." The royal request was granted, and the young abbé was consecrated at Rome on April 17, 1607, and immediately returned to the Sorbonne to take his degrees. His assiduity in study had told on his health, and he was unable to make the journey to his diocese until December, 1608. Received as was customary by the chapter and magistracy, he alluded to the Huguenots of Luçon in these words: "Many there are who differ with us in belief; I trust that we shall all be united in affection." And while ever firm in insisting on the rights of Holy Mother Church, his entire career at Luçon showed him the defender of those of Protestants. The diocese of Luçon was one of the poorest in France, and was then impoverished by war; and his own means were small, for he was a younger son. He therefore, as he said, was as poor as a monk, though without any vow of poverty. But, despite his small resources, he was a father to the poor. He wrote to Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, one of the most zealous bishops of the time, that he found "ecclesiastical discipline and authority everywhere weakened." To remedy the evil he called on the Capuchins (whom the famous Friar Joseph, the future "Grey Cardinal," was then exciting to renewed zeal) for missions; and he immediately established, with his own money, a new seminary. The first establishment, after the mother-house, possessed by the famous Oratorians founded by De Bérulle, was given them in his diocese by Richelieu, and he justly prided himself on this fact in his *Mémoires*. When a parish became vacant, he invariably conferred it by *concursum*; but if, as was often the case, some powerful laic held the right of presentation, he insisted on a proper nomination. A certain Madame de Sainte-Croix having presented an unworthy candidate, he wrote to her: "I beg you to properly regard my fulfilment of duty when I refuse to entrust to this person the care of souls redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ. By making another selection, you will also set a good example to others who enjoy the right

At the time when Louis XIV. began to meditate on the feasibility of insisting on a uniformity of worship throughout the extent of his kingdom, the religious conditions of France seemed to warrant the opinion that a simple edict of the government would produce the desired effect. There were scarcely any Protestants in the central provinces; and these few appeared disposed to follow the example of the many who, either from conviction or for worldly motives, had espoused the dominant cult. The monarch reflected on the report of M. d'Aguesseau, who said, when he relinquished the government of Languedoc, that "in three days more than 60,000 Huguenots in the diocese of Nîmes had entered the true fold"; and he conceived the delusion that the heretics in the distant provinces, even the mountaineers of the Cevennes and the Vivarais, so foreign to the habits and tastes of the rest

of presentation." Work was always a passion with Richelieu, and, as the documents published by Avenel prove, when he was not occupied in the public affairs of his diocese, he was engaged in the direction of souls, in settling quarrels and preventing duels, in consoling the afflicted, and in study. Those who have never regarded him in any other light than that of a courtier may smile at the idea of Richelieu the student, and yet the future Minister's studious habits were well known to his compeers. The famous Gabriel de l'Aubespine (Albaspineus), certainly a competent judge, wrote to him on one occasion: "I have always counted much on your talent for ecclesiastical and spiritual matters; and now that you study so unintermittingly, my estimation is increased, and I feel that you would not take such pains if you were not meditating some great design." Even the illustrious theologian, Cardinal Duperron, admired the zeal of the Bishop of Luçon. In a letter written to Richelieu in 1610, when the prelate was but twenty-five years of age, a mutual friend said: "The Cardinal seizes every occasion to manifest his esteem for you. A certain person having praised you as eminent among young prelates, his Eminence declared that you ought not be mentioned among young prelates, for the oldest might well yield you precedence; and, for his part, he wished to set the example." During his seven years' charge at Luçon, Richelieu made several trips to Paris; but on all these occasions he kept his episcopal position ever in mind, and frequently he preached in the principal pulpits of the capital. Aubery, who drew his information from the family of Richelieu, says that the King and Queen often attended these sermons, and that "they nearly always declared that no preacher ever made more impression on their hearts." The sermons of Cardinal Richelieu have not come down to us, but we must suppose that, whatever may have been his merits as a poet and playwright, they were good ones. He certainly possessed the chief requisites of a fine preacher—force of logic, elevation of thought, and energy of expression. The assiduity displayed by Richelieu in his studies while Bishop of Luçon was the more admirable because from his twenty-third year until his death in 1642, he was nearly always in physical pain. The first letter (1605) published by Avenel shows him in a painful convalescence after a long illness; and so on through the entire series we find him generally a victim to bodily suffering; his last attack continued more than a year. Richelieu resigned his diocese in 1616 to become Prime Minister of France; and he himself, toward the close of his life, well epitomized his later career when he said to the King: "I promised your Majesty that I would use all my ability, and all the power you would give me, to crush the Huguenot party, to lay low the pride of the nobles, to force all your subjects to do their duty, and to cause foreign nations to properly respect your Majesty's name; and to effect these ends, I insisted on having your entire confidence."

of the French people, awaited only his signal to become Catholics. In the days of Henry IV. nearly one-half of the French nobility had proclaimed the Mass an idolatry; and when Louis now scanned the lists of this nobility, his eye seldom fell on the name of a heretic. Of course there were many Protestant merchants and workmen in the commercial cities; but would not the business instincts of these, as well as their ambition of possible social distinction, lead them to abandon a religion, the followers of which could hope for no privileges or honors? Nor did the projected revocation appear very astounding, since nearly every one of the hundred-and-eighty articles of the Edict of Nantes had been successively cancelled by particular decisions. The distasteful charter might, in reality, have been regarded as already abrogated in very many districts, although no formal law had as yet prohibited the public services of Calvinism. And, as we have said, the design was popular. You will seek in vain, amid the *Memoires* of the time, or in the private correspondence which has come down to us, for any indication of surprise at the revocation, or of indignation excited by it, in the minds of the immense majority of Frenchmen. When the Edict of Revocation appeared, each Estate of the kingdom felicitated the monarch; every provincial parliament hastened to register a document which was a general sanction of its particular decisions. When Bossuet preached the funeral oration of the chancellor, Le Tellier, on Jan. 25, 1686, three months after the revocation, he could say: "Our ancestors never saw that which we have seen; an inveterate heresy suddenly prostrated; wandering flocks returning to the fold in such numbers that our churches cannot contain them; a perfect calm in so great a movement; and the world astonished in discerning in so novel an event the most certain mark of authority, its most praiseworthy use, and the merit of a prince more revered even than his authority itself." The bishop of Meaux would not have dared to use such language if the revocation had been displeasing to the nation; and we are the more willing to receive his testimony, because he was utterly strange to the councils which preceded the publication of the edict, and because he afterward in-

veighed most eloquently against the violent measures of Louvois in its enforcement. Mme. de Sévigné, whose charming letters to her daughter are perfect revelations of the opinions of the French court and nation at that time, writes on Oct. 28, 1685, "Undoubtedly you have seen the edict by which the king revokes that of Nantes. Nothing is so fine as its contents ; and no monarch has ever produced, or ever will produce, anything more memorable." And not only courtiers and friends of the court were pleased with the Edict. The "great" Arnould, the head and front of Jansenism, insisted upon the right of the king in the premises, quoting in support of his position the opinion of the Protestant juriconsult : Grotius, who, forty years previously, had said : "Protestants should understand that the Edict of Nantes and similar ones are not treaties—*fœdera*, but decrees of kings issued for the public good, and revocable—*regum edicta, ob publicam facta utilitatem, et revocabilia*, if the public weal so demands." It is strange, however, to hear this Arnould, a victim himself of religious persecution, defending the violent proceedings with which the Edict was frequently enforced : "I think that Rome did not err in not having public rejoicings on account of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes ; for since somewhat violent means have been adopted, *although I do not consider them unjust*, we may as well not exult" (1). And in another letter he justifies the banishment of the Calvinist ministers by the example of the Roman imperial decrees against the Donatists.

We are regaled annually by the American Huguenot Associations with glowing descriptions of the transcendent virtues of the ancestors of their members ; and with grossly exaggerated and often absolutely false accounts of the terrible persecutions which were consequent on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. We have done justice to the virtues of the early Huguenots when treating of the attempted Protestantization of France ; and we admit that the dragonades of Louvois were inexcusable, although we must insist that when allusion is made to these and similar excesses, some allusion should also be made to the facts which justified, in

(1) Letter to Duvancel, Dec. 15, 1685.

the minds of the rulers of the seventeenth century—Protestant as well as Catholic, what seem to us over-harsh measures. But now we would undertake to convince the reader that there is no foundation for the malicious pleasure experienced by our friends of presumed Huguenot extraction, when they descant annually on the evils said to have accrued to France on account of that emigration of their ancestors which was caused by the famous revocation. We are told that France lost an immense number of worthy citizens, whereas it can be shown that not more than 50,000 Protestants sought a foreign refuge. It is asserted that France lost incalculable wealth through the crimated edict, whereas it is certain that she had never before been so rich in current money, and that her manufactures were quadrupled precisely at that time. We are asked to lament the loss of innumerable soldiers withdrawn from under the flag of the Lilies, whereas we know that the twenty millions of Frenchmen of that day furnished 500,000 combatants at one time to the armies of the Great Monarch, while foreign nations derived less than 3,000 from the Huguenot emigration—a number more than counterbalanced by the 15,000 veteran Irishmen whom, in 1690, the Marshal de Chateauneud enrolled, with their arms and baggage, under the Bourbon standard.

When Louis XIV. resolved to undo the work which a false statesmanship had prompted his great ancestor to effect, he was influenced by the history of Protestantism in his dominions—the history of a rebellious race, which was the torment of its first benefactor in France; which formed a State within the State; which was ever the refuge of every political malcontent, and a constant menace of civil war. And he proceeded in accord with the opinion of his people, and in harmony with the ideas concerning toleration which were in vogue in his day. Certainly those ideas are very different from our own, but Protestants should make fewer allusions to this matter of religious toleration than is their wont. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and later when they could, the children of Calvin practiced intolerance to an extent never imagined by the Great Monarch;

and in so acting, they but followed the example and injunctions of their master, who, playing the tyrant at Geneva, expelled the sect of the Libertines, burned Servetus at the stake, cut off the head of Gruet, caused the condemnation of Gentile, wanted the Anabaptists to be "treated like brigands," and wrote, in the calm deliberations of his study, pages concerning the treatment of "heretics" which might shame Nero or Diocletian (1). Nor should Protestants recur here to the *argumentum ad hominem*. Even were we to grant the truth of their assertion that the Catholics of two centuries ago persecuted as bitterly as any Calvinist of them all, the fact remains that their progenitors should have set the benighted papists a better example. The Huguenots posed as reformers of religion; they claimed that their religion was better than ours. Therefore, they should have shown themselves the better men. Finally, one may ask with an eminent writer of the last century, as the Catholics were in possession, why did the Huguenots trouble them? (2).

Coming now to a consideration of the alleged damage accruing to France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, we propose to show, firstly, that less than fifty thousand persons emigrated because of that procedure. Our Huguenot mutual admiration societies proclaim to their fellow-citizens that their glorious ancestors fled from French Catholic persecution, to the number of more than two millions, and to prove this assertion, they can adduce no better authority than a certain *Letter of a Patriot*, written in the eighteenth century by an unknown hand, but which appears to have been the work of Voltaire (3). Now it is a remarkable fact that as we leave this interested eighteenth century pamphleteer, and take up the Huguenot writers in chronological order backward from his time to that of the edict itself, we find the alleged emigrants growing smaller by degrees and beautifully less. Thus Limier (4) puts the number at eight hundred thousand; Basnage (5) at less than four hundred

(1) *Defense of the Orthodox Faith against Error, in which it is Taught that Heretics are to be Coerced with the Sword*. Edit. 1554.

(2) DE CAVEYRAC: *Apology for Louis XIV. in the Matter of the Revocation*, etc. Paris, 1758.

(3) *Letter of a Patriot on the Civil Toleration of Protestants in France*.

(4) *History of Louis XIV.*

(5) *Unity of the Church*.

thousand; La Martinière (1) at three hundred thousand; Larrey (2) at two hundred thousand; the contemporary Benoit (3) also at two hundred thousand. But let us hearken to the Huguenot Benoit as he describes these severe precautions taken by the French government to prevent the expatriation of his fellow-religionists, and then judge whether the probable number of the successful was greater than fifty thousand. "The most secret passes at the frontiers were watched; archers patrolled the high-roads, and other soldiers searched the fields. Rewards were promised to those who would give up a fugitive, and punishment threatened to all who harbored him. The coasts were watched with incredible vigilance; all ships were visited by order of the admiralty; even the fishing smacks were searched; this perquisition was so exact, that it was almost impossible to escape." Benoit shows that the Huguenots sought asylum only in Switzerland, Brandenburg, the Margravate of Bareth, Denmark, Lunebourg, Hesse, Holland and England. Switzerland was the natural refuge for those who fled from the Lyonnais, the Bourbonnais, Dauphiny, and Languedoc; and 12,100 are all that the calculations of Benoit assign as its quota. About six hundred found an asylum in Bareth. When Benoit says that "several thousand found refuge in Hesse," it is evident that the "several" cannot mean more than two or three, from the fact that he assigns to Brandenburg "a very much larger number." And Voltaire himself not claiming for Brandenburg more than twenty thousand, a number which our knowledge of the Sage of Ferney, "writing under the eyes of the great Frederick," justifies us in diminishing by one-half. Denmark, being profoundly Lutheran, did not wish any accession of Calvinists, but the queen allowed about fifty families, or two hundred persons to enter. When Benoit comes to the Huguenots of Holland and England, he is very chary of details; but so far as the Netherlands are concerned, we may accept his assertion that there was a project (not fully carried out) to erect a thousand houses for the immigrants, as indicative of the arrival of about

(1) *Louis XIV.*, b. 58.(2) *History of England, Ireland, etc.*, vol. iv., p. 664.(3) *History of the Edict of Nantes*, vol. iii., pt. 3, p. 1014.

ten thousand. In regard to England, if her parliamentary registers are reliable, and if the word of William III. in his proclamation of 1689 is to be accepted, not more than six thousand Huguenots there found asylum. As to the Huguenots received in Brandenburg, we have said that Voltaire's estimate of twenty thousand should be reduced by one-half, and principally because the Protestant Ancillon, writing on the spot and at the time (1) accounts for only 9,633. Now let the reader consult the above figures taken from the estimates of a bitter and contemporary partisan of the Huguenot refugees, and he will account for only forty-eight thousand, nine hundred. But we cannot close this portion of our thesis without observing that our Huguenot sympathizers perform a curious freak when they assign two millions as the number of Calvinists fleeing from the consequences of an edict published in a country *which never counted more than a million of those sectarians*. When the French Protestants asked the aid of Elizabeth of England, and tendered her their weapons against their native land, they estimated their numbers, "of every kind and condition," at one million (2); and certainly they would not have falsely represented their population as so trifling, when they were asking a foreign sovereign "to receive the aid of so many soldiers that she would acknowledge their services to be of no small gain." And when the Huguenots threatened Henry IV. because of his delay in issuing the celebrated edict, the monarch ordered De Vic and De Calignon to tell them that "they should be contented with the articles of Nerac and Flex, since the number of their co-religionists *had been larger in 1560 and 1577 than it was at that time*" (3). Finally, Benoit himself, complaining, in 1680, of the imminent loss of their privileges by the Calvinists, speaks of only "*one million as being about to be deprived of said concessions*" (4).

Let us now examine the assertion that France lost immense wealth by the emigration of her Huguenots. This loss has been placed at two hundred millions of francs, said to have been carried out of the country by these thrifty citizens

(1) *History of the French Refugees in the States of Brandenburg*; Berlin, 1690.

(2) *Procès-verbal of the Assembly of Chatelleraud in 1597*.

(3) *Procès-verbal of the Assembly of Vendôme*. (4) *Loc. cit.*, b. xvi., p. 414.

We shall spare the reader all monetary calculations and theories, and merely draw his attention to the well-known pecuniary condition of the emigrants. It is admitted by Benoit that so great was the poverty of the immense majority, that they were, for a long time, dependent on the charity of the peoples who admitted them into their territories; this writer details the collections taken up in their behalf, and concerning any sums of money carried by them from home. He says simply that "several had a little money, some more, and some less." Another Huguenot writer, La Martinière, tells us that "in England thousands of the refugees were destitute." Ancillon says that so abject was the poverty of the Brandenburg contingent, that "the elector was forced to care for two thousand in a building erected for that purpose." And this poverty was quite natural, for there were very few "gentlemen" or thriving artisans among the exiles; and such of them as had amassed some money, and then had it in transportable shape, had been obliged to spend a great part of it, says Benoit, "in corrupting the guards, admiralty officers, etc.," that they might escape. Again, the few who possessed immovable property were unable to sell it, as a royal decree had invalidated such action. Finally, the registers and other documents of the day prove that in all France there were then only five hundred millions of francs in specie. Now the France of that day had a population of twenty millions; therefore the specie in circulation was twenty-five francs per head. Even supposing, therefore, which is absurd, that the emigrants were as opulent as those who remained in the kingdom, one million and two hundred and fifty thousand francs would have been their quota of specie. This calculation is based, of course, on the supposition that our estimate of the number of refugees—fifty thousand—is correct; but even were we to accept the estimate of Benoit—two hundred thousand—the exportation of specie would be only five millions of francs—a sum which France could easily afford, considering the quantity of blood which the Huguenot emigration spared to the veins of her faithful children.

But we are told that the manufacturing interests of France

suffered greatly by the emigration of the Huguenots. What does not exist cannot suffer. Now at the date of the revocation the manufactures of France were as yet only in the state of initiatory formation ; Colbert, whom Mazarin had recommended to Louis XIV., just as Richelieu had recommended him to Louis XIII., for the glory of France, had only then started French commerce. Hitherto the French had gone abroad for nearly all articles of luxury, and even for many of prime necessity. The tapestries of Flanders had been celebrated for centuries before Beauvais and the Gobelins thought of rivalling them. The fine cloths of Spain, England, and Holland had long been used by the French gentry, and it was not until 1680 that Louviers began to imitate them. The cloths of Sedan had been imitated from foreign productions for many years. And similar admissions must be made concerning nearly every article for the production of which France is now famous. It is worthy of note that Louis XIV. instructed his ambassador to the English court, M. de Comminges, to gather all possible information and hints concerning materials, manufactures, etc.; also that he so realized the need of foreign aid in which his country then labored in this regard, that he attracted foreign workmen by liberal treatment, especially by limiting their term of apprenticeship to one year, and by granting to them French naturalization (1). And at the very time when foreigners were thus invited to aid at its birth, if not indeed to create French manufacturing genius, Calvinistic operatives were being excluded from the national establishments—a proof that their work was certainly not needed or even appreciated (2). Such reflections must convince the reader that the influx of Huguenot operatives was of no very great advantage to the lands that welcomed them, especially since those countries knew much more about their trades, etc., than the strangers knew. M. de Caveyrac, replying, in 1758, to the famous letter of the Huguenot “patriot” already cited, refutes the assertion of

(1) Letters-patent for the manufactures at Sedan in 1666, art. 167; and for the manufactures at Elbeuf.

(2) At Rouen, in 1665, only one operative in sixteen could be a Protestant; the manufacturers of Amiens, Autun, and Dijon, would employ no heretic. Paris allowed one Calvinist workman to fifteen Catholics.

that would-be statistician to the effect that the Revocation entailed a surprising decrease in the commerce of Nîmes, Lyons, Marseilles, and other great cities of France. He shows that Nîmes so increased in size and prosperity after the alleged lamentable event, that a new *enceinte* was deemed necessary, its faubourgs having extended out to the (but lately distant) walls of the old Romans. The embellishments then effected in the city, at a cost of 1,200,000 francs, he deemed worthy of record, "lest their beauty might lead posterity to believe them to have been a work of the time of Augustus," and the population had doubled. Lyons had 69,000 inhabitants when the Edict was revoked, and when Caveyrac wrote it possessed 200,000. Marseilles, in 1758, was three times as rich and populous as it was in 1685. The city of Rouen had so advanced in manufacturing enterprise that the surrounding peasantry abandoned the cultivation of the soil in order to work in its factories; and a governmental decree had to be issued in 1723 closing these establishments from July 1st to September 15th, so that some attention might be given to the crops. The cities of Lavaur and Puy had become rich, thanks to the labors of their respective bishops, Fontanges and Le Franc de Pompignan, in fostering and co-operating in—the latter with his own hands—the manufacture of silk (1). By adducing such instances as these, Caveyrac replied to the "patriot" who had asserted that "the oppression of consciences had ruined French manufactures."

We need scarcely do more than refer to the figures which we have established as indicative of the real number of the Huguenots whom the Revocation drove from France, in order to show that this emigration produced very little effect on the military strength of the country. Certainly, of all the evils, if

(1) John George Le Franc de Pompignan, bishop of Puy, a brother of the poet of this name, suffered from the calumnies of Voltaire and the Encyclopedistic school; therefore, it is not surprising that history shows him to have been as pious as he was talented. Taking the bobbin in hand, without quitting the pulpit, he sowed the seed of wealth, says Caveyrac, where he had sown those of religion. "In order to establish the manufacture of silk in a mountainous district where only the name of the thing was known, the enterprising founders had to be encouraged; the government was to be rendered favorable to the work, exemptions were to be obtained, emulation was to be excited, confidence was to be inspired, a new people had to be created and rendered apt to the delicate work. M. de Pompignan surmounted every difficulty: for virtue, when united with talent, is ever triumphant."

any were entailed, accruing to the kingdom from the criminal measure, this loss of human war material was the slightest, whether the advantages gained be considered, or the force that was sacrificed. The 50,000 emigrants may be regarded as forming 10,000 families, each of which would probably consist of a grandparent, a father and mother, and two children; having, therefore, probable sex considered, as well as age, only one person capable or likely to bear arms. Here we perceive that, at the very most, France lost 3,333 men capable of fighting her battles. But a more exact method of calculation should be adopted. The 500,000 men of whom the armies of Louis XIV. generally consisted, formed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of his 20,000,000 of subjects. If, therefore, the 50,000 emigrants had remained at home, and had furnished their proper quota to the armed forces of the nation, the flag would have waved over 1,250 more soldiers. And even if we were to admit, with Benoit, that 200,000 persons left the country, their $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. share of the military burdens would have enrolled under the standards only 5,000 men—a loss, as we have noted, thrice compensated by the 15,000 Irishmen enlisted by Chateaurenaud. The minister Jurieu, a virulent Calvinist, and one ever eager to discover or to fancy punishments falling on France because of the Revocation, says nothing of any regiments, or even companies, of Huguenot refugees in foreign service. Certainly Ancillon assigns enough of these emigrants to Brandenburg to form a company of body-guards, one of mounted grenadiers, two of musketeers, and three regiments of infantry; but when this writer enters into details, he accounts for only 9,633 refugees of both sexes and all ages, in Brandenburg. And if so many of the Huguenots entered the army of the elector, what must we think of “those desert lands of the Prussian king turned into a fertile paradise by the labors of the refugees?” Whence came these agriculturists? And how are we to account for those Huguenots who, according to Ancillon, “formed the foundation, by their industry, of the power of this wise and redoubtable monarch?” (1).

(1) Here we may note that the pretended “patriot” says “that at that time Berlin alone contained more than 20,000 Frenchmen whom despair had sent out of their country.” Now

Having considered the economical consequences of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, not as they are evolved from the inner consciousness of a prejudiced mind, but as they are presented by historical research, we must now pay some attention to the terrible events which followed the murder of the Abbé du Chayla and three of his household, perpetrated by the Huguenots of Pont-de-Montverd on July 24, 1702. At that period nearly all Europe was in arms against Louis XIV.; and among the weapons used by the enemies of France, especially by England and Holland, not the least efficacious was the Academy which French Calvinist refugees had founded at Geneva for the training and support of the emissaries whom they sent, from time to time, to sustain their dying cause in the mother-country. These firebrands, kindled by the prophecies and counsels of Jurieu, who breathed naught but vengeance in his Dutch refuge, infested especially the Cévennes, that chain of mountains which constitutes, as it were, the backbone of Southern France, dividing the country into the two basins of the Loire and the Garonne, on the one side, and of the Saone and the Rhone, on the other (1). The fanaticism of these preachers found many partisans, and their vaunted prophetic gifts were soon said to have descended on innumerable candidates for the apostolate, among whom not a few were children. From ecstasies, convulsions, clairvoyance, etc., the Gospelers soon progressed to sedition; and the first victims were the priests, especially the missionaries who had drawn so many recalcitrants back to the fold of Christ. Of all the

Voltaire, to whom a zero more or less was a small matter when it served his purposes to use it one way or the other, gives only 10,000 Frenchmen to Berlin. The truth will be more readily found if we remember that the census of 1755 gives 6,654 as the number of Huguenots and their descendants in Berlin. Seventy years previously, therefore, there could have been scarcely 3,000.

(1) Chief among these early academicians was one Du Serre, who had established a school of prophets in Dauphiny. He selected fifteen young rustics of each sex, taught them certain supposed mysteries, tried their courage and exaltedness, and then conferring "the Holy Spirit" upon them with ridiculous ceremonies, sent them on their separate missions. Among these disciples of Du Serre was the famous shepherdess whom Jurieu upheld as a prophetess, long after she had avowed her impostures, and been sincerely recoiled to the Church. See the *History of Fanaticism in Our Day* (1692), by De Brueys, a quondam support of the Calvinist Consistory of Montpellier, who had undertaken to refute Bossuet's *Explanation of the Doctrines of the Church*, and had then been converted by the great controversialist.

priests in the Cévennes, the most obnoxious to the Huguenots was the archpriest of Mende, an inspector of the missions, the Abbé du Chayla; hence over a hundred madmen burst into his house, and he received fifty-two wounds, twenty-four of which were mortal. After killing also another priest and two of the archpriest's servants, the murderers found their numbers so increased that they were able to divide into bands of considerable size, and scouring the Cévennes in every direction, they filled the land with carnage and devastation. Court de Gébelin, a Protestant author of the time, narrates that in one month alone, January, 1703, the Calvinists of the Cévennes, now styled Camisards (1), burned forty parish-houses and mansions, and murdered eighty persons (2). Naturally, the Catholics soon retaliated for these outrages; the captured ministers were hung as rebels, and their followers were sent to the galleys. In the guerilla warfare which now ensued, the ablest leader of the Camisards was a field-hand named La Porte; and when he was captured and hung, a nephew, who assumed the style of "Count" Roland, took his place with great success. One of Roland's first acts, on assuming command, was to despatch the following warning, the autograph of which Capefigue possessed (3). "We, *Count* Roland, General of the Protestant troops of France, now assembled in the Cévennes in Languedoc, order the inhabitants of Saint-André de Valborgne to inform all priests and missionaries that we prohibit them to say Mass or to preach in this holy place, and that they must immediately abandon this region, under pain of being burned alive in their churches or houses, together with all their adherents. We grant only two days for the execution of this order. *Count* Roland." This document alone shows the character of the ruffians whom Protestant writers generally describe as so many Macchabees. The revolt would have been repressed at once, had M. de Lamoignon de Bâville, the *intendant* of Languedoc, been willing to ac-

(1) This term was derived from *Camos-ard*, words of the *Langue d'Oc*, signifying "a burnt house."

(2) *History of the Camisard War*; Villefranche, 1760. This writer finds much amusement in the fright which seized all the priests in the Cévennes at this time.

(3) So says this famous publicist in his *Louis XVI.*

cept the services of the battalions of citizens who volunteered from Nîmes, Toulouse, and Montpellier; or if Marshal de Montrevel, the military commander of the province, had been willing to obey the orders received from the court to treat the villages of the Camisards as those incendiaries were treating the domiciles of their Catholic neighbors. Bâville cared not to afford mere citizens an opportunity of displaying military prowess; and Montrevel showed more zeal in repressing the excesses of the "Sons of the Cross," companies of Catholic protectors of altar and fireside, than he exercised against those who had invited those excesses by much more frightful ones. Over four thousand Catholics had perished, either by the knives or by the torches of the Camisards, when King Louis substituted for Montrevel a veteran commander who had acquired experience in mountain combats during the Italian wars, and whose conciliatory disposition was well known to the Huguenots. This officer, the marquis de Villars, has furnished us with reflections on the Camisard rebellion which free us from the necessity of dilating on its characteristics (1). Commenting on the nature of his task, he says: "I had occasion to see for myself that we had to do with a very strange people; men who were like none that I had yet known; men who were quick, turbulent, hot-headed, and nevertheless obstinate in their opinions, and susceptible to deep as well as to light impressions. And then they were all zealots in religion; the heretics being as ardent as the Catholics. Judge, therefore, of the embarrassment in which I was placed. There are three sorts of Camisards. Firstly, there are some who are sick of the horrors of war, and who, knowing that their cause must be ruined, sooner or later, are ready to negotiate for peace. Secondly, there are those who are outrageously mad in matters of religion. Let the first little boy or girl begin to shake, and cry out that the Holy Ghost is talking to him or her; then the entire people is so convinced of the prodigy, that they would believe God no sooner, were He to speak to them, surrounded by all His angels. On this kind the penalty of death makes no impression; in battle they thank those who kill them; they march

(1) *Memoires of Marshal de Villars*, in the Collection of Michaud and Poujoulat.

to the scaffold exhorting the spectators, so that we often are obliged to surround them with drummers, in order to prevent any evil effect from their discourses. Finally, there is a third class; persons without religion, abandoned to libertinage and murder, never doing anything but rob and debauch, living on the peasantry; a ferocious and fanatical rabble, with plenty of prophetesses among them. Many of the Catholics were no more rational than the Camisards; and they also were of several classes. Some, blinded by their zeal, saw a danger for religion in every leniency which we deemed proper to show toward the heretics, in order to gain them. Then there were others who were governed by cupidity; who considered the property of heretics, and even of the newly-converted, as their proper prey. Such persons possessed not a shadow of Christian charity; according to them, the Camisards should be killed, or at least banished, without exception. The smallest number wept, because of the blindness of the heretics; and they never did them any harm, nor did they wish any to be inflicted." Encouraged by their prophets and prophetesses, especially by the letters of Jurieu, who, after having predicted the annihilation of Popery for 1690, now deferred the devoutly-desired consummation until 1710 (1), the Camisards resisted both the overtures and the troops of Villars for nearly a year; but finally, one by one the bands dissolved. The "count" Roland and the herdsman, Cavalier, tried in vain to keep the field; they also surrendered, and finally the band of Ravanet, a deserter from the royal army, and the last of the guerilla chieftains, was destroyed. In the following year, as also in 1706 and 1709, the Camisards again made some show of revolt, and as usual murdered many priests; but the money and arms from England and Holland not arriving to any great extent, these uprisings were easily quelled.

Many of the Camisards had escaped to England, flattering themselves that the Establishment would tolerate any obedience to "the spirit," when manifested by the victims of Popery. Among these enthusiasts was Cavalier, who, not

(1) He afterward fixed the date for 1715; and as he died in 1713, we know not what other date he would then have adopted.

having received the colonelcy which he had craved as a compensation for his surrender to Villars, had offered his sword to the chief Protestant power (1). Of course the prestige of Cavalier led many of the English Gospellers to regard him as endowed, in a pre-eminent degree, with "the gift of the spirit"; and two other refugees, Marion and Fage, shared this glory with him. In their moments of "inspiration," these ecstatic Huguenots, says Picot, "emitted terrible cries, shook their heads and arms, and struggled so violently, that they could not be restrained. They would not eat during many days, they penetrated the depths of consciences, and they pronounced elegant discourses, all in the name of the 'spirit.' We have read many of these speeches, and we find them very similar to those given by the convulsionaries whom we shall yet meet (2). These two kinds of impostors resemble each other exceedingly; the 'gift' of the one is very like the 'work' of the other. Their contortions and their prophecies are equally ridiculous. But we must admit that the credit for invention incontestably belongs to the refugees from the Cévennes; and that the jugglers who shone so brightly at Paris, a few years afterward, had the honor merely of perfecting what their predecessors had begun. Both parties were similarly detected, and subjected to ridicule" (3). On Jan. 5, 1707, a number of Anglican ministers published in London a pamphlet in condemnation of the three Huguenot tricksters; on Oct. 15 the three French Protestant consistories of London met in one of their temples, and "suspended" one of their preachers, one Lions, for defending the "prophets"; but the contortionary epidemic spread considerably among the Anglicans, and three of these sectarians even began to prophesy as loudly as Cavalier. One of these converts, a gentleman named Lacy, excelled as a "miracle" worker; he was said to have raised the dead. The government was becoming alarmed, when

(1) He distinguished himself in the following wars against his countrymen, and was rewarded with the governorship of the Island of Jersey, where he died in 1740.

(2) Picot alludes to those Jansenist fanatics who alleged that they had experienced the supposedly miraculous powers of the deacon, Paris, and of whom we have spoken in our chapter on Jansenism.

(3) *Memoirs for the Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth Century*; Third. edit., Paris, 1855.

fortunately Shaftesbury published his *Letter on Enthusiasm*, in which, while he extended his raillery to several venerable things, he so held up the fanatics to ridicule, that they became objects of popular contempt (1).

The reader may expect us to notice the charge made by philosophistic historians, who, following in the wake of Saint-Simon, assert that the noble Mme. de Maintenon was among the foremost in procuring the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. We might reply that Louvois, the most prominent instigator of the measure, was no friend of the pre-eminently charitable and sweet-minded countess; and that Voltaire, the most bitter foe of everything that was dear to her heart, declared: "She had nothing to do with it; that is a certain fact." Again, her correspondence indicates no intervention in this matter on her part, whereas it is filled with recommendations to her brother and other governors to be tolerant to the Calvinists (2). We find her rejoicing at the conversion of heretics through persuasion and instruction, as when she writes: "In one month a hundred thousand souls have been converted in Guienne; the town of Saintes has abjured through conviction. The king writes daily to the bishops to send missionaries everywhere to instruct and console. . . . Ought we not to rejoice at this?" We find her, after the partial emigration of the Huguenots, advising a firm and prudent policy toward those who remained, but she expresses no rigorous sentiments. Naturally, we find her refuting the assertion that the emigration would ruin commerce and industry, and we are not surprised that she rejoices at the defeat of the Camisards, for they were rebels, sold to the

(1) Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, born at London in 1671, was a grandson of the chancellor Ashley, an intimate friend of Locke. After receiving some lessons in philosophy from Locke, he travelled on the continent, and became acquainted with Bayle, Le Clerc, Le Cène, and other skeptics of that time, who, although less radically opposed to religion than the German and English deists then in vogue, unseated his religious convictions by their Socinian tendencies. Returning to England, he published many elucubrations which were afterward collected under the title of *Characteristics, etc.* His *Letter on Enthusiasm*, directed chiefly against the Huguenot jugglers from the Cèvennes, was attacked by the Anglicans because of its extreme opinions; and he tried to justify it by his *Sensus Communis*, an "Essay on the Uses of Ridicule" (1709), in which he presented raillery as the touchstone of truth. He was an optimist; he rejected the doctrine of original sin, and that on eternal punishment; he proclaimed the beauties of indifference in religious matters.

(2) *Mme. de Maintenon Judged by Her Authentic Correspondence*, Paris, 1887.

foreigner. But not a word do we discover which can be distorted into an expression of desire for severity toward the Huguenots. Harken to the words which she addressed to her brother, governor of Cognac, where there were very many Calvinists: "I have heard certain things concerning your conduct which are not at all to your credit, my dear brother. They say that you treat the Huguenots with severity; that you seek for occasions for such treatment. Such conduct does not befit a gentleman. Have pity for those who are more unfortunate than culpable. They are in the same error in which we once were, and from which violence would never have extricated us. Men can be attracted only by sweetness and charity; Jesus has so taught us by His example, and such is the will of the king. It is your duty to keep those under you in obedience; the bishops and the pastors will make conversions by their teachings and example. Neither God nor the king has given to you the care of souls; sanctify your own, and be severe toward yourself alone. Let not M. de Ruvigny (1) be forced to complain of you again" (2). In fact, so tenderly disposed was Mme. de Maintenon toward the Huguenots, that on one occasion the king said to her: "I fear that your concern for the Calvinists proceeds from a remnant of attachment toward your olden religion" (3). Even certain Protestant historians of the eighteenth century, who had known well many of the Huguenot refugees, bore witness to the lenient spirit of Mme. de Maintenon. Thus, Erman and Reclam, although they contended that she had some share in the revocation, nevertheless remark: "We should, however, do her the justice to say that she never counselled the harsh measures which were adopted. She abhorred persecution; and all such proceedings were hidden from her" (4). One day she said to the ladies of Saint-Cyr, when the conversation had turned on the advisability of using kindness toward heretics: "I have found it advantageous in many instances. Whenever I had any Huguenots among my

(1) M. de Ruvigny was deputy-general of the Calvinists to the king. After the revocation, he retired to England, and his influence with William III. procured for his son the earldom of Galloway.

(2) Letter to M. d'Aubigné, 1682.

(3) *Memorial de Saint-Cyr*.

(4) *History of the French Refugees in Brandenburg*, vol. I., p. 77.

domestics, I instructed them in the truth when occasion offered itself, and I did so as well as I could; but not only did I never urge them importunately to abjure their errors, but I even sometimes proposed that they should go to the Protestant service. The king, whose religious zeal is wonderful, would often insist on my dismissing those servants, or on my forcing them to enter the fold of the Church; but I used to reply: 'Leave this matter to me; I know how it will end, and I beg you to allow me to be the mistress of my household.' God blessed my method; and before long I had the consolation of seeing all those Huguenots become very good Catholics" (1). Again, we must remember that a gross chronological error is committed by those who represent Mme. de Maintenon as having wrung the famous edict from a monarch trembling under the weakness of age, and entangled in the meshes of a superstitious devoteism in which she had, through ambition, involved him. At the time of the revocation, Louis XIV. was in the full maturity of all his physical and mental powers; thirty additional years of a phenomenally active and intelligent reign still remained to him. As to his alleged devoteism, at least at this period of his life, it is certain that although, thanks to the happy influence of Mme. de Maintenon, the year 1682 had seen him abandon the paths of voluptuousness for those of conjugal fidelity, nevertheless, he was still very much attached to the things of the world. Letters which Fénelon wrote to the countess in 1690 and in 1691, as well as letters of that modern Esther to Cardinal de Noailles, written as late as 1695, plainly indicate that the grand monarch was very little of an ascetic. Finally, we must not forget that although the duke de Saint-Simon, "the great disdained of Louis XIV.," would have us believe the contrary, the desire of governing France was very foreign to the character and tastes of Mme. de Maintenon. Carried away by his hatred of the sovereign who had gauged the measure of his worth, Saint-Simon delighted in discharging his venom on all whom that monarch truly loved. Hence we hear him descanting on a presumed

(1) *Manuscripts of Saint-Cyr*, cited by De Noailles, *History of Mme. de Maintenon*. vol. II., p. 291, Paris, 1851.

undeserved "omnipotence" of Mme. de Maintenon: "The ministers, the generals of the army, the entire royal family were at her feet. Everything was good which she proposed; everything was condemned which came not from her. In her hand was everything, without exception; men, business, appointments, justice, favors, religion. The king and the state were her victims" (1). The correspondence of the countess, especially her letters to the princess Orsini, that ambitious intriguer in whom Saint-Simon discerns the ally of Mme. de Maintenon in her attempt to rule both France and Spain, refutes eloquently the supposition that her ascendancy over her royal husband was other than that which any devoted wife must have over a loving spouse, when his own good sense enables him to appreciate her intellectual endowments, and his elevation of character prevents any jealousy of faculties as sublime as his own. It is true that the king, in accordance with his idea that his perspicacious wife should be addressed as "Your Solidity," just as he was styled "Your Majesty," was wont, after hearing a ministerial opinion, to turn to the countess, nearly always present on such occasions, and ask: "What does Your Solidity think?" But such deference does not illustrate the "omnipotence" with which Saint-Simon would credit Mme. de Maintenon. Fénelon, an excellent judge and the soul of truth, in a letter written in 1694, when the influence of the countess was at its height, found fault with her for a too persistent abstention from affairs of state; insisting that, while not interfering beyond her province, she should keep herself well-informed as to current events and imminent projects, so as to be able "to moderate excesses, and to redress grievances." The reader will probably not be disposed to blame us if we now appear to diverge from the main scope of our work by indulging in a few reflections on this much calumniated woman.

Mme. de Maintenon may be said to have lived on injuries to the day of her death. From Saint-Simon to Henri Martin, historians and romancists, philosophers and pamphleteers, have displayed a ghoulish determination to tarnish her memory. Representing as she does the old *régime* to a very

(1) *Memoires of Saint-Simon*, vol. xlii., edit. 1829.

great extent, the advanced thinkers of our century also do her the grossest injustice. And—shame of shames!—writers have been found so unwilling to discern virtue, even when it is made manifest to them, as to confound the Widow Scarron with the Vallière, the Montespan, etc. ; and to use in connection with her name the ugly word “concubine.” The chief, nay, the characteristic, passion of Mme. de Maintenon was a love of honor. “I wish,” she once said to the young ladies of Saint-Cyr, “that I did for God what I did in the world to preserve my reputation.” It was ~~this~~ sentiment, probably, that prevented Frances d’Aubigné from accepting the inheritance of La Vallière and Montespan. After the death of Scarron, his widow continued to frequent the higher Parisian society ; and, to use the words of Mme. de Sévigné, she charmed all by her condescension and by her delightful conversation. Among those who appreciated the grand qualities of Mme. Scarron were M. and Mme. de Montespan, the latter of whom was at the height of her favor with Louis XIV. A governess was needed for the illegitimate children whom the Montespan had borne, and the mother spoke to the royal father of the great merits of the Widow Scarron. Louis was agreeable ; but it was only after long hesitation, and only upon her own conditions, that the future spouse of the monarch accepted the position. *In entering upon this delicate mission, did Mme. Scarron render herself, in some sort, an accomplice of the crime of the guilty parents? So it has been said ; but the Church, certainly sufficiently rigorous in all matters of this kind, has never counselled the moral abandonment of illegitimate children.* In the course of time the pupils of Mme. Scarron were acknowledged by their royal father, legitimated by Act of Parliament, and transferred, together with their governess, to the brilliant light of the court. This change effected no alteration in the attitude of Mme. de Maintenon. She carefully persisted in her pedagogic and quasi-maternal mission, personally directing the instruction of the princes, and superintending the preparation of manuals for their use.

Meanwhile King Louis, being brought into daily contact with the widow of the poet, found himself frequently paus-

ing to listen to a conversation which was of a nature entirely new to him, and which opened up to his soul horizons hitherto unknown. In vain did the Montespan seek to destroy this new influence. The estate of Maintenon was bought, and the rising star assumed from it the title by which she is generally known. The courtiers, who were prone to discern evil wherever it was possible, now began to style her "The lady of to-day,"—*La dame de maintenant*. The first use she made of her power was to try to lead the sovereign back to the path of virtue. After many relapses, the stupefied courtiers saw the monarch frequenting the society of his long-abandoned queen, Maria Theresa. But in three years the queen died, her last sigh being received by her who had brought a portion of domestic happiness to her later days. Now the great monarch, self-isolated though he was in his own grandeur, needed a companion, and one who could restrain and direct him. Such a one he could only find in her who had become his guardian angel. But what rank could he offer her? Certainly he could not outrage purity itself by a tender of the position once occupied by a Montespan, etc.; and on the other hand, her deficiency of royal birth precluded the possibility of her being made queen in every sense of the term. A morganatic marriage afforded the only solution of the difficulty. Among many the idea prevails that there is something disgraceful in a morganatic marriage; that such a union is but a left-handed sort of an affair, or, in fact, no marriage whatever. Nothing can be more false than such a conception of a union which is sanctified by the Church, and is as much a Sacrament, and as venerable, as though it had been solemnized under St. Peter's Dome by the Supreme Pontiff himself, and as though it entailed upon any possible issue all the prerogatives, etc., of both the contracting parties. A morganatic marriage takes place only where a difference of rank between groom and bride (*e. g.*, between sovereign and subject) prevents the transmission of the superior's dignities. The contract between Louis and the countess was drawn up at Fontainebleau in September, 1683, and the religious ceremony was performed soon afterward. Such was the *denouement*,

without which the reign of Louis XIV. would have infallibly ended as did that of Louis XV., in debauchery and opprobrium.

From the year 1683 Mme. de Maintenon was an anonymous queen; for, although Louis gave to her no official title, she governed without reigning; most of his statecraft originated in her apartments, even at the risk of great inconvenience, and even pain, to her. Often by main force he would compel her to give her opinion before he ventured his own. The most considerable result of the all-powerful ascendancy of Mme. de Maintenon over the heart and will of her royal husband almost savored of the miraculous—namely, the sincere return of the prince himself to the practice of his religious duties. A change also came over the entire court; if this was not as sincere as the royal reformation, at least the faithful were not scandalized any more by vice stalking impudently in the halls of a nation's rulers. As early as September, 1683, the countess could write to her brother: "I believe that the dead queen has besought of God the conversion of his Majesty and of the court. That of the king is wonderful; and the ladies who used to least frequent the sanctuary now scarcely leave the churches. An ordinary Sunday is now kept as Pentecost used to be." *Apropos* of the countess' settled resolve to devote herself to the salvation of the king, there is fortunately preserved to us a most touching prayer composed by this modern Esther, which many a Christian wife would do well to learn and recite, with application of course to her own particular Louis. "O Thou who holdest in Thy hands the hearts of kings, open that of King Louis, that I may cause to enter into it all the good thoughts which Thou lovest so much. Give me power to render him joyful, to console him, and even to sadden him when that would tend to Thy glory. May I never hide from him those things which he ought to learn from me, and which no one else would have courage to tell him. May we be saved together; may we love each other in Thee. May we progress together in all Thy ways unto the day of Thy coming!" The egoism of King Louis, where his wife was concerned, was probably unconscious, but it was none

the less trying. Often he would open all the immense windows of the countess' room; for he was fond of fresh air. On the contrary, Mad. de Maintenon dreaded cold; but she would shiver in patience. She could not even put a screen between her bed and the window; such apparatus Louis regarded as lacking in majesty. "One must die with dignity," observed the countess,—*Il faut périr en symétrie*. All in all, however, the royal circle was a comparatively happy one. Louis XIV. truly loved the woman whom he had raised to almost the very throne, and who was now in reality his social equal. "I leave you the dearest object to me in the world," said he to the ladies of Saint-Cyr, as he confided his wife to their care when on his way to the siege of Mons.

We have specially insisted on the popularity of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; but justice demands that neither blame nor praise be given to the bishops of France for any intervention in the matter. That they had no part in the framing of the Edict of Revocation is proved by the embarrassments entailed upon the clergy by the silence of the law as to the future marriages of French Protestants—embarrassments which continued for more than a century. The nearly unforeseen revocation of the Edict of Nantes subjected the bishops and the clergy to all the evils and inconveniences of that precipitation. Not having been consulted in regard to a law which was made known to them only when the rest of France heard of it, they had not had an opportunity of indicating any of the wise precautions which should have accompanied the new order of things. The edict of revocation assured to the Protestants their personal security, and the full exercise of their civil rights; but it had been so improvident in their regard, that it had established nothing concerning that most important of their civil rights, by which alone they could transmit property. The edict had regulated all that concerned certificates of birth; and starting from the principle held by both religions that baptism was valid, no matter by whom conferred, it had been taken for granted that the Protestants would not refuse to send their children to the Catholic churches for baptism. A later ordinance regulated burials in a reasonable manner. But

there remained the matter of marriages, so essential in every political society, and the influence of which extends directly or indirectly to all civil acts. Not only did the Edict of Revocation preserve profound silence on this important article, but for more than a century the legislators declined to pronounce on a question which was renewed every day, and which, of all questions, most needed settlement. This forced silence was derived from the very nature of the question. Marriage being a Sacrament in the Catholic Church, the government had realized that it ought not, and could not, order the clergy to administer that Sacrament to a class of persons who refused to recognize its character and effects. But what is most astonishing, it seems to have occurred to the mind of no one that a civil magistrate might be authorized to officiate at Protestant marriages. The government preferred to have recourse to the strangest of fictions; it preferred to suppose that there were no more Protestants in France. It was presumed that most of these would be influenced by the natural desire of assuring the lot of their children, and that therefore they would celebrate their marriages before Catholic priests, these clergymen wisely condescending to facilitate the unions. In fact, this happened in many dioceses, and in many cases. But the question remained the same; and it was just as difficult of solution in the case of the many Protestants in rural districts, who could not conquer their repugnance against the reception of the nuptial benediction in a Catholic church. Then originated that singular contradiction between the silent law and a jurisprudence of the tribunals which supplied for that silence. In many particular cases submitted to them, the tribunals decided that Protestants did exist in France, despite the fiction of their non-existence; and the marriages were assured of their civil effects, even though they were not contracted according to the legal forms. But these decisions were as variable as the dispositions of the government, and could not form legal precedents. On the other hand there were bishops who deemed it their duty to observe faithfully the spirit and discipline of the Church, and who could not consent to the administration of the Sacrament of Matrimony to those who made

open profession of denying its character (1). This vital defect in the Edict of Revocation contributed, probably more than anything else, to its abrogation in 1789.

If any one of the French bishops was consulted in the matter of the revocation, that prelate must certainly have been Bossuet, foremost in learning, and pre-eminently dear to the court. But in none of the documents left by the bishop of Meaux, and in none of the papers left by Ledieu, his faithful secretary who was so diligent in recording everything at all affecting him, is there a single indication that he had any share in designing or preparing the Edict of Revocation. "And how can we suppose," asks Cardinal Bausset, "that Bossuet, so learned and foreseeing in everything concerning religion and the administration of the Sacraments, would not have perceived and proclaimed the difficulties menacing the bishops of France through the consequences of a law which avoided or neglected a pronouncement on a matter which was most essential to the peace of families? In fact, the edict prescribed no rule for that multitude of newly-converted whose conversion was at least equivocal; and it was inexplicably silent in regard to those unconverted Protestants whom it left without any religious cult, and whose civil status it did not regulate. The principles professed by Bossuet indicate most clearly that neither he nor any bishop, with the possible exception of Mgr. de Harlay of Paris, was admitted to the deliberations which preceded the revocation of the Edict of Nantes" (2). It is certain that the Calvinist fellow-countrymen of Bossuet regarded him as one who desired to effect their conversion only by means of instruction and encouragement. M. du Bourdieu, one of the most prominent Calvinist preachers of that day, writing to a Protestant magistrate of Montpellier, says: "I tell you candidly that my repugnance for anything like controversy has been nearly vanquished by the frank and Christian deportment which distinguishes M. Bossuet from his brethren. He never uses other than evangelical ways in order to convince us of the truth of his religion. He preaches, he writes books and letters, and he labors to draw us from our belief

(1) BAUSSET; *Life of Bossuet*, bk. xi., § 17. Besancon, 1846.

(2) *Loc. cit.*

by means which befit his character and the spirit of Christianity. Therefore we should be grateful for the charitable attentions of this grand prelate, and we should read without prejudice the works which emanate from a heart that loves us and desires our salvation."

The Edict of Revocation was undoubtedly severe in most of its provisions. The first article withdrew all the privileges which Henry IV. and Louis XIII. had granted to the Calvinists. The second and third prohibited, throughout the kingdom, the public exercise of the "reformed" worship. The fourth ordered the banishment of all ministers who did not renounce heresy within fifteen days. The fifth and sixth established rewards for converts. The seventh prohibited Calvinists from teaching. The eighth ordered the Calvinists to educate their children in the Catholic religion. The ninth and tenth promised amnesty and restoration of property to all emigrants who would return within four months. The eleventh threatened relapsed converts with punishment. The twelfth and last continued all the civil rights of the Calvinists, provided that they did not perform their worship in public. *All of these provisions were in strict accordance with that Peace of Westphalia for which Protestants had moved heaven and earth, and which proclaimed the detestable principle that a sovereign should determine the religion which his subjects were to follow. All of these provisions had been enforced in persecution of Catholics, and with a refinement of cruelty which causes a modern to shudder, in every land where Protestantism had attained to power.* Louis XIV. would not allow Calvinists to teach; more than a century before the revocation, England had actuated that principle in regard to her Catholics, and she continued it in force almost to our day. Louis XIV. banished Calvinist preachers; England disembowelled her priests even when she could charge them with no other "crime" than that of celebrating Mass. *There is one great difference, however, between the persecutions of England and the one which was enforced by Louis XIV. The persecutions of England, bloody and perennial, were always sanctioned and generally originated by the royal head of the Anglican Church Establishment; the persecution in France was disavowed and*

strongly condemned by the head of Christ's Church, Pope Innocent XI. "Jesus Christ," remarked the Pontiff, "did not use such methods ; men must be led, not dragged to the churches." And the severities which accompanied the execution of the revocation, excesses which were unauthorized by and generally unknown to Louis XIV., were of short duration. When the Treaty of Riswick had restored calm to France (1697), the king turned his attention to the woes of his Calvinist subjects. Louvois, the chief promoter of every rigorous measure, had gone to his account ; and men like Bossuet and the Cardinal de Noailles found that when they seconded the counsels of moderation proposed by Mme. de Maintenon, the grand monarch showed that their advice was conformable to his own ideas of equity. Probably there is much truth in this observation of Bausset : "We may easily believe that Louis XIV. would not have waited until the Treaty of Riswick in order to put an end to the evils which desolated many of his provinces, if the idea of his dignity had not prevented him from yielding to the remonstrances of foreign powers, or to revolt on the part of some of his subjects. But since he still preserved his preponderating influence in Europe, despite the sacrifices which the prospect of the Spanish succession induced him to make at Riswick ; and since the Protestants of the Cévennes and the Vivarais, repressed and disarmed, could no longer hope for that foreign aid which they had expected ; he now found himself at liberty to listen to the dictates of his justice and kindness, without fear of compromising his dignity and glory" (1). Be this as it may, several *Instructions*, probably formulated by Bossuet, and which greatly mollified the provisions of the Edict of Revocation, now appeared. One of these, issued in Dec., 1698, restores to the Calvinist emigrants all their confiscated property, provided they return to France, and *listen to instruction on Catholic doctrine*. No obligation to become

(1) Jurieu and other ministers, "more familiar with religious controversy," says Bausset, "than with the interests of princes," had persistently encouraged the Calvinists to rebellion, declaring that England, Holland, and the German Protestant sovereigns would come to their aid. Had these powers threatened to interfere, they would have ignored that provision of the Peace of Westphalia, *ejus religio ejus regio*, which was the charter of continental Protestantism.

Catholics was imposed upon them; and in fact hundreds received the instruction, and remained Calvinists. We have endeavored rather to explain than to justify the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; but in conclusion we would remark that few of those who have undertaken the latter task have found it necessary to do more than repeat the arraignment of the Huguenots which Bayle drew up for the edification of his fellow-incredulists of the eighteenth century (1). This champion skeptic and virulent enemy of Catholicism shows that the Calvinists compelled Louis XIV. to revoke the pacificatory ordinance of Henry IV.; and that in this revocation the monarch merely imitated the States of Holland, who had observed none of the treaties which they had made with the Catholics. Bayle even ridicules the lamentations with which the Huguenots filled the earth because of their persecution, and insists that they merited all the punishment that they received. Far from us be any inclination to ridicule or minimize their sufferings; sympathy for them would come with good grace from us, as from all who glory in belonging to the school of Fénelon and Mme. de Maintenon. But when a Protestant publicist bewails their lot, he either manifests crass ignorance, or he exhibits himself as an illustration of monumental impudence.

CHAPTER XII.

QUIETISM. THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN BOSSUET AND FÉNELON.

In a letter to Pope Innocent XI., dated Jan. 30, 1682, Cardinal Caracciolo, archbishop of Naples, informed the Pontiff that a number of false mystics had appeared in his diocese, and had attracted many disciples to their doctrine that if man abandons himself entirely to profound contemplation, he may and should "omit the exercises of piety prescribed or recommended by the Church; he should regard vocal prayer and the sign of the cross as of no value; and he should repel every idea, every image, which leads to medi-

(1) *Reply to the Letter of a Refugee in 1688—Works*, vol. ii.

tation on the sufferings and death of Jesus Christ, since such meditation separates one from God." The cardinal also informed the Pope that in Italy several writers "were about to wield their pens in justification and recommendation of these dangerous opinions." The new doctrinaires, entitled Quietists, because of the absolute repose which they deemed necessary to the soul which desires to be united with God, held as a fundamental principle that union with God is to be attained only by a *quasi* annihilation of one's self; that true love of God is to be found only when one is in a state of passive contemplation, that is, when one does not use any of the faculties of his soul, but regards with indifference whatever may happen to him while he is in this condition of blissful quiet. This specious and dangerous theory, brought to the notice of the seventeenth century by an apparently pious Spanish priest named Michael Molinos, had been enunciated, to some extent, in the fourth century by a number of Origenistic mystics, who, according to St. Epiphanius, were of irreprehensible morality. St. Jerome tells us that Evagrius, a deacon of Constantinople, published a book of *Maxims* in which he contended that man could, by reason of meditation, be entirely exempt from any onslaught of passion. In the eleventh century, there appeared among the Greeks of the Lower Empire a sort of mystics who were termed *Hesychastes*, who advanced theories similar to those of Evagrius, but although they yielded to the most ridiculous illusions, they seem to have held aloof from libertinage. When treating of the Albigenes (1), we spoke of their "perfect ones," who needed not to pray or to perform any good works, but only to grant to their bodies all possible indulgence. This Quietistic theory had shown signs of survival, long before Molinos published, in 1675, his *Spiritual Guide Leading the Soul, By Means of Interior Progress, to Attain Perfect Contemplation, and to the Rich Treasure of Interior Peace*. About the year 1630, Pandolfo Ricasoli, one of that illustrious Tuscan family which furnished, in our day, a prominent leader to the *Italianissimi*, made use of the insidious maxims to corrupt an entire school of girls which was

(1) Vol. II., p. 352.

under his direction ; but having been detected, he was tried by the Inquisition, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment (1). Similar scandals had already rendered the term Quietism notorious in Naples ; and in 1615 a number of perverted women who had embraced the impure tenets of a priest named Aniello Arciero, had been tried by the Holy Office in Rome, and together with their seducer, had been condemned to a public recantation in the Dominican church of the Minerva (2). The world at large, however, paid little attention to these isolated ebullitions of prurient fanaticism ; and it was only when the specious lucubration of Molinos appeared, that devout souls began to realize that the demon had devised a formidable trap for confiding simplicity—a virulent poison under the guise of pleasant nourishment (3).

Michael Molinos, a native of Aragon, made his ecclesiastical studies with distinction at Coimbra ; but settled in Rome in 1662. His reputation for piety was great ; but we must note that he was accused of having soiled his priestly purity by the prudent Benedictine, Cardinal Sfondrati (4), who knew him well, and by the friend and pupil of Fénelon, the converted Anglican, Ramsay (5). Details corroborative of this charge are wanting ; but it certainly appears improbable that a moral man could have calmly emitted doctrine such as the Inquisition censured in the propositions 41 and 42, which were drawn from his *Guide* (6). However, at the time

(1) Ricasoli died in 1657, with every sign of sincere repentance ; but nevertheless, the horror of his olden crime caused the ecclesiastical authorities to prohibit every sign of solemnity at his funeral. For details of this matter, see Canù's *Heretics of Italy*, Discourse L., p. 336.

(2) The rites practiced by these fanatics were similar to those imputed to the mediæval Patarines. Among the many women of quality infected, were the wives of two viceroys.

(3) The following lines of Boileau are very pertinent to this subject.

" Par les chemins fleuris d'un charmant quiétisme,
Tout à coup l'aménant au vrai molinosisme,
Il lui fera bientôt, aidé de Lucifer,
Gouter en paradis les plaisirs de l'enfer." *Satires*, x.

(4) In his *Gaul Vindicated*, p. 763. Rome, 1687.

(5) In his *History of the Life and Works of F. de S. Fénelon*, p. 205. The Hague, 1723.

(6) Prop. 41. "Deus permittit et vult, ad nos humiliandos et ad veram transformationem perduccendos quod in aliquibus animabus perfectis, etiam non arreptitiis demon violentiam inferat eorum corporibus, easque actus carnales committere faciat, etiam in vigilia et sine mentis obfuscatione, movendo physice illis manus et alia membra, contra eorum voluntatem. Et idem dicitur quoad illos actus per se peccaminosos, in quo casu non sunt peccata, quia in his non adest consensus." 42. "Potest dari casus quo hujusmodi violentiæ ad actus carnales contingant eodem tempore ex parte duarum personarum, scilicet maris et femina, et ex parte utriusque sequatur actus."

that this work saw the light, Molinos was universally regarded as a modest and disinterested man, and as a wise and experienced director of souls. No sooner, however, had his admirers begun to congratulate him on the additional fame which the *Guide* was to procure for him, than these mystico-pietists became aware that their master's theories were in danger of condemnation by the Church. The first to enter the lists against the innovator was Paul Segneri, the celebrated Jesuit missionary and preacher, who issued a pamphlet entitled *Harmony of Action and Quiet in Prayer*, which the Quietists vainly stigmatized as a tissue of calumnies against their leader. In the meantime the letter of Cardinal Caracciolo had caused Pope Innocent XI. to order the arrest of Molinos. Although supported by many persons of high station, by some even of the papal court, he was tried before the Holy Office ; his writings were condemned ; and together with two of his chief disciples, the brothers Simone and Antonmaria Leoni, he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, with the obligation of going to confession at least four times a year, and of reciting the Creed and five decades of the Rosary every day. On Sept. 3, 1687, Molinos and Simone Leoni made a public recantation with the usual formalities in the Square of the Minerva ; and then, while the crowd, horrified at the monstrous doctrines hitherto taught by the culprits, called for their death by fire, they were segregated from society. Antonmaria Leoni, a layman, persisted, during two months, in refusing to retract ; but finally he yielded. Molinos exhibited for over nine years all the signs of repentance, and died on Dec. 28, 1696. On Nov. 20, 1688, Pope Innocent XI. issued his Bull *Cælestis Pastor*, in which he condemned sixty-eight of the propositions defended by Molinos. All of those propositions are not found, in so many words, in the *Guide* ; but we must remember that Molinos was condemned, not only because of the contents of his printed work, but also because of his own explanations of its spirit, made to the inquisitors at his trial. Again, we know that when he was arrested, over twenty-thousand letters, addressed to him by his confidants and disciples, were seized ; that these were examined by the inquisitors ; and

that it is very probable that these documents revealed his teachings with a precision not exhibited in the book which was destined to the public.

The condemned propositions are at the command of the curious student (1); we need only remark that they are all based on this fundamental principle: The interior life or spiritual perfection is attained when the soul, once united with God, keeps itself in a thoroughly passive state in regard to all things. In everything regarding either this life or the next, whether there be a question of virtue or one of sin, the perfect soul should wish for nothing, should fear nothing—not even hell; it should remain entirely inactive. This principle once established, as he fancied, Molinos naturally deduced the consequence that good works are not only unnecessary for salvation, but even hostile to perfection, since they demand action on the part of the faculties of the soul. The reader will readily perceive how contrary this conclusion is to the teachings of Catholic theology; namely, that it is by the frequent practice of virtue that we maintain our union with God, and strengthen the habit of those virtues which unite us with Him. So essential, according to Molinos, is passivity of soul to perfection, that when a person is attacked by even the grossest of temptations, he must never resist it positively; for such a resistance is, in reality, an action. The perfect soul, we are assured by Molinos, is in a state of absolute indifference to all that passes within and around it; and the consequence of this indifference, boldly and shamelessly contends the innovator, is that the tempted person is not responsible for his actions, be they ever so infamous, since the criminality affects only the sensitive part of the soul, not the superior part which is united with God. The danger of Molinosism was soon evinced by deplorable facts, as the annals of the Inquisition testify; and as common sense tells us, must necessarily have happened. However, the greater number of the Quietists were simply false mystics, who were attracted by the apparently sublime maxims of Molinos—maxims which were well calculated to seduce

(1) For instance, in the Supplement to the *History of Alexandre*, article *Molinos*. Bignon, 1791.

lively imaginations; and who would have died a thousand deaths, rather than knowingly subject themselves to frightful consequences which, however logical, they failed to perceive. To this class belonged the angelic Fénelon, during several years of his life; the learned and pious Cardinal Petrucci (1); the Abbé Malaval of Marseilles; the Barnabite, Lacombe of Savoy; and above all, Mme. Guyon, the occasion of the most important religious controversy of the seventeenth century.

Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de la Motte was born at Montargis, in 1648, and at an early age was married to M. Guyon, a son of the constructor of the canal of Briare. A widow in her twenty-fifth year, she devoted most of her time to mystic contemplation; and having formed the acquaintance of the Barnabite, François Lacombe, the author of a Molinosistic *Analysis of Mental Prayer*, she conceived so much—albeit spiritual—affection for him, that she came to look upon him as her son. The two mystics travelled together in France and Italy for ten years, the lady making many proselytes to Quietism by means of the revelations which, as she asserted and perhaps believed, had come to her from Heaven. At Paris, in 1681, Mme. Guyon published a *Short and Easy Method of Prayer*; at Vercelli, in 1684, she issued some *Explanations of the Apocalypse*; and in 1686 Paris was surprised by her full development of a poetico-philosophical system which added not a little of that of Buddhistic annihilation, and of Brahministic absorption, to the ideas of Molinos on detachment. The morals of Mme. Guyon seem to have been beyond reproach; but nevertheless, in the sermons which she frequently delivered to her proselytes, as well as in her work on the Apocalypse, there are passages which one can scarcely realize as having issued from other lips than those of a besotted libertine. Some of the sayings of Mme. Guyon are so frightfully blasphemous, that were we to repeat them,

(1) Pietro Matteo Petrucci, of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, was bishop of Jesi, his native city, when Pope Innocent XI. enrolled him in the Sacred College. Although already noted for Molinosistic tendencies, his undoubted piety had counterbalanced that bar to his promotion. But when the Pontiff issued his Bull *Cælestis Pastor*, he deemed it necessary to condemn the *Mystic Contemplation* of Petrucci, as redolent of the errors of Molinos. In token of his submission and repentance, the cardinal resigned his diocese, and fixed his residence in Rome.

we would need to cry to God, as did Bossuet, after he had perforce quoted one of them : " If I dared, O Lord, I would entreat of Thee to send down one of Thy Seraphim with his most burning coals, that he might purify my lips, so soiled by this recital, even though it was necessary " (1). In the exercise of his duty the Eagle of Meaux was compelled to dilate upon matters which have no longer any practical importance; and if necessity demands, the reader will find in his eloquent pages many justifications for the asperity which he sometimes manifested in the controversy which is about to claim our attention. We need only observe here that the teachings of Mme. Guyon were based upon a fancied love of God for Himself alone ; that is, without any incentives of hope or of fear. According to her conception of this love, one solitary act of it suffices to produce supreme perfection. Therefore there should be, according to her, no external penances, no exercises of piety, for the attainment of salvation. Even the Sacraments become useless ; it is sufficient for the soul to so repose in God that it cares nothing for either salvation or damnation. The cause of the perfect love, excogitated by Mme. Guyon, is outside of man ; man must be raised above himself, if he is to act in accordance with the immutable law of love. This elevation will be effected by prayer, the most perfect form of which is simply an utter abandonment to the divine impressions. Having attained to this height of perfection, the soul can discern nothing which is condemnable in herself ; such a saint should never go to confession, for he has nothing to confess. This doctrine, said Mme. Guyon, is that of not only Cardinal Bona, but of Sts. Buonaventura and Teresa, and it is upheld by Gerson. Of course Mme. Guyon thought that she had reached this height of perfection ; and she claimed to possess such power over souls and bodies, as to penetrate the innermost secrets of others. She declared that she suffered, as it were, the pangs of labor, until she brought forth renovated sinners unto her Divine Spouse. She suffered intensely, she said, with this species of agony, when she first

(1) *Relation on Quietism*, Sect. ii., No. 13, in *the Works of Bossuet*, vol. ix. Venice, 1743.

met Fénelon; she wanted to pour her own heart into his; but "he did not correspond." In time, however, he succumbed to her influence. The notoriety of this past-mistress of false mysticism was at its height when Pope Innocent XI. condemned the Quietism of Molinos; and both she and Lacombe were arrested in 1688. The unfortunate Barnabite was exiled to the island of Oléron; then transferred to the chateau of Lourdes; and during the trial of Mme. Guyon he was conveyed to Vincennes, where he became crazy. He died at Charenton in 1699.

After eight months of imprisonment, Mme. Guyon was released; the ecclesiastical authorities having judged, after many interrogations, that her aberrations were merely the result of a super-exalted pietism. Shortly after her release, she met Fénelon, for the first time, in the drawing-room of the duchess de Béthune, a lady of great intelligence and of greater piety, who had already recommended her to the consideration of the influential dukes de Chevreuse and de Beauvilliers. At this time Fénelon was preceptor of the duke of Burgundy, the heir to the throne. Confronted by the vast genius and angelic purity of Fénelon, the priestess of Quietism eschewed her wonted extravagancies, and discoursed only on grave subjects. Fénelon became convinced of her sanctity; and on his recommendation Mme. de Maintenon introduced her among the noble young ladies of Saint-Cyr, that educational institution which the countess had founded, and which was so dear to her heart. We learn from the *Manuscript Notes* of the Abbé Claude Fleury, the famous historian, whose residence at court and undoubted veracity (1) render him an unexceptionable authority in the premises, that it was owing to the discovery that the opinions of Mme. Guyon were exciting dissension among her protégées, that Mme. de Maintenon began to show coolness toward Fénelon, and to distrust his peculiar maxims of spirituality. At any rate, the countess consulted some of the principal clergy of

(1) The reader will note that we allude merely to the personality of Fleury, and to his testimony as to what happened, as it were, under his own eyes. The piety of this historian, which led him to lead a life at court like that of an anchorite in a desert, did not prevent his ultra-Gallicanism from so blinding his historical perceptions when treating of the relations between the Papacy and the State (or rather the king), as to render him, in too many instances, positively malignant toward the former power.

Paris, such men as Tiberge, Joly, and Bourdaloue; and found none willing to accept the theories of Mme. Guyon and her holy sympathizer. In these circumstances both parties deemed it advisable to procure the judgment of Bossuet, then invested by public opinion with a kind of judicial supremacy in all matters concerning the French Church. The duke de Chevreuse, probably, thinks Bausset (1), with the consent of Fénelon, broached the idea to Bossuet; and although at first the great polemic manifested repugnance for the task, he was induced to undertake it by his friendship for the duke. Mme. Guyon delivered all her papers, even her manuscript *Life* of herself, to Bossuet. "It is certain," says Bausset, "that when Bossuet first became acquainted with the writings of Mme. Guyon, he had conceived no prejudice against her or her doctrine. He had scarcely heard of her name. He may have heard of her singularities, and of the persecutions to which she had been subjected; but rather than become one of her adversaries, he was disposed to pity her, because of the esteem which she had inspired in some of the most eminent personages of the court. The endorsement of Fénelon, that of the dukes de Beauvilliers and de Chevreuse, and the protection of Mme. de Maintenon, must have had great weight with Bossuet. So far from harboring ill feeling toward Mme. Guyon was he supposed to be, that her friends were the very persons to seek for his judgment." When Bossuet had read the tissue of extravagancies and puerilities which had been submitted to him, he conferred with their author; and during the discussion of seven hour's duration, he came to the conclusion that the doctrines in question were condemnable, but that the intentions of Mme. Guyon were pure. Several conferences were now held at Issy; the chief participants being Bossuet, Fénelon, Mgr. de Noailles, (then bishop of Chalons), and the Abbé Tronson, the superior of Saint-Sulpice.

Hitherto Fénelon had not only been united in closest friendship with Bossuet, but he had been accustomed to regard the Eagle of Meaux as his father, guide, and even oracle in all matters of religious science. During the confer-

(1) *History of Bossuet, Based on Original Manuscripts*, bk. x., § vii. Paris, 1846.

ences of Issy it became evident that Bossuet was treating his friend with unwonted reserve, if not with distrust; and Fénelon wrote to him several letters full of humble deference. In one of these he says: "You know well the confidence with which I have given myself to you; and how I have tried unceasingly to acquaint you with my most intimate sentiments. Nothing remains for me but to obey; for in you I do not see the man, or a great doctor, but God. Even if you were to mistake, a simple and straightforward obedience would not mistake; and I would regard a mistake of mine as nothing, if it were made in simplicity, and under the guidance of those who possess authority in the Church. And once again I say to you, Monseigneur; if you doubt me ever so little, try me, and unsparingly. Although your intelligence is greater than that of others, I pray God to deprive you of it, and to leave you His own instead of it." Bossuet replied to none of these letters; he did not wish to express any opinion on the matter of the discussions, until he felt that his opinion had become a conviction. Hitherto the studies of Bossuet had led him to but a limited knowledge of mystic theology; the writings of St. Francis de Sales and of St. Teresa were the sole mystical treatises which he had perused. He was now occupied in careful study of every matter that could have any bearing on the Quietism of Mme. Guyon; therefore the letters of his friend remained unanswered. But both Fénelon and the outside world were made to understand that the controversy had, as yet, not at all embittered the heart of Bossuet toward him, when the bishop of Meaux begged to be the consecrator of his adversary in the approaching function, entailed by his nomination to the archiepiscopal see of Cambrai. When the conferences of Issy came to an end, Fénelon was asked to sign thirty articles, of which the following were the most important. Every Christian, no matter what his condition, is bound, although not at every moment, to explicitly desire and pray to be saved. Indifference to one's salvation is not allowable. No soul should yield to despair, or acquiesce in its probable damnation. Fénelon replied that he was willing to subscribe; but that he found them "not sufficient to obviate certain

equivocations." At his request four other articles were added to these; and one of them, the thirty-third, seemed to tolerate, to say the least, the theory of "disinterested love." It was couched in these words: "Pious and truly humble souls might be inspired with a submission and consent to the will of God, even though, by a very false supposition, God should place them, at His own good pleasure, in eternal torment, instead of in the happiness which He has promised to the just, without depriving them, however, of His grace and His love. This (submission) is an act of perfect abandonment and of pure love, practiced by certain saints; and by a very particular grace of God it may be usefully practiced by certain very perfect souls, but without derogating from the obligation of performing those other acts which we have designated as essential to Christianity." Mgr. La Broue, bishop of Mirepoix, whose knowledge Bossuet greatly respected, expressed astonishment at the adoption of this article; whereupon Bossuet replied: "I thought much about that article; and I found it in so many approved books, that I did not see how it could be questioned. Examples of *acts* based on false suppositions are derived from Moses and St. Paul. The interpretations of St. Chrysostom and of Theodoret in favor of this sort of *acts* are formal. . . . This one is found in many approved works, and notably in several passages of St. Francis de Sales; it is considered by the bishop of Evreux, in his *Life* of the saint, as a mark of great perfection. I would ask for the difference between it and this proposition: 'One should rather suffer all the pains of hell for eternity, than commit a sin, either mortal or venial.' The latter proposition is incontestable; therefore the former, which only conforms to it, is true. Again, the doctrine taught by the schools makes charity consist in the will to love God, even though by that love no sort of happiness were to be gained. Now this proposition plainly includes the other." This approbation of the thirty-third article of Issy proves that Bossuet was then disposed to yield to the prepossessions of Fénelon, as far as theological precision would permit; and this absence of anything savoring of obstinacy, together with Bossuet's certificate that he was satisfied with the docility dis-

played by Mme. Guyon during the six months of his surveillance over her, furnished to the admirers of the eminent disputants reason for hoping that there would be no serious interruption in a concord which was so beneficial to the Church of France.

The imprudence of Mme. Guyon caused Bossuet to banish all personal consideration for her from his future attitude in the controversy. When the enterprising woman was about to depart from the convent to which she had consented to retire during the conferences of Issy, she promised Bossuet that she would fix her residence in the country, avoiding all propaganda in Parisian society; but nevertheless, she procured a hidden domicile in the capital, and informed her friends that the great light of the Church had given to her a certificate of the orthodoxy of her tenets. This misrepresentation of a document which expressed an opinion merely as to her sincerity, on the part of a woman who vaunted herself as a model of simplicity, and as a voluntary holocaust in the cause of truth, deprived her of all the sympathy of Bossuet. She was again arrested, and probably at the instigation of him who had hitherto shown to her so much leniency (1). Fénelon felt this blow as though it had been directed against himself; and the consequent rupture of his intimacy with his quondam Mentor was accentuated by his announced conviction that he could not approve of the work, *States of Prayer*, which Bossuet had just published. Fénelon justified his disapproval of this treatise by the rigor manifested by its author toward certain writings of Mme. Guyon which were cited in the margin; and he declared that his own esteem for the lady would not allow him to subscribe to her condemnation. Naturally Bossuet replied that all considerations of friendship should yield to the pressing interests of religion. Fénelon tried to excuse his attitude toward the *States of Prayer* to Cardinal de Noailles, the bishop of Chartres, and Mme. de Maintenon; and he promised these parties that he would soon explain his opinions so satisfactorily, that there would be no room for doubt as to their or-

(1) The influence of Bossuet in procuring this arrest is indicated in a letter of Mme. de Maintenon to Cardinal de Noailles.

thodoxy. He also declared: "It need not be feared that I shall contradict the bishop of Meaux. I would die, sooner than furnish so scandalous a scene to the public. I shall speak of him only to praise him, and in order to avail myself of his own words. I know his thoughts thoroughly; and I guarantee that when he sees my work, he will be pleased with it." It is certain that Fénelon took every reasonable precaution, as he thought, to insure the conformity of his great work with the doctrines of the Church; he submitted the manuscript to Cardinal de Noailles and his theologians, to the experienced and spiritual Abbé Tronson, and to M. Pirot, a firm friend of Bossuet, and the chief censor of doctrinal works offered for publication in Paris. All these theological experts having given a verbal approbation of the *Maxims of the Saints Concerning the Interior Life*, the book appeared before the public in January, 1697, and the nature of the Quietism defended by the holy archbishop of Cambrai was clearly explained. The sublime and generous soul of Fénelon had persuaded itself that in this life man can love God continually and solely for Himself alone, independently of any hope or any fear. He not only admitted the possibility of this pure and disinterested love of God, but he admitted the possibility of a soul consenting, for love of God, to the sacrifice of its own salvation. He insisted, however, that this hypothetical person, even while resigning himself to an eternal deprivation of the beatific vision, would not and could not cease to love God. Not content with supposing the possibility of this disinterested love, Fénelon taught that its perfection was attained not merely by a non-cherishing of the love "of desire" (the desire of one's own happiness), but by an explicit exclusion of that love. If this principle were admitted, it would logically follow that an act of perfect love would be incompatible with the theological virtue of hope; since the love "of desire" is of the very essence of hope.

The duke de Beauvilliers presented, in the name of Fénelon, who was then in his diocese of Cambrai, a copy of the *Maxims* to Louis XIV.; and on the same day he sent a copy to Bossuet, then residing at Versailles. During two days Bossuet refused himself to every person; and then proceed-

ing to Paris, he kept perfect silence for fifteen days in regard to the book which was pre-occupying his mind and his heart (1). At this time, Louis XIV. was in ignorance of all that had happened since the conferences of Issy ; for Mme. de Maintenon was constantly hoping that a reconciliation would take place between the two prelates in whom she most confided. Great was the astonishment and fear of the king when he learned of the dangerous doctrines professed by the preceptor of his grandsons ; and when Bossuet came "to ask his pardon for not having sooner revealed to his Majesty the fanaticism of his brother-bishop" (2). Fénelon could not understand why there came to him, from all sides, denunciations of a work which had passed the censorship of experts who were more favorable to Bossuet than to himself (3); and when, six weeks after the publication of the *Maxims*, he read his adversary's *Instruction on the States of Prayer*, he must have foreseen the issue of the controversy. "Bossuet had followed," says Bausset, "a method absolutely different from that pursued by Fénelon ; and it was much the surer one. Fénelon, seduced by the attractions of a system of perfection which fascinated his imagination, had concentrated his studies on this matter in the mystic authors. Bossuet, on the contrary, had perceived that this very refined doctrine on spirituality was a modern teaching, one which had only four or five hundred years of existence, having been unknown by

(1) *Manuscripts of Ledieu*, the secretary of Bossuet. Ledieu adds: "From his first reading of the book he made pencil-notes on the margin, referring to those passages on which he afterward so well wrote. Under his dictation, during two hours of each of four or five sittings, I wrote out the propositions, cited by page and line, with summaries of their refutations. This was the foundation of all the writings on this subject which Mgr. de Meaux afterward composed."

(2) *Reply of Fénelon to the Relation on Quietism*.

(3) Fénelon should have expected this outburst of condemnation, were it only because of the insertion in the printed work of one proposition, which indeed had not appeared in the manuscript submitted to Noailles, Tronson, and Pirot. This proposition, the thirteenth among the twenty-three afterward condemned, must necessarily have seemed most pernicious. It says: "While Jesus Christ was on the cross, His inferior part did not communicate His involuntary trouble to His superior part." Fénelon always protested, and even in his last will and testament, that he had placed this proposition in the margin, not in the text of his manuscript ; that he had placed it there, only to remind himself of an additional passage which he intended to afterward insert ; and that he had always condemned the proposition. It seems that the duke de Chevreuse, to whom, when leaving Paris for Cambrai, he had entrusted the task of putting the work through the press, did not understand the meaning of an author's marginal notes, queries, etc. ; and innocently transferred the proposition to the text.

all the olden Fathers of the Church and in the centuries immediately following them. He perceived, therefore, that this doctrine could not constitute that veritable Christian perfection which was taught by Jesus Christ, transmitted by the Apostles, consecrated by the Fathers, and recommended by the Church. . . . Fénelon, perhaps too much addicted, by the temper of his intellect, to metaphysical abstractions, the language and forms of which are found so often in his system of spirituality, had forgotten that the simplicity of the Christian religion resists the subtleties which are incomprehensible to the greater portion of mankind ; and that Christianity, by placing hope among its fundamental virtues, not only invites all Christians to expect their happiness in the divine goodness, but enjoins on them to desire said happiness in conformity with the designs of God. He himself felt that his system attacked Christian hope to some extent ; and he strove to sustain the tottering portion of his mystic edifice by very subtle distinctions concerning the motives and specific objects of hope. But the very necessity of having recourse to these efforts of imagination ought to have warned him that it was as useless as dangerous to transform positive commandments, prescribed to all Christians, into metaphysical minutiae ; and to present as the ideal of Christian perfection, a condition to which it has probably never been granted to any person to arrive, during this mortal existence " (1). Fénelon had persuaded himself that his system was justified by certain passages in the works of St. Francis de Sales, St. Teresa, St. John of the Cross, and other authors approved by the Church. But more than a year before the publication of the *Maxims*, the bishop of Chartres had warned his people in words which Fénelon might have heeded with profit : " If there are found in approved works some expressions which the new mystics evidently abuse, the sentiments and basis of the doctrine advanced by these mystics differ in most essential points from those of the cited works. Such expressions, borrowed by false piety in order to imitate the real, were innocent terms on the lips of the pious persons who used them ; and they were used rarely, being, as it were,

(1) *Ubi supra*, § xlii.

slips of the tongue." It is true that Bossuet sometimes found difficulty in freeing certain pious and approved writers from the charge of having uttered sentiments which seemed to be redolent of Quietism; but then he justified those authors by the silence which the Church had hitherto observed in the premises. That silence, however, had now been broken; the condemnation of Molinosism was of recent date.

Bossuet found it no easy task to convince the admirers of Fénelon, especially the Cardinal de Noailles and Mme. de Maintenon, that they could no longer defend their protégé. Their hearts told them that the intentions of Fénelon were pure; and every interview with him increased the charm of his candor, while they were only too willing to accept his more or less specious explanations. These explanations had no such effect on Bossuet. "I hold you responsible," he wrote, "for the division you are producing among the bishops. Take what side you wish; but as for me, I tell you that I shall raise my voice even unto heaven against these errors which you can no longer ignore. I shall send my complaints to Rome, and throughout the earth; it shall not be said that the cause of God is so deserted" (1). In April, 1697, Fénelon announced that he was about to submit his *Maxims* to the judgment of the Roman Pontiff; and on July 27, the king wrote to the Pope, "praying His Holiness to pronounce, as soon as possible, on the book of the archbishop of Cambrai, and on the doctrine which it contained." On August 1, Fénelon was ordered to leave the court, and repair to his diocese. When we come to treat of the sincerity of this saintly prelate, we shall show how little grief this "exile," as the spirit of the world termed it, caused in his apostolic heart. At this stage of the controversy, it is strange that Bossuet did not insist upon a cessation of all asperities, pending the decision of Rome; but instead of such prudence, the adversaries of Fénelon now displayed an increased yearning for combat. A series of polemics were inaugurated by a *Declaration of the Three Prelates*, Bossuet, the archbishop of Paris, and the bishop of Chartres, in contradiction of the assertion of Fénelon, in the preface of the

(1) *Manuscripts of Leduc.*

Maxims and in his letter to Pope Innocent XII., that his system did not transgress the limits agreed upon at Issy. Fuel was added to the fire by the injudicious conduct of the nephew of Bossuet, the Abbé of the same name, who, visiting in Rome at this time, had been requested by his uncle to defer his return, and represent the anti-Quietistic cause in the imminent proceedings. "Never," observes Bausset, "did an unfortunate choice produce more deplorable consequences. The correspondence of the Abbé Bossuet reveals his character, sentiments, and methods, on every page; and we cannot avoid attributing to his fatal influence that excess of vehemence and of asperity which showed itself in the controversy between these two great men, and which even now causes sorrow in their most sincere admirers." While the proper authorities at Rome were considering the question, there appeared the *Four Letters* of Fénelon to Bossuet, and the latter's *Reply*. In these letters Fénelon displayed much skill in lessening the rashness of many of his *Maxims* by modifications drawn from the region of those "pious opinions" which the Church had tolerated; and many fancied that in these later apologies, rather than in the *Maxims*, were revealed the intimate convictions of his soul. Bossuet admitted this skill of an adversary who ventured, in the face of admiring Christendom, to enter into the arena of debate with him, the greatest controversialist of that or any other time: "Let his partisans cease to vaunt his grand mind and his eloquence. We readily grant that he has made a vigorous and stubborn defense. Who questions his intellect? He has sufficient even to frighten one. It is his misfortune that he has espoused a cause that demands so much skill for its defense." Hitherto the controversy had been conducted with vehemence indeed; but the limits of doctrinal discussion had not been passed. Now personalities were launched by both parties; and in one of his letters to the Pontiff, the usually gentle Fénelon indulged in much bitterness as he declared that his adversaries had become incredibly offensive in his regard. Bossuet therefore deemed it necessary to justify himself; and he published his *Relation Concerning Quietism*, which appeared just at the time

when grave charges were being brought against Mme. Guyon, and when the Abbé, his nephew, was disseminating the most odious suspicions against Fénelon in the Roman court. This *Relation* was a masterpiece among polemics; and it produced a prodigious effect. There is one passage in it, however, which marks it as the most saddening feature of the controversy. "I abstain from imputing to the archbishop of Cambrai any other design than that which is manifested by his writings and by a chain of verified facts. It is sufficient, and too much, that he is a declared protector of her who predicts, and proposes to herself, the seduction of the world. If it be said that I allege too much against a woman whose vagaries seem to amount to madness, I grant it, if that madness is not plain fanaticism; if the spirit of seduction does not act in that woman; *if that Priscilla has not found her Montanus to defend her*" (1). This ever-to-be-regretted implication against one of the purest of men, this melancholy instance of the power of controversy to temporarily becloud the clearest of intellects, and to pervert the noblest of hearts, gave a great advantage to Fénelon; and Bossuet endeavored, says Bausset, "so far as he could, to give to the odious comparison an interpretation as favorable as could be permitted by the nature of an accusation which it was not in his power to efface, or to cause to be forgotten."

While the *Relation* of Bossuet and the *Reply* of Fénelon were being discussed throughout Europe, the Holy See was examining the *Maxims* of Fénelon with its wonted calm and impartiality. Sixty-four sessions were held by the designated commissioners; and since only five of the ten theologians found condemnable doctrines in the criminated work, the Pontiff at first thought it might be advisable to settle the question by issuing an Apostolic Decree, in which, without any formal condemnation of an author whom he loved and admired, there would be published a number of canons on the true nature of the interior life. While this project was still in abeyance, the Abbé Bossuet sent information of it to his uncle; and on the receipt of the intelligence, Bossuet

(1) Montanus, a heretic of the time of Antoninus Pius (138-161), was greatly aided by Priscilla, a pseudo-prophetess and abandoned woman, in the propagation of his errors. See our vol. II., p. 35.

persuaded the king to exercise pressure on the Pontiff to bring about a formal condemnation of the *Maxims*. Then it was that Louis XIV. sent to the Pope that famous letter which, although very disrespectful, and most unbecoming the Most Christian King, was not necessarily as menacing as historians generally describe it. In this letter, which had been prepared by Bossuet, the king exaggeratingly declaimed on the troubles produced in France by the *Maxims*; and then approaching the desired condemnation of that book, he said that "if His Holiness prolonged the affair by *ménagements* which he could not comprehend, he would know what to do; and he hoped that His Holiness would not force him to such disagreeable extremities." Bausset finds this letter "the most afflicting monument of the controversy." Perhaps there would not be very much exaggeration in this qualification, if it could be shown that King Louis meant to insinuate a possibility of his being induced to play the role of Henry VIII. in France. But it would appear, from certain remarks of the secretary of Bossuet, which remarks Bausset himself adduces (1), that at this time the chief concern of the monarch and of Bossuet was to find a means of depriving Fénelon of his see, if the Pope did not condemn him, and to effect this deposition even without the concurrence of the Pontiff, that is, by invoking the aid of the canonical customs of the kingdom, interpreted in the Gallican sense then in vogue. A hint to the Holy See that this project would be actuated was by no means the rebellious menace which historians generally discern in the royal letter. However, the pontifical decision had been rendered before the letter of the grand monarch reached its destination. A new commission, composed of the most learned members of the Sacred College, had decided in favor of a condemnation of the *Maxims* in general, and in particular, of twenty-three propositions drawn from the book. In the Brief dated March 12, 1699, Pope Innocent XII. issued the apposite condemnation, declaring that sixteen of the propositions "tended to encourage a belief in a possibility of a permanent state, in this life, wherein God could be loved solely for Himself; and

(1) *Loc. cit.*, § xix.

that they authorized an absolute sacrifice of eternal happiness." Furthermore the Pontiff declared that the twenty-three propositions, "whether taken in the sense of their words, as they are presented to the reader, or taken in connection with the principles set forth in the body of the book, are rash, scandalous, evil-sounding, offensive to pious ears, dangerous in practice, and respectively erroneous." Contrary to the expressed wish of the adversaries of Fénelon, the Pope, in accord with the votes of the cardinals, had refused to affix the notes of "heretical and impious" to the qualifications of the propositions. Bérault-Bercastel well says that while Fénelon was never so humiliated as he was in France, after this condemnation, never had he showed himself so grand as when he received the news of the pontifical action. His brother handed to him a copy of the Brief as he was about to ascend the pulpit of his cathedral. It was the Feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady, March 25, 1699. He had prepared a discourse appropriate to the beautiful mystery; but having scanned the document, he dexterously turned his sermon into one on the perfect submission due to legitimate authority, and so touchingly and simply did he speak of his condemnation, and of his submission to the Vicar of Jesus Christ, that the congregation shed tears of sympathy and of holy joy. On April 9, he issued a pastoral to his entire diocese; but he himself read it in the Cathedral. The following was the most important passage: "*At length, my dear brethren, our Holy Father, the Pope, has condemned in a Brief the book entitled 'Maxims of the Saints,' together with twenty-three propositions extracted from it. We adhere to this Brief, both in regard to the text of the book and in regard to the twenty-three propositions, simply, absolutely, and without a shadow of restriction. And with all our heart we exhort you to similar submission and to unreserved docility, so that you may not insensibly lose any of that simplicity of obedience which is due to the Holy See, and of which we wish to give you, through the grace of God, an example unto the last breath of our life. God grant that no one ever speak of us, unless to remember that a shepherd deemed it his duty to be as docile as the last lamb of his flock!*"

On whose authority the story is credited, it is impossible to discover; but in nearly every narrative of the Quietistic controversy, we read that shortly after the condemnation of the *Maxims*, Louis XIV. asked Bossuet what he would have done, if the royal sympathies had been with Mgr. de Cambrai. And it is said that Bossuet replied: "Sire, I would have cried out twenty times more loudly; for when one is defending the truth, he feels that, sooner or later, he will be victorious." Nothing is more certain than that Bossuet would have thus replied to such a question in such like terms, had Louis XIV. ever propounded it. But the grand monarch was of too grave a temperament to ever imagine so absurd a contingency; and he knew Bossuet too well to even dream of the possibility of the Eagle of Meaux hesitating between a performance of his duty and a risk of the royal displeasure. Only in one sense, therefore, is this story, "if not true, well invented." Had the idle question been put, we would read of it in the correspondence of Bossuet with his nephew, where the elated prelate complacently details all the indications of the king's satisfaction with the happy termination of the affair. Ledieu, so minute in recording everything bearing on his master's connection with anti-Quietism, says nothing of an episode which would have redounded to that master's credit. The same silence is found in the letters of Mme. de Maintenon to Cardinal de Noailles, where the countess details her royal husband's thoughts on the controversy. The duke de Saint-Simon says nothing about what would have gladly been located by him among those tidbits of gossip in which he so delighted. Nor is there a word of the story in the work which the Abbé Phelippeaux, the associate of the Abbé Bossuet during his Roman diplomatic experience, wrote under the eye of Bossuet, and which contains all those details which are naturally learned by one who enjoys an intimacy such as that of Phelippeaux with his master.

Protestant and rationalistic writers, almost without exception, affect to discern in the anti-Quietistic controversy merely a dispute of words on unintelligible matters; and in the ardent and often bitter attitude of Bossuet and Fénelon toward each other, they would have us believe that rivalry in

glory was the sole actuating principle. As for the pious extravagancies of Mme. Guyon, these superficial observers have for them only words of ridicule. Men of the calibre of Bossuet and Fénelon do not loosen the ties of ancient and devoted friendship, disturb the serenity of pious souls throughout Christendom, and besiege the Chair of Peter with their clamors, in order to pursue that bubble which the world styles fame. Bossuet had already attained to the pinnacle of glory (1). His words were accepted as oracles in every land of Europe, when he complied with the request of Mme. de Maintenon, and of the dukes de Beauvilliers and de Chevreuse, to sound the depths of the new spirituality. Having found that the presumed depths were specious shallows covering reefs which invited the shipwreck of confiding souls, he felt that duty compelled him to warn the nations in that justifiable hyperbole—"it was all over with religion, *Il y alloit de toute la religion*"—if the pseudo-mysticism were reduced to practice. The spirit that was then animating the great polemic manifested itself when he demanded of Fénelon: "Do you dare to deny that, according to your principles, if one wishes to exercise the pure love which you proclaim, he must love as though he were without redemption, without Saviour, without Christ; and that he must protest loudly that even though these were not, and the providence, goodness, and mercy of God were forgotten, he would never-

(1) Reflecting on the sacred eloquence of the Age of Louis XIV., after a critical notice of the Italian orators and polemics, and of such English preachers as had some reputation among their own, Cantù proceeds: "Not meeting any Germans or Spaniards who deserve mention here, we hasten to him who is regarded as the prince of eloquence. Bossuet was eloquent in everything that he undertook; in controversy, in theology, in politics, in explaining truth and in refuting error, ever conveying his own impressions, and inducing conviction without commanding it. A grand theatre was open to him. There was a great monarch, whom he might remind of his nothingness, amid the frantic applause that deafened him. There was a Valitière to be consoled; there a Fénelon to be refuted; there Protestants to be combatted; there clerical liberties to be determined; there the laurels gathered by Turenne, which garlanded him who had converted their winner; there a France needing encouragement, and hoping in the dauphin whom he had educated; there the victories of Condé, and the woes of England's royalties, furnishing him materials for meditation and for condolence. This importance of subjects was not above his powers; and never has human speech united such precision to such vigor, impetuosity, and splendor. His convictions grew by means of the wonderful concord which he found in the genius of all the Fathers—a genius, the grandeur of which he was capable of comprehending. He concentrated his faculties in solitude, until he had acquired force and originality. Then entering into the world of affairs, he holds ever present before him the grand idea of the national unity, just as Cicero held that of his country's majesty; and tranquil and secure,

theless love God no more and no less?" Certainly these words prove that Bossuet felt that the Quietists were undermining the foundations of the spiritual life. Christianity, he adds, does not and cannot consist in questions of metaphysics or super-metaphysics, "or in an alembical piety, or in a search after a beautiful ideal"; it enjoins upon us the performance of positive acts of virtue which will prepare for us the way to heaven. Christianity, remarks Cardinal Bausset, is not an unintelligible theological Platonism, contemplating God as all-perfect, but never invoking His all-goodness. "It is no more possible," says Bossuet, "for charity not to have the desire of enjoying God, than it is for our nature not to wish for uninterrupted happiness." Unbeknown to himself, Fénelon was leading men to a mystic theism which would inevitably end in philosophical theism; and the very piety of Fénelon, which was appreciated by no man more than by Bossuet, rendered his teaching more dangerous, because it was made more specious. Fortunately for religion, the saintly archbishop of Cambrai eventually so conducted himself, as to add to his many glories that of leaving behind him no defenders of his temporary aberrations.

he speaks with the dignity of undisputed sovereignty, with a noble simplicity which makes him great, and he persuades all because he is persuaded, he touches hearts because his own is touched. He never sent anything to the press, unless commanded, or compelled by duty; he had been dead for sixty years, when his *Sermons*, masterpieces, if he had not composed his *Funeral Orations*, were published. In this field, in which he has found no model among the ancients, standing before the throne and the grave, using images which are ever noble, emitting thoughts of vast application, presenting conceits which are vivid and just, and preserving harmony in the whole and between all its parts, he never amplifies more than befits the word of God, unless when excused by the very nature of his task. Amid all the never-equalled *grandeurs* of his day and his king, Bossuet continually repeats his warnings on the nothingness of the great, even humiliating them by vilifying comparisons, and showing them what petty things are crowns, wisdom, valor, and beauty, when viewed at the edge of our common grave." *Univ. Hist.*, bk. xvi., ch. 8.—La Bruyère expressed the belief of Bossuet's contemporaries, and anticipated the judgment of posterity, when he termed the great controversialist one of the Fathers of the Church; and Masillon said of him: "Had he been born in those times, he would have been the light of Councils and the soul of the assembled Fathers; he would have dictated Canons; and he would have presided at Nice and Ephesus." Can we suppose that such a man would have foregone the sweet and profitable familiarity of Fénelon, and entailed upon himself so much terrible anxiety and labor, for the sake of a problematical addition to his already acquired glory?

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ALLEGED DUPLICITY OF FÉNELON. *

Of all the works of Voltaire, the *Age of Louis XIV.* is probably the most prolific in falsehood; scarcely one of the greater personages of that grand period of French history is not covered by the cynic's venomous slime. We may not be astounded when we read such attacks as that on the sincerity of the conversion of Turenne; but we are dazed when we behold Fénelon, the dove of simplicity, presented to a hitherto venerating world as a virtual hypocrite, a philosopher, and consequently a freethinker. Such is the guise with which Voltaire invests the angelic archbishop of Cambrai, when he asserts that Ramsay, a friend and, in some sense, a pupil of the prelate, informed him (Voltaire) that "if Fénelon had been born in England, he would have developed his genius, and would have given full rein to his principles—principles which no person ever knew" (1). Now Ramsay had been intimate with Fénelon for many years; and his affection was based on probably the most tender relation that can subsist between two honest souls. Ramsay had been bred an Anglican; but having left his native Scotland for France, he became acquainted with Fénelon, and was saved by that prelate from the shoals of incredulity on which he was drifting when he discerned the innate weakness of Protestantism. Having been drawn into the haven of Catholicity by the enlightened zeal of Fénelon, is it probable that he would proclaim his religious Mentor a mere time-server, a devotee of policy, a man ready to abandon his convictions for petty interest? Ramsay could not refute the calumny of the Sage of Ferney; for he had died in 1743, and the allegation was

* The first part of this chapter appeared as an article in the *AVE MARIA*, vol. xxviii.; and the portion treating of the meaning of *Telemachus* appeared in the *ROSARY*, vol. iii.

(1) When, in 1758, the Abbé Barral and the Oratorians Guibaud and Valla had issued their *Historical, Literary, and Critical Dictionary*, Voltaire found himself charged with imposture in this matter. He merely replied that he still possessed the letter of Ramsay, and that the English words of the crminated passage were: "Were he born in a free country, he would have displayed his whole genius, and given a full career to his own principles, never known."

not made until 1752. It is the opinion of Chaudon (1) that if Ramsay did indeed write the letter adduced by Voltaire, the quoted passage alluded, not to the religious principles of Fénelon, but to those of "the author of *Telemachus* concerning the authority of kings." Whether or not the surmise of Chaudon be correct, a perusal of the entire work of Ramsay (2) convinces us that, as Sainte-Beuve expresses the idea, "Mgr. de Cambrai was not of the ordination of d'Alembert and Voltaire" (3). We would submit to the attention of the student a succinct account of one of Ramsay's argumentations with his instructor, which was held while the process of his conversion was being forwarded. Certainly the conversation indicates none of those principles, or a lack of any principles, which Voltaire attributes to Fénelon.

Having detailed certain objections concerning the Natural Law and toleration which he had adduced to the archbishop, Ramsay gives the prelate's reply: "If you would persist in your philosophical independence, and if you would tolerate in some sort all kinds of sects, you must necessarily regard Christianity as an imposture; for there is no medium between Deism and Catholicism." As this seemed a paradox to Ramsay, the archbishop explained: "In renouncing all supernatural and revealed law, you must limit yourself to Natural Religion, founded on the idea of God; but if you admit a revelation, you must recognize some supreme authority ever prompt and able to interpret it. Without such established visible authority, the Christian Church would be like a republic having wise laws, but no magistrates to enforce them. What a source of confusion! Each citizen, a copy of the law in hand, disputing its meaning! . . . Has not our Sovereign Legislator provided better than this for the peace of His republic and the preservation of His law? Again, if there is no infallible authority to say to all, 'Behold the real meaning of Holy Writ,' how are the ignorant peasant and the untutored artisan to decide where even the most learned

(1) *Historical Dictionary*, Avignon, 1756. This work served as the basis for the *Dictionary* of the Belgian polygrapher, Feller.

(2) *History of the Life and Works of François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon*; The Hague, 1723.

(3) *Monday Chats*, (April 1, 1850).

can not agree? In giving a written law, God would have ignored the needs of the immense majority of mankind, had He not also furnished an interpreter to spare them a task, the performance of which would be impossible. You must reject the Bible as a fiction, or submit to the Church." Ramsay impetuously rejoined: "Monseigneur, you want me to recognize an earthly tribunal as infallible? I have gone through most of the sects, and permit me to say, with all due respect, that the priests of all religions are frequently more corrupt and more ignorant than other men." Fénelon sweetly replied: "If we do not arise above what is human in the most numerous assemblies of the Church, we shall find there only what will revolt us and nourish our incredulity; we shall see only passions, prejudices, human imbecility, political scheming, cabals. But we must the more admire the divine omnipotence and wisdom, since they accomplish their designs by means which appear apt only to frustrate those designs." Ramsay yielded to the necessity of a living interpreter for a revealed law; but still clung to his idea of Natural Religion, and asserted that one need only to enter into one's self to feel the truth of that religion. Fénelon inquired: "And how many men are capable of so entering into themselves as to consult pure reason? Granted that some, here and there, may enter on this purely intellectual road, the rank and file can not, and they need external aid." But hearken to the prelate's *résumé* of the fall of man and the economy of the Redemption: "Our first parents having abused their liberty in a paradise of immortality and pleasure, God changed their probationary state for a mortal one—one of mixed good and evil,—in order that an experience of the nothingness of creatures might prompt us to constantly yearn for a better life. From that time all men were born with an inclination to evil. . . . We are born sick, but a cure is ever ready at hand. The light which enlightens every one who comes into the world is never wanting to any individual. Sovereign Wisdom has spoken differently, according to time and place; to some by the supernatural law and by the miracles of the Prophets, and to others by the natural law and the wonders of creation. Every person is judged

by the law he knows, and not by that he ignores. At length God Himself assumed flesh like our own, that He might satisfy for sin, and to furnish us an example of the worship due to Him. God cannot pardon a criminal without also manifesting His horror for crime; that manifestation He owes to justice, and it can be given only by Jesus Christ. . . . The religion of this Eternal Pontiff consists of charity alone; the Sacraments, the priesthood, and ceremonies, are only aids to our weakness,—only sensible signs to nourish in ourselves and others the knowledge and love of our common Father; in fine, they are means necessary to keep us in order, in unity, and in obedience. One day these means will cease, the figures will vanish, the true temple will be opened; our bodies will arise glorious, and God will communicate eternally with His creatures. Behold the general plan of Providence; behold, so to say, the *philosophy of the Bible*. Suppose that its truth could not be demonstrated. Would you not wish it to be true?"

In three different places (1) Voltaire descants upon the scepticism of Fénelon, as manifested by certain lines (2) written by him, says the "Sage," toward the end of his life. Here the prelate declares that he has "arrived at old age, and foresees nothing"; therefore, concludes Voltaire, he was a sceptic. Now, it is by no means certain that these verses were composed by the archbishop of Cambrai, although Voltaire "swears before God," in letters to Formey and to Courtivron, that the prelate's nephew, the marquis de Fénelon, sang them as his uncle's production. The marquis could not deny this; for he had been killed at the battle of Rocoux in 1746, and the assertion was made in 1752 and 1755. Voltaire himself admits that the verses are not to be found in the published editions of Fénelon's works; because, he says, it was not deemed desirable that the Jansenists should have

(1) In the *Age of Louis XIV.*, in 1752; in the *Examination of the Historical Tableau*, in 1783; and in a letter to Formey, perpetual secretary of the Academy of Berlin, in 1752.

(2) Jenne, j'étais trop sage
Et voulais trop savoir;
Je ne veux en partage
Que badinage
Et touche au dernier âge
Sans rien prévoir.

an opportunity to accuse their great adversary of scepticism; but he does not indicate the libraries where may be found any of the suppressed fifty copies of *Telemachus* which, as he insists, do contain them. But since Voltaire adduces the authority of the marquis de Fénelon, let us quote another nephew of the archbishop, the pious abbé de Fénelon, the intimate companion of a great part of his life.

The abbé seems to admit his uncle's composition of the verses, but interprets them in a way that would not please Voltaire. "A historian, a *bel esprit*, but not very accurate, has made it to appear that Fénelon died like a 'philosopher,' yielding blindly to destiny, with neither fear nor hope. He quotes in proof certain verses which he represents Monseigneur de Cambrai as repeating during his last illness; but he takes good care not to observe that these verses are part of a canticle by M. de Fénelon, treating of the simplicity of a holy and divine childlikeness, which ignores human prudence and all inquietude for the future, in order to abandon itself, without any useless and often harmful surmises, to a trust in the mercy of God and in the merits of Jesus Christ" (1). And Lépau, (2) finding fault with Voltaire as a falsifier of other men's literary productions, adduces these verses as an instance; showing that in this very poem, Fénelon, if its author, gave good proof of being actuated by most Christian sentiments. Voltaire shamelessly omitted to notice the stanza preceding the proffered lines, and there it is proclaimed that "human prudence is vain, that ignorance is the writer's science, that Jesus and His simplicity are his all" (3). In fact, the very title of this poem is opposed to the "philosophy" of Voltaire: "A farewell to human wisdom in order to live like a child."

The reader is probably familiar with Fénelon's history;

(1) *Life of Fénelon, by the Abbé, His Nephew*, prefixed to the works, edit. 1787, vol. I., p. 749.

(2) See Lépau's *Political, Literary, and Moral Life of Voltaire*, 1817.

(3) Adieu, valne prudence,
Je ne te dois plus rien;
Une heureuse ignorance
Est ma science:
Jésus et son enfance
Est t ut mon bien.

and therefore we shall spare him the particulars of the saintly prelate's *quasi*-exile from the court of the great monarch. That he experienced grief because of his separation from the duke of Burgundy—whom he had so carefully formed for the throne, and who, had death not intervened, would have proved a more than ordinarily worthy successor of St. Louis,—no one can doubt; but his regrets were not, as Voltaire would regard them, founded on a chagrin at being debarred from domination over his quondam pupil, or on a hankering after the allurements of a court; but rather on pure affection, which naturally yearns for the society of the beloved object, and for opportunity to benefit it. However, our cynic says: "In his philosophical and honorable retreat, Fénelon learned how difficult it is to detach one's self from a court. He always manifested an interest in the court, and a taste for it which betrays itself amid all his resignation." This charge is baseless; in not a line of the prelate's correspondence can be found a single expression which would even imply such discontent. Ramsay says that Louis XIV., having overcome the prejudice against Fénelon with which he had been inspired, "thought seriously of recalling the archbishop; he wished his aid in terminating an affair (Jansenism) which agitated the Church of his kingdom. The archbishop of Cambrai saw matters shaping themselves for his return, but with sentiments very different from those an ordinary man would have felt. He cherished only a desire for retirement. Had he been compelled to return to the court, he would have appeared there only to manifest his views concerning the best way to give peace to the Church, and would have retired immediately on perceiving that union had been effected." But listen to Fénelon in reply to those who, afflicted by the prospect of schism in France, would have called on his virtue, his sweetness, and his genius, to banish the spectre. Had he been animated by a desire to play a prominent part on the stage of affairs, he would scarcely have answered: "I admit that your propositions would be more readily entertained by one possessing a taste for affairs. But my opinion of myself is not sufficiently exalted to warrant me in supposing that I can restore peace to the Church.

I wish not to assume the grand rôle which you design for me; it is Cardinal de Noailles who can give peace to the Church. I know no secrets, but I dare to assert that he can effect union when he wishes to do so; the matter is entirely in his hands. I wish for him all the glory, all the merit before God and men; and I would die content if, from a distance, I could hear of his having perfected the great work" (1). But there is one fact that shows eloquently how little rancor Fénelon's dismissal must have caused in his gentle breast. When named for the archiepiscopal see of Cambrai, he could have enjoyed, in accordance with a detestable and too prevalent custom of the time, the emoluments of his see, and could have performed his duties by substitute, continuing to reside nearly always at court. He accepted his promotion, much as he loved his royal pupils, only on condition that he might reside in his diocese at least nine months of the year. Nor does the life led by Fénelon at Cambrai, as depicted by himself in a letter to one of his nephews—the abbé de Beaumont,—indicate any discontent with his lot. His gentleness as a man, his watchfulness as a bishop, had plentiful scope in a district constantly harassed by contending armies, and all,—English, Germans, Hollanders,—rivalled his own diocesans in veneration for the saintly shepherd. His recreation, whenever duty allowed any, was a visit to the cabin of some peasant, where he would console and instruct, and often join in the simple feasts and meals of the poor. Well could he write in 1710: "I have no desire to change my situation. I never sought the court; I was forced to it. I resided there for ten years without concerning myself about it—not taking one step for my own interest, not asking one favor, intervening in no schemes, and restricting myself to conscientious replies when my opinion was asked. I have been dismissed, and it is my duty to fill my present position in peace. The best of the king's servants who know me are well acquainted with my principles as to honor, religion, the king, and my country; they know my profound gratitude for all the king's

(1) When the dying Fénelon had received Extreme Unction, he wrote to the royal confessor, saying: "I beg of his Majesty two favors, which regard neither myself nor mine. The first is that the king will give me a successor who is pious, and firm against Jansenism, now so prevalent in these parts." (See Bausset, *History of Fénelon*, 1817.)

favours. Other persons may easily be more capable than I am, none can be more truly zealous " (1).

Excepting those of the canonized saints, few memories have been so universally cherished as that of Fénelon. And yet there have been men to charge him with ingratitude and malignity toward one who had benefited him much, and whom he professed to love and revere. Chief among those to make this accusation was, quite naturally, the prince of calumniators, Voltaire; and the only basis of the charge, was the philosophist's own distorted interpretation of a work by Fénelon which, if read by one not saturated with jaundiced prejudice, would be its own vindication. Now we would show that when preparing that charming classic, *Telemachus*, the archbishop of Cambrai had not the slightest intention of satirizing Louis XIV., his sovereign, benefactor, and at that time, friend. In the first place, when was *Telemachus* composed? If the intention of its author had been to satirize his sovereign, the book must have been written when he was suffering from some real or fancied injury at the hands of the king. Certainly he would not have risked the resentment of Louis at the time when he was in the full enjoyment of his royal favor, and had everything to lose by exciting his indignation. Now while we have many letters of Fénelon to several of his dearest associates, written before his banishment from the court, and couched in all the expansiveness of intimate friendship, we vainly search these for any mention of *Telemachus*. But there is a Memoir (2) written by him some time after his loss of the king's favor, which gives us not only interesting details concerning this masterpiece, but also a very precise indication as to the period when it was composed. Here the prelate says: "I cannot doubt that the policy inculcated in *Telemachus* has been so repre-

(1) *Ib.*, vol. iii., p. 40.

(2) These Memoirs are not sufficiently known. In them Fénelon exposes the evils of the kingdom with great freedom. He descants on the injustice of the Spanish war, and the necessity of concluding peace. Above all, he insists upon a restoration of the olden franchises of the French people, and a more intimate union between the nation and the king. He would have the Estates General convoked as the sole escape from ultimate disaster. Perhaps his scheme would have prevented the days of '89 and their atrocious consequences. But it must be admitted that Fénelon often deals in chimeras. He perceives the good, but not the opposing circumstances. Thus he would do away with professional detectives, and have their duties performed by respectable citizens.

sented to the king as to prejudice his mind against me, but I must suffer in silence. . . . I wrote the work at a time when I was charmed by the marks of confidence with which the king overwhelmed me, and I would have been not only a most ungrateful man, but even insane, had I wished to depict therein a satirical and insolent portrait (of his Majesty). Even the thought of such a design fills me with horror. It is true that I have uttered, in these adventures, many truths which are necessary for a ruler to note, as well as the defects which may develop in sovereign power, but I have indicated no one of these in such a way as to paint any particular portrait or character. The more one reads the work, the more he will perceive that I aimed at speaking plainly without alluding to any particular person. I simply intended to divert, and while amusing, to instruct, the duc de Bourgogne (1). I had no intention of giving the work to the public (2). Everybody is aware that it got out of my hands only through the treachery of a copyist, and finally, the best servants of the king know how deeply grateful to his Majesty I am for all his favors. Other persons may be more capable than I am, but no one is actuated by a sincerer zeal for his service." It is evident, therefore, that *Telemachus* was written while Fénelon was in charge of the education of the duc de Bourgogne. It is supposed that the prelate had intended to present the work to his pupil when his education was finished, probably on the occasion of his marriage. During the entire period of his tutorship, Fénelon was in the highest favor with the king, as indeed the very nature of his office would indicate. Therefore there was no adequate reason why he should satirize Louis at that time.

(1) The son of the dauphin, and called, during his father's life, the "young dauphin."

(2) A copyist employed by Fénelon, perceiving the beauties of the work, and therefore its market value, resolved to profit by it. He sold the manuscript to a printer, taking care not to reveal the author's name. This printer then issued, in 1699, the first 287 pages of *Telemachus*, under the title: *Continuation of the Fourth Book of the Odyssey, or the Adventures of Telemachus, the Son of Ulysses*. Just then Fénelon's *Maxims of the Saints* had been condemned by Pope Innocent XII., and great vigilance was being exercised to prevent any dissemination of Fénelon's writings. The pages of *Telemachus* already printed were seized, and measures were taken to annihilate the work. But some copies had escaped the vigilance of the officers, and the whole work was printed in a few months, at the Hague, but full of errors. Among the foreign critics who immediately proclaimed *Telemachus* a masterpiece was Basnage de Beauval, a leading mind among the Calvinists of the day.

But the testimony of Bossuet, hostile as he had become to his whilom intimate, proves that *Telemachus* was composed at a time when he and Fénelon were still bound by ties of mutual confidence. The bishop of Meaux tells us that Fénelon communicated to him the first part of his manuscript (1); and no one would believe that this would have been done, if any intention of attacking the king in such an insidious manner had been entertained. At least it must be conceded that this participation of literary confidence shows that *Telemachus* was written before any coolness had arisen between Bossuet and Fénelon; that is, before the period when Fénelon could have cherished any chagrin toward Louis XIV., and when he might have acted as a man of less noble spirit than his own would have naturally done, if opportunity offered. It is probable that the date in question was 1693 or 1694, for then the two prelates cherished their closest intimacy. Saint-Simon, who is a good authority concerning dates of court happenings and such like trivialities, also shows that *Telemachus* was composed several years before the author's estrangement from the king. He tells us that the book was a subject of study for Fénelon's pupil, the duc de Bourgogne (2).

It is certain that Fénelon always and constantly professed the utmost attachment for his royal master. Even at the hour of his death, he protested that he had ever entertained "a profound esteem for the person and virtues of Louis XIV." The editors of the *Bibliotheca Britannica* remind us that we ought to credit such a declaration of a dying bishop, especially one like the archbishop of Cambrai (3). But let us seek for a manifestation of Fénelon's spirit toward King Louis in his confidential correspondence. One of his dearest and most eminent friends was the duc de Beauvilliers, governor of his royal pupil. In the depth of his disgrace, and that of his relatives and friends, the archbishop wrote to this nobleman: "I cannot avoid telling you, my good duke, what is in my heart. Yesterday, the festival of St. Louis, I offered my devotions for the king. If my prayers

(1) In the Manuscript of Ledieu.

(2) *Mémoires*, edit. 1853, vol. xvii., p. 176.

(3) For the year 1743.

were good, he will profit by them ; at least they were heartfelt. I begged for no temporal prosperity for him, as he has sufficient of that ; but I besought God that he might use it well, and that he be as humble in the midst of his success as he would be if prostrated. I asked that he might be not only the father of his people, but also the arbiter among his neighbors, and the moderator of all Europe in order to ensure its repose. I entreated that he might not only continue to fear God, but also that he might love Him, and feel that His yoke is sweet to those who bear it through love rather than from fear. Never have I felt more zeal, and if I may so express myself, more tenderness, for his person. Although I am grateful, it was not so much his goodness to me that touched me ; far from resenting my present situation, I have offered it joyfully to God. I even regard the king's zeal against my book (1) as a laudable consequence of his zeal for religion, and of his just horror for anything that might savor of innovation. I remembered his education without instruction, the flatteries that have been heaped upon him, the snares set in his youth in order to excite his passions, the counsels which he received ; in fine, the perils of greatness, and so many delicate matters. I declare that, in spite of my great respect for the king, I felt much compassion for a soul so exposed. I prayed to St. Louis with my whole heart that he would obtain for his descendant the grace of imitating his virtues. . . . In all this I firmly believe that I had no interest for self ; I was resigned to remain all my life without seeing the king. I would be willing to suffer perpetual disgrace, if I could know that his Majesty lived entirely according to the will of God. Behold then, my good duke, my occupation during the feast of yesterday."

So far was Fénelon from wishing to unduly criticise his royal master ; so much did he try to avoid, in his *Telemachus*, any allusions which malignity might distort ; that his manuscript shows an erasure of the following sentence : " If kings make mistakes in regard to anything concerning sacred things, the more zealous clergy should influence them in

(1) The *Maxims of the Saints*, written in 1696.

favor of the good cause ; they might even make use of artifice and intrigue." He feared that this reflection might recall the memory of painful controversies. Read the following passage of his masterpiece, and see how Fénelon acknowledges the great qualities of Louis XIV., and how he endeavors to excuse those weaknesses which are the share of humanity. "Are you surprised that even the most estimable men are yet men, and that they show, amid the innumerable pitfalls of royalty, some remains of human weakness? It is true that Idomeneus has been brought up with ideas of ostentation and loftiness, but what philosopher could have defended himself from flattery, if he had been in the same situation? . . . People always wear masks before a king, and they adopt every artifice to deceive him. Certain persons criticise a sovereign most pitilessly, while they would prove much less capable of governing than he is, if they were called to the task ; they would commit the same, and infinitely worse errors, if they possessed the same power. Kings must be pitied and excused. To speak frankly, men also, who are destined to be ruled by kings, are to be pitied, for these sovereigns are men like themselves, and only gods can take proper care of men. Although I have reproved Idomeneus for many things, he is naturally just, sincere, liberal, and kindly. His valor is unquestionable. He abhors deceit when he discovers it, and when he can follow the real dictates of his heart. All his talents are proportioned to his position." This and many other passages are additions to *Telemachus*, made by Fénelon after the original publication, and when he was supposed to be suffering from indignation at his treatment by the king. They were not published until both Louis and he had died. It would have been easy, since innumerable editions of *Telemachus* were being continually issued throughout Europe, for the author to have confounded the evil interpreters of his intentions in regard to the king ; but a certain noble dignity prompted him to simply write, in the secrecy of his study, such additions as the above for the benefit of those who would survive both him and the king. Among these additions there is one which treats of the delicate question of the influence of tem-

poral rulers in affairs of religion. "Idomeneus regretted the departure of Telemachus and Mentor, and thought only of finding some means of retarding it. He told Mentor that he could not settle, without his aid, a difficulty between Diophanes, a priest of Jupiter Preserver, and Heliodorus, a priest of Apollo. 'And why,' returned Mentor, 'do you meddle with sacred things? Leave such to the Etrurians, who preserve the traditions of the most ancient oracles, and are inspired to interpret the will of the gods. Use your authority only to end such disputes at their very birth. Show no partiality or prejudice, but be content to support the decision when it is rendered. Remember that a king should be submissive to religion, and should never undertake to regulate it. Religion comes from the gods, and is above the sphere of kings. If kings concern themselves with it, they do not protect it, but enslave it. Kings are so powerful, and other men so weak, that if the former were free to interfere with holy things, their whims would provoke great danger of change. Therefore leave this decision to the friends of the gods, and limit yourself to repressing those who may not bow to the judgment given.'"

We have said enough to show the absurdity of the charge that Fénelon intended, in *Telemachus*, to satirize Louis XIV., and it may be asked, what idea did he wish to inculcate by this work? Ask the question of any convent girl of average mind, as she pores, for sake of the language, and listlessly perhaps, over its pages; and she will show you that, unused though she be to discern political motives, she has imbibed the notion that Fénelon intended to plead the cause of the people, addressing the minds and hearts of their rulers. And such indeed was the object of the gentle archbishop of Cambrai. Prostrated by the calamities entailed by the anarchical doctrines consequent on the religious innovations of the sixteenth century, the peoples had resigned themselves to such happiness as could be found under the shadow of strong and respected thrones. This was particularly the case in France, where the constantly seditious course of the Protestants had contributed more than anything else to increase and consolidate the royal

power. To this power Fénelon addressed himself in favor of the people, associating the true glory of monarchs with the prosperity of their subjects. If, like every true royalist, he regarded the king as, in one sense, the image of the Deity, he wished the sovereign to be the father of his people. Such was the intention of Fénelon ; and the existence of *Telema-chus* was to remain a secret between him and the duc de Bourgogne, whom he hoped to see on the throne of France, a worthy son of St. Louis.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE JANSENIST CHURCH OF UTRECHT.

In 1559 the Holy See had raised the see of Utrecht in Holland to the rank of an archbishopric, giving to it as suffragans the bishops of Haerlem, Leuwaerde, Deventer, Groningen, and Middelburg ; but when the anti-Spanish revolution triumphed, the Catholic bishops were dispersed, and their sees were abolished, so far as civil law could abolish them. Thenceforth the few Catholics of Holland were spiritually subject to vicars-apostolic, prelates invested with the episcopal character, but bearing the titles of sees *in partibus infidelium*. The Jansenists made many partisans during the vicariate of Mgr. Neercassel ; and when that prelate died in 1686, his successor, Codde, titular archbishop of Sebaste, was himself cited to answer for his Jansenistic doctrines by Pope Innocent XII. The examination of the archbishop was held under the direction of Clement XI., the successor of Innocent XII. ; the culprit was suspended ; and a vicar, *ad interim*, a pastor of Leyden named Cock, was appointed for Utrecht. The burgomasters naturally sided with the suspended prelate, and the States ordered the vicar to abstain from all ecclesiastical functions. To the great chagrin of Quesnel and his partisans, Mgr. Codde did not defy the pontifical ordinance ; Racine blamed him for “excessive condescendence in heeding a pretended sentence which was evidently null and unjust.” Cock having been banished from

Holland, the Pontiff entrusted the ecclesiastical affairs of the country to his nuncio at Cologne, Mgr. Bussi ; and in 1707, that prelate consecrated Mgr. Damen as titular bishop of Adrianople. The Jansenists refused to recognize the new vicar-apostolic ; and the States having prohibited his entrance into Holland, he resigned. Another vicar, a Dutch priest named Byevelt, was then appointed ; but he was heavily fined and exiled. Meanwhile, the Jansenists, by far the smaller portion of the Dutch Catholics, continued to recognize Codde, despite his own observance of the Papal deprivation, as their spiritual superior ; and when he died, in 1710, they pretended that the episcopal jurisdiction had devolved on the Chapter of Utrecht—a body which did not exist, having become extinct at the triumph of the Reformation in Holland. It became necessary to call into existence a pretended Chapter ; and hence seven priests, who did not even reside in Utrecht, assumed the style of canons of the metropolitan cathedral. Supported by about sixty other clergymen, and encouraged by the Jansenists of France, these seven assumed to themselves the task of providing for “the widowed Church of Holland” a new spouse who would not tolerate the “usurpations of Rome.” This schismatical enterprise was justified by many of the “appellant” doctors of the Sorbonne, contending that a church does not lose her rights by a long widowhood ; that the Roman fashion of sending vicar-apostolics was a usurpation ; and that no prescription could deprive the Dutch “clergy” of their rights. The Parisian Faculty of Law, then also “appellant,” confirmed this view of the matter ; and Van Espen, with four other doctors of Louvain, assented. Several of the French “appellant” bishops agreed to ordain any candidates whom the “Chapter” of Utrecht would recommend, and to abstain from any demand that those candidates should sign the Formula. Accordingly, a French deacon, Boullenois, who seems to have been the chief instigator of the movement, brought several young levites of the nascent schismatical church into France, where they were ordained, some by the bishop of Sénez, and others by the bishops of Blois and Bayeux. As yet the Jansenists of Holland had no bishop ; but in 1720 they were made hap-

py by the accession of a suspended bishop to their ranks.

Dominic Varlet, a priest of the Seminary of the Foreign Missions in Paris, was destined to be the source through which the Schismatic Church of Utrecht, and through that body the "Old Catholics" of Germany and Switzerland, were to receive a material Apostolic Succession. In 1718 he had been consecrated as coadjutor to the bishop of Babylon; and on his way to Persia, he passed through Holland. While in Amsterdam, he yielded to the request of the schismatical "Chapter" of Haerlem, and administered the Sacrament of Confirmation, thereby incurring the censures of the Church. Notice of his suspension was served on him, shortly after his arrival in Persia, on March 15, 1720, by the bishop of Isphahan; and forced to return to Europe, instead of endeavoring to obtain relief from his suspension, he fixed his abode in Amsterdam, continued to pontificate, and on Feb. 15, 1723, he "appealed" against the Bull *Unigenitus* and against the censure pronounced against himself. On April 27, the seven so-called canons of Utrecht elected Cornelius Steenoven as their archbishop, and notified the Holy See of their action. No reply was given to their communication. The enterprising canons besought all the neighboring bishops to consecrate their elect; and when none, not even among the "appellants," was found willing to take this overt step in the path of schism, they had recourse to Varlet. This suspended, interdicted, and excommunicated bishop was but too willing to heap sacrilege on sacrilege; but where were the two assistant prelates, whose attendance was necessary for a licit, though not for a valid consecration, to be found? The canons pretended to obviate this difficulty by deputing two of their own number to assist the consecrator; and on Oct. 15, 1724, Steenoven was consecrated at Amsterdam. By a Brief dated Feb. 21, 1725, Pope Benedict XIII. pronounced the election of Steenoven null, and on the following April 3 the unfortunate died. The Catholics of Holland now vainly besought the States to allow vicars-apostolic, commissioned by the Holy See, to enter their territory; the Jansenists again triumphed, and on May 15, the pretended "Chapter" of Utrecht elected as successor to Steenoven that Barch-

man-Wuytiers whom Quesnel, on the occasion of his ordination by the bishop of Sénez, had announced as the future consolation of the Church of Utrecht. Barchman announced his election to the Pontiff, asking for its confirmation, and for a dispensation from the obligation of having two assisting-bishops at his consecration. The impudence of this letter is the more noteworthy, inasmuch as the Pope had tried by every means to prevent the action of the "Chapter." Of course the Pontiff declared the election null; and then the services of Varlet were again demanded and accorded. Immediately after his consecration Barchman wrote to the Pope that he was "ready to descend from his episcopal throne, as soon as the tranquillity of the Church rendered such action necessary"; but this hypocrisy is evident from his reply to Thierry of Vienne, who had found fault with this promise: "Do not worry about my offer. I shall demand three conditions; no more Formula, no more of the Constitution *Unigenitus*, and the recognition of the rights of the Chapter of Utrecht. And all these by authentic acts, not by vain promises" (1). Excommunicated, together with all his partisans, Barchman could glory in the formal approbation of the French "appellants," and in the arrival in Holland, for the purpose of joining his schismatic forces, of a number of vagabond ecclesiastics, and also of twenty-six Carthusian monks who had refused to obey a decree of their general, enjoining the subscription to the Bull *Unigenitus*. Here we must note that all but one of these unfrocked religious had been deprived even of lay communion, and fourteen on them had been excommunicated by name (2).

The States of Holland now made a demand on the non-descript partisans of the "Chapter" of Utrecht which should certainly have been made before the Dutch government extended to them its protection and its pecuniary favors. Were these gentry Catholics or Protestants? Dorsanne tells us that they replied, without hesitation, that they were "Jan-

(1) PICOT; *Memoires for the Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. II., year 1725. Third Edit., Paris, 1853.

(2) *Protest of the Carthusian Opponents of the Bull, "Unigenitus"; Apology for the Carthusians*. Amsterdam, 1727. This *Apology* is signed by thirty-one of the monks of the houses of Paris, Bourg-Fontaine, Gallion, Beaune, etc.

senists" (1). On May 13, 1733, Barchman died; but his successor, Theodore Van der Croon, was not consecrated until Oct. 28, 1734. Like his predecessors, he received the episcopal unction at the hands of Varlet; and like them he was excommunicated by the Holy See. When Van der Croon died on June 9, 1740, the services of Varlet were again required for the consecration of Peter John Meindartz, on Oct. 18; and the usual sentence of excommunication was pronounced by the Pontiff. Shortly after his last essay at transmission of the apostolic succession in a line of schismatics, Varlet went to his dread account, and the Dutch Jansenists began to fear that their episcopate would soon vanish. To obviate this danger, Meindartz undertook to revive the see of Haerlem, then extinct for a century and a half. When the canons of Haerlem refused to elect the new bishop, Meindartz himself appointed, and then consecrated, Jerome Bock; and when Bock died, in 1744, he gave to him a successor in the person of Van Stiphout. In 1757 Meindartz resolved to revive also the see of Deventer; but when he had nominated to it Bartholomew Byevelt, he found that the prelate's diocesans, all Catholics, would not receive him. The poor man was forced to remain in the parish where he could find the means of living. Shortly after the consecration of Byevelt, the three schismatic prelates sent a letter to Benedict XIV., couched in the style which had been adopted in all similar notifications of the Church of Utrecht to the Holy See; but informing the Pontiff that all the woes of the Church and of the world were due to the baneful influence of the Jesuits. Being now surrounded by the semblance of a hierarchy, Meindartz yearned to exhibit to the world some sign of its activity. What could better impose upon the weak-minded and the credulous than a General Council of the three Dutch Jansenist bishops? An occasion for such an assembly

(1) *Diary of Dorsanne*, vol. ii., p. 413. Paris, 1730. Antoine Dorsanne, a doctor of the Sorbonne and grand-vicar of Paris, was one of the chief instigators of Cardinal de Noailles in his opposition to the Bull *Unigenitus*. His *Diary* is very minute as to all that happened in Rome and in France, in regard to this Bull, between the years 1711 and 1728. He was as prejudiced as he was ardent. His adversaries were, in his mind, men void of common sense; his own factionists were ever learned and profound. It was from his *Diary* that Vilfore drew most of the materials for his *Anecdotes or Secret Memoirs Concerning the Constitution "Unigenitus,"* a work which is even more virulent and prolix than its source.

was furnished in 1763. In the diocese of Rouen, a sub-deacon named Leclerc, one of those convulsionaries and visionaries whom we met in our dissertation on Jansenism, had been isolated because of his craziness. Escaping to Holland, then the *alma domus* of all fanatics, Leclerc published a work in which he attacked the infallibility of the Church, the authority of tradition, and the superiority of bishops over priests. Intimately associated with a schismatic Greek bishop of Crete who had fixed his residence in Amsterdam, he soon proclaimed that the spiritual progeny of Michael Cerularius was neither schismatical nor heretical. The writings of Leclerc produced havoc in the conventicle of Utrecht; and encouraged by the "appellants" of France, Meindartz "convoked a Council" of his followers. The French Jansenists helped to defray the expense of the assembly, as indeed they had hitherto nearly entirely supported the enterprising Utrechtians; and they sent their best theologians to illumine the so called "fathers." Meindartz realized that three bishops would not make much of a show as a synod; and he remedied the deficiency by according a deliberative vote to each of seventeen Dutch priests whom he summoned to his side. The pseudo-synod was opened on Sept. 13, 1763, with all the ceremonies usual in similar but legitimate assemblies. The first "synodical" act of the "fathers" was to appear to reject the Five Propositions of Jansenius by the adoption of articles so ambiguous that they could be interpreted in a sense favorable to their system. Then they issued twelve decrees against the errors of Leclerc, and against the Jesuits Hardouin, Berruyer, and Pichon. On Sept. 21, the decrees were read in public, and signed by the twenty "fathers," each of the seventeen priests subscribing in the manner prescribed by the Canons for episcopal synodals; "*Ego, N., judicans, subscripsi.*" Leclerc had refused to attend the assembly; and when "his bishop," Van Stiphout, afterward cited him, again and again, to appear for sentence, he ridiculed the late "Council" in his own name and in that of his precious companion, the Greek schismatic. Then Meindartz pronounced him deposed, degraded, and deprived of the right to Holy Communion, "even at the hour of death." If the reader is

unaware that such audacity is practiced to this day, on similar occasions, by the infinitesimal Church of Utrecht, he will smile on learning that Meindartz sent a copy of the *Acts* of his pseudo-synod to Pope Clement XIII., "in conformity with custom," as he averred, and begging his Holiness "to confirm the decrees by that power and authority which belong to the primacy of the Holy See." The Pontiff issued, on April 30, 1765, a decree nullifying the proceedings of "the false Council of the province of Utrecht." The papal declaration was formally received by the Assembly of the French Clergy which met on May 25 of this year; but many of the French Jansenists made a question of party out of a sympathy for the Church of Utrecht, and while no bishop expressed that sympathy, many of the French priests signified their adherence to the pseudo-synodal *Acts* of which Meindartz had sent them copies. Among the lay jurists of France, thoroughly imbued with the doctrines of Van Espen (1), very many pronounced for Meindartz; and the Faculty of Law of Paris would have sent a letter of congratulation to the schismatics, had not Louis XV. ordered them to rescind their resolution. One of the last acts of Meindartz was the preparation of a letter to the Pontiff, protesting against the papal condemnation of his pseudo-synod, and insisting, by implication, that Catholic unity was then to be found only in the little Church of Utrecht and the few hundreds of Jansenists in other lands who communicated with "that persecuted witness of the truth."

From the first day of its existence the little Church of Utrecht endeavored to induce the Dutch government to recognize its followers as the sole Catholics of Holland, and to

(1) Zegers-Bernard Van Espen, born in Louvain in 1646, made his studies in the University of that city, and became distinguished as a canonist. He was one of the chief supporters of the early Jansenists, and contributed, more than any other person, to the foundation of the schismatic Church of Utrecht. On Feb. 7, 1728, he was interdicted by the rector of the Louvain University; and the emperor, then Lord of Flanders, ordered proceedings against him. But death overtook him soon afterward, in his eighty-third year, and the schismatic Barchman pronounced his eulogy. The chief characteristics of Van Espen as a commentator on ecclesiastical law are an exaltation of the rights of pastors at the expense of those of the bishops, an exaltation of the rights of bishops at the expense of those of the Supreme Pontiff, and an exaltation of the civil above all ecclesiastical power. In fine, he was a thorough Imperialist courtier-legist; and his subservience to the state grew with his years, his later days being occupied with additions to his early pronouncements.

compel those of the Roman communion to submit to its authority. The government gratified the schismatics by continuing to prohibit all jurisdiction of Catholic bishops in its territories, while it recognized the four Jansenist prelates as ordinaries of their own flocks, and created a seminary at Amersford for the training of a future Jansenist clergy. But it declined to use force against the children of the Roman Pontiff. However, in the course of time many of the Dutch nobles and upper *bourgeoise*, tired of their political ostracization, joined the schismatics ; and at the period of their greatest prosperity the sectarians had seduced nearly a third of the Catholics of Holland. But the decline of the Jansenist cause in France produced its effect wherever it had obtained any recognition ; and at the outbreak of the first French Revolution, there were only twenty thousand schismatics in the Netherlands. When Pope Pius IX. restored the Dutch hierarchy in 1853, the Jansenist archbishop, Van Sauten, protested against the government's recognition of the pontifical decree, insisting that his partisans, then only four thousand eight hundred in number, were the sole "legitimate Catholics of the kingdom."

CHAPTER XV.

QUESNELLISM. THE BULL "UNIGENITUS."

One of the principal contributors to the decadence of the French Congregation of the Oratory was Abel de Sainte-Marthe, who became its supericr-general at the time when the contentions concerning the "respectful silence" in regard to papal decisions in the matter of Jansenism were agitating the Church of France. Thoroughly devoted to the sentiments of Anthony Arnould, Sainte-Marthe indoctrinated nearly all his subjects with them ; and his most apt and most enterprising pupil was Pasquier Quesnel, who, through his famous work entitled *Moral Reflections on the New Testament*, became the occasion of the Bull *Unigenitus*. Originally, that is, in 1671, this lucubration was a modest little volume of

Christian Thoughts on the Text of the Four Gospels; and as such it was approved by Vialart, bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne. There was little or no heterodoxy in the work at this stage of its existence; but having been ordered by the court and by Archbishop de Harlay to leave Paris in 1681, and having fixed his residence in Orleans, the author augmented the book in the interests of Jansenism, taking care to issue it as approved in its entirety by Mgr. Vialart—an assertion which was absolutely false. In 1683 Quesnel withdrew from the Oratory, and joined Arnauld in the Low Countries. His zeal for Jansenism was now greatly developed; and in 1693 the *Reflections* appeared, increased to four large octavo volumes, and saturated with the new doctrines. This work effected far more for the spread of Jansenistic opinions than the *Augustinus* had effected. The book of the Netherlander was couched in Latin, and was therefore intelligible only to the learned; that of the Frenchman was written in his own language, and its style was facile and pleasing. The former production introduced matters which are of interest only to the dogmatic theologian; the latter covered its false dogmatic principles with a varnish of devotion and an unction of piety which attracted others than theological subtleists. The new book, like the second and posterior editions of the *Christian Thoughts*, bore the *imprimatur* of Mgr. Vialart, who had died in 1680; but in 1695 it received the approbation of that prelate's successor, the famous Louis-Antoine de Noailles (1). This approbation was afterward cited against Mgr. de Noailles when, having been transferred to the archiepiscopal see of Paris, he condemned an *Exposition of Faith* which had been written by De Barcos, a nephew of that great friend of Jansenius, Saint-Cyran. The public was much amused by the appearance of an anonymous pamphlet, probably from the pen of a Jansenistic Benedictine, Dom Thierry de Viaix-

(1) A man of good abilities and of irreproachable character, De Noailles was one of those "moderate" prelates whose weakness is often productive of harm. Cardinal Bausset thus summarizes his qualities: "Together with many virtues and other estimable qualities, he had that mixture of obstinacy and weakness which is the ordinary inheritance of those who are more recommendable for good intentions than for the correctness and breadth of their ideas. His entire episcopate was passed in discussions in which he was always obliged to recede because he had gone too far, and in which he always ended by displeasing all parties."

ne, although the Jansenists ascribed it to the Jesuit, Daniel; which proved to the satisfaction of everybody that the doctrines of the *Moral Reflections* and of the *Exposition* were identical. The pamphlet bore the attractive title "An ecclesiastical problem, proposed to M. Boileau, of the arch-diocese of Paris: Which ought we believe—the opinion of Louis-Antoine de Noailles, bishop of Chalons in 1695, or that of Louis-Antoine de Noailles, archbishop of Paris in 1696?" The incendiary document was burnt by the public executioner, in accordance with a parliamentary decree; and men continued to read the *Reflections* of Quesnel. The friends of Quesnel even requested the archbishop to reiterate, as ordinary of Paris, the approbation which he had given when bishop of Chalons; but the prelate had become dubious as to the wisdom of his sanction. He requested several theologians to examine the book, and asked Bossuet to superintend their labors. However, when Bossuet had prepared an *Avertissement* to be placed on the forefront of a new edition of the *Reflections*, and had told the archbishop that an immense number of changes would have to be made in the text, the weak prelate conceived that his honor was involved in what would be equivalent to a reprobation of the approval given at Chalons; and although, on the other hand, he abstained from giving another approbation as archbishop of Paris, Bossuet withdrew his *Avertissement* (1).

Immediately after the appearance of the completed *Reflections*, one of the most learned members of the Sorbonne, Fromageau, denounced one hundred and twenty-nine of its propositions as erroneous; and very soon several of the French bishops prohibited it. On March 13, 1708, Pope Clement XI. condemned it; and since even the Jansenist author of the *History of the Book of Moral Reflections* (1719) admits that it

(1) After the death of Bossuet, Quesnel published what purported to be this *Avertissement* under the title of a *Justification of the Moral Reflections, by the late Mgr. Bossuet*. But Cardinal de Bissy, the successor of Bossuet in the see of Meaux, protested in a pastoral against this claim; calling upon persons still living, many of whom were Jansenists, to testify to the fact that Bossuet had insisted that there were more than a hundred passages in the *Reflections* which needed correction. See Bausset's *History of Bossuet*, bk. xi., 14. Also the *Theological Lectures of Montaigne* (under the name of Tournely), *On Grace*, vol. I., p. 372. The editors of Picot's *Memoires* (edition 1853) well wonder how Rohrbacher (vol. xxvi., p. 313) could have spoken of this pretended *Justification* as an authentic work of Bossuet.

had been brought before the Inquisition shortly after it was finished (1693), it is strange that certain writers insist that for forty years it had been read with edification and without any manifestations of discontent. The Jansenist historian informs us that the inquisitors offered Quesnel an opportunity of explaining the criminated propositions, if it were possible, in an orthodox sense ; but we do not read that he made the attempt. The date of this first papal condemnation should be noted by those who, relying on the interesting but untrustworthy Saint-Simon and his imitators (1), assert that the Jesuit confessor of Louis XIV., Le Tellier, wrung the condemnation from the Pontiff. Whether the position of royal confessor guarantees any special influence at the papal court, the common sense of the reader will determine ; but the influence of Le Tellier must have been exerted in 1708, and he became royal confessor only in 1709. The Clementine Brief proscribes the *Reflections* as "Similar to the version condemned by Clement IX. ; and as containing notes and reflections which present indeed the appearance of piety, but lead cunningly to its extinction ; and which advance teachings that are seditious, rash, pernicious, erroneous, already condemned, and manifestly sustaining the Jansenistic heresy." But the Brief produced little effect in the minds of the Quesnellists ; and in 1710 matters were brought to a crisis. The bishops of Luçon and La Rochelle had issued pastorals which showed how the Five Propositions of Jansenius were reasserted by Quesnel ; and the printer, in order to secure the copyrights, had obeyed the law which required the announcement of new books in the chief cities in the kingdom. Among the places which custom had assigned for the posting of the necessary placards was the portal of the archiepiscopal palace in Paris. Cardinal de Noailles fancied himself affronted by the posting, at his very doors, of a condemnation of a work which he had approved ; and incited by several Quesnellist members of his council, he caused the directors of Saint-Sulpice to dismiss two of their students, nephews of the bishops of Luçon and La Rochelle, who

(1) Such as Voltaire, in his *Age of Louis XIV.* ; Duclos, in his *Secret Memoires* ; and Marmontel, in his *History of the Regency*.

were said to have aided in the placarding. The bishops complained to the king, alleging also that in all ages, the bishops of "imperial cities" had been nearly always prone to abet heresy. His Eminence demanded an apology for this insult; and at the instance of Louis XIV. the enthusiastic prelates would probably have yielded to that extent, had not the cardinal, in a pastoral dated April 28, 1711, declared that the obnoxious document of the bishops of Luçon and La Rochelle favored one of the propositions of Jansenius and two of Baius, and that it conduced to laxity of morals. The bishops of Agen and Sisteron sided with the cardinal; but the king, disgusted with his weakness, informed him that until further orders he might abstain from appearing at court. Then his Eminence declared, in a letter to the bishop of Agen, that "if the Pope deemed it proper to formally censure the book of Quesnel, he would receive the Constitution with all due respect." By this implicit disregard of the Clementine Brief of 1708 the cardinal certainly showed that he merited little consideration; and he continually acted as though he regarded all who differed with him in this matter as so many conspirators for his ruin. The *Diary* of his grand-vicar, Dorsanne, shows that he accused as members of this imaginary cabal not only the dukes de Beauvilliers and de Chevreuse, but even the gentle Fénelon; and of course, since there was a question of conspiracy, those arch-intriguers, the Jesuits, must naturally have had their share in it. In a letter to the Pontiff he bitterly denounced the Jesuits for having entered into the fancied cabal; and he withdrew their faculties from nearly all those who were in his diocese.

By special request of Louis XIV., made through the cardinal de la Trémouille, his ambassador at Rome, Pope Clement XI. resolved to issue a formal Constitution on the *Moral Reflections*. In Feb., 1712, his Holiness appointed a special Congregation of five cardinals and eleven theologians to examine the work. Until the following August the Congregation met once every week; from that time until Aug., 1713, sessions were held twice a week; the Pontiff himself presided at nearly all the meetings. Finally, after more than

eighteen months of careful labor, the celebrated Bull *Unigenitus Dei Filius* was issued. The Pontiff begins with the warning given to us by "The Only Son of God, to beware of false prophets, of those who come to us in sheep's clothing; and here He designates principally those masters of the art of lying, those seducers who are full of artifice, who exhibit in their discourses an appearance of most solid piety only that they may imperceptibly propagate their teachings, and thus establish sects which will lead men to perdition. . . . They clothe themselves, so to speak, with the maxims of the Divine Law, with the precepts of the Holy Scriptures, whose expressions they interpret maliciously. . . . True sons of the ancient father of lies, they have learned from his example and teaching that there is no surer way of deceiving souls, and of inculcating the most pestiferous errors, than by cloaking those errors with the authority of the word of God. . . . Penetrated by these instructions, no sooner had we learned, to our great sorrow, that a certain book, printed in the French language some time previously with the title *The New Testament in French, with Moral Reflections on Each Verse, etc.*" (Paris, 1699); and still earlier with the title *Abridgment of the Morality of the Gospel, of the Acts of the Apostles, of the Epistles of St. Paul, of the Canonical Epistles, and of the Apocalypse; or Christian Thoughts on the Text of These Sacred Books* (Paris, 1693 and 1694); that this book, although we had already condemned it as confounding Catholic truths with many false and dangerous teachings, was considered by many to be free from all error . . . than we resolved to adopt efficacious means to arrest the growing evil. . . . When he first opens this book, the reader is attracted by its odor of piety; the words are as smooth as oil; and nevertheless they are so many arrows ready to leave the bow in order to cleave the simple heart." The Pontiff cites one hundred and one condemnable propositions, and thus pronounces in regard to them: "We condemn each and all of these propositions as respectively false, captious, evil-sounding, offensive to pious ears, scandalous, pernicious, rash, injurious to the Church and her usages, extravagant for secular powers as well as for the Church, seditious, impious, blasphemous, suspected and red-

olent of heresy, favorable to heresy and to schism, erroneous, bordering on heresy and often condemned, heretical and revivers of various heresies—especially those which are contained in the famous propositions of Jansenius, according to the self-same sense in which they were condemned.” It is not necessary for us to enumerate all of the condemned Quesnelian propositions; they may be reduced to the three following headings. I. The foundation of both Baianism and Jansenism, as we have shown when treating of the latter heresy, was the false principle that in the state of fallen nature the free will of man sins necessarily, if *dominant* grace is wanting to him; since, as Baius and Jansenius held, the will of man necessarily obeys either concupiscence or grace, according to their relative power over him. The first thirty-three propositions of Quesnel are nearly all consequences of this fatal principle. “What remains,” he asks in his first proposition, “for a soul that has lost God and grace, unless sin and its consequences, a haughty poverty and a lazy indigence, that is, a general powerlessness for labor, for prayer, and for every good work?” The following propositions determine the sense in which Quesnel used these specious words. He indicates the Jansenistic idea of an impossibility of obeying certain commandments when he exclaims: “What a difference there is, my God, between the Jewish and the Christian Alliance! Both have for conditions a renunciation of sin and the fulfilment of Thy law; but in the former Thou demandest them from the sinner, while leaving him in his impotence, whereas in the latter Thou givest to him what Thou commandest, purifying him by Thy grace” (*Prop.* VI. and VII.) “We belong to the New Alliance only inasmuch as we share in that new grace which works in us what God has enjoined” (*Prop.* 8). The saying of Jansenius that “interior grace is never resisted” is thus expressed by Quesnel: “Grace is an operation of the omnipotent hand of God which nothing can impede or retard” (*Prop.* 10.) The third proposition of Jansenius, “in order that free will may merit in our present state, it is not necessary that it be free from necessity,” is advanced by Quesnel when he asserts: “The accord of the omnipotent operation of God with the

free consent of His will is shown to us at first in the Incarnation, as in the source and model of all the other operations of grace, always just as gratuitous and independent as that original operation" (*Prop. XXII.*) The fifth proposition of Jansenius is repeated by Quesnel when he declares: "Jesus Christ gave Himself to death that His blood might deliver the eldest, that is, the elect, from the hand of the exterminating angel" (*Prop. XXXII.*) II. Some of the errors of Quesnel were reproductions of those advanced by Baius. Thus, when speaking of the state of nature before the fall, he contended that "in Adam grace produced only human merits; the said grace was a consequence of creation, and was due to a healthy and uncorrupted nature" (*Prop. XXXIV.*) In the state of fallen nature, Quesnel held that man "was free only for evil, without the grace of the Redeemer" (*Prop. XXXVIII.*) Just as Baius had insisted, so Quesnel affirmed: "There are only two loves from which proceed all that we wish and perform: the love of God, which does everything for God, and which God rewards; the love of ourselves and of the world, which does not refer to God what ought to be referred to Him, and which is therefore evil" (*Prop. XLIV.*) "When the love of God does not reign in the heart of man, carnal concupiscence must necessarily reign there, and corrupt all his actions" (*Prop. XLV.*) In reference to the state of restored nature, Quesnel agreed with Baius that there "charity alone performs Christian actions in a Christian manner" (*Prop. LIII.*) And he taught that "he who abstains from evil only because of fear of punishment, commits the sin in his heart, and is culpable before God" (*Prop. LXII.*) He also held that "God never afflicts the innocent, every suffering is intended to punish or to purify the sinner" (*Prop. LXX.*) III. In regard to the Church, her rights and her laws, Quesnel renewed many of the errors of Luther, Calvin, d'Osman, and Richer. Just as Luther and Calvin considered the Church as a society of the elect, so Quesnel assigned among the marks of the Christian Church: "Catholicity, inasmuch as she includes all the angels of heaven, all the elect, and all the just on earth" (*Prop. LXXII.*) The Protestant notion of the necessity of hermeneutical science

on the part of every Christian is thus accepted by Quesnel : "It is useful and necessary in every place and at all times, and for all persons, to study and know the spirit of the Holy Scriptures, their piety, and their mysteries" (*Prop. LXXIX.*) The rigidism of Jansenism found a fitting exponent in Quesnel, when he contended that satisfaction should precede absolution. "It is wise and charitable to allow souls to remain for a time in the state of sin, and to feel its miseries, as well as to beg for the spirit of penance and contrition, and to at least begin to satisfy the justice of God, before they are reconciled to Him" (*Prop. LXXXVII.*) As though Quesnel anticipated his condemnation, he adopted the capital error of Edmond Richer (1) when he asserted : "The Church has the power of excommunication, and can use it through her chief pastors with the consent, at least presumed, of the entire body" (*Prop. XC.*) And with an eye on the situation of the Jansenists, he proclaimed : "The fear of an unjust excommunication ought not to prevent our doing our duty. One does not leave the Church, if he is attached by charity to God, to Jesus Christ, and to the Church herself, even if he seems to have been expelled by the wickedness of men" (*Prop. XCI.*) He consoles his partisans with this assurance : "Persecution as a heretic and an impious person is ordinarily the last and most meritorious trial, and it renders one more like unto Jesus Christ" (*Prop. XCVIII.*) He shows his contempt for the Formulas which the French Clergy were required to sign as a token of their submission to the anti-Jansenist decrees of the Holy See : "Nothing is more opposed to the spirit of God and to the doctrines of Jesus Christ, than the making of oaths common in the Church" (*Prop. CI.*)

Immediately after the arrival of the Bull *Unigenitus* in Paris, the king ordered a convocation of the French bishops,

(1) This celebrated professor in the Sorbonne, born in 1560 at Chource in the diocese of Langres, first attained notoriety by a thesis in which he defended Clement, the assassin of Henry III. A warm friend of Paolo Sarpi, he supported that enigmatic friar's attacks on Pope Paul V., by composing an apology for Gerson. He was an ultra Gallican, and a virulent foe of the Jesuits. His principal work, *Ecclesiastical and Political Power*, attempts to discover the fulness of ecclesiastical sovereignty in the body of the faithful, joined with their pastors. He advocates the right of appeal from the ecclesiastical to the civil power. Shortly before his death in 1631, there appeared a retraction of these views; but it is by no means certain that Richer gave it voluntarily.

that it might be formally accepted. On Sept. 28, 1713, Cardinal de Noailles had issued a pastoral condemning the *Reflections*; but when twenty-nine of the bishops obeyed the royal summons (Oct. 16), he pronounced a discourse in which he tried to justify his approbation of 1695. On Oct. 21, six prelates were appointed to frame a report on the papal Constitution; and while they were thus engaged, Quesnel deluged the assembly with memorials in his favor. Only a year previously he had declared: "I submit most sincerely to the judgment of the Holy Roman Church not only my *Reflections on the New Testament*, but also all the explanations which I have written concerning the book." He had then proclaimed himself "a most obedient son of the Apostolic Roman Church until he would draw his last breath"; but now he told the bishops that the papal Constitution "struck at the very roots of the faith; that with one blow it destroyed a hundred and one truths; and that to accept it would be to realize the prophecy of Daniel when he said that many of the strong fell like the stars from heaven." On Jan. 15, 1714, the commission appointed by the Assembly reported in favor of the preparation of a Pastoral Instruction in which all the bishops of France would declare that they received the Constitution *Unigenitus* with filial respect, condemning whatever the Pontiff had condemned in it. When the votes were taken, forty bishops were found to agree with the report; but nine declared that they would announce their opinion when the Instruction appeared. The document was issued, signed by forty of the prelates, on Feb. 1; Cardinal de Noailles, in the name of the eight other abstainers, declared that they intended to ask the Pope for some explanations of the Constitution. We need not give the details of this Instruction, since it was, in the main, a paraphrase of the papal Bull; but attention may be directed to the reply given by the prelates to the Quesnellian assertion that "fear of an unjust excommunication should not prevent us from doing our duty." The bishops did not deny that this proposition was exceedingly specious. "If the injustice of the excommunication is evident; if the duty is a real duty; then the proposition includes a truth to which we cannot refuse assent. But if the

excommunication is unjust only in the mind of him who is its object ; if the duty is a false duty ; if the sufferer is at all doubtful as to the injustice of the sentence, and as to the reality of his supposed duty ; then the proposition is false, and so much the more dangerous because it is advanced under the guise of truth. This proposition, true in one case and false in the other, is at least captions, and favorable to the partisans of Jansenius. The circumstances of the time and of the errors which now afflict the Church, the nature of the *Reflections*, and the situation of the author, seem to demand that he should explain himself clearly and without ambiguity when treating such delicate matters ; and an evil meaning is naturally ascribed to him, when the correct views are not plainly manifested. To be convinced of this, we need only read the writings which have been circulated for nearly sixty years, ever since signatures to the Formulary were first required. And some of these *Moral Reflections* are sufficiently clear. They teach that ‘an unjust excommunication ought not prevent one from doing his duty.’ And at the same time they decide that a refusal to sign the Formula is a real duty ; and that the excommunication entailed by a refusal to sign is unjust. Behold therefore, dear brethren, the reasons which have impelled the Supreme Pontiff to condemn this proposition.” Finally the Instruction declares that the authors of the condemned proposition, when advancing it, “had wished to reassure those who, through fear of censure, might be led to submit to the Constitutions against Jansenism which had been issued by Popes Innocent X. and Alexander VII.”

On March 5 the Sorbonne registered the Constitution *Unigenitus*, despite the fact that on Feb. 25, Cardinal de Noailles had ordered the members, under pain of suspension, to wait for his consent to such action. When the Pontiff heard of this order of the cardinal, he condemned it ; but it seems strange that his Eminence was not at least deprived of his red hat. At this period De Noailles seems to have complacently regarded himself as the head of a powerful school ; and certainly the many Quesnellists in the Faculty, who had been influenced solely by fear of the king when they joined the majority in receiving the Constitution, took good care to

encourage his rashness. His grand-vicar tells us that at this time the rector of the University, in a public discourse, pronounced the prelate "the sole defender of the truth, the man from whom the Church expected to receive the rule of faith" (1). After the death of Louis XIV., the Quesnellists in the Faculty became bold; and on Jan. 4, 1716, they succeeded in forcing through a resolution that the University had never really accepted the *Unigenitus*; that the registration of March 5, 1714, was supposititious, and should be erased; and that deprivation of his privileges should be the fate of every doctor who would dare to contravene the present decision. This audacity was promptly rebuked by many of the bishops by an interdiction of the Sorbonne to their subjects; but the raving doctors pronounced these prelates "scandalous and schismatical." In a Brief of Nov. 18, 1716, Clement XI. revoked all the privileges of the Faculty of Paris; but the parliament of Paris suppressed the Brief by its decree of Dec. 16. Such was the lamentable state of affairs in the Church of France when four bishops presumed to sign an act of appeal from the Constitution *Unigenitus* to the decision of a General Council. These prelates were Charles-Joachim Colbert, a nephew of the great minister of Louis XIV., and bishop of Montpellier; Jean Soanen, a nephew of the celebrated Jesuit, Sirmond, and bishop of Sénez; Pierre de Langle, bishop of Boulogne; and Pierre de la Broue, bishop of Mirepoix. On March 5, 1717, these four bishops appeared before the Faculty of Paris, and the bishop of Sénez read the act of appeal, declaring that "the Constitution *Unigenitus* attacked the foundations of the hierarchy, the rights of bishops, and the liberties of the kingdom; that it contradicted the proper rules of penance; that it overturned the firm bases of morality, and even the first of the commandments; that it tended not only to extinguish the sacred fire which Jesus Christ brought upon earth, but also to remove that divine light which the faithful of every age, sex, and condition derive from the Scriptures, the reading of which is enjoined on all; that it stigmatizes propositions which have been taught by Apostles,

(1) *Diary* of Dorsanne, December, 1714.

Fathers, Popes, etc." Then the appellants calmly insisted that "although they intended to say or even think nothing against the Roman Church, or against the authority of that Apostolic See to which they would remain irremovably attached as long as they lived," nevertheless, "because of their love of peace" they were constrained to revolt against the Supreme Pontiff of Christendom, and thereby sow the seeds of discord in the Church. "We appeal from the aforesaid Constitution to a future General Council, which will meet in a secure place, and to which we can proceed freely and in safety. . . . We also appeal against everything that has happened or may happen, because of the same Constitution. And since we fear that the said Holy Father the Pope may issue excommunications, depositions, suspensions, interdicts, etc., against us, our churches, our clergy, and our flocks, we also appeal by this act against every such sentence." The reading of the revolutionary document was followed by a discourse in which Ravechet, the syndic of the Faculty, declaimed against the "illicit" Briefs which the Holy See had recently issued against the Sorbonne; and then the one hundred and five doctors in attendance voted on the question of adhering to the appeal. Only eight opposed the enterprise. Three days afterward thirty-one of the "accepting" bishops memorialized the regent, complaining of the action of the Faculty; but the contagion had spread beyond the control of the prince (1). It is certain, however, that the appellants, even at this period of their greatest effervescence, were, comparatively speaking, a feeble minority. All the Franciscans, Jesuits, and Sulpicians; nearly all the Lazarists; and many minor organizations; besides the greater part of the secular clergy, remained faithful to the behests of the Holy See.

On April 3, Cardinal de Noailles caused his appeal to be recorded in the registers of his secretariate, although he did not give it to the public until Sept. 18, 1718; and shortly

(1) Rache, copying the *Diary* of Dorsanne in his *Abridgment* (Cent. xviii., lect. iv., art. 1), says that in Paris alone more than 700 ecclesiastics were appellants. He enumerates 40 canons; 80 Oratorians; 23 Fathers of the Christian Doctrine, headed by their provincial and three superiors of houses; the provost and the professors of the College d'Harcourt; 10 canons-regular of Sainte-Victor; 18 of Sainte-Geneviève; 17 of Navarre; 68 Benedictines of Saint-Maur; 34 Feuillants; and 32 Dominicans.

afterward the number of appellant bishops was augmented by the promise of adhesion, when the promised Pastoral of his Eminence would appear, given by sixteen others. At this time there were probably two thousand ecclesiastics in all France who proclaimed themselves appellants; but it must be remembered that this number is much larger than that of those whose consciences were, either fanciedly or really, involved in the appeal. The records of the time show that very many adhesions were procured by bribery and other means of seduction. Thus the archbishop of Rheims, De Mailly, assured the hierarchy of France, in an apposite letter, that to him "the infamous traffic in appeals was an evident fact" (1). It was precisely at this period of the controversy that Peter I. of Russia, who was then visiting *la belle France* in the interests of his country's civilization, made an inspection of the Sorbonne (June 17, 1717); and the reader will be surprised if he peruses the arguments with which the dons overwhelmed the head of the Orthodox Church of Russia as they explained to him the heinous guilt of schism. One is reminded of Scott's description of King James's appreciation of Prince Charles's discourse on the meanness of dissimulation, and of Buckingham's praise of the beauties of purity. Pope Clement XI. took no public notice of the excesses of the appellants until it became evident that if he delayed to exercise the power of the keys, men would suppose that those excesses were manifestations of legitimate zeal. On Aug. 28, 1718, he addressed to all the faithful in Christendom the Bull *Pastoralis Officii*, in which, after a narration of all his efforts to conciliate the appellant prelates, he said: "It is not without some admixture of malice that these men glory in agreeing with us 'in matters of dogma,' while at the same time, like heretics, they dare to resist our Constitution, forgetting the respect that is due to it, and malignantly distorting it, not only by false interpretations of its contents, but by evident calumnies. . . . No less culpable are they who pretend to not oppose the Constitution, but only to desire explanations on things which are perfectly clear to others,

(1) For interesting details on this matter, see the *Ecclesiastical History* of Berault-Bercastel, bk. xxxv.

thus seeking to lay snares rather than to be instructed. Therefore let all those, throughout the Church, who glory in being Catholics, know that we do not consider as children of the Roman Church those who refuse or who will refuse all due and entire obedience to our Constitution, no matter what be the dignity of those persons; and since they have first separated from us and from the Holy Roman Church, if not by words, at least by multifold signs of their obstinacy of heart, we regard them as entirely separated from us, from our charity, and from that of the Holy Roman Church. Consequently they shall have hereafter no ecclesiastical communion with us or with the Holy Roman Church." This excommunication excited Cardinal de Noailles to misplaced activity; and in the beginning of 1719 he issued the Instruction which he had promised in the previous year, and by which he indicated unalterable hostility to the papal Constitution. On Jan. 19 of this year the Faculty of Paris took a step which the appellants fondly contemplated as an assurance of their ultimate triumph. Hitherto the most determined of the Gallican opponents of papal infallibility had admitted the tenability of the proposition which they combated; they had never dreamed of affixing the note of heresy on a belief which was held by at least three-fourths of Christendom. But now the appellant Faculty of Caen having declared, in its notification of its appeal, that the opinion in favor of the papal infallibility was *erroneous*, the Sorbonne applauded the enterprise; and registered its own decision to the same effect. Another proceeding of the Faculty of Paris at this time, while not so scandalous as the one just mentioned, indicated that the quondam ultra-conservative body was ready to tolerate any innovation that was advocated by the schismatics whom it had taken under its wing. One of its doctors, Petitpied, after the development of the "Case of Conscience" had fled to Holland, and now he had returned to teach his countrymen the proper way of conducting ecclesiastical ceremonies, especially those of the Mass (1).

(1) Lastéan, bishop of Sisteron, who was an eye-witness of the aberrations of Petitpied, describes them in his *History of the Constitution "Unigenitus."* Mass was to be celebrated only on Sundays and holy days. At all other times, the altar was to be bare of ornaments, etc., just as after the Office of Holy Thursday. Just before the celebration of the

Once the innovations of this ultra Jansenist would have brought upon him the censures of the Faculty; but now he was welcomed, and his olden rights were restored to him. However, the people received Petitpied with such manifestations of disgust, that the regent ordered him to leave Paris.

In 1720 Cardinal de Noailles began to exhibit signs of discontent with the part that he had been playing for so many years. Continually urged by the regent, who was guided in the matter by the Abbé Dubois, his olden tutor (1), the cardinal issued a Pastoral "for the publication and acceptance of the Constitution *Unigenitus*, according to the explanations approved by very many of the French bishops." Alluding to the Pastoral Instruction issued by the forty bishops of the Assembly of 1714, his Eminence insisted that his own explanations were the same as those given in that document, and he concluded: "We respectfully and submissively accept the Constitution *Unigenitus*, we renew our condemnation of the *Moral Reflections*, and we condemn both the said book and the one hundred and one propositions with the same respective qualifications which his Holiness pronounced—and all this according to the aforesaid explanations which were approved by a great many of the French

Sacrifice, only one linen cloth was to be spread on the altar; and there were to be on it neither cross nor candles. The absence of the cross was to be supplied by the presence of one which would be borne before the celebrant, as he approached the sanctuary; and this cross was to be the only one in the church. The people were to give the responses at the *Introito* in a loud voice. After the psalm, instead of ascending the steps, the celebrant was to seat himself at the Epistle side of the sanctuary, and there he was to recite the Collects, and intone the *Gloria* and the *Credo*. He was not to recite the words which the choir would sing; neither was he to recite the Epistle and the Gospel, since their chanting by the subdeacon and deacon sufficed. The bread and wine for the Sacrifice, the offerings of the people, and the first fruits of the season, were then all brought together to the altar, and placed upon it. The deacon, as well as the priest, held the chalice; and both said the Offertory aloud, since they represented the people. All the signs of the cross, which the Roman Missal orders to be made over the Sacred Species, were made also over the offerings on the altar. At the communion of the laity, none of the prayers prescribed by the Missal were used. On certain feasts, extravagant ceremonies were introduced. Thus, on Holy Thursday, a kind of female deacon recited the Gospel in the vernacular.

(1) The Jansenists never forgave Dubois for his opposition to the appellants; hence the stories of his wickedness with which we are regaled in the *Secret Memoirs* of Duclos, and in the sprightly pages of Saint-Simon, works which are greedily accepted as authoritative by nearly all our modern purveyors of history. We are often asked to lament the vices of Cardinal Dubois; and we seldom read that the great statesman entered the Sacred College only two years before his death, and that he had been in Holy Orders only one year at the time of his nomination. We give a brief sketch of this famous man. Guillaume Dubois, an apothecary's son, born in 1656 at Brives-la-Gaillarde, when yet a youth was employed by M. de Saint-Laurent, sub-governor of the young duke de Chartres (after-

bishops ; explanations which we here give as indicative of the real meaning of the Bull ; and which we have deemed necessary to join to it with the object of preventing interpretations which are both false and contrary to its veritable significance, and with the object of preventing attacks on the faith, any corruption of morals, or any violation of the liberty of the schools." It is evident from this language that the cardinal was not yet prepared to abandon the cause of the appellants ; but it is also evident that his zeal in that cause was now waning. In 1721 Innocent XIII. succeeded Clement XI. on the papal throne ; and immediately the appellants spread a report that he was favorably disposed toward them. Seven of their bishops even presumed to send a letter to his Holiness, in which the memory of his predecessor was outraged, and Innocent himself was asked whether he intended to approve "the strange decision" on Quesnel. The audacious seven declared that "Pagan Rome would not have tolerated" ward regent of France), to assist him in the education of that prince. When Saint-Laurent died, Dubois became the prince's chief preceptor. There is not one shadow of proof for the assertion that the debaucheries of the future regent may be ascribed to the apposite teachings of Dubois. But the influence of the preceptor over the mind of his pupil was undoubtedly great ; and when he succeeded in determining the young prince to espouse Mlle. de Blois, the legitimated daughter of Louis XIV. by La Vallière, the gratitude of the king started him on the road to preferment. Although merely tonsured, he received several rich commendatary abbeys. He accompanied his pupil in many military campaigns, and was often charged with important negotiations. They who believe that the licentiousness of Dubois was notorious, should read the letter which Fénelon wrote in 1711, when the Abbé was in the fulness of his manly vigor, to Mad. Roujant, recommending to her consideration "the Abbé Dubois, formerly preceptor of the duke d'Orleans, and my friend for very many years ; to whom any favor that you may extend I shall regard as shown to myself" ; and saying that if the lady knew Dubois well, "she would not need the recommendation" of Fénelon to make her esteem him. Dubois may have been secretly vicious ; but Fénelon was not the man to so recommend a notorious *roué*. When the duke d'Orleans became regent, he entrusted him with negotiations which culminated in the triple alliance of France, England, and Holland, in 1717 ; and in 1718 Dubois arranged the general pacification of Europe. The talents which Dubois displayed in his career as statesman were extraordinary. Sevalléges, who edited the *Secret Memoirs* of Dubois, and who is not too partial to him, says : "He had to triumph over very many political obstacles. In order to succeed, he required not only subtlety, but a profound knowledge of the condition of Europe, a powerful logic, and an exquisite tact for discerning the point at which he should stop. All of these Dubois possessed in an eminent degree. His manuscript correspondence for the conclusion of the triple alliance places him among the diplomats who have put their names to treaties which influenced an entire political system. The almost unhopd-for success of so important a negotiation caused the prince to confide the ministry of foreign affairs to his favorite." From this date Dubois played a prominent part in the ecclesiastical affairs of France ; and he acquired the hatred of the Jansenists. Dorsanne reproves him for always counselling obedience to the Pope, for opposing Cardinal de Noailles, and for having intimate relations with the Jesuits. Racine repeats the charges. In 1719 he joined Massillon, then bishop of Clermont, and the Oratorian La Tour, in that effort of conciliation which produced the declaration of 1720. No wonder that from that day the Jansenists discharged their

that judgment; that the Pontiff simply laid the communication before the Holy Office, and on Jan. 8, 1722, that tribunal condemned it as "schismatical in its entirety, and redolent of the spirit of heresy." Shortly after Pope Benedict XIII. ascended the papal throne (1724), he informed Cardinal de Noailles that the Holy See was not content with the Instruction of 1720, wherein the prelate had announced a qualified acceptance of the *Unigenitus*; that it was imperatively necessary for him to accept the Constitution *purely and simply*, and to retract his Instruction of 1719, wherein he had detailed the reasons for his opposition. The cardinal replied with a request for the formal approbation of "twelve articles" purporting to contain the pure doctrine of Sts. Augustine and Thomas, but some of which were couched in obscure terms, and could be easily interpreted by the insincere as favorable to Jansenism. The Quesnellists now feigned to

bile upon him. In 1720, probably at the solicitation of George I. of England, Dubois was appointed to the archiepiscopal see of Cambrai; and only then did he receive Holy Orders. Ardent Quesnellist as De Noailles was at that time, he refused to ordain Dubois; and he even refused permission for any other bishop to ordain him in Paris. The future archbishop was therefore raised to the priesthood by De Tressan, bishop of Nantes, in the village of Chanteloup. Duclos, Lacreteille, and many other authors assert that by virtue of a Papal Brief all the Orders were conferred on Dubois in one morning; but the Jansenist Dorsanne, who was then vicar-general of Paris, and whose *Diary* notes every ecclesiastical event of importance, tells us that Dubois received the Minor Orders and the sub-diaconate on Feb. 24, 1720, the diaconate on the 25th, and the priesthood on March 4. He received episcopal consecration in the church of Val-de-Grace, in the presence of the regent, the entire court, and the foreign ambassadors. The consecrator was Cardinal de Rohan, bishop of Strasbourg and grand-almouner of the king; and the assistant-consecrators were De Tressan of Nantes and Massillon of Clermont. Can we believe that Massillon, who, even according to Duclos, was a man of extraordinary virtue and of apostolic zeal, would have profaned his ministry by countenancing the consecration of one whom Duclos and his imitators represent as a notorious debauchee? A year afterward the regent begged Pope Innocent XIII. to enroll Dubois in the Sacred College; and the request was endorsed by the German emperor and other sovereigns. Not a particle of proof has ever been adduced in favor of the tale which describes Cardinal Conti (the future Innocent XIII.) as promising, in the Conclave of 1721, to make Dubois a cardinal if France would work for his own election to the Papacy. When Dubois entered the Council of the Regency in 1723, he made many powerful enemies among the aristocracy; for by virtue of his cardinalate the apothecary's son ranked next to the princes of the blood-royal. This was his great offence in the eyes of Saint-Simon, "the great disdained" of Louis XIV., who was, said Duclos, "a duke, even unto fanaticism." We do not pretend to rehabilitate the memory of Dubois. He may have been a minister worthy of Philippe d'Orleans. But when we hear the atheists of the eighteenth century, those connoisseurs in matters of sacrilege, lamenting his sacrilegious consecration; when we note that his bitterest foes were the Jansenists whom he offended by supporting the Bull *Unigenitus*, and the Protestants who hated him because he prevented Philippe d'Orleans from restoring the Edict of Nantes; then we hesitate to believe that he was entirely the insolent reprobate, the Figaro of the Regency, whom most historians, so often deceiving and so often deceived, exhibit for our conspect.

believe that the Pontiff was about to issue a Doctrinal Brief pronouncing the "twelve articles" orthodox; and during the excitement caused by this report appeared the "Letter of the Three Powers," as it was afterward termed—a letter written conjointly to the Pontiff by Cardinals de Rohan and de Bissy, and by the celebrated Fleury, then bishop of Fréjus, who became a cardinal a year afterward, and who was prime-minister of France for many years. This letter is given by both Lafiteau and Racine; and it is valuable for the light it sheds on the question we are treating, and for its presentation of the reasons which prevented the Holy See from acquiescing in the qualified acceptance of the *Unigenitus* by De Noailles. The prelates begin by praising the efforts of Benedict XIII. "to bring back to the apostolic bosom his Eminence, Cardinal de Noailles," and then continue: "Undoubtedly you do not hide what is wanting in his obedience; but neither do you reprove severely his delays, and the precautions which he would take. . . . We have paid no attention to the recent rumors to the effect that your Holiness is too indulgent, and that you are led by an excessive love of peace to hearken to the opinions of certain persons which do not sufficiently provide for the security of the Church. . . . Engraved in our hearts are the golden words which your Holiness once pronounced concerning this affair: 'The essential for the Church is conquest, not triumph.' The faith, authority, and unity of the Church would be imperilled if she were to adopt the plan for peace which is now being urged. It is said that this plan includes three things; firstly, a new form of acceptance of the Constitution *Unigenitus*; secondly, a declaration by Cardinal de Noailles on his Pastoral Instruction of 1719; and thirdly, a Brief to be addressed to the Dominicans, containing a new explanation of the Bull *Unigenitus*. Permit us, Holy Father, to express our thoughts on this project. I. As to the first article, it would certainly appear strange if new deliberations as to its manner of acceptance should be held in regard to a Constitution already received everywhere. . . . It is very important that nothing be admitted in the formula of acceptance which restless men may abuse, either in order to escape obedience

by deceptive clauses, or in order to weaken by malign interpretations that authority of the Church which resides in an unanimous episcopate. II. In regard to the declaration which Cardinal de Noailles ought to make in regard to his Pastoral Instruction of 1719, let nothing which we are about to say, Holy Father, be interpreted as indicative of any desire, on our part, to limit the goodness of your heart. You know, Most Holy Father, how baneful that Instruction may be in the matter of Catholic dogma and of ecclesiastical authority. Would your Holiness consider it a sufficient reparation if the cardinal were to merely declare that *if anything in that Instruction had displeased the Holy Apostolic See, it was against his will and sentiments that such a thing had happened, and that he now wished that there should be no more talk about the Instruction than if it had never been issued?*" The cardinal says, '*if anything had displeased.*' Can we have the slightest doubt that very many things in the Instruction have displeased the Apostolic See? If he still doubts, let him read again and attentively that work which escaped him in the midst of trouble, and when he was not sufficiently master of himself; let him weigh all its consequences; and then he will accord more than we demand. He would regard *as not having happened* a thing which has inflicted so much damage on the Church. . . . That document will go down to posterity; and attended by many more dangers, if the Supreme Pontiff agrees that it be not retracted by him under whose name it was promulgated. . . . III. The third point is of even greater importance; namely, the Pontifical Brief which your Holiness is supposed to be about to address to the Dominicans, and in which you would approve, it is said, the 'twelve articles' or at least certain other propositions, as uncensurable and embodying laudable sentiments. . . . When these 'twelve articles' were made known in France, and when rumor represented that an Apostolic declaration concerning them was about to be requested, there was so much excitement that it required royal authority to calm it. If instead of these 'twelve articles' there be substituted other propositions on the same subjects, it is evident that the same inconveniences will be experienced. . . . Let it not

be said that a *pure and simple* acceptance may be dangerous. Nothing is safer than to think and talk like Peter and the Apostles ; and we are witnesses to the fact that since the publication of the Bull, no change in Catholic doctrine, no movement contrary to the faith and to the holiness of the Gospel, has been effected under its shadow. Therefore let there be no more importunate demands for new explanations ; let filial confidence triumph over vain terrors."

The *Diary* of his vicar-general tells us that Cardinal de Noailles and most of his counsellors arrived at the conclusion, in Jan., 1727, that a full submission to the Holy See was necessary ; but not until May did he gather sufficient courage to announce publicly that his opposition to the *Unigenitus* was at length a thing of the past. On July 19, he wrote to the Pope, saying that his age warned him to bow to the decisions of the Holy See, and therefore to receive the Constitution of Clement XI. without reservation. On Oct. 11, he announced his retractation to his diocesans in these terms : "According as we approach that night when no one labors any longer, we feel an increase of the continuous grief which afflicts our heart because of the sad dissensions in our diocese on account of the Constitution *Unigenitus*. For what can be more bitter than to perceive that suspicions are ever arising concerning the sincerity of our respect for the Holy See ; that there is doubt as to our union with our brethren of the episcopate ; and that, against our intentions and even our character, our name is made one of faction and of discussion ? Now in order to close the mouths of those who spread reports so contrary to the truth, we earnestly wish to manifest the sentiments which are engraved in our heart ; and if we have deferred that manifestation until now, it has been through a desire to influence minds by a charity which is full of condescension. But this circumspection can endure no longer ; for our age warns us every day, by the weakening of our strength, that soon we must render to God an account of our long and laborious episcopate, and we fear lest we be surprised by death before we shall have given serious and incontestable proof of our obedience to the decrees of the Holy See, and of the conformity of our sentiments with

those of the bishops of France and of the entire Church concerning the acceptation of the Bull *Unigenitus*. . . Therefore we receive the Constitution *Unigenitus* with most sincere submission; we condemn both the book *Moral Reflections* and the one hundred and one propositions extracted from it, with the qualifications given by the Pope who condemned them; we warn the faithful of our diocese that they cannot harbor sentiments contrary to those defined by the said Constitution; we prohibit the reading or the possession of the said book and of all writings which have appeared or may appear in defense of the said book or propositions; and we declare that we will proceed by way of law against all who may dare to speak, teach, preach, or write against the said Constitution, or who by false interpretations of it may turn the faithful from the submission which they owe to it. And in order to give still further proof of our sincere submission to the Holy See, we revoke with heart and soul both our Instruction of Jan. 14, 1719, and all that has ever been published in our name in opposition to the sense of our present acceptation." Cardinal de Noailles died on May 3, 1729. Probably, as Lafiteau said, "his greatest misfortune was to have too easily listened to false friends, and to have too easily listened to himself. His resistance did much harm to the Church, and his submission was too tardy to effect much good." By his retraction the cause of the appellants received a mortal blow; but his persistence in opposition to the Constitution *Unigenitus* had given renewed vigor to Jansenism when it was in a dying condition. When he died, there were, besides the bishop of Sénez who had been suspended by the Council of Embrun in 1727, only three appellant bishops in France: Colbert of Montpellier, Caylus of Auxerre, and Bossuet (a nephew of the great Bossuet) of Troyes. It is certainly strange that so obviously weak a cause could have found adherents among men who were incontestably learned and pious. Perhaps Picot solved the problem when he discerned the chief reason for the audacity of the appellants in their secret rivalry with those whom they termed Molinists, whose triumph the Constitution *Unigenitus* seemed to assure (1).

(1) *Ubi Supra*, vol. II., p. 17.

And many of the appellants were secretly attached to the rigidism of the Jansenists; and they feared that laxism would rule through the condemnation of doctrines which appeared to inculcate only faith, charity, and penance. These zealots seem not to have perceived that the condemned propositions, in the sense attributed to them by Quesnel, were both extravagant and heretical; and that, as St. Augustine observed in the case of the Pelagians, "those very sayings which had been pronounced with truth and in a very Catholic sense; yea, which had been written with truth in the Scriptures; were no longer spoken Catholicly, since the intention of the speaker did not reside in a Catholic heart" (1).

We have seen how the Faculty of Paris allowed itself to be seduced by the Jansenists so far as to withdraw its adhesion to the Bull *Unigenitus*, or rather, in spite of the evidence of facts and of hundreds of witnesses, to declare that it had never recognized the Bull. However, fourteen years afterward, it repaired the scandal by accepting the *Unigenitus* without restriction, and by expelling from its ranks forty-eight appellant doctors. This meed of praise cannot be awarded to the parliament of Paris, which had imitated the crime of the Faculty. It never admitted its guilt; and as late as 1755 it ordered all ecclesiastics, even the highest, to observe a "respectful silence" in regard to the Bull. Naturally the bar imitated the parliament; and in 1730 all France was astonished by a consultation, signed by forty members of the Parisian bar, proclaiming principles which deprived the Church of all jurisdiction. Under Louis XIV., the parliament had perforce contented itself with its original prerogative, that of administering justice, without any attempt at interference in executive matters; from the beginning of his reign the grand monarch had made it understand that he was the king of France, when he forced it to register an edict forbidding it to ever deliberate on the government of the state or on finances. But when Philippe d'Orleans became regent for the child-king, Louis XV., the

(1) "*Quæ cum veritate et catholicè dicta sunt, imò quæ in divinis literis cum veritate dicta sunt, non ab istis catholicè dicta sunt, quia non intentione catholici pectoris dicta sunt.*"—*On Nuptials and Concupiscence*, Ch. iv.

parliament of Paris resumed its usurpations. On April 25, 1733, and on Feb. 18, 1735, it presumed to decide that pontifical anti-Jansenistic decrees, especially the Constitution *Unigenitus*, were not to be regarded as rules of faith; that a "respectful silence" in their regard was all that they merited. The parliamentary theologians assigned as reasons for their decree the alleged facts that "those Bulls had not been received in the kingdom; that they had not been confirmed by royal letters-patent; and that neither their nature, nor any decision of the Church, invested them with the character of rules of faith." Any tyro in theological science could have told the parliamentary popes that the registration of pontifical decrees under royal letters-patent was a modern invention, having been first introduced by Louis XIV., in 1695 in the case of the Bull of Alexander VII., regarding the Formula; and that the grand monarch had not intended to convey the idea that his intervention gave any authority to the dogmatic decisions of the Holy See. The sole object of Louis XIV. had been to mark those decrees as laws of the state. So true was this intention of the king to merely cause more respect to be paid to the papal pronouncements, that when afterward the parliaments essayed to effect measures similar to those we are now discussing, his Majesty quashed the proceedings of their amateur theologism. We need say nothing concerning the parliamentary assumption that the deputies were competent to legislate in regard to purely spiritual matters; or concerning the implication that the Church is the Pope's superior. When the parliament tried to place itself in the place of the proper spiritual authority, it threatened to subject the Church of France to the civil power; in other words, to make it a national and schismatic Church, like that of Russia or that of Constantinople. When the parliament said that "neither their nature, *nor any decision of the Church*, had invested the papal decrees with the character of rules of faith," it implied that Peter was thereafter to be the confirmed, not the confirmer. Such pretensions naturally led to troubles in the world of practice. The Church necessarily regarded as rebels to her divinely-given authority all those who refused obedience, in fact and

in heart, to the Constitution *Unigenitus*; and therefore she could not administer the Sacraments to such persons. We mention only two of the many cases of parliamentary persecution visited on faithful ecclesiastics. In 1733, the pastor of Saint-Médard refused the Last Sacraments to an appellant who was contemning the *Unigenitus* with his dying breath. The same pastor acted in the same manner toward a principal of a college, and toward two nuns of Paris; all three being obstinate and blatant Jansenists. In 1755 a canon of Orléans, a notorious appellant, asked for the rites of the Church; but having insisted that the Bull was "the work of the devil," when he was told to submit to the Holy See, the request was refused. The parliament declared that these were cases for what was technically termed an *appel comme d'abus* (1). The pastor of Saint-Médard was subjected to civil process; Mgr. de Beaumont, archbishop of Paris, who had sustained him, suffered sequestration of his revenues; the bishop of Orléans was exiled; and the Chapter of Orléans was fined 12,000 livres. To the credit of Louis XV. be it recorded that by a decree of May 1, 1733, he annulled the parliamentary decision in the matter of Saint-Médard, telling its framers that "the High Court ought to realize its incompetence in such matters"; and on April 4, 1755, he annulled the proceedings against the bishop of Orléans, declaring that "the parliament had misinterpreted the views and intentions of the king."

The reader may form some idea of the afflictions entailed by the appellants on the Church of France almost to the time of the Revolution, if he reflects on the fact that the bishops were not all of the same opinion as to the manner of treating

(1) Gallican legists always contended that these appeals were known in the days immediately succeeding the triumph of the Church under Constantine. But down to the fifteenth century there is no instance of appeals like those of the eighteenth; although in the fourteenth, when a reaction against the Church had already commenced, there was a disposition—not yet sanctioned by law—to reduce the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Only in the sixteenth century was the *appel comme d'abus* sanctioned by the civil law; and only in the eighteenth did it become iniquitous. In 1449 we find the royal advocate, Barbin, laying down as a maxim that one can appeal *comme d'abus* from the ecclesiastical to the secular courts; but the first edict in the matter was that of Villers-Cotterets, issued by Francis I. in Aug., 1539. Then came regulations as to the cases, forms, and effects of the appeal, made by Charles IX. on April 16, 1571; by the Ordonnance of Blois in 1579; by the Edict of Melun in 1590; by Henry IV. in Dec., 1606; by L. XIII. in Dec., 1610; and by Louis XIV. in March, 1606 and in April, 1695.

them. Some prelates refused to communicate with them *in divinis*. Thus, Condorcet, who had succeeded Caylus in the see of Auxerre, and had found his Chapter strongly appellant, passed many years without officiating in his cathedral, even at Easter. Not even the necessity of consecrating the Holy Oils could induce him to enter a church where he would perforce have communicated *in divinis* with his rebellious canons; he caused the Holy Oils to be brought from some other diocese (1). In some dioceses the appellants were left to their own consciences, and to the judgment of their confessors; in others, and especially at the hour of death, an explicit submission to the *Unigenitus* was required. Finally, the bishops laid their difficulties before Pope Benedict XIV.; and on Oct. 16, 1756, he replied in a Brief from which we take the following passages. "The Constitution *Unigenitus* is of such authority in the Church, and demands so much respect and obedience, that no one of the faithful can withhold his submission to it, or oppose it in any manner, without peril to his salvation. Hence it follows, in reply to the question that has been raised, that there can be no hesitation in declaring that the Viaticum must be refused to all who are publicly and notoriously rebellious to the said Constitution. . . . Those must be regarded as publicly and notoriously rebellious, who have been so pronounced by sentence of a competent judge on account of their obstinate refusal to accord the respect due to that Constitution; also those who judicially avowed themselves as such; also those who, at the very time of the administration (of the Sacraments), spontaneously avow their disobedience and obstinacy; and also those who are known to have committed, during their previous lives, some act which was manifestly opposed to the obedience due to the Bull, and to have persevered in the same spirit—if, that is, the knowledge of this fact be so extensive, that the resultant public scandal has not ceased. *In these last cases, there is the same moral certitude* as there is in regard to those whom the judge has sentenced. . . . Since it sometimes happens that some priests, otherwise commendable for zeal and piety, become embarrassed when they

(1) *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques* for 1755, cited by Picot, vol. iii., p. 278.

are called (in the cases under discussion) to administer the Holy Viaticum, we give a rule which they may follow in practice. Firstly, let the officiating priest discover whether he who demands the Holy Viaticum received Communion from his own pastor when he approached the Holy Table, especially at Easter. For if Communion has not hitherto been refused to him, there is a proof that he has not been considered a notorious sinner; and consequently the Holy Viaticum cannot be refused to him publicly, unless he has committed some act which would stamp him as a notorious rebel since the time of his last Communion. But if there are still strong presumptions against the sick man, or if any serious indications reasonably prevent the minister of the Sacraments from casting aside his scruples, then he must confer with the patient without witnesses. Let the confessor now speak to the sick man with all possible gentleness, conjuring him to enter into himself while there is still time; showing him that he will not be secure before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, if he eats and drinks judgment unto himself; warning him, in fine, that the Viaticum is about to be given to him merely out of obedience to the Church, who, seeking in general to avert public scandals, wishes especially to save the honor of a sick man, when she believes him to be a sinner before God, although she may not recognize him as a notorious sinner before her own tribunal." Moderate as was the tone of this Brief, the appellants resented its refusal of the Sacraments in certain cases, and France was again deluged with their incendiary pamphlets. The parliament of Rouen ordered the suppression of the Brief as "contrary to the liberties of the French Church and to the laws of the kingdom, and tending to disturb public tranquillity, and to break the silence ("respectful") enjoined in the Declaration of 1754." But the Brief continued to be the guide of the clergy in their treatment of dying appellants. For many years the parliaments continued their war on the *Unigenitus*, until their energies found a more practical vent in the equally philosophistic Jesuit-baiting which was to terminate in the temporary suppression of the Society.

CHAPTER XVI.

PROJECTS FOR A RECONCILIATION OF THE GERMAN LUTHERANS WITH
THE HOLY SEE. THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN BOSSUET
AND LEIBNITZ.

Before we approach the subject of this dissertation, it may be well for the reader to cast a glance on the ecclesiastical condition of Germany at the close of the eighteenth century. At this time the empire, properly so called, was divided into nine Circles. The three Circles of the North were Westphalia, Upper Saxony, and Lower Saxony; the three of the Centre were those of the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and Franconia; and the three of the South were Suabia, Bavaria, and Austria (1). In Westphalia, although Protestantism was generally dominant, there still subsisted several ecclesiastical sovereignties, the principal ones being the bishoprics of Munster, Paderborn, and Osnabruck—the last being always occupied, according to the provisions of the Treaty of Westphalia, by a Catholic and a Protestant in rotation (2). In most of the states of the Circle of Lower Saxony, such as Holstein, Mecklenburg, Hanover, Brunswick, etc., Protestantism prevailed, the sole ecclesiastical sovereignty being that of the bishop of Hildesheim, the archbishopric of Magdeburg and the bishopric of Halberstadt having been ceded to the elector of Brandenburg, the archbishopric of Bremen having been giving to Sweden, and the bishopric of Lubeck having been turned over to a Lutheran (3). There remained a large number of Catholics in this Circle of Lower Saxony; and in 1692, when the emperor Leopold gave the title of elector to Ernest-Augustus of Bruns-

(1) Formerly a tenth Circle, that of Burgundy, had been counted, since the Holy Roman Emperors of the House of Austria had succeeded to the possessions of the dukes of Burgundy, the Low Countries included, and had tried to incorporate them in the empire, so that the other states might have an interest in helping Austria to retain them. In reality, however, those provinces never belonged to the empire.

(2) When a Protestant was in possession, the diocese was administered by the archbishop of Cologne.

(3) This Protestant "prince-bishop" governed his Catholic dioceses through a Catholic grand-vicar.

wick as duke of Hanover (1), he insisted on the cession of a church in Hanover to the Catholics, and on permission for a vicar-apostolic to reside in the duchy. In the Circle of Upper Saxony, Protestantism dominated in the states of the elector of Saxony, as well as in the possessions of the elector of Brandenburg. The states of the elector of Brandenburg reached far beyond the limits of the empire, extending along the Baltic, and forming that territory which was termed Prussia, and which until 1660 had been vassal to Poland (2). In 1700 the elector of Brandenburg, Frederick III., obtained from the emperor Leopold the title of king of Prussia, as a reward for his abandonment of the cause of France in the recent wars. Just as he had protested in the case of the newly-made elector of Hanover, so now Pope Clement XI. protested against this sanction, on the part of a Holy Roman Emperor, of the usurpation of the electors of Brandenburg to the detriment of the Teutonic Order. The newly-made king, like all of his family, was a Calvinist, while most of his subjects were Lutherans. However, there were many Catholics in Berlin; and after a few years of hesitancy Fred-

(1) For several years this elevation was kept a secret; but when Pope Clement XI. learned that it had been effected, he protested vigorously against an act which ignored the rights of the Holy See in the constitution of the Holy Roman Empire, and which was a sacrifice of the interests of religion to temporal policy. POLIDORI; *Life and Deeds of Clement XI.*, bk. iv., p. 10. In 1693, Leibnitz seemed to foresee the French conquests of a hundred years after, when he thus wrote concerning the elevation of the duke of Hanover: "It is quite natural to think of creating a ninth electorate. The ancient ones are in danger; and now they are not, as of old, in the middle of the empire, but at its extremity. I must whisper in your ear that I fear we shall be obliged to create several more electorates in order to prevent France, now becoming every day more powerful along the Rhine, from dominating in the electoral college. If you wish me to express more clearly what I fear, it is that France may subject to herself the entire Rhine country, and thus having cut off one-half of the electors, and destroyed the foundations of the empire, the edifice itself will tumble into ruins." *Letter to Ludolphus*, in 1693. *Works of Leibnitz*, vol. vi.

(2) The Prussians, now so thoroughly Germanized, were a purely Slavic people for many centuries. In the fifth century the Wends, a Slavic tribe, took the place of the Gepidi, Goths, Burgundians, and Vandals, in the north of Germany. Charlemagne made them feel his power; the emperor Henry I. partly subdued them; and in 1133 the emperor Lothaire gave their territory, now the province of Prussia, to Albert the Bear, of the House of Ascania, styling him Margrave of Brandenburg. At that time the Benedictine monks of Cîteaux were trying to convert the Slavic idolaters of what is now termed Pomerania; and after their subjugation by Waldenæers I. of Denmark, many military and monastic associations from Germany established themselves in the land. In 1201, Albert, bishop of Riga, founded the military religious order of the Sword-Bearers for the armed conversion of the Livonians, still idolaters; and soon Conrad called on the Teutonic Knights, another order of the soldier-monks, to combat the Slavic idolaters of the Baltic regions who were then known as Borussians, a term which was changed eventually to "Prussians." Ere long these Borussian Slavs were Germanized, and from them are descended the modern Prus-

erick allowed them to have a church in that city. The Circle of the Lower Rhine, styled also the Electoral Circle because of its three archbishop-electors—those of Cologne, Treves, and Mayence, was overwhelmingly Catholic. In the Circle of the Upper Rhine, which included the Hesses and the Palatinate, the Catholics and Protestants were about equal in number. In the Circle of Franconia, much of which is incorporated in the Bavaria of our day, there were many Catholics; and the bishops of Wurtzburg, Bamberg, and Eichstadt, were sovereign princes. The Circle of Suabia was Catholic, with the exception of the margravate of Baden and the duchy of Wurtemberg, in which the Protestants predominated. The Circle of Bavaria rejoiced in a long series of dukes-electors who had ever been enthusiastically Catholic, and the people vied with their rulers in this respect. In this Circle the archbishop of Saltzburg had an extensive territorial sovereignty; and that enjoyed by the bishops of Ratisbon, Passau, and Frisingen, was proportionably rich. The Circle of Austria, comprising that duchy which was destined to give its name to a new empire when the last Holy Roman Emperor would obey the French conqueror by abdicating his venerable title, was entirely Catholic. Here there were no ecclesiastical sovereignties. In the olden time there had been many; but it had been the undeviating policy of all the Holy Roman Emperors of the House of Austria, kings of the Germans during four centuries, to exclude from the ranks of the princes of the empire, whenever opportunity offered, all the bishops of their jurisdiction. Perhaps it

sians. In 1320 the Ascanian dynasty became extinct, and the margravate of Brandenburg was taken by the emperor Louis IV., and raised to the rank of an electorate. In 1417 the emperor Sigismund enfeoffed it to Frederick of Hohenzollern, who took the name of Frederick I. The foundations of the present kingdom of Prussia were really laid by Albert of Brandenburg, grandson of the elector Albert Achilles, and last grand-master of the Teutonic Knights. This recreant monk yielded to the temptation of Luther to convert his power into a secular principality, appropriating the property of his Order, uniting himself with the princess Dorothy of Holstein, and becoming first duke of Prussia and a vassal of the king of Poland. The elector of Brandenburg, Joachim I., joined the German reformers in 1539. The elector John Sigismund acquired the duchy of Prussia, still a Polish fief, in 1618, by marriage; and in 1624 he acquired the duchy of Cleves. By the Treaty of Westphalia the elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, called by the Germans "the great elector," acquired Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and much of Pomerania; and in 1660 the Treaty of Weslau freed him from his vassalage to the king of Poland. In 1700 the emperor Leopold allowed Frederick III. to proclaim himself king of Prussia.

would have been well for the Church, if, at this time, none of the German bishops had been temporal sovereigns. Certainly there militated for their sovereignty none of the reasons which demonstrate, beyond the possibility of doubt on the part of a well-informed and observant Catholic, that the Supreme Pontiff should be the subject of no earthly power ; and although it is true that the titles of the prince-bishops to their sovereignties were founded in justice and confirmed by the prescription of ages, it is certain that these sovereignties were often the cause of appointments of men who possessed no qualifications for the ecclesiastical state. It is true that the prince-bishops all had grand-vicars who had received episcopal consecration, and who performed all of the episcopal functions. "But these subaltern prelates," observes the judicious Picot, "did not possess the same authority as the bishops who employed them ; and even though their zeal were great indeed, it could not produce the effects which the bishops themselves might have produced. It must be admitted that the mixture of temporal with spiritual authority in Germany did not prove so favorable to religion as one might suppose. The sage Fleury (1) observed this fact ; and the same reflections may be permitted to us, without any accusation that we approve of an upheaval which increased the evil, instead of remedying it. These episcopal sovereigns too often forgot that they were bishops, in order to dwell more upon their princely condition. As a rule, they never entrusted to another their temporal administration ; they would have deemed it unwise to confide that to one who might have acted as the veritable sovereign. They preferred to retain the reins of the civil government, leaving ecclesiastical details to a grand-vicar, whose ambition they did not dread, and who rarely thought that he was bound to pay to duty more attention than the prince himself paid. Hence it was that clerical education was neglected ; instruction and regularity were rare ; and the bonds of discipline were relaxed. There is good reason to believe that Protes-

(1) Let not the student hesitate to respect the views of the champion Gallican, Fleury, when his Gallican prejudices are not involved ; for few ecclesiastical historians are so judicially calm as this same Gallican is, when he remembers that he is, above all, a churchman.

tantism would have been less easily propagated in Germany, if the episcopal sees of that country had been filled by prelates who possessed only one bishopric (1), and who were not distracted by the cares of temporal government; if those sees had not possessed so much wealth and power as to excite the cupidity of temporal princes, and thus furnished a pretext for the complaints of the enemies of the Church" (2).

Leopold I., who became Holy Roman Emperor in 1657, always made great professions of piety (3), although he could, on occasion, surpass Richelieu in a subordination of the interests of religion to what he regarded as good state policy. We have noted how he endangered the prospects of Catholicism in Germany by adding another Protestant member to the Electoral College (4), and by giving a royal crown to a prince whose power had originated in a sacrilegious robbery and spiritual adultery; and we may add that he gave a blow to Catholicism in England when, in order to deprive France of a possible ally, he contributed to the dethronement of James II. However, he could protect religion when his temporal policy seemed not to be compromised by the action; and therefore, when he perceived that certain sanguine Catholics and certain mildly-disposed Protestants of Germany ventured to believe that Rome and Augsburg could be reconciled, he gladly encouraged their efforts for so desirable a consummation. The individual who had started this current of anticipation was Cristoforo di Spinola, an Italian Franciscan, whom the empress Margaret Teresa, a daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, had chosen for her confessor, and whom the Pope had created titular bishop of Tina in Bosnia.

(1) At the time of which we are treating, not to mention many other instances of this abuse, the archbishop-elect of Cologne, Joseph Clement of Bavaria, was, by a triple infraction of the canons, also bishop of the three dioceses of Liège, Hildesheim, and Ratisbon. What was worse, this prelate was not only not a priest, but not even in Minor Orders. Pope Innocent XI., pressed by the importunities of the emperor and by the well-meriting House of Bavaria, had agreed to countenance the ecclesiastical advancement of the young scion of the latter family, even so suspending the canons as to allow the eleven year old boy to be named bishop of Cologne, Liège, and Hildesheim, on condition that the sees of Ratisbon and Frisingen, already held by him, should be declared vacant. Even this condition was not entirely fulfilled, as the boy retained the see of Ratisbon.

(2) PICOT; *Memoires for the Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 133. Third Edit., Paris, 1853.

(3) From his childhood he had been destined to the priesthood; but the death of his elder brother caused his parents to change their views as to his vocation.

(4) For the consequences of such a measure, see p. 31.

Spinola was a man of discernment and moderation, and to a profound knowledge of general theology he joined an accurate appreciation of the circumstances which had favored the so-called Reformation. From the day of his arrival in Germany he had availed himself of every possible occasion for an interchange of ideas with the more learned and influential of the Protestant ministers ; and he had arrived at the conclusion that many of these clergymen believed in the possibility of a common ground on which a stand could be taken by both the upholders of the Council of Trent and the followers of the Confession of Augsburg. It appeared both to Spinola and to many of the Protestant divines that in many points the Confession of Augsburg differed from the Tridentine enactments only in certain inexactnesses of expression, which might be easily rectified ; and several Protestant clergymen seemed to opine that even where the Confession diametrically opposed the Council, the contradiction had arisen from the fact that the Reformers foolishly attributed to the Church sentiments which she herself disavowed. When the emperor learned that Spinola had won both the esteem and confidence of the leading ministers of Germany, he obtained from the Holy See an exchange of the Italian's titular see of Tina for the bishopric of Neustadt, a city near Vienna ; and by an imperial rescript of March 20, 1691, the now German bishop was empowered to treat with Protestant communities or individuals on the matter of a restoration of the pristine unity of faith in the fatherland. Spinola immediately proceeded to Hanover, where the Lutherans were especially desirous of reunion, and where Duke Ernest-Augustus had openly avowed his sympathy with that aspiration, although his ambition to succeed Queen Anne on the English throne prevented him from imitating his brother, John Frederick, who had, many years ago, made his abjuration. At this period the ablest man among the Lutherans was Gerard Van der Meulen, now better known by the Latin form of his name, Molanus, who was director of the consistorial churches of Hanover. Just as conciliatory as Spinola, he was naturally chosen by Duke Ernest-Augustus to confer with the quasi-official representative of German Catholicism.

After seven months of conference, Molanus submitted to Spinola, in the name of all the Lutheran clergy of Hanover, a project for reunion which the Catholic champion found to be inadmissible; but since its tone appeared to evince a certain amount of respect for the decrees of Trent, Spinola deemed it prudent to consult the first controversialist of the age, Bossuet, before he either rejected the overture or drew its author's attention to its defects. A distinguished German princess, then resident in France, had already expressed a desire that the Eagle of Meaux should be associated in a work which tended toward the conversion of her countrymen to the true faith. The celebrated abbey of Maubuisson at Pontoise had for its abbess at this time the princess Louise-Hollandine, called "the princess-palatine," because she was a daughter of that unfortunate palatine whom we, when treating of the Thirty Years' War, have seen losing both his hereditary Palatinate of the Rhine and the throne of Bohemia which he had usurped (1). When the battle of Prague had ruined her father's hopes, he took up his residence in Holland. In time his daughter began to study the doctrines of that Church which she had been taught to regard as Anti-christ; and her duty becoming plain to her, and knowing that flight from her parents could alone enable her to fulfil it, she secretly took her departure, leaving in her apartment this little note: "I am leaving for France, there to become a Catholic and a nun." Having made her abjuration on Jan. 25, 1658, she took the Cistercian habit at Maubuisson, and made her profession in 1660. A few years afterward Louis XIV. made her abbess of her community. At the time of which we are treating there resided at the abbey that Mme. de Brinon who had assisted Mme. de Maintenon in the establishment of Saint-Cyr; and through the medium of this lady the abbess Louise held continual correspondence with her German relations, in the hope of bringing them eventually into the Fold of Christ. Chief among these wandering sheep was the sister of the abbess, Sophia, the wife of the duke of Hanover, whose son was destined to ascend the

(1) The reader will remember that the palatine had married the princess Elizabeth of England, daughter of James I., and that therefore the princess Louise-Hollandine was that monarch's grand-daughter.

usurped throne of the Stuarts as George I. Mme. de Brinon had already established relations between the historiographer, Pellisson, and Leibnitz; and by their means she was enabled to forward to the duchess of Hanover many of the religious works which appeared in France, and to keep up a confidential correspondence with her. When the abbess learned that Spinola and Molanus were engaged in an attempt to undo the fell work of the Reformation in Germany, she wrote to her sister that it would be well to associate the greatest publicist of the day in what would necessarily be a task of great difficulty. Therefore shortly after Spinola had sent the project of Molanus to Bossuet, the latter received from Mme. de Brinon the letter which the duchess had sent to the abbess, begging that the good cause might have the aid of him whose works were the delight of Christian Europe. In this letter Sophia showed that well informed as she was, she knew no more about the schismatic churches of the East than do the immense majority of the Protestants of our day; and in his acknowledgment of the letter, sent to Mme. de Brinon, the bishop of Meaux took care to instruct her Highness as to the concessions "which the Church had made to the Greeks," as she had expressed the idea, and which she thought the Church might with propriety grant to the Lutherans. Bossuet began by informing the duchess that "she should know that while the Roman Church might relax somewhat, according to circumstances, in indifferent matters and in those of mere discipline, the same Church *would never yield in one point of defined doctrine, and especially not in any that had been defined by the Council of Trent.*" Then touching on the differences between the disciplines of the Western and the Eastern Patriarchates, Bossuet observed: "The Church has made no difficulty in allowing the use of marriage to the Eastern priests; and they themselves do not pretend to contract marriage after their ordination. All the oriental bishops are bound to celibacy, and hence their bishops are always taken from among the monks, who are vowed to celibacy. Nor is any difficulty made in regard to their use of leavened bread in the Eucharist; nor as to their communicating under both species. Their ancient customs

are not disturbed ; but you will never find that they have ever been received into the communion of the Catholic Church without an explicit profession of the dogmas on account of which the two Churches were separated, and which were defined conformably to our doctrine in the Councils of Lyons and Florence. These dogmas are the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son ; prayer for the dead ; the reception of sufficiently purified souls into heaven (before the Last Judgment) ; and the primacy of the Pope. . . . The Orient has always had certain customs which the West has not disapproved. . . . But the Lutherans and Calvinists have no right to change the customs of the entire West. Such changes can be effected only by the consent and authority of the head of the Church ; for without subordination the Church would be an anomalous assemblage in which each member, by doing whatever he wished to do, would disturb the harmony of the entire body. Of course the Lutherans may receive certain concessions which they earnestly request, such as the Communion under both species ; and certain explanations as to certain doctrines might be adopted. But to pretend that there should be no capitulation (on the part of the heretics) in the matter of defined dogmas, and to say that the constitution of the Church would not suffer by such a concession, would be a subversion of the foundations of religion " (1). When the duchess of Hanover had read this frank explanation in which Bossuet showed that he would neither deceive nor be deceived, and that the matter in hand was very different from a political affair which might properly be a subject of compromise, she forwarded it to Molanus, who in turn communicated it to the theologians of Hanover. The loyalty and firmness of Bossuet were not displeasing to Molanus ; and he soon replied with a treatise entitled his *Private Sentiments Concerning a Means for Reuniting the Protestant Churches with the Roman Catholic Church* (2), a work which evinces clearly the intimate

(1) Letter to Mme. de Brinon, Sept. 29, 1691, in the *Works* of Bossuet, vol. viii., p. 657. Edition Chalandre, Besançon, 1846.

(2) *Cogitationes Privatae de Methodo Reunionis Ecclesiae Protestantium cum Ecclesia Romana Catholica*. Both the original Latin and the French translation are given in the *Works* of Bossuet, *ubi supra*, p. 523.

conviction of this candid Lutheran that the early Reformers had abused the credulity of the German masses in order to withdraw them from the Roman communion. So evident is this disposition of Molanus, that it is morally certain that, as Bausset believes, if Leibnitz had not interfered in the controversy, the great Lutheran theologian and Bossuet would have soon agreed on every point of doctrine (1).

Bossuet spent three months in reflection on the propositions of Molanus before he transmitted his reply to his friendly adversary, and a less scholastic version of it in French to the princes and princesses of the House of Hanover, who would scarcely have understood the forms and phraseology of the schools. The nature of our work warns us not to enter on an analysis of writings which are purely theological in their scope and in their method; if the reader needs an intimate knowledge of the details of all the controversial reasonings which were emitted during the course of this attempt at Christian reunion, he may consult the *Works* of Bossuet, and Cardinal Bausset's *History* of the great prelate. In regard, however, to the disciplinary demands of Molanus and his fellow-theologians of Hanover, which enter more naturally into our province as historian, we may be allowed to record the opinions of one who would have manifested the spirit of conciliation even unto its last logical development. Having admitted that the repugnance of the Lutherans to a formal retraction might be considered, and that it might be sufficient for them to recognize the truth by a formal declaration, Bossuet says that when this declaration would have been made, the Supreme Pontiff *might* be disposed to hearken to the disciplinary requests of the Protestants, and to grant to them the following concessions: "I. In places where there are only Lutherans, and where there is no Catholic bishop, the Lutheran superintendents who will have subscribed the Formula of Faith, and who will have brought into the fold the people who recognize them, may be consecrated bishops; and similarly the Lutheran ministers may be ordained priests and appointed as pastors. II. In other places the superintendents and other ministers may be raised

(1) *History of Bossuet*, bk. xii., § 6.

to the priesthood under the authority of the bishops, with such distinctions and subordinations as may be prescribed.

III. To all the newly established bishops and priests there might be assigned revenues from proper sources ; and consciences would not be disturbed because of the present possession of ecclesiastical property. However, I would make an exception to this latter provision in the case of hospitals ; for it seems to me that there can be no dispensation from the obligation of restoring to the poor all that has been taken from them.

IV. If there are now among the followers of the Confession of Augsburg any persons whose episcopal consecration or sacerdotal ordination shall have been found to have been real and valid, they may be left in their present places if they subscribe the Formula of Faith ; and the same consideration shall be shown to their priests.

V. Care must be taken to celebrate Mass on all solemn festivals with all possible propriety ; and as is customary, sermons or instructions will be given. In certain parts of the service, prayers and hymns in the vernacular may be introduced. Whatever is recited in Latin will be carefully explained to the people ; and according as the bishops may deem it advisable, translations of these Latin prayers, accompanied by explanations, may be circulated.

VI. The Holy Scriptures in the vernacular may be left in the hands of the people. Use may be made even of the version by Luther, because of the elegance which it is supposed to possess ; but it must be revised, and all that has been added to the text—such as the proposition that ‘faith alone justifies’—must be eliminated. The Bible, thus translated, may be read publicly whenever it is deemed appropriate to do so, and with befitting explanations. All notes which are redolent of the late revolt must be suppressed.

VII. All who wish to communicate must be exhorted to do so at the solemn service ; but even though there be no communicants, the Mass must not therefore be omitted.

VIII. Communion under both species may be given to all who have made their profession of faith ; but great care must be taken for the preservation of the reverence due to the Holy Sacrament.

IX. The newly established bishoprics and parishes will not be forced to institute convents of either

male or female religious ; but they should be urged to institute them. X. Everything smacking of superstition or of sordid gain shall be removed from the veneration of saints and of holy images ; this matter should be regulated according to the Tridentine decrees, the bishops exercising the authority which the Council gave to them in the premises. XI. The public prayers, the Missal, the Ritual, and the Breviaries will be corrected according to the usages in the churches of Paris, Rheims, Vienne, La Rochelle, and in other illustrious churches, as well as in the celebrated monastery of Cluny ; eliminating all doubtful, suspicious, and superstitious things, so that everything may be redolent of solid and ancient piety." These concessions were certainly liberal in the extreme, and there is no reason to suppose that they would not have been ratified by the Holy See. They may be of interest to that school of English Protestants who, in our day, have been dreaming of a " corporate reunion " with Rome. But there remained the delicate matter of a married clergy, on which the Lutherans quite naturally insisted. Bossuet remembered that while neither the Church nor the oriental schismatics allow a priest to marry, nevertheless the latter ordain men already married, and the Church tolerates in the Greek and other Eastern Uniates the ordination of married men and their use of marriage. Therefore the bishop of Meaux felt that he was justified in assuring Molanus that " The Lutheran superintendents and ministers who, having made their Profession of Faith, shall have been raised to the episcopate or the priesthood, may retain their wives (1) ; but when these clergymen die, they must be succeeded by persons of mature age, of approved regularity of morals, and vowed to celibacy " (2).

While Bossuet was awaiting the reply of Molanus and his associates to these propositions, Leibnitz, then at the height of his reputation as first among the *savants* of Germany,

(1) The reader will observe that Bossuet grants to the converted Lutherans who become bishops privileges which neither the Uniates nor the schismatics in the East accord to their prelates. In none of the oriental rites, whether among the separatists or among those in communion with Rome, is a married bishop known or imagined.

(2) "*Superintendentibus ac ministris in episcopos ac presbyteros ex hujusmodi pacti formula ordinatis, quandiu erunt superstites sua conjugia relinquuntur. Ubi decesserint, cælibes præficiantur, multa probatione, ætate matura.*"

(and admired even in Italy and France, since he wrote his more important works either in French or in Latin), aspired to break theological lances with one whom many regarded as the latest Father of the Church. Influenced by the later conduct of Leibnitz in this affair, some writers have doubted as to his sincerity in relegating Molanus to the background in order to present himself as the Protestant leader in the movement for reunion. But if Leibnitz was not sincere, at least in the beginning of his relation with Bossuet, his sole motive must have been the acquisition of more glory by an association of his name with that of the great controversialist; and that motive could not have actuated him, since it was understood that the negotiations were to remain secret, and since, in fact, they were not made public until fifty years after his death. The first move of Leibnitz in this important matter was a letter to Mme. de Brinon, informing her that he agreed with Bossuet in his declaration that the project submitted by Molanus to Spinola was not sufficient; that said project, however, was useful, by way of a beginning; that Rome would never yield one particle in matters of defined doctrine, and that any compromise in such matters was out of the question; that the Tridentine doctrinal decrees were received in France, as in every other land of Catholic Christendom; and that satisfaction could be given to Protestants only in reference to certain explanations, and in regard to certain points in discipline. Such admissions might have led one less perspicacious than Bossuet to regard his cause as gained, in so far as Leibnitz himself was concerned; and even Bossuet felt that he might say to his adversary: "If you do really agree with the propositions mentioned in your letter, then, Monsieur, you cannot remain much longer in your present religious condition" (1). But the Eagle of Meaux had noticed that Leibnitz, with more subtlety than accuracy, had pretended that in following the Tridentine doctrines, France had not accepted them because of the Conciliar definition, and that she had never declared that the Council of Trent was veritably œcumenical. Therefore Bossuet immediately asked Leibnitz to reply

(1) Letter of Bossuet to Leibnitz Jan. 10, 1692.

to the following questions : " Can you doubt that the Tridentine decrees were received by all the Catholics of France and Germany, in all that regards faith, as much as they were received in Italy or Spain ; and have you ever heard of one Catholic who thought himself free to reject the faith declared by the Council of Trent ? Do you believe that in any of the points which the Council of Trent defined against Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and against the Confessions of Augsburg, Strasburg, and Geneva, the Council did anything else than propose for the acceptance of the faithful those doctrines which had been believed when Luther began his rebellion ? " Replying to these questions, Leibnitz said that " they seemed to be difficult of solution. " In regard to his opinion as to whether the Tridentine decrees were received in France and Germany just as they were received in Italy and Spain, he said : " I might adduce the opinion of certain Italian and Spanish doctors who reprove the French for deviating, in certain points, from the teachings of this Council ; but leaving that matter aside, I answer as I have already answered, that even though the entire Tridentine teaching were received in France, it would not follow that therefore the French received it as coming from an Œcumenical Council. " The reader who has accompanied us in our reflections on the customary Protestant objections against the œcumenicity of the Council of Trent (1), will probably doubt the sincerity of Leibnitz at the moment when he emitted this would-be subtle, but flimsy argumentation. Passing to the question whether what was defined at Trent had been regarded as Catholic doctrine before the Lutheran ebullitions, Leibnitz avers that this point admits of much discussion ; " but even though it be granted that the Tridentine decisions had already been held by common opinion to be veritable, it by no means follows that (the doctrines confirmed by) these decisions had always passed for matters of faith. "

While corresponding with Pirot, a celebrated doctor of the Sorbonne, Leibnitz had advanced his opinion that the Council of Trent was not œcumenical ; and Pirot having refuted his arguments, he had composed a memorial in further

(1) Vol. III., p. 524, *et seqq.*

defense of his position—a treatise which leads Bausset to opine that the German scholar might have become a grand theologian, if he had devoted himself exclusively to the “science of sciences.” Now that he was engaged in debate with the foremost champion of Catholicism, Leibnitz availed himself of this composition, forwarding it to Bossuet as his main reliance. All of the arguments which he advanced were as old as Protestantism itself; and we have refuted them all when treating of the earlier General Councils. It is remarkable that in their presentation Leibnitz separated himself far from those Lutheran theologians whose champion he had constituted himself. In their first project, submitted to Spinoza, the ministers of Hanover had enunciated views on conciliar oecumenicity which Leibnitz explicitly contradicted in his *Memorial*. Thus, for the legitimacy of a General Council they had declared: “No conditions should be demanded, other than those demanded hitherto by the Church, and which are found to have been observed by the first four General Councils. . . . No attention need to be paid to the number of the synodals, or to their nationality. Since all the bishops ought to be convoked, it appears evident that no one should insist that there should be such or such a number of bishops of such or such a nationality; that certain bishops should be preferred to others; that the bishops of each nation should be admitted in equal number, and that some legitimate bishops should be excluded in order to arrive at that equality. . . . The decrees published by the president, with the consent of the greater part of the assembled fathers, have always been regarded as definitions of the entire Council.” Certainly it is strange that these Lutheran theologians, like the Catholic theologian, Bossuet, should have shown more of a spirit of conciliation during this entire negotiation, than was evinced by Leibnitz, whose moderation was generally his chief characteristic. And in his reply to Bossuet’s refutation of his *Memorial*, we cannot avoid discerning, with Bausset, “a kind of hesitation and embarrassment which indicate the futile efforts of a man of great intelligence who tries to resist the ascendancy of a man of genius.” He merely reiterates the objections which he has presented, and

with greater force, in his previous papers. Again he urges the fact that at the first abjuration of Henry IV. at Saint-Denis, the bishops said nothing about the Council of Trent in the Profession of Faith which they tendered for the monarch's subscription. The German disputant knew well that the entire doctrine of the Council was expressed in that Profession, even though the name of the assembly was not mentioned. He harps again on the frequent protests of French ambassadors at different times against the Council; although he knew that those protests had no connection with the Conciliar definitions on doctrine. He dwells again on the fact that the French government has not yet formally received the Tridentine decrees; although he has read innumerable authentic documents which show him that this non-acceptation has been due to the incompatibility of certain of the Conciliar disciplinary decrees with the laws and customs of the kingdom. In only one instance, in this reply to Bossuet (June, 1693), does Leibnitz manifest good faith. He speaks of the leniency shown by the Council of Basel to the Bohemians in the matter of the chalice, and of the promise of the Baseleans to listen to the Bohemian expostulations concerning the Council of Constance; and he urges these condescensions as proofs that Rome might allow the Lutherans to ignore the Tridentine decrees, at least for the present. Bossuet had already done justice to this suggestion when it was offered by Molanus. "It is true," said he (1), "that the Bohemians were received into communion, although they were still hesitating in regard to an article decided by the Council of Constance; but they submitted to a Council actually assembled, and unlike the Lutherans of to-day, they did not appeal to a Council yet to be convoked, and which a thousand obstacles might indefinitely postpone. . . . The Bohemians did not demand that their priests should be seated as judges along with the bishops, as the Protestants demand when they insist that no Council is legitimate unless the contending parties are all equally judges, thus preventing all ecclesiastical decisions, and doing away with the last remedy for schism or heresy. . . . Although the Council of Basel

(1) *Reflections on the Pamphlet of Molanus*, pt. II., ch. 8, no. 2.

condescended to say nothing about the Council of Constance to the Bohemians, the latter submitted to that Council when they bowed to the authority of the Baselean assembly; for the Church was in session at Basel merely by virtue of the decree of the Council of Constance (1). But the Protestants, on the contrary, when they ask for a suspension of the decrees of Trent, demand a suspension of all the Councils which have been held during the last thousand years; for nearly all the errors professed by the Protestants were condemned, not only by the Council of Trent, but by the preceding assemblies during those thousand years. In other words, the Protestants would have us suppose that during the last thousand years there has been no true Church."

After a silence of five years, probably intentional on the part of Bossuet, who had tired of answering the same objections again and again, Leibnitz endeavored to re-open the controversy. On Dec. 11, 1699, he wrote to Bossuet, asking for information as to the principles admitted by Rome in order to distinguish matters of faith from matters which are abandoned to the disputes of men. When this desire had been satisfied, he treated Bossuet to an attack on the decree of the Council of Trent affixing the note of canonicity to certain books of the Scriptures which were not numbered in the Hebrew Canon, and which many churches, during the first centuries of the Christian era, had rejected. Bossuet replied with what is probably the most erudite and most complete dissertation on the subject that has yet been written. He demonstrated that the books of *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *The Macchabees*, *Judith*, *Tobias*, and a few others, were not new books when Christianity was founded; that the Council of Trent, which placed them in the Canon, had found that they had been regarded as canonical in the fourth century, the century most distinguished for ecclesiastical science; that Pope Innocent I., in 405, and Pope Gelasius, his successor, at the head of a Roman Council, had consecrated this tradition; that from that time the Roman Church had never varied in the matter; that the entire West had imitated the Mother Church,

(1) The reader will notice that Bossuet, in accordance with the Gallican theory of his day, regarded the Council of Basel as œcumenical. See our vol. iii., p. 120.

and that many of the Eastern Fathers had been of the same opinion. If certain churches, explained Bossuet, have not admitted the books in question into their Canon, it was because they wished to copy that of the Hebrews, and to use, in argument, only such books as were not contested by either Jew or Christian. To the Protestant objection that the tradition concerning the inspiration of these books ought to be universal, in order to demand acquiescence, Bossuet replied that the Protestants themselves should try to solve it, since it affected them as much as it affected the Catholics. They admitted the *Epistle to the Hebrews* and the *Apocalypse*, both of which were contested by many. This letter of Bossuet, dated Aug. 17, 1701, closed the momentous correspondence, in the earlier stages of which Leibnitz had apparently given evidence of the sincerity of the many Catholic sentiments with which he had already startled his fellow-religionists. There is no need of wide speculation in an effort to discover the reason of his change of mind. When Leibnitz took the place of Molanus, the House of Hanover, to which he was entirely devoted, was apparently not destined to other glory than that which surrounds the sceptre of a fifth-rate principality; its ultimate claims to the throne of England, brought into light by the dethronement of James II. in 1688, were as yet far off in a long perspective. Queen Anne then had a son, and gave every promise of a numerous progeny. Not much sacrifice of temporal grandeur, therefore, would have then attended an abandonment of Protestantism by the princes of Brunswick; and Leibnitz cheerfully yielded to the commands of his reason, and perhaps to the dictates of his heart. But nine years after he had entered into relations with Bossuet, the duke of Gloucester, the last surviving child of Queen Anne (1), was the sole barrier between the Hanoverian Guelphs and the British throne; and then the conciliatory tone of Leibnitz's letters to Bossuet began to diminish. In a few months, Gloucester died; and the English parliament declared the succession devolved on the Protestant grand-daughter of James I., the duchess Sophia of Han-

(1) Anne had seventeen children by her husband, George of Denmark; but nearly all were prematurely born, or still-born.

over, and the heirs of her body. From that day Leibnitz wrote no more to Bossuet. It is only when we turn our gaze on the Court of St. James's, and on the modest palace of the elector of Hanover, that we can understand how the project instituted by Spinola and Molanus, and encouraged by the best minds among the Lutherans of Hanover, was finally rendered abortive by a man who seldom spoke of the Holy See otherwise than respectfully, and who often showed himself willing to place the Roman Pontiff on an eminence which many Catholic sovereigns would not have accorded to him. In fact, so long as Leibnitz acted the philosopher, he tried to undo the work of Luther; when he collapsed into the German courtier-theologian, he combated Christian unity. We may understand how much the negotiations of Leibnitz with Bossuet were affected by the former's care for the temporal aggrandizement of the House of Hanover, if we pay some attention to that decision of the Lutheran University of Helmstadt on the marriage of a Protestant princess to a Catholic prince, which so agitated the minds of English and German Protestants in the year 1707.

The courts of Vienna and Hanover having agreed on a marriage between the archduke, Charles of Austria (afterward emperor as Charles VI.), and a princess of the family of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel, the Lutheran University of Helmstadt was asked "whether a Protestant princess, about to marry a Catholic prince, could conscientiously become a Catholic?" On April 28, 1707, the doctors of Helmstadt issued the following declaration, supposed to have been framed by the erudite Fabricius, then a professor in that Faculty: "We are convinced that Catholics agree with Protestants, and that any dispute they may have with each other is merely one of words. The fundamentals of religion subsist in the Roman Catholic Church; and hence one may be orthodox in it, live well in it, die well in it, and obtain salvation in it. Therefore, in view of her marriage, the most serene princess of Wolfenbützel may embrace the Catholic religion." When Leibnitz read this pronouncement, he affected astonishment, as though he himself had not frequently uttered worse inconsistencies in the matter of the relations

of Protestantism with the ancient Church; and he wrote to the enterprising Fabricius several denunciatory letters which, as Bausset judiciously remarks, might have been used by Bossuet in his *History of the Variations of Protestantism*, had they been written when that work was being produced. In Sept., 1708, Leibnitz tells Fabricius that Basnage has written to him, asking whether the dons of Helmstadt really pronounced the judgment attributed to them, and insisting that Protestants should not be forced to bear the fatal consequences of such a decision. Then Leibnitz adds that he is about to inform Basnage that Fabricius and all the other professors of Helmstadt disavow the declaration; but that he will not send the letter until he has heard from Fabricius. And he warns his friend that the decision has caused great displeasure in England. But in vain did Leibnitz propose to Fabricius a plain stultification of himself; the declaration was known as the work of the Faculty of Helmstadt by men who could not be deceived. However, the dons tried to attenuate the force of their decision. Their effort, said Leibnitz to Fabricius on Sept. 17, was not sufficiently explicit; "it showed what they did not think, but not what they thought," and Fabricius should know that "several English bishops, devoted to the House of Hanover, had declared that the expectations of that House to ascend to the throne of England—expectations recently justified—*would be destroyed by the toleration and indulgence which the University of Helmstadt was extending to the Catholic Church.*" Five days afterward, Leibnitz showed that he was reconciled to the admission of the authenticity of the declaration; but he asked for the suppression of the second clause, which allowed the Brunswickian princess to become a Catholic. "Since the dethronement of James II., a great revolution has occurred in the teachings of English theologians. The bishops of England no longer entertain the olden ideas concerning episcopacy; they are by no means so far from Presbyterianism as they once were. So great is the flow and reflow of opinions, that they almost ridicule the episcopacy of the archbishop of Canterbury" (1). On

(1) "*Apud Anglos theologos magna facta est rerum conversio ab expulsiōe Jacobi II. Ipsi episcopi plerique hodie non admodum episcopales habentur; a presby-*

Oct. 8, Leibnitz writes that the enemies of the House of Hanover are circulating the declaration of Helmstadt throughout England, in order to prevent the succession of that family to the throne; and on Oct. 15 he says that the explanation furnished by Fabricius does not satisfy the archbishop of Canterbury, "because it does not state that the authors of the declaration abhor Popery." He adds that "*the claims of the House of Hanover to the British throne are founded solely on the hatred and exclusion of the Roman Church; and therefore they should carefully avoid anything which might indicate that they were at all tepid in that matter*" (1).

We have favored the idea that Leibnitz, in the first stage of his controversy with Bossuet, was sincerely desirous of furthering a submission of the German Protestants to Catholic authority; but we are by no means certain that he ever regarded visible communion with the Holy See as necessary, or that he was really Catholic at heart. While he was arguing with Bossuet, the newly converted landgrave, Ernest of Hesse-Rheinfels, frequently urged him to become a Catholic; and he always replied that he was "in the *interior* communion of the Church, like a person who has been unjustly excommunicated." He also contended that it was through no fault of his that he did not join the *exterior* communion of the Church, but rather the fault of his philosophical opinions, "of which he was convinced, and which he could not abandon." And he naively observed: "If I were in the Catholic Church, and the Holy Sacrament were refused to me because of these opinions, I would leave the Church. I think of the adage, '*Turpius ejicitur quam non admittitur hospes*—it is more disgraceful to be put out of the house, than it is to be kept from entering.'" In a letter to Mme. de Brinon he contends: "It is not essential to Catholicity to communicate exteriorly with Rome; the true and essential communion is charity, which makes us part of the Body of Jesus Christ." In practice, Leibnitz was neither

terianorum sententis multo minus quam olim recedunt. Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis episcopatus pene per ironiam in proverbium abiit; adeo quidem est sententiarum fluxus et refluxus."

(1) "OMNE NOSTRUM IN BRITANNIAM JUS IN RELIGIONIS ROMANÆ EXCLUSIONE ODIQUE FUNDATUM EST. ITAQUE MERITO FUGIENDA SUNT, QUIBUS IN ROMANENSES TEPIDI VIDEREMUR."

Protestant nor Catholic during the most intellectual part of his life. During his last twenty years he never approached the Lord's Supper, as he had hitherto done; and he did not even enter a Protestant house of worship. When dying, his servants asked him whether he did not wish for ministerial assistance, and he replied: "Let me rest; I have never injured anyone." He was buried without any religious ceremonies. Both Catholics and Protestants have exhibited his writings as proofs of his having been with them in religious belief; and both Catholics and Protestants have been mistaken in their judgments. One may cite passages from Leibnitz, the ultra Protestantism of which would befit the most audacious ranter who ever delights a besottedly ignorant audience; and other passages may be adduced in apparent proof that the writer understood and appreciated the Church as vividly and heartily as did Bossuet himself. As an illustration of the thoroughly Protestant ability of Leibnitz to travesty ecclesiastical history, and to misinterpret the Canons of the Church, we submit his reply to Baronio, as that annalist observes that the deposition of Pope John XII. by the German Otho I. was illegal, "since a superior cannot be judged by an inferior" (1). Leibnitz contends that "these words, uttered by flattery and ignorance," were refused, long ago, by men of the Roman communion who place a Council above the Pope. He says that bishops are not subordinate to the Pontiff by any divine law, and that the Pope himself styles the bishops his brothers. He holds that the Pope's jurisdiction, in the minds of all the princes and peoples in the Holy Roman Empire, ceased when (like John XII.) he became a wolf; and that then he was subject to the judgment of the "Emperor of the Romans." After this mixture of courtier-theologism with an affected ignorance of history, Leibnitz groans as follows: "Grieving because Rome, by her measures or by her negligence, inflicted such damage on the purity of divine worship; because she rendered Christianity contemptible or ridiculous by schisms which she fomented; because, under favor of the barbarism of the time, she introduced an unreasonable theology which was

(1) For the history of this pretended deposition, see our vol. II., ch. 8.

unknown to the Apostles of Christ; nevertheless, I have always yearned for the authority of the first episcopal see, and for the restoration of the ancient form of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, under the condition with which Melancthon signed the Articles of Smalkald—that is, that the Popes should give to the Gospel the place that it ought to occupy. Why should there not arise, after Charlemagne (*sic*) and Otho, a *third* grand *Germanic* emperor, who would make Rome Catholic and Apostolic?” But listen to the following judgment on the tenth century: “Then the Pope was regarded as the representative on earth, not of God, but of Peter. Then the dream of the Pope’s infallibility was unknown. Then the authority of the Church was not founded in blood. Then the Sacrament of the Altar was not exposed for public adoration; it was not carried in procession; and it was not mutilated by depriving the people of the chalice. Then the ancient form of Baptism was still used; the bishops of Germany taught in the temples, as of old; the canons lived in community; and each cathedral or important Church had its flourishing school, under the management of eminent men. But all this disappeared when the bishops of Rome seized the domination of the Church; when their emissaries, the mendicant monks, became masters of the schools. Then ridiculous subtleties took the place of reasonable doctrines; an insensate cruelty raged against religious opinions with fire and sword; and Germany, thanks to the intrigues of the clergy, remained without a head, and permanent discords tore her bosom” (1). These ravings certainly seem to justify Pertz in his opinion that “There can be no doubt concerning the faith of Leibnitz. He was a Catholic like Luther and Melancthon, like the entire Protestant Church.” But on the other hand, there are innumerable passages in the works of Leibnitz which are distinctively Catholic. He defends the use of apostolic tradition; he places revelation above reason; he rejects the “free will a slave” of Luther, and the absolute predestination of Calvin; he admits the necessity of good works, insisting, in his *Theodicea*: “Without beneficence, without devotion to our neighbor, there is

(1) *Annals of the Dominion of Brunswick.*

no salvation." And he holds that "He is a Catholic who is in communion with the Apostolic See, and who is a part of the Christian Church; a heretic is outside the Catholic Church, separated from Jesus Christ, and there is no salvation for him." He says that he has "not tears enough to shed on account of the unfortunate schism of Luther"; and in 1691 he writes to Mme. de Brinon: "You are right when you regard me as a Catholic at heart; I am one even openly." He writes to the landgrave Ernest: "The visible Catholic Church, through a special assistance of the Holy Ghost which was promised to her, is infallible in all the articles of faith which are necessary to salvation." His *System of Theology* is a plain exposition of Catholic doctrine (1). Even those philosophical opinions, which he alleged as restraining him from entering the Catholic fold, present nothing which Rome would be disposed to censure. What, then, must be our conclusion with regard to the religious belief of Leibnitz? We are disposed to agree with the Abbé Le Noir, who discerns in him the "mere philosopher, professing a theoretical Catholicism which is rather a universal religious syncretism than the Catholicism of the Church of Christ" (2). As for the opinion of many of his Protestant contemporaries, that Leibnitz believed only in the Natural Law, it was held only by men who were chagrined because of the philosopher's frequent leanings toward Catholicism. In all of his writings, even in his most familiar correspondence, the most hypercritical search will fail to discover any trace of disbelief in Divine Revelation. His principal work, the *Theodicea: or Essays on the Goodness of God, the Liberty of Man, and the Origin of Evil*, shows by its very title that it is a defense of revealed religion; and in it he glorifies Providence, and

(1) In 1803 the celebrated Sulpician, M. Emery, published a collection of passages drawn from the works of Leibnitz, and entitled *Thoughts on Religion and Morality*, which proved plainly that the philosopher was a zealous defender of the great principles of religion. Some years after the publication of these *Thoughts*, M. Emery learned that there was in the Library of Hanover a manuscript of an as yet unedited work by their author. With much difficulty M. Emery procured the manuscript, and passed the winter preceding his death in collating the text with the numerous additions and corrections with which Leibnitz had complicated it. Death having interfered with a labor which the venerable Sulpician deemed conducive to the interests of religion, his comrades finished it, and in 1818 it appeared under the title of the *System of Theology* of Leibnitz.

(2) *The Dictionary of Bergier, Adapted to the Intellectual Movement of the First Half of the Nineteenth Century.* Art. Leibnitz. Paris, 1856.

devotes most of his energies to a refutation of Bayle, who revived the Manichean ideas on the origin of evil.

CHAPTER XVII.

FEBRONIANISM.

Among the German Catholic clergy of the eighteenth century, many had devoted far more attention to the works of Sarpi and Van Espen, than they had paid to books and principles authorized by the Church. Consequently they believed, or affected to believe, that the Church was in a state of desolation; that its government was vicious, its laws tyrannical, its usages superstitious, its discipline unbearable, and even its doctrine more or less corrupted. If they could be allowed to reconstruct the edifice of Catholicism, then indeed the "halcyon days" of the early Christians (which never existed) would return. These would-be innovators, who wanted only a little courage to become as dangerous as the Jansenists; who needed only more consistency to become more powerful than the Gallicans; who were all, to a man, courtier-theologians; would have despoiled the central authority at Rome of all its divinely-accorded prerogatives. Not only would they, of course in the interests of the German empire, have deprived the Pontiff of his secular dominion over the Patrimony of St. Peter; but they would have reduced to nothing the spiritual power of the Holy See, since they copied all the errors of Protestantism in the matter of ecclesiastical authority. This school of theologians and canonists was greatly elated, when, in 1763, there appeared in Brussels a *Book of Justin Febronius on the Present Condition of the Church* (1), which proved to be the fullest and clearest exposition of its notions that had yet been read. It was soon learned that under the name "Febronius" was concealed the identity of John Nicholas von Hontheim, titu-

(1) The first edition was a quarto of 656 pages, with three dissertations by Barthel in an appendix. Barthel had been educated in Rome, under the guidance of Lambertini, afterward Pope Benedict XIV.; and Hontheim termed him "the prince of German canonists." The second edition of *Febronius* appeared in 1765, with 120 additional pages, and four new appendixes.

lar bishop of Myriophitos, and auxiliary of the elector of Treves (1). Hontheim affected to regard the Church as a kind of republic, over which the Pope had usurped the power which he then exercised. Authority over this republic, said he, belongs to the entire body of the Church, which delegates its exercise to the pastors. He recognized in the Supreme Pontiff scarcely any prerogatives which every bishop does not possess. As to the Church, Hontheim showed himself a veritable successor of the German courtier-theologians of the Hohenstaufen times; he would have made the Church, even in spirituals, the slave of the civil power. He hurled the most bitter invectives against all who opposed his theses, invectives which were almost as strong as those which he emitted against the alleged vices of the court of Rome; but not always could his partisans discover the course which he would wish them to pursue, so flagrant were his frequent contradictions. Thus, sometimes he plainly accorded to the Roman Pontiff a primacy of jurisdiction; and sometimes he recognized in General Councils the sole right of judging as to matters of faith, whereas elsewhere he had discerned that right in the dispersed Church. Equally contradictory were his views concerning the Council of Trent, the Bull *Unigenitus*, Paolo Sarpi, etc. Shortly after the appearance of *Febronius*, Germany resounded with the acclamations of so-called Catholics, hailing the book as the most solid and profound of modern times; but just as many pronounced it a mere repetition of the declamations of the first "Reformers," varied by some extracts from the later innovators beyond the Rhine. The work was condemned by Pope Clement XIII. on March 14, 1764, in a Brief addressed to Prince Clement of Saxony, bishop of Ratisbon; but the Febronians, for the most part, ignored the decision, although it was formally published by the archbishop of Cologne, and by the bishops of Constance, Augsburg, Liège, and other ordinaries.

The first attack on *Febronius* was made by a Lutheran, Frederick Bahrdt, in a dissertation which appeared in Leipzig very soon after Hontheim had entered into the arena. In

(1) Hontheim had adopted the pen-name of "Febronius," out of affection for his niece, a religious, whose conventual name was Febronla.

1764 the celebrated French Augustinian, Eusebius Amort, published a lengthy refutation ; as did also a Jesuit of Heidelberg, Joseph Kleiner. In 1765, Trautwein, a canon-regular of Augsburg, issued a voluminous defense of the Papal prerogatives, upholding them especially in spite of Hontheim's assertion that they depended on the genuineness of the Isidorian Decretals (1) ; and also in 1765, the University of Cologne published an academical treatise against the innovator. In Italy, the Dominicans of St. Mark's in Florence, and Sangallo of the Minor C^{on}ventuals of Venice, published apposite dissertations in 1766. But none of the works directed against *Febronius* in any country were so successful as Peter Ballerini's disquisition on the Primacy, which had been published at Verona in 1730, and written in refutation of Bossuet's *Defense of the Declaration of 1682* ; it required considerable audacity on the part of Hontheim to attempt an advocacy of principles, the absurdity of which Ballerini had so lucidly demonstrated. In 1767 appeared what is probably the most exhaustive, and at the same time the most concise and trenchant refutation of *Febronius* that has ever been written—the *Anti-Febronio* of the Venetian Jesuit, Francis Anthony Zaccaria. The possessor of the work of Ballerini and of that of Zaccaria will be equipped for a defense of the *vis ac ratio* of the Papal Primacy, as he could be equipped by no other weapons.

If we are to credit Hontheim, his object in writing his famous work was a furtherance of unity in Christendom, and especially the conversion of Protestants : " Every honest man should be zealous for the glory of the Spouse of Christ, and labor for the reunion of Christians " (2). " How I would rejoice, if God were to deign to bless this, my pure intention ! " (3). This much desired union he proposed to effect by a restriction of the Papal authority ; by a reformation of the abuses of the Roman Church ; and by a General Council of all Christians, to the decisions of which the Roman Pontiff would respectfully bow. When he presented the first means for a reunion, Hontheim closed his eyes to the

(1) For this question of the Isidorian Decretals, see our vol. ii., ch. 6.

(2) In *Addendis*, p. 624.

(3) In Preface, at end.

stubborn fact that most Protestants refused to recognize in the Holy See even that "primacy of direction" which he was willing to accord. As Bossuet observed: "Any superiority whatever of the Roman Pontiff was the object of Luther's most bitter aversion; from the day when the Pope condemned him, he spurned all reconciliation with Rome, and he forced Melancthon to sign a document wherein the entire body of Reformers was represented as protesting: 'We will never admit that the Pope has any power over the other bishops'" (1); and nearly all the Protestants of the eighteenth century, like those of to-day, agreed with Luther at least in that matter. And how could Hontheim hope that Catholics would become Protestants, as they certainly would become, if they abandoned the idea of a "primacy of jurisdiction," which is an immutable article of Catholic faith? As for the second means proposed by Hontheim, a reformation of the abuses in the Roman Church, it is certain that although this would-be innovator declared that "only a blind man would not see that the Catholic Church was full of abuses" (2), he did not mention any which the Council of Trent had not eradicated. As for the third means, a convocation of a General Council which would dictate to the Roman Pontiff, Hontheim knew well that an assembly so presumptuous would not be a General Council, since no Council ever has been regarded as œcumenical until it received the approbation of the Pontiff, and no Pope would approve dictation to himself, the Head of the Church.

In his anxiety to obtain some respectable support for his subversive theories, Hontheim claims the friendship of the Gallicans; he would have the Germans believe that his doctrines accord with the maxims of that glorious Church, one of whose first bishops, St. Irenæus, proclaimed "the greater principality" of the Chair of Peter, and which, to use the words of Pope Gregory IX., "has ever excelled all others in devotion to the Apostolic See" (3). Speaking of his own theories, Hontheim has the audacity to pretend that "The French, and those who think correctly outside of France, are of this opinion; and they proclaim the liberties of the Univer-

(1) *History of the Variations of Protestantism*, bk. iv., no. 39.

(2) Chap. vi., § 14.

(3) Letter to the Chapters of the Four Provinces, in Rinaldi.

sal Church, trying to free her from unwarranted slavery" (1). He calls upon "all nations to imitate the French in this matter" (2); and he urges "the Germans especially to adopt the sound principles of the French" (3). He insists that the "Gallican liberties" are really a "portion of the ancient liberty, which the French have known how to preserve, in spite of the innovations and insults of the *Curia Romana*" (4). All the champions of Gallicanism would have spurned an alliance with Febronianism as an insult to the Eldest Daughter of the Church. In the first place, the fundamental maxim of Hontheim is that the government of the Church is not monarchical; while the Gallicans held that it is monarchical. The great Gerson, upon whom Hontheim exultantly calls whenever it suits him to do so, says: "The Papacy was supernaturally and immediately instituted by Christ, having in the ecclesiastical hierarchy a monarchical and regal primacy" (5). In 1441 there appeared in the Council of Florence a French embassy; and its chief, the bishop of Meaux, there repudiated, in the name of King Charles VII. and of the recent Council of Bruges, the attempt of the synodals of Basel to change the monarchy of the Church into an aristocracy or a democracy (6). When Marcantonio de Dominis pretended that the Faculty of Paris held his views as to the aristocratical nature of the government of the Church, that Faculty, in 1617, denounced the assertion as a calumny. Another *toto cælo* difference between the Gallican maxims and those of "Febronius" is found in the latter's assertion that the primacy of the Roman Pontiff is, *de jure*, one of mere direction, not of jurisdiction. Hontheim wonders that the bishops are as tolerant of the papal demands for their obedience, "as though they were mere plebeians" (7); and he ridicules

(1) Ch. viii., § 9, no. 5.

(2) *Ibi*, no. 6.

(3) Ch. ix., § 6, no. 8.

(4) Second Edition, p. 679.

(5) *Ecclesiastical States*, Consid. I.

(6) "*Nimio fervore resistendi Basilcenses ad hanc vesantiam deveniunt, quod supremam potestatem in uno supposito consistere negent, sed eam in multitudine collocant, et sic pulcherrimam monarchiam Ecclesie quæ Christianos hucusque tenuit in unitate fidei, in una professione Religionis Christianæ, in uno ritu Sacramentorum, in una observantia Mandatorum, in tisdem ceremoniis divini cultus, atque pacem et tranquillitatem asseruit, nunc abolere et suppressere contendunt, nobilissimam politiam ad Democratiâ vel Aristocratiam redigentes.*"

(7) "*Ut quid toleratum est, ut hi, potestatis ecclesiasticæ a Deo acceptæ socii, et fidei conjudices, ita cum plebe confunderentur, ut ab illis, æque et ab hac Papa omnino-*

appeals from episcopal decisions to the Holy See. In 1683, one year after the celebrated Declaration of the Clergy, the parliament of Paris having requested from the Faculty of the Sorbonne a doctrinal definition on a proposition submitted to it, the well-qualified representative of Gallicanism expressly declared that the Pontiff exercises over the Universal Church a primacy, not only of honor, but of jurisdiction, which primacy the See of Peter received directly from Our Saviour (1); and ten years before the appearance of Hontheim's incendiary volume, the same Faculty renewed its declaration in the same identical phraseology. At the very time when Gallicanism was in its prime, the famous Le Tellier, archbishop of Rheims, than whom there never existed a more strenuous advocate of the fancied Gallican "liberties," proclaimed in the Assembly of the Clergy of 1681 that "he who denies the papal primacy of authority and jurisdiction is a schismatic, and even a heretic"; and the Assembly recorded in its register that the prelate had spoken *optime*. The great Bossuet, whom Hontheim would fain adduce as a defender of his vagaries, declares that *true obedience* is due to the Roman Pontiff; and he draws attention to the *Profession of Faith* prescribed by Pope Pius IV., in which this true obedience is numbered among the matters concerning which "there can be no controversy among Catholics" (2). A third difference between Gallicanism and Febronianism is found in the contention of the latter that the Pope is merely the "ministerial head" of the Church. Of course every Catholic will admit that this appellation is appropriate inasmuch as the Pope is a minister of Christ, and inasmuch as it is his duty to see that the laws of Christ are observed (3). But Hontheim holds that the Pope is "a mere instrument

dam obœdientiam exigat, quando revera in illos non obinet nisi jus inspectionis et vigilantie, quæ eorum caput, non monarchia?"—Ch. viii., § 9, no. 2.

(1) "Cum in ipsa propositione de Romano Pontifice sit sermo, cujus jura non modo illata esse ubique voluit Facultas, sed et quaque occasione data religiose venerata est, exposuit copiose, strenue defendit, antiquæ suæ in Sedem Apostolicam reverentiæ esse duxit, hic brevi ea de re præfari, diserteque repetere, quod olim non semel professa est, Romanum Episcopum esse jure divino summum in Ecclesia Pontificem, cui omnes Christiani parere teneantur, et qui immediate a Christo non honoris solum, sed potestatis ac jurisdictionis primatum habeat in tota Ecclesia."

(2) *Defense of the Declaration*, pt. 1., bk. 1, ch. 1.

(3) TOURNELEY: *The Church*, quest. v., art. 2, Edit. Venice, 1765.

of the Church" (1); that he cannot enact new laws, unless with the permission of the Church (2); that he can grant dispensations, only when the Church gives to him the necessary faculties (3). So much, in the mind of Hontheim, is the Pope a mere agent of the Church, that whenever it pleases the Church to do so, the primacy may be transferred to Paris, Vienna, or any other see (4). These insanities have never been broached by even the most extreme of Gallicans. A fourth difference between Gallicanism and Febronianism is evinced by Hontheim's insistence on the *absolute* necessity of General Councils. It is true that the few "appellant" bishops of France, whom we met during our consideration of the Bull *Unigenitus*, advanced this opinion; but no theologian or historian will contend that the "appellants" represented the French Church. Such Gallican luminaries as Duval (5), Juvenin (6), Tournely (7), Cardinal de Bissy (8), and the Faculty of Paris, assert the contrary of the Febronian proposition. In 1663, the parliament of Paris having condemned the proposition defended by Gabriel Drouet, that "although useful, General Councils are not absolutely necessary," it then ordered the Sorbonne to register the condemnation. But the Faculty refused obedience to the absurd command.

Febronianism soon became the fashion in Germany; and several of the Catholic Universities, not only in Germany, but also in the hereditary states of the House of Hapsburg, adopted its language, and frequently taught its doctrines. But in 1778 the auxiliary of Treves surprised his disciples by addressing a retractation to Pope Pius VI. We give a synopsis of this document, or rather of a *Commentary* on it, which Hontheim issued in 1781, as its perusal will enable the reader to appreciate at its true value the entire system which dominated, at this time, the court of Vienna. Hontheim begins by expressing his sorrow for having written anything which the Holy See could regard as injurious to itself and to the interests of religion; and he protests that he is de-

(1) Ch. vii., § 1, no. 8.

(2) Ch. ii., § 4, no. 2.

(3) *Ibi*, no. 7.

(4) Ch. ii., § 3, p. 98, Second Edition.

(5) *The Supreme Power of the Roman Pontiff in the Church*, p. 234.

(6) *Institutions of Theology*, vol. i., diss. 4, p. 3, ch. 1.

(7) *Loc. Theol.*, de Conc., quest. 8.

(8) *Pastoral Refuting the Arguments of the Bishops of Pamiers, etc.* Paris, 1725.

terminated, "after having asked for pardon from the paternal clemency of His Holiness, to prefer the judgment of the Holy See to his own, and to place no limits to his submission." Then he submits thirty-eight articles of retractation. I. He acknowledges, he says, "with Tournely," that the keys were given at the same time to Peter alone and to the unity (universality) of the Church, in such guise that the one (reception) does not exclude the other. II. The keys were given to Peter alone, inasmuch as he received from Jesus Christ the primacy and the power of governing the entire Church, and inasmuch as he represented the Church as its supreme head after Jesus Christ. III. The keys were also given to the unity; that is, for the sake of unity, the power of teaching and governing were given principally to Peter, to the exclusion of the people, and to the other Apostles and the bishops, their successors, but with dependence from and subordination to Peter, who, according to Optatus, "received the keys which were to be given to the others." IV. We should therefore reject that doctrine, derived from Protestantism, that the Church is a sort of college, and not a society in which the faithful live, according to the institution of Christ Himself, under the government of legitimate pastors, and principally under that of the Supreme Pontiff—a government which all are bound to obey. V. Our Lord wishing His Church to be one, instituted the primacy for the formation and support of that unity, and gave it to St. Peter alone. VI. Hontheim avows with St. Optatus that he is a schismatic who sets up a chair in opposition to the unique (*singularem*) Chair of Peter, or who withdraws from its communion, or refuses obedience to it. VII., VIII., IX. He acknowledges that the primacy, which is not merely one of direction or inspection, but one of veritable authority and jurisdiction, was to be as perpetual as the unity of the Church for the preservation of which it was established; and that by divine right it was inherited by the Roman Pontiffs, the successors of St. Peter, who are the "centre and root of unity, in such sort that the primacy cannot be transferred from the Roman See to another." X., XI. Therefore he avows, "with the Fathers of the Œcumenical Council of

Florence, that Jesus Christ gave to the Roman Pontiff, in the person of Peter, full authority to nourish and govern the Universal Church." XII. But since this power cannot subsist without jurisdiction, including the right of excommunication, Hontheim admits that the power to excommunicate "resides in the Roman Pontiff, having been given by Jesus Christ." XIII. He declares that the Roman Pontiff is the supreme judge in all controversies concerning faith or morals; that therefore, when there is diversity of opinion in such matters, "we must follow the course indicated by St. Jerome when he wrote to Pope Damasus: 'I unite myself with your Beatitude.'" XIV., XV. "In opposition to the error of the innovators who condemn the multitude of bishops when they are either explicitly or tacitly united with their head, I avow that it is impossible for the episcopal body, when united with its head, the Roman Pontiff, to fall into error; and that therefore, even before the Council of Trent, the Church, having the Pontiff at its head, had already, through his utterance, definitively and irrevocably condemned the heresy of Luther." XVI. Hontheim admits that the Church has the right to judge of Dogmatic Facts; that in such judgment, the Church is infallible; that therefore "the faithful are bound to acquiesce in it by a submission of their own interior judgment, a *respectful silence not being sufficient*." XVII. He affirms that entire obedience is due to the Bull *Unigenitus*, as to a dogmatic decree of the Apostolic See and of the Universal Church. XVIII. "I say with St. Avitus of Vienne that in case of doubts as to the *condition of the Church*, we should refer the matter to the Supreme Pontiff." XIX. "I profess with Sts. Gervase and Leo that the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs are to be received respectfully, and religiously observed." XX., XXI. He acknowledges that it is the prerogative of the Pope to convoke, and to preside over General Councils; and that "by his concurrence those Councils acquire full infallibility, independently of any other acceptance." XXII. He affirms that the Council of Trent was a free agent, both in regard to things of faith and concerning matters of discipline; but he complains that "because of circumstances, that

Council did not carry its work of reformation as far as certain worthy men desired." XXIII. He admits that the Council of Trent (Sess. 24, ch. 5) quite properly reserved the criminal causes of bishops to the Holy See. XXIV. He admits that "it is not permitted to elude, by far-fetched interpretations," the force of the Tridentine canon (Sess. 14, ch. 1) which asserts the right of the Pontiff to reserve grave criminal cases of ecclesiastics to his own tribunal. XXV. He avows that the Pontiff can dispense from a decree of a General Council, "for legitimate reasons." XXVI. He acknowledges that from the first days of Christianity, bishops were regarded as "false ones," whenever the Apostolic See refused to recognize their election or consecration; and among such "false bishops" he locates the Jansenist bishops of Holland. He adds that while in the olden times the confirmation of episcopal elections pertained to the provincial Councils, and especially to the metropolitans, a return to that discipline (abrogated in the West for good reasons) "ought not to be made without the free consent of the Holy See." XXVII. He says that the same should be said in regard to the transfers and depositions of bishops and in regard to the establishment of new dioceses. XXVIII. He admits that Alexander III. (y. 1159) very properly reserved canonizations to the Apostolic See. XXIX. He avows that while in the early days of the Church only "greater causes" were referred to the Pontiff, a legitimate and general custom soon sanctioned the right of appeal to Rome in all ecclesiastical cases. XXX. He declares that it was *de pleno jure* that Pius II., Julius II., and Gregory XIII. condemned appeals from the Pope to a future Council—appeals which had been condemned already by Pope St. Gelasius (y. 492). XXXI. He professes that although in the first centuries of Christianity all benefices were of episcopal collation, nevertheless it came to be regarded as appropriate that the Supreme Pontiff should have the disposal of some in the various provinces. He adds that this reservation of benefices cannot be qualified as unjust, since it has frequently been sanctioned by the many Concordats made with various governments. XXXII. He admits that these Concor-

dates have the force of treaties. XXXIII. He upholds the legitimacy of *annates*, which contribute to the support of the Roman court, which labors in the interest of all the churches. XXXIV. He grants that the "privileges of Regulars" cannot be abrogated by any particular Council, and still less by any civil power. XXXV. He avows that the Council of Trent provided for cases of abuse which might arise from these exemptions of Regulars. XXXVI. He admits that although in early times the jurisdiction of bishops was more extensive than it is at present, any transgression of the canons, which have restricted it, is not permissible. XXXVII. He recognizes the full right of the Church to rule in all matters of faith, Sacraments, and ecclesiastical discipline, without any intervention of secular governments; but he holds that "because of the protection which the two powers owe to each other, the secular power should defend the ecclesiastical canons when the Church desires such defense, and it should use temporal means for their enforcement." XXXVIII. Finally, he deems it necessary that the best means be adopted for a perpetual preservation of peace between Church and State.

The retractation was dated Nov. 1, 1778; and on Feb. 3, 1779, Hontheim addressed a notification of it to the clergy and laity of the diocese of Treves, reminding them also of the orders of the archbishop-elect, prohibiting the reading of his book. These proceedings of their quondam champion were naturally offensive to the lovers of novelties in Germany, and especially obnoxious to the courtier-theologians who surrounded Joseph II., then fully committed to the policy of the Masonico-philosophic faction which infested his court and very many of the presbyteries of the empire. By order of the emperor, the publication of the retractation of Hontheim was forbidden in the Low Countries and in Lombardy, as derogatory to the rights of sovereigns; and the imperial agents assured the credulous subjects of Joseph that the document had been extorted from the persecuted luminary of the Church (1). But Hontheim repelled this allegation

(1) *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques* for 1779, cited by Picot, in his *Memoires for the Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv., p. 105. Third Edit., Paris, 1855.

in a letter to the archbishop-elect, dated April 2, 1780; and he promised to confirm his retraction in a work which he was then preparing, the *Commentary* from which we have quoted. However, one cannot avoid observing in many passages of this *Commentary* a hesitancy to abandon entirely the condemned opinions of "Febronius." It is true that Hontheim here ranges himself among the orthodox in the matter of Jansenism; that he recognizes the binding force of the Bull *Unigenitus*; and that he professes to interpret most of his own propositions in the sense of the Four Articles of 1682, which was of course *permissible*. But it is evident that although he feigns to follow in the traces of Bossuet, whom he lauds as "the latest star which has risen in the firmament of the Church," he rather follows such guides as Dupin, Pithou, Gibert, and Van Espen. Thus, in his sixteenth proposition, although he ostensibly yields in the question of Dogmatic Facts, he says that the fallibility of the Church in such matters is held by many who are *plane Catholici*. In the seventeenth, he does not condemn the *silence* which is ordered by sovereigns under the pretext of public tranquillity. In the thirty-seventh, he recognizes the right, claimed by certain sovereigns, of prohibiting the publication of pontifical decrees, even when dogmatic matters are their subject, which have not been endorsed with the royal *placet*. The retraction of Hontheim affected but little the fortunes of Febronianism; during the entire reigns of Joseph II. and Leopold II., it continued to make Europe wonder why its partisans were not sufficiently logical to become open Protestants. We shall meet manifestations of this inconsistent system when we come to treat of the pontificate of Pius VI.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FREEMASONRY. *

Volumes have been written concerning the origin of Freemasonry, and it is very doubtful whether any of their read-

* Most of this chapter appeared as an article in THE AVE MARIA, vol. XVI.

ers have derived thorough satisfaction from them. But it is of little importance whether the Masonic idea originated in the pagodas of India, or among the temples of Memphis ; in the Grecian *Eleusinia*, or in the worship of the Roman *Bona Dea* ; in the iniquities of the Gnostics, Manicheans, Albigenses, or of the corrupted Templars ; or rather in the relatively modern "Charter of Cologne," or even in the English secession of 1717. None of these presumed sources will render a natural more worthy than a revealed religion ; none of them can justify the fundamental principle of modern Masonry—the substitution of man for God. One may admit, with Frederick Schlegel (1), that the suppressed Templars were the "bridge" by which moderns received, so far at least as their form is concerned, the Masonic mysteries ; or one may assign, with Weishaupt (2) or with Ragon (3), these mysteries to a Gnostic source ; in either case, he will justify the Church when she declares that Freemasonry tends to a restoration of the most perverted kind of paganism. We shall, therefore, dwell only for a moment on the origin of Masonry. In the early Middle Age, throughout all Europe, but especially in England and Germany, there flourished Masonic corporations—that is, "guilds" of Masons instituted for the protection of members, and for the better custody of the secrets of their craft, and having an initiatory oath, *conjuratio*, for a safeguard. One guild, established at York, adduced excellent arguments to show that its charter dated from the year 926 (4). Down to the latter part of the sixteenth century, saving ecclesiastics, none but builders were admitted to these unions. The German Masonic guilds, although organized by Erwin von Steinbach in the thirteenth century, did not adopt a definite constitution before 1459, at the construction of the Cathedral of Strasbourg. Their statutes were thoroughly orthodox, and the Popes often granted them privileges ; indeed, as late as 1563, when these statutes were revised, they exhibited no trace of

(1) *Philosophy of History*, lesson 18.

(2) *Code of the Illuminati. Scotch Knight*.

(3) *Course of Initiation in the Masonic Grades*, pp. 130, 149.

(4) LEVASSEUR : *History of the Working Classes in France before the Revolution*, p. 101.

hostility to the Church. But in 1816 there was discovered a document relative to the foundation of a lodge at Amsterdam in 1519, which, if authentic—and many good critics deem it such—indicates that before the year 1535 anti-Christian principles, nearly identical with those of modern Masonry, had invaded the lodges. This document is known as the “Charter of Cologne” (1), and bears among its nineteen signatures of “masters-elect of the order consecrated to John,” those of Hermann de Wic, archbishop of Cologne, Admiral Coligny, and Melancthon.

Here we find an association ostensibly devoted to charity, but really dedicated to the preservation of a secret doctrine which is to be held as superior to any decision of the Church. It is only “prudence,” regard for the prejudices of the time, which causes the nineteen masters to decree, “for the present,” that only professing Christians be received into the order. The Catholic Church is placed on a level with the sects, and is blamed for all the woes of society. The presumed signers of this charter were all, so far as history informs us, bitter foes of Catholicism. Hermann de Wic was placed under the ban of the empire for favoring heretics; Coligny and Melancthon need no description. Condorcet holds that the transformation of Masonry had been gradually progressing since the suppression of the Templars (2); but even in the year 1546 the Academy of Vicenza, says Lefranc, was careful to hide its Masonic tendencies (3), and the same must be said of the Cabalists of that time (4). In England, however, thanks to Protestantism, the change was more open. Findel may err when he discovers Masonic ideas in Bacon’s *Nova Atlantis* (5) but it is certain that the Rosicrucian fraternity (*Rose-Croix*) was propagated in England in 1616, as well as by the antiquarian Elias Askmol, the author of the ritual adopted by the Grand

(1) Among the defenders of its authenticity we notice Janssen, the eminent author of the *History of the German People*.

(2) *Tableau of the Progress of the Human Mind*, epoch 7.

(3) *The Veil Lifted*; or, *The Secret of the Revolution*, 1791; BARONIO: *Annals*, y. 1546, no. 157.

(4) See a sketch of the life of Agrippa von Nettesheim (to whom Goedike gives a place in his *Lexicon of Masonry*) in the *Universal Encyclopedia* of Ersch & Grüber.

(5) *History of Freemasonry*, p. 126.

Lodge of London in 1717. In the seventeenth century English Masonry had lost its professional character almost entirely, so general had become the admission of persons foreign to the builder's craft; and it was because of this foreign element that the ancient term of "Free" Masons came to be qualified by the adjective "Accepted." Lecoulteux Lecantelen adduces many Masonic authorities to show how Oliver Cromwell, a Mason of high degree, used the order for his purposes (1). After the Restoration, the Masons, for many years, chose their grand-masters from the Stuart family; even in his exile, in 1689, James II. founded a lodge at St. Germain-en-Laye, which followed the ritual of Askmol. After the failure of 1715, the order definitively abandoned the Stuart cause. In 1717 a physician named Désaguliers, a theologian named James Anderson, and one George Payne, left the old society, and founded an entirely new one, which would, they contended, supply that unity which the Reformation had broken, would establish a new spiritual community amid hostile parties, and would foster a philanthropic spirit among its members. From this society is derived Freemasonry as it is constituted to-day. The new organization soon spread over the continent; Hamburg had a lodge in 1733, and very soon Brunswick, Berlin, and Leipsic followed. The first constitution of the modern order is dated March 25, 1723.

Freemasonry was not denounced to the Holy See before the reign of Clement XII.; and this Pontiff's Constitution *In eminenti*, dated April 24, 1738, was the first act of the Church against this organization. By this Constitution excommunication, to be incurred *ipso facto*, was pronounced against all who would join a Masonic lodge, assist at any Masonic assembly, or have any connection with the sect. A few years afterward, on March 18, 1751, Benedict XIV. issued his Bull *Providas*, in which, after declaring the falsity of the report spread by the Masons that the Constitution *In eminenti* was no longer in force, he renewed the proscriptions and censures

(1) *Secret Societies*, p. 105, Paris, 1862.—*The Freemasons Crushed*, Amsterdam, 1747.—Mosdorff, Lindner, and Nicolai, much esteemed by erudite Masons, assert the same; but, above all, Von Haugwitz, at the head of the order in the eighteenth century, attests the Masonic aid extended to Cromwell.

of Clement XII. Benedict XIV. states the reasons which have guided him in issuing this Bull. The first reason for this condemnation is the fact that in the Masonic reunions men of every sect and religion are associated intimately—a thing which must involve prejudice to the purity of Catholic doctrine. The second reason is found in the absolute secrecy which covers all that is done in the Masonic conventicles. The third reason is furnished by the oath taken to preserve inviolable silence as to what is said and done; as though it were permitted to absolve one's self, merely by an oath, from the obligation of replying to the interrogatories of legitimate authority concerning whatever is done in these reunions to the detriment of religion and the State. The fourth reason is desumed from the prohibition, made by both the civil and the ecclesiastical law, to form any society or corporation without the sanction of the public authority. The fifth reason is given in the prohibition of the Masonic lodges, already promulgated by many sovereigns. And a final reason is found in the condemnation of Masonry by wise and prudent men. In fact, at this time several governments enacted severe laws against Masonry. In Spain, on July 2, 1751, Ferdinand VI. declared that all Freemasons would be punished for high-treason. In Naples, all Masonic assemblies were prohibited, in 1751, as "suspicious and dangerous." Similar decrees were published, at the same period, by the governments of Holland, Tuscany, and the Palatinate.

A study of this wonderful organization must be interesting, and to some it may be necessary. But how can such a study be prosecuted? Certainly, just as we insist that non-Catholics should learn what are Catholic doctrines only from the Catholic Church, so in this matter we should recur for information to Masonic sources—not to ex-Masons, persons who are apt to be classed with "ex-priests" and "ex-nuns" in the matter of reliability—but to men who are acknowledged as Masons of good standing. But is not even the most innocent "apprentice" sworn to neither speak nor write in the "profane world" anything concerning the secrets of his order? Nevertheless, in the preface to the first edition of his great work, Deschamps confidently asserted: "Catholic

by birth, a priest by vocation, devoted to the Church and to all the duties she imposes on her ministers, we have never belonged to any secret society; we have taken none of their customary oaths; we have never received any intimate confidence from any of their members. And yet we are convinced—and many Masons will be convinced—that we are better acquainted with Freemasonry than most of its members,—better even than most of those who are, apparently, the most advanced” (1). How, then, must we proceed, to learn anything about this association? The first source of information is formed by the Masonic statutes approved by the various Grand Orients. A second source, and no less reliable, is found in the *Manuals*, or *Tilers*; the official *Rolls* of the different grades; the *Rituals* for reception into these grades; the *Instructions*, *Catechisms*, and *Oaths* of the order. And these sources are not difficult of access. In the preface to his *Pictorial History of Freemasonry*—a work again and again re-edited after his elevation to the rank of officer of the Grand Orient of France,—Clavel tells us that the Grand Lodge of London published, in 1723, the statutes and esoteric ceremonies of Masonry, under the name of Brother Anderson, and with the approbation of the Grand Lodge. And all other Masonic administrations, continues Clavel, “have translated or reprinted Brother Anderson’s work, or published similar ones. The Grand Orient of France went so far as to issue, in 1777, its *Condition of the Grand Orient*, a journal devoted to the narration of our most secret labors; and since 1813 this journal has been replaced by the *procès-verbaux* of the solstitial festivals, in which one may read the discourses of the orators, the work done during the half year, and even our most mysterious formularies. In our own day there is not one lodge of this jurisdiction which does not use the printed rituals of French Masonry in its assemblies and in its reception of the profane; and these rituals are even publicly sold. A few years ago the Grand Orient appointed as its chief-secretary Brother Bazot, who had already issued a *Manual* of the Masonic rituals, and a *Tiler*

(1) *The Secret Societies and Society*, by N. Deschamps, with an Introduction on the Action of Secret Societies in the 19th Century, by Claudio Jannet. 6th edit., Avignon, 1882.

containing the passwords, etc., of all the degrees. By this act, the Grand Orient implicitly sanctioned the publication of these works." But above all we can confidently recur to the *Interpretative Course* of Master Ragon, a brother who, as he himself says, "was raised from youth in the conservative rigorism of the Departmental lodges"; who was the founder, after twelve years of exercise, of the "Trinosophs" (one of the most celebrated lodges of Paris). This book was solemnly approved by the Grand Orient of France, on the 24th of June, 1840, "as the work of a profoundly instructed brother"; and the Capitular Lodge of Nancy, "addressing the reverend lodges of the two hemispheres, certifies as to the morality and utility of this work," and recommends a "new edition, altogether Masonic, to be entitled a *sacred* edition," and to be used only in the lodges, for the purpose of "reconstructing unity of view and of thought, from which will come, in time, unity of power and of action."

Such are the principal sources available to the outsider, as well as to the adept, if he chooses to learn something more concerning Masonry than his Masonic friends will tell him, even if, indeed, their knowledge of Masonic matters—in all save trivialties or absurdities—be any more extensive than his own. These statutes, manuals, rituals, etc., we say, are the principal sources for the "profane" investigator; but there are others which must not be neglected—namely, the writings of such prominent Masons as Weishaupt, Knigge, Saint-Martin, Saint-Simon, Enfantin, and Karl Marx; those of the duke of Brunswick, chosen in 1782 Grand-Master of all Masonry by the deputies met in Willhemsbad, and "representing all the lodges in the universe"; the *Memorial to the Congress of Verona* (1822), by Baron Haugwitz, director of the lodges in Germany, Russia, and Poland; the works of Helvetius, D'Alembert, Diderot, Rousseau, Condorcet, Cabanis—all prominent in the order, and whose principles, as we are assured by Brother Bazot, secretary of the Grand Orient of France, are the principles of Masonry; and finally the avowals and judgments of such Masons as Talleyrand, Mirabeau, Grégoire, Robespierre, Bonaparte, Sieyès, Cambacérès, Crémieux, Mazzini, Cavour, and Palmerston. With

such sources of information, and such guides in his investigation, the student will acquire a sufficiently accurate knowledge of Masonry; the rank and file, the immense majority, of the order will know little more than he will learn. All historical and polemical studies are attended by inherent difficulties; but a study of Freemasonry is made especially difficult by the mystery and deceit with which all secret societies veil themselves. Hence it is that each investigator may fall into certain inevitable errors of detail; but such errors, remarks Jannet in his *Introduction to the work of Deschamps*, will not destroy the general certainty of his discoveries; for that certainty will be founded on the agreement of so many witnesses, on the similarity of so many facts, that no judicial charge, no parliamentary inquiry, ever showed better guarantees of exactness.

And now a few words concerning the organization of Freemasonry. Its lodges follow various "rites," but it is essentially one and universal, and this unity rests on the three "symbolic degrees" of apprentice, companion, and master. Five masters may form a new lodge. An individual becomes, by his reception in any lodge, a part of the entire order, and may claim its privileges. The three symbolic degrees form the basis of all the rites; the higher, or as they are also called the capitular or philosophic, degrees are of modern introduction. The French or modern rite adds four capitular to the three symbolic degrees; the Free and Accepted Masons of England also have seven degrees; the Ancient and Accepted Scottish rite—the one reformed by Frederick II. of Prussia, and afterward annexed by the Grand Orient of France—added eight to the twenty-five degrees which constituted the Ancient Scottish rite of "perfection" or of "Heredom" (1); the rite of Strict Observance, formed at the convention of Willhemsbad, has five degrees, but the fifth has three sections; the rite of the Temple also has eight degrees, making of the seventh a preparation for the last; the rite of Zinnendorf, which is that of the Grand National Lodge of Germany, has seven degrees; the "Illuminati," properly so called (founded by Weishaupt) have

(1) Saint-Martin reduced these thirty-three to ten.

nine degrees ; the Swedish rite has twelve, and the Swedenborgian six ; the rite of Misraim divides and sub-divides its degrees into ninety, consisting of four classes. As to the organization of the Grand Orient of France, Clavel, one of its officers, says that "it is formed by the venerables of the lodges and presidents of workshops, who practise the high degrees of the French and the Ancient Accepted Scottish rites ; when the presidents are wanting, these bodies are represented by special deputies, annually elected by a majority of votes. The Grand Orient has *supreme, dogmatic, legislative, judicial, and administrative* power over all the workshops of all the rites existing in France. A general meeting of the Grand Orient is held once a year, and decides all questions submitted. The effective direction is in the hands of the council of the order, composed of thirty-three delegates from the general assembly of the Grand Orient ; and these delegates must reside in Paris. The Grand Orient is divided into five principal branches : a chamber of Correspondence and Finance, constituting the administration ; a Symbolic chamber, which concerns itself with everything relative to the first three grades ; a Supreme Council of Rites, which takes charge of the superior degrees ; a Council of Appeal which gives advice, and pronounces definitively on all cases arising between brethren or between workshops ; and the Central Committee, which is the Council of Appeal sitting with closed doors. Besides these five chambers, the Grand Orient also has a Grand College of Rites, which confers the superior degrees ; a Committee of Finances, and one on Inspection of the Secretariate" (1). When the Grand Orient had a grand-master—that is, before 1869,—this personage was chosen from among reigning families, or at least he was some prominent government official. The grand-master had no real directive power ; all that was, and is, in the hands of Committees.

Concerning the multiplication of degrees, Brother Malapert, one of the most distinguished among modern Masons, thus addressed the lodge "Alsace-Lorraine," over which, in 1874, he presided as "orator" of the Supreme Council of

(1) *Pictorial History of Freemasonry*, p. 26.

the Ancient and Accepted Scottish rite: "After the mastership, nothing is to be learned. The great work resides, all entire, in the apprenticeship, companionship, and mastership. The *Rose-Croix* and the knights *Kadosch* know no more than the masters know. Beyond the mastership, there are some brethren who attend to a more direct realization of our general theories, and this is the reason of being for the superior degrees; but one may work usefully even though he does not possess these degrees" (1). Louis Blanc, speaking of the days preceding the first French Revolution, says: "As the three degrees of ordinary Masonry comprised many persons who were opposed, by condition and principle, to every project of social subversion, the innovators multiplied the degrees of the mystic scale. They created inner-lodges, reserved for ardent spirits; they instituted the high grades of the elect, the Knights of the Sun, the Rose-Cross, the Strict Observance, the *Kadosch*, or regenerated man—a darkened sanctuary, the doors of which were not opened to the adept until he had undergone a long series of trials, calculated to testify to the progress of his revolutionary education, to prove the constancy of his faith, and to try the temper of his heart. . . . It was to these subterranean schools that Condorcet alluded when, announcing that history of the progress of the human spirit which was interrupted by his death, he promised to reveal the blows received therein by monarchical idolatry and superstition" (2). *Kadosch*, the last philosophic degree, and the quintessence of the Masonic spirit, belongs to all the rites. In the "modern French rite" it is called *flu*: it is identical with the 30th degree of the "Scotch rite," with the 65th of "Misraim," with the 25th of *Heredom* or of "Perfection," with the 5th of the "Temple," with the 6th of the "Strict Observance," with the 7th of *Adonhiram*, with the *Epopt* of Bavarian Illuminism, and with the *grand' eletto* of the Carbonari. John de Witt, than whom erudite Masons will desire no better authority, says in his *Mémoires* that (at least among the Illuminati) the recipient of the degree *Kadosch* "swears the ruin

(1) Quoted in the Masonic *Chaine d'Union*, 1874, p. 85.

(2) *History of the Revolution*, vol. ii., p. 80. Paris, 1847.

of all religion and government; and to effect that ruin by every means—by poison, by false oaths, but especially by the dagger, as more sure and less noisy.” And this *Kadosch* is the degree of which the authoritative Ragon, with the solemn approbation of the Grand Orient of France, says that “it is a summary of the most sublime philosophy, and the essential complement of true Masonry: the three inferior degrees are purely administrative. Only the *élite* among Masons should receive this degree. It is the sanctuary, the source of knowledge for the wise ones who are admitted to it; and it is designed to signify the object of Freemasonry in all its degrees.” And this same mouthpiece of the French Grand Orient—while lamenting that in some Orients “horrible maxims, and therefore anti-Masonic ones,” have been assigned to this grade, “and undoubtedly inspired Barruel with his hatred of Masonry,—admits that “in very old manuscripts of English Masonry the *Kadosch* is called ‘assassin.’” And why should it not be so styled? In the *Ti-ier of the Scotch Rite* (Paris, 1821), we read that in this degree, “the real object of the Scotch rite, and the *nec plus ultra* of the Templar rite, is commemorated the abolition of the Templar Knights by Philip the Fair and Pope Clement V., and the execution of the first [*sic*] grand-master, Molay.” Here there is no longer any question of Hiram; for that allegorical personage is replaced by J. M. B. [James Molay, Burgundian], whose death the recipient swears to avenge, *figuratively* on the authors of the execution, or *implicitly* on those who merit the punishment [the successors of Clement V.]. Here is no room for allegory, observes Deschamps; “the legend is authentic history. At the moment that this vengeance is *motived* and historically specified, I can see in the recipient [of the degree *Kadosch*] only the apprentice *assassin*. Clement V. and Philip the Fair exist no longer, but there are still kings and *Pontiffs*. ‘War on the throne and on the altar!’ That is the cry of the order.”

When Masons speak of the “Masonic Powers,” they allude to the Grand Lodges, Mother Lodges, Grand Orients, and the Supreme Councils—the directing centres which have

multiplied with the rites. In France there are now four Masonic Powers, namely : the Grand Orient, the Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish rite, the Symbolic Scotch Grand Lodge, and the Supreme Council of the rite of Misraim. Since 1869 the Grand Orient of France has had no grand-master, but a president. The Grand Orient was constituted in 1772; the Supreme Council is a little older, but did not assume its present name until 1803; the Symbolic Scotch Grand Orient was constituted in February, 1880, by eleven of the principal Parisian lodges that had seceded from the obedience of the Supreme Council; the rite of Misraim, or Egyptian rite, originally founded by the charlatan, Joseph Balsamo (Cagliostro), is followed, nearly exclusively, by Jews. And here, since we have mentioned the name of Cagliostro, one of the luminaries of eighteenth century Masonry, the reader will pardon what may seem a digression, if we give a brief sketch of that extraordinary man who was one of the last "victims of the Inquisition."

It is a remarkable fact that the latter part of the eighteenth century, that period when Freemasonry had just attained its virility; the period of the Encyclopedia—that "ocean of every poison that was ever distilled"; the period which is often said to have witnessed a surprising enlightenment of the human intellect; that same period showed a wonderful increase of superstition on the part even of those who claimed to have disengaged themselves from its degrading bonds. So true is it that when men have ceased to adore at the shrine of pure and healthy doctrine, their aspiration after ideals—so natural to humanity—leads them into the darkness of occult "science," as into a refuge from the consequences of the renunciation of Christian hope. Just at the time when self-styled philosophers were flattering themselves that they had *ecrasé l'infame*, new miracle-workers appeared on every side, and faith was put in charlatans; while others of the dissatisfied ran after the mere wonderful as a compensation for their abandonment of the (for them) too severe lessons of truth. Some of these thaumaturgists were mystics—e. g., Swedenborg, Lavater, and Saint-Martin. Others were revolutionists, like Weishaupt. Many were ras

cals *simpliciter* ; convulsionaries, magnetists, cabalists, Rosi-crucians, and inventors of the immortality-giving elixir. An *Essay on the Sect of the Illuminati*, published in 1789, says that there were then in Paris "a crowd of little *antiphilosophiques*, composed of learned women, theological *abbés*, and pretended sages. Each group has its belief, its prodigies, its hierophant, its missionaries, its adepts. Each tends to explain the Bible in favor of its own system, to found a religion, to fill its temple, to multiply its catechumens. Here Jesus Christ plays a prominent part ; there it is the devil. On one side you have nature, and on another faith. Barbarin somnabulizes ; Cagliostro heals ; Lavater consoles ; Saint-Martin instructs ; all employ error to attain a reputation." There was the marquis de Saint-Germain, who was really a son of a Transylvanian prince, a man of prodigious memory which he utilized in narrating how, in ancient days, he had conversed intimately with King David ; how he had assisted at the marriage in Cana of Galilee ; how he had hunted with Charlemagne ; and how he had drunk wine and beer with Luther. And many believed him. But easily prince among these *chevaliers d'industrie* was the founder of the Egyptian Rite of Masonry. Joseph Balsamo was born at Palermo in 1743. In his youth he became a member of a charitable and religious confraternity, styled the *Fatebenefratelli*, or "Do-Good-Brethren" ; and among them he acquired much of that knowledge of chemistry and medicine which he afterward found so profitable. Some bloody difficulties caused him to flee from Sicily ; and, proceeding to Malta, he became acquainted with a famous chemist named Pinto, whose secrets he stole. He was a profound student of mankind, and he came to the conclusion that there was no limit to the gullibility of the masses. He therefore resolved to use the fools for his own ends ; and, having assumed the name of Count Cagliostro, after having for some years used many others, he entered upon his wonderful career of champion cheat of the world. At first his thaumaturgic abilities were confined to such tricks as any ordinary wizard is wont to perform for the wonderment of rustic bumpkins ; but, having become wealthy by means of extensive forgeries (per-

formed with the aid of a certain Marquis Agliata, who was afterward hanged), he began to claim stupendous powers, in order to avert suspicion as to the derivation of his revenues. Soon he was obliged to exercise whatever power he really possessed; for his extravagant mode of living and the dishonesty of friends had impoverished him. Accordingly, he began to rejuvenate decrepit persons of both sexes, and to beautify the less fortunate of the fairer one. Indisputable testimony shows his success in this field; but just as reliable proofs indicate that much of his talent was devoted to the manufacture of false gems, and to the production of counterfeit bank-notes. For some years he treated the Spaniards, English, and Russians to the fruits of his genius; but in England he was tried for felony several times—always escaping; and in Russia, the intrigues of his wife with Potemkin excited the jealousy of the empress Catharine to the point that this princess was glad to pay him an immense amount to leave the country. One of his master-strokes was a “reformation” of Freemasonry, to which he had been affiliated in his early manhood. He was not satisfied with the sect as it then was; hence he devised a new rite, which he termed the Egyptian. To this new field for the adepts of Square and Triangle, however, Cagliostro would admit none who had not matriculated in the ancient system. He instituted the most extravagant symbols, long fasts, peculiar regimen in matter of diet; he taught that all religions were equally good, but he was the Grand Copht. To the neophytes, if they were men, he assigned the names of the prophets; the women received the names of the sibyls. All the adepts were to acquire perfection through physical and moral regeneration—that is, by use of Cagliostro’s elixir of immortality, and by that of a pentagon on which angels had written sacred characters. Those who learned to interpret these characters would reach the state of perfect innocence. He insisted that his great object was an elevation of Catholicism, and he inculcated a kind of mysticism. He pretended to enjoy the Beatific Vision, and to work miracles; he certainly did perform wonderful and incomprehensible cures, and was blessed by thousands. He made great use of a

number of little children, whom he called his "doves"; through the ministry of these he read the future in a cup. In the year 1783 the journals announced that this great man was about to arrive in Paris—then, as now to some extent, the modern Babylon. Immediately upon his coming among them, all that was learned, powerful, rich, and beautiful in the capital of refinement called upon Cagliostro in his sumptuous palace. It was the time when Mesmer had furnished to men who were already tired of "pure reason," a glimpse of the supersensible by means of animal magnetism—a thing which, contrary to the general opinion of the present day, was well understood by Marsilio Ficino and Pomponazzo, more than two centuries before the name of Mesmer was heard (1). Unlike Mesmer, our charlatan used only the touch; no instrument, no manipulations. But, what was perhaps more wonderful, he asked no money for his cures, and he begged the poor to come to him. He seems to have relied much upon audacity, magnificent dress, and a pompous manner. His contemporaries agree that his physical presence was not calculated to help him; for they say that he was ugly, and had an oblique cast of eye. Besides, they credit him with choler, haughtiness, and an absence of refinement in speech and gesture. One of these contemporaries writes: "Initiated in the cabalistic art, he is Rosicrucian in his communication with the absent and the dead. He is versed in all human sciences. He can transmute metals; he cures the poor gratuitously, and sells immortality to the rich for little" (2). He was a ventriloquist, an electrician, and a magnetizer; he moved tables, hypnotized, and was so perfect a necromancer that he astonished the Swedenborgians with whom he used to summon the dead in their reunions in the Rue de la Sourdière. Some idea of the importance to which Cagliostro attained at this time may be derived from the fact that when a congress was held to devise means to unite in one sect the Rosicrucians, Cabal-

(1) In his *De Vita Celitus Comparanda*, Marsilio Ficino says: "The mind, when affected by a passionate desire to do so, can operate, not only on its own body, but upon that of any one there present, especially if that one be of a weaker temperament." And Pomponazzo, in his work on the *Causes of Wonderful Affections*, says the same in almost identical terms.

(2) *Moving Tableau of Paris*.

ists, Illuminati, and Humanitarians, first at Wilhelmsbade, then in the lodge of the "Reunited Friends" in Paris, he figured therein with Saint-Martin, Mesmer, and Saint-Germain (1). Much of Cagliostro's success was due to his wife, a Roman, whom he had married chiefly because of her talents and evident adaptability to his purposes. He said to her from the beginning of their union: "I will turn the heads of these simpletons, you will do the rest." This precious lady announced, shortly after their arrival in Paris, that she would give a course of magic to the fair sex, if she could form a class of three dozen, at one hundred *louis-d'or* for each person; and before night the class was formed. Doubtless the reader is familiar with the famous affair of the diamond necklace, in which Cardinal de Rohan and Queen Marie Antoinette played so prominent a part, and which contributed not a little to advance the French Revolution. Well, Mme. de la Motthe was not the sole criminal in that transaction: our sublime thaumaturgist was more than involved in it, although he escaped conviction at his trial. When he came out of prison, the mob—by no means all unwashed—escorted him in triumph to his residence. From that day until he found it convenient to leave France, his door was watched by a self-appointed guard of honor, consisting of men of the first families of the land; and at his departure from Boulogne, thousands of adoring and weeping admirers waited upon him to receive his parting benediction. His credit now began to diminish; and, after many wanderings, he yielded to the prayers of his wife, who yearned for her native land, and also wished to reform her life by proceeding to the Eternal City. In Rome the ex-forger, alchemist, necromancer, and accomplished charlatan feigned a conversion to the faith of his boyhood; but on December 27, 1789, the papal authorities ordered his arrest, and the sequestration of all his books and symbols. The nature of his imputed crimes rendered him a prisoner of the Inquisition; and as he found his ecclesiastical judges—unlike those of whom he had experienced the corruptibility in other lands—to be unbribable, he deemed a full confes-

(1) See Barruel's *Masonry in Itself*, Liege, 1815.

sion most likely to secure for him a leniency which he did not merit. Naturally this avowal will be accepted with some hesitancy ; but it is at least interesting reading, and is probably true in its main points. We shall restrict our account of Cagliostro's avowed aberrations to a sketch of his own admitted Masonic experiences. There were, he said, many Masonic sects, but the most important were those of the Illuminati and that of the *alta observantia*. The former aimed at a revenge for the destruction of the Templars—that is, at the subversion of Catholicism ; the latter merely sought for the philosopher's stone. It was to this latter society that Cagliostro had been affiliated in London. In his own new Egyptian rite, the Masonic adept had eliminated, he declared, all the magic and superstition which had soiled the elder Egyptian system. Its sacred words were *Helion*, *Melion*, and *Tetragrammaton* ; and to the Grand Copht—that is, Cagliostro himself—were given adorations ; and to him and in his honor were chanted parodies of the *Te Deum* and the *Veni Creator*. Besides the Feast of St. John the Baptist, celebrated by all the Masons of that day, the Egyptian rite kept that of St. John the Evangelist, because of the similarities between the *Apocalypse* and the ceremonies of that rite. In order to attain moral perfection, a retreat of forty days was practised by the adepts, in which, after the thirty-third day, the recluses communicated with the primitive angels ; on the fortieth day each received the pentagon—a sheet of printed characters which filled the soul with divine love, and which caused the holder to aspire to a perfect quiet, in which he would reach immortality, and could say : “I Am Who Am.” By physical perfection, this philosopher implied a prolongation of life until five thousand five hundred and fifty years had been enjoyed ; and this devoutly-wished-for consummation could be attained by retiring with a friend, every fifty years, at the full moon of May, to some solitude, there to swallow some white drops and a grain “of primal matter”—*materia prima*,—that which God created in order to render man immortal, but which the sin of Adam took away from him, and which grace and Masonic virtue can restore. When the adept has swallowed this

Masonic bolus, he will have convulsions for three hours ; a good drink will restore him ; and then, after some fever, delirium, falling out of the hair, shedding of his skin, cutting of new teeth, etc., he will take a bath, be anointed with balsam, and will return to an admiring society a new man. Such was the *olla podrida* of Christianity, paganism, deism, pantheism, and Masonicisim with which Cagliostro, as he audaciously told the Inquisition, had designed to strengthen the Catholic Church at the same time that he reformed Freemasonry. Everywhere, he said, he had been welcomed by the Brethren of the Three Points ; and everywhere he had preached, prophesied, healed, procured visions, instituted lodges, etc. His primary lodge had been formed at Lyons, with the title of Triumphant Wisdom ; and it was consecrated with rites similar to those of the Church. This ceremony of consecration is described by one of the brethren in a letter which was read at the impostor's trial. It says : "Never has Europe witnessed a more august ceremony. . . . Our brethren showed a fervor, a noble and sustained piety, which greatly edified the two brothers who had the glory of representing you. . . . At the moment when we besought the Eternal to inform us whether our vows were acceptable, and while our master was suspended in the air, there appeared, without being invoked, the First Philosopher of the New Testament, who blessed us, after he had prostrated himself before the blue cloud." Quite plausibly, therefore, Cagliostro asserted that he had always copied the Church as much as possible, and had always hoped to see his rite approved by the Pope—and with good reason, he added ; for one of the vows of his adepts was to procure the conversion of Protestants, though without violence. And everywhere that he had preached and apostolized, as he told the Holy Office, people prostrated themselves for his blessing, calling out : "O my master ! After the Eternal, my all !" —"I lay my heart at your feet." —"Give your sovereign orders, O master ! We owe you blind obedience." His influence among the Masons was certainly great ; and many believe that he was the author of the famous cipher, L. P. D., the initials of *Lilia pedibus destrue*,—"Crush the

Lilies of France,"—then in vogue among the brethren, and which they adopted as a species of war-cry during the French Revolution. Cagliostro protested to the Inquisition that he had never held any dealings with the demon; but that he "had never understood, nor did he then understand, the meaning" of the deeds he had wrought. In fact, he piteously told the inquisitors, "he did not understand himself." And then he cried: "Pity my miserable condition! I ask only for help for my soul"; adding that he would retract his errors "in face of a million of his followers." His apparent repentance prevented his judges from consigning him to the secular power, a procedure which would have been equivalent to a sentence of death; hence he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in a fortress, having first been absolved from the censures he had incurred. The sentence further decreed that his manuscript entitled *Egyptian Masonry*, together with the symbols of the sect, was to be publicly burned; and the Freemason society, especially the Egyptian rite and that of the Illuminati, was to be again condemned. This sentence is dated April 7, 1791. The charlatan was then taken to the historic Fortress of St. Leo, and the days of his miracles were ended. Before long he asked for a confessor; and when a Capuchin friar was sent to give him the supposedly desired religious consolation, the hypocrite tried to throttle the good priest, hoping to escape under cover of the Capuchin tunic. History spoke no more of him thereafter; and now, were it not for the entrancing pages of the elder Dumas, few persons would know anything of one who was once as much talked about as any individual of the eighteenth century. Perhaps the reader will agree with Mirabeau, who said of Balsamo: "Tolerate Cagliostro, tolerate Lavater; but also tolerate those who term them insane" (1).

(1) The curious reader will find many interesting and instructive details concerning this luminary of modern Masonry, which our limits will not allow us to adduce, in the *Compendium of the Life of Joseph Balsamo, Styled the Count Cagliostro, Drawn from His Trial in Rome in 1790, and Aiding One in Comprehending the Character of the Sect of the Freemasons* (Rome, 1791); in the *Confessions of Count Cagliostro, with a History of His Travels* (Paris, 1798); in the *Authentic Memoirs Serving for a History of Count Cagliostro* (Strasbourg, 1786); and in the *History of the Marvellous by Figuier* (Paris, 1860).

Less interesting than the career of Cagliostro, but of more importance in the annals of Masonry, was that of the founder of the Illuminati. Weisshaupt was a professor of law at Ingolstadt in Bavaria. Dominated by hatred of Christianity, and desirous of notoriety, he conceived the idea of a secret society, modeled on Masonry, to which he first gave the name of "Perfectibilists," and afterward of "Illuminati." His design, as he expressed it, was to "bring together, by a durable tie and because of elevated interests, educated men from every quarter of the globe—men of all religions and of different opinions and passions; to make them love this new interest and this new tie so much that, united or separate, they would act like one individual, treat each other as equals despite their social inequality, and willingly and through conviction effect what public constraint had never yet effected, since the world and men came into existence." Feller says that Weisshaupt, who had been educated by the Jesuits, took the Society, to a great extent, as a model for his organization; but that he intended that what, according to him, the Jesuits had used only to produce evil, should be used for the progress of philosophy. The statutes of the Illuminati imposed blind obedience on the adepts, and in certain cases, auricular confession to the superiors. The real secret of the order was not revealed until the superiors were well assured of the adept's sentiments. The instructions of Weisshaupt and his confidants tended to the gradual extinction of every idea of religion in the minds of their dupes. These unfortunates learned to despise civil government as a tyranny; the rights of property as usurpation. The military caste was taught to despise merchants and tradesmen. Each adept knew only the members of his own grade, and those of the one immediately subordinate. Each member had a name as an Illumined one; thus that of Weisshaupt was Spartacus. The real names were known only to the superiors. Circumstances favored the designs of Weisshaupt. For many years audacious writers had striven in Germany, even more than in France, to destroy every vestige of religious principle. Many of the German sovereigns were downright infidels. Frederick of Prussia openly professed irre-

ligion. Even the emperor, Joseph II., yielded to the flatteries and sophisms of the philosophasters. "I am assured," wrote Voltaire, "that the emperor belongs to us." And Frederick told the cynic in 1770 that Joseph "loved his works, and was anything but superstitious." On Dec. 11, 1773, Joseph issued a rescript in which, while he admitted that he knew, "of his own knowledge that many Masonic lodges had been the occasion of many indecencies," he nevertheless authorized the lodges, provided they would observe a regulation which would guarantee a respect for his idea of religion and morals. It was natural that the example of Frederick, Joseph, and many of the minor princes, should affect the minds of innumerable Germans; especially the young, to whom Weisshaupt directed his principal efforts. A Hanoverian baron, Knigge, was his chief lieutenant, and to him was entrusted the perversion of the northern Germans, while Weisshaupt looked after the southern. Knigge profited by a general assembly of Freemasons at Wilhelmsbade, held by command of Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, the grand-master, to extend the new association. In a short time very many of the nobles of Germany, and several of the sovereigns, were Illuminati. We can only suppose that these dignitaries were not informed of the entire scope of the order; that they ignored its hatred of all crowned heads, and simply acclaimed its enmity to religion and especially to the Catholic priesthood. One strange feature of Illuminism was the number of German ecclesiastics who joined it; not only many Catholic pastors are mentioned as members in the archives of the order, but, if we may credit Barruel's *Memoires on Jacobinism*, there was at least one German bishop among the adepts. In 1784 the Bavarian government prohibited "all secret communities, societies, and confraternities; and every association which was not approved by the laws." The olden Freemasons closed their lodges; but the Illuminati relied on their friends at court, and continued their meetings. In Feb., 1785, Weisshaupt was deprived of his chair, and expelled from Ingolstadt. It was well known that many of his disciples had become frightened at his doctrines, and had left the order; these were now interrogated,

and although they seemed not to have learned all the objects of the association, sufficient was gleaned to terrify the friends of religion and of society. Meanwhile the father of the sect, having taking refuge in Ratisbonne, was executing his plans with renewed ardor. One day while he was giving his last instructions to an emissary destined for Silesia, the poor man, Lanz by name, was struck by lightning and fell dead at his master's feet. Weisshaupt's terror was so great that he forgot, as he fled, to remove the credentials and written instructions which were in the pockets of Lanz; and when the papers were read by the elector, Charles Theodore, that prince realized that he and all the other German princes had been sleeping over a volcano. Many of the Illuminati were exiled. In Oct., 1786, two of Weisshaupt's chief adepts, the Count Bassus and Zwach, were arrested; and all the statutes and secrets of Illuminism were found. These were afterward printed by order of the elector, and their authenticity was never contested by the interested parties. Copies of them were sent to all the courts, and legal proceedings were instituted against many of the guilty. Some were deprived of their employments in the government service; others were imprisoned; not one was put to death. It is very strange that none of the other German governments took any measures against these enemies of society. The duke of Saxe-Gotha even gave his hospitality to Weisshaupt; and many other princes of that family emulated him in encouraging Illuminism, the avowed foe of public authority and private property. The tenets of Weisshaupt may be thus summarized. Liberty and equality are essential rights of man, received by him when he was in his original and primitive perfection. The first attack on equality was made by the establishment of the right of property; the first attack on liberty was made when the first civil government was formed. The sole supports of the right of property and of government are the civil and religious laws; therefore, in order to restore to man his primitive rights of liberty and equality, we must begin by destroying all religion and all civil society, and we may then finish by abolishing all proprietary right. Weisshaupt reproached the philosophers of his day with cowardice and

inconsistency; he certainly pushed the theories of his contemporary philosophasters to their last consequences. We must not forget to note that some years before his death (1822), Weisshaupt recanted, and was reconciled to the Church. *One of his last acts was the foundation of a Catholic church in Gotha* (1).

Returning to our main subject, we now assume the consideration of a point which is often raised by Masons themselves, or by the comparatively few weak-minded Catholics who have been tempted to join the order. It is frequently asserted that the Masonic idea does not interfere with a member's religion; that, on the contrary, Masonry respects the religious faith and the political sympathies of its subjects. There is indeed a Masonic statute to this effect, but nothing is more certain than that Masonry substitutes itself for any and every system of religion. Of course this substitution is more easily forgiven by the average Protestant than by even a nominal Catholic, for the former is no positivist in dogmatic matters; but the fact still remains, even for him, that, by making itself supreme in religion, Masonry does interfere with whatever semblance of religious conviction he ever entertained. But let us hear some eminent Freemasons on this point. Bazot, general secretary of the French Grand Orient, in his *Historical, Philosophical, and Moral Tableau of Freemasonry*, written when he had been thirty-one years a Mason, says: "Our religion is the natural, primitive, unique, universal, and unchangeable religion—it is Freemasonry." Ragon, in his *Interpretative Course*, solemnly authorized by the French Grand Orient in 1840, says that "he who would make a religion of Masonry, falsifies it"; but, in order to agree with Brother Bazot, who calls it "the primitive and universal religion," he makes this distinction: "The first man who, on perceiving the order manifested in the universe, concluded that there is a God, was a benefactor to the world; but he who made that God speak, was an impostor." According to Ragon, therefore, Masonry is not to be regarded as a religion, only in this sense—it rests on

(1) ROHRBACHER: vol. xxvii., p. 525—*Etudes Religieuses et Historiques*, No. 39. Paris, 1866—*Le Monde*, Aug. 4, 1867.

no revelation. *The Pelican*, the organ of Brazilian Masonry, cited by Mgr. Antonio de Macedo-Costa, bishop of Grand Para, in his *Instruction on Masonry*, 1871, declares that "Masonry is a great temple, which, like an ancient one at Rome, gives hospitality to all the gods, because, taken together, they form one God." In the *Freemason Orator*—"a selection of discourses pronounced on Masonic solemnities, relative to the dogmas and history of the order, and to the morality taught in the workshops," and published by the French Grand Orient (Paris, Caillet, 1825),—we read the following words of a member of the Lodge of Mt. Tabor, Paris: "Nothing is more incontestably true than nature—that is, existence. The Masonic order is derived from the ancient mysteries, which themselves arose from nature, and had nature for a sacramental [*sic*] basis. It certainly follows that this royal art, this symbolic and mysterious temple, in fine the Masonic order, is the emblem of nature, of pre-existing truth. Therefore, this order is natural law, the true and unique religion." In the *Courrier de Bruxelles* of March 7, 1879, may be read a report of an address made by Brother Goblet d'Aviella to the lodge of the "Philanthropic Friends" of Brussels, in which the following passage occurs: "Masonry shows that it is not only a philosophy, the philosophy of progress, but that it is also a religion, the religion of the ideal. Can one contest the utility of a vast association like Masonry, which, while theocracies are everywhere tumbling down, meets to dedicate temples, as we do to-day, for that worship which will survive all others, because it rests on a progressive conception of nature?"

The above quotations are sufficiently eloquent, but Masonry will stand still more strongly convicted of Satanic ambition if we dwell a while upon its much-vaunted *Secret*. According to Masonic Constitutions, the Secret is the first characteristic of the order, although the immense majority of its members—even of those of high grade—do not receive any confidences. In 1794 the duke of Brunswick, then grand-master, thus spoke to all the lodges: "Your masters told you, as our fathers told us, that the secrets of the association can be known only by certain masters; for what would be

some of secrets if they were known to many?" Even the grand-master of an Orient may know none of the secrets. In the German lodges, says Eckert, an erudite Saxon who devoted his whole life to Masonic investigations, a "Knight of St. Andrew" or a "superior Scotch master" takes the following oath: "I freely swear to God, the Creator of the universe, and in the hands of the legitimate master of this lodge, and in the presence of the Scotch brethren here present, to conceal, in the most effective manner possible, the secrets that I may have acquired, and all the conclusions I may have drawn from them; and to reveal them to no one, *not even to the grand-master of the whole order, if I do not meet him in a regular High-Scotch Lodge, or if he is not designated to me as such by my superiors of this lodge.*" But, notwithstanding these precautions, we of the "profane" world can penetrate the Secret, if we carefully study the writings of the Masonic leaders, and if we carefully scan the events in which these leaders have taken part. The Secret is undoubtedly communicated to the members of the "interior order"; but he also can penetrate it who is able to decipher the symbols of Masonry, as is plainly shown by the famous Droeseke in a discourse pronounced, in 1849, before the Olive Branch Lodge of Bremen, and cited by Eckert in his *True Signification of Freemasonry*. He says: "Above all, we regard Masonry as an institution emanating from the Divinity. He who has it, will receive unto satiety; but to him who has it not, Masonry can give nothing. In our temples there is constantly question of the Secret; or, to be more exact, we speak only of the Secret. This Secret can not be hidden from him who has eyes; he penetrates it without aid from the lodge; he is initiated without entering into the sanctuary. Another person may never acquire it, even through the lodge, and even though he has received all the degrees; *he is one of the profane, even though he be seated at the right of the Temple, and wear the jewels of the grand-master.* Even the means that we employ to solve this problem—our symbols, images, and signs—are held by us as secrets. But why, and by what right? Our symbols do not serve merely to kill time and to amuse children. *They are*

the sacred vessels in which the Holy of Holies is kept and exposed to the view of the initiated. Such are the words that would be profaned if they were thrown before unclean animals." A contemporary German author, Bluntschli, professor at Heidelberg, and grand-master of the Grand Lodge of Bayreuth, thus exposes, in his *General Theory of the State*, what he rightly regards as "the spirit of the day," but which he would have styled with still greater justice "the spirit of Masonry," were it not his custom, in all his works, to abstain from open mention of the Order's influence: "The modern state is founded *humanly* on human nature. The state is a human community of life, created and administered by man, *for a human end*. . . . The modern conscience hates all theocracy. The modern state is a human constitutional organization; its power is regulated by public law; its policy seeks the public good, in accordance with the conceptions of human reason, with human means (1). The modern state regards itself as a person, composed of a spirit (the 'national spirit') and a body (the 'Constitution'); it feels itself independent and free, even in regard to the Church, which is a collective person, also possessed of spirit and body; and it asserts its high right even over her.' In an address to the Italian Parliament (Jan., 1867), the famous *Italianissimo* publicist, Scialoja, said: "There are no longer any mixed questions; the human principle, which knows everything, claims the sole right to decide everything. *The sovereign state admits no right against its right*, and its claims can be comprised in these words: *The Church should enjoy that liberty which is allowed her, as to other associations permitted by the state.*" Masonry everywhere uses this language, and, as Pachtler well remarks, in place of the divine order, which is *Humanity with God*, Masonry would erect an edifice of *Humanity without God, or against God* (2). Consider for a moment the fundamental and universal allegory of Masonry—its very essence, as taught by its most authoritative exponents, and by its very manuals and rituals. A vast temple to be constructed; "apprentices, companions, and

(1) Odilon Barrot, in 1828, expressed this idea more frankly when he said: "The law is atheistic, and ought to be such."

(2) *The Positive Side of Freemasonry*, Fribourg, 1875.

masters" at the work; Hiram, or Adonhiram (1), one of these masters, assassinated by three companions who wanted the "password," or "master's word" the body of Hiram to be found; his death to be revenged; the construction of the temple resumed, and to be accomplished. This allegory is indicated in the degrees of "apprentice" and "companion"; it is developed in that of "master"; and is completed, after passing through the degrees of "Rose-Cross" and "Kadosch," in those of the rite of Misraim. What mean this "temple," asks Deschamps, and the "assassins of Hiram"? Who is this Hiram? All Masonic rituals tell us that the temple is the *temple of nature*, or the Masonic Golden Age. The god herein adored is *nature*—the God-All. The *fire* is his essence, and is represented by the "sun" and the Indian *Lingam*—all that is most material in ancient paganism. The "assassins" are superstition, ambition, tyranny, ignorance, and prejudice—in a word, the Catholic Church. Nay, as Deschamps carefully proves in his wonderful work, by these "assassins" Masonry understands every rule of morals, all authority, the family, property, nationality. "Hiram resuscitated and conqueror of all his enemies, the adorer and adored of the temple, is the true Mason, the philosopher, the sage, the primitive man—man restored to the Golden Age of Masonic liberty" (2). Masonry does not believe in original sin; it contends that man is naturally good, and that he is made evil only by the institutions of human morality, by religion, property, etc. Weisshaupt expresses this idea very plainly: "Equality and liberty are man's essential rights, which he received from nature when he was in his original and primitive perfection. The first attack against this equality was made by property; the first attack against liberty was made by political society—that is, by governments;

(1) According to the system of those who find the origin of Masonry in the Garden of Eden, one of the *Elohim* became father of Cain by Eve, while *Adonai*, another of the *Elohim*, created Adam, to whom Eve bore Abel. The descendants of Cain invented the arts. Adonhiram was entrusted by Solomon with the construction of the great temple, and while executing the task he was killed by a giant, and cast into the fiery abyss. But he returned to complete his task. Solomon became jealous of Adonhiram, and caused his murder. However, nine masters found the corpse, killed the assassins, and in a triangle of fire they placed the name of the Great Architect of the Universe, which was guarded by a chosen few. CANTU: *Heretics of Italy*, vol. III., p. 390.

(2) B. I., chap. I., § 2.

and the only supports of property and of governments are religious and civil law. Therefore, in order to restore to man his primitive rights of equality and liberty, we must begin by destroying all religion, all civil society, and end with the abolition of property " (1). One would imagine he were listening to a communist of the "International." And this is the spirit of the association which certain weak-minded Christians would fain believe to be indifferent, if not respectful, to the religious convictions of its members! We will conclude this point with some citations from one of modern Masonry's most authoritative sources.

Down to the year 1859, even during the period when Cavour exercised unparalleled authority over them, the Italian lodges had always been dependent on some foreign Grand Orient (2). But in that year, under the auspices of the *Ausonia*, just founded at Turin, many new independent lodges were instituted, and they set about the election of a grand-master. After four years of rivalry between Nigra, Cordova, and Garibaldi, the last, who had already, on January 1, 1862, been proclaimed "the first Mason in Italy," obtained the almost unanimous vote of the convention at Florence for his elevation to the grand-mastership. Then Italian Masonry renewed and published its Constitution, and in Art. IV. it was declared: "Masonry recognizes its God in the principle of moral and social order, under the symbol of the Great Architect of the Universe." And in Art. VIII. it is said: "As the definite object of its labors, *Masonry proposes to unite all free men in one great family, which will and ought, little by little, to succeed all the churches founded on blind faith and on theocratic authority; to succeed all superstitions, intolerant, and mutually hostile forms of worship; and thus establish the true and only Church of Humanity.*" It is not strange, therefore, that in the "Congress of Peace," held in 1867 at Geneva, by the leading Masons of Europe, the new Italian grand-master declared: "The religion of God is adopted by this Congress, and each of its members pledges himself to

(1) *Illuminated Code. General System.* See Robiano's *Continuation of the History of the Church*, vol. ii., p. 395, *et seq.*

(2) Thus, the lodges of Genoa and Leghorn were subordinate to the Supreme Council of Paris.

spread it throughout the earth"; and that when a member demanded, "Of what God do you speak?" Garibaldi replied, "By religion I mean the religion of reason." No wonder that the Congress then decreed that "the Papacy, being the most harmful of all sects, is declared deposed from among human institutions" (1). Speaking of the question "Do you believe in a Supreme Being?" used in the ritual of the Roman Grand Orient, the *Rivista della Massoneria* of Aug. 1, 1874, says: "Everybody knows that this formula possesses, by general consent, no exclusive signification, still less a religious one. It is adapted to all tastes, even to that of an atheist." And the *Monde Maçonnique* of 1878, p. 204, says that now in the Italian lodges the question "What do you owe to God?" is not put, but this one, "What do you owe to humanity, your country, and yourself?"

It is well known that in 1877 the lodges of England and the United States ceased to hold relations with the Grand Orient of France. This fact would not interest us of the "profane world," were it not based upon a most important action of the most important of all Masonic bodies; namely, the abolition, by the French Grand Orient, of that one of its statutes which proclaimed, as a very basis of Masonry, a belief in the existence of God and in the immortality of the soul. Since the Convention of October 26, 1854, the statutes of the French Grand Orient had declared that "the order of Freemasons has for its object: beneficence, the study of morality, and the practice of every virtue. It has for its basis: the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and the love of humanity." Of course, this statute owed its existence to the fact that Freemasonry had become an official institution of the Second Empire, and that Napoleon III. felt that something was due to the faith of the immense majority of the French people; and it had remained, despite the indignation of a majority of the order. But in a convention of the lodges of the east of France, held at Metz on July 29, 1869, the suppression of the above statute was demanded, with the request that it should be replaced by one declaring "human solidarity" to be the sole principle of Masonry. It

(1) *Annals of the Congress of Geneva in 1867, Published By The Committee*, p. 138.

was not difficult to carry this point; for as the *Monde Magnannique* had already said in 1862, the old statute was by no means a real indication of Masonic faith in a personal God: "God, the Great Architect of the Universe, is a generic term, which all men, since Plato, can accept, even though they do not believe in God." It was natural, therefore, that French Freemasonry, represented by means of its delegates in Paris on September 14, 1877, should have replaced the obnoxious statute with this one: "Freemasonry holds as its principles, absolute liberty of conscience and human solidarity." The English and American lodges resented this formal and public avowal of atheistic sentiment. In England and the United States, says Deschamps, "Masonry has allied itself with the Protestant churches, and has assigned to the Bible a prominent place in its ritual. If religion has not gained by this alliance, at least the lodges have lost thereby much of their original impious character. But the attitude of the English and American lodges is merely an isolated fact."

We are now brought to a point which is often urged by Masons. Why is it that Masonry is so much more openly atheistic, so much more violent, in Catholic countries than in those where the principles of the Reformation have taken root? The reason is evident. In the latter countries the work of Masonry is more than half accomplished; in the former, a solid, healthy, and imperturbably confident organization successfully impedes that work. In the language of an influential Masonic review (1), "from a religious point of view, Protestantism is one-half of Masonry. It, however, considers the essence of religion as a divine revelation, and permits to reason only a vain attempt to give form to an object outside its domain. In Masonry, on the contrary, reason has to furnish not only the *form* but the very *substance* of religion. At last, Protestantism must either return to Catholicism, or stop in the middle of its course; or, ever progressing, end by adopting the Masonic religion. . . . There is no medium between belief and disbelief, between being a Catholic or being an atheist." Pachtler, in his *War against Throne and Altar*, quotes a letter written to the Leipsic *Bauhütte* by the

(1) The *Latonia*, vol. ii., p. 164.

Venerable Master Conrad, in which we read : " No more attention need be paid to Protestantism than to a mere statistical rubric ; for it is lamentably reduced to the slavery of the mere letter of a book ; and, as it has no living discipline to excite the labors of the spirit, it is broken up into numberless confessions, all without any strength. Catholicism alone, with its strongly coherent organization, presents a formidable barrier to the advance of *independent humanity*. . . . This Church is a challenge issued against, not only Freemasonry, but against all civilized society." Masonry, therefore, can afford to be tolerant, if not really friendly, to all the sects of Protestantism ; just as it is to Mohammedanism and to the schismatics of the East, who affect to ignore it ; just as it is to Judaism, many of whose ostensible followers court it, and, to a great extent nowadays, rule it. But between it and the Catholic Church there must be persistent war. If the impossible could happen—if the Catholic Church could be eliminated from the face of the earth,—then, indeed, all heresies might fear the attacks of Masonry ; for then the very logic of evil, in which Masonry is such an adept, would impel it to attack even natural social order wherever found. Concerning its final object, Masonry no longer resorts to subterfuge : it openly declares itself as *the* religion of mankind. How, then, can there be anything else than war between it and that Church which insists that she alone is the authoritative teacher of religion among all men ? Which will conquer ? Even the infidel must admit that the Catholic Church has the better founded reason for confidence ; for at least she believes that she derives from God, and such confidence goes far to secure victory. Masonry, on the contrary, is of the earth, earthly ; and, though it may prate much about some mythical Great Architect of the Universe, few of its votaries seek inspiration above the roofs of their houses. As for the Catholic's faith in the promises of God, and therefore in the triumph of the Church over every enemy, infernal or earthly—it would be futile to draw a Mason's attention to that matter. But let both profane and initiated study the past. A knowledge of history will convince them that Freemasonry has attempted the impossible.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS.

Besides the continued onslaughts of her olden foes, the Church of the eighteenth century had to withstand those of three combatants newly arrived in the arena; and the panoply of none of her previous enemies had been so well fitted for a struggle for life or death, as that with which the newcomers were equipped. These new enemies were Freemasonry, Jansenism and Philosophism. From the day of its transformation from a beneficent organization, once protected and even blessed by the Church, to a society aiming to supplant the divinely-founded teaching body in its control of the minds and hearts of men, the first of these systems had perforce challenged Rome to a combat in which quarter would be unknown; and the year 1738 saw that the Roman Pontiff was on the alert, and that the gauntlet had been lifted by the Bull *In Eminenti*, whereby, for the first time, the Holy See stamped upon the audacious society the seal of condemnation. As to the other newly enrolled enemies, few systems could present greater differences, both in origin and object, than were exhibited by Jansenism and Philosophism. The former was austere, the latter epicurean. The former idolized authority, providing, of course, that it had the fashioning of the idol; while the latter knew no worship but that of "pure reason." The former was devoted to the Church—albeit, travestied by imaginative architects; while the latter had adopted as its watchword the cry of the Sage of Ferney, "*Ecrassez l'infâme*." But these so-differing foes of a representative of God on earth rivalled the adepts of the Square and Triangle in their opposition to the Queen who sat enthroned on the Seven Hills. Now it happened that about this time a large number of Christians had come to discern the right arm of the Holy See in the celebrated Society of Jesus. Against this powerful organization, therefore, were principally directed the arrows of the "liberal" forces, as they skirmished around the beleaguered fortress of Christian faith.

Ere long these besiegers were reinforced by an acquisition of strength which, by the very nature of things, one would suppose, should have been enlisted on the other side. The royal power in Portugal, Spain, France, Austria, Naples, Tuscany, and Parma, wielded by ministers whose notions of statecraft were diabolic rather than Christian, became the principal instrument in producing one of the most terrible catastrophes of modern times. If we are to credit the judgment of the Parliament of Paris, a tribunal which, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, deemed itself fully competent in all matters ecclesiastical, the Society of Jesus had become a propagator of simony, blasphemy, sacrilege, astrology, idolatry, superstition, impurity, perjury, lying, theft, murder—especially regicide—suicide, Arianism, Socinianism, Sabellianism, Nestorianism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, and even the olden errors of Wycliffe, Pelagius, and Montanus. At first sight of this rather inconsistent arraignment, one would suppose that it would not be credited even by that average *muliercula*, the scapegoat for so many absurdities, whom ecclesiastical writers are wont to render responsible for many vagaries of an infantine intellect. But credited it was by many persons of fair understanding; and, of course, the rank and file of the philosophists affected to believe it well-founded; while heresy, Gallicanism, Jansenism, and court-theology, each assured its partisans that if the terrible Jesuits were only banished from the earth, or at least disarmed and deprived, as it were, of their teeth, by a decree of the supreme ecclesiastical authority, then the Church would breathe freely, for the lay powers would no longer combat her. In fine, if the Jesuits could be made a thing of the past, the lion and the lamb would at last lie down together; for, at length, morality would reign, that scandalous laxism of the Society being erased from books of casuistry; and there would be a perpetual love-feast between rulers and the governed, since one blow would have destroyed both Jesuits and their doctrine of the propriety of regicide.

Among the innumerable diatribes which were issued during the thirty or forty years preceding the attainment of their object, the suppression of the hated Society, scarcely

one was not based on the alleged authenticity of a work which, even in our day, the more ignorant Jesuitophagi are wont to quote—that collection of purported *Monita Secreta*, or secret admonitions, said to be received only by the professed, for the government of the organization and the conduct of its members. Sarpi seems to have doubted the authenticity of this famous arsenal of weapons against those he so bitterly hated; for, writing to Dell' Isola, he said: "I have always admired the policy displayed by the Jesuits in keeping their secrets. Their *Institutions* are certainly printed, but one cannot lay a hand on a copy. I say nothing concerning the *Rules* which were printed at Lyons, for they are puerilities; I allude to the regulations for their government, which are so carefully guarded. Members are dismissed from the Society every day, and many leave it of their own accord, and still these secrets are not revealed. No other organization of men in the world, conspiring for one object, is managed with such accuracy, and shows such zeal in its work." Good sense, if not blinded by passion, ought to have led to the conclusion that these secret rules did not exist; and Sarpi appears to have had enough of that good sense, for he adds: "I have read that book, and it contains things so extravagant, that I doubt its genuineness; men are certainly wicked, but I cannot believe that such ribaldries are tolerated anywhere in the world." These *Monita* have been ascribed to Schoppe, a converted Lutheran of paradoxical proclivities who was invited to Rome by Clement VII.; but there is better reason to believe that they were invented by Zaorowski, a Pole expelled from the Society in 1611. Certainly, they are of a date anterior to 1613, when they were confuted by the Jesuit Gretzer. Scotti, one of the most venomous of a venomous tribe, says nothing of these secret rules, although he details many of the laws of the Jesuits, and probably would have detailed all, had he not told his reader that they fill fifty immense volumes (1).

Sarpi feigned to believe that the Jesuits are capable of

(1) *Monarchia Solipsorum*, under the pen-name of Lucius Cornelius Europæus. Venice, 1645. Scotti says that the *solipsi* venerate their *monarcha* (the general) more than any other being, and that their fundamental law is to labor for the subjugation of the entire world to that *monarcha*.

committing any evil; and he insisted that "there is no greater enterprise than that of diminishing the credit of the Jesuits. If they are beaten, Rome is taken; if they disappear, religion will be reformed, of its own accord." But Fra Paolo yields in audacity of attack, in recklessness of assertion, and in many other arts of the calumniator, to an author from whom, in his early career, very different things were anticipated. The first works of Gioberti were marked by learning, art, charity, and faith. For a restoration of philosophy, he had deemed necessary a general return to Catholic ideas and institutions, and his early pages are redolent of historical truth, as he magnifies the pontifical authority and its upholders (1); although, remarks Cantù, his immoderate praise of Italy, for which he claimed the primacy among the nations, because it is the seat of the hieratic centre and of the religious and moral tie of the world, "inoculated his country with a pride which was to harm it greatly." In his *Primacy of Italy*, he had so eulogized the pontifical authority and the Jesuits, that he displeased that rank and file, for whose praise, as events proved, he hankered. Accordingly, in order to avoid the accusation of "Jesuitizing," he issued his *Prolegomena*, and finally his too celebrated *Modern Jesuit*, in which he undertook to prove that "the Jesuits are souls without pity, souls of iron; they are impenetrable to sentiments the most sacred, to affections

(1) Gioberti drew these generous principles from Manzoni, Cantù, Balbo, and similar polemics, who had originated the *Neo-Guelphic* school. "This school," says Cantù, "in the unpreventable conflict between the Church and the State, that is, between the peoples and the rulers, had embraced the party which preferred the moral authority of the Pontiff to the armed supremacy of the emperor; and they saw in this a means to establish a supremacy of the national idea over foreign domination. In Italy they wished to re-establish concord and dignity; to substitute a cult of liberty instead of the revolutionary orgy; to render faith more than a mere speculation which tries to conciliate everything in some vague kind of fashion, and which is neither a nutriment nor a restraint; to lead our compatriots back from a belief in the God of *galantuomini* and from Voltairian contempt, to a faith in a personal and living God, our Creator and our Redeemer. In history, in the study of law and of statistics, they declared that they found that liberty had been always protected by the Popes, who by their opposition of a universal equality of souls to a universal empire of force, saved civilization; who prevented the subjugation of Italy by the barbarians, and were ever favorable to any struggle for real Italian independence. Confronting the glorious dangers of impopularity, the Neo-Guelphs believed that by the actuation of these ideas they might effect the elevation of Italy, humiliated by foreign violence and by our own faults, and that this elevation could be effected by the exertions of Italians alone. They prognosticated a league, the head of which was to be the Roman Pontiff; and by means of this confederation, the foreigner was to lose, at first, his superiority, and finally his dominion in Italy." *Heretics of Italy*, Discourse LV.

the most noble ; they are ever ready for fraud, imposture, and calumny ; they are men without heart, apostles of hell, ministers of perdition ; in fine, they form the most terrible and fatal enemy of humanity and Christianity which modern times have known. . . . They teach a ribald morality which has only the semblance of being Christian, and they inculcate things of which an honest Gentile would be ashamed ; their idea of justice is contradictory to public law, and can have the sanction of none but assassins " (1). In diametrical opposition to the work of Gioberti, we have the too famous apology for the Jesuits by Cretineau-Joly. The impartial reader who turns from the exaggerations and absurdities of Gioberti, the venomous sputterings of Sarpi, and the idiotic ravings of the inventor of the *Monita Sacra*, in the hope of discovering pure and simple truth in this work, will be sadly disappointed. We hear much, on the part of the foes of the Jesuits, of a tendency of certain devotees to confound the celebrated Society with the Church ; we do not believe that such persons exist ; but certainly Cretineau-Joly approaches, as nearly as any one of sane mind can, to an assertion of that identity. For a medium between Gioberti and the French enthusiast, one may turn to the pages of the learned Oratorian, Theiner ; especially for a refutation of the cruelly false allegations, brought by certain superlatively zealous apologists of the Society—especially Cretineau-Joly—against the mem-

(1) The Abbé Le Noir, in his *Adaptation of Bergier's Dictionary to the Intellectual Movement of the Nineteenth Century* (Paris, 1876), makes these apposite reflections on the teachings of the Jesuits : " We can find no foundations for the charges brought against the Jesuits. Whatever charge would be of real importance, if sustained, has either never been proved, or vanishes when subjected to scrutiny. And how many things are alleged against them, which really redound to their praise. . . . Their very virtues, their services and amiability, their spirit of tolerance and their sociability, even that civism which is generally in advance of the times ; all of these qualities are turned against them. At the moment when we are writing (1873), we learn of the discovery in the Sainte-Geneviève Library, of the original score of the opera *Jonathas* by Charpentier. This composer had set to music the *Malade Imaginaire* of Molière for the Jesuit College which was located on the site of the present Lycée de Louis-le-Grand. This opera, like many other pieces, had been represented on the stage of the College theatre ; for the Jesuits wished to call the drama and music, and all the arts, to their aid in the cultivation of the minds and hearts of their pupils. They brought to their College stage the best actors of the capital. . . . At the time when the unintelligent rigidism of Gallicanism and Jansenism reigned among us, the Jesuits counterbalanced it in their own practice, with as much courage as good sense. . . . We cannot be malevolent toward such men ; but we feel like cursing that blind perversity which persists in regarding all the good and beautiful that the Jesuits have effected, all their own excellence, as so much hypocrisy and treason."

ory of Pope Clement XIV. This work, however, did **not** please the Society; "it afflicted the general, Father Root-haan, profoundly," says Ravignan; "he perceived in it an attack on the Society," and he thought that "a better apology for the Pontiff who suppressed the Society might be made." Ravignan produced "a better apology," not of Clement XIV., but of the Society (1); and not the least of its many merits is one that cannot be discerned in any other of the numerous narratives of the Suppression which have appeared in our day. Not once does the name of Cretineau-Joly appear in the work. The excellent review of Theiner's book, from the pen of another Jesuit, Boero (2), is invaluable because of the wealth of documentary evidence which it adduces; but it is deficient in that which constitutes the chief merit of Ravignan's apology—a calmness of tone which causes one to forget that he is reading a strictly polemical work.

Before we enter upon a detailed account of the persecutions which preceded the suppression of the Society of Jesus, we must observe that the Holy See, certainly the best judge in the premises, did not regard as well-founded the reasons which were adduced in justification of those persecutions. We abstain from any citations of the praises which Clement XIII. lavished on the Society, since its enemies have always found fault with that Pontiff for an excessive friendship toward it; but we may reasonably ask consideration for the opinion of Benedict XIV., who has never been charged with an exhibition of more affection for the Jesuits than strict justice demanded. While still archbishop of Bologna, Cardinal Lambertini thus wrote in his *Ecclesiastical Institutions*: "Here we must make special mention of the brethren and companions of Blessed Francis Regis, the religious of the Society of Jesus, whose aid we have ever requested and shall ever request in behalf of the flock committed to our charge. No one is ignorant of their zealous care in the religious and literary training of youth, in the proper celebration of the divine offices in their churches, in leading sinners to repentance, in the instruction of the ignorant; all know how

(1) *Clement XIII. and Clement XIV.* Paris, 1854.

(2) *Observations on the History of the Pontificate of Clement XIV., Written by A. Theiner, Priest of the Oratory.* Monza, 1853.

they aid the pastors of souls by teaching the principles of Christian doctrine to children, by their preaching the word of God ; and all know also the great fruit which follows the exercises of the retreat which they give to ecclesiastics." And when he had mounted the pontifical throne, Benedict XIV. said in his Bull *Devotam*, published in 1746 : " We know that the society founded by St. Ignatius, under the name and auspices of Our Saviour, Jesus Christ, devoted to the glory of God and the salvation of souls, renders continually the most useful services to the Church ; and that for more than two centuries it has been *happily and prudently governed according to the very wise laws and constitutions which its holy founder devised.*" And in his Bull *Præclaris*, issued in 1748, the same Pontiff declares : " Following in the footsteps of our predecessors, who have showered favors on the illustrious Society of Jesus, we do not hesitate to give new testimonies of our pontifical benevolence toward a society whose members are regarded as, and are in fact, the good odor of Jesus Christ." Finally we may adduce the Bull *Constantem*, issued in the same year, in which Benedict XIV. says that " The clerics of the Society of Jesus, faithful followers in the glorious footsteps of their holy founder, Ignatius, give an example of religious virtue to the world ; and at the same time they teach all the sciences, above all, the sacred science of religion."

The rumblings of the coming storm, which was to prove so disastrous to the Society of Jesus, had been heard in France for several years ; but it was in Portugal, a land which had hitherto rivalled Spain in whole-souled devotion to all that was cherished or even tolerated by the Roman See, that the tempest first descended. For all time the Catholic historian will ascribe the horrors which Portugal now witnessed, and the melancholy events which those horrors encouraged in other lands, to Sebastian Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal. The annals of Portugal mention Joseph I. as one of the kings of that country ; but no Merovingian monarch was less of a king than this Joseph, and no *maire de palais* was more effectively sovereign than Pombal. From his youth Pombal had been inclined toward novelties ; and

long residence in foreign lands had enabled him to enter into relations with incredulists, Protestants, and Jansenists. When he became prime-minister of Joseph I., he immediately entered on a course of "reforms" which were destined to convert a peaceable and religious land into a bedlam of disorder. In order to pave the way for his "liberalism," he caused the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and others of that ilk, to be translated into Portuguese, and to be scattered broadcast among the people. But his masterpiece of statecraft was his capture of the Portuguese Inquisition. The reader will remember our reflections on the Spanish Inquisition; how we showed that it was a political, rather than a religious institution, depending from the king rather than from the Pope (1). The Portuguese tribunal had always been very similar to the Spanish in its subservience to the royal power; but Pombal succeeded in rendering it his docile creature. Without any pretence of law or right he deposed the grand-inquisitor, Don Joseph de Braganza; and placed in that tremendously responsible position his own brother, Paul Carvalho, a notorious enemy of the Holy See (2). Secular historians will inform the reader how Pombal confiscated the property of the Church and nobles, in order to enrich himself; how his administration was sullied by acts of cruelty which would have befitted the reigns of Nero, Elizabeth, or Catharine II. We simply record that he was known to send in one day, without reason, a hundred persons to the scaffold; and that when the bishop of Coimbra published a pastoral against the infamous *Pucelle* of Voltaire, he thrust the prelate into a subterranean dungeon. Such was the man who, on Feb. 10, 1758, denounced the Society of Jesus to Pope Benedict XIV., calling the attention of the Pontiff to a narrative of the "crimes" of the Jesuits in America, which the marquis had just written and published. Writing in the name of his Most Faithful Majesty to Francis d'Almada, the Portuguese ambassador to the Holy See, Pombal says: "Your Excellency will find in this *Relation* evidence that for many years these religious have forsworn all obedience to the Bulls and commands of the Popes, all

(1) Vol. II., p. 403.

(2) PACCA; *Memoires on the Nunciature of Lisbon*.

observance of the laws which are necessary for the peace of the kingdom, all fidelity to their sovereign, and the religious care of their subjects. They have sacrificed all these Christian, religious, natural, and political obligations to a blind, insolent, and unlimited greed for political power, to an insatiable thirst for wealth, and to a usurpation of the rights of sovereigns. . . . The extreme corruption of these unworthy sons of a holy society has become so extreme in the kingdom of Portugal, and especially in the dominions beyond the sea, that there are among us very few Jesuits who do not appear to be merchants, soldiers, and tyrants, rather than religious." His Holiness, therefore, was besought to nominate a visitor, whose duty it would be to "reform" the so lamentably degenerated Society. The lie was immediately given to Pombal, on the part of the Portuguese hierarchy, by the archbishop of Evora and the bishop of Tipaza, in apposite letters to the general of the criminated Society; and when fear of the tyrant prevented other Portuguese bishops from manifesting their real sentiments, many of the Spanish prelates protested to the Holy See against the calumnies of the dictator of Lisbon. The *Relation* which Pombal sent to the Pontiff was simply a verbose assertion that the Jesuits of Paraguay were merchants rather than religious, warriors rather than missionaries of Christ. Ravignan thus replies to the accusation: "The 'reductions' of Paraguay and a few other missions were administered, even as to temporal matters, by the fathers of the Society of Jesus. The bishops of those regions, and the colonial governments, had constantly approved that state of things as one which alone befitted those populations whom faith and piety had led, as it were naturally, to the pure and simple habits of the primitive Christians, or even of religious. The fathers-procurators did for the Indians just what is done in community life. They sold the produce of the soil and of the labor of the neophytes; they bought the things that were necessary. These operations were not contrary to the canons which forbid commerce to the clergy; they could not be regarded as 'business,' for that is a buying in order to sell; they brought no profit to the Society of Jesus. The accounts

were rendered to the civil authorities and audited by them. Nevertheless we have here the foundation of the edifice of calumny which Pombal deemed fitting for his designs. They talked of the gold mines which the Jesuits were working ; they tried hard to find them, but neither gold nor silver mines have been found in Paraguay. For some time these ridiculous charges have been properly appreciated. All the registers and account books of the Jesuits were seized ; the archives of the Society were searched ; and what was found ? Absolutely nothing ; not a fact, not a name, which would indicate commercial operations ; nothing which would prove military enterprises, commandments of armies, or political revolutions. . . . Afterward, but in France, there was indeed found a culprit, Father Lavellette ; but he was not a Jesuit in his commercial operations ; he avowed that he acted contrary to the will of his superiors, and without their knowledge."

A brief description of the work of the Jesuits in Paraguay will show the absurdity and wickedness of the charges made by Pombal against the Society. When the Jesuits began to evangelize the savages of the province of Guayra in 1586, they found the Guaranis the most degraded and corrupt of all the tribes they had met in the New World. But in a few years they converted and domesticated nearly two hundred thousand ; and those little republics, which came to be known as the "Reductions" of Paraguay, were probably the happiest states on earth. Each "Reduction" had from three to seven thousand inhabitants dwelling in houses arranged around the church, which had been the original centre of the community. The soil was assigned for cultivation to each family in quantity proportionate to its numbers ; but the produce of each lot was invariably brought to the common stock, which was finally divided equally among the citizens. Then there was a "domain of God," the revenues of which were devoted to the care of widows, orphans, the aged and infirm ; to the expenses of divine worship ; and to the annual tribute which the community paid to the sovereign in Europe. The labors of each day were preceded by the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and common prayer. The produce of

the soil was not sold in markets ; but on appointed days it was distributed in public. On each Monday the women received the cotton or silk which they were to spin during the week, and to return on Saturday. Each commune was divided into quarters with their respective *alcaldes* or superintendents of discipline ; and each *alcaide* had under his orders a *corregidor* who presided over the school of the quarter. Faults were punished by private reprimands ; a second delinquency entailed public penance at the door of the church, a third was to be atoned for by a light whipping, but the annals of the "Reductions" tell us that during the century and a half that they subsisted, this castigation was *not once administered*. Marriage was celebrated at an early age. In the workshops the sexes were separate. When a woman had no child, and her husband was at war, she resided in a refuge designated for that and similar purposes. The lazy were condemned to cultivate the "domain of God." Foreign commerce, which consisted chiefly of the exportation of cotton stuffs and a kind of tea, brought considerable profit to the communities ; but it was either divided, or devoted to public works and embellishments. Behold an outline of a sketch of what may be called an ecclesiastical republic, as it was constituted by the Jesuits during the last fifteen years of the sixteenth century, and which was in its prime when Pombal, the type of the "liberal" of his day, relegated it to the domain of history. And of what sublime patience and courage it was the fruit ! In their work of civilization, the Jesuits had been not only missionaries of Christ, but also physicians and nurses, stewards, cooks, bakers, farmers, blacksmiths, tanners, shoemakers, tailors, in fine, everything which contributes to make a civilized community ; and during the entire course of their efforts they saw ever present the danger of a fall, on the part of their wards, into that indifference, that innate apathy, which seemed to be the heritage of the South American Indian. The annals of the "Reductions" give many illustrations of the patient watchfulness which alone enabled the planted seed to develop unto maturity ; thus, it was an ordinary occurrence for some embryo farmers, when sent to plough with a yoke of oxen, to slaughter and

eat the animals, and then stretch themselves for a good nap. But the fathers conquered; and soon there was scarcely a useful art which was not followed by the quondam savages. The Jesuits have been blamed for having tried to isolate their nascent states from the Spaniards and Portuguese. The charge is well founded. "But this endeavor," remarks a judicious modern publicist, "was a stroke of prudence and of genius, since the bad example of the Europeans would have impeded the progress of the Indians. Men decried the theocratic and communistic system that had been founded; but what mattered the system, when it was welcomed by all, and when it produced such happy results? The economists of to-day term it a still-born Utopia. This is a strange qualification for a masterpiece which had savagery for the sole element of its creation; which was perfected in spite of swamp fever, foreign invasion, and the many embarrassments excited by those who ought to have encouraged it; and which, after all, existed for nearly two centuries, and finally perished, only because the world killed it by violence" (1).

Pope Benedict XIV. deemed it wise to grant the favor which was besought in the name of his Most Faithful Majesty; and on April 1, 1758, he signed a Brief appointing the Portuguese Cardinal Saldanha as visitor, for the purpose of "inquiring as to whether the charges (against the Society) were well founded... to obtain the most exact information as to everything concerning the Jesuits... and to render a detailed account to the Supreme Pontiff." The Brief was promulgated in Portugal on May 2, the day before that on which Benedict XIV. died. The visitor made no visits whatever to any of the houses of the Society; and there is no indication that he communicated to the superiors of the Jesuits copies of the charges made against their subjects, or that he held the slightest interrogatory in the premises. Nevertheless, on May 15 this so-called visitor issued a decree wherein the Jesuits were declared to have engaged in public, scandalous, and illicit commerce in Portugal and in the Portuguese colonies. After this violation of the pontifical injunctions and of canonical prescriptions, it is not

(1) LE NOIR; *loc. cit.*, Art. *Paraguau*.

surprising that on June 7 the patriarch of Lisbon satisfied the demands of Pombal by promulgating the following decree : " For just reasons which are known to us, and which interest specially the service of God and the public weal, we deprive the fathers of the Society of Jesus of the faculties of hearing confessions and preaching in the entire extent of our patriarchate." Thus Pombal openly declared war against the Jesuits ; and he had resolved to detach Portugal from her obedience to the Holy See, if that measure should prove necessary for his victory. " In order to rid himself of the Jesuits," says Theiner, " Pombal thought of nothing less than to separate Portugal from the Holy See, and to place that kingdom on the same footing as the schismatic Church of Utrecht. With this end in view he had addressed the Jansenists of France, asking them to send him a manual of their errors, that he might introduce them into the theological curriculum (of Portugal), and thus banish sound doctrine from the Universities and seminaries " (1). Was the life of the Portuguese monarch really attempted on Sept. 3, 1758 ? Historians generally reply in the affirmative ; and of course very many assert that the Jesuits were the guilty parties (2). Three of them were imprisoned, tried, and con-

(1) *Ubi supra*, p. 30.

(2) The impartial Cantù thus speaks of this alleged attempt : " It was said that three shots were fired at the king. No one but Pombal and the surgeon saw the monarch ; but it was said that the hand of the Jesuits was in the attempt, and a commission, presided over by Pombal, was instituted. Great nobles of the Tavora and Aveiro families were arrested, and confined in dens which were used for the wild beasts destined for the arena ; their relatives were shut up in monasteries ; the houses of the Jesuits were surrounded by guards, and minutely searched. On the rack the duke d'Aveiro confessed that he had wished to kill the king, and that he had been instigated by the Jesuits ; but when the torture had ceased, he retracted. The retraction was vain ; sentence was pronounced when nothing but rumors of conspiracies had been elicited—nothing positive whatsoever. Ferreira, a royal chamberlain, was sent to the stake, and the others to the wheel. Leonora de Tavora, a beautiful and cultured woman who had been, ' by the grace of God,' vice-queen at Goa, was decapitated ; her husband was quartered ; her sons, her son-in-law, and her servants were strangled ; her property was confiscated, her palaces razed, and her name abolished. The nature of the trial was the best testimony for the accused ; and it is sufficient to say that the record was kept secret, and that the king forbade any future revelation of it. The world, anxious to chronicle the truth, could only discover that the king had held an amorous appointment with the marchioness Leonora, and was returning in the carriage of his chamberlain, Texeira ; that the lady's husband and brother-in-law, thinking to punish Texeira for outraging their honor, attacked the king ; and that when the coachman cried that they were shooting the monarch, they fled. This account is the most probable one ; the least probable one is that of a conspiracy ; perhaps a vendetta of Pombal was at the bottom of the whole affair, he having been refused the hand of a Tavora lady for his son." *Universal History*, bk. xvii., ch. 10.

demned ; but Pombal dared not put them to death. But two hundred and twenty-one of the fathers were buried in the subterranean dungeons on the banks of the Tagus ; half of them died ere the fall of their persecutor, seventeen years afterward, restored them to liberty. Those Jesuits who were not imprisoned were banished ; their schools were confided to laymen, and translations of German Protestant textbooks were placed in the hands of the scholars. Among those who were banished, one hundred and thirty embarked for Civita Vecchia, and as the ship proceeded down the Tagus, they sang the *In exitu Israel de Aegypto* ; from Brazil and Paraguay four hundred and ninety-four were brought to Lisbon for imprisonment, but half were sent to the Papal States, to be cared for by the Pontiff ; about five hundred from the East Indies received the same treatment. The harrowing particulars of this persecution are easily attainable by the student ; but the fate of one of the victims, Malagrida, being seldom more than mentioned, we shall devote a few words to it, especially since he was stigmatized as a heretic.

Gabriel Malagrida was born at Menaggio, in the diocese of Como, in Italy. Educated by the priests of the Congregation of the Somaschi, he finally became a Jesuit, and was despatched to the South American mission. In Peru, Bahia, Pernambuco, and other places, his zeal and charity were exemplary ; while his sufferings—often even unto the verge of death—ranked him among the most heroic of those extraordinary men, of whom the religious orders were then so prolific. After twelve years of incredible labor, Malagrida returned to Europe to beg aid from the king of Portugal for the religious establishments which he had founded for the temporal and spiritual benefit of the Indians. He was received with worse than coolness by Pombal ; and on the occasion of the terrible earthquake of All Saints' Day, 1755, his courage and charity so embittered the contemptible minister, that he induced the papal nuncio to exile the intrepid priest from Lisbon to Setubal. Meanwhile, among other charges alleged against the Jesuits by the creatures of Pombal and the other foes of the Society, was now advanced

that of having established communistic republics in America. If it is communism to use missionaries instead of soldiers, convents instead of prisons, hymns instead of whips, penances instead of the gallows, then certainly this accusation was well founded. But a still more terrible charge was soon brought against the Jesuits, and especially against Malagrida. An attempt was said to have been made on the life of the king; one of the parties arrested implicated the missionary, and such an occasion to ruin the Society was not to be missed by its arch-enemy. The room of Malagrida was searched, and among his papers was found a letter, addressed to his Majesty, announcing that danger menaced his royal person. Malagrida insisted that this knowledge had been revealed to him by heaven; in the book on Antichrist, said to have been written by him afterward, we read that he had heard, one night, a voice predicting the imminent death of the monarch; and at his trial he stated that having realized the great evils that would result from robbing the Jesuits of their missions in America, he prayed God to avert the danger, and received the inspiration to advise the king of the impending attempt. Malagrida was imprisoned; but the accusation could not be sustained, and hence Pombal invented another plan to attain his end. After the unfortunate septuagenarian had been incarcerated two years, he was denounced to the Inquisition of Lisbon, at the head of which Pombal had placed his own brother, of obscenities (said to have been committed by the old man in his prison), and of imposture, blasphemy, and heresy. No proof whatever could be adduced to sustain the first—an incredible charge; but in corroboration of the others, there were presented two books which Malagrida was said to have composed in his prison. One of these works was a treatise on *The Life and Empire of Antichrist*; the other was styled a *Wonderful Life of the Glorious St. Ann*, which the author asserted, on the title page, to have been “dictated by the saint herself, with the assistance, approbation, and concurrence, of our Most Sovereign Lady and of her Divine Son.” These books were filled with fantastic visions and absurdities; thus the writer insisted that there were to be three Antichrists. a

father, his son, and a grandson ; the last was to be born in Milan, in 1920, from the union of a friar and a nun ; he was to marry Proserpina, an infernal fury. St. Ann was represented as sanctified before her birth, and was said to have emitted, while yet unborn, the three monastic vows : of poverty to the Father, of obedience to the Son, and of chastity to the Holy Ghost. He thought that St. Ann was the most innocent of creatures. She prayed even for the Cherubim, that they might become more fervent in the divine service. The Blessed Virgin, according to the visionary, was to be exalted "even unto heaven, and beyond" ; he dared even to assign to her the attributes of God. As to the Jesuits, the enthusiast declared that they would found a new Empire of Christ, discovering an infinite number of Indian nations. Malagrida seems to have acknowledged these ravings as his own ; if he was really their author, he should have been placed in a lunatic asylum, rather than put to death, as Louis XV. equivalently observed, when he was informed of the victim's sentence. Nevertheless, founding its decision on these absurdities or hallucinations, the Inquisition of Lisbon, now controlled by Pombal's brother, pronounced the unfortunate "guilty of heresy, blasphemy, false prophesying, horrible impieties, and of having abused the word of God ; he had outraged the Divine Majesty by teaching an infamous and scandalous morality." Therefore he was consigned to the secular power, said power being requested to abstain from inflicting the punishment of death. On Sept. 21, 1761, Malagrida was strangled, and his body given to the flames. We do not know what Voltaire said when he heard of this execution ; but we do know that when he had heard of the victim's arrest, he wrote to the Countess Luzelburg : "I hear that the Reverend Father Malagrida has been arrested. Thank God ! This news is consoling." It seems that the Jesuits of that day regarded their assassinated brother as a saint ; and Pope Clement XIII., most partial to the Society, pronounced him "another martyr in the Church of Christ." Throughout Europe medals were circulated, bearing an inscription to the effect that Malagrida was "most illustrious for his holiness of life, for mir-

acles performed... venerated and beloved by high and low ; and unacceptable only to the demon and his ministers... he was condemned, *religionis lege*, amid the praises and tears of the good ; but by the public judgment of all, he was declared innocent." Of the *Lives* of Malagrida, the most famous, and probably the most reliable, are those by Matthew Rodriguez, and by the latinist, Cordara.

The sublimely audacious Pombal having asked Pope Clement XIII. for authorization to punish all clerics, secular or regular, who had been guilty of an "attempt at regicide," the Pontiff issued the requisite Brief ; but on the same day, Aug. 2, 1759, he wrote to King Joseph an eloquent letter, the burden of which was that if any of the Jesuits were found guilty, they should be punished, but that "the innocent should not be made to suffer." Meanwhile legal proceedings in Paraguay and Spain had demonstrated the innocence of the Jesuits ; and both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of those countries had condemned as infamous the dif-famatory libels against the Society which Pombal had caused to be circulated. Because of these procedures a decree was promulgated by the Council of Castile on April 5, 1759, completely justifying the Jesuits of Paraguay ; and basing its action on the same reports, the Spanish Inquisition, not dominated by a Carvalho, prohibited the reading of Pombal's infamous *Relation* to which we have alluded, and ordered it to be burnt by the public executioner (1). At this same period the queen-regent of Spain, Elizabeth Farnese, wrote to the provincial of the Jesuits in New Spain, lauding the zeal and charity of his subjects ; and when, in 1760 Charles III. was called from his kingdom of Naples to the Spanish throne, he ordered a number of Jesuits to be conveyed, at public expense, to the same regions where, according to Pombal, they had plotted against his crown. But testimonies such as these only augmented the virulence of Pombal ; and he eagerly awaited an occasion for an open rupture with Clement XIII., who, although most patient with the court of Lisbon, most plainly evinced an entire sym-

(1) See the *Report Made to the Council of Castile in 1815 for the Re-establishment of the Jesuits*, by Gutierrez de la Huerta, Fiscal of Castile. Madrid, 1845.

pathy with the persecuted Society. This occasion not showing itself, Pombal spread a net for the Papal nuncio at Lisbon, Cardinal Acciajuoli. The Infante, Don Pedro, was about to be married to the princess of Brazil; and in violation of the common laws of diplomatic etiquette, to say nothing of the respect due to the representative of the Father of Christendom, the prime minister omitted to inform Acciajuoli officially of the coming event. The insulted nuncio consulted with the other members of the diplomatic body; and by their advice he abstained from illuminating his residence on the evening of the ceremony, at the same time informing the king of the reasons which had prompted his conduct. Pombal had gained his point; the nuncio was immediately conducted by a squadron of troopers to the frontier, and for many years there were no diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Portugal. Several times Clement XIII. tried to bring King Joseph to a sense of his duty as a Christian sovereign; but the influence of Pombal remained dominant, and at the dictation of the minister, the king even wrote to the Pontiff that the papal letters "came from a laboratory of obreptitious and subreptitious Briefs." Concluding our narrative of Pombal's share in the agitations which entailed the suppression of the Society of Jesus, we would ask the reader whether there can possibly be any more thorough justification of the Portuguese Jesuits than is found in the incontestable fact that out of nearly 1800 of them who were arrested, not one was convicted (excepting Malagrida), not one confessed his guilt, and not one (again excepting Malagrida) was even legally tried.

That the anti-Jesuitical campaign of Pombal would be applauded by the Jansenists and philosophists of France was a thing to be expected; and the parliament of Paris soon evinced a disposition to undertake a similar warfare. On April 18, 1760, that zealous body listened approvingly to a lengthy report which the advocate-general, Omer Joly de Fleury, presented in regard to the sodalities which the Jesuits formed and guided wherever they were established (1).

(1) Cardinal Bausset, in his *History of Fénelon*, proclaims the utility of these sodalities. "Simple and easy exercises of piety, familiar instructions befitting the condition of each person and not interfering with each one's occupation or social duties, helped to maintain

The piety of this lawyer had suggested to him that such sodalities or confraternities "were unknown in the halcyon days of the Church ; that their invention was due to the negligence of the ecclesiastics, and to the unenlightened devotion of the laity, who sought in strange churches that instruction which they should have received from their own pastors." Impressed by this view of the matter, on May 9 the parliament interdicted all sodalities as "dangerous" ; and when the bishops of France, then in General Assembly, memorialized Louis XV. in favor of the criminated societies, they received an equivocal reply. As yet, however, the parliament of Paris had not ventured to attack openly the Society of Jesus itself. But just at this time the Jesuits brought before the parliament a question, the solution of which furnished a favorable opportunity. This question was that of the liability of the Society for the debts of one of its members. In 1753 Father Lavellette, a superior in the Antilles, had been charged with having engaged in commerce, and had been ordered by the government to return to France. Having justified his conduct to his superiors, he had been entrusted by them with the mission of Martinique, and had utilized his position to engage in several hazardous speculations. Picot thus narrates this affair : "The Jesuit superiors protested that they had never authorized Lavellette to engage in commerce ; and he swore that none of them had participated in, or connived at his speculations. For a time he was successful ; but the English having captured many of the French ships, he lost immensely, and was unable to meet his liabilities, either by his own efforts or through the aid of Father de Sacy, the procurator-general of the province called 'of France,' from which province depended the missions of the Antilles. His principal creditors were the brothers Lioney of Marseilles, whom his failure placed in a critical position. Negotiations were held, and some of the obligations were satisfied. Centurioni, the general of the Society, had authorized Father de Sacy to borrow 500,000

that regularity of life, that spirit of order and subordination, which preserve the peace and harmony of families and assure the prosperity of states. It is still remembered in the chief cities of the kingdom that there was never such order and tranquillity, such honesty in business, fewer failures, and less depravity, than when those sodalities existed."

livres in order to succor the Lioncy brothers, and to obtain time from the creditors; but this measure was not adopted, having found opposition in the Society, and having been proposed when it was too late. The Lioncy brothers had already been forced to surrender all of their assets, and of these the obligations of Lavellette were the most promising. In this emergency the syndics of the creditors summoned the Jesuits before the consulate of Marseilles, and they obtained a decree to the effect that the Society itself was obliged to meet the obligations incurred in the name of the Jesuits of Martinique. . . . The Jesuits did not comprehend that it was their interest to hush up this affair, even though enormous sacrifices should be entailed; they appealed to the parliament of Paris, and by that act they placed their destiny at the command of their foes. . . . The decision of the parliament was rendered on May 8, 1761, amid shouts, stamping of feet, and other signs of frenzied joy on the part of those who had come to enjoy a triumph. The Jesuits—their general, and in his person the whole Society—were condemned to meet the obligations, and also to pay damages and interests to the amount of 50,000 livres. We care not to discuss the righteousness of this judgment. Lavellette was culpable; but we may believe that at any other time the entire Society would not have been held responsible for the imprudence or delinquency of one of its members" (1). During the debates on the matter of Lavellette the Constitutions of the Society had been severely attacked. On April 17, the Abbé Chauvelin, a furious Jansenist, denounced these Constitutions as "containing many things contrary to good order, to the discipline of the Church, and to the maxims of the kingdom." The parliament acclaimed a discovery which the Church, during the past two centuries, had failed to make; and after an examination of the Constitutions, it was decreed, on Aug. 6, that "no subjects of the king should enter the said Society, even as probationers or novices; that the priests of the said Society should no longer continue to give either public or private lessons in

(1) *Memoires for the Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iv., p. 49. Paris, 1855.

theology, philosophy, or the humanities, in any schools, colleges, or seminaries which are subject to the jurisdiction of the parliament; that all students should immediately depart from said schools, etc., and all parents withdraw their children from them; and that those who would contravene this decree should be held as guilty of upholding the said doctrine, which is impious, sacrilegious, homicidal, contrary to the authority of the king and to his personal security, and as such to be punished according to the rigor of the laws." But the parliament could not obtain the consent of Louis XV. to the immediate enforcement of its decree; his Majesty had already received, from a commission which he had appointed to examine the Constitutions of the Society, a report which disculpated the Jesuits from all the charges made by the sectarians. Again, Louis was being urged by the queen, by the sternly virtuous dauphin and his other children, by the most worthy men of his court, and by his own knowledge of the virulent animosity of the Jansenist-incredulist cabal against innocent men, to check the effrontery of the magistracy as his illustrious predecessors had so often checked it. But Louis XV. was of different calibre from those predecessors; and all that he could obtain was a delay of a year before the Jesuits would be deprived of their right to teach.

Hitherto the Jesuits of France had manifested no inclination to bend before the storm which menaced their destruction; but on Dec. 19, 1761, Etienne de la Croix, provincial of the province of Paris, in the name of his brethren formally promised to teach the celebrated Four Propositions of the Declaration of 1682, thus committing, so far as it was in his power to commit, the standard-bearer of Roman doctrine to the defence of Gallicanism. The enemies of the Society contend that this stultification of himself was a voluntary act of the Parisian provincial, emitted for the purpose of conciliating the bishops of France, then united in General Assembly; the apologists of the Society can scarcely hope to palliate the provincial's guilt when they assert that his signature was extorted by violence, adducing his report to the general, in which he said that "royal commissaries brought to him the said declaration, already formulated, to-

gether with an express order of the king that he should sign it on the spot" (1). The disgraceful document was couched in these terms: "We, the undersigned, provincial of the Jesuits of the province of Paris, superior of the house of the professed, rector of the College of Louis le Grand, superior of the novitiate and of the professed Jesuits residing in the said houses, renewing in all that is necessary the declarations given by the Jesuits of France in 1626, 1713, and 1757, do declare as follows before their lordships the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops who are now assembled in Paris by order of the king in order to give to his Majesty their views concerning several matters of our Society: I. That no one can be more submissive than we are, or more inviolably attached to the laws, maxims, and usages of this kingdom concerning the rights of the royal power, which does not depend in temporals either directly or indirectly from any other power on earth, and above which is God alone. We acknowledge the irrefragability of the ties which bind subjects to their sovereign. We condemn as pernicious, and worthy of the execration of all ages, the doctrine which is contrary to the security of the person of the king, not only in the works of certain theologians of our Society who adopted it, but also in any other author or theologian. II. *We will teach, in our public and private lessons on theology, the doctrine established by the clergy of France in the Four Propositions of the Assembly of 1682; and we will never teach anything contrary to it.* III. We admit that the bishops of France have the right to exercise over us all that authority which they have over regulars, according to the canons and discipline of the Gallican Church; and we renounce expressly all privileges to the contrary which have been accorded to our Society, or which may hereafter be accorded to it. IV. If it should ever happen—which God forbid!—that our general should order anything contrary to this present declaration, we are persuaded that we could not obey that order without sin, and we would regard it as illegitimate

(1) The original letter of Father de la Croix is preserved in the archives of the Gesù in Rome. Accompanying it is a copy of the declaration, with the title: *Declaration Submitted By The Royal Commissaries By Order Of The King.*

and null *pleno jure*, being such as we ought not to obey, under pretext of the obedience to our general which is prescribed in our Constitutions. We supplicate for permission to have this present declaration registered in the records of the *Officialité* of Paris, and to be allowed to send it into the other provinces of the kingdom, so that it may be deposited in the *Officialité* of each diocese, and thus serve as an everlasting witness of our fidelity. ETIENNE DE LA CROIX, Provincial." Ravignan does not attempt to excuse this enterprise of the Jesuits of Paris: "I do not excuse it; I explain it." The reader shall judge whether the explanation is satisfactory: "This unfortunate declaration is not an acceptance of the principles of the Four Articles of 1682; it is merely a promise to teach them" (1). We may properly relegate to the region of mysteries the fact that the cowardice of La Croix was not publicly condemned by his general. "The Pope and the father-general were greatly saddened by this conduct of the Jesuits of Paris; but they did not deem it their duty to waken, publicly and by severe admonitions, the consciences of religious who knew its voice" (2).

The sacrifice of principle and of truth, which Father de la Croix made when he signed a document which exhibited the Jesuits of Paris as despising the most cherished tradition of their Society, as well as what they regarded as true doctrine, was productive of no truce; the war soon assumed an aspect which presaged the extinction of the order in France. Shortly before the provincial's voluntary or involuntary essay at conciliation, the parliament of Paris had instituted a commission for the purpose of verifying certain *Extracts from Dangerous and Pernicious Assertions of All Kinds, Which the So-Called Jesuits Have Always and Persistently Taught in Their Books, with the Approbation of Their Superiors or Generals*. These presumed extracts had been printed and assiduously circulated; and the unwary were tempted to believe that the Jesuits were guilty of at least tolerating simony, blasphemy, sacrilege, idolatry, impurity, perjury, homicide, regicide, etc., etc. The *Provincial Letters* of Pascal were really the foundation of many of the assertions in

(1) *Loc. cit.*, vol. I., p. 117.

(2) Thus innocently Father Ravignan, *ibid.*

this collection ; but Pascal had at least denounced the condemnable propositions in order to refute them ; whereas the new collection furnished the poison without the slightest antidote. But in their anxiety to convict the hated Society of having inculcated crime, the Jesuitophagi cared little for the harm which the presumed extracts would effect in the minds of the masses. The contemporary archbishop of Paris, Christopher de Beaumont, in his pastoral of Oct. 28, 1763, showed how grossly the citations in the extracts had been falsified ; and other competent judges counted no less than 1,758 falsifications. Again, these extracts attributed to the Jesuits alone many opinions which had been sustained by members of all the orders and by many secular priests ; and frequently they presented as pernicious works which had merited the praise of saints—for instance, the *Controversies* of Bellarmine, the *Instruction for Confessors* by Toledo, and the treatises of Suarez, Lessius, etc. Many were the refutations of this abominable collection which the Jesuits and others published, but all such works were condemned to the flames by the parliament ; and this injustice was practiced at the time when anti-Christian literature was allowed to circulate with impunity.

In spite of the influence of his minister, Choiseul, and of his mistress, the Pompadour, Louis XV. really wished to save the Society of Jesus ; and many of the members of the Council of State had at least a velleity in that direction. These moderate spirits imagined that some modifications in the form of government of the Society would appease its enemies ; and accordingly Cardinal de Rochechouart, who was then French ambassador at the Roman court, was instructed to demand the appointment of a vicar who should rule the Jesuits of France. This idea was subversive of the fundamental principles of the organization ; and it is not strange that it was met by the reply, "*Sint ut sunt, aut non sint*"—a decision which has been ascribed to the general, Ricci, but which was probably emitted by Pope Clement XIII., when the project was broached to him (1). On July

(1) Voltaire (*Age of Louis XIV.*) ascribes it to the Pope ; so do the contemporary *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques* (p. 135). Ravignan agrees with these authorities.

28, 1762, the Pontiff sent a Brief to the king, dissuading him from "the slightest change" in the Constitutions of the Society in his dominions; but although Louis abandoned the project of a vicar, he had framed an edict which, he fancied, would save the Jesuits and pacify their opponents. This document, which was to be presented to all the provincial parliaments on the same day, may be summarized as follows. The Jesuits were declared to be subject to the jurisdiction of the bishops. Without the royal permission they could not leave the kingdom, under any pretext. In all their teachings they should follow the "maxims" of the kingdom. The royal procurators-general would visit all the Jesuit colleges in their respective districts, from time to time, that it might be learned whether the professors were teaching the Four Propositions of 1682. No sodalities could consist of persons residing in various localities; but special ones for the members of the Jesuit institutions might be formed, under the supervision of the bishops. The general could not order the transfer of money or other property from one establishment to another; each house should enjoy an inalienable right to its revenues, etc. The general would give to the five French provincials authority to do all that was necessary, in his name; and this authority was to be renewed every three years. If many of these dispositions were unsatisfactory to the Jesuits, anything savoring of a toleration of the Society was repugnant to the parliament of Paris; and therefore that body resolved to checkmate the sovereign by forming a league of all the parliaments in the kingdom. On March 26, 1762, the would-be salutary edict was presented to the parliament of Paris for registration; but that body declared that the *Extracts from Assertions* had compelled it "to pay no attention to anything that tended to give a legal existence to the Society of Jesus." The days of Henry IV., Louis XIII., and Louis XIV. were merely matter of history; the monarch did not insist on the registration of his edict. The first day of April, as we have seen, had been designated by the parliament of Paris for the closing, *provisorially*, of all the Jesuit colleges and novitiates in its jurisdiction. In accordance with that

decree, the first act of the melancholy drama in France was performed at the appointed time ; how the provincial parliaments acted we shall soon narrate. On August 6, the parliament of Paris rendered its *definitive* sentence, "enjoining on all the members of the said Society to depart, within eight days of their notification of this decree, from their houses, colleges, seminaries, houses of the professed, residences, missions, and other establishments ; enjoining on them to retire whither they please, but not to any colleges, seminaries, or other houses destined to the education of youth ; enjoining on them to live under the authority of the ordinaries, and not to unite together as a Society under any pretext whatsoever. . . . The parliament reserves to itself the fixing of a means for the maintenance of the *so-called* Jesuits. The parliament decrees that the priests or other members of the Society, who were in its houses on August 6, 1761, cannot occupy chairs in any university in this jurisdiction, fill canonicates or any benefices having annexed to them the care of souls, or exercise any public functions ; unless they first swear to hold and profess the liberties of the Gallican Church and the Four Articles contained in the Declaration of 1682, to observe the received canons and the maxims of the kingdom, to hold no direct or indirect relations by letter or through the mediation of others with the general and superiors of the said Society or with any member of it who resides in foreign lands, to combat on every occasion the pernicious morality contained in the *Extracts from Assertions*, and to conform themselves in all things to the dispositions of the present decree, especially in the matter of never living, in any guise whatsoever, under the rule of the said Constitutions and institute." On this same day, Aug. 6, 1762, the parliament decreed that one hundred and sixty-two works of Jesuit authors should be burnt in public by the executioner. It is edifying to notice that out of four thousand Jesuits who were then in France, only twenty-five saved themselves from penury by swearing allegiance to Gallicanism, and by proclaiming themselves renegades to the Society (1).

(1) By the decree of Aug. 6, 1762, the Jesuit colleges became property of the municipali-

The provincial parliaments of France, being less imbued with Jansenistic and incredulist principles than that of Paris, frequently hesitated for a long time before they resigned themselves to the wave of anti-Jesuitism ; often the majority of votes obtained by the innovators was one of only two or three. At Aix twenty-nine voted for a decree similar to that of Paris ; twenty-seven voted to leave the Jesuits in peace. At Toulouse a small majority voted for a decree against the Society which was expressly declared to be only temporary. With great difficulty the innovators carried the parliaments of Bordeaux, Dijon, Grenoble, Metz, and Pau. The parliaments of Douai, Besançon, Nancy, and Foix, refused to consider the philosophistic project ; the last even petitioned the king to protect the Society. The Council of Alsace, like that of Artois, was loud in its praises of the Jesuits ; but the decree of the latter was quashed by the parliament of Paris. The parliament of Rouen, however, manifested a more virulent Jesuitaphobia than that of Paris. It declared that "Considering the constant teaching, on the part of the Society of so-called Jesuits, of the murderous doctrine of regicide ; as well as the futility of the disavowals and retractations made by the said Society. . . . Considering that if so detestable a morality has lasted until our day, it is due to the fact that the Constitutions of the said Society render its members docile perpetrators of any sort of crimes prescribed by him to whom they owe obedience. . . . Considering that it is our indispensable duty to condemn the wicked oath to observe a wicked rule," the Society was abolished in the jurisdiction of Rouen. This measure was decreed on Feb. 12, and when the king sent his fanciedly pacificatory edict of March 6 to Rouen, the magistrates refused to register it, insisting that "The good of Christendom, the appeals of the universe, the cries of religion and of humanity, all demand that no authority attempt to reintegrate, validate, and legitimize a radical wickedness which is notorious—a rule

ties. The other real estate and the monies were declared "the property of the king." Common decency would have induced the parliament to assign adequate pensions to the ecclesiastics who had no prospect of obtaining befitting means of living ; but the relief which was doled was a mere apology for a pension. Priests of thirty-three years of age received 600 francs a year ; the temporal coadjutors of thirty-three years and over received 300 francs ; the younger Jesuits, clerics and laymen, received 300 francs.

and a vow which outrage the majesty of God no less than they outrage all human majesties."

Louis XV. refused his sanction to the parliamentary decree for more than two years, although his refusal did not prevent the immediate dispersion of the Jesuits, and the confiscation of their property. Finally, in November, 1764, he yielded to the entreaties of Choiseul and the Pompadour, and issued an edict which suppressed "irrevocably" the Society of Jesus in France. On the following Dec. 3, the duke de Praslin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent a copy of this document to the marquis d'Aubeterre, the French ambassador to the Holy See, and he took occasion to remark to the envoy that "it would be futile, and even dangerous, for the Pope to adopt any measure which would, either directly or indirectly, oppose the intentions and desires of the king; that his Holiness, out of zeal for religion, and because of his liking for the Jesuits, ought to prescribe for himself that same silence which his Majesty had ordered to be observed in his dominions." To this covert threat of the creature of Choiseul, Pope Clement XIII. replied by his Bull *Apostolicum*, dated Jan. 9, 1765. Already more than two hundred bishops, from all parts of Christendom, had written to the Holy See in favor of the proscribed Society; and the Pontiff wished to correspond to their ardent desires. Again, as his Holiness declared in the Bull, he wished to defend the liberties of the Church and the prerogatives of the Holy See, which had been usurped by civil authority; to defend the Church from the imputation of having approved a Society which was impious; and to defend an innocent institution from calumny. The Pontiff began by stating that no human consideration would prevent him from exercising the Apostolic mission which God had given to the Holy See. He showed how great, in all times, had been the care of the Roman Pontiffs for the religious orders and congregations; and he recalled the many approbations which his predecessors had given to the Society of Jesus. That organization was then the object of persecution; and if he did not defend it, he would seem to neglect a sacred duty. He was especially bound to defend the Society, because: "The Church

of God is insulted outrageously when she is represented as having declared to be pious and agreeable to God that which is really impious and irreligious ; when she is represented as having allowed herself, to the great detriment of souls, to be so foully stained for more than two hundred years." And finally, after praising the glorious labors of the Society among the heathen, and in every Christian land ; after special approbation of the sodalities founded and cherished by it ; the Pontiff concluded : " By our Apostolic authority we confirm the Bulls of our predecessors of happy memory, Clement VIII., Sixtus V., Gregory XV., and Benedict XIV., which approved the said sodalities ; and by this our present Constitution we approve with all the authority that God has given to us, and with all the force of our Apostolic confirmation, all the other Constitutions which the Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors, published in approbation and praise of the works of the same Society of Jesus ; and we desire that all of the said Constitutions be regarded as herein inserted, wishing and ordering, if it be necessary, that those Constitutions be again drawn up and published by ourselves." Of course this Bull was received by the foes of the Society with every demonstration of rage ; some of the French provincial parliaments "suppressed" the document, and the parliaments of Rouen and Toulouse condemned to the flames certain Briefs which the Pontiff had written concerning its subject-matter to the bishops of Alais, Angers, and Grenoble. But the hierarchy of France unanimously adhered to the terms of the Bull. Three months after its reception, the bishops met at Paris in General Assembly ; and the archbishop of Rheims was commissioned to present to the king an address, from which we cull the following passage : " With profound grief the clergy have beheld the spectacle of a society of religious, noted for purity of faith, for austerity of discipline, for enlightenment, and for innumerable services to both Church and State, dragged as criminal before the tribunals ; and subjected to atrocious accusations—accusations which are circulated and credited throughout the kingdom, despite the constant testimony of the Church of France, which has always favored it. The dispersion c /

those religious leaves a frightful void in the labors of the holy ministry in which, under the eyes of the bishops, and with the approbation of the same, they were employed, either in the education of youth, to which they consecrated their vigils and their talents; or in the sublime and laborious work of the missions, which was the principal object of their institute. The clergy will never cease to pray for their re-establishment" (1).

Now for a brief narration of the philosophistico-Jansenist conspiracy in Spain. Shortly after the expulsion of the Jesuits from France, the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, Emmanuel de Roda, was asked why his government did not pursue the same course. He replied: "The time has not come. Be patient. Wait until the old woman dies" (2). The "old woman" was the queen-mother, Elizabeth Farnese, whose influence over King Charles III. was immense, and who was not hostile to the Society. One of the glories of the Farnese family had been Pope Paul III., who first approved the rule of the Jesuits. But in 1763, when Queen Elizabeth was no more, Charles III. became a victim of the wiles of Count d'Aranda, his prime minister, and an adept of the new "philosophy." This statesman, if we may credit one of the prominent publicists of that school (3), was "the sole individual, of whom the Spanish monarchy of that day could be proud." And wherefore this eulogy? "It was Aranda who wished to place on one and the same escutcheon, and *carve on the façades of all the churches, the names of Luther and Calvin, of Mahomet, William Penn, and Jesus Christ*. It was Aranda who wished to proclaim, from the frontiers of Navarre to Cadiz that thereafter the names of Torquemada, Ferdinand, and Isabella, were to be placed in the category of blasphemies. It was Aranda who wished to sell the wardrobes of the saints and the furniture of the virgins; and to turn the crucifixes, patens, chandeliers, etc., into bridges, taverns, and high-roads." Since this is a heartfelt encomium of Aranda by one who knew him well,

(1) *Procès-verbaux of the Assemblies of the Clergy of France*, vol. viii., p. 1414.

(2) *MSS. of Father Cordara*, in the Archives of the Gesù, cited by Ravignan, *loc. cit.*, vol. i., p. 158.

(3) The Marquis de Langle, writing in 1782, in his *Journey in Spain*.

and since Aranda was the prime cause of the sufferings of the Society in Spain, the reader will scarcely hesitate to accept the account of the origin of those sufferings which we shall now present. It must be remembered that to this day no official document, no revelation unearthed from the Spanish archives, has informed the curious world of the cause which led Charles III. to issue the *Pragmatic Sanction* of April 2, 1767; the monarch declared, in that document, that his reasons would remain ever "hidden in his own royal heart." But very many historians, Protestant as well as Catholic, and some of them bitterly anti-Jesuitical, speak of the matter in what are substantially the same words as those used by the grave Jesuit authority whom we now quote. In the *Ami de la Religion* (vol. xxxii., p. 159), we read the following, from the pen of Father Casseda, a Spanish Jesuit, for whose reliability Ravignan vouches. "Shortly after the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Peninsula and its colonies, a Spanish grandee, travelling in Italy, came to Forli. There he met the olden rector of the principal Jesuit house in Madrid. Their interview was lengthy; and among other things the nobleman asked the rector whether he knew the cause of the measures taken in Spain against the Society. 'We have never learned it,' replied the rector. 'I shall inform you,' said the grandee. 'Do you remember that one day, while you were in the refectory with your community, your mail was handed to you, and that you gave to the brother the key of your room, telling him to place the letters on your desk; that a moment afterward there arrived an officer bearing a royal order for him to examine your papers, and that you confidently gave to him also the key of your room?' The Jesuit recalled these circumstances. 'Well,' continued the traveller, 'among those letters there was one with the postmark of Rome; and it purported to have been written to you by your general, Ricci. His signature had been counterfeited. That letter was handed to the king, as yet unopened. In it you were told, in substance, that there were then current in Rome well-founded reports that the king of Spain was of illegitimate birth; that in all probability Spain would soon see a revolution for the pur-

pose of enthroning the legitimate heir, and that Rome would take an active part in the movement; that you, the rector, should take care to prepare your brethren for the event, and inform the other superiors concerning it. You must easily perceive the scope of that letter; it was an invention of your enemies for your destruction. Charles III., wounded in the most sensitive part of his nature, fell into the snare. But he was embarrassed, and for a long time he hesitated. He had private consultations with theologians, that he might learn whether a sovereign could in conscience banish a religious order, for reasons which he was obliged to hide in the recesses of his royal heart. The theologians decided in the negative; but the royal councillors—probably the fabricators of the letter—held for the affirmative. Behold the cause of your expulsion, and of the severity which accompanied it.’” Christopher Murr, a contemporary Protestant erudite of great celebrity, relying on the testimony of the duke of Wurtemberg, gives us substantially a repetition of this narrative (1). Protestant historians like Sismondi (2), Coxe (3), Ranke (4), and Schoell (5), do not take an essentially different view of the matter. Thus Ranke says: “They made Charles III. believe that the Jesuits had determined to place his brother, Don Luis, on the throne.” And Schoell says: “They employed every means to make the Jesuits terrible objects to the king, and finally they succeeded by means of an atrocious calumny. They showed him a pretended letter of the general, Ricci, which the duke de Choiseul is said to have fabricated, in which Ricci informed his correspondent that he had succeeded in obtaining documents which proved incontestably that Charles III. was a fruit of adultery. This absurd fabrication produced such an impression on the king, that he granted the order for the expulsion of the Jesuits.”

We learn from the *Pragmatic Sanction* of April 2, 1767, that on the preceding Feb. 27 the king had given to Aranda

(1) *Journal for the History of Literature and Art*, year 1780, vol. ix., p. 218.

(2) *History of the French*, vol. xxix., p. 370.

(3) *Spain under the Kings of the House of Bourbon*, vol. vi., p. 9.

(4) *History of the Papacy in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, vol. iv., p. 494

(5) *Course of History of the European States*, vol. xxxix., p. 163.

extensive powers in the matter of the execution of the royal pleasure regarding the Jesuits ; but that all the royal officers were ordered "to conduct themselves with all possible decency and humanity." The sequel showed how the royal wishes were observed. In accordance with this secret decree of Feb. 27, Aranda sent to the authorities of each place, where there was a Jesuit establishment, a sealed letter with instructions that they should not presume to open it, under pain of death, before April 2, the day fixed for the promulgation of the *Sanction*. When the time arrived, the authorities found that they were ordered to execute the following measures during the ensuing night. The colleges, residences, etc., of the Jesuits were to be surrounded, and all the members simultaneously arrested ; within twenty-four hours all were to be assembled at the nearest seaport, excepting only those who were too old or too sick to be moved so quickly, and such exempted persons could hold no communication with other Jesuits or with certain designated parties ; the novices were to be questioned privately as to whether they wished to abandon the Society or not, and those were to be freed who consented to the step ; the places of the Jesuits were to be filled by secular priests "who did not hold the doctrines of the Society." The execution of these orders was followed by many protests on the part of both bishops and people ; but Aranda was all-powerful. Nearly six thousand Jesuits were carried to Civita Vecchia ; but acting under the orders of Cardinal Torrigiani, secretary of state to Pope Clement XIII., who did not know what to do with so many Spanish immigrants, the governor of the port ordered the captains of the vessels to find some other landing-place for their involuntary passengers. Corsica became their refuge ; but very soon that island was made French territory, and they were unceremoniously shipped to Genoa. The Genoese thrust them into the States of the Church ; and the Pontiff assigned Ferrara as their residence. In the following year, the Jesuits of the Two Sicilies, victims of Tanucci ; and those of Parma, victims of Dutillet (Marquis of Felino) ; also found a refuge in the Patrimony of St. Peter. When Ferdinand VII., grandson of Charles III., proposed to re-establish in his domin-

ions that Society which "had been expelled by a decree which had been obtained surreptitiously, through means the most artful and iniquitous, from his pious and magnanimous grandfather" (1), the royal Council declared that it could not be said, with any propriety, that the Jesuits had ever been condemned in Spain, since "their judges feared the testimony of the bishops and magistrates of the kingdom, as well as the protestations of the people. Men could only be silent and obey, under pain of exile and confiscation, and even of death." Ferdinand VII. declared: "Finally I have become convinced that the true enemies of religion were those who tried so persistently to make the Society of Jesus odious, to effect its dissolution, and to persecute its innocent members, employing against them calumny, the vilest of intrigues, and the most ridiculous charges."

We now approach the period of the suppression of the Society of Jesus by the supreme authority of the Church. M. de Saint-Priest, like many historians of less acumen, contends that Choiseul was the first to propose that the Catholic courts should bring their united influence to bear on the Holy See with this object (2). The prerogatives of perfidy would have been violated, had either Choiseul, Aranda, Tanucci, or Dutillot, taken this initiative; it was very befitting that such a distinction should be attained by the most virulent enemy that the Church had in the eighteenth century—Pombal. And to Pombal history must assign the dishonor. Sémonin, French ambassador to the Portuguese king, in a secret despatch to his government, dated July 14, 1767, said: "Instead of removing the difficulties of Portugal, as at first they flattered themselves here, the affair of the Jesuits in Spain has raised new ones. This I perceive, because of what M. d'Oeyras (Pombal) has just told me. He would like France, Spain, and Portugal to unite in demanding from the Pope the abolition of the Jesuits" (3). It appears evident that Spain acquiesced in the desire of Pombal a few months after Sémonin sent this despatch. Gutierrez de la Huerta, in

(1) *Decree of Ferdinand VII. for the Re-establishment of the Jesuits in Spain.* June 9, 1815.

(2) *History of the Fall of the Jesuits*, p. 72. Paris, 1831.

(3) THEINER; *loc. cit.*, vol. 1., p. 98.

the cited report to the royal Council in 1815, says that on Oct. 18, 1767, the Catholic king decided to accede "to the request made by his Most Faithful Majesty, that both should work in concert to obtain the entire suppression of the Society of Jesus." France was the last of the three great Catholic powers to enter into this concert; the duke d'Aiguillon wrote to the French ambassador to the Holy See that it did so, "only out of consideration for his Catholic Majesty" (1). On Jan. 18, 1769, the envoy of Spain presented to Pope Clement XIII. a demand for the total extinction of the Society of Jesus; with tears in his eyes the Pontiff expressed his grief, and after a short conversation, terminated the audience, saying that he would read the memorial. Two days afterward, the French ambassador presented his demand, and was dismissed on the instant from the audience chamber; the same tacit reproof was received by Cardinal Orsini on Jan. 22, when he presented the memorial of Portugal. The concluding passage of the French memorial will give an idea of the style of all three of these precious documents. "The king, both in his individual capacity and in intimate harmony with Their Catholic and Sicilian Majesties, most urgently entreats His Holiness to extinguish absolutely, and without delay, throughout the world, the Society styled 'of Jesus,' and to secularize every one of its members. . . . This *réquisition* ought to be received favorably by Our Holy Father the Pope, since it is made by three monarchs *who are equally well-informed and zealous concerning everything which relates to the good of religion, to the interests of the Roman Church, to the personal glory of His Holiness, and to the tranquillity of all Christian states.*" Had God willed that the Pontificate of Clement XIII. should be prolonged, it is very improbable that this mixture of hypocrisy and audacity would have caused him to change his policy in the premises; we know that three days after the Portuguese memorial had been presented, the papal secretary of state, Cardinal Torregiani, wrote to the nuncios at foreign capitals: "His Holiness cannot understand how these courts can have had the melancholy courage to add a new grief to the many which already

(1) THEINER; *loc. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 118.

afflict the Church ; they could have had no other object than that of adding more torments to the conscience and desolate soul of His Holiness. Impartial posterity will judge them ; it will pronounce as to whether such actions should be regarded as new proofs of that filial love which those sovereigns profess for the Holy See." On Jan. 28 Cardinal Negroni told the French and Spanish ambassadors that the last venture of their masters " would open the tomb of the Holy Father " ; and indeed on Feb. 3 Clement XIII. went to his reward.

The Conclave which assembled on Feb. 15 consumed more than three months in providing a successor to Clement XIII.; not until May 19 was John Vincent Anthony Ganganelli proclaimed Pontiff under the name of Clement XIV. He had received all the forty-seven votes, excepting his own, which he cast for Rezzonico, the nephew of the late Pope, and the head of the party which had at first opposed his election ; and it was remarked as strange, as perhaps providential, that at a time when religious were so little in favor among the great ones of earth, the tiara was placed upon the brow of the humble Franciscan who was the sole religious in the Sacred College. The student who would learn the particulars of this Conclave, which was probably the stormiest of modern times, may consult either Ravignan or Theiner ; although these writers regard the assembly from diametrically opposite points of view, they agree substantially in matters of essential importance. There are two points, however, to which we must pay some attention. These are the visit of the emperor, Joseph II. (1), to the Eternal City while the cardinals were still occupied with the election ; and the charge of simony which Cretineau-Joly, in an explosion of his exaggerated and mistaken zeal for the Society of Jesus, dares to proffer against Clement XIV. In a despatch to Choiseul, dated March 31, 1769, Aubeterre gossips minutely about the imperial visit to the Conclave (2) ;

(1) Joseph was elected " King of the Romans " in 1764, and on the death of his father, the nominal emperor, Francis I., in 1769, he became titular emperor ; but he did not really govern, until the death of his mother, the empress, Maria Teresa, in 1780.

(2) Much of Aubeterre's narrative is based on hearsay ; but the relation by Cardinal Orsini gives only what his Eminence really saw and heard. When the emperor presented himself at the entrance to the Conclâve, says Orsini, he was met by the deans of the Sacred

but we would draw attention only to his account of one of his interviews with the prince. "Coming to the subject of the Jesuits, he asked for my opinion concerning them. After I had told him that I believed them to be dangerous, and I had given to him my reasons for deeming them such, he remarked that his mother, the empress, was very devout, and would not take one step toward demanding their abolition, preferring to leave all that to the Church; but that she would let things take their course without opposing them; and that, in fact, she would see the Society destroyed with pleasure. As for himself, he, of course, would be obliged to conform to the desires of the empress. He seemed to me to be convinced of the guilt of the Jesuits, as to all the crimes against the state of which they are accused, especially in Spain. He also told me that when he visited the house of the professed here, which is called the *Gesù*, wishing to see the Chapel of St. Ignatius, he was received by the general; and that when he asked the general *when he would put off that habit*, the Jesuit seemed to be very much embarrassed by the question, but he replied that the times were indeed very bad for them, but they placed all their confidence in the mercy of God, *and in the infallibility of the Pope, which would be destroyed if the Society were abolished*—alluding to the approbation given to it by so many Pontiffs. The emperor felt all the weight and the ridiculousness of this answer. Afterward, when he had examined the statue of St.

College. Then Cardinal Albani having taken the emperor by the hand, and Cardinal Orsini having extended the same welcome to Joseph's brother, Leopold, the grand-duke of Tuscany, their Eminences introduced the princes into the Conclave; but no member of their numerous suites was allowed to enter. "At the threshold his Imperial Majesty was about to lay aside his sword, remarking that he should not bear arms in such a venerable place; but Cardinal Stoppani very neatly reminded him that he ought to retain his sword, since he was the defender of the Church. . . . He spoke always in Italian, and with considerable facility. One of his most remarkable observations was made when he had been told that the Conclave after the death of Clement XII. lasted six months. Then he replied: 'If the cardinals now obtain as happy a result as was obtained at the election of Benedict XIV., six months, or even a year, would not appear too long.' When Cardinals Albani and Bufalini asked him to protect the coming Pope, so that the present troubles might be banished, he said: 'The best thing you can do is to elect a Pontiff who will understand the saying *Ne quid nimis*; one who will not push things to excess.' . . . The two Albani and some other cardinals having again urged him to remember his mission as emperor to protect the Church, he replied: 'The Pope, who has so much authority in spiritual matters, and who is infallible, ought not to use that same authority and plenitude of power in the states of others; and especially in the case of sovereigns the Pope ought to show them every consideration, and act with all propriety.'"

Ignatius, which is of massive silver, and ornamented with the most precious stones, he expressed his astonishment at its evident value. The general replied that they had been enabled to make so magnificent a statue by the donations of the friends of the Society. The emperor retorted: '*You should rather say, by your profits from the Indies.*'" The reader will scarcely believe that the general of the Jesuits did not know the scope of papal infallibility; but we have evidence that all the "ridiculousness" of the remark—monumental indeed—was incurred, not by Father Ricci, but by the really or affectedly ignorant German emperor. Father Giulio Cordara, who was at the side of his general during the entire interview with Joseph II., tells us that Ricci having entreated the emperor to use his influence to protect the menaced Society, he received this reply: "There is no use of praying to me. If the new Pontiff favors you, your affairs will prosper. If one is elected who wishes to destroy you, what can I do? *And do not you yourselves say, and preach openly, that the Pontiff cannot err?*" (1). Joseph II. had not yet fully manifested those schismatical proclivities which men were then imbibing from Febronianism—that system which was soon to be, and with propriety, termed Josephism; but the mixture of flippancy and boorishness which he exhibited at the *Gesù* must have warned Clement XIV. that his influence would be used against the Society. And the event proved that Joseph was actuated by a personal motive to contribute to the destruction of the Jesuits; a special clause in the agreement between Vienna and the other courts shows that Austria entered into it only on condition that the government should have the absolute disposal of all the property of the Society in its jurisdiction.

Speaking of the last days of the Conclave, Cretineau-Joly,

(1) "Tum Riccius in sermonem ingressus, rogare atque obsecrare, ut tot partibus impetitum atque convulsam Societatem pro insula benignitate commendatam haberet, atque a supremo saltem exilio, quod intentabatur, prestatet incolumem. Cui ille totidem verbis: 'Cur me roges, inquit, nihil est; fac, is eligatur Pontifex, qui vobis favere velit, salva res erit; sin continget iniquior, qui vos velit perdere, quid contra ego possim? AN NON IPSI DICITIS AC PALAM PREDICATIS PONTIFICEM FALLI NON POSSE? SUMMAM ATQUE OMNE HUMANA MAJOREM EJUS POTESTATEM ESSE?' *Quæ sive irridentis sive oburgantis in modum pronuncians, satis ostendit non placere sibi, quod Jesuitæ tantopere pontificiam potestatem efferrent.*"—*Commentary of Julius Cæsar Cordara on the Journey of Pius VI. to the Court of Vienna*; bk. I., p. 7.

whom too many regard as the foremost apologist of the Society, says: "At length we perceive the denouement of the drama, where religion and probity will be equally wounded. Bernis had given up all hope of coming to an understanding with Ganganelli; Solis had more exact notions concerning the principles of the Franciscan. In accord with Cardinal Malvezzi in the Conclave, and with the French and Spanish ambassadors outside of it, the archbishop of Seville (Solis) wished to demand from the cardinal favored by the powers (*du cardinal des couronnes* (1)) a written promise that he would suppress the Society of Jesus. This promise was the irrevocable condition prescribed by the powers. Solis negotiated mysteriously with Ganganelli, and he obtained a note addressed to the king of Spain, in which Ganganelli declared that he 'believed that the Supreme Pontiff could conscientiously abolish the Society of Jesus, observing the regulations of the canons; and that it was to be hoped that the next Pope would make every effort to satisfy the desires of the sovereigns'" (2). Simony on the part of Cardinal Ganganelli is plainly insinuated by Cretineau-Joly in this passage; but he soon makes the charge in all its naked hideousness: "*Simony, terror, and intrigue were about to create a Pope; a solemn injustice was about to issue from this mass of shame*" (3). When he wrote this passage,

(1) As in all of the modern Conclaves, so in that of 1769 there were certain cardinals, the election of one of whom was desired by one or more sovereigns; and they were styled "cardinals of the crowns," in contradistinction to the *zclanti*, who were more zealous for the prerogatives of the Holy See. In the Conclave of 1769 the *zclanti*, who were at first the most numerous and powerful, believed that the circumstances of the time demanded that Rome should specially protect the Jesuits. The crown cardinals, on the contrary, were supposed to hold that it was necessary and feasible for the Church to conciliate the civil powers of the day; and they were regarded as willing to sacrifice a Society, the members of which had been banished from several Catholic kingdoms, were feebly supported in others, and were a heavy burden to the Papal States, where they had taken refuge, to the number of eight or ten thousand. The principal crown cardinals were Bernis and de Luynes for France; Solis and Lacerda for Spain; Orsini and Sersale for Naples; and Corsini and Ganganelli, who were acceptable to all, including Portugal. Migazzi, archbishop of Vienna, and Pozzobonelli, archbishop of Milan, were also to be regarded as crown cardinals; for although Maria Teresa wished to be neutral, and was supposed to be personally favorable to the Jesuits, nevertheless, her policy of marrying her relatives to Bourbons rendered her favorable to a reconciliation between the Bourbon sovereigns and Rome. And her son Joseph, already called emperor, was in Rome during the Conclave, which he visited, and made to understand that his whole influence was being used against the Jesuits.

(2) *Clement XIV. and the Jesuits*, p. 260. Paris, 1847.

(3) *Ibi*, p. 272.

Cretineau-Joly had lost the sense of justice which had impelled him, when he adduced this alleged note in his work of two years before, to admit that "Cardinal Ganganelli could say, and even write, that the Pope had the canonical power; but between that and a simoniacal promise there is a world of impossibilities" (1). Certainly it is not strange that Ravignan omitted all mention of this apologist's name in his own admirable defense of the Society. Cretineau-Joly dared to charge Pope Clement XIV. with a crime which none of the many Jesuit writers on this subject has imputed to him (2). Cordara in his *Confidential Letters*, and Novaes in his *History of the Popes*, expressly exclude any simoniacal intent from the mind of Cardinal Ganganelli. Loricquet says: "We shall not imitate the writers who, without sufficient proof, assert that the new Pope owed his election to a promise signed by him, and sent to the king of Spain, that he would abolish the Society of Jesus. There is no need of this supposition, almost as injurious to Charles III. as to Clement himself, in order to explain the action of the Pope" (3). Fontenay writes: "I am far from crediting the report that the election of Ganganelli to the Papacy was the price of his promise to effect the suppression. I believe that this is an atrocious calumny; for one cannot imagine that any man would be so infamous as to lend himself to a simony which, if made known, would erase his name from the catalogue of Sovereign Pontiffs" (4). Cahour says: "Some of the enemies of the Holy See, and certain unreflecting partisans of the destroyed Society, have not hesitated to affirm that Cardinal Ganganelli bought the tiara with a promise to sign the death warrant of the Jesuits. But this calumny is destitute of proof. The princes who were leagued against the religious already banished from their dominions, cer-

(1) *Religious, Political, and Literary History of the Society of Jesus*, vol. v., p. 333. Paris, 1845.

(2) It may be objected that an ex-Jesuit, Georgel, the defender of Cardinal de Rohan in the affair of Queen Marie Antoinette's diamond necklace, makes this charge. But we do not know that Georgel would have given the assertion to the public. His *Memoirs* were published only in 1817, four years after the writer's death, by his nephew, a lawyer of the radical school.

(3) *An Intrigue of Three Cabinets*, in the *Historical Documents Concerning the Society of Jesus*, vol. III., no. 21.

(4) *The Re-establishment of the Jesuits and Public Instruction*. Paris, 1800.

tainly effected everything possible in order to have a Pope who would love those religious less than Clement XIII. had loved them ; and the cardinals who were devoted to the House of Bourbon believed that Ganganelli would second their views. This is the worst that can be said of that election " (1). But what proof of the alleged compact between Ganganelli and Spain does Cretineau-Joly offer? Certainly, if such an agreement had been made, some trace of it should be found in the official reports of Cardinals Solis and Lacerda, through whose mediation alone it could have been effected ; but those reports are of no service to the accuser. He can only fancy that he discerns indications of a knowledge of some kind of a compact in the letters of Cardinal de Bernis to Aubeterre, the French ambassador. That there were conferences between Ganganelli and Solis, as well as among all the members of the Conclave, is certain ; such conferences, from the very nature of things, must have been held. But two days before the final and definitive ballot was taken, Aubeterre wrote to Choiseul that Solis was negotiating with Ganganelli, but that concerning the matter of their conferences, " when one knows nothing, one can write nothing." Bernis, therefore, had communicated to Aubeterre no news as to the nature of the supposed agreement between Solis and Ganganelli. But why does Cretineau-Joly base his entire narrative of this Conclave on the despatches of Bernis, when he himself styles the cardinal a *chroniquer malintentionné*? And why does he forget that Bernis implicitly admitted that Ganganelli was not conducting any underhand negotiations, when he wrote to Aubeterre on May 17, that Ganganelli had begged his colleagues to think of some other candidate ; and then added : "*But we will nominate him, in spite of himself*" ? Again, we would ask Cretineau-Joly, if Ganganelli was so ambitious of the tiara that he descended to meannesses (2), as well as to simony in order to obtain it, why was he not contradicted, when he

(1) *The Jesuits by a Jesuit*, pt. 2, p. 257. Paris, 1853.

(2) Cretineau-Joly represents Ganganelli as conciliating the foes of the Society by remarking : " The arms of the Bourbons are very long ; they reach over the Alps and the Pyrennees." And as flattering the pro-Jesuit cardinals by observing : " We should no more think of abolishing the Society of Jesus, than of pulling down the dome of St. Peter's "

protested to the cardinals who were urging him (then Pope) to abolish the Jesuits: "Remember, your Eminences, that far from seeking the pontificate, I refused it. Write that to your courts"? With what face could he have said to Bernis, who, five weeks after the election, had urged him to please the Bourbon sovereigns: "I have only just now ascended the Chair of Peter; were I now to take this step, it would be said that in the Conclave conditions were imposed upon me"? (1). Again and again, and always without contradiction, Clement XIV. reiterated the assertion that he had not wished for the tiara. Bernis tells Choiseul on May 9, 1770, that Tanucci, the Neapolitan minister, had again, and impudently, pressed the cause of suppression; and that the Pontiff had remarked to him (Bernis) that "there had been Popes before the Marquis Tanucci, and there would be Popes after Tanucci; that as for himself, he had never desired to be one." And finally, since Cretineau-Joly relies upon Cardinal de Bernis as evidence of the simoniacal nature of the election of Pope Clement XIV., we adduce a despatch which his Eminence wrote to Choiseul, six months after that election, and in which he explicitly declares his belief that Cardinal Ganganelli assumed the Popedom, unfettered by any promise to the foes of the Jesuits. "I believe, Monsieur le Duc, that it is very necessary that His Majesty and his Council should have a correct idea of the spirit, character, and sentiments of the Pope, in order that they may direct the course of negotiations, and form an accurate notion of what they may expect from this new pontificate. I studied Cardinal Ganganelli in the Conclave; and every day I am now studying Clement XIV. My first despatches showed you my suspicions, fears, and distrusts of the character of a religious whom I noticed as solitary and shy, watching every intrigue while preserving an air of taking part in none. I suspected that there was much ambition and much artifice in this commonplace man (*homme du commun*) who, by his mere reputation of being a good theologian, and without being a friend of the Jesuits, had wrested a cardinal's hat from the hands of Clement XIII.

(1) Despatch of Bernis to Choiseul, June 26, 1769.

who depended absolutely from the Society. My suspicions were confirmed by the mysterious conduct of the Spanish cardinals and M. Azpuru toward Cardinal Ganganelli in the latter part of the Conclave, and by that of the Albani cardinals. But since Cardinal Ganganelli's name was inscribed on our list of the acceptable, and since my mistrust might be without foundation; I abandoned myself to the hope, conceived in the last days of the Conclave, that he would satisfy the sovereigns in the matter of the Jesuits. And this I did the more readily, since I had reason for believing that he had been more open with the Spanish cardinals on this subject, than he had been with me. I avow that at this time I believed that Cardinal Ganganelli had bound himself as to the Jesuit affair; my early suspicions were weakened; and I continued to harbor only that distrust which prudence dictated in reference to a simple religious who was arriving at the pontificate from so great a distance. During six weeks I thought that the matter of the Jesuits would be settled in Spain, and that here the ministers of the sovereigns would merely prepare the way by smoothing over certain difficulties. *It was, therefore, with the greatest astonishment that I perceived, and admitted, that the Pope had promised even less to Spain than he had promised to us; and that we could expect from him no more than what had been indicated by the general hopes which he excited in me during the Conclave.*" (1). Ravignan declines to discuss this question of Ganganelli's alleged promise to Spain; but he contends that if that promise was made, "it might be regarded as a sign of weakness, or even of ambition; but *in itself*, and in theological exactness, it would not constitute an act of simony, properly so called" (2). No such promise was made.

Even amid the festivities of his coronation, listening to the customary congratulations of the foreign ambassadors, Clement XIV. was made painfully aware that not only grave embarrassments, but fearful perils awaited him. Not all the protestations of filial attachment, of which Louis XV. was so prodigal, could render less afflicting the expressed hope that "the Holy See would show more condescension

(1) Despatch to Choiseul, Nov. 30, 1769.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, vol. II., p. 415.

to the requests of the powers, accommodating its principles of administration to their desires." It was evident that the days of temporization were past; he must soon issue a decree which would mean either life or death to the Jesuits. "But how was he to suppress them; how was he to preserve them?" asks Saint-Priest. "Was he to brave the anger of the most powerful princes of Europe? Was he to push those princes into schism, perhaps into heresy? Was he to expose the Holy See to the loss not only of Benevento and Avignon, but also of the obedience of the Very Faithful Portugal, the Most Christian France, and the Most Catholic Spain? And on the other hand, how was he to erase from the list of the living an order which had been approved by so many Popes, which was regarded as a bulwark of the Church, and as a buckler for the faith?" (1). And the Protestant Schoell says: "When Clement XIV. mounted the pontifical throne, the Church was in a state of extreme fermentation. At that period the anti-religious faction dominated. . . . It is incontestable that projects of schism were being entertained, through the institution of national patriarchs who would be independent of the court of Rome. The prudence of Clement XIV., his concessions to the spirit of the age, obviated this danger" (2). Shortly after his accession, the Pontiff published a Brief in which he renewed, as was customary every seven years, certain indulgences in favor of the Jesuit missionaries. This action was regarded by the anti-Jesuit party as indicative of the Pope's inclination to follow his predecessor's course in regard to the obnoxious religious; and there arose great commotion at the courts of France, Spain, Naples, and Parma. Choiseul, according to a despatch from the nuncio at Paris to the papal secretary of state, assumed "that ministerial tone which was familiar to his Eminence, and declared that the kings of France and Spain, and the other princes of the House of Bourbon, were not persons with whom one could play . . . that his Majesty was tired of temporization; and that he would send an order, signed by his own hand, charging Cardinal de Bernis to demand in public the total suppression of the

(1) *History of the Fall of the Jesuits*, p. 117.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, vol. xlv., p. 77.

Society, and enjoining upon his Eminence, if the suppression was not effected in six weeks, to demand his passports, to abandon his embassy, and break off all relations. His Eminence would also be told that if the other ministers of the Bourbon courts, through default of instructions, did not act in concert with him, he should execute his own orders *to the letter*." The orders were sent to Bernis on August 7; but two months for reflection were accorded to the Pope. One can scarcely realize that it is a member of the *ancienne noblesse* of France who uses this language: "It would not surprise me at all to learn that the Pope, ever leaning toward monkery, embarrassed by present circumstances, and entertaining the cowardly fear of being poisoned, had entered upon some little underhanded negotiation with that monk who is confessor to the king of Spain, to whom indeed he may have exhibited a vision of a possible red hat. But be this as it may, our insistence will upset the plans of the contemptible friars (*fratacci*); we will oppose reasons for fear to those of the Pope . . . we will annihilate the little artifices of Rome, and we shall learn what we are to expect from the Pope, whom I very much distrust. It is difficult for a monk to be ever anything else than a monk; and *it is much more difficult for an Italian monk to conduct business with honesty and frankness*." The reader will have noticed the allusion made by Choiseul to a fear, on the part of the Pontiff, that he was in danger of being poisoned. On July 3, 1770, Bernis writes to Choiseul: "They tell me that the general of the Passionists (St. Paul of the Cross) has warned his Holiness to be careful about his kitchen; and that therefore Brother Francis, who is the real *maitre d'hôtel* of the Pope, has increased his vigilance. I do not know whether this warning has contributed to the indisposition, of which the Pope complains." We shall say nothing concerning the wickedness of this imputation; but the absurdity of assigning the part of accuser of the Jesuits to the saintly Passionist is evinced by his well-known love for the Society (1).

(1) In the archives of the Roman College there is a letter from St. Paul of the Cross, in which he says: "Be assured that I sympathize with the afflictions of the illustrious Society of Jesus. The very thought of so many misfortunes causes me to moan and weep. So many innocent religious persecuted in so many ways; and at the same time, the demon

The two months accorded by Choiseul produced a promise, on the part of Clement XIV., to suppress the Society; but nevertheless, as the despatches of Bernis show, at the commencement of 1772 the original project of an absolute and arbitrary abolition seemed to have given place to a design to follow the canonical prescriptions, which required proofs of the guilt of the accused organization. Writing to the Duc d'Aiguillon, who had succeeded to Choiseul, fallen from his high estate (1), Bernis says on January 17, "I have always regarded the total abolition of the Jesuits as an almost impossible operation . . . we cannot ask the Pope to quarrel with half of the Catholic princes in order to satisfy the other half in a delicate matter, which we can regulate in justice and honor only by acting in accordance with the rules prescribed by the canons, and having received certain proof that the entire system of the Jesuits is vicious and beyond reformation. . . . It is probable that the Pope may make the Spaniards understand that it is impossible to destroy the Jesuits in the countries where they are protected." But a mere observance of the canons was not the object of the Spanish cabinet; it determined to send to Rome an envoy who would be both capable and willing in the execution of its will. This man was Joseph Moniño, better known as

triumphing, the greatest glory of God diminished, and so many souls lost because they have been violently deprived of the spiritual aid which they received from those fathers in every part of the world! When I behold this spectacle, I do not cease to pour forth special prayers that, after such tempests, the God of life and death may, in His own good time, resuscitate this Society for His own greater glory. That has ever been, and ever will be, my sentiment."

(1) The fall of Choiseul reminds us of some remarks made by the last Christian statesman produced by the Sardinian monarchy. Count Solaro della Margherita, formerly prime minister of Charles Albert, speaking in the Piedmontese Senate on June 7, 1854, said: "When I was a minister, I used to read the history of men who, while occupying the same position, persecuted the Church. The end of Thomas Cromwell did not surprise me; minister of a tyrant (Henry VIII.), he obtained the reward which tyrants reserve for those who serve them—death. But, considering seriously the ministers of the last century—a pacific and enlightened one, many think—who caused the Church to mourn in France, Spain, Naples, and Portugal, I saw with terror those powerful men falling humiliated and shedding bitter tears, without any consolation for their misfortune, and without any compensation for their suffering. Then I vowed to myself that I would not neglect their salutary advice; that I would never persecute the Church." In 1777 Choiseul tried to gain the favor of the new king, Louis XVI., although he had persecuted outrageously that monarch's virtuous father. This endeavor caused the young sovereign to write, in a memoir cited by Soulavie (*Reign of Louis XVI.*), "The French government had always accorded a special protection to that celebrated Society which trained the young in an obedience to law, in a knowledge of the arts, of science, and of letters. Choiseul alone delivered that Society to the persecutions of parliaments."

the Count of Florida Blanca, who had been procurator-general of the Council of Castile, and was, like too many of the Catholic statesmen of the day, imbued with Febronianism. The auditor of the papal nunciature in Madrid, writing to the cardinal-secretary of state on March 24, 1772, thus describes Florida Blanca: "I know the man *as he is*; the thoughts that are hidden in his mind; and how, with an exterior which is gentle, moderate, and even religious, he is an enemy of Rome, of the pontifical authority, and of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. . . . He *is* supremely cunning, and more than any other he is ardent for the destruction of the Jesuits. I do not know whether he is thus ardent through principle and because of a hatred for them, or rather because of some interests of his own. . . . In last analysis, things are now reduced to this one—the suppression of the Jesuits. Such will be the instructions of Moniño." The new Spanish envoy arrived in the Eternal City on July 4, 1772; and on Aug. 5, Bernis wrote to Aiguillon: "If I may judge by the words of Moniño, the king of Spain has no more confidence in the promises of the Pope; he insists on Clement XIV. speaking categorically and promptly. He will believe no more in vague promises; the Pope will have a very short time in which to come to a resolution. In case of a refusal, which would be regarded as a violation of a promise, there will be danger of an open rupture. 'Then,' said Moniño to me, 'Spain and the other countries which are now called *countries of obedience* will become *countries of liberty*.'" On Sept. 9, Moniño offered to the sorely-beset Pontiff a temptation which would certainly have conquered a merely temporal sovereign. He declared that immediately after the abolition of the Society, Avignon and Benevento, which had been seized by France and Naples, respectively, would be restored to the Holy See. Clement remembered that he was the vicar of Him who chased the money-changers from His Father's temple; and crying: "A Pope governs souls; he does not traffic in them," he abruptly terminated the audience, and entering his private apartments, he exclaimed: "May God forgive the Most Catholic King!" (1).

(1) SAINT-PRIEST; *loc. cit.*, p. 152—THEINER; *loc. cit.*, vol. II., p. 240.

The reader will the more readily comprehend the anguish of Clement XIV., if he considers the condition of Eastern Europe at this time. Just when the greedy cabinets of Vienna and Berlin were associating themselves with the "great" Catharine of Russia for the annihilation of Poland—a crime against which Clement had vainly protested in the name of justice and healthy statesmanship, great joy had been brought to the Holy See by news from Hungary and Transylvania. At the very time (1771) when the patriarch of the schismatic Armenians, with six of his suffragans and more than 50,000 of their people, had returned to the centre of unity, the Church had made great conquests in the hereditary states of Maria Teresa, among both Protestants and Greek schismatics. Nearly the entire district of Sichelva had followed its ministers into the fold of Christ; and about 7,000 schismatic families of Transylvania had done the same. But this glorious work had been principally effected by Jesuit missionaries. If these converts were deprived of the fostering care of their spiritual fathers, was there no danger of relapse into the darkness of error? And in the Orient, as the ambassadors of the European sovereigns were continually informing them, it was owing principally to the Jesuits that Catholicism was holding her own, and making daily progress (1). "And without going so far," reflects Ravignan, "even in Italy, under the eyes of the Supreme Pontiff, the evangelical laborers of the Society of Jesus were devoting themselves to the functions of the holy ministry, and to the sanctification of souls, with a zeal which God has deigned to bless, even in our day. Everywhere, in the most populous cities and in the most humble hamlets, they preached the word of salvation. All the various works of their institute—missions, spiritual exercises, congregations, education of youth, teaching of sacred and profane science, instruction

(1) The chevalier Francis Emmanuel de Saint-Priest, uncle of Alexis, the historian, who was French ambassador to the Sublime Porte at this time, writing to his government, shortly after the suppression of the Society, said: "The progress of religion among the Armenians and Syrians is due, in very great measure, to the Jesuits, as you know from the account rendered last year by the ambassador. The ex-Jesuits are the depositaries of the confidence of the subjects of the Grand Seigneur; and they ought to be retained in their functions, so that the fruits of their planting may not be lost." *MSS. of the Abbé Brotier*, cited by Ravignan.

of the ignorant and the poor—were in full vigor, as flourishing as ever in Rome and throughout the Italian peninsula. The same was proportionably true, wherever the disciples of St. Ignatius were still united in community.”

When Clement XIV. found that all other schemes for procrastination had failed, he bethought himself of one which seemed to promise well ; “ he ought to be assured,” said he to Moniño, “ that the suppression of the Society would not be opposed by the court of Vienna.” Maria Teresa had always favored the Society ; surely, thought the Pontiff, her influence would furnish a plank for at least temporary refuge. But the empress-queen had now succumbed to the influence of her philosophistic son, Joseph II., and the last earthly hope of the Pontiff vanished. On July 21, 1773, Pope Clement XIV. signed the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*, suppressing the Society of Jesus ; but the act was not made known officially until August 16, when it was communicated to the general, Ricci, and to all the other Jesuit superiors in Rome. The Brief commences with a partial list of the many abolitions of religious orders, effected by the Roman Pontiffs. Thus, the Pope instances the suppression of the Templars by Clement V., “ because of their general evil reputation ” ; that of the *Humiliati* by Pius V., “ because of their disobedience to the Apostolic decrees,” and also, among other reasons, “ because of their horrible conspiracy against the life of St. Charles Borromeo ” ; that of the Reformed Conventual Franciscans by Urban VIII., “ because they did not bring forth the fruit which the Church had expected from them ” ; that of the Order of Sts. Ambrose and Bernard *Ad Nemos*, by the same Urban VIII. ; that of the Armenian Basilians by Innocent X., “ because of their intestine discords ” ; that of the Priests of the Good Jesus by the same Innocent X. ; that of the Canons-Regular of St. George, that of the Hieronymites *de Fesulis*, and that of the Jesuati, all by Clement IX. Coming to the case of the Jesuits, the Pontiff recounts the many charges made against them, and without touching the question of their guilt or innocence, he pronounces this sentence : “ Assisted, as we dare to believe, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost . . . we suppress

and abolish the Society of Jesus . . . we declare suppressed the authority of the general, and that of the other superiors of the Society" (1). Thus was abolished an organization which then possessed 24 houses of the professed, 669 colleges, 340 residences, 271 missions, 171 seminaries, 61 novitiates ; and whose members numbered over 22,000, of whom over 11,000 were priests. On Aug. 16, the ex-general, Ricci, was conducted to the English College, where he was kept in close retirement for a few days, and then taken to Castel San Angelo, where he died on Nov. 24, 1775. Five days before his demise, the Holy Viaticum having been brought to his chamber, he read, in the presence of his God and of all the officers of the garrison, the following protestation : " Considering that I am about to appear before the tribunal of God, the tribunal of infallible truth and justice ; after long and mature deliberation, and humble prayer to my merciful Redeemer and terrible Judge that He will not permit me to be led by passion in this one of the last acts of my life, or by any bitterness of heart or by any other affection or vicious purpose ; for the sake of rendering testimony to truth and innocence, I hereby make the two following declarations and protestations. Firstly, I declare and protest that the abolished Society of Jesus has never furnished any reason for its suppression ; this I declare and protest, with that moral certitude which can be possessed by a superior who

(1) The ex-Jesuit, Georgel, would have us believe that Clement XIV. nullified the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*. In the cited *Memoirs* he says : " Scarcely had Clement XIV. gratified the king of Spain by the ruin of the Jesuits, when his life became one of continued disquiet and remorse. Could he hide from himself that his tiara was the result of a criminal bargain which radically vitiated his election? . . . Often when he deemed himself alone, he was heard to exclaim '*Compulsus feci! compulsus feci!*' Violence, yes, violence, extorted that fatal Brief which now tortures me.' . . . He found some relief from the torments of his conscience, only when he resolved to repair, so far as he could, the injury he had done to Christendom. Awaiting, then, the favorable moment for this reparation, he determined to place in the hands of his confessor an attestation of his repentance, a formal and detailed retraction of the Brief which he declared to have been the fruit of violence. This tardy retraction is no longer a mystery ; it was dated June 29, the Feast of St. Peter, 1774 ; it was written in Latin, and it is recorded at length in a history of the Jesuits which was written in German by Peter Philip Wolff, and printed at Zurich in 1791." But why does the *Bullarium* furnish no indication of such a retraction? Why was it never mentioned by Pius VI. or Pius VII., on any of the occasions when it would naturally have been adduced, had it existed? This silence is more eloquent than the assertion of Georgel, though it were supported by that of a thousand Wolffs. The reader will note that Georgel implied that the name of Clement XIV. should be erased from the catalogue of Roman Pontiffs, when he held that *the criminal bargain radically vitiated Clement's election*.

is well informed in regard to all that happens in his order. Secondly, I declare and protest that I have never furnished even the slightest reason for my imprisonment; this I declare and protest with that sovereign certitude which each one possesses concerning his own actions. And I emit this second protestation merely because it is necessary for the reputation of the suppressed Society of Jesus, of which I was the general. By these same protestations, however, I do not imply that those who have injured the Society of Jesus or myself are culpable before God; I abstain from any such judgment. The thoughts of man are known to God alone; He alone perceives the errors of the human understanding, and discerns whether they are such as excuse from sin; He alone penetrates the motives which lead to an action, and the affections and movements of the heart which accompany that action; and since the innocence or guilt of an external act depends from all these things, I leave all judgment on such an act to Him who will question our works and sound our thoughts. And that I may fulfil my duty as a Christian, I protest that, with the aid of God, I have always pardoned and do now pardon sincerely all who have offended and tormented me, firstly, by the harm they have done to the Society of Jesus, and by their severity toward its members; secondly, by the abolition of that Society, and by the circumstances which accompanied that abolition; and finally, by my imprisonment, and the severities added to it, as well as by the injury which has been done to my reputation—things which are notorious throughout the world.”

Very few historians contend that Clement XIV. was actuated by other motives than a desire for peace, when he signed the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*. Picot, than whom no more judicial or veracious publicist has descanted on the events of the eighteenth century, may be regarded as representing the best thought of our day when he says: “Only after four years of pontificate, and because of the reiterated pressure of the ministers of several great powers, did Clement XIV. decree these intensely desired abolition. . . . He insisted principally on the benefit of peace, which he believed to be

involved in the destruction of those religious. Undoubtedly he thought that since several sovereigns were leagued against the Society, the Holy See would strive in vain to uphold it, or that it could no longer be of much use to the Church; and this consideration overbalanced, in his mind, the other reasons which militated in favor of so precious an organization. . . . It would seem that Clement XIV. was not hostile to the Jesuits; but he saw the Catholic courts conspiring against them, and he thought that he could fight no longer in their behalf" (1). It is not necessary for us to dilate on this point; but the reader may reflect with profit on the considerations emitted by the ex-Jesuit, Cordara, in his correspondence with his brother, the Count of Calamandrana. In his seventh letter (2), he shows how the Pontiff could, without injustice, suppress the Society, even though he knew it to be innocent of ill-doing. A sovereign, he says, can certainly disband a faithful and valorous regiment, if reasons of state, such as public order, etc., seem to demand the sacrifice. The Holy Father was threatened not only with temporal losses, but with direful schisms; "therefore he deemed it wise to avoid greater evils by sacrificing the Society." Clement XIV. did not abolish the Jesuits because of immoralities, or even because of any relaxation of discipline; he did not touch the question of the Society's guilt of the charges brought against it; indeed, the moderation of the Brief caused Tanucci to prohibit its circulation in the kingdom of Naples. "Clement XIV.," adds Cordara, "perceiving that the sovereigns were imbued with the opinions of Febronius, and filled with prejudices against the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, thought to impede their designs by inflicting two wounds on himself, as well as on the Church. The first wound was the suppression of our Society; the second, more difficult to heal, was the quasi-suppression of that ancient and venerable Constitution, the Bull *In Cæna Domini*, which formed, by itself, the strength of the Holy See, supporting it in face of the Catholic universe. These two measures will perpetuate the memory of the pontificate of Ganganelli; but this souvenir will always be accompanied by tears and

(1) *Loc. cit.*, y. 1773.

(2) MSS. of Cordara, in the Archives of the Gesù.

moans. Would any other Pope, living, like Ganganelli, in those evil days, have acted differently? Who knows? Without doubt the Pope, as supreme pastor, possesses sovereign and legitimate power over the entire flock, even over monarchs, who are sons of the Church; but can he exercise that power, when kings declare war against him? At that unfortunate period, the power of kings greatly surpassed that of the Pope." Another Jesuit author, Cahour, who, we may remark *en passant*, does not imitate Cordara by styling Pope Clement XIV. "Ganganelli," as Cretineau-Joly and certain other Jesuit apologists are wont to do (they never speak of "Pope Rezzonico" or of "Pope Chiaramonti"), asks, concerning the Brief of suppression: "*Was it legitimate? Yes; because the Holy See had a right to suppress what it itself had established.* Was it prudent and opportune? Many say that it was not. As for me, I respect the strange situation in which the vicar of Jesus Christ found himself; and I regret that on this occasion the sacrifice of Jonah, made to the fury of the waves, served only to augment the tempest" (1). The Jesuit Boero contends that "the true and legitimate defense of Clement XIV. is furnished by himself in his words, 'I was forced to it—*compulsus feci*'; and he enters into a labyrinth who abandons this line." Then Boero asks whether, if Clement XIV. had remained firm in his opposition, he would have turned the ministers from their iniquitous designs. Boero conjectures that the Pontiff would have conquered; and principally because, according to this author, France was then tired of the struggle; Portugal and Naples were then not concerning themselves much about it, for a dispatch of Vrillière shows that the other courts desired the abolition of the Jesuits merely because of their wish to please Spain" (2). Were these historical data true, the conjecture of Boero might be received as plausible; but they are void of foundation.

It is a remarkable fact that, in spite of what is advanced by many Catholic writers who are hostile to the Jesuits, very few of the apologists of Clement XIV. have shown more respect for the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* than was manifested by such of its victims as spoke or wrote on the

(1) *The Jesuits by a Jesuit*, pt. ii., p. 278. Paris, 1852.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, vol. ii., § 19.

subject. The Belgian publicist, Xavier de Feller, who became a journalist after his enforced secularization, and for many years edited the *Historical and Literary Journal of Luxembourg*, gives many instances of rebukes administered by ex-Jesuits to their inconsiderate defenders who declaimed against "Ganganelli." Thus he adduces the funeral oration on Clement XIV. pronounced by one of his olden brethren, the Abbé Mattzell, at Fribourg on Nov. 13, 1774, in which the following passage occurred: "Clement XIV. is blamed for having abolished the Society, without having allowed it to reply to the charges made against it, without having convicted it of grievous crimes. But, my friends, why should we take for granted the unjust thesis that grievous crimes alone can justify the abolition of an order? Cannot very many other motives justify such action? His Holiness said that he kept the chief causes of that suppression hidden in his own heart. . . . But, men say, the Society was useful to the state. Granted; but are not all sorts of merchandise, precious jewels even, useful to the merchant who is on the ocean? And nevertheless, he throws them overboard, when otherwise he cannot save his life. When, therefore, the peace of the Church of God could be restored only by our public sacrifice, even though it were the effusion of all our blood, we should not have murmured, but rather have kissed the hand that was immolating us, rather have blessed the arm that was crushing us. . . . Any one of the former Jesuits who thinks, speaks, or writes otherwise, bore only the name and the habit of the Society; he did not have its spirit."

Certain apologists of the Society exhibit much complacency as they describe the protection which Frederick II. of Prussia and Catharine II. of Russia extended to it after its suppression. The value of philosophistic sympathy like that of Frederick II. must be problematical; and certainly the friendship of a Catharine II. can redound no more to the glory of the Jesuits, than the frequently-mentioned hatred of the Pompadour—a far better woman than Catharine—can contribute to their shame. Apologists of the calibre of Cretineau-Joly appear not to suspect that the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* was, for the condemned society, a sure pass-

port to the affections of Frederick and Catharine—those supposed experts in matters of solid sanctity and real worth; that, in fine, hatred of Rome prompted those sovereigns to protect a Society which Rome discountenanced. The real animus of the Russian government was manifested when, proclaiming the alleged demerits of the Jesuits as loudly as it had formerly announced their merits, it expelled them from Russia, almost as soon as the Holy See restored the Society (1). Declining, therefore, to recognize the action of Frederick and Catharine as adding to the fame of the Society, we must nevertheless consider the relations between these sovereigns and the abolished organization; since they are frequently misunderstood, and at least in the case of the Russian Jesuits, are often made the basis of unfounded allegations. Catharine and Frederick had forbidden the publication of the suppressing Brief; and had ordered the Jesuits not to disband. The conduct of the Jesuits in Prussia is easily justified. In a work written several years before the appearance of his rather anti-Jesuit *History of the Pontificate of Clement XIV.* (2), Theiner thus explains it: “Frederick II. was so convinced of the necessity of preserving the Jesuits in his dominions, that he tried to influence Rome in the matter. . . . But the Jesuits made no use of the royal good feeling; they had fallen everywhere like heroes, and as heroes they wished to abandon the scene of their labors in Silesia, where they left imperishable monuments after themselves, monuments which are still admired by every Silesian. They represented to the king, in strong terms, that he could not nullify a decree of the Holy See, in order to maintain the Society. Therefore they earnestly begged him to consent to their suppression. Astonished by their obedience to the Holy See, he replied: ‘Since you do not wish to profit by my favor, I shall not attempt to violate your consciences, and I allow you to consider yourselves as included in the suppression of your order.’ . . . In fact, the Society retained

(1) Pope Pius VII. restored the Society on Aug. 7, 1814; and on Dec. 20, 1815, Alexander I. expelled the Jesuits from St. Petersburg. On March 13, 1820, they were banished from the empire.

(2) *History of Institutions for Ecclesiastical Education*, vol. II., p. 50. Mayence 1825.

possession of all its colleges, and of the University of Breslau, until the melancholy days of 1806 and 1811; but it entered into the class of secular priests, and received no more novices." Ravignan observes that the Prussian Jesuits did not refuse to preserve the *status quo*, as the Canon Law permitted, so long as the Brief was not canonically made known to them; but they did refuse to follow the suggestion of Frederick, that they should choose for themselves a vicar, and constitute themselves into a religious Society. Such, in a few words, was the conduct of the Jesuits in Prussia, after the suppression; but the course pursued by the Jesuits in Russia is not so easily understood.

By the partition of Poland in 1772, the Jesuits of most of what was termed White Russia became subjects of Catharine II. They received no intimation of the suppression of their Society from their ordinary, the bishop of Vilna, on whom was incumbent the duty of giving that intimation to them. Behold the reason of the survival of the Jesuits in White Russia—an existence which has been represented, by Gioberti, Theiner, and a host of less respectable foes of the Society, as a defiance of the commands of the Vicar of Christ. Ravignan asks leave to complain of the propensity of many publicists to regard the Jesuits "as outside the common law, as having no right to its benefits." This propensity is admirably illustrated when the Jesuits of White Russia are accused of rebellion to the chief ecclesiastical authority. The Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* was not published with those solemnities which, as canonists hold, are requisite if a papal pronouncement is to be regarded as obligatory, without any particular intimation of it. This Brief was not placarded either in the Campo dei Fiori, or *ad valvas Sancti Petri*; the bishops of Christendom were ordered to publish it, and to procure its execution. The bishop of Vilna may have been guilty when he ignored this Apostolic command; but so long as the contents of the Brief did not reach the Jesuits in the manner contemplated by the pontifical legislator, those religious were justified in regarding themselves as still subject to their olden rules. The doctrine of canonists, and the practice of saints, in the case of emergencies like

that in which the Russian Jesuits found themselves after the suppression, was thus set forth by Cardinal Calini in an eloquent address to Pope Pius VI. on April 1, 1780: "The Brief of Clement XIV. was not published in Russia, because of the circumstances surrounding the bishop who should have published it. Therefore the Jesuits in Russia remained in pacific possession of all that they had enjoyed for two hundred and forty years, of all that had been confirmed to them by so many Bulls and Briefs of nineteen Sovereign Pontiffs; that is, they continued to be real Jesuits. Where, then, is their heresy; where their disobedience? The bishop did not make the Brief known to them, because the court of St. Petersburg had threatened with exile any one who would publish it. Certainly ecclesiastical precepts are not of obligation, when their fulfilment is so onerous. . . . The annals of the Church show that several Briefs of suppression have not been executed in various kingdoms and provinces; and nevertheless, Rome has never issued a Bull of condemnation against the religious who, in those circumstances, continued in their olden condition. Such was the case of the order of the Servites, whom Pope Innocent V. declared included in the suppression ordered at the General Council of Lyons. Then there was the order of the Brothers of St. John of God, suppressed by Rome, but continuing to exist in Spain, because the Brief of Clement VIII. was not published in that land (1). We also see the order of the Pious Schools, although formally abolished at Rome, maintaining its position as an order of regulars in Poland and other northern lands. There are two letters of St. John Calasanzius, inserted in the summary of the report for his beatification in 1716, when Mgr. Lambertini (afterward Pope Benedict XIV.), a man so learned in these matters, was Promoter of the Faith. The servant of God, then general of the Pious Schools, expressly charged his subjects, in these letters, to follow their rule, so

(1) This allusion to the suppression of the Brothers of St. John of God reminds us that on May 3, 1775, at the very time when the Jesuits of Russia were being decried as rebels to the Holy See, Pope Pius VI. approved the decree which declared the heroicity of the virtues of the Ven. John Legrande, called *el peccador*—the same Legrande who upheld the order of the Brothers of St. John of God in Spain, because the suppressing decree of Clement VIII. had not been promulgated in that country, owing to the opposition of Philip II. And Pope Pius IX. solemnly beatified this Legrande in April, 1854.

long as the *Brief* was not intimated to them by the ordinaries ; and this he ordered, because the Brief of destruction, issued by Innocent X., had prescribed its intimation by those ordinaries. Lambertini made no observations on these letters which might render their author's sentiments suspicious, as being contrary to the obedience due to the Apostolic decisions. We even read in that history of the saint which was written by one of the religious of the Pious Schools, and printed in Rome at the Ospizio di San Michele *ad ripam*, that the holy general, then very advanced in years, sent the venerable Brother Onofrio del Santissimo Sacramento to Poland and other northern countries, where the Pious Schools were most numerous, to obtain that the destroying Brief might never be promulgated in those regions ; and his object was gained." These observations of Cardinal Calini, received most graciously by Pope Pius VI., might obviate any necessity of our pursuing the subject of the culpability of the Jesuits of Russia ; but it may be well to note that there is good reason for believing that Pope Clement XIV. himself expressly authorized the continuance of the Jesuits, as a Society, in the Russian dominions. We need lay no stress on the reports to that effect which were current in Russia at that time (1) ; we have positive evidence of this authorization in a pastoral letter of the bishop of Mohilow, dated June 29, 1779. This prelate says : " In condescension to the wishes of the august empress of Russia, Pope Clement XIV. had not obliged her to execute the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor* in her dominions." It is true that Garampi, the papal nuncio in Poland, afterward stated that no such permission of toleration had been sent through him ; but that statement does not show that the authorization was not granted. It is certain that Clement XIV., like Louis XV. and many other sovereigns of the time, frequently conducted negotiations without any intervention of his nuncios, and even without the knowledge of his secretary of state ; and this fact is admitted even by Theiner, who is most energetic in rejecting the theory of an

(1) Thus, there was printed in Germany, in 1820, a memoir entitled *Observations of a Gentleman of St. Petersburg on the Report of Prince Galitzin, Minister of Religious Affairs, to Her Imperial Majesty, on the Expulsion of the Jesuits ; Sent to a Friend in Germany*. This writer speaks of the authorization as a fact admitted by all.

authorization by the Pontiff (1). We are justified, therefore, in believing that the Jesuits in Russia were not rebels to the Holy See; and that Pope Pius VII. did not stultify himself when, re-establishing officially the Jesuits in Russia, at the prayer of Paul I., he eulogized the fathers who had remained in those regions "to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord."

With this defense of the conduct of the Jesuits in Russia we would terminate our dissertation, not deeming it requisite to discuss a question which is unnecessarily agitated by most publicists who treat of the pontificate of Clement XIV.; namely, whether the Pontiff went mad after he had suppressed the Society. The arguments by which certain apologists of the Society endeavor to show that the wickedness of its suppression was evinced by a remorse, on the part of Clement XIV., which culminated in insanity, are flimsy and baseless. They would receive no attention from us, did not Ravignan, an author whose sincerity cannot be challenged, incline to the affirmative when he introduces this question. From the day of the suppression of the Society there were vague whisperings among its ultra partisans that Clement XIV. had become crazy; but not until 1847, when Cretineau-Joly published his *Clement XIV. and the Jesuits*, was there any revelation of the source of those rumors. It then appeared that the responsibility for the cruel aspersion rested on the ex-Jesuit, Vincent Bolgeni, an able polemic, but too fond of paradoxes, whom we have had frequent occasion to cite in the course of our work. However, Cretineau-Joly was not satisfied with the incoherent and scandalous narrative of Bolgeni; his mistaken zeal induced him to embellish it with details which can be ascribed to no source other than his own imagination. "The princes," says Cretineau-Joly, "had expelled the sons of Loyola from their kingdoms; the Pontiff abandoned them to ecclesiastical persecutors. But this

(1) Theiner cites a despatch of Garampi to the Pope and the secretary of state, in which the nuncio speaks of the opposition of Catharine to the suppression, and remarks: "In so grave and delicate an affair, I shall not dare to express my opinion to the Holy Father or to the Holy Congregation, especially since I am in the most complete ignorance concerning the steps that may have been taken." Theiner also cites a despatch from Cardinal de Berris to the Duc d'Aiguillon, dated Aug. 24, 1773, in which, speaking of the circular-letter to the bishops which informed them of the Brief of suppression, the cardinal said: "I cannot ask for any explanations from the Pope, since he gives no audiences; and I can obtain none from the secretary of state, since he was told nothing about the matter."

tyranny of detail did not accomplish the purpose of Charles III. and of his ministers; the Spanish monarch desired a more complete triumph, and he persuaded the Pope to accord it. On July 21, 1773, there was to be begun a novena at the Gesù, in honor of St. Ignatius. The bells had commenced to toll, and *Ganganelli* inquired for the reason. When he was informed, he remarked: 'You mistake. They are not ringing at the Gesù for the saints, but for the dead.' This he knew better than any one else; for he *accepted*, that same day, the Brief *Dominus ac Redemptor*, which abolished the Society of Jesus throughout Christendom. . . . Clement XIV. had signed it *with a lead-pencil, during the night, and at a window of the Quirinal*. It is said—and we have this from the very lips of Pope Gregory XVI.—that after having ratified an act of such great import, *Ganganelli fell to the marble floor, from which he was not raised until the next day*. This next day was for him one of tears and despair; for, according to the manuscript narrative left by the celebrated theologian, Vincent Bolgeni (1), Cardinal Simone, then auditor of the Pope, narrated the frightful scene as follows: 'The Pontiff was on his bed, almost naked (2). He was weeping, and from time to time he was heard to repeat: *Oh God! I am damned; hell is my home; there is no remedy!* Brother Francis begged me to approach the Pope, and to speak to him. I did so; but the Pope would not answer me, continuing to repeat: *Hell is my home!* I tried to reassure him; but he kept silent. A quarter of an hour elapsed; then he turned his eyes toward me, and said: *I have signed the Brief; there is no remedy.* I told him that there was a remedy; that he could withdraw the decree. Then he cried: *It cannot be done. I have given it to Moniño; and by this time, the courier for Spain is probably on his way.* Even then, said I, one Brief is revoked by another one. *Oh God!*

(1) The original manuscript of Bolgeni, preserved in the Jesuit archives at Rome, was copied by Thelner, and is given in his *Epistles and Briefs of Clement XIV.* Paris, 1852.

(2) Here Cretineau-Joly furnishes one of innumerable instances of his ignorance of the Italian language; for Bolgeni represents Simone as saying that the Pope was reclining on his bed, dressed in shirt and drawers—in *camicia e mutande*. This ignorance of Italian justifies us in hesitating to accept Cretineau-Joly's version of the remarks of Pope Gregory XVI. Gregory understood French; but in his audiences he never ventured outside of Latin or Italian.

he returned, *it cannot be done. I am damned. Hell is my home ; there is no remedy.*' His despair, according to Simone, lasted for a good half-hour. *Certain imprudent friends of Clement XIV. have been unwilling to credit him with this last good quality of remorse. . . . He was about to become crazy ; for from July 21, 1773, he never had more than a few scintillations of reason. Among all the Roman Pontiffs, he is the first and only one to have suffered this degradation of humanity*" (1). The disgust and horror excited by this abominably impious lucubration of a Catholic pen might serve as its refutation, if it were never to fall under other eyes than those of one devoted to the Holy See. Certainly we know that it is possible for a Pope to become a madman ; that it is also possible for a Pope to be damned. But what was there in the course pursued by Pope Clement XIV. toward the Society of Jesus, which would entail upon him so terrible a punishment in this world, and separation from God in the next ? Heap anathemas as you will upon the heads of Pombal, Aranda, Tanucci, Choiseul ; upon the heads of the Jansenists, Febronians, Encyclopedists, and Freemasons of the eighteenth century ; but not on the head of him who thought that the suppression of the Society of Jesus was necessary for the peace of the Church, and who could rightly say, whether he did say it or not, "*compulsus feci.*" Now let us examine the indictment drawn up by Cretineau-Joly. In the first place, it is false that from the date of the suppression, Clement XIV. was nearly always *non compos mentis*. That he suffered intensely, and because of the suppression, is true ; but the despatches of the foreign ambassadors to their courts show that he transacted business until three weeks before his death, that is, that for fourteen months after the abolition of the Society, his mind was clear and active. Not once does any one of the ambassadors even hint at any mental trouble, other than grief, on the part of His Holiness. From Sept. 28, 1773, to Oct. 28, the Pontiff was at Castel Gandolfo, continually occupied with a regulation of the affairs of the extinct Society, especially with provisions for the continuance of the many establishments which

(1) *Clement XIV. and the Jesuits*, p. 330.

the Jesuits had ruled. On Nov. 12, we find him opening the Roman College, then under the control of secular priests; and Cardinal de Bernis writes to Aiguillon that "His Holiness is in good health, and in excellent spirits" (1). Two days before this event, Bernis had written that "the Pope was very busily engaged in the affairs of the missions"; and the ambassador hoped that in a few days he "would have something positive to write, concerning the missions of Tonquin and Cochin China." On Nov. 30, Aiguillon writes to Bernis that Louis XV. rejoices because of the good health enjoyed by the Pontiff, in spite of his great labors; and he congratulates His Holiness, because "his health, and the gaiety which accompanies it, are proofs of the tranquillity of his mind." Certainly, the French monarch could have had no misgivings as to the intellectual soundness of the Pope, when he wrote, on Nov. 23, that Bernis should "address himself *personally* to His Holiness, in reference to a point concerning which His Majesty was very anxious"; namely, the nature of the secret instructions which Ricci, while yet general of the Society, was said to have emitted for the future guidance of his subjects, in the event of their suppression. We must suppose that Bernis had obeyed the royal command to apply for information directly to Pope Clement, when, on Dec. 8, he wrote to Aiguillon that His Majesty would have to wait until the examination of Ricci and his former assistants was completed (2). Let the reader consult the *Epistles of Clement XIV.*, edited by Theiner, and that author's chapters on the last days of the Pontiff, and he will find many indications that no person in Rome suspected, for an instant, the mental capacity of him who is represented by Cretineau-Joly as enjoying, after the suppression, "only a few scintillations of reason." But what shall we say, if we wish to do justice to the imaginative powers of Bolgeni and his French

(1) Bernis adds that thereafter, in the Roman College, "Theology will be taught according to the doctrine of St. Thomas and Scotus; and that the Pope has not wished to admit any professors of the Augustinian school, *since that school is too much opposed to that of the Jesuits*. It is the intention of His Holiness to banish theological disputes as much as possible, and to keep at a distance from the schools all that is called Jansenism or Molinism. He has retained four of the olden Jesuit professors, who enjoyed a good reputation for talent."

(2) Bernis says that "It is not the intention of His Holiness to render the Jesuits odious, or to furnish material for disputes to factions."

disciple? Certainly the reader must find it difficult to picture to himself a Roman Pontiff signing a Brief with a lead-pencil, as he stands in the embrasure of one of his windows at midnight, depending for light upon the moon; and alas! the poor Pope must be pictured, if we follow the context, as affixing the momentous signature while clothed only in shirt and drawers (1). It has always been believed that a Pope signs important documents in the presence, either of his cardinal-secretary of state, or of the cardinal-prefect (or at least the secretary) of the Congregation immediately concerned in the matter. Again, it is well known by all who are familiar with the ways of the Roman court, and ought to be suspected by those who are not acquainted with them, that it would be absolutely impossible for a Pope to remain out of his bed many hours when he ought to be in it, without the knowledge of scores of his household attendants (2). We are told that the Pope informed Simone that he had already consigned the Brief to Moniño. But Bernis and Moniño say that the latter received the Brief on Aug. 19, nearly a month after the alleged fainting-spell on the floor of the Quirinal. Simone also tells us that "*immediately after the departure of Moniño,*" the Pontiff tried to throw himself out of a window, and that a servant experienced great difficulty in preventing him. But how could this have occurred, if, as Cretineau-Joly asserts, the Pope was unconscious on the floor until found in the morning? Are we to suppose that the servant, after saving his master from breaking his neck, left the poor man alone until morning with every opportunity for some similar action? Cretineau-Joly says that Pope Gregory XVI. communicated to him the story of the fainting-spell. Gregory may have done this, and he may have credited the yarn, although he seems to have given no authority for it; but it is remarkable that

(1) We cannot suppose that the Pope was fully dressed, and that he was reduced to shirt and drawers by the tardy prelate or domestic who found him stretched on the floor. The discoverer would have either left his garments all on him, or would have put a night-robe on him, if so much of the clothing had been removed. If we can suppose anything natural in this unnatural business, the Pontiff must have signed the Brief, according to Cretineau-Joly, while arrayed in the *camicia o mutande*.

(2) In regard to Clement XIV., it is certain that he was continually under the eyes of either his confessor, Buontempi, or of his faithful companion, Friar Francis.

Bolgeni says not a word about it. The memory of Cretineau-Joly must have been very defective; for we note an instance of its failure which completely demolishes the weird picture which he presents to the gaze of the credulous. Cretineau-Joly himself, in the same work which contains this picture, publishes a letter which Moniño wrote to Tanucci two days after the day on which, according to the would-be apologist, the Spaniard received the Brief from Clement IV.; and in this letter, after telling the Neapolitan minister how he has repeatedly assured His Catholic Majesty that the Brief of suppression was about to appear, he avows that new difficulties are continually arising. Then he adds: "I have been obliged to discharge my musket; and you know with what kind of shot it is loaded. The result has been a quantity of printed sheets, which may yet serve me when I make cartridges. *I fear that another discharge will be needed; for at every step I take, I find a new obstacle.*" Is it not evident that on July 23, the date of this letter, Moniño had not yet received the Brief? We have charitably supposed that the memory of Cretineau-Joly was defective; but it appears strange that his proof-reader did not inform him that although this letter of Moniño is read on his page 333, the world is told on page 332 that on July 21 the Spaniard had extorted the Brief, and that "with one blow he had killed both the Vicar of Christ, and the Society founded by St. Ignatius." We now dismiss this subject with a quotation from the same Bolgeni whose abominable recital, thanks to the ghoulisn enterprise of Cretineau-Joly, has attained, in the minds of many of the unwary, to the dignity of history. This same Bolgeni, either because his memory also has failed him, or because he is half-repentant of his insult to the memory of a Roman Pontiff, tells us in another narrative which is a sequel of the one already cited (1), that he questioned Mgr. Sampieri, a canon of St. Peter's, and an intimate of Clement XIV., as to whether the Pontiff really became crazy, and that the prelate replied that "having frequently consulted with the Holy Father on important matters, after his receipt of that let-

(1) This second narrative is also preserved in the Jesuit archives at Rome.

ter (1), *he had never perceived any derangement in the Pope's mind*, although His Holiness always rested his head on his hand, the elbow leaning on the table, and he appearing to be plunged in deep melancholy" (2).

CHAPTER XX.

VOLTAIRE.

It required but little effort of logic, says Balmes, to pass from the Reformation of the sixteenth century to deism; and from deism to atheism there is but a step. Not in Germany, however, the birthplace of that conglomeration of heresies which is styled Protestantism, did incredulism find its cradle; that sad distinction belongs to England. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, Addison deplored the ravages of irreligion and lubricity in his country. Leibnitz, after a visit to England, said that natural religion had become extremely weak in that land; and Clarke, in his reply to the German, could not deny the fact. Thomas Leland declared that attacks on Christianity succeeded each other without interruption; and that the opponents of revelation manifested a zeal which was as strange as it was indefatiga-

(1) This letter was one purporting to have been written by Mgr. de Bourmont, archbishop of Paris, antagonizing the abolition of the Society; and which, contrary to what Bolgeni says, appeared only after the death of Clement XIV. But what is to our purpose is that since this letter was dated April 24, 1774, Sampieri speaks of a time nine months after the suppression.

(2) We need not insult the intelligence of the reader by more than a reference to the charge of having murdered Clement XIV., which has been made against the Jesuits. Who would recognize the Gioberti of the *Primacy of Italy*, the author of a sublime system of philosophy, and one of the foremost among modern appreciators of the philosophy of history, in the writer of the following passage? "Natural reason demands that a crime be attributed to him alone who had an interest in committing it, as well as a moral capability and a desire of committing it. Now who could expect any gain by the death of Clement? The Jesuits. Who hated Clement? The Jesuits. Who manifested this hatred by calumnies, libels, and every possible method? The Jesuits. Who joined to their hatred a ferocious hunger after vengeance? The Jesuits. Who threatened the holy Pope with what really happened? Who endeavored to kill him by anticipation, inducing a fear because of sacrilegious prophecies? The Jesuits. Who rejoiced when the event happened, insulting his still warm remains? The Jesuits. Who calumniate him even now? The Jesuits. ... Who is more vindictive than the Jesuits (I speak of the political ones), and more vile in his revenge? Certainly a doctrine which, in many cases, justifies treason, perjury, homicide, and even the murder of sovereigns, may easily justify the poisoning of Popes. ... They who scrupled not in throwing mud on the highest dignity on earth, were fully capable of poisoning the man who was invested with it. ... But all doubt is banished by that

ble. Some of these foes of both Catholicism and the Protestantism of that day were avowed deists; others were Socinians, as the modern Arians were termed, who rejected the fundamental dogma of the Christian religion. To this latter school belonged Clarke, Emlyn, Whiston, and Locke. Clarke defended against Collins the existence of God, and the immortality and liberty of man's soul; but Voltaire charged him with being a mere shuffler in his treatment of the question. Asgill published an attempt to prove that man can be transferred to eternal life, without passing through the gates of death. William Coward wrote a denial of the spirituality and immortality of the soul. Shaftesbury, in his *Characteristics*, allowed indifference in religious matters; he advocated a religion supervised and indoctrinated by the state; he separated virtue from belief, and regarded it as a mere instinct. Collins was probably the most "advanced" of the English freethinkers of that time. He contended that revelation and reason were antagonistic; that the Old and New Testaments are a mass of types or allegories which prove nothing. Of the same school as Collins were Toland, Tindal, Trenchard, Woolston, Chubb, Morgan, Dodwell, and Bolingbroke. While all these coryphees of infidelity were waving their dismal standards in England, irreligion was almost unknown in the Land of the Lilies; and nearly all of the English vanguard

mass of fictions, frauds, prodigies, and sacrilegious superstitions, by which the Fathers showed that they desired, awaited, prepared, foresaw, and regarded as certain the speedy death of their enemy. . . . Let us suppose that to-day, in any state of civilized Europe there should appear a sect which made a business of predicting the more or less early death of the sovereign; and that while these prophecies were being circulated, the prince died with all the signs of an unnatural death. I ask whether there is on earth a tribunal which would not decide that the said sect was an accomplice in producing the mournful event. . . . Imputing to the Jesuits the atrocious deed, I do not speak so much of the Fathers, as of their clients. . . . How the infernal plot was executed is still, and probably ever will be, a mystery; therefore it would be rash to attribute it to the express command of the Society. Nevertheless, the guilt of the deed weighs, and ever will weigh, upon the Society, for many reasons which will not bear contradiction, etc., etc.," *usque ad nauseam*. (*Modern Jesuit*, ch. xl. Luzerne, 1847.) Perhaps the best reply to this tirade may be given in the words with which Cantù dismisses the accusation. "It has been asserted that Clement XIV. was poisoned by the Jesuits. The truth is that the physicians found no trace of poison in his body. But may we not ask why the Jesuits, if they had the means and the will, did not commit the crime before they received the decisive blow; or why they did not strike the *powerful ones* who had compelled their suppression, rather than the *weak one* who had suffered the compulsion?" *History of a Hundred Years*, vol. I., p. 172. Florence, 1855.

of the anti-Christian phalanx were dead, ere their weapons were naturalized in France. Then there appeared the *Persian Letters* of Montesquieu (1); the ebullitions of La Mettrie, d'Argens, Toussaint, Helvetius, Holbach, Naigeon, Grimm, d'Argental, Saint-Lambert, Targot, Roux, Diderot, d'Alembert; and more influential than all, the writings of Voltaire and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The two last were easily the leaders of the impious host; and, as Barruel says, d'Alembert was their most cunning agent, the Prussian Frederick II. their protector and counsellor, and Diderot their forlorn hope.

When treating of Voltaire, all anti-Christian and nearly all Protestant writers draw their information and sentiments, either mediately or immediately, from the *Life* written by Condorcet, or from the one composed by Duvernet. No scholar will contest the talent and ability of Condorcet; but the reader shall judge whether this author's "philosophical" proclivities did not destroy the judicial equanimity which is so essential for him who would be regarded as a historian. Commenting on what is undoubtedly the damning spot in the career of Voltaire as a writer, the besmirchal of the white robe of the sweet virgin of Domremy, the ultra-paneegyrist of the "Sage of Ferney" says: "The enemies of Voltaire affect to condemn this poem as unworthy of a philosopher, as a stain upon his works, and even upon his life. But if it be permitted to regard as useful an effort to render superstition ridiculous . . . if an affectation of austerity of morals, if an excessive value placed on purity, only makes hypocrites who are covered by the facile mask of chastity . . . if, by leading men to regard as crimes those defects from which men of honor and conscience have not been exempt, there results an oppression of even the purest souls by that dangerous caste (the priesthood) which, in order to govern

(1) When Montesquieu was seized by his last illness, he told his confessor, before receiving the Last Sacraments, that he had never been an incredulist at heart. This priest, Father Routh, a Jesuit, detailed the dispositions of his penitent to Gualterio, the papal nuncio in Paris; and in his letter occurs this passage: "He declared that he had never been an incredulist; and that if he had ever injured religion, he had been conquered by a taste for the new and the singular, by a desire to pass for a superior genius who was above prejudice and common opinions, and by the wish to merit the applause of those persons who directed public admiration."

and trouble the earth, claims to be the exclusive channel of the justice of Heaven; then this author must be regarded as the enemy of hypocrisy and of superstition." The *Life* written by Duvernet (1786), although sometimes attributed to the Marquis de Villette, was composed with the object of proving that "Voltaire consumed his life in the destruction of the great errors which corrupt morality." The judicious Picot may well style this author "a sort of madman who professed a blind enthusiasm" for his idol. Every page of the work is a tissue of outrages on decency and religion, and of impiety against God. On neither Condorcet nor Duvernet shall we depend for the knowledge requisite for this dissertation. They should not be ignored entirely; but the writings of Voltaire himself shall form the chief source from which we shall endeavor to form a correct idea of the most prominent enemy of the Church in modern times; of that strange genius who is the fetich of all modern "liberals," just as he was the fawning pet of those exponents of monarchical "divine right," Catharine II. of Russia and Frederick II. of Prussia; of that vaunted "philosopher" who dared to exclaim: "Reason was born only yesterday," implying, of course, that Reason began with him; of that Satanic railer who, in almost his last moments, feared not to boast: "With one foot in the grave, I shall beat time for a dance with the other one."

According to the baptismal register of the parish of Saint-André-des-Arcs in Paris, François-Marie Arouet was born in that parish on Nov. 21, 1694, of François Arouet and Marie-Marguerite Daumart. Arouet was an honest *bourgeois* whose ancestors had been tanners at Saint-Jouin de Marne since the beginning of the sixteenth century, until his father, having learned how to manufacture cloth, moved to Paris, and set up an establishment in the Rue Saint-Denis. At the time of the birth of François-Marie, Arouet was a notary; but in 1701 he was appointed to a receivership of one of the tribunals of the *Chambre des Comptes*—a position which the vanity of François-Marie afterward exalted as that of "treasurer" of the said *Chambre*. Mme. Arouet was more cultured than were most of the *bourgeoises* of that

day, and her morals were as easy as her manners. A friend of Ninon de l'Enclos, her house was the resort of numerous noble *roués*; and when François-Marie, the last of her five children, was born, the members of the precious circle wondered as to his paternity. If the husband's claim was to be ignored, as many insisted, the probabilities seemed to favor François de Castagner de Chateauneuf, commendatory abbot of Varennes, who acted as the boy's godfather (1). Of the five young *Arouets*, only three lived to maturity; the eldest, Armand; François-Marie, of whom we are about to treat; and Marie, the sole individual of his family for whom the prince of cynics cherished the slightest affection. Marie married Pierre-François Mignot, a clerk in the *Chambre des Comptes*, and became the mother of the Abbé Mignot, of a daughter who married a M. Denis, and of another daughter who married M. de Fontaine. As a babe, François-Marie experienced no mother's care; indeed, it was due to the zeal of Chateauneuf that he survived the perils of infancy. As a child, he never prayed at his mother's knee. His heart, intellect, and soul were left to the mercies of the immoral and impious abbé; when he was only three years old, if we may credit a remark of Chateauneuf to Ninon, he knew by heart the *Moisade* of Lourdet, one of the first overt attacks on religion which incredulity made in France. In his eleventh year he was placed in the Jesuit college of Louis le Grand; but the influence of Chateauneuf, who continued to associate with the boy during the days of recreation and during the vacations, more than neutralized the lessons of piety and of true wisdom which he now received. Violent and continual headaches compelled the young Arouet to forego a course of philosophy, and to leave college in 1711, when he had completed his rhetoric. Two years of dissipation ensued; and in the hope that absence from Paris would improve his morals, his father induced Chateauneuf to procure for the lad a pageship in the suite of that worthy's brother, then French ambassador at The Hague. Scarcely, however, had the candidate for reformation arrived in the Dutch capital, than he began an intrigue with the daughter of a female French

(1) DUVERNET; *Life of Voltaire*, p. 11, Geneva, 1786.

Protestant journalist; and since the mother had resolved to marry the girl to Jean Cavalier, the ex-leader of the Camisard bandits, she complained to the ambassador, and the precocious page was instantly sent back to Paris. Arouet would now have exiled his son to America, had not many friends persuaded him to try the effects of the discipline of a lawyer's office. During the three years which François-Marie was supposed to be devoting to at least some little acquisition of legal lore, he certainly became an adept in chicanery and in all the meaner arts which are familiar to the scum of the legal profession; but nearly all his time was consumed in debauchery in the society of men like Chaulieu, La Fare, Bussy, Caumartin, Servien, Sully, and others whose names persistently confront him who peers into the history of the Regency of Philippe d'Orleans. The physical constitution of the young Arouet compelled him to comparative moderation in the matter of drink; but in every other kind of debauchery he yielded to none. His father was thinking seriously of applying for a *lettre de cachet* for his imprisonment, when the regent anticipated the request by exiling the boy to Sully-sur-Loire, because of some verses in which he had foully libelled that prince. Defamatory verses had banished Arouet from Paris; but some fulsomely laudatory poetry caused the regent to relent, and the poet's punishment lasted only seven months. However, the offence was repeated; and fourteen months in the Bastille were accorded to the sinner for reflection. Shortly after Arouet recovered his freedom, he dropped the name of his family, coolly appropriated the aristocratic *de*, and posed ever afterward as "M. de Voltaire" (1).

Voltaire advanced his first claims to the applause of the general public by the representation of his tragedy of *Œdipe*, on Nov. 18, 1718. The piece pleased the literary world, and it drove the philosophistic world into ecstasies of delight. Two of its verses, apparently directed against the priests of the false deities of paganism, but really attacking the Christian priesthood (2), were, according to the expression of Con-

(1) It is generally supposed that he had hitherto signed his name as "Arouet, Junior—Arouet le J. . ."; and that in an anagram of these letters he discovered "Voltaire."

(2) *Nos prêtres ne sont pas ce qu'un vain peuple pense;
Notre crédulité fait toute leur science.* Act IV., scene I.

dorcet, "the first cry in a war which even the death of Voltaire could not terminate." The regent, in spite of the fact that the malignants of Paris feigned to recognize him in the incestuous hero of the tragedy, gave a gold medal and a pension of 1,200 livres to the author. About this time Voltaire wrote his *Letter to Urania*, a collection of the chief objections of incredulism against Christianity, in which he formally declares: "I am not a Christian," and raises the banner of Natural Religion. Nevertheless, on Nov. 4, 1723, when he was attacked by small pox, Voltaire made his confession. "I confessed, and made my will, which was not a long one; and then I awaited death with great tranquillity." In the spring of 1724, Voltaire made a second sojourn in the Bastille. The chevalier de Rohan-Chabot having fancied himself insulted by the audacious poet, had caused his servants to cudgel the offender; and in order to prevent a duel, all the Rohans had combined to obtain a *lettre de cachet* for the plebeian challenger. After fifteen days of imprisonment, Voltaire asked to be allowed to visit England, and the permission was granted. With the exception of his relations with Bolingbroke (1), and with that impious nobleman's

(1) Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, born of dissenting parents in 1672, became an Anglican in his early manhood. Having taken a great part in furthering the Treaty of Utrecht, he was raised to the peerage. When the House of Hanover mounted the British throne, Bolingbroke retired to France (1715). It was at his chateau of La Source that Voltaire first made his acquaintance. Having become prime minister to James III. (styled the Pretender), then residing at Bar in Lorraine, he was convicted of high treason in England on Sept. 10, 1715; and at almost the same time James III. dismissed him for similar reasons. There seems to be no doubt that Bolingbroke betrayed James in order to obtain the favor of the Hanoverians. At any rate he was allowed to return to England in 1723. While in France he married a niece of Mme. de Maintenon, who converted him from the libertinage which had exceeded that of the roudés of the Regency, but who did not succeed in converting him to Christianity. When he died in 1751, Bolingbroke left his writings to David Mallet with injunctions to publish them. These works, remarked Lally-Tolendal, are doubly precious, since they are strong against atheism, and weak against revelation. On Oct. 16, 1754, the Grand Jury of Westminster, imitating the Roman Index which Protestants affect to regard as an engine of obscurantism and of tyranny, denounced the works of Bolingbroke, especially the *Letters to Pope*, as subversive of religion, of morality, and of the government. Certain critics have failed to discern in Bolingbroke either a deist or an incredulist; they insist that the seductive and learned author was rather similar to one of the ancient Academicians. But it is certain that he jeers at religion, and strives to banish its first principles from the heart of his reader. His persistency of purpose is shown by the fact that he insisted on the posthumous publication of some of his most beneficial writings. He rejects both revelation and the Natural Law. He denies that the Creator intended to confer happiness on man. He admits a kind of general Providence; but denies that it extends over individuals. While avowing the antiquity and the usefulness of the doctrine of a future life, he contends that it is a fiction of the ancient Egyptians. He

particular world, we know little concerning the sojourn of Voltaire in England. He seems to have made no impression on the phlegmatic islanders; the English writings of the time barely mention his name. He saw Congreve, whom the English deemed their Molière; he met Clarke, the disciple and commentator of Newton; he became intimate with Swift, the friend and secretary of Bolingbroke, and regarded as an English Rabelais; and he tried in vain to win the esteem of Pope, whose sincere deism was disgusted with his licentious tastes and impious mouthings. But the relations of Voltaire with Bolingbroke were momentous indeed, since they were the cause of his definitive attachment to that incredulism with which he had hitherto merely toyed. In accordance with his aspirations which were ever falsely aristocratic as well as wicked, Voltaire accepted Bolingbroke as his model, eagerly imbibing from that polluted source ideas which he was to incorporate afterward in so many of his writings, especially in those which were directed against the Holy Scriptures. Voltaire seems to have been dazzled by the brilliancy of a position to which his imagination had exalted Bolingbroke, but which the noble incredulist did not really occupy. Voltaire discerned in Bolingbroke the head of a grand school of thought, and a type of English intelligence; he ignored the fact that heretical though it was, English society was still religious in the depths of its heart. His prejudices did not allow him to understand the religious crisis through which England was then passing. "By contact with revolution and party politics," says Maynard, "religion in England had become deformed, if not in itself, at least in the ideas formed concerning it. Because of hatred

holds that the soul is not an immaterial substance, distinct from the body. He teaches that chastity has no foundation in nature; that it is an invention of human vanity. He regards the entire *Pentateuch* as a tissue of absurdities. He discerns more obscurities in the New Testament than in the writings of Plato; in it, he insists, there are two contradictory Gospels, one of Jesus, the other of St. Paul. He outrages the Apostle of the Gentiles in terms that do not bear repetition. He declares that Christianity has never effected any good for humanity. Like all of his school, Bolingbroke knew no such thing as modesty. In a letter to Pope he placed himself above all other great philosophers and theologians. A calm and judicial reader of the works of Bolingbroke may not agree with Pope's saying to Swift that the epicurean deist was more than mortal when he treated of mundane matters; but he will certainly hold with Pope that Bolingbroke became frivolous when he tried to play the theologian.

for the Stuarts, the Catholic religion was regarded as one of rebels ; because of hatred for the governing powers, the Established Church was termed their instrument ; because of hatred of the republicans and levellers, the non-conformists were pronounced stupid or dangerous fanatics. In the minds of the wits and roués with whom Voltaire associated, the religious question was comprised in the two words, absurdity and danger. Hence their hatred, or at least an indifference for religion, which showed itself either in brutal attacks, or in a transformation of revealed Christianity into a species of deism. After Locke, the author of this transformation, came Shaftesbury, Toland, Collins, Tindal, to whom many of the English aristocracy gave the countenance of their social credit, and of their impiety and corruption. When Voltaire saw Christianity thus treated by the higher classes and by churchmen, naturally he thought it dead in England. He thought that it would soon die in France ; so he prophesied, and took upon himself to accomplish the prediction" (1). It was during his residence in England that Voltaire published his *Henriade*, on which he had labored almost unceasingly for ten years, and which contains the germ of the entire life-work of the author. The Marquis de Villette, one of the earliest biographers of the cynic, acclaims this work as "the most important service ever rendered to philosophy." The subject of the poem, the career of Henry IV., is a frame on which to hang a number of pictures illustrative of papal and clerical iniquity, and of the essential fanaticism of true religion. Condorcet, who thought that reason and religion are necessarily antagonistic, styles the *Henriade* "The Poem of Reason." It is interesting to learn that Voltaire, having learned that there was some talk of prohibiting the circulation of this work, sent a copy of it to Father Porée, who had been one of his teachers in the College of Louis le Grand, asking for his opinion as a theologian and a literary man. The reply of the Jesuit has not come down to us ; but he must have found it an easy task to unmask the hypocrisy which had led Voltaire to say that "not only as an author, but as a Christian, he

(1) Voltaire ; *His Life and His Works*, bk. 1., ch. 6. Paris, 1863.

yearned for the esteem of Father Porée." Even as a literary work, the *Henriade* was prized by few of its author's contemporaries. La Harpe, one of his own school, declared that in this would-be epic the writer had been wanting in invention; that he had failed in his plan, in his drama, and in his treatment of the wonderful—in fine, in all that enters into the essentials of an epic. La Beaumelle asked: "Who will read this poem, fifty years from now?" Trublet said that he "yawned when he read it." No wonder, then, that Joseph de Maistre remarked: "As to his *epic* poem, I have no right to speak of it; for in order to judge of a book, one must read it; and in order to read it, one must be awake" (1).

Voltaire returned to France in the early days of 1729, bearing with him, says his worthy panegyrist, Condorcet, a consciousness that "he was called to destroy the innumerable prejudices, of which his country was the slave." And Condorcet tells us how the tremendous task was to be accomplished. "He felt that he would succeed, if he used a happy mixture of audacity and cunning; now yielding to circumstances, and then profiting by them or causing them to arise; prudently adopting, as necessity demanded, argumentation, pleasantries, the charms of poetry, or theatrical effects. In fine, he was to render ratiocination so simple that it would become popular; so amiable that it would not frighten frivolity; so attractive that it would become the fashion. This grand project inflamed the soul of Voltaire; it excited his courage; he consecrated his life to it, and he kept his word. The tragedy of *Brutus* was the first fruit of his

(1) "We do not know," says Maynard, "whether Malézien was right when he said that the French have not the epic mind; but most assuredly nothing was ever less epical than the eighteenth century, that century without naturalness and without faith. Nothing was ever less epical than Voltaire, who was even less natural and more incredulous than his century. Nothing could be less epical than the subject chosen by Voltaire for his poem; the subject was entirely historical, and not at all adapted to that species of poetry. Perhaps our history presented only one subject for an epic—Joan of Arc; and we know how Voltaire treated that subject. As to the *Henriade*, there is nothing epical in it but the form, the machinery, the luggage; the life and soul of an epic are absent. Regarded from every point of view, and in spite of many beautiful verses and even of some beautiful passages, it is not to be compared not only with the grand epics which honor humanity, but even with such minor epics as the *Pharsalia* of Lucan." *Ubi supra*.—In his *Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, Villemain institutes an interesting comparison between the *Pharsalia* and the *Henriade*. (Vol. I., lesson 2.)

residence in England" (1). *Brutus* was represented in 1730, but it did not please a monarchical audience, and it was played only sixteen times. Its ambitious author had tried to imitate Shakspeare; and he failed, just as he afterward failed in the same attempt when he wrote his *Eriphyle*, his *Death of Cæsar*, and his *Zaïre*. In this same year a more than ordinarily irreligious and unpatriotic outburst on the part of Voltaire banished him once more from Paris. The famous actress, Adrienne Lecouvreur, a woman of notorious immorality, had died without having received the Last Sacraments; when urged to make her peace with God, she had replied to the priest by pointing to a bust of the Marshal de Saxe, one of her paramours, exclaiming: "Behold my universe, my hope, and my God!" Such being the manner of her death, the body of the miserable woman could not be placed in consecrated ground; a coach bore the remains in the dead of night to the spot where now the Rue de Grenelle meets the Rue de Bourgogne, and there, in the presence of only one of Adrienne's friends, M. de Laubinière, they were interred. Voltaire immediately apotheosized the deceased in verse. He accused the men in power of persecuting, when dead, one whom they had loved while she lived; he said that his "Saint-Denis" was the street corner where they had laid poor Adrienne (2), and that there he adored her; he pitied France, "sleeping under the rule of superstition"; he congratulated England, where alone "mortals dared to think" (3); he proclaimed London "the rival of Athens," and England "the happy land which had banished shameful prejudices as well as tyrants." Voltaire knew that France was not prepared for this nauseous dose, and he gave copies of the eulogy to only a few of his friends. But the government heard of the production; and to avoid arrest, Voltaire put forth a report that he had returned to England; and then he fled to Normandy, where he prepared to publish his *History of Charles*

(1) CONDORCET; *Life of Voltaire*, Paris, 1787—Voltaire himself at this period made no secret of his irreligious designs. In his *Correspondence* he narrates how Herault, lieutenant of the police of Paris, having warned him to beware lest he destroyed the Christian Religion, he replied: "That is precisely our object."

(2) The monastery of Saint-Denis was the burial-place of the French kings.

(3) Perhaps the Catholics of England were not mortals.

XII. (of Sweden), and his *Philosophical Letters*. Eight months afterward, he felt that it was safe for him to return to the capital, and in 1732, *Charles XII.*, his first attempt at history, and his first work in prose, saw the light. Just as Voltaire never did any better work in poetry than that exhibited in his first production, *Œdipe*, so he never wrote better prose than is read in *Charles XII.* And the best critics have discerned in this history a merit which can scarcely be ascribed to any other of Voltaire's lucubrations—a considerable regard for truth. Of course, there are many attacks on the court of Rome, many slurs on priests and nuns, many allegations of priestly ambition, etc.; but we must expect such ebullitions in anything written by Voltaire.

We need to say little concerning *Eriphyle* and *Zaire*, both weak imitations of that Shakspeare whom Voltaire termed a "barbarian." The former work was hissed from the stage; the latter, however, found well-deserved favor even among the author's opponents, and probably because of the episode of the crusade, well intertwined with the action of the drama, and treated in a manner not to have been expected from one who was wont to ridicule the Holy Wars. In *Eriphyle* the cynic had tried to imitate *Hamlet*; in *Zaire* he tried to imitate *The Moor of Venice*. Comparing the originals with the imitations, Maynard says: "Voltaire was vanquished by the 'barbarian' Shakspeare. In naturalness of sentiment and of language; in the preparation, probabilities, and progress of the drama; *Othello* is to *Zaire* that which genius is to talent. The able, infernal *Iago* is a confidant very different from the pallid *Corasmin*; the tender and elegant *Orosmane*, who is not at all oriental, is not to be compared to the ardent and ferocious Moor of Venice; and *Zaire* herself, with her too French daintinesses, does not affect us like the girlish and innocent *Desdemona*." Shortly after the production of *Zaire*, death deprived Voltaire of an admirer and an accomplice in iniquity, of whom we would make no mention, were this event not an illustration of our cynic's utter heartlessness, as well as of his philosophistic incredulism. During the previous year he had dwelt in the mansion of the Baroness de Fontaine-Martel, living at the expense of this

"goddess of hospitality," although his own income was sufficient to procure for him an abundance of even the luxuries of life. Voltaire was not the man to reject the favors of the mistress "of a fine house where he was the master; where every day was one of feasting and amusement; and where an annual revenue of forty thousand livres was spent for his diversion" (1). He tells us that his baroness was "without prejudices or weakness"; and of course that praise signifies that her reputation was bad, as indeed all Paris well knew (2). He tells us that his hostess was firmly persuaded that "when one is so unfortunate as to be no longer able to adore Eros, (we eschew the Voltairian language of brothels), then one must encourage others to adore him" (3). On Jan. 27, 1733, Voltaire sent to Formont an account of the death of the woman who had taken him, as both said, for a "director." Beginning with an allusion to some confectionery which Formont had sent to the baroness, and which would now be eaten "by her Jansenist daughter," he continues: "Imagine, if you can, that it devolved upon me to tell the poor woman that she had to go. She did not wish to pay any attention to the customary ceremonies of departure; but honor compelled me to see that she died according to rule. I brought to her a priest who is half Jansenist, half trickster; and he made a pretence of hearing her confession, and returned again to do the rest. When this comedian asked her in a loud voice whether she truly believed that her God, her Creator, was in the Eucharist, she replied 'Oh, yes!' in a tone which would have made me burst with laughter at a less lugubrious moment."

During the residence of Voltaire in England, he had written twenty-four *Letters on the English*; but they were not published until 1734, when, together with three other letters on the soul, on the burning of Altona, and on the *Thoughts of Pascal*, they appeared under the title of *Philosophical Letters*. The apparent object of the *Letters on the English* was to instruct the French on the state of literature, science, and morals, among their island neighbors; but their real

(1) Thus in his Letter to Cideville, Jan. 27, 1733.

(2) MANTEL; *The Police of Paris Revealed*, vol. II., p. 125.

(3) Letter to Mme. de Florian, June 9, 1767.

scope was the dissemination of the deistic notions which he had brought from England. The letters on English poetry and on the English drama are interesting; and it may be said that Voltaire revealed Shakspeare, Dryden, and Pope to France. But even these literary effusions are spoiled by the irreligious reflections with which the author thought to season them. Thus, the French were told that there were no hypocrites in England, because there were no devotees; that the English were all "honest men." He outraged the immense majority of his countrymen by declaring: "In England you will not see any imbeciles placing their souls in the control of others; nor will you see any petty autocrats acquiring a despotic empire over silly women who were once dissolute and are always weak, and over men who are even more weak and more despicable" (1). In the letters which treat of religion, Voltaire derides everything that is Catholic in France; but he is ecstatic in his praises of the English dissenters, and especially in his encomiums on the Quakers. The publication of this work entailed much trouble on its author; he would have made a third visit to the Bastille, had he not fled into the Low Countries. In the most cowardly fashion he denounced the printer as having acted without his consent; as to the letter on Pascal, he insisted that he had especially intended to suppress it; the printer had ruined him, etc. On June 10, 1734, in accordance with a parliamentary decree, the *Philosophical Letters* were torn and burnt by the public executioner, as "scandalous, contrary to religion, to good morals, and to the respect due to the ruling powers." Nevertheless, thanks to the intercession of his numerous aristocratic friends, Voltaire was allowed to return to Paris in March, 1735, Cardinal Fleury, the prime minister, merely insisting that "he should act like a wise man, and like one who had reached a certain age."

We shall enter into no details of the life of Voltaire at Cirey between the years 1734 and 1750; the *liaison* of the poet with Mme. du Châtelet—a relation which for three years was one of passion, and for thirteen years a matter of habit and of interest—having been but an episode in a long

(1) *Works of Voltaire*, edit. Beuchot, vol. xxxvii., p. 233.

career of eroticism. In 1736 appeared the drama of *Alzire*, which Voltaire, writing to Formont, announced as "a very Christian play, which may reconcile me with some of the devout" (1). The piece is one of great intrinsic merit; and William Schlegel praises it as superior to the other dramatic works of the author: "Having contrasted the Christian and the Ottoman morals, Voltaire placed some Spaniards and some Peruvians in the same picture; and the difference between the old and the new world furnished poetry with an occasion for the use of its brightest colors. *Zamore* shows us a savage still free, and *Montèze* a savage who has been subdued; *Gusman* represents the insolent pride of the conqueror, and *Alvarez* the sweet charity of the Christian. *Alzire*, exposed to the shock of all these opposing interests, finds herself divided between her souvenirs of the past—her country, and especially the first choice of her heart, and the new duties which have become incumbent on her. The combat which ensues is exceedingly touching. The last scene, where *Gusman*, wounded unto death, is carried on the stage, produces sweet and deep emotion. The difference of spirit between the religions of the two worlds is expressed in verses of great beauty: 'Know the difference between the deities whom we serve! Thine order thee to murder and to revenge; but my God, even though thou wert to assassinate me, commands me to pity thee, and to pardon thee' (2). These admirable words, which sufficed to convert *Zamore*, are the words which the duke de Guise addressed to a Protestant who had tried to murder him; but the poet, who applied them so happily, deserves as much praise as though he had first conceived them. Of all the productions of Voltaire, *Alzire* seems to me to be the most vigorous and the most happily arranged" (3). More in accordance with the real spirit of Voltaire was *The Worldling*, which soon fol-

(1) Writing to d'Argental in 1735, Voltaire said of *Alzire*: "If the piece does not seem to be the work of a good poet, it will at least appear to come from a good Christian; and in these times it is better to court the favor of religion, rather than that of poetry.

(2) "*Des dieux que nous servons connais la différence:*

Les tiens t'ont commandé le meurtre et la vengeance;

Et le mien, quand ton bras vient de m'assassiner,

M'ordonne de te plaindre, et de te pardonner."

(3) *Course of Dramatic Literature.*

lowed *Alzire*, disgusting even his fellow "philosophers" with its impudent praise of luxury. In 1738 Voltaire undertook to adapt *The Philosophy of Newton* "to the capacity of the public" (1); and he insisted that he "was the first Frenchman to explain these matters" (2), although it was notorious that Maupertuis had explained Newton in the Academy of Sciences in 1724, and that the same Maupertuis had revised this very book of Voltaire (3). Voltaire had fancied that the scientific theories of Newton could be made to deal a death blow to the Mosaic system, and therefore to the Gospel of Christ; hence his zeal for the propagation of the *Philosophy of Newton* (4). The year 1741 witnessed the first representation of Voltaire's drama of *Mahomet*; and the critics agreed with Fontanelle when he pronounced it "horribly beautiful." Many of its scenes are grandeur itself, and in virility of diction few of its author's other works equal it. But the *Mahomet* of Voltaire is not the Mahomet of history; he is simply a prater of false philosophy and blatant incredulism, a roué fresh from a *salon* of the eighteenth century, and not the false but enthusiastic prophet of Arabia. Mahomet would never have admitted that it was his intention "to deceive the universe" (5). Voltaire termed his hero *Tartufe-le-Grand*; but it would be difficult to discover in the annals of mankind an instance of hypocrisy so nauseating as Voltaire's dedication of his *Mahomet* to Pope Benedict XIV.: "Your Holiness will pardon the liberty taken by one of the humblest, but one of the most sincere admirers of virtue, in dedicating to the head of the true religion a work which is directed against the founder of a religion which is false and barbarous. To whom, rather than to the vicar and imitator of the God of peace and truth, could I dedicate a satire on the errors and cruelties of a false prophet? May your Holiness

(1) Letter to d'Argens, Nov. 19, 1736.

(2) Letter to Thieriot, June 23, 1738.

(3) So we learn from Voltaire himself, in his letter to Maupertuis, dated May 23, 1738.

(4) "Before Laplace, Voltaire had dreamed of a kind of *celestial mechanics*, which would render God useless. Theist and not deist, he admitted God, but denied Providence. How convenient, then, was that *attraction* which replaced providential action! Montesquieu said of the system of Descartes: 'This system relieves God greatly.' The saying could be applied more justly to the system of Newton, *To relieve God*; that is, to expel God from the world, and do without Him—that was the desire of Voltaire" (BUNGENER: *Voltaire and His Times*. Paris, 1852.)

(5) "... *il me faut aider à tromper l'univers.*"

deign to allow me to lay at your feet both the book and the author; I dare to beg for your protection of the one and the other. With sentiments of most profound veneration, I prostrate myself and kiss your holy feet." The object of Voltaire was to obtain from the Pontiff some little commendation of his talent which he could vaunt as a title for admission into the Academy—a hope, for the actuation of which he was then tormenting every power, whether governmental, social, religious, or "philosophical." With that exquisite courtesy which is traditional in the papal court to an extent unknown in any other, and which causes an acknowledgment of the receipt of even trivial productions, Benedict XIV. replied to the audacious poet, saying that he "had read the beautiful tragedy with great pleasure"; and his Holiness even condescended to excuse, by examples from Virgil, an error of prosody which Voltaire had committed in a distich which he had placed under a portrait of the Pontiff.

At this period of his life, Voltaire had already become historiographer of France, and gentleman-in-ordinary of the royal bed-chamber—dignities which he owed to the protection of Mme. de Pompadour, and to the abject servility which he ever manifested toward the royal ministers. He had succeeded in persuading Louis XV. that he was "a most Christian subject of the Most Christian King" (1); and that he was "favored by Rome," and covered by "the stole of the Vicar of God" (2). But his ambition was not satisfied; and furthermore, he wished "to erect for himself, in the Academy, a kind of a rampart against the persecutions which are suffered in France by a man who writes with a free pen" (3). He yearned for a consecration by the literary senate of his country; he wished to be invested with the "Academic inviolability" which was, in the eyes of literary men, more precious than the inviolability of the king. But at that time the French Academy, the daughter of Richelieu and of Louis XIV., was still devoted to religion, and it realized that it would extend its hand to incredulism when it

(1) Letters to the Marquis d'Argenson, May 3, and Aug. 10, 1745.

(2) Letter to d'Argental, Oct. 5, 1745.

(3) Letter to the Duc de Richelieu, Aug., 1750.

welcomed Voltaire to its precincts. Again, literary sovereignty was dear to the Academy; and it felt that Voltaire the Academician would exercise a literary dictatorship, and one more powerful than that which he then wielded. From 1732 to 1746 the Academy resisted all the open and secret endeavors which Voltaire persistently put forth; but finally it yielded to the influence of the king, who had been persuaded by the rival of the Pompadour, the duchess de Châteauroux, who was dominated by the duke de Richelieu, who had been devoted to the poet from his youth. But the favor, or rather the unwilling consent of Louis XV., would not have vanquished the repugnance of the Academy, had not the champion liar and hypocrite so defended his orthodoxy, as to practically disarm his principal clerical opponents, inducing them to feign a belief in his protestations, and to trust that (if he were insincere) the restraining influence of the Academy would render him less dangerous than he had been as a free lance. One of the chief defenders of the religious integrity of the Academy was Boyer, ex-bishop of Mirepoix, and preceptor of the dauphin. In March, 1743, Voltaire sought the mediation of the Abbé de Rothelin, an academician, between himself and Boyer. In this letter, the candidate represents himself as full of "real respect for the Christian religion," which, he declares, "inspires him with the determination never to write anything offensive to purity." And during the previous fifteen years he has been engaged in the composition of the pornographic *Pucelle*. In witness of his faith, he brazenly appeals to his writings, and to letters which he has received from Cardinal Fleury, "who knew his veritable sentiments concerning religion and the state" (1). Then he administers a dose of flattery to Boyer: "This is a reply to the cruel accusations which I have been obliged to bear; this is a solemn homage to the truths which I revere; this is a guarantee of my submission to the views

(1) At the time when the recently published *Philosophical Letters* were exciting the indignation of true Christians and patriotic Frenchmen against their author, Voltaire undertook to change several passages in the book, and especially in the chapter on Locke, and in the treatment of "that little *bagatelle* of the immortality of the soul" (*Letter to Cideville*, Dec. 15, 1732.) At the same time he wrote to Formont that he had read to Cardinal Fleury the letters on the Quakers, from which he had "carefully cut out everything that might terrify his devout and wise Eminence. The poor man does not know what he has lost."

of those who are preparing the dauphin to be a worthy successor of his father." On Feb. 7, 1746, he wrote as follows to the Jesuit, La Tour, rector of the College of Louis le Grand: "I declare that if anything has been printed under my name, which could give scandal even to a sacristan, I am ready to destroy it; that I wish to live and die tranquilly in the bosom of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church."

We now approach the matter of the relations between Voltaire and Frederick II. of Prussia, the death of Mme. du Châtelet in 1749 having rendered the poet free to reside outside of France, and the displeasure of Mme. de Pompadour having disposed him to accept the invitation of a monarch who appreciated him at his own estimate (1). The first relations of Voltaire with Frederick occurred in 1736, when the latter was still prince-royal. As a child, Frederick had been trained by a French governess, Mme. de Rocoules, and by a French tutor, Duhan. As a youth, he manifested a passionate devotion to the French language and literature; and he was never known to speak or to write in German. He was wont to say, when still a young man, that he would like to make Berlin the capital of French art and literature, and himself their patron, as that office had been vacant, since the death of Louis XIV. The first letter of Frederick to Voltaire was dated Aug. 8, 1736. The prince, then twenty-four years of age, begs Voltaire to send him all his works; he will prize them "above all the transient and despicable goods of fortune"; he asks the poet to give him lessons in literature; and he signifies a desire to enjoy the company of so brilliant a man, or at least to see him. Voltaire replied on August 26. He regretted that his "friendship" for Mme. du Châtelet would not allow him to make the journey to Rheinsberg (then the residence of Frederick). That journey would be preferable to one to Rome; for at its

(1) Voltaire dedicated his *Tancred* to the Pompadour, and because, as he wrote to d'Argental (June 23 and 29, 1759), he "wished the priests to know that he stood well at court. . . . This is not an affair of the theatre; it is one of state." Unfortunately he said in the dedication: "If some censor should disapprove the homage which I pay to you, he certainly would be the possessor of an ungrateful heart." The intimates of the courtesan made her believe that this sentence implied that Voltaire thought that she was unworthy of his praise, and that he appealed to the public to excuse him on the score of his indebtedness to the royal paramour. From that moment the Pompadour was hostile to Voltaire. *Memoires of Mme. de Hausset*, p. 136. Paris, 1824.

end he would see a prince more worthy than Rome, that city having nothing to show but churches, pictures, and ruins. In the correspondence which was thus begun, there was no lack of compliments on either side. "He treated me as though I were divine," said Voltaire in later days, "and I treated him as though he were Solomon. Adjectives cost us nothing" (1). In Dec., 1736, Voltaire writes: "You think like Trajan, you write like Pliny, and you speak French like our best writers. What a difference between men! Louis XIV. was a great monarch, and I respect his memory; but he did not talk so *humainement* as you talk, my lord, and he could not express himself so well. I have seen some of his letters; he did not know the orthography of his language." It is worthy of note that the Prussian reminded the practically renegade Frenchman of the respect which was due to the memory of the grand monarch. He replied: "Louis XIV. was a great sovereign in very, very many respects. A solecism, a mistake in orthography, ought not to dim the brilliancy of a reputation which was founded on so many actions which have immortalized him. It can be said of him in every sense: 'Caesar is superior to grammar.'" The rebuke was without effect; for we find Voltaire trying to flatter the German by writing on May 27, 1737: "I think that the French are living in Europe somewhat on their credit, like a rich man who is being ruined insensibly." No wonder that on May 30, 1739, he wrote that "he was more the subject of Frederick than of the king under whose sceptre he was born." In Nov., 1736, Frederick sent to his "master" a bust of Socrates, with whom he compared the Frenchman in all things excepting that special matter of morals in regard to which both he and the "friend" of Alcibiades had been *calumniated* (2). On Feb. 8, 1737, Frederick wrote: "If ever I go to France, the first question I put will be: Where is M. Voltaire? The king, his court, Paris, Versailles, even the fair sex, will have nothing to do with my visit;

(1) *Works of Voltaire*, vol. xl., p. 50.

(2) "Socrates the philosopher was worth more than Voltaire; the *calumniated* Socrates was the true patron of Frederick, who was indeed audacious when he chose for a present the bust which recalled the infamous accusation which had been made against him." MAYNARD; *loc. cit.*, bk. II., ch. 4.

you alone will be the object." In July of the same year Frederick sent a kind of ambassador, Kaiserling ("Cæsarion") to Cirey. Kaiserling was able to write some bad French verses, and Frederick had therefore made him a favorite. Voltaire says concerning the reception of the envoy: "I made a beautiful illumination, in which the name of the prince-royal appeared, with the device: '*The hope of the human race*'" (1). On May 31, 1740, Frederick became king of Prussia; and on June 6, Voltaire received from him a letter announcing the fact. Voltaire replied, exclaiming: "What! You are a king, and you still love me?" and also: "This is the happiest day of my life." Frederick continued to urge his "master" to repair to Berlin, and his request would have been gratified at once, had not Mme. du Châtelet insisted on accompanying her paramour—a proceeding most repugnant to the Prussian misogynist, who preferred a pretty page to all the feminine divinities in the world. "I wish to see Voltaire," he wrote, "and not the divine Emilie, who, with all her divinity, is merely an accessory to our Newtonized Apollo." However, the *par nobile fratrum* passed four happy days in company at Meurs, near Cleves, in Sept., 1740, enjoying themselves exceedingly, writes Voltaire, "feasting, and discoursing profoundly on the immortality of the soul, liberty, and the hermaphrodites of Plato." In the following October, profiting by the absence of Mme. du Châtelet, Voltaire projected a journey to Berlin, that he might again "be with an amiable prince who would make him forget the evil treatment he had received in a country

(1) In this acclamation very little acumen is required to discern, besides the voice of Voltaire the flatterer and beggar, that of Voltaire the Freemason. Bluntschli, one of the best accredited of modern Masonic writers, claims for Frederick II. the glory of having started the begira of the Revolution. According to the German jurist, the conception of "the modern state, independent of all theocracy," that is, independent of any admission of a divine law, should be assigned to the year 1740, the date of Frederick's accession to the Prussian throne. "The French err," says Bluntschli, when, "in their vanity," they "date this conception from the year 1789." (*General Theory of the State*. Nordlingen, 1875).—During his entire reign Frederick II. was engaged in the organization of Masonry. Hitherto the Masonic Order of St. John had counted only four degrees; and in order to put it in more direct relation with the "Templars," then re-appearing, he organized Scotch Masonry with twenty-five degrees, superimposing it on the Masonry of St. John. The rite created by Frederick was called the Rite of the Princes of the Royal Secret, from the name of its last grade; and, with various alterations which date from the end of the eighteenth century, it is the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite now practiced in most of the Grand Orients. (*Monde Maconnique*, 1876: Articles on the *History of the Rites*).

which ought to be a sanctuary of the arts " (1). But his Emilie heard of the design, and so bitterly cursed the Prussian who would rob her of the charm of her life, that it was with great difficulty that Voltaire was able to depart on Nov. 4, and to meet the king on Nov. 21 at Rheinsberg (2). The happiness of the two philosophists was of short duration; on Dec. 15 the royal self-fancied adept departed for the campaign which was to result in his conquest of Silesia. This war, forced by him who vaunted himself the author of the *Anti-Machiavelli* (3), caused Voltaire much embarrassment; Mme. du Châtelet expressed his feelings when she wrote to d'Argental on Jan. 3, 1741: "I do not think that there has ever been so great a contradiction as there is between the invasion of Silesia and the *Anti-Machiavelli*." Voltaire was especially chagrined because he had sworn to dissolve his friendship with Frederick, if that prince ever ceased to be a Marcus Aurelius or a Titus (4); and his interested admiration of the Prussian did not prevent his saying to a friend: "The invasion of Silesia is a different kind of heroism from that inculcated in the *Anti-Machiavelli*. The cat, metamorphosed into a woman, springs on the mouse when she sees it; and the king casts off his philosophical mantle, and grasps the sword when he sees a province at his mercy. After this, put your trust in philosophy!" (5). From this time until his departure for Berlin, Voltaire had only those relations with Frederick as were entailed by his frequent correction of the monarch's bad French verses, which were continually forwarded by the would-be *littérateur*; but on July 24, 1750, he "saluted the angels of the heaven of Ber-

(1) Letter to Hénault, Oct. 31, 1740.

(2) The reader must not fancy that this inclination of Mme. du Châtelet for Voltaire is any proof that the poet was a lovable man. In spite of her lubricity, the Châtelet was a woman devoted to literature and science; and when Voltaire ceased to be for her an object of passion, she still retained him as her teacher. Only habit and avarice induced Voltaire to continue the connection when he found that Emilie granted her favors to others, without any scrupulous regard for his susceptibilities. During the last years of her life, Voltaire cheerfully consented to her relations with Saint-Lambert, consoling himself by consigning the episode to verse in the *Chantre des Saisons*, and by drawing from it the material for an act in a comedy now lost, but some verses of which he transferred to *Nanine*.

(3) In 1739 Frederick had sent to Voltaire the manuscript of a work which he had written in attempted refutation of *The Prince* of Machiavelli. He begged his friend to correct, rearrange, or even rewrite it as he saw fit. Voltaire accomplished the task, and to him must be ascribed whatever of readable there is in the essay.

(4) Letter to d'Argenson, Jan. 8, 1741.

(5) Letter to Cideville, March 13, 1741.

lin" (1). Scarcely had he arrived in the Prussian capital, when Frederick gave to him the gold key of a royal chamberlain, decorated him with the Order of Merit, and conferred on him a pension of 20,000 livres. When in Berlin, he lodged in the royal palace; at Potsdam, he had the apartment of the marshal de Saxe. Frederick did everything possible to prevent his regretting France. In the morning, Frederick was king; in the afternoon, he was the pupil of his guest; in the evening, he was a jolly comrade (2). Voltaire soon fancied that Berlin and Potsdam were each Paris on the Spree; French was spoken always at the court, "German being left to the soldiers and the horses" (3). Frederick never tired, during the first year or two of Voltaire's companionship, of assuring him that their friendship would be lasting. "He was addicted to demonstrations of pronounced tenderness toward favorites younger than myself; and once, forgetting that my hand was not very pretty, he took it in order to kiss it. Then I kissed his, and that action made him my slave" (4). The subject-matter of the conversations held by this precious pair, when not lubricity itself, may be gathered from this remark of the "Sage": "In no part of the world have men ever spoken so freely of all the superstitions of men; and never have they been treated with more pleasantry or contempt" (5). It was during his residence in Prussia that Voltaire composed his poem on *Natural Religion*. It did not please Frederick, who wanted no religion, either natural or revealed; he thought that its author "had sacrificed to the prejudice of remorse"; and Voltaire excused himself for "having wielded the dagger

(1) When Voltaire presented himself to bid farewell to Louis XV., the king turned his back on him, and said to his courtiers: "There will be one fool less in France." Speaking of this departure for Berlin, Maynard says: "It was a great fault in Louis XV. not to have conquered his aversion for Voltaire. We know the courtesanlike talents of the man, his cringing habits, the inexhaustible abundance of his flatteries, his yearning for honors and for an official position. It would have been easy to fasten his arms with ribbons, to close his mouth with compliments, to check some of his baneful activity with a political mission. Of course, these things would not have made him a good Christian or a good citizen; but they would have prevented him from doing harm. By allowing him to depart for Prussia, they sent him to his last school of corruption; by forbidding his return to Paris, they forced him to build that fortress of Ferney, whence, for twenty years, he directed so many attacks against all our religious and civil institutions." *Loc. cit.*, bk. II., ch. 6.

(2) Letters to d'Argental, July 24, 1750; to Thibouville, Aug. 1; to d'Argental, Aug. 7.

(3) Letter to his niece, Mme. Denis, Aug. 22, 1750.

(4) *Memoires*, in the *Works*, vol., xl, 86.

(5) *Ibi.*

with respect, although he had treated human absurdities as they deserve." He added: "The real object of this work is toleration, and the presentation of your example to others; Natural Religion is merely a pretext." And he promised to revise the poem, so as to make it "conform to the views" of his Majesty (1). However, the naturalism of the work should have satisfied the most unmitigated incredulist. The author pretends to inculcate a universal morality which shall be independent of any idea of God: "Be just; all the rest is indifferent." But he does not tell us what he means by "just"; he gives no idea of the origin, nature, or sanction of his law. Did he propose that men should follow the Natural Law as it was exemplified at Potsdam, where the order of the day was against nature? He says that his object is the preaching of toleration; but his idea of toleration is the concentration of all religious interests in the hands of the state: "He who leads soldiers can govern priests." At this period Voltaire began his *Philosophical Dictionary*, which has been styled the Encyclopedia of Voltaire, just as the Babel of Diderot was the Encyclopedia of that century. Then also Voltaire wrote, as an apology for the famous Abbé de Prades (2), the *Tomb of the Sorbonne*; and soon afterward he published his *Age of Louis XIV.*, on which he had been engaged for twenty years. This work is in many respects the best ever written by Voltaire; he said of it that it was his "favorite sultana, all the others having been mere *pas-sades*" (3). Maynard, who is never prone to praise a Voltairian production, regards it as "a beautiful and grand book," and he thinks that as yet no work has appeared to give us better means of "forming a general idea, a kind of

(1) Letter to Frederick, Sept. 5, 1752.

(2) Jean-Martin de Prades, a priest of the diocese of Montauban, was a friend of Diderot, and one of his collaborators in the *Encyclopedia*. In 1751 he defended in the Sorbonne a thesis in which there were several materialistic propositions, and notably a comparison between the miracles of Our Lord and the marvellous cures of Esculapius. A few doctors, who either had not read it, or had read it carelessly, gave to it their written approbation; but at length the thesis was condemned by the Sorbonne, by the parliament, and finally by Pope Benedict XIV. The author was banished from Paris, and proceeded to Berlin, where Voltaire welcomed him, and Frederick made him his reader-in-ordinary, in succession to another Frenchman, La Métrie, who had just died. However, De Prades was unworthy of the favors of Voltaire and Frederick; he was so unphilosophical, that he sent a full retraction to the Pontiff in 1754, and he was restored to his rights in the Sorbonne. PICOT; *loc. cit.*, vol. III., p. 185.

(3) Letter to Cideville, June 26, 1755.

panorama, of the times of Louis XIV." Nevertheless, the same judicious author says that while Voltaire saw all the exterior part of the drama, the actors and the decorations, his lack of moral sense and of religious perceptions caused the soul of the piece to escape him. "Hence came the weaknesses of the author of *The Wordling* in favor of that luxury which, in the long run, is fatal to the strongest of civilizations, but in which he would have all civilization consist. Hence came the weaknesses of the courtier in favor of royal mistresses, so that he might flatter Mme. de Pompadour. Hence the inability of the impious man to raise himself to the level of religious personages such as Bossuet, to whom he assigns a wife (1); of Fenélon, whom he places in the ranks of materialism (2); and of many others whose grandeur he diminishes. Hence his misintelligence of all that was grand in the religious disputes of the time, which he can regard only on their ridiculous side. Hence his misunderstanding of religion itself, which for him is merely an embarrassing and hateful accessory, but which was really the soul and life of the seventeenth century. Hence it is that his book, whatever may be its remaining beauty, *desinit in piscem*" (3). For many years this specious work has been one of obligatory study in all the *lycées* and colleges in France which depend from the University, and it forms an important feature in the examinations for the baccalaureate. That the reader may understand the almost certain effect of this interference of the French government in propagating the poison distilled by Voltaire, we subjoin the following passages: "The spiritual authority of the Pope, always somewhat mixed with the temporal, *is now destroyed and abhorred in one-half of Christendom*; and if in the other half he is regarded as a father, he has children *who sometimes properly and successfully resist him*. The maxim of France is to regard him as a sacred but enterprising personage, whose feet must be kissed, but *whose hands must sometimes be tied*. The Pope grants Bulls (of investiture) for all bishoprics; and he expresses himself in these Bulls *as though* he conferred these

(1) For a refutation of this foolish and absurd calumny, see Bausset's *Life of Bossuet*, in the Appendix.

(2) See ch. xiii. of this volume.

(3) *Loc. cit.*, bk. iii., ch. 1.

dignities by his own authority. . . . The religious whose chief superiors reside in Rome are *so many immediate subjects of the Pope residing in every country*. . . . To swear fidelity to any other than one's own sovereign is high-treason in a layman ; in the cloister it is an act of religion. The difficulty of knowing just how far one is obliged to obey *this foreign sovereign*, the ease with which one may be deceived, the satisfaction of rejecting a natural obligation in favor of another which one has assumed for one's self, the spirit of revolt, the evils of the day, *have often led entire orders of religious to obey Rome, in defiance of their own country*. . . . Art and subtlety have enabled Rome to preserve all that she has acquired, and which no other power would have been able to preserve" (1). These lies and insults to Rome are but samples of those which *The Age of Louis XIV.* presents on nearly every page. Voltaire anticipated grand results from this work ; although his love of country was *nil*, he hoped for the "philosophical" future of France. Writing to Servan, the advocate-general, in April, 1766, he said : "France arrives slowly, but she arrives. Ordinarily we are neither sufficiently profound, nor sufficiently daring. Our magistracy has indeed ventured to combat a few of the papal pretensions ; but it has never had the courage to attack them in their source. It opposes a few irregularities ; but it allows a man who wishes to marry his niece to pay an Italian priest 80,000 francs for the privilege. It tolerates the *annates* ; it utters no protest when bishops say that they are such 'by the grace of the Holy See' ; it has accepted a Bull which is a monument of insolence and absurdity. It was courageous and fortunate enough to avail itself of an occasion to expel the Jesuits ; but it dares not to prevent monks from receiving novices who are less than thirty years old. It allows the Capuchins and Recollects to depopulate our rural districts by enlisting our young husbandmen. But it must be admitted that we are improving ; philosophy has shed the light of a new day upon us."

Voltaire remained a member of the "Council of Berlin," as Frederick termed the assembly of his irreligious inti-

(1) Chap. 2, and 14.

nates (1), during three years. The poet certainly longed for the air of France; and he was assuredly tired of "washing the dirty linen" of his royal host, as he termed his task of correcting the blunders in the king's literary effusions. But it is probable that he would have persevered in an employment which was pecuniarily profitable, had not Frederick hearkened to the accusations of the other French refugees, and allowed him to see that his further sojourn in Prussia might entail imprisonment on him. He departed from Potsdam, rather as a fugitive than as a guest who was regretted, on March 26, 1753; and when he arrived at Frankfort, he was arrested by order of Frederick, in order that his baggage might be searched, and that he might be deprived of "all letters written by the august hand of his Majesty, and of a book" (2), as well as of his key as chamberlain, and of his cross of the Order of Merit. This arrest in a free city, where the Prussian king had not a shadow of jurisdiction, was never forgotten by Voltaire; but his own account of the trouble, especially of the practical imprisonment of his niece and himself

(1) The principal members of this coterie were, besides Voltaire, that La Métrie who had preceded the Abbé de Prades as reader to the king, the baron d'Argens, and Algarotti. La Métrie was a French physician whose *Machiavelli in Medicine* had excited the ire of the Parisian Faculty, and caused him to flee to Berlin. Frederick had no confidence in his medical ability; but he was amused by an audacious immorality which rivalled his own. When La Métrie, who was a veritable hog in matters of the table, had died because of an unusual gorging, Frederick inquired whether there had been any formalities at his demise; and when he learned that the wretch died "like a philosopher," he immediately composed a funeral oration, and caused it to be read in his name before the Academy of Berlin. The monarch also testified his appreciation of the dead Epicurean by assigning a pension of 600 livres to an abandoned woman whom La Métrie had brought from Paris; and he knew that, at that very time, the wife and children of the deceased were dying of starvation. Perhaps, however, this latter fact ought not to surprise us; for Frederick allowed his own wife to want the necessities of life (*Memoires* of Voltaire, in the *Works*—Letter to Richelieu, Jan. 27, 1752—Correspondence, *passim*). At the same time that La Métrie died, a Count Rothenburg also departed; and when it was rumored that a priest had attended him, Frederick was not content until he learned that the count had been "calumniated" (Letter to Mme. Denis, Jan. 18, 1752). The marquis d'Argens, called by Voltaire his "Dear Isaac," because of his infamous *Jewish Letters*, made his living by submitting to all the humiliations which Frederick could heap upon him. Count Algarotti, a Venetian, was a learned man, and a fine critic in matters of art; but of loose morals and of no faith. He frequently resided at Cirey with Voltaire and Mme. du Chatelet. When he died in 1764, Voltaire eulogized him in the *Gazette Littéraire*, June 27.

(2) So wrote Fredersdorff, the factotum of Frederick, to the Prussian resident agent in Frankfort, the baron Freytag. The "book," as Fredersdorff soon afterward explained to Freytag, was a collection of some of Frederick's essays at poetry. Voltaire afterward derived much amusement from the remembrance of Baron Freytag's search after what he pronounced and spelled as "the *poésie*" of the king, his master (*Memoires*, in the *Works*, vol. xl., p. 93).

during thirty-six days, shows that he manifested an utter lack of ordinary dignity in the whole affair (1). Having escaped from Prussia, he wandered for nearly two years in Alsace and Lorraine, and then purchased a pretty establishment on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, which he named *Les Delices*, and there he prepared to publish the most abominable of all his works, the diabolically infamous *Pucelle*. According to Longchamp (2) and Voltaire himself (3), this poem had its origin quite appropriately in a midnight orgy in the house of the duke de Richelieu, at as early a date as 1730. The bacchanals had been ridiculing the poem of Chapelain, in which that author had followed history so closely as to represent the Maid of Orleans as possessed of heroic sanctity; and their beclouded brains and fetid hearts naturally denounced the idea as unworthy of acceptance by a "philosopher." They appealed to Voltaire, whom they regarded as a past-master in lubricity, to assume the task of showing the "real" Joan of Arc to the world. A few days afterward, the sacrilegious wretch read to the same company a rough draft of four cantos of the *Pucelle*; and the applause encouraged him to continue the work. From that time, at frequent intervals during thirty years, his polluted faculties were engaged in besmirching the sweet child of Domremy, the saviour and glory of that France which he did not love, the personification of Catholic patriotism (4). In 1735, we find him alarmed, because several cantos of the poem had begun to circulate in Paris; he had meant to restrict the knowledge of his production to his boon companions. In this emergency, Mme. du Châtelet seized on the manuscript, and locked it up in her own desk. Notwithstanding this precaution, Frederick II. wrote to Voltaire in Sept., 1743, that he possessed six of the ten cantos that had been so far composed; and it is interesting to note that at the battle of Solr in 1745, these six cantos were found in the king's military chest, and afterward sold in Holland.

(1) *Works*, vol. xlviii., p. 356—*Ibi*, vol. lvi., p. 328, 337—*Voltaire at Frankfort*, by Varnhagen d'Ense. Leipsic, 1859.

(2) *Memoires of Longchamp*, p. 184.

(3) Letter to the Marquis Albergati-Capacelli, Dec. 23, 1760.

(4) See our vol. iii., ch. 4.

During the next seventeen years many editions of a portion or of the whole of the *Pucelle* appeared; but Voltaire was careful to disavow them. Finally, in 1762, he published an authorized edition, and with illustrations fully as obscene as the text. It was from this sewer into which he had been pouring, for many years, all the impieties and obscenities which had infected his imagination, that Voltaire had drawn the material for the recreation of the Prussian queen-mother, during many evenings of his sojourn in Berlin, while the princess Amelia eagerly imbibed the poison¹. This was the fetid mass which very many of the presumed polite society of the eighteenth century acclaimed, in the words of the duke de Richelieu, as "a real Breviary" (2). As some author has well said, Paris and Berlin welcomed it; Sodom would have rejected it.

Toward the end of 1757 Voltaire purchased the estate of Ferney, about a league from Les Delices; and here he resided for twenty years, emitting a number of writings which caused the philosophists of the day to style him the "Sage of Ferney," and keeping up a correspondence which continually grew more bitter and irreligious. It was in 1760 that he first introduced into his writings that epithet, *l'infâme*, as an expression of his hatred for the Catholic Church. He generally wrote it in a truncated form, *l'inf.* . . ; and using the initial letters of his war-cry, *écrasez l'infâme*, "crush the infamous thing," he composed a kind of cabalistic expression, *Ecr!inf*, which he opposed to the monogram of Our Lord, and to the inscription on His sacred cross. The spirit which Voltaire now manifested more virulently than in his earlier years, and with which he inoculated such of his correspondents and readers as had not already possessed it, may be learned by a perusal of a few extracts from the letters which he wrote and received during his residence at Ferney. "The Christian religion is an infamous religion, an abominable hydra, a monster which a hundred invisible hands must pierce. . . . Philosophers must scour the streets in order to destroy it, just as missionaries travel over land

(1) Letter of Voltaire to the duchess of Saxe-Gotha, Oct. 9, 1755.

(2) Letter to the duke de Richelieu, in the *Collection* of 1856, vol. i., p. 252.

and sea in order to propagate it. They must dare everything, risk everything, even unto being burnt, in order to destroy it. Crush, crush the infamous thing!—All Christians, no matter what their professions, are baneful creatures, fanatics, knaves, impostors, enemies of the human race, who lie with their Gospels—The Christian religion can be approved only by those to whom it gives power and riches—The atheist is more virtuous than one who believes in God. The intelligence presiding over nature does not trouble itself with our crimes; nor ought it punish them in another life—The soul is not distinct from the body. After death, comes nothing. That system which recognizes no soul, a system which is the most audacious and astonishing of all, is really the most simple of all—Every animal has ideas which he combines up to a certain point; and man, in this respect, differs from other animals only as a greater from a lesser—We are little wheels in the great machine; little animals with two hands and two feet, like the monkeys, but less agile than they are, although just as comical—We must render *the infamous thing* and its upholders ridiculous. The monster must be attacked from all sides, and be expelled from good society. It is fit only for my tailor and my lackey. It must be banished from among respectable people, and be left to the lower orders, for whom it was made" (1). The admirers of Voltaire are, of all men, the most noisy in their prattle about the dignity of man, about liberty and equality, and above all, about toleration; and nevertheless, these extracts are an epitome of their master's teaching on those matters. Some of the communications between Voltaire and Frederick II. (made in spite of the affair of Frankfurt) are worthy of note. "It is too bad, Sire, that nothing can be gained by punishing Friar Ganganelli (Pope Clement XIV.). Would that he had some fine domain in your neighborhood, and that you were not so far from (the sanctuary of) Our Lady of Loreto. But while the empress of Russia

(1) Voltaire to Damilaville, Dec. 14, 1764—V. to d'Alembert, Aug. 10, 1767; and June 26, 1766—V. to Frederick, Jan. 5, 1766—V. to Thieriot, Jan. 26, 1762—V. to d'Alembert, Aug. 29, 1757—V. to Diderot, Dec. 6, 1757—V. to M. d'Epinay, Sept. 20, 1760—D'Alembert to Frederick, Feb. 1, 1771; and Dec. 18, 1770—Frederick to Voltaire, Oct. 3, 1770; and Dec. 28, 1774—D'Alembert to Voltaire, in the *Works of d'Alembert*, vol. xv., p. 325—V. to d'Alembert, Oct. 18, 1760.

is leathering the hide of the vicar of Mahomet, why do you not attend to the vicar of Simon Bar Jona? You two could purge the earth of two indecencies" (1). Frederick II. seems to have believed, at this period of his life, that the last hour of the Papacy had already been sounded. The king *Kadosch* writes to his brother-Mason: "What an unhappy day for the Court of Rome! It is openly attacked in Poland; its body-guards are chased out of France and Portugal, and the same thing will probably happen in Spain. The philosophers are openly undermining the foundations of the Apostolic throne; the conjuring-book of the magician is understood; its author is splashed with mud; toleration is preached. The Church has been stricken with a terrible apoplexy; and *you will have the consolation of burying her, and of writing her epitaph*, as you did for the Sorbonne. The Englishman Woolston, according to his calculation, gave to *the infamous thing* two hundred more years of life; but he could not calculate on what has recently happened (2). We must destroy the prejudices which form the foundation of this edifice. This is what Bayle began to do; many Englishmen have continued the work; and *it has been reserved to you to accomplish it*" (3). And shortly after this encouragement, the crowned re-organizer of Masonry wrote: "It will not be given to force to destroy *the infamous thing*. It will perish by the arm of truth, and by the seduction of interest." Then he suggests that all the sectarians concentrate their efforts for the destruction of all religious orders. "Every government which resolves to effect this destruction will be a friend to our philosophers. Here, then, is a little project which I submit to the consideration of the patriarch of Ferney. It will be for him, *as the father of the faithful*, to execute it" (4). Voltaire replied: "Your Majesty says rightly that *the infamous one* will never be destroyed by force of arms. Arms may dethrone a Pope, dispossess an ecclesiastical elector, but they will not destroy imposture. I cannot understand why you did not obtain, by the last treaty, some fat bishopric that would defray the expenses of the war;

(1) Voltaire to Frederick, June 8, 1770.

(2) Feb. 10, 1767.

(3) Woolston died in 1733.

(4) March 24, 1767.

nevertheless, I realize that only the weapons of reason will destroy the Christ-worshipping superstition. Your idea of attacking it through the monks is the idea of a great general. If the monks are once abolished, error will be exposed to universal contempt. Much has been written in France on this matter; everybody talks about it; but the grand affair is not yet sufficiently developed. In France people are not yet sufficiently daring; devotees are still esteemed" (1). Writing to the marquis de Villevielle, one of the adepts, the "father of the faithful" says: "I rejoice with my brave knight on the expulsion of the Jesuits. . . . Would that we could expel all the other monks, who are just as bad as the rascals of Loyola! If rein is given to the Sorbonne, it will be worse than the Jesuits. We are surrounded by monsters. We embrace our worthy knight, and warn him to keep his work hidden from our enemies" (2).

In 1764 Voltaire published his *Portable Philosophical Dictionary*, which he had begun during his sojourn at the court of Frederick II. When d'Alembert and Diderot began the celebrated *Encyclopedia*, Voltaire declared that he "would feel greatly honored by being allowed to contribute, however unworthily, to the grandest and most beautiful monument of the nation and of literature" (3). And in fact he became the very soul of the enterprise; aiding it by his criticisms, and furnishing some of its best articles—best inasmuch as they are frankly wicked, and therefore less dangerous than most of the contributions of his collaborators. But when, thanks to the patronage of Choiseul, Malesherbes, and the Pompadour, the "monumental" work was nearly completed, its founders and its best architects were disappointed. Voltaire wrote: "It will never be other than a confused medley. . . . It is an edifice, built partly of marble, and partly of mud. . . . Too much dirt is mixed with the pure gold" (4). And d'Alembert replied: "It is like Harlequin's coat—a few bits of fine cloth, and the rest rags" (5). Diderot was no more contented: "It is a whirlpool into which rag-

(1) April 5, 1767.

(2) April 27, 1767.

(3) Letter to d'Alembert, Dec. 9, 1755.

(4) Letter to Bertrand, March 22, 1759; to d'Alembert, Oct. 28, 1769.

(5) Letter to Voltaire, Feb. 22, 1770.

pickers have thrown, pell-mell, an infinity of things good, bad, and abominable; true, false, and uncertain; all incoherent and incongruous." The shortcomings of the *Encyclopædia* impelled Voltaire to give the *Philosophical Dictionary* to the world. The character of the book may be perceived in the fact that when a part of it was read to nine or ten of the author's philosophistic guests at Ferney, the frenzied applause was interrupted by this blasphemous exclamation: "Gentlemen, I think that Christ will feel pretty badly after this is read" (1). In 1769 the *Essay on The Morals and Spirit of Nations* appeared, with an introduction on the *Philosophy of History*, which our cynic had written in 1765. He termed it "a picture of human miseries, follies, and atrocities, from the time of that illustrious brigand, Charlemagne, to our own days." The author takes his reader "through all the lunatic asylums of the world," and shows "to what an extent the human race is silly, wicked, and mad" (2). From this work the French are to learn that they "have been imbeciles and barbarians for twelve hundred years"; that they are "blackguards in every sense," or merely a "race of monkeys" (3). As for the introduction to this essay, the pretended *Philosophy of History*, its entire spirit is indicated by the writer when he remarks: "I think that the best way of attacking *the infamous thing* is to present no appearance of wishing to assail it; to unravel a little the chaos of antiquity, and to show how we have been deceived in everything—how everything is modern which we have regarded as ancient, and how ridiculous is everything which we have deemed venerable" (4). Then he feigns to describe the ancient Indians and Chinese, ever displaying an ignorance of those peoples which makes him the laughing-stock of a true orientalist. To the glorification of these pagans he serenely sacrifices the antiquity and unique celebrity of the Jews; he affects to find among them the cradle of the human race, the first whisperings of the name of God,

(1) Letter to d'Alembert, Sept. 7, 1764.

(2) Letters to d'Argental, Jan. 20; to Dupont, March 10; to Burigny, May 10; to Thieriot, June 2, 1757.

(3) Letters to d'Argental, June 21; to Mairan, Aug. 16, 1767; to Mme. de Deffand, Oct. 13, 1769.

(4) Letter to Damilaville, July 13, 1764.

and the source of Christianity, despite the fact that they have no authentic history of their origin and no reliable traditions concerning their ancient condition. When he comes to the Christian era, our philosophaster still more coolly ignores the propriety of adducing proof in support of surprising assertions. It was to be expected that he would deny the Petrine succession in the Roman Pontificate, and that he would find no traces of any ecclesiastical hierarchy whatever among the early Christians ; but it required much audacity to assert that Nero was no persecutor of the new religion, and that the other Roman emperors afflicted its professors but slightly. When he approaches the Middle Age, which he describes as a chaos, he blames the priests, in the same fashion as Gibbon blames them, for the destruction of the ancient society, all the good in which those priests had saved and preserved for our benefit. Every great Pope is represented as either a fool, a madman, or a monster of iniquity. And how he rejoices when Islam threatens to destroy the hated Christian civilization ! Truly, this work was appropriately dedicated to the author's fellow-philosopher, the German Messalina who was then the head of Russian "Orthodoxy," Voltaire's "St. Catharine."

For some time previous to the publication of his *Philosophy of History* and its companion *Essay*, the "Sage of Ferney" had meditated on a transfer of his base of operations to some place in Germany ; and he had even devised a species of philosophistic convent, the members of which should devote all their energies to the campaign against *l'infâme*. He was confident that he could rely on the entrance of Diderot, d'Alembert, Damilaville, and Holbach, into his institution ; and we find him writing to Damilaville, on July 25, 1766 : "I have no doubt that if you were to fix your residence at Cleves, together with Plato (Diderot) and a few other friends, very advantageous terms would be offered to you. We would establish a printing-office which would produce considerable ; and we would undertake a more important manufacture—that of *truth*. The secret must be made known only to those who intend to found the colony ; and you must be sure that these quit all things in order to join you. Rest assured that

a great revolution will be effected in the minds of men, and that two or three years will suffice to make an eternal epoch." And on Aug. 6, he writes: "Six or seven hundred thousand Huguenots left their country for the sake of the absurdities of John Calvin (1), and shall we not find a dozen sages who will make the least sacrifice for universal reason?" Frederick II. cheerfully promised his protection and other aid for the projected colony, as Voltaire termed it; but after some agitation of the subject, the sworn enemies of *l'infâme* declined to accept the plan of campaign which their leader had devised. They insisted that they were persecuted in Paris, but they could not abandon the pleasures of the brilliant capital. In vain did the hoary patriarch of incredulism cry: "All is ready for the opening of our manufactory; more than one sovereign claims the honor of protecting you; from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Oby you will be favored; you have no excuse for living under the axe, for cringing before fanaticism in a corner of Paris, when you can kill the monster. Give me only two zealous disciples, and three or four years of life and health, and I swear that I shall conquer" (2). In his chagrin, Voltaire acted as he had ever acted in regard to any of his productions which had been badly received, or had threatened to injure him; he denied that he had ever dreamt of the colony of "philosophers" (3). Then he begged his quondam pupil and boon companion, Frederick II., to supply the need of the abortive academy by encouraging some publisher of Berlin to reprint and spread throughout Europe the writings of the sons of reason; and he concluded his appeal with this outburst of impotent rage: "When I reflect that an imbecile like Ignatius found a dozen proselytes to follow him, and that I cannot find three philosophers to follow me, I am tempted to believe that human reason is good for nothing" (4). The fact is that the "Sage of Ferney" had lost his influence over many of his most brilliant disciples. A school of atheists

(1) Of course Voltaire credits the most exaggerated of the Protestant estimates of the emigrating Huguenot numbers. For the real number of the exiles, see p. 279.

(2) Letters to Damillaville, Aug. 18, 25, 31; and Oct. 28. To d'Alembert, Aug. 25, 1766.

(3) Letters to d'Argental, Aug. 15; to the duke de Richelieu, Aug. 19; to Mme. du Defaud, Sept. 24; to Collini, Oct. 22, 1766.

(4) Letters to Frederick, April 5, 1767, and Nov., 1769.

and so-called Republicans had been formed at the very feet of the deistic and anti-democratic master; and the leader of this school was Diderot. Holbach was a species of lieutenant of Diderot; and in his *System of Nature* he advanced theories which Voltaire detested. According to Grimm, the repugnance of Voltaire in regard to this *System* was due to the fact that the patriarch "feared that the work would destroy his ritual, and that he would go to the devil with it" (1).

For twenty years Ferney might have been styled, in one sense, the metropolis of Europe; for no continental tourist could then return to Paris, Madrid, St. Petersburg, Berlin, and especially to London, without being asked, "Have you seen Voltaire?" No king in Europe had so many eager admirers waiting in his anti-chambers, as constantly thronged in the corridors or gardens of the Encyclopedic Mecca. A Benedictine folio would no more than suffice to contain the names of the English lords, peers of France, grandees of Spain, and nobles from every country in Europe, who considered as the happiest day of their lives that on which they received a word or even a nod from Voltaire. Especially gratifying to the impious and polluted cynic was the adoration which he received from women, some of whom had not yet denied God, and were still pure. Mme. de Genlis tells us that many of the female visitors took it for granted that in the presence of the idol they should become abnormally tender, and rush into hysterics of mixed admiration and amorousness. "They threw themselves into his arms, stammered, wept, and felt or feigned the pangs of the most passionate love. A respectful calm or an exquisite politeness would have been regard-

(1) *Unedited Correspondence of Grimm and Diderot*, Paris, 1810—Philosophist though he was, Grimm was wont to criticize the works of the "master" very severely. Speaking of the *History of the Czar Peter*, he says: "M. de Voltaire has no vocation for the writing of history; for that task a grave and profound genius is requisite. Buoyancy, facility, grace—things that make Voltaire so seductive a philosopher, and the first wit of his time, are not compatible with the dignity of history. The very rapidity of his style soon displeases. The march of history is grave and deliberate; that of the *Czar* is always a run. If M. de Voltaire had possessed real talent for history, we would have observed it in his *Essay on General History*; but no one can say that this is the work of a historian." It is refreshing to hear this "philosopher" commenting on Voltaire's *Philosophy of History* in these terms: "We must admit that this work is frequently dry, dismal, and shallow. The Abbé Bazin (the *nom de plume* used by Voltaire in this production) is not enough of a philosopher, and he is not in thorough good faith. He denies many verified facts. He judges of everything by our customs." Grimm even had the audacity to term his master "a sublime Pantaloon."

ed as an impertinence or an absurdity. Etiquette required the women to kiss the wrinkled old monkey" (1). There was one woman, however, and the one whom he petted the most, whom he styled "his beautiful philosopher," and whose immorality rendered her worthy of the title, who fell into none of these ecstasies. The famous marchioness d'Epinaÿ, the protectress of Rousseau, writes as follows: "I would not wish to live with Voltaire for any length of time. He has no fixed principles. He counts too much on his memory, and he often abuses it; I find that it injures his conversation. He repeats more than he says, and allows no one else to say anything; he does not know how to converse, and he crushes one's self-esteem. He always appears to be mocking at everything, even at himself. He has no philosophy in his brain; he is filled with childish prejudices. Of course he is amusing; but I do not love those who merely amuse me" (2). Few persons, however, took this view of the Sage of Ferney; and during his entire residence in his Swiss chateau he never had less than fifteen guests at dinner, while his callers numbered from eighty to a hundred a day. But he yearned for Paris; and when he became convinced that his exile would terminate only with the life of Louis XV., he wrote to d'Argental that "Adam was excluded from the terrestrial paradise." However, he derived great satisfaction from the erection of a statue of himself in the capital, through the influence of Diderot, Chastellux, Grimm, Schomberg, Marmontel, d'Alembert, Necker, Saint-Lambert, Helvetius, and others of his school. Catharine of Russia and the Prussian Frederick were among the first subscribers to this statuefication of the patriarch of incredulism. When d'Alembert reminded Frederick that he owed Voltaire some reparation for the affair of Frankfort, and that a philosophical king ought to aid a philosophical good work, the monarch replied, on July 28, 1770: "The most beautiful monument for Voltaire is the one which he has erected already—his works. They will subsist longer than the Basilica of St. Peter, the Louvre, and all the other edifices which vanity has conse-

(1) *Memoires of Mme. de Genlis*, vol. II., p. 317. Paris, 1830.

(2) *Memoires and Correspondence of Mme. d'Epinaÿ*, vol. III., p. 243. Paris, 1813.

crated to eternity." And in order to give Voltaire a foretaste of the joy which the projected statue would soon give him, the Prussian caused a statuette of the cynic to be made, having on its pedestal the inscription "To The Immortal" ; and he sent it to Ferney.

Louis XV. died on May 10, 1774 ; and Voltaire, relying on false assurances of his Parisian friends that the new monarch would rejoice if he were to return to the capital, prepared to leave his "Patmos." Prudence, however, bade him remain in exile for four more years ; not until Feb. 10, 1778, did he arrive in Paris. Had Elias or Elijah, or one of the Apostles of our Lord appeared in the gay city, there would have been less excitement than that produced by the news that the great Voltaire was ready to receive the homage of the Parisian litterateurs, and above all, that of the worshippers of true reason. It is true that Louis XVI. in his surprise asked his ministers whether they had revoked the order which forbade the patriarch of infidelity to return to Paris ; but the influence of the Count d'Artois (afterward Charles X.), who admired the writer, although he afterward rejected the writer's principles, induced the monarch to close his eyes to an event which he regretted. Even Marie Antoinette yielded to the contagion ; and although she had declared that the insulter of religion and morality should never talk with a member of the royal family, she not only accorded an audience to him, but caused a box for him to be prepared adjoining the royal one in the *Comédie-Française*, so that the public might see her chatting with its idol (1). The *Journal de Paris* of the time recorded the names of over three hundred visitors per day at the residence of the great man. Among these was the then disgraced Mme. du Barry, who had prayed to be allowed to salute "the new king" (2). And there was Benjamin Franklin, who had come to Paris to induce Louis XVI. to aid the revolted English colonies in America. Franklin presented his grandson, fifteen years old, and begged the patriarch of wickedness to bless the boy. The "blessing" was given in the names of "God and Liberty" ; and the Ameri-

(1) *Memoires of Mme. Campan*, vol. 1., p. 187—*Memoires of Ségur*, vol. 1., p. 163—*Memoires of Bachaumont*, vol. xi., p. 109.

(2) *Memoires of Bachaumont*, at Feb. 22, 1788

can patriarch took leave of the French one with "God bless you!" (1). On March 30, Voltaire went to the Academy. Only two ecclesiastics, the Abbés Boismont and Millot, were present. The members went to the door to receive the "literary king"—an honor which the Academy had never yet accorded even to any of the foreign princes who had entered its precincts. He was led to the *fautueil* of the director, over which his portrait was hung, and there he was, as it were, enthroned by the accredited representatives of literary France. Then d'Alembert delivered what was ostensibly a eulogy of Despréaux, but which was nothing else than one of Voltaire; and having made a visit to the perpetual secretary of the Academy, the great man proceeded to enjoy a perhaps more valued triumph at the *Comédie-Française*. The *Memoires*, correspondence, and journals of the day give descriptions of the scenes attendant upon the crowning of Voltaire's bust by Mme. Vestris on the stage of the theatre, which justify us in supposing that neither pagan Rome nor pagan Athens ever exhibited such delirious adoration of any human seat of corruption as a large, and certainly the most fashionable part of Paris then extended not merely to the brilliant litterateur as such, but to the author of the most infamous poem of either modern or ancient times. Throughout the theatre, then taken up in the surrounding streets, and spreading through the entire extent of the nearly demented capital, there resounded the nauseating acclamation: "*Vive l'auteur de La Pucelle!*"—an eloquent sign that the work of the legitimate children of the Reformation was done; that France was ready for her *Grande Revolution*, the first victims of which would be found among the misguided and (save for God's pardon) too lately repentant nobility who were the chief agents in the mental bacchanalia of that night (2).

On April 7 Voltaire was received into the Masonic Lodge

(1) Letter of Mme. d'Épinay to the Abbé Galiani, May 3, 1778, in her *Memoires*, vol. iii., p. 436.

(2) For details of this disgraceful event the reader may consult the contemporary writers of Voltaire's own school, notably: Grimm, in his *Literary Correspondence*, vol. x., p. 176, *et seqq.*—Marmontel, in his *Memoires*, vol. iii., p. 208—La Harpe, in his *Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 225—Bachaumont, in his *Secret Memoires for the History of Literature in France*, vol. xi., p. 175, *et seqq.*

of the *Neuf-Soeurs*; but the reader must not suppose that this reception was the first entrance of the patriarch of incredulism among the Brethren of the Three Points. Such a supposition would be as unreasonable as an assertion that water does not seek its own level; and as a matter of fact, we know that all the "philosophers" of the eighteenth century were Masons from the very beginning of their "philosophic" careers, if not before they had made shipwreck of their faith. As for Voltaire, we are assured by Condorcet (1) that he was initiated in 1726, during his sojourn in England; and we find him writing in 1766 to d'Alembert: "Grimm informs me that you have initiated the emperor (Joseph II.) into *our* sacred mysteries." But, as we have already remarked, the Templar Rite, according to which Voltaire had been affiliated, had been "reformed"; and it was in order to give a formal recognition of the new system that he joined the Lodge of the *Neuf-Soeurs*. After this Masonic function, he appeared only twice in public. On Easter Monday, April 26, he attended a session of the Academy of Sciences, and there he and Benjamin Franklin edified the learned associates by rushing into each other's arms in an ecstasy of mutual admiration (2). On the following day he attended a special session of the French Academy, and induced that body to undertake a revision of its *Dictionary* on the plan of that of the Italian Academy of *La Crusca*, hoping that his works would furnish most of the examples of good language, and that passages from his adversaries, especially Rousseau and Cr  billon, would be adduced as solecisms (3). On his arrival at home Voltaire began work on the portion of the new *Dictionary* which he had reserved to himself (the letter A); but he found that the agitation of the last two months had added to his burden of eighty-four years. He drank enormous quantities of coffee, and therefore he could not sleep; an opiate was given to him, but instead of the prescribed few drops, he swallowed the entire contents of the bottle. For many years he had been afflicted with a strangury, and that was now aggravated. Tronchin, his physician, told

(1) *Tableau of the Progress of the Human Mind*; Epoch ix.

(2) LA HARPE; *loc. cit.*, vol. II., p. 230—BACHAUMONT; *loc. cit.*, vol. XI., p. 210.

(3) GRIMM; *loc. cit.*, vol. VI., p. 235.

him that the hand of death was over him; and the unfortunate could only cry: "Oh! save me from that!" "Impossible," replied Tronchin, "you are about to die." But in order to understand the nature of this death, about which the friends and foes of Voltaire have written so differently, we must turn our attention to some events which occurred soon after he had arrived from Ferney, and was enjoying the hospitality of the marquis de Villette. The reader will more readily comprehend the meaning of the terrible mockery which we are about to narrate, if he bears in mind that although Voltaire had always spoken of death in a fashion such as a hog would adopt, if that animal had the gift of speech, nevertheless, he frequently manifested a horror of his body being interred in unconsecrated ground. He was wont to say: "I must not be buried under the high-road, as poor Lecouvreur was buried" (1). If his remains could repose in a respectable place, thought he, all would be well; his soul, whose existence he doubted, did not trouble him. To attain this end, strange though it is that a "philosopher" should have sought it, was probably his object when he ostensibly gave the lie to his teachings of sixty years. On Feb. 20 he received a letter from the Abbé Gaultier, an ex-Jesuit, who was then chaplain of the Hospital of the Incurables. The abbé begged the more than octogenarian to think of that death which could not be distant; and he asked for an interview. Voltaire replied, inviting him to call; and when, on the following day, Gaultier entered the *salon* where the patriarch was entertaining a numerous assemblage of adorers, he was surprised on seeing the host turn his back on the crowd, and on being led by the hand to another apartment. Voltaire begged the priest to be seated; and after a short conversation, he expressed his satisfaction because Gaultier had come to him of his own accord, and not as an envoy of his Grace of Paris or of the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice (2). Religious matters were then broached; but suddenly one of Voltaire's "philosophical" friends, proba-

(1) Letter of d'Alembert to Frederick II., July 1, 1778.

(2) Voltaire cordially detested the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice. As far back as Sept. 10, 1764, he had written to Clairon in regard to that worthy ecclesiastic: "One thing is certain; I shall not be buried by that knave."

bly fearing that the patriarch was deserting to the standard of *l'infâme*, burst into the room, exclaiming: "Mr. l'Abbé, stop this! Do you not see that M. de Voltaire vomits blood, and that he is in no condition for conversation?" Then Voltaire said to the interrupter: "I beg you to leave me with M. Gaultier, my friend." But Mme. Dennis, a niece who was fully worthy of her reprobate uncle, now entered, and urged the abbé "to postpone his business"; whereupon Gaultier departed, after having asked and received permission to return. When the door had closed, Wagnière, the sage's secretary, asked his master whether he liked the abbé; and the reply was: "He is an honest fool." During the ensuing week, Voltaire had many violent hemorrhages, and he realized that speedy action was necessary, if he wished "not to be buried under a high-road." The chaplain of the Incurables was summoned; but before he arrived, Voltaire, in order to neutralize the effect of the retraction which would certainly be demanded of him, wrote, signed, and entrusted to Wagnière, this declaration: "I die adoring God, loving my friends, not hating my enemies, and *detesting superstition*." On March 2, Gaultier again presented himself before the sick man; and when he was requested to administer the Sacrament of Penance, he replied that Voltaire should first make a retraction of his condemned works and opinions. Voltaire immediately wrote the following document: "I, the undersigned, declare that having been attacked by hemorrhages during the last four days, and being eighty-four years old, and unable to betake myself to church, the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice has added to his other good works that of sending to me the Abbé Gaultier; that I have confessed to said priest; and that when God calls me, I shall die in the Catholic Religion in which I was born, hoping that the divine mercy will deign to pardon all my sins, and asking God for forgiveness if I have ever scandalized the Church." Then he rang for his nephew, the Abbé Mignot, and for the marquis de Villevielle, who were waiting in the next room; read the paper to them, and signed it; and then caused them to sign it as witnesses. Finally, he subjoined the following protestation: "The Abbé Gaultier

having informed me that in certain quarters it is said that I have protested against all that I might do at the hour of death, I declare that I have never had such an intention, and that the idea is an old pleasantry falsely attributed, long ago, to several literati who were more enlightened than VOLTAIRE." With the sole exception of Maynard, all historians regard this document as a proof that Voltaire made some sort of a confession to Gaultier; and Maynard gives no reasons for the contrary supposition. But that the confession was fictitious and sacrilegious, a diabolic comedy to be placed in the same category with the arch-hypocrite's several notoriously sacrilegious Communions (1), will be believed by whoever considers his previous cynical avowals and his conduct during the weeks which intervened between the simulated retraction and his death. Until within a few hours of the final catastrophe, he was constantly in his accustomed company of infidels, roués, and fashionable prostitutes; he spent Holy Saturday at the house of Sophie Arnould, the most celebrated courtesan of Paris (2). We have seen him receiving, as author of the lecherous *Pucelle*, the homage of all that was impure and impious in Paris, on March 30; we have seen him renewing his Masonic oaths, and thus recommitting himself to unintermittent war against *l'infâme*, on April 7. On May 30 he was dead.

The archbishop of Paris refused to recognize as sufficient the retraction which the Abbé Gaultier had procured from his pretended penitent. Another was prepared, and the

(1) After his quarrel with Frederick of Prussia, Voltaire resided for some time at Colmar, in Alsace. Hoping to produce a favorable impression at the court of France, and thus obtain permission to return to Paris, he made his Easter duty in 1754. He repeated the sacrilege at Ferney in 1768 and 1769, being, as he said, lord of the soil, and bound to give good example to his dependants. At one of these functions at Ferney, he gave a kind of sermon, beginning with the words, "The Natural Law is the most ancient of all." When his philosophic friends upbraided him for appearing to recognize the authority of *l'infâme*, he replied that it was well to be friendly with one's *curé*, whether that individual was an imbecile or a knave; that he was the sole enlightened man in his parish, and that it would be foolish to make two hundred and fifty enemies, when a bit of ceremony would make so many friends; that he would willingly communicate every fortnight, just as, if he were in India, he would assuredly die with a cow's tail in his hand; that if he entered a company of persons, every one of whom was naked, he would certainly lower his breeches, instead of bowing; that some people hate to touch spiders, while others eat them (Letters to Argental, April 22; to d'Alembert, April 27, and May 1; to Villevieille, May 1, 1768).

(2) BACHAUMONT; *loc. cit.*, vol. xi., p. 205.

abbé, as well as the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice, tried to gain access to the sick room, again and again; but their efforts were futile. Not until the evening of May 30 did the Abbé Mignot signify to them that they might see his uncle; and when they approached the dying man, he could not recognize them. Gaultier began to hope, when, after a few moments, he felt his hand pressed by that of Voltaire, and he heard the words: "Abbé Gaultier, I beg you to present my compliments to the Abbé Gaultier." But this semi-consciousness soon changed to a full delirium, which ended only with death. This is all that Gaultier, from whom we have drawn all that we have said concerning the last illness of Voltaire, tells about the philosophist's demise (1). The picture is amplified, however, by the friends of the patriarch of incredulism, in their natural anxiety to show their followers that the "grand" Voltaire died the death of a "philosopher." According to Condorcet and Duvernet, when the arrival of the two priests was announced, the sick man said, with true "philosophic" serenity: "Assure them of my regard." When the *curé* entered, says Condorcet, the sage explained as he kissed the priest's hand, "Honor to my pastor!"; and when the name of Gaultier, his presumed confessor, was announced, the "venerable" man expressed "his compliments and his thanks" for all that Gaultier had wished to do for him. And we are asked to believe that when the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice asked the self-proclaimed penitent of March 2 whether he believed in the divinity of Jesus Christ, the reply was: "In the name of God, do not speak about that man to me!" (2). In fine, the "philosophers" of the era of the Revolution, and their modern successors, tell us that their grand *coryphée* died in the utmost sweetness and calm; that his resignation was "philosophically" sublime. But other and more authentic narratives inform us that his death was one of rage and despair; that he heaped curses upon his fellow-incredulists; and that the marshal-duke de Richelieu,

(1) *Memoire of the Abbé Gaultier to the Archbishop of Paris, Concerning All That Happened at the Death of Voltaire*, in Chaudon's *Memoires Concerning Voltaire*, pt. ii., p. 19.

(2) DUVERNET: *Life of Voltaire*, p. 367—WAGNIERE: *Memoires*, p. 161—Letter of d'Alembert to Frederick II., July 1, 1778—LA HARPE; *loc. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 243.

a companion of the unfortunate in his debaucheries, but not utterly depraved, rushed from the room, exclaiming: "This is too much; I cannot bear it" (1). Comparing these latter recitals with those of the interested and unscrupulous philosophers, we accept their testimony; especially since it is confirmed by the evidence of Tronchin, an honorable Protestant physician of eminence who had been personally and professionally intimate with Voltaire during the last twenty-five years of his life. Three weeks after the death of his patient, Tronchin wrote to Charles Bonnet: "If my principles had needed to be more firmly fastened together, then the man whom I saw breaking up, agonizing, and dying before my eyes, would have made a Gordian knot of them. When I compare the death of a good man, which is only *the evening of a beautiful day*, with that of Voltaire, I perceive easily the difference between a fine day and a tempestuous one. I cannot think of his death without horror. From the moment when he realized that the contrary effect was produced by all his endeavors to increase his strength, death was ever before his eyes; and from that moment, rage devoured his soul. You remember the madness of Ulysses; like that was the death of Voltaire—*Furiis agitatus obiit*" (2).

Scarcely had the miserable patriarch of modern incredulism appeared before his God, when his relatives and intimate friends, mindful of the poor wretch's fear of being "buried under a high-road," but more desirous of playing a trick on the Church, notified the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice, as pastor of the defunct, that the corpse would be brought to his

(1) HAREL: *Curious Particulars of the Life and Death of Voltaire*—BARRUEL; *Memoires on Jacobinism*, vol. I., p. 266—*Memoires of d'Allonville*. D'Allonville derived his information from the Count de Fusée, who said to him: "Ask Villevielle and Villette; they will not deny it in my presence."—*The Historical and Literary Journal of Liège*.

(2) *The Historical and Literary Journal of Liège* for 1788 contains the following letter, and guarantees its authenticity. "I have learned the circumstances of this death of yesterday from the lips of the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice himself. I shall narrate only what is certain, so that the so-called philosophers may have no advantage over you. Shortly before the death of M. de Voltaire, the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice, having heard of his condition, went to see him. Finding him in a lethargy, he roused him, and addressed to him a few words appropriate to the circumstances. In a wandering fashion the sick man asked: 'Who is talking to me?' The priest replied: 'It is the *curé* of Saint-Sulpice, who, commiserating your condition, offers to you the aid of religion and of his ministry.' Then Voltaire, stretching forth his emaciated hands, cried: 'Ah! Monsieur!' The *curé* availed himself of the opportunity, and spoke of the mercy of God, who accepts, even at the hour of death, a contrition which would repair, as far as possible, the crimes and scandals of the

church for the customary *requiem*. The *curé* refused to permit the ceremony. In this emergency, the Abbé Mignot, who was commendatory abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Scellières, in the diocese of Troyes, gave some instructions to Mme. Denis and the other members of the anxious household, and during the night of May 31 he journeyed, post-haste, to Scellières. The death of Voltaire was not yet known at the abbey; and when Mignot told the prior that his uncle had died while on the road for a prolonged visit to the fathers, no objection was made to his funeral and burial in the sacred precincts, especially as the nephew exhibited a certified copy of the declaration which the deceased had given to the Abbé Gaultier. On the following day, the body of Voltaire arrived at the abbey; on June 2 the *requiem* was celebrated, and the burial was effected in a grave which had been dug in the cellar of the church. Twenty-four hours after the ceremony, a letter arrived from Barral, bishop of Troyes, forbidding its performance; but the body of Voltaire was already laid in its tomb, and it remained therein until 1791, when the Revolution transferred it to the then new church of St. Genevieve—the modern Pantheon, which was then dedicated “to the great men of France” (1). Condorcet could now say with truth: “Voltaire did not see all that he effected; but he effected all that we see.” Meanwhile, the church of the abbey of Scellières was pronounced

past. He added that since Jesus Christ died for all men, no person should despair of salvation. At this word ‘Jesus Christ’ the unfortunate became thoughtful; and the *curé*, having paused for an instant, tranquilly resumed his efforts, saying all that a pastor could say in such an emergency. At length the miserable man made a sign with his hand, and said: ‘Leave me, Monsieur!’ He paid no more attention to the *curé*. In vain did the Abbé Gaultier, who was also present, essay to speak to him; he simply motioned with his hand that he wished to be left to himself. In a little while, Voltaire began to rage; and the remaining moments of his life were a continuity of horrible blasphemies, mixed with cries of: ‘God has abandoned me, just as men have done! Mercy!’ There he was, a hideous skeleton, writhing, tearing himself, eating his own excrements (an appropriate action for the author of the *Pucelle*), vomiting against heaven a thousand imprecations which blanched the cheeks of the three or four persons who had remained in the room.”

(1) According to a tradition which has been current since the burial of Voltaire's body at Scellières, and which is rendered probable by Mignot's well-attested fear that the body would be stolen, that prudent individual forestalled such a deed by filling his uncle's grave with quicklime. If this be true, then the body transferred to the Pantheon in 1791, and now visited by so many of the contemners of the relics of the saints, was probably that of some poor monk; for only monks, as a rule, were interred under monastic churches (See *The True Authors of the French Revolution*, Neufchatel, 1797—*History of Voltaire*, by Paillet-de-Warcy, vol. II., p. 427).

desecrated, and was interdicted by the bishop of the diocese; and Voltaire, after all his ruses, was buried, to all intents and purposes, "under the high-road."

Among the many popular misconceptions in regard to Voltaire, one of the most egregious is the idea that he was an advocate of the "rights of man"; that he was an impassioned friend of *the people*. The panegyrists of the cynic grow eloquent as they amplify his accusations against the Fathers of the Church, against the Apostles, and against Our Lord Himself, to the effect that all their attention was given to the slavery of sin, but that "they never said a word to further the change of beasts of burden into citizens." We are never asked, however, to contemplate the picture of Voltaire, the trafficker in human flesh—of Voltaire, the slave-dealer. But such this fancied philanthropist was, and to his intense satisfaction. Writing to Michaud of Nantes, his associate in this business, he says: "I congratulate myself, as well as you, on the happy success of the ship Congo, which arrived so opportunely on the African coast, and saved so many unfortunate negroes from death. I rejoice because we have made a good stroke of business, and performed a good action at the same time." And he coolly defends the slave-trade, because the black man is of an inferior race: "We are blamed for our dealing in slaves. They who sell their children are more condemnable than the buyers. *This traffic demonstrates our superiority.* He who gives himself a master was made to have one" (1). But perhaps Voltaire had feelings of affection, bowels of mercy, for the more unfortunate members of the white race—the "lower orders," the *canaille*, as he always termed all save his adored rich and powerful. Well, when we listen to his sentiments in regard to *the people*, we are perforce reminded of Luther's own: "Give the ass thistles, a pack-saddle, and the whip; give the peasants oat straw. If they are not content, give them the cudgel and the carbine. These are their due." Writing to Damilaville on Nov. 19, 1765, Voltaire says: "I assure you that in a short time only *la canaille* will be under the standards of our enemies; and we want *la canaille* neither for par-

(1) *Essay on Morals*, ch. 197.

tisans nor adversaries. We are a body of brave knights, defenders of the truth, and we admit into our ranks only those *who have been well brought up*." In 1769 he tells Tabareau that "the people will always be *sot and barbarous*." Voltaire had no patience for those who wished to educate the working classes. On Aug. 13, 1762, he wrote to Helvetius: "We do not want our working people to be instructed." On Feb. 28, 1763, he says to La Chalotais: "I thank you for having prohibited study among the laborers. I, who cultivate the land, wish to have workmen, and not tonsured clerics." On Sept. 15, 1763, he tells Helvetius that he "abandons *the people* to the priests." On April 27, 1765, he writes to d'Argental: "The greatest service we can render the human race is to separate forever the *sot people* from decent men. One cannot endure the absurd insolence of those who say that we should think as our tailors and washerwomen think." On March 19, 1766, he says to Damilaville: "The *people* must be led, not instructed; they are not worthy of instruction." On April 1, 1766, he explains to Damilaville the sense in which he uses the word *people*. "By *people* I understand the *populace*, which has only its arms with which to obtain a living. I doubt whether this order of citizens has either the time or the capacity for receiving instruction. They would die of hunger before they would become philosophers. It seems to me to be essential that there should always be some ignorant tatterdemalions. The good *bourgeois* should be instructed, not the workingman." Speaking of the *Social Contract* of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a work which he contemned as much as he hated its brilliant author, he rejects his rival's theory of the "sovereignty of the people"; and on July 30, 1762, he remarks to Damilaville: "We find here no *Unsocial Contract* of Jean-Jacques. How we would have cherished that *fool*, if he had not been a *false brother*." When Voltaire purchased the estate of Ferney, with its chateau, seigniorial rights (especially that of receiving tithes), stocks and pillory for delinquents, etc., he usurped the title of "count"; and no member of the real nobility could have been more jealous of his prerogatives. On May 28, 1760, he writes to Thibouville: "They blame me for be-

ing Count de Ferney. If those Jean f. . . enter my domain of Ferney, I shall put them in the pillory. But do not care about addressing me as 'Monsieur le Comte,' as *Luc* does (1); but rather write: 'Voltaire, Gentleman-in-Ordinary to the King'; for that is a title which I value, since the king gave it to me with its functions. *Pardieu!* They do not know that the king feels much kindness for me; and that I am in the graces of Mme. de Pompadour and of the duke de Choiseul." On Dec. 27, 1758, writing to M. de Brenles, he complains of a certain Grassot, and threatens to hang him if the poor man can be induced to come to Ferney. "Fortunately I have the right of high justice in my domain." On Feb. 1, 1764, he tells d'Argental that he will cling to his tithes "in spite of the Council of the Lateran"; and he manifests his satisfaction on having a domain "which pays nothing to either king or Church, but which possesses the right of mortmain over many pieces of property." So much for Voltaire's ideas of Equality and Fraternity; let us now investigate his right to be considered a friend of Liberty.

When, in 1768, the Poles formed their Confederation of Bar in order to defend their faith and their national independence against the aggressions of Catharine II., the patriarch of Ferney, who had already declared that "his saint" had sent 40,000 Russians into Poland "to preach toleration at the point of the bayonet" (2), impudently advised the patriots to submit "to the tolerant empress, the protectress of the human race" (3). When the Confederates had been crushed, the hypocrite called on Europe "to give thanks to God for the grandest event of the century," for what he pronounced "a victory over fanaticism, a victory of the pacifying over the persecuting spirit," and for "the establishment of freedom of conscience" (4). When Frederick II., anticipating the moment when he would pounce on his share of the dis-

(1) *Luc* was the name by which Voltaire, at this time, was accustomed to designate His Majesty of Prussia, when talking or writing to his intimate friends. He chose it because an anagram of it spells a French word which reminded him of the Sodomitic habits of the Potsdamites. Voltaire omits to state that it was through sheer irony that Frederick addressed him as "Count." The king always ridiculed the aristocratic pretensions of the cynic.

(2) Letter to d'Alembert, May 3, 1767.

(3) *Discourse to the Confederates*, in the *Works of Voltaire*, vol. xliv., p. 143.

(4) *Sermon of Josias Rosette*, in the *Works*, vol., xlv., p. 15.

membered nation, published, in 1771, his ignoble *Pologniade*, the vaunted apostle of liberty congratulated the Prussian on having so well depicted "the devil and the priests, especially that bishop who was the author of all the evil" (1), that is to say, the noble bishop of Cracow who had preferred Siberia to gilded slavery and apostasy. When, in 1772, the monumental political and religious crime of modern times had been consummated, and Poland had disappeared from among nations, Frederick sent to Voltaire one of the commemorative medals which he had caused to be made; and in his letter of thanks the sycophant said: "Men whisper, Sire, that it was you who devised the partition of Poland. I credit the report; for the partition was the work of genius" (2). D'Alembert thought that "philosophy ought not to be too proud of such pupils" as the German murderess who had usurped the Russian throne, Voltaire's "Semiramis of the North"; but then, he observed: "What can we do? We must love our friends, with all their faults" (3). Voltaire never showed even this little scruple in his adulations of Catharine. Only one thing troubled him; she bore the name of a saint, and "the heroines of ancient times were not named after saints." The correspondence between Catharine and Voltaire, begun by the former in 1765, was redolent of idolatry on the part of the "philosopher," from the very beginning; but from the day when Catharine placed one of her discharged paramours, Poniatowski, on the nominal throne of Poland, as a preparation for the final destruction of Polish nationality, she was the object of nauseating adulation from the man whose love of liberty we are asked to admire. Representing himself as "of the religion of the Sabeans, he adored a star," the "Star of the North"; and he cried: "To-day our enlightenment comes from the North" (4). And then he signed himself: "Your aged idolater," or "The priest of your temple" (5). He congratulated his Semiramis on having "forced the Poles to be

(1) Letters to Frederick, Dec. 6, 1771; Feb. 1, March 24, July 31, 1772.

(2) Letter to Frederick, Nov. 18, 1772.

(3) Letter of d'Alembert to Voltaire, Oct. 4, 1764.

(4) Letters to Catharine, Dec. 22, 1766; Feb. 22, 1767; Aug. 10, 1773.

(5) Letters to Catharine, Dec. 22, 1766; Feb. 22, 1767; Aug. 10, 1773.

tolerant and happy," and "in spite of the papal nuncio". He proclaimed that when he died, it would be his dearest wish to have for an inscription on his tomb: "Here lies the admirer of the August Catharine, who had the honor of dying while presenting to her his profound homage". He begged her to listen to his protest: "I am *Catharin*, and I shall die *Catharin*". He tells her that when he hears of her victories, "he jumps from his bed, and chants: '*Te Catharinam laudamus; te Dominam confitemur*'" (1). When Pope Clement XIII. besought the kings of France and Spain to save the life of poor Poland, the presumed apostle of freedom shouted that such an enterprise would be "a battle of fanaticism against toleration; a war of ingrates against his generous Catharine; an extravagance, a piece of cowardice, a shame, a horrible turpitude, a Barthelemy, an Italian farce" (2). He advised Catharine not to send the Polish "rebels" to Siberia; he thought that "since they like to travel, it might be better to take them to St. Petersburg," whither he would go, were he not so old; "as a pilgrimage, he preferred to visit Our Lady of St. Petersburg, rather than Our Lady of Czenstokowa" (3).

It is evident that Voltaire was no partisan of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity; but when we consider the frenzied homage which was paid to his memory by the men of 1789-1793, the apotheosis attending the erection of his statue in Paris in 1870 (with the express approbation of the government of Napoleon III.), and the solemn celebration of his centennial in 1878 by the adherents of the Third French Republic, must we not suppose that he was a patriot? By no means; for Voltaire despised France, and monumental though his assurance was, he never pretended to love his country. The most glorious traditions of France were Catholic; *hinc illae irae*. Scarcely once in his correspondence does Voltaire speak of his native land in other terms than those of at least implied contempt; frequently his venom is undisguised. When his Russian "saint" gave magnificent

(1) Letters to Catharine, Nov. 15, 1768; Feb. 26, May 27, Sept. 2, Oct. 17, Nov. 28, 1769; Jan. 2, Feb. 2, March 10, April 10, May 18, July 4, Aug. 11, Sept. 5 and 21, 1770.

(2) Letters to Catharine, Feb. 26, May 27, Sept. 2, 1769.

(3) Letter to Catharine, May 29, 1772.

feasts in honor of Prince Henry of Prussia, he chanted : "The universe admires your feasts ; we Frenchmen are confounded." And he rejoiced because of the unhappy events coincident with the marriage of the Dauphin, since they seemed to exhibit the happiness of the czarina to better advantage (1). But listen to the sickly jocularity with which the practically renegade Frenchman subjects to the ridicule of the crowned courtesan, that court which was disgraced by courtesans whom he had so servilely flattered. "I must parade before you the exploits of my country. . . . We also have some glory. Paris now has some very pretty carriages in the new style ; and there have been invented some epergues for dessert which are quite tasteful. We have even had a new *motet*, which made considerable noise, at least in the hall where it was sung. Finally, we have a dancer, of whom wonders are told ; they say that she has very beautiful arms. The last Comic Opera was received badly ; but they are preparing one which will be the admiration of the universe, for it will be performed in the chief city of the universe by the best actors of the universe. . . . Here you have the first people of the universe, the chief court of the universe, *the principal monkeys of the universe*. . . . I shall not neglect, Madame, if your Majesty desires it, to inform you of the result of these grand revolutions" (2). When a certain decree of his "Northern Goddess," a decree which he termed "superior to the laws of Lycurgus and Solon," was interdicted by the French government, Voltaire poured forth his sympathy with the "insulted" legislatrix in the following fashion : "And here I am among the *Welches* ! (3) ; I breathe their atmosphere, and I must talk their language ! It is true that I am only a league away from the frontier of the *Welches* ; but I do not wish to die among them." Then he quotes some of the enactments of the interdicted decree, and

(1) Letter to Catharine, Jan. 22, 1771.

(2) Letters to Catharine, Oct. 2, 1770 ; Feb. 9, and Aug. 7, 1771.

(3) Probably in order to gratify his German friends, Frederick von Hohenzollern, and Sophia von Anhalt (the "Star of the North"), Voltaire applied the term *Welche* (Galic, Gaelic, Celtic) to the French ; the Germans being accustomed to so designate all the Celtic, and very absurdly, all the Latin peoples. When used in a figurative sense, the term was meant to signify ignorant persons, or those without taste. Voltaire is the sole French writer who uses the word in this sense.

asks: "Is it possible that the *Welches* refuse to observe these divine maxims?" (1). When some Frenchmen joined the Confederates of Bar to fight for Catholicism and Polish independence, their "unworthy conduct" filled the heart of Voltaire with "just indignation"; and he endeavored to repair the "scandal" by writing to Catharine: "Our *Welches* have never been otherwise, but at least they passed for gallant men; and I know of nothing so churlish as their warring against you. Such conduct is contrary to all the laws of chivalry. It is shameful and absurd for a few beardless boys to have the impertinence to make war on you, when 200,000 Tartars abandon Mustapha (the sultan of Turkey, who was aiding Poland) in order to serve you. It is the Tartars who are polite, while the French have become Scythians. Deign to notice, Madame, that I am not *Welche*; I am Swiss; and if I were younger, I would become a Russian" (2). When some of the French volunteers had been made prisoners by the troops of Holy Russia, Voltaire tried to make capital out of their misfortune; writing this suggestive letter to the duke de Richelieu: "The empress of Russia informs me, by her letter of April 10, that she is about to send her French prisoners to Siberia. They are supposed to be twenty-four in number. It may be that you are interested in some of them; and it may be that the ministers will not care to compromise themselves by interceding for them. Now on occasions like this, the service of some insignificant person is often acceptable. I know of one. . . . He would be ready to obey positive orders, without being responsible for success; but assuredly he would risk nothing, without an express command" (3). Voltaire failed in this instance, just as he had frequently failed on other occasions, to obtain some quasi-diplomatic credentials from the government of Louis XV.; and it soon transpired that Catharine had resolved to retain the French prisoners, "that they might teach good manners in her provinces"—a proceeding which Voltaire regarded as exceedingly comical (4).

(1) Letter to Catharine, July 10, 1771.

(2) Letter to Catharine, Oct. 18, 1771.

(3) Letter to the duke de Richelieu, May 30, 1773.

(4) Letter to Catharine, April 20, 1773.

One of Voltaire's chief ambitions was to be lauded as a historian, and he thought that his *Age of Louis XIV.* would gratify that aspiration. To what we have already said regarding this work we would add a few reflections; for some extravagantly lenient critics, men who have been dominated by their admiration for the cynic's brilliancy of style, and who have felt themselves obliged to condemn the animus of his works, have thought proper to praise this particular production, and to wish that its author had written nothing else. When Mme. du Deffand, that strange skeptic of whom Walpole said that "her weakness was Herculean," was told that Voltaire had never invented anything, she replied: "Nothing? Why, he has invented history." The lady did not utter a mere *bon mot*; she expressed a truth, namely, that Voltaire arranged history in the interest of his philosophistic predilections. In his correspondence he betrays his own unreliability as an exponent of truth. Writing to Hénault on Jan. 8, 1752, concerning his presumed masterpiece, he says: "*I hate petty facts. . . . Do you realize that I have written much of the second volume from memory?*" *From memory*, when he was born at the end of the century which he has been describing? On April 29, 1752, he writes to the learned Academician, La Condamine, that it is no wonder that "La Martinière, Reboulet, and the *tutti quanti*, should have fallen into mistakes, when he, *almost an eye witness*, has so frequently erred." That word *almost*, of course, may have absolved him from the guilt of absolute mendacity in the eyes of La Condamine; but he continually tells us, when presenting some delicious or salacious morsel, that "he had the anecdote from the man himself," the invoked person, of course, being already dead. In a letter to the marshal de Noailles, dated July 28, 1752, this would-be historian says that "Cicero ventures to insist that a historian ought to tell all that is true" (1); but he does not agree with the Roman: "I do not think so. Useless and odious details should be suppressed." And throughout his *Age of Louis XIV.* he regarded as odious or useless every detail which could militate for the individual whom he wished to calumniate, or which

(1) *The Orator*, II., 15.

would contradict the theories of his school. On almost every page of this work we meet assertions which even a tyro in the study of history can refute. A few instances may not be unacceptable to the reader. In the first chapter we are told that for nine hundred years before Louis XIV., the government of France was truly *Gothic*, "without laws or established usages; the nobles living in idleness, the ecclesiastics in licentiousness and ignorance, and the people in misery." The charge against the ecclesiastics was to be expected from Voltaire; but it is incomprehensible that he could have imagined that his readers would be utterly ignorant of the *Capitulars* of Charlemagne, of the "*Establishments*" of St. Louis, of the wise ordinances of Charles V. and Louis XII., of the renaissance under Francis I., and of the laws promulgated by the last of the Valois. In the third chapter, Voltaire endeavors to obscure the glory of Turenne; he could never forgive that consummate commander for his conversion to Catholicism. "After the battle of Fribourg, the duke d'Enghien returned to Paris, leaving the command of the army to the marshal de Turenne. But this general, able though he was, was defeated at Mariental. The prince flew back to the army, and to the glory of again commanding Turenne, he joined that of repairing his defeat." Here Voltaire implies that the beaten army of Turenne was the same one which had been victorious under Condé; and he says that the prince's return restored to it its former laurels. Now veritable history shows that Turenne had only a part of the army which Condé had commanded, and that this portion was composed of new levies; it also shows that the prince brought with him the troops for whom Turenne had vainly asked; and finally, it shows that Turenne, in spite of his defeat, had held in check the armies of the united German commanders. Voltaire must have known these facts; but the man who lavished his praise on that ignoble Englishman, Marlborough, simply because that leader was an Englishman and a Protestant, could only decry the reputation of the Frenchman who became a Catholic, although that Frenchman's most illustrious adversary, the Italian, Montecuccoli, praised him as

"an honor to the human race" (1). In the sixth chapter Voltaire institutes a parallel between Cardinal Mazarin and Cromwell, much to the advantage of the latter, and which is a perfect counterpart of the picture of the Protector which Bossuet drew. He says that "Cromwell strengthened his power by knowing how to limit it; he never encroached on the privileges, of which the people were so jealous." But this same Voltaire, in his *General History* (2), carefully describes the indignities which Cromwell heaped on the Long Parliament. He asserts that "Cromwell levied no taxes which caused the people to complain"; and nevertheless, in the *General History* he tells us that "Cromwell led his army to London, seized the gates, and forced the citizens to pay £40,000 to his soldiers." He says that "Cromwell died with that firmness of soul which he had exhibited during his entire life"; but in the *General History* he admits that "Cromwell died because of a fever produced by the anxiety which his tyranny had generated; for during his latter days he constantly feared assassination, and never slept in the same room two nights in succession" (3). One of the most amusing instances of Voltaire's effrontery in matters of history is his comparison of Louis XIV. with the usurping king of England, William of Orange—a comparison, well observes Nonotte (4), the institution of which

(1) In chapter xii. of his *Age of Louis XIV.* Voltaire says: "No Protestant and no philosopher can believe that conviction alone produced this change of religion in a soldier and a *politique* who was fifty years of age (Turenne was then 57 years old). We know that when Louis XIV. made Turenne marshal-general of his armies, he used these very words: 'I wish that you would oblige me to do something more for you.' These words *might* have, in time, worked a conversion. The office of constable would have tempted an ambitious heart. It is also possible that this conversion was sincere; for the human heart often unites in itself policy, ambition, the weaknesses of love, and sentiments of religion. But it is very probable that Turenne abandoned the religion of his fathers merely through policy. The Catholics, who triumphed by this change, did not wish to believe that the heart of Turenne was capable of dissimulation." In 1752, writing to Hénault, the cynic said: "If you seriously believe that the viscount de Turenne, at the age of fifty, changed his age through conviction, assuredly you have a confiding soul." In a note to his satire on *The Three Emperors at the Sorbonne*, published in 1768, he says: "This great man who had military talents of the first order, and who had also a heroic soul, nevertheless possessed but little enlightenment, and was of a feeble character. It is said that during his last years he became a devotee. A strange spectacle, indeed, that of a man who had won battles passing the morning in an endeavor to discover just what one ought to believe in order to escape damnation!"

(2) In the *Essay on Morals, etc.*, ch. clxxxi.

(3) *Ibi.*

(4) Under the title of *Errors of Voltaire*, the learned Jesuit, Claude Nonotte, issued, in 1762, a thoroughly critical refutation of the patriarch's lies and blunders in history. The

needed all the authority and plenitude of genius which Voltaire possessed. The Sage of Ferney labored painfully to decide as to "which of the two princes merited the title of *Grand*"; and finally he was obliged to leave the matter "undecided"—an excellent proof that he did not dare to champion the "grandeur" of the "Immortal William" (1). These instances will serve to illustrate the methods of that "philosopher" who disgraced the office of historiographer of France. The secret of his failure as a historian is found in his hatred of Christianity. "He attributed to the development of Christianity, as to their real cause, the greater part of the crimes and miseries which have afflicted the world since the foundation of the Western (Holy Roman) Empire. Habitually skeptical in any examination of affairs which are purely human, Voltaire ceased to be skeptical when he treated of an affair in which the priesthood was concerned; then he became too credulous, or not sufficiently credulous, according as the matter was one of evil or of good. He hesitates to believe in generous actions and in disinterested virtue, when such are attributed to priests; but he credits tales of the most enormous crimes, provided only that they be attributed to the clergy" (1). And how could he be a historian, who, at almost every step in his progress, found that the poison which he himself had distilled was

sole argument in rebuttal which Voltaire could advance was to term his opponent impudent, a calumniator, an ignoramus, a blackguard, a fanatic, a goose, etc.

(1) Nonotte institutes a parallel between the two sovereigns, so far as any comparison can be made with sobriety, and the following are a synopsis of his conclusions: The prince of Orange, who had no right to the crown of England, fomented rebellions and encouraged all sorts of treasons against his royal father-in-law, in pursuance of his own work of brigandage; Louis XIV. sacrificed himself in order to place his grandson on the Spanish throne, to which the young man was called by hereditary right, by the last will of Charles II., and by the wishes of the Spanish nation. The prince of Orange lost nearly all the battles which he directed, and no general of his day was so often beaten; Louis XIV. took every city which he attacked, he created a navy which became the terror of the "mistress of the seas," and he withstood successfully the combined attacks of the rest of Europe. The prince of Orange effected nothing to augment the power and glory of England; Louis XIV., by encouraging manufactures throughout his dominions, by fostering science and letters, by stimulating every kind of noble talent, made of France the centre of good taste, industry, and wealth. The prince of Orange pursued a sombre policy, which was based entirely on dissimulation, which ignored the most sacred rights, and which never showed him in a light which could win for him the love of his subjects; Louis XIV. followed a policy which always respected the Law of Nations, which was often admired by those whom he conquered, which was never actuated by means which a grand monarch could not avow without shame.

(2) AUGER; in the *Universal Biography* of Michaud, art. *Voltaire*.

urging him to calumniate all that he hated? *Habemus confitentem reum*. "LYING IS A VICE ONLY WHEN IT WORKS EVIL. IT IS A VERY GREAT VIRTUE, WHEN IT WORKS GOOD. THEREFORE BE MORE VIRTUOUS THAN EVER. WE MUST LIE LIKE THE DEVIL, NOT TIMIDLY OR FOR A TIME, BUT BRAVELY AND ALWAYS" (1).

As a writer, Voltaire explored every region in the domain of intelligence; and it was his fond hope that he would have left in each region a monument which would remind posterity of his conquests. In 1750 the gossip Saint-Simon wrote this note in his *Memoires*: "This Arouet, now a great poet and Academician under the name of Voltaire, has become a sort of personage in the republic of letters, and even an important one in a certain set." Twenty years after Saint-Simon penned this dubious compliment, Voltaire, like Montesquieu and Rousseau, was regarded by all the self-appointed guardians of progress and civilization, in every country of Europe, as a prime educator of the human race. It is not within the scope of our work to discuss the merits of Voltaire as the luminary of literary Europe in the eighteenth century (2). Probably Maynard judged correctly, when he wrote: "When we contemplate the hundred volumes of Voltaire from a distance, they form a gigantic pyramid; but if we approach them, nearly the entire mass tumbles and vanishes in dust. In none of the grand divisions of literature did Voltaire produce a single work which is equal to those composed by the great writers who preceded or followed him; none of his works is that of a genius. If genius

(1) Letter to Thieriot, Oct. 21, 1736.

(2) "The literature of the eighteenth century is entirely one of opposition. Its essence is revolutionary, fickle, mocking, incredulous when not impious, an affectation of license in thought and word. The *Persian Letters* are the type of what is moderate in this literature; Voltaire is the master and the model of all its varieties. In order to vulgarize itself, all this literature descends one or more degrees. Tragedy becomes the *bourgeois* drama of Diderot and of Sedaine; Comedy either whines or sneers, quitting the high-road of Molière for the narrow paths of Marivaux. Not without reason did Le Sage choose for a hero *Gil Blas*, a lackey and a thief's apprentice; or Beaumarchais select *Figaro*, a debauched and knavish barber; or the Abbé Prévost do worse in *Manon-Lescaut*. To glorify the inclinations, to celebrate the passions—that was the poetry of the theatre and of the novel. There was no thought of elevating minds with moral reflections, as in the days of Corneille; the sole aim was to flatter all the instincts of the public that applauds, pays, and confers glory. All this brilliant surface dazzled and seduced the eyes; all Europe admired and imitated with frenzy; for the French language was the international language, spoken and written by every cultured person." PELLISSIER; *The Monarchy and the Revolution*, p. 111. Paris, 1893.

is essentially a creator ; if, concentrating its efforts and its patience, genius ever tends to express itself entirely and to personify itself, as it were, in a monument toward which humanity will turn in order to recognize the traces of some glorious station in the march of nations ; then—we say it confidently—Voltaire, notwithstanding all the resources of his prodigious imagination, was not a man of genius” (1). And nevertheless, many intelligent persons, in every country of Europe, acclaimed the Sage of Ferney as a grand philosopher. But in what one of Voltaire’s works, asks Maynard, are found “that power of conception, that correctness of judgment, that independence of thought, that moderation and that respect, those affirmations and beliefs, which are essential conditions for the genius of philosophy? A mind without depth or breadth, ever carried away by violence of passion or by volatility of character, ever a slave of miserable prejudice ; he knew only how to deny and to destroy. To merely deny befits pride, and above all it befits ignorance and silliness ; to merely destroy is the work of a barbarian ; but genius, if it knows how to doubt when it ought to doubt, and how to refute when it ought to refute, tends especially to affirmation and construction. By what right, therefore, should Voltaire be introduced into the patrician society of Aristotle and Plato, Cicero and Seneca, Descartes and Leibnitz ? to say nothing of the company of St. Augustine and of Bossuet ?” (2). Voltaire has indeed transmitted to us an enormous amount of writing on philosophical subjects ; but when allowance has been made for repetitions, the volume of his philosophical indagations is exceedingly modest. But is there any philosophy in the works of Voltaire ? In his superficial babblings on the grand questions which form the very essence of philosophical thought—those on God, on man, and on the universe, the lauded Sage of Ferney may emit one affirmation after he has pronounced ten denials ; but that single affirmation is soon neutralized by fresh negations, and the reader perceives that he is asked to plunge into the sea of universal skepticism. Voltaire has been termed a theist ; but it is evident from his writings

(1) *Loc. cit.*, bk. iv., ch. 5.(2) *Ibid.*

that he would have preferred that no God should exist. When he appears to recognize a God, he presents for our admiration, not for our reverence, an abstract being who has no relations with man in this world or in any other state of existence. As to man, Voltaire does not once clearly avow the spirituality and immortality of the soul: when he does not deny these supreme consolations of our too frequently troubled mortality, he involves them in a darkness of doubt which he has not evoked without much painful effort (1).

CHAPTER XXI.

THE PONTIFICATE OF PIUS VI.

More than four months were required by the Sacred College for the debates which were to result in the selection of

(1) When the Abbé Boyer published (1835) his *Defense of Social Order against Modern Carbonarism*, there was in the archives of Potsdam an autograph of Frederick II. on the *Art of Reigning*, addressed to the king's nephew and successor. Boyer inserted it in his work; and as it is an excellent illustration of the "philosophy" of both Voltaire and his German pupil, it will be of interest to the reader. "He is a fool who denies that religion is absolutely necessary to a state. That king is very imprudent who allows his subjects to misuse religion; but a king is not wise if he himself has any religion. Pay attention to this, my dear nephew. Nothing so tyrannizes over the mind and the heart as religion, since it does not accord with our passions. Nor does it accord with the grand political views which a monarch ought to have. The true religion of a sovereign should be his interest and his glory; his position dispenses him from any other. However, he may present a temporary exterior of religion for the amusement of those who surround and watch him. If, in the language of women and priests, he fears God, as did Louis XIV. in his latter days, he becomes timid and puerile, and is fit only to become a Capuchin. If there presents itself a favorable opportunity for seizing a province, an army of devils stands before him and prohibits the enterprise. When he is about to make a treaty with some other power, if he pauses to think that he is a Christian, he will inevitably be cheated. As to war, that is a business in which the smallest scruple may spoil everything; for what decent man would care to make war, if there were no pillage, burning, or slaughter? Of course, I do not say that one ought to proclaim one's atheism; but one must think of his position. All the Popes who had any common sense held principles which accorded with their aggrandizement; for it would be the height of folly for a priest to care for the little fooleries which are meant only for the people. Believe me, my dear nephew, Holy Mother Church is as capricious as a woman; she is always inconstant. Be faithful to true philosophy; she is consoling, strong, and inexhaustible as nature. Then you will soon have in your kingdom no religious disputes of any consequence; for parties are formed only because of the weakness of princes and their ministers. There is one very important reflection which I would present to you. Your ancestors acted most sensibly in this matter of religion; they joined in a Reformation which gave them the appearance of Apostles, and filled their purses. Now, however, since nothing is to be gained by such a course; and since it might be dangerous to enter upon it; we must practice toleration. Hold well this principle, my dear nephew; always say, as I do, that every person can worship God as he pleases (we dare not transcribe the obscene remark which is here introduced); if you forget this maxim, all will

a successor to Clement XIV. When the Conclave opened, on October 5, 1774, it appeared that the candidate of the *Zelanti*, those cardinals who disapproved of the recent suppression of the Jesuits, would be elected; and even when the foreign cardinals, all naturally partisans of one who would be acceptable to "the party of the crowns," had arrived, the favorite candidate seemed to be Cardinal Braschi, who was generally regarded as a *Zelante*. In vain did the representatives of the courts of Vienna, Madrid, and Lisbon, endeavor to effect the "exclusion" of Braschi. Spain advocated the election of Pallavicini; but that cardinal formally announced that he would refuse the tiara, and that his own choice was Braschi. France had already declared, through the ambassador of Louis XVI., then just arrived at the throne, that she wanted, above all, a good Pope; and Austria, then intimately united with France by the marriage

be lost, and for the following reasons: In my kingdom there are many sects. In certain provinces the Lutherans fill all the offices; in others the Calvinists have the same advantage. There are some provinces where the Catholics so dominate, that the king can send thither only one or two Protestant deputies; and of all ignorant and blind fanatics, I do assure you that the Romans are the most fiery and the most atrocious. In this outlandish religion the priests are ferocious beasts, who preach only a blind submission to their orders, and who command like despots. They are assassins, robbers, ravishers, and men of inexpressible ambition. Note the insolent rapidity with which Rome arrogates to herself the right of commanding sovereigns. . . . Since our ancestors became Christians in the ninth century in order to please the emperor; since they became Lutherans in the sixteenth century in order to appropriate the property of the Church; and since they became Calvinists in the seventeenth in order to please the Hollanders in the matter of the succession of Cleves; we may well be indifferent to all religions in order to preserve tranquillity in our dominions. My father had an excellent project, which, however, did not succeed. He employed the president, Lainé, to compose a little *Treatise on Religion*, designed to unite the three sects into one. The president spoke badly about the Pope, he grabbed St. Roch's dog by the ears, and he pulled the tail of St. Anthony's pig. He regarded Sts. Bernard and Dominic as two courtesans, as loose as they were knavish; he thought no better of the Eleven Thousand Virgins than of the saints and martyrs of the family of Loyola. As to mysteries, he thought it best not to try to explain them; good sense was to be shown, and the literal significance was not always to be received. As to the Lutherans, they were his main reliance; and as for the Catholics, he wished them to become a little unfaithful to the court of Rome. . . . As for the priests, he allowed them to take their housekeepers as wives. . . . I have not abandoned this project, and I flatter myself that I have rendered it of easy execution by you. . . . The system has been already formed; Voltaire has composed the introduction. He insists on nothing more being said concerning religion, since men do not agree upon even one point. He draws the portrait of every founder of a sect with a quaint freedom which seems like truth; he has unearthed a quantity of anecdotes about Popes, bishops, priests, and ministers, which give a peculiarly gay tone to his work. And the work is written in so concise and rapid a style, that one has no time for reflection; in fine, the art of the author is so subtle, that he seems to be in the utmost good faith, even when he advances the most extravagant principles. D'Alembert and Maupertuis furnished the canvas for this work; and they calculated with such precision, that one is tempted to believe that they tried to convince themselves before they tried to convince others."

of Marie Antoinette with Louis, desisted from her opposition. On Feb. 15, 1775, Braschi was elected unanimously to the Chair of Peter. Giovanni Angelo Braschi was born at Cesena in 1717. While still a young man he attracted the favorable attention of the pre-eminently discerning Benedict XIV., and was employed by that Pontiff in many delicate affairs. Clement XIII. made him treasurer of the Apostolic Chamber in 1766, and Clement XIV. raised him to the cardinalate in 1773. Bourgoing, whose work on the pontificate of Pius VI. is the chief source consulted by the rank and file of modern writers on that subject, and who was trammelled by no prejudices in favor of any Pope, says that the life of Braschi had always been "a laborious one," and that he had ever been "indifferent to worldly pleasures, meriting general respect by the regularity of his conduct" (1). The same hypercritical and frequently calumnious author admits that as Pontiff, Pius VI. was "humane, accessible, laborious, and temperate . . . his time was spent entirely either in attending to his religious duties, or in the quiet of his cabinet, his museum, or the Vatican Library." Bourgoing depicts Pius VI. as "in every respect one of the handsomest men of his day; to his great stature were added the charms of noble and gracious features, and of a florid complexion, the brilliancy of which age had not diminished." We may question, however, the truth of the assertion that he was "careful to manage his pontifical robes in a way that would show him to the best advantage." Bourgoing continually feigns to discern vanity in all the actions of Pius VI., from the day when, almost a sexagenarian, he first donned the tiara, to the day when he laid down his burden of nearly eighty-three years. Such was not the judgment of those who were intimately associated with him during the twenty-four years

(1) *Historical and Philosophical Memoires on Pius VI. and His Pontificate*. Paris, 1798. Bourgoing is careful to inform his reader that these *Memoires* are "philosophical"; but in the very beginning of the work he shows that he is a philosophist, rather than a philosopher. He affects to pity and to despise the Popedom, "that scaffolding of temporal and spiritual power, that sanctuary of superstition, that long series of errors, that long abuse of human credulity." Religion and its ministers are, in his mind, objects fit only for ridicule. Writing just after the One and Indivisible French Republic, whose agent he was, had proclaimed the Papacy a dead thing, he declares that its demise "is regretted by no one."

of his eventful pontificate (1). These authorities represent him as truly pious, and even as austere ; in fine, as a worthy successor of St. Peter. There was little food for vanity in the pontifical career of Pius VI. ; at the very moment of his elevation he seemed to foresee the miseries which awaited him. "Venerable brothers," he said to those who had elected him, "your work is completed ; but its result is unfortunate for me." The spirit with which Pius VI. entered upon his pontificate is clearly evinced by his letter, written immediately after his election, to the municipal authorities of Cesena, his native city : "Our elevation to the Supreme Pontificate, which took place this morning, causes us to send to you this letter which we moisten with bitter tears, because of the burden, so disproportionate to our strength, with which we have been charged. Instead of any manifestations of joy, we wish that you exhibit signs of grief, and that you pray for us. With that intent we have written, with our own hand, the accompanying directions for your guidance." He orders that, "under pain of incurring his supreme indignation, the authorities allow no public demonstrations of joy, no illuminations or fireworks, no academic eulogies of himself, no deputations to him, no horse races or games" ; but there are to be celebrated five solemn pontifical Masses for his intention, and seventy daughters of poor parents are to receive dowries of forty golden scudi apiece. A Pontiff with such ideas cannot deserve the reproaches of the apologist of the Convention and the Directory, who feigns to regard as an exhibition of vanity every monument which Pius VI. erected ; every encouragement of art which he accorded ; every display of magnificence, on his part, such as befitted a Pope-King ; and even every instance of majestic deportment in the grand functions where, as the high-priest of Christendom, he was the central figure.

From his earliest years Braschi had been an impassioned student in every branch of ecclesiastical lore ; and when he entered upon the duties of the Supreme Pontificate, he was so well versed in all the mazes of ecclesiastical history, that he never needed to recur to authorities when it became

(1) BALDASSARI ; *History of the Seizure and Captivity of Pope Pius VI.*, Rome, 1805.

necessary for him to adduce any particular fact, decision, or enactment. As a temporal ruler he was just, firm, and beneficent. In order to further the cause of education among the poor, he procured a number of Brothers of the Christian Schools from France. Agriculture and commerce, and all works of public utility, received continually his personal and careful attention. He enlarged and made more safe the port of Ancona; he uncovered and restored the Appian Way; he reclaimed many thousand acres in the Campagna; he undertook, and was prevented only by the Revolution from completing, the drainage of the Pontine Marshes. The magnificent Sacristy of St. Peter's was his work. The splendid Museum in the Vatican is rightly called the Pio-Clementino; for while as yet Cardinal Braschi, our Pontiff had inspired Clement XIV. with the idea of forming it, and he made it what it now is, when he donned the tiara. Even the description of this Museum, by Ennio Visconti, is due to the encouragement of Pius VI. There was scarcely a monument in Rome which did not owe much to the fostering care and embellishing hand of this Pontiff (1); and those who imitate Bourgoing by ridiculing the innumerable commemorative slabs on which the tourist of to-day sees it recorded that "Pius VI. restored," would do well to consider whether or not the zeal of Pius VI. deserves remembrance.

A pontificate so long as that of Pius VI.—with the exception of those of St. Peter and Pius IX., the longest of all—must necessarily present many features which call for consideration. We have already dwelt sufficiently on the matter of the Jesuits in Russia. The martyrdom of Poland at the hands of Catharine II. of Russia will receive special attention when we come to consider, in our next volume, the soul-sickening and still persistent struggle of Russian "Orthodoxy" with Polish Catholicism. The importance of the subject-matter will demand other special dissertations on the pseudo-reformatory enterprises of the German emperor, Joseph II., and on the Jansenistico-Josephist innovations in Tuscany which produced the Pseudo-Synod of Pistoja,

(1) For details on this matter, see the *History of the Popes*, by Artaud de Montor, vol. v: Paris, 1847-48

and were the occasion of the Bull *Auctorem Fidei* ; on the pretension of the archbishop of Salzburg, and of four other German archbishops, that no papal decree could oblige in their dioceses without their approbation ; and on the schism of the French "Constitutional" clergy. Here we would ask for the attention of the reader, firstly, to the dissensions between Pius VI. and the court of Naples ; secondly, to the affair of Cardinal de Rohan and the necklace ; and thirdly, to the seizure, captivity, and death of Pius VI. in exile. When this Pontiff succeeded to the Chair of Peter, the prime-minister of Naples was Bernardo Tanucci, a Tuscan lawyer whom Charles III. had raised to the ministry, and whom Ferdinand IV. had come to regard as a type of good statesmanship. Even according to Bourgoing, Tanucci was not only an ambitious man, but a mischief-maker, vindictive, and saturated with animosity against the court of Rome. At the time when all the sovereigns of the House of Bourbon had leagued themselves against Pope Clement XIII. in the matter of the suppression of the Jesuits, he had induced his royal master to seize Benevento, and it was not his fault that the duchy was afterward restored to the Holy See. In 1769 he had prohibited monasteries to acquire more property, had deprived the papal nuncio of many of his privileges, and had advised King Ferdinand to cease sending the annual and voluntary subscriptions of the Neapolitan monarchs for the support of the Basilica of the Apostles, and for the augmentation of the Vatican Library. In 1772, he had persuaded Ferdinand that as heir of the House of Farnese, he had rights to Castro and Ronciglione ; and had not Clement XIV. reconciled the Bourbon sovereigns to the Holy See, a Neapolitan army would have invaded those territories. Pius VI. soon found that Tanucci was determined to embroil the courts of Rome and Naples. The audacious minister assured the Neapolitans that in order to gain the indulgence of the Jubilee, visits to the principal churches of Rome were unnecessary ; visits to their own churches were sufficient, even though the Pontiff had not granted an indult to that effect. Tanucci also suppressed many monasteries in Sicily, united several dioceses,

conferred abbeys without the pontifical consent, and ordered the bishops to fill benefices which were reserved to the Holy See. When the Pope condemned a book written by a certain Dominican, and deprived him of his chair in the University of Naples, Tanucci ordered the author to continue his lectures. Had not the light of history shone too vividly on the matter, this minister would have denied the suzerain rights of the Holy See over both the Sicilies (1); but he was able to vent his spleen by allowing no pomp to accompany the annual presentation of tribute, whereby his royal master acknowledged himself to be a vassal of the Pontiff (2). Even when Tanucci lost the favor of Ferdinand IV. in 1776, and was replaced by Marquis de la Sambuca, his ecclesiastical policy remained for many years an acceptable tradition in the Neapolitan cabinet (3). In 1777 Sambuca forbade the bishops to receive any *Rescripts* from Rome, or to leave their dioceses without the royal permission. In 1779 an ordinance abolished the ancient custom of assigning the revenues of a vacant bishopric to the Apostolic Chamber; said revenues being declared the property of the royal treasury. In the ensuing years, according as the German influence, represented by Queen Caroline (sister of Joseph II.), made itself felt, the pretensions of the Neapolitan cabinet became unbearable. One of the creatures of this singular queen, Acton (son of an Irish physician, but born at Besançon), whom she caused to be raised to the premiership, took measures for the forcible seizure of the papal duchies of Benevento and Pontecorvo; and for the meeting of a "National Council," in which there would be chosen three bishops who would thereafter "preconize" such persons as the royal minister might choose for the mitre. But the Spanish government interfered to prevent a Catholic sovereign from giving such a scandal to the Catholic world (4); and the machinations of Caroline and her favorite were

(1) For the origin of these rights, see our vol. II., p. 214.

(2) This tribute consisted of a richly caparisoned palfrey, and 6,000 golden ducats.

(3) In justice to the qualities of Tanucci as a civil administrator, we must record that the popular gratitude caused this inscription to be placed on his tomb: "During the forty years in which he held the keys of power in the kingdom, he imposed no taxes."

(4) BOURGOING; *loc. cit.*, vol. I.

defeated (1). Finally the Neapolitan government, like the other Catholic powers of the day, began to realize that it was foolish to war on the Papacy at a time when the Revolution, begun in Paris, was threatening to become a European convulsion. Even Marquis Caraccioli, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had said that if he ever became prime-minister of Naples, "he would render the kingdom independent of the Grand Mufti of Rome"; even he now astonished the world by a strenuous defense of the papal prerogatives. In 1790, Ferdinand IV. signed an agreement with the Holy See, whereby it was promised that every Neapolitan monarch would pay into the Apostolic Treasury 150,000 ducats, immediately after his accession; that the Pontiff should have the nomination to all benefices of the second order, and that he should fill a vacant see by the appointment of one of three persons named by the king. In return, His Holiness agreed that the Neapolitan sovereign should be no longer styled a vassal of the Pontiff; and that in the collation of Neapolitan benefices, subjects of His Majesty should always be preferred. The harmony of the two courts was confirmed in 1791 by a visit of the king and queen to the Pope; but very shortly afterward, observes Picot, "Ferdinand saw those lawyers who had inveighed so eloquently against the Holy See, those marquises who were so philosophical, those bishops who were so *courtisanesque*, pronouncing against himself, as they had declaimed against the Pontiff; abandoning his rights, as they had abandoned those of the Church; availing themselves, in order to undermine his authority, of those same principles which they had invoked

(1) Besides the question of the royal right to nominate bishops for vacant sees, there arose at this time a difficulty concerning the right, claimed by the Pope, to consecrate all Neapolitan bishops in the Eternal City, either with his own hands or by means of one of the curial bishops delegated for the purpose. It is certain that during the first nine centuries of the Christian era, the Pope was the sole metropolitan in the region to which the Eastern emperors had given the name of the "Vicariate of Rome"; and what afterward became the kingdom of Naples was a part of that Vicariate. Therefore, in those early centuries it was the right of the Pontiff alone to consecrate the Neapolitan bishops. But in the tenth century, when Italy had come to consist of many independent and mutually jealous principalities, there were naturally established various metropolitan sees for the various states; and consequently the bishops of each state were consecrated by its metropolitan, although the metropolitans continued to be consecrated at Rome. But in the early part of the fourteenth century, the Popes reclaimed their ancient right of consecrating the bishops of the Two Sicilies; and after 1340 that right was exercised until the time of Ferdinand IV. BORGIA: *The Papal Dominion in the Two Sicilies*. Rome, 1788.

against the Vicar of Jesus Christ; and thus showing the true measure of that devotion to his power which they had affected" (1).

For the benefit of those who derive their notions of French history from the attractive but deceiving pages of Dumas, and from works pretendedly more serious, which should also be classed as fictions, we now touch on an episode of this pontificate—the "affair of the necklace," which, although of a secular nature, greatly exercised the French episcopate, and profoundly grieved the Head of the Church. Louis-René, Prince de Rohan, born in 1734, was one of the last of those courtier-prelates whose elevation the historian of the olden days is so frequently obliged to stigmatize. During the previous hundred years a Rohan had always worn the mitre of Strasburg; therefore men did not wonder, when, in 1779, the dissipated and spendthrift nephew succeeded his uncle in that see. At the solicitation of Poniatowski, king of Poland, he had already been made a cardinal. So addicted to pleasure and ostentation was this prelate, that he was always in debt, although he possessed, besides his large private patrimony, enormous episcopal revenues and some of the richest commendatary abbeys in France. Therefore it was easy for Cagliostro, the prince of charlatans, who was then at the height of his celebrity, to draw the luxurious ecclesiastic into his net (2); and the resulting intimacy prepared one of the most monumental scandals of that century. Rohan had presumed to aspire to the position that had been occupied by Richelieu and Mazarin; but in order to attain to that eminence, he surmised that he should acquire the favor of the queen. Cagliostro discovered the ambition of his mitred pupil, and he resolved to profit by it. One of his accomplices, a woman who styled herself "Countess de la Motte-Valois," informed Rohan that she was aware of his desires; and that

(1) *Memoires for the Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. v., p. 355. Paris, 3d edit., 1885.

(2) In the *Memoires* of Mme. Oberkirch, cited by Picot, we read that Rohan declared that he had seen Cagliostro manufacture scores of diamonds and thousands of *louis d'or*. The cardinal also declared that he knew Cagliostro to be a true prophet and a miraculous healer, as well as a sublime genius, and one of the best men who ever lived. For details concerning Cagliostro, see p. 419 of this volume.

she could suggest a sure way whereby he could enter into the good graces of Marie Antoinette. At a certain jeweller's emporium there was a magnificent necklace of diamonds for which the queen yearned. The king could not buy it; for its price was 1,600,000 francs. Her Majesty, added the adventuress, begged her friend, the cardinal, to buy the precious bauble for her, but in his own name; in time she would repay the money. Let the ambitious prelate gratify the queen, urged La Motte; his road to power would then be clear. To prove that she was authorized to speak for Her Majesty, the temptress exhibited a document to that effect, signed, "Marie Antoinette of France." It is strange that the courtly Rohan did not perceive that this signature stamped the paper as a forgery, and a very clumsy one; only a woman of the blood-royal of France could or would style herself "of France"; the queen's signature would have been, "Marie Antoinette of Austria." However, Rohan fell into the snare. He purchased the necklace, and handed it to La Motte; that enterprising party gave it to her husband, who immediately crossed the Channel, and sold the jewels separately in London. When the time for payment arrived, the cardinal, who, to his surprise, had not been called to the ministry, was unable to satisfy his creditor, and in despair he advised that matter-of-fact man to appeal to the queen. When Marie Antoinette had heard the scandalous tale, she rushed to impart it to her royal husband. On the following day, the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady, 1785, the cardinal, in his capacity of grand-almoner of France, having presented himself in full episcopal robes at the Tuilleries, in order to pontificate at the Solemn Mass, an order from the king, summoning him to his Majesty's private cabinet, was handed to him. In the cabinet he found the king and queen, and most of the ministers. Questioned as to the meaning of the entire disgraceful business, the scion of the proud and noble Rohans threw himself on the royal mercy; but he was conducted at once to the Bastille. A few days passed, and the miserable man was then informed that he could either appeal to the royal clemency, or be tried by a special commission, or appear before the

parliament of Paris (1). To the reader who has accompanied us on the many occasions when we estimated the calibre of the parliament of Paris, it will not be a matter of surprise that Rohan should have elected to be tried by that tribunal. In consequence of this choice, royal letters-patent laid the case before the parliament; Cagliostro, the charlatan and Masonic reformer, and the *soi-disant* Count and Countess La Motte-Valois being included in the indictment. Just at this time, the French clergy were holding their periodical General Assembly; and naturally the predicament of Cardinal de Rohan was discussed with some vehemence. It was declared that the immunities of the clergy were being violated by the proposed trial of a bishop by a lay tribunal; and a remonstrance was sent by the Assembly to the king, respectfully representing that "the right which they claimed was older than the monarchy itself; that it had been transmitted from age to age; that it was a deposit for which they were accountable to their successors; that it had been recognized, not for a time, or in favor of particular individuals, but for all time, and in favor of the entire first order of the kingdom; that therefore it was not to be arbitrarily revoked" (2). The cardinal soon took this view of his case, and demanded a trial by an ecclesiastical tribunal. The Pope also, to whom the General Assembly of the clergy had referred the matter, and whom the scandal had so affected that for several days his life was in danger (3), wrote to Louis XVI. to the same effect; and declared that no matter what would be the result of the parliamentary trial, Rohan would be judged by the Sacred College of which he was a member. Despite the protests of Pontiff and bishops, and the demand of the culprit, the king resolved to leave the issue of the affair with the parliament; and the public curiosity, to say nothing of the malignity of the mob, eagerly awaited a decision in which but too many fondly fancied that they foresaw a blemish of the character of "the Austrian" (4). After a

(1) DROZ; *History of Louis XVI.*, vol. i., p. 444. Paris, 1805.

(2) *Procès-verbaux of the Assembly of 1787*, p. 557.

(3) ARTAUD; *History of the Popes*, art. Pius VI.

(4) "The public cherished only those suspicions which could not possibly be verified. Men waited in eager expectation of hearing some revelation which would compromise the

session of sixteen hours, the parliament acquitted Rohan and Cagliostro, and condemned Mad. La Motte to the Salpêtrière for life. The court of Rome had not waited for the parliamentary judgment. A special commission having decided that the cardinal's acceptance of a trial by an incompetent tribunal was a violation of his cardinalial oath, the Pontiff, on Feb. 17, 1786, had deprived him of all the honors of his rank until he would have defended himself, before the Holy See, from the charges brought against him. However, the Pope soon afterward restored him to his pristine condition, appearing to be satisfied with the justificatory memorial which he had forwarded. Louis XVI. was not so easily placated. Rohan was deprived of his almonry, and ordered to retire to his abbey of Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne; then, after some months of presumed meditation on the irregularities of his previous life, he was enjoined to betake himself to his diocese of Strasburg. It is edifying to learn, from indisputable records of the time, that the cardinal's later years were passed in a manner becoming to his sacerdotal character. When the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was submitted to him for his signature, he spurned the schismatic ordinance, and retired into the German part of his diocese. During the days of the Terror, he devoted his time and money to the alleviation of the sufferings of the *émigrés* who succeeded in reaching his jurisdiction. When Pope Pius VII., in 1801, demanded his resignation, just as His Holiness required that of all the French bishops, in order to re-organize the Church of the sorely-tried land, he complied with all simplicity and even cheerfulness; and two years afterward he made a happy death at Ettenheim (1).

When the news of the tragic death of Louis XVI. reached our Pontiff, he assembled in Consistory all the cardinals then in Rome, and in an eloquent Allocution he praised the virtues of the murdered monarch, and demonstrated the iniquity of the sentence which had been executed. "How vivid was

queen. . . Animosity toward the queen caused a sympathy with the cardinal: and he shared that sympathy with whom? With Cagliostro." LACRETELLE; *History of France During the Eighteenth Century*, vol. vi. Paris, 1820.

(1) For interesting details concerning Cardinal de Rohan, see the *Memoires* of the Abbé Georgel, who had been his grand-vicar; and also the *Memoires* of Bezenval and of Mme. Campan.

his attachment to the Catholic faith! How profound was his submission to the will of God! How deeply he repented for having, though against his own will, signed his name to certain decrees which were contrary to the faith and discipline of the Church!" (1). The Pontiff recalled how the fury of the factions had been excited against Louis, because he had refused to sanction the deportation of the priests who would not swear to uphold the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The cardinals were reminded how this refusal was adduced at the pretended trial of the king; and how His Majesty had written to the bishop of Clermont, declaring that he would re-establish the Catholic Church in France, if he were liberated, and restored to the throne (2). Commenting on the last moments of Louis, the Pope exclaimed: "Oh! Day of triumph for Louis, to whom Heaven gave patience under persecution, and victory in the arms of death! We are confident that he changed his perishable crown, and the lilies which had faded so soon, for an immortal crown of lilies formed by angelic hands" (3). And in conclusion, the Pontiff thus apostrophized France: "France! France! Thou whom our predecessors termed the model of Catholic unity, the unshakable support of the faith! Thou who, in Christian fervor and in devotion to the Apostolic See, didst never follow other nations, but didst ever precede them!" (4). Two years of suspense had passed, when our Pontiff found that one of the chief results of the Revolution was to be a renewal of the perennial attempt to obliterate the temporal dominion of the Holy See—a dominion which, a thousand

(1) "*Quantus fuit in Catholicam religionem ardor animi, quæ veræ in Deum pietatis indicia! Qui dolor, quæ penitentia, quod, vel invitus, nomen suum actis disciplinæ, fideique orthodoxæ Ecclesiæ contrariis adscripserit!*"

(2) Malesherbes, who tried to believe that the Convention would be content with a deportation of the king, asked Louis, one day when he visited the prison, whether he would consent to wear the crown again, if the French people, returned to their senses, were to ask him to do so. Louis replied that one of his conditions would be that the Catholic religion should continue to be the religion of the state, other religions, of course, being tolerated.

(3) "*Oh! Dies Ludovico triumphalis, cui Deus dedit et in persecutione tolerantiam, et in passione victoriam; caducam coronam regiam, ac brevi evanescentia lilia, cum perenni alia corona ex immortalibus angelorum liliis contexta, feliciter illum commutasse confidimus.*"

(4) "*Gallia! Gallia! A prædecessoribus nostris appellata totius Christi unitatis speculum, et immotum fidei firmamentum, utpote quæ in fervore fidei Christianæ, ac devotione Apostolicæ Sedis, non sequeris alias, sed antecedis!*"

years previously, French valor and devotion had consolidated. In 1796, after the lightning-like campaign with which he had all but annihilated an Austro-Sardinian and an imperial German army, and had prostrated Northern Italy at the feet of the French Republic, the young General Bonaparte announced to his exultant troops that they were about to march on the Eternal City: "Soldiers, you have done much; but is there nothing else to be done? . . . The result of your victories will be the re-establishment of the Capitol; the erection of statues in honor of the heroes who made that Capitol celebrated; an awakening of the Roman people, now lethargized by so many centuries of slavery. You will be glorified for having changed the face of the most beautiful region in Europe." Secular historians will inform the reader how Pius VI. was forced to ratify the Armistice of Bologna, whereby he agreed to pay indemnities for the injuries suffered by French citizens, albeit through their own fault, in the Papal States; to give immediate freedom to all political prisoners; to close the papal ports to all powers with which France was at war; to deliver the citadel of Ancona to the conqueror; to consent to a French occupancy of the Legations of Bologna and of Ferrara; to pay to the French government twenty-one millions of francs; and to deliver to appositely appointed French commissioners a hundred works of art, and five hundred manuscripts, which those commissioners would select from among the inestimable treasures of the Vatican. In order to meet his enforced indebtedness to the despoiler, our Pontiff, with the advice and consent of the Sacred College, made use of the sum which Sixtus V. had providently reserved for emergencies, and which was still guarded in Castel Sant'Angelo. When it was found that this provision would satisfy only one-fourth of the French claim, the Pope appealed to the generosity of his subjects; and in order to set the example to all the religious establishments, upon which he called to spare only the plate which was immediately necessary for the Divine Sacrifice, he sent all his own gold and silver articles to the mint. The cardinals, prelates, churches, etc., did the same; the Roman patricians were not remiss, Prince Doria alone contributing

plate valued at half a million of scudi ; and the women sent their jewelry. By these sacrifices Pius VI. was enabled to pay the stipulated "indemnity" to the French Directory ; but when the papal envoy, Pierracchi, asked that body to enter into a definitive treaty of peace with the Holy See, he was told that he should subscribe an article setting forth that the Pope "disavowed, revoked, and annulled, all Bulls, Briefs, Monitories, Rescripts, and Decrees, which he had issued, concerning matters in France, from 1789 to that day." Since the proposed article manifestly implied a sanction of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, Pierracchi replied that his powers did not extend to religious matters ; whereupon he was informed that his diplomatic mission had terminated. The Directory now proceeded to render the position of the Pontiff more painful from a temporal point of view, hoping by such pressure to induce him to yield in spirituals. He was told that until he signed a definitive treaty of friendship with the Republic, he would be taxed 300,000 francs per month. Furthermore, he was to renounce the sovereignty of Avignon and the Venaissin ; to cede to France the provinces of Bologna, Ferrara, and Castro, and the duchies of Benevento, Pontecorvo, and Ronciglione ; to admit French garrisons in Ancona and Civita Vecchia ; to treat all the foes of France as enemies to himself ; to recognize the territorial jurisdiction of French diplomatic and consular agents in their establishments ; and finally he was to sanction the article which had been submitted to Pierracchi. Pius VI. rejected this ultimatum, and appealed for aid to the cabinet of Vienna, which was still endeavoring to withstand the onslaughts of the French. While the Directory was threatening the Pontiff, its general in Italy fancied that His Holiness might be brought to terms without the use of force ; and he attempted to negotiate with Cardinal Alexander Mattei, archbishop of Ferrara. We subjoin the reply which Bonaparte received from His Eminence. "The Supreme Pontiff, the depositary on earth of those maxims which Jesus Christ exhibited in Himself to His disciples and to the whole world, has always sought means whereby peace and harmony could be enjoyed by all Christendom ; and he has made, to

that end, every sacrifice which he could possibly make. ... The success of your army in Italy has blinded your government. Not satisfied with having shorn the lamb to the skin, they would now devour it. They call on the Pope to sacrifice his soul, and the souls committed to his care, by an entire destruction of the principles which form the foundation of the Christian religion, the Gospel, and the discipline of the Church. ... After begging the Directory to arrange matters in a reasonable manner, the court of Rome has been forced to prepare for war. Let Europe judge as to the instigator of that war. ... Your army is formidable; but you yourself know that it is not invincible. We shall oppose to it our means, our constancy, the confidence of a good cause, and above all, the help of God which we hope to have. We know that incredulists and modern philosophers mock at spiritual weapons; but if it should please God to permit a case when those arms would be adopted, undoubtedly your phalanxes would have a fatal experience of their efficacy." The campaign of 1797 was a series of prodigious exploits on the part of Bonaparte. On Jan. 14 he annihilated the better part of the Austrian forces at Rivoli; a few days afterward, he compelled another Austrian army to surrender before Mantua; and then he dictated to Wurmser the terms on which that general was allowed to capitulate. Then entering the States of the Church, he defeated the small pontifical army at Faenza, and on Feb. 10 he was in Ancona. The Pontiff perceived that he must yield in all matters that were not positively forbidden by his conscience. The Treaty of Tolentino followed; and since Bonaparte drafted and signed it without any consultation with the Directory, the document contained no allusion to that clause on which the men of Paris would have insisted, and which no Pope would have ratified, in any possible contingency—the revocation of all the papal pronouncements on French affairs since 1789. But the treaty was a severe blow to the Holy See. The Pope ceded Avignon and the Venaissin, as well as the Legations of Ferrara, Bologna, and the Romagna; and he promised to pay ten additional millions of francs to the Republic (1). The Direc-

(1) On Feb. 13, four days after the signing of the Treaty of Tolentino, Bonaparte issued

tory ratified the treaty, and sent Joseph Bonaparte, brother of its general, as ambassador to the Vatican. Joseph immediately began to plot for the utter abolition of the Pope's secular dominion; his palace became a rendezvous for all the conspirators whom the armistice of June 23, 1796, had freed from prison, and for the agents whom the Directory, without any affectation of secrecy, had sent to Rome to excite revolution. One of these agents, General Duphot, who was affianced to the sister-in-law of Joseph Bonaparte (1), precipitated his own death and the catastrophe of the reign of Pius VI. by his foolhardiness. On Dec. 28, 1797, while various demagogues were perorating to hastily collected crowds in different parts of the city on the glories of ancient Rome and of modern republican France, a band of revolutionists, headed by Duphot with sword in hand, issued from the Palazzo Corsini, where Joseph Bonaparte was residing, and began to shout seditious cries. A pontifical platoon soon advanced toward them, and its officer ordered them to surrender their weapons. They paid no attention to the command; but with cries of "*Vive la Republique!*" marched

a proclamation in reference to the French priests then resident in the Papal States, which is interesting as an indication that he did not sympathize with the murderous measures of those whom he was serving for his own purposes, and as a proof that the Directory was already dominated by the victorious soldier who was soon to destroy it. He sent from his headquarters at Macerata a proclamation, addressed to all the French authorities in the Papal States, declaring that while the deported French priests could not, according to the law, return to France, nothing prohibited their remaining in the territories conquered by the French armies. As for himself, he was "well satisfied with the conduct of the French priests" who were then in Italy; he authorized them to remain; he forbade, under very severe penalties, any molestation of them; and he ordered that fifteen francs per month should be given to each of them. This proclamation alarmed a government which had decreed, by its law of Oct. 26, 1796, the penalty of death against any French deported priest who, in the countries conquered by the French, should take any part in a meeting of *émigrés*. Bonaparte justified his course to the Directory in these words: "It is better for these priests to be in Italy; here they will be of use to us, for they are less fanatical than the Italian priests, and they will enlighten the populations who are being incited against us. They weep when they meet us; how can we avoid pitying them in their misfortunes?" GABOURD; *History of the Revolution*, vol. v., p. 234. Paris, 1850.

(1) When the Bonaparte family arrived in Marseilles, they formed the acquaintance of a rich merchant named Clary, who had two beautiful daughters. In time Joseph Bonaparte married the elder; Napoleon would have espoused the other, but the father said that one Bonaparte in his family sufficed. Eugenie Clary accompanied her sister and brother-in-law to Rome; and she was to have been married to Duphot on Dec. 28, the day following what the conspirators fondly hoped would be the triumph of the Roman revolution. In 1798, Eugenie married Bernadotte. When Napoleon made this soldier king of Sweden, he became a Lutheran; but Eugenie insisted on having her Catholic chapel in the palace, and her own chaplain. At the baptism of the prince-imperial, the son of Napoleon III., Eugenie was the godmother, Pius IX. being the godfather.

toward the Tiber. The papal soldiers fired; Duphot fell dead; his companions dispersed. Joseph Bonaparte affected to believe that his life was not safe in the papal capital, and departed for Florence. The news of this event was received by the Directory with every manifestation of righteous indignation. The papal ambassador, Marquis Massimo, was arrested and cast into prison; and General Berthier, who commanded the French forces in Italy in the absence of Bonaparte, was ordered to march on Rome. Berthier announced by proclamation that he was about to enter the Eternal City, "with the sole object of punishing the assassins of Duphot"; and having marched out of Ancona on Jan. 30, 1798, he camped on Monte Mario, opposite St. Peter's, on Feb. 10. Pius VI. made no resistance; and on the next day the French army entered Rome with all "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war." The republican general lodged himself in the palace of the Quirinal; and immediately despatched General Cervoni, whom he had made *commandant de place*, to the Vatican with assurances that "the person and authority of the Pope would be respected." But on the 15th, Cervoni erected a tree of liberty on the Capitol, and called on all good Romans to salute it with cries for the Roman Republic. Then Berthier, escorted by four hundred dragoons, ascended the Capitol, and declared that "according to the intentions of the French Directory, he recognized the independence of the Roman Republic." Cervoni then repaired again to the Vatican, informed Pius VI. that he was no longer a temporal monarch, but that his spiritual authority would remain. "No human power can abolish that authority," replied the Pontiff. The tricolor was then raised over the Vatican, and above the statue of the archangel on Castel Sant'Angelo; to the accompaniment of fife and drum French troops entered, and mounted guard at every exit and at the ends of every corridor of the Pope's palace; and in the Square of St. Peter's the rabble cried: "Death to tyrants!" Then began the sacking of the Vatican (1). On Feb. 17,

(1) The superintendent of this work was Haller, a Swiss Protestant, commissary-general of the French army. When this brute entered the Pope's private apartment, he noticed that His Holiness wore two rings; and he immediately demanded them. The Pope handed over the more valuable one without remark, for it was his personal property; but he

the Pope was informed that the French Directory and the new Roman Government had determined that his presence in Rome or in any part of the Roman States could not be tolerated; that if he would not depart voluntarily, they would expel him violently. From that moment no person was permitted to enter the papal apartments without the express sanction of the French officer in charge. On the morning of the 20th, an hour before sunrise, Pius VI., accompanied by his faithful *maestro di camera*, Caracciolo; by Rossi, his physician; by a secretary, Marotti; and by sixteen others who were willing to follow him into exile; was "escorted" by two French commissaries, at the head of a detachment of cavalry, on his forced journey to Tuscany. He arrived at the Tuscan frontier on the 23d, and there he learned that the grand-duke, fearing to offend the French Directory, had ordered that no honor should be paid to him, but that he should be allowed to reside in Siena, in the convent of the Augustinians. In this modest establishment, therefore, the Supreme Pontiff and his companions remained for three months; he who ought to have been their grateful and gracious host proving himself to be a worthy nephew of

begged to be allowed to retain the other, the "ring of the fisherman." Haller threatened to take it by force, and the Pontiff handed it to him. When it was found, however, that this mark of the pontifical dignity was of little pecuniary value, it was returned to the owner. Haller robbed the venerable Pius even of his snuff. Espying a curiously fashioned urn, he demanded to know its meaning; and when he learned that it contained the Pope's annual supply of snuff, which the king of Spain always sent to His Holiness, the contemptible rascal sampled it, pronounced it excellent, and took the whole of it (BALDASSARI; *ubi supra*, pt. i., ch. 4—MICHAUD; *Universal Biography*, art. *Berthier*. Paris, 1801-1857). During this "perquisition," only money, jewels, and other easily carried valuables, were stolen from the Vatican; but when the Pontiff had been dragged into exile, the vultures seized on everything portable. First choice was accorded to certain favored speculators; the rest was sold to the Jews. The pillage extended to every church and public establishment in Rome; and nothing, sacred or profane, was spared. Certain officers of the French army, meeting in the devastated church of the Pantheon, sent a formal protest against this sacrilege and vandalism to Berthier; declaring that such excesses cried to heaven for vengeance; that all men of honor implored him to put an end to the scandals, and to cause restitution to be made; that it was a matter of astonishment that while the French soldiers were in want of clothes, and had not been paid for months, civil functionaries should be allowed to enrich themselves with the spoils of Rome; that, finally, they would no longer be instruments of brigandage. But Berthier found it impossible to check the robbers who had accompanied the French army, who wore the tricolor cockade, and who, although from every country in Europe, were loud in their claims to French citizenship; still less was he able to dominate, without risk of injuring French prospects in Italy, the men whom he had raised to supremacy in the Roman Republic. He resigned in favor of Massena; that officer also resigned, after two days of struggle against the upstarts in the Capitol; and under his successor, Dallemagne, things were allowed to run their course.

Joseph II. by not paying one visit to his exalted guest, and by affording no means for his subsistence. Fortunately for His Holiness, there was at hand a prelate who was both able and willing to fulfil the duty which the scion of the Hapsburgs neglected. Mgr. Despuig y Daneto, archbishop of Seville, who had been exiled from Spain by Godoy, the "Prince of the Peace," and had followed His Holiness from Rome, learned from the papal *maggiordomo* the amount of the expenses of the household, and at the end of each month he gave the money to the official, stipulating only that the Pontiff should never know of the matter (1). During the month of May the French agents in Rome made many complaints to the grand-duke that the Pope was entirely too near to his olden dominions; and an earthquake having damaged the Augustinian convent in Siena on the 26th, His Holiness was removed to Florence on June 1. The Carthusian monastery was assigned as a residence to the little pontifical court; and then Ferdinand III. made his first and sole visit to the Vicar of Christ, whose presence honored and blessed his dominions. His Imperial and Royal Highness was so obsequious to the French Republic, that he gave orders that no persons, the nuncio, Odeschalchi, alone excepted, should hold any intercourse with his illustrious guest; and he received his reward on March 25, 1799, when a French army entered Florence, and having informed him that he had ceased to reign, sent him to his German home. The Pontiff was then informed that the Directory had ordered his removal to France. The best physicians, sent by the Directory to report on the physical condition of His Holiness, had declared that considering his age and weakness from other causes, a journey across the Alps at that season of the year would probably prove fatal; nevertheless, on March 28, at three in the morning, in order to escape the indignation of the Florentines, a squadron of dragoons conducted the Father of Christendom toward the land of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. We refer the reader to the pages of Baldassari, who was one of the few compan-

(1) This fact is recorded by Baldassari, who joined the Pontiff after he had been removed to Florence.

ions of His Holiness, and who remained with him to the last, for a description of this journey; we merely note that Pius VI. bore with edifying resignation his physical sufferings and the shameful indignities which his enemies heaped upon him, and that the reverent commiseration of the populations showed him that the Papacy was simply passing through a transient storm (1). Not until April 30 did this "Apostolic Pilgrim," as St. Malachy is said to have designated him, find himself on French soil. At Briangon the weakness of the Pontiff compelled a pause of fifty days; but on June 27 orders arrived from Paris to conduct him to Valence, the place of his definitive imprisonment, "dead or alive." His Holiness arrived at Valence on July 14; and in order to obviate all inconveniences arising from the assemblage of thousands of the faithful who were already commencing to pour into the city for the purpose of saluting the Vicar of Christ, a proclamation of the Directory, announcing that Pope Pius VI. was "a prisoner of state," was placarded throughout the city. From that moment, no person could speak to the august captive, unless in the presence of a representative of the Directory. On the 22d an order from Paris enjoined on the commander of the citadel, in which the Pope and his few companions were interned, to transfer his charges to Dijon; and it was carefully noted that this journey was to be made "at the Pope's own expense," and that the party should make no pause at Lyons. The order could not be executed. Preparations for the journey were being made, when it was discovered that the lower part of the Pontiff's body was paralyzed, and that he would soon be beyond the reach of either human or diabolical malice. On Aug. 27,

(1) At the town of Romans an immense multitude gathered around the hostelry where the Pope and his guards were resting, and with loud cries begged His Holiness to show himself, and to impart his blessing. The commissary in charge declared that he would not allow the Pontiff "to officiate in his presence," since His Holiness had not taken the Oath of Hatred to Royalty, which the Republic demanded of every citizen, and especially of every ecclesiastical functionary. He tried to disperse the crowd; but when he saw that his soldiers would be overpowered, he permitted the ceremony. Then he deposited in the registry of the municipality a sworn declaration that he had yielded to compulsion, not to any anti-republican sentiment. As the next day was Sunday, and he feared that the people would insist on the Pope's being allowed to celebrate Mass for them, he hastily resumed the journey. This incident is but one of many which are recorded by Baldassari in illustration of the fact that the hearts of the people were by no means all in sympathy with the aspirations of those who had obtained the mastery over them.

Mgr. Spina, archbishop of Corinth, administered the Holy Viaticum; the august penitent having caused himself to be vested in his full pontifical robes, and to be placed in a sitting posture, since to kneel was an impossibility. When the Blessed Sacrament was raised before him, he pronounced this prayer in a voice which was heard throughout the room: "My Lord Jesus Christ! Behold here in Thy presence Thy own Vicar, the Pastor of the Catholic Fold, an exile, a captive, and dying most willingly for his flock. In this extremity, I ask of Thee two favors, and I ask for them from Thee as from my Father and my Master. The first is that Thou wouldst accord to all my enemies, and to each one of them in particular, Thy full forgiveness. The second is that Thou wouldst restore to Rome the Chair of Peter and the pontifical throne; that Thou wouldst restore peace to Europe; and that, above all, Thou wouldst restore to France, which is so dear to me, and which has so well deserved of the Church, Thy holy religion in all its plenitude" (1). On the 28, the Pontiff demanded Extreme Unction; and during the entire function he recited or responded to all the prayers, continually kissing a little crucifix which he had brought from Rome, and which he grasped until he drew his last breath. His last words were: "Lord, forgive them!" and his last act was to raise his right arm, and impart the triple benediction.

CHAPTER XXII.

JOSEPHISM. SCIPIO RICCI AND THE PSEUDO-SYNOD OF PISTOJA.
THE QUASI-SCHISMATIC CONGRESS OF EMS.

Before we enter on the subject of the contest between Pius VI. and the German emperor, Joseph II., we must observe that it was during the reign of that prince's mother, Maria Teresa, that a beginning was given to those ecclesiastical "reforms," on the actuation of which he relied for the praise of posterity. Maria Teresa was a religious woman; nevertheless, she yielded considerably to the baneful influence of two

(1) NODARI; *Life of Pius VI.* Padua, 1840.

Dutch Jansenists, Van Swieten and Haen, whom she had imported and installed at court as physicians-in-ordinary to the imperial family. By their advice, a commission was appointed for the purpose of effecting a "reformation" of studies, especially of philosophy and theology, in the hereditary states of the House of Hapsburg. The head of this commission was Stoch, dean of the Faculty of Theology in the University of Vienna; and he was soon made titular bishop of Rosone, first member of the Council of Studies, and also first member of the Council for Ecclesiastical Affairs. In 1769 Stoch published, with the authorization of the empress, a summary of doctrine which was more heterodox than that of the French "appellants," and which every aspirant to the theological doctorate would be obliged to defend. Stoch, Van Swieten, Haen, and a few other innovators whom they had drawn into their meshes, were not satisfied with the comparative orthodoxy of Gallicanism; they did not ascribe infallibility even to the Universal Church, unless in such matters of faith as it proclaimed *with unanimity*. They contended that sovereigns had the right to convoke National Councils, and they insisted that the first eight General Councils had been convoked *by the sole authority of the emperors*. They held that the civil ruler had the right to prohibit the promulgation of any ecclesiastical law which he might deem injurious to his power; that the victims of ecclesiastical authority might and ought to appeal to the state; that sovereigns could establish *diriment* impediments of matrimony, *ratione contractus* (1). Care was taken for the wide circulation of Jansenist books; and promotion was given only to such professors as inculcated the new doctrines. At the instigation of Stoch, Maria Teresa appointed an avowed Jansenist, the Abbé de Ternes, as catechist to her children; and the fruits of his teaching are recorded in history. Haen even induced the empress to write to the Pope in favor of the schismatics of Utrecht. When Joseph II. was relieved of all restraint by the death of his mother in 1780, he resolved to consolidate the "reforms" which had

(1) *Synopsis of the Doctrine Which Candidates for the Doctorate in Theology Must Defend*. Vienna, 1769. This programme was also extended to the schools of theology in the Netherlands.

been hitherto tentative. By an edict of April 2, 1781, religious were forbidden to obey any foreign superiors; to receive any "visitors" from said superiors; to attend any Chapters of their orders held in foreign states; to send money abroad, even for the purchase of such books as their duties rendered necessary; or to leave the hereditary states of the Hapsburgs without the imperial permission. On April 9, another edict forbade the recognition of any Bull or Rescript from Rome which had not received the imperial *placet*; and shortly afterward, a special edict against the Bulls *In Coena Domini* and *Unigenitus* was issued (1). On Sept. 4, recourse to Rome for *any* matrimonial dispensations was prohibited; and His Majesty ordered his bishops to grant all such dispensations, when there was good reason for such procedure. When the papal nuncio, Garampi, informed Joseph that the prelates could not obey this injunction, he received from the monarch an autograph letter in which the following passage is read: "If the bishops think that they cannot obey my edict, let them resign their sees; I shall replace them with more docile subjects." The reader would be wearied, were we to detail the less radical, but equally vexatious measures, which this imperial pseudo-reformer adopted—measures which justified that other, but less ridiculous crowned philosopher, Frederick II. of Prussia, to term him "my brother, the sacristan," who had the habit of "taking his first step after the second." Not satisfied with the suppression of convents and the abolition of certain holy days, he became an ecclesiastical master of ceremonies, prescribing the manner in which the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was to be given, the order for the recitation of the Divine Office, and even the number of candles which were to be lighted at the various functions. The general conduct of Joseph II. in regard to the Church is admirably illustrated by the course which he pursued when Cardinal Migazzi, archbishop of Vienna, the archbishop of Olmutz in Moravia, and the bishop of Brunn,

(1) An edict of April 1, 1781, announced that no *placet* for an episcopal consecration would be granted, unless the candidate swore fidelity to the emperor in these terms: "I swear to obey *every* decree, law, and ordinance of His Majesty, without tergiversation and without exception; and I swear to cause them to be obeyed by my subordinates."

complained of the innovating tendencies of certain professors in the seminary of Brunn who had been appointed in 1778 by Maria Teresa. The chief accuser of these professors was Vetter, archdeacon of Olmutz and rector of the seminary; and when his charges had been investigated, the prelates of Olmutz and Brunn laid them before the Aulic Council. That body appointed a commission of inquiry, composed of some clergymen of the two dioceses and several laymen designated by the government; and these commissioners reported that it was evident that the inculpated professors had taught the theories of the French "appellants." The meddlesome Joseph reserved the decision to himself; and on April 25, 1781, he pronounced the following judgment: "Count von Vetter, *having been proved juridically to be a man of bad character*, is dismissed from the superintendency of the seminary of Brunn, and is deprived of his archdeaconate. The two ecclesiastical members of the commission of inquiry, *who have dared to defend the Bulls In Coena Domini and Unigenitus*, and to blame the superiors of the seminary for having opposed those Bulls, will be reprimanded severely, and the one of them who is now chancellor of the University of Olmutz will be deprived of his position. All preachers who have condemned these superiors are interdicted from preaching at any time hereafter, and in any place. The archbishop of Olmutz and the bishop of Brunn, who have been drawn into this affair by the malice of their theologians, are ordered to select for advisers men of greater wisdom, men who have made their theological and canonical studies in our Austrian Universities, and who are *therefore impregnated with good principles*; otherwise His Majesty will be compelled to appoint certain persons to see that sound doctrine is taught in the seminaries, and announced at the examinations for ordination. The Bulls *In Coena Domini* and *Unigenitus* never having been received, just as *they never will be received*, in the states subject to the House of Austria, are to be erased from all the liturgical (?) books in which they are found; and the provincial authorities will use extraordinary care in the execution of this order. The Universities will abandon

all party spirit ; and will never speak of Jansenism or of Molinism (1). In the matter of prohibition of books, the guide will be the catalogue prepared by the censors of Vienna ; and therefore the bishops will not presume to forbid books which are generally allowed. In order to vindicate the reputation of the calumniated seminary, His Majesty declares, in a special decree to the government of Moravia, that he has been gratified on finding that there is no foundation for the charges which have been made against the superiors and students ; and since these ecclesiastics have been calumniated even in Bohemia and Silesia, the decree for Moravia will be promulgated also in these two provinces, and it will be communicated to the bishops, with the recommendation that they *voluntarily* confer Orders on the candidates whom the superiors of said seminary present to them. Since Cardinal Migazzi has interfered in this affair, he shall receive a severe reprimand ; he shall be ordered to take care of his own diocese, and of his own seminary ; and since his conduct indicates that good principles are unknown in his seminary, His Eminence shall be compelled to render an exact account of that institution, of the number of its students, of the manner of their training, of their domestic discipline, of the doctrines which they hear, and of the books which they are advised or forbidden to read. The spiritual father of the seminary of Brunn is appointed superintendent of that of Vienna ; and in order to provide properly for the other seminaries in the Austrian states, we command all the bishops to render to us an account of their condition " (2). The authors of the *Art of Verifying Dates*

(1) In reference to this clause, a special decree was sent to the authorities of Moravia, on May 4, ordering the civil tribunals to be scrupulously attentive to its execution, and holding them responsible for any neglect or delay in the matter.

(2) This decree is given at length, and naturally it is greatly praised, by the Jansenist journal of Paris, the *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques* for 1782, p. 130. We seize this occasion to say a few words concerning this famous periodical : since, despite its sectarian spirit, it is invaluable to the student of that period. It contains almost as many lies as sentences ; but precisely for that reason, it gives the reader an accurate idea of the sect whose mouthpiece it was for sixty years. It was founded in 1729 by a priest named Fontaine de La Roche, and it appeared every week. During the first few years of its existence, no one knew where it was printed ; some thought that the press was hidden on one of the boats which navigated the Seine. It represented Mgr. de Vintimille, the archbishop of Paris, as " the devil's advocate " ; Fénelon was " an author of no consequence, who could write anything, because no one would take the trouble to contradict him " ; it praised only the Jansenists, and such

assert that these "reformatory" decrees of Joseph II. encountered no opposition from the clergy of the hereditary states of the Hapsburgs. It is certain that Cardinal Migazzi repeatedly protested against them; and that seven Hungarian bishops, with Cardinal Bathyani, the primate, at their head, memorialized the emperor, insisting that he passed the limits of secular jurisdiction. It is also certain that when Joseph visited the Low Countries in June, 1781, Cardinal Frankenberg, archbishop of Malines, protested firmly against the imperial pretensions, especially in view of the fact that the crowned meddler allowed perfect freedom of circulation to Protestant and atheistic literature (1).

Pope Pius VI. wrote repeatedly to Joseph II., urging him to abandon a course so unworthy of a Christian sovereign; but neither arguments nor prayers availed against philosophic arrogance, sustained by the brute force of secular power. Finally, when the emperor claimed, *as an inalienable prerogative of his crown*, the right to confer all the bishoprics and abbeys in Lombardy, a pretension which was really a revival of the War of Investitures which the Hohenstaufen had so persistently waged seven centuries previously, the Pontiff resolved to perorate his cause in a personal interview with his obstinate son; and in 1782 he made that celebrated voyage to Vienna which resulted merely in an exhibition of affected politeness on the part of Joseph, and

religions as deserted their convents, "through motives of piety." Petitpied voiced the judgment of the more moderate of the Jansenists, when he styled it the work of a "calumniator, a madman, and a rebel" (*Letter of Duguet to an Oratorian*, 1735); and nevertheless, the sectarians, to a man, encouraged the paper by subscriptions and by a systematic, though clandestine, distribution of its issues. Only once, during the reign of Louis XV. did the police succeed in arresting one of the agents of this journal, a woman who had in her possession eight hundred copies. When interrogated as to whether she did not know that the king had prohibited the paper, she replied that God had ordered its circulation. Even the parliament of Paris was disgusted with the virulent mendacity of the *Nouvelles*, and condemned its first five numbers to be burnt by the hangman.

(1) Frankenberg drew the attention of the emperor to five points: firstly, to the necessity of defending the Bull *Unigenitus*, "a decision of the Holy See in a matter of faith, accepted by all the bishops of Christendom, excepting only a few recalcitrants"; secondly, to the report that Joseph was about to concede the right of public worship to Protestants in the Low Countries; thirdly, to the public subscription to a complete edition of the works of Voltaire, which had just been opened in Brussels, and to a lottery projected for the encouragement of the publication; fourthly, to the *History of the Two Indies* by Raynal; and fifthly, to the embarrassment caused to the bishops by the imperial edicts on religions, "the prelates being unable to receive jurisdiction over religions from the emperor, or to contest the papal right to exempt those persons from their jurisdiction—a right which was recognized by the Universal Church."

on the part of the chancellor, Kaunitz, of that downright boorishness which was natural to him (1). Scarcely had Pius VI. returned to his capital, when he heard that an imperial edict, confirming nearly every enactment against which he had protested in Vienna, had been published in Milan. On Dec. 23, 1783, Joseph II. arrived unexpectedly in Rome. He had travelled incognito, and he declared that he came in order to return the visit with which the Pope had honored him. If we credit Bourgoing, and there is no reason why we should not, since his assertions agree with the known characters of the personages involved in his recital, the object of this incumbent of the throne of the Holy Roman Empire was one which has troubled much wiser brains than he possessed, both before and since his time—the destruction of the papal power. Before he made himself known, says the revolutionary memoirist, Joseph wrote to Azara, the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, asking for an interview on that evening. He then made a short visit to the Pontiff; and proceeding to the Spanish embassy, he closeted himself with Azara for several hours. “Since that interview,” says Bourgoing, “it has transpired that in it Joseph unfolded, with extreme vehemence, a plan which was to astonish Europe. He was about to withdraw his subjects entirely from the Roman obedience; he laughed at the thunders of the Vatican. . . . They would term him a schismatic; but that troubled him little. He developed these ideas with extreme heat and vivacity. With great difficulty Azara was able to speak at all; and then he manifested the inconveniences of so rash an enterprise. The results might be very unfortunate for the prince himself. Ought he not consider the sentiments of the greater part of his subjects? And were not his intentions too violent? . . . These arguments, emitted by a man whom the emperor esteemed, and whose principles and intentions he could not suspect, produced a deep impression; and he departed with more conciliatory disposi-

(1) There was a measure of truth in the remark of Don Pasquino, concerning this journey, that “the Pope went to Vienna to sing a Mass, without a *Gloria* for himself, and without a *Credo* for the emperor.” The reader will find the details of the journey in the Allocation which the Pontiff delivered to the Sacred College on his return; and in the narrative of Dini, the master of ceremonies who accompanied His Holiness; both given in the *Bullarium*.

tions." Before his final farewell to the Eternal City, the emperor had many conferences with Pius VI.; and they came to an agreement in regard to the dioceses and abbeys of Lombardy. The Pope conceded "to the dukes of Milan and of Mantua" the power of nominating to the bishoprics, abbeys, etc., in those duchies. But the most worthy persons were to be appointed; parishes and prebends were to be conferred by *concursum*; and the bishops-elect were to undergo an examination at Rome (1). No sooner, however, had Joseph returned to Vienna, than he entered upon a course which bade fair to eventuate in the enterprise which he had announced to Azara as the main object of his ambition. The German and Dutch jurists, to whom Joseph eagerly deferred, feigned to believe that sovereigns have an ordinary right to control the marriage contract; that the power exercised by the Church in regard to that contract is derived solely from the concession accorded by the civil power; and that therefore the emperor could validly and licitly reserve to himself the decision of all questions concerning the validity of a marriage contract which had been ratified in his dominions. On Sept. 18, 1784, there appeared an imperial edict, in which, although it was proclaimed that His Majesty intended to consider marriage merely in its aspect as a civil contract, nevertheless, there were certain impediments which alone he would recognize; and that he would uphold the validity of all marriages which were not affected by the said imperially recognized impediments. He would take no cognizance of the impediment of spiritual affinity, or of that of natural affinity beyond the second degree. However, he countenanced the impediments of Orders and solemn vows; and he insisted that a marriage should be solemnized before the parish priest of one of the contracting parties. Matrimonial causes were to be considered by the civil tribunals alone; no ecclesiastical judge should dare to pronounce concerning the validity of a marriage, the legitimacy of children, or any other matter connected with what was termed a "civil contract." Absolute divorce was to be granted to non-Catholics, in cases of adultery, attempt

(1) *Bullarium of Pius VI.*, no. 528.

to murder, "capital enmity," invincible aversion, and malicious abandonment. In 1786 Joseph suppressed all the diocesan seminaries in his hereditary states, compelling the bishops to send their candidates for the priesthood to certain governmental institutions established *ad hoc*, in which all the professors—most of them notoriously heterodox—were appointed by the civil authorities. When a new system of theology was introduced by the imperial presumed expert into the University of Louvain, many of the professors bowed to the crowned source of ecclesiastical science; but all the bishops of the Low Countries resisted, and one of them, the bishop of Namur, was banished for the sake of example. The universal indignation of both people and clergy induced the imperial agents in that region to close the governmental seminaries; but in 1788, despite the protests of the Estates and of many of the bishops, Joseph reopened the obnoxious institutions. Many of the professors of Louvain were exiled; and most of the students refused to listen to the lecturers who expounded the principles of Febronius and Eybel. Hainaut, Brabant, Flanders, and Namur revolted; a serious war began; and the emperor begged for the mediation of the Pontiff. It is difficult to discover the extent of the complicity of the clergy in this insurrection; the imperial ministers reproached both the secular priests and the religious with having furthered the outbreak "in the pulpit and in the confessional" (1), but it is certain that all the known leaders were laymen. Pius VI. complied with the wish of the prince; but his words produced little effect, since the religious effervescence of the insurgents had become involved with political aspirations (2). Joseph II. did not live to see his authority restored in

(1) *Declaration of Joseph II.* on Oct. 13 and 19, 1789; in the *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques* of 1790, p. 361.

(2) Not only had each state proclaimed its disavowal of allegiance to the House of Hapsburg, but a bond of offensive and defensive union had been formed in the last days of 1789. On Jan. 7, 1790, the first Assembly of the "United Belgian States" (*Les Etats-Belges-Unis*) was inaugurated with religious ceremonies, and the archbishop of Malines was elected its president. On Jan. 10, a formal Act of Confederation was adopted, the following being its principal clauses. "The United Belgian States form and concentrate in themselves a sovereign power, which is limited to their mutual defence, the right of war and peace, and the conclusion of alliances. . . . For the exercise of this sovereign power, there shall be a Congress, composed of deputies from each province, which shall be

the Belgian provinces; for he was called to his account on Feb. 20, 1790.

The family of the Medici having become extinct in 1737, the grand-duchy of Tuscany was assigned by the signatories of the Treaty of Vienna to Francis, duke of Lorraine, husband of Maria Teresa, and afterward Holy Roman emperor; force having constituted right, and the powers having studiously ignored that the Tuscans had recovered their self-sovereignty by the disappearance of the family to whose rule they had voluntarily submitted themselves. The first years of the reign of Francis were comparatively peaceful; but from 1751 to 1763, Rucellai, the Secretary for the Rights of the Crown, to whom he had entrusted the administration, made many assaults on the liberty of the Church. In 1763, Leopold, the second son of Francis, mounted the Tuscan throne; and then Rucellai became omnipotent. Leopold was disposed to imitate his imperial brother, Joseph II.; and inspired by Rucellai, he introduced into Tuscany nearly all the "reforms" which had been excogitated by that sovereign. In 1780, the see of Pistoja was conferred on Scipio Ricci, a kinsman of that Lorenzo who had been general of the Jesuits at the time of their suppression. In view of the later conduct of this prelate, it is interesting to note that in his youth he thought seriously of becoming a Jesuit, chiefly because of a saying, which some attributed to St. Francis Borgia, that no member of the Society would be damned. The future personification of Jansenism in Italy had been remarkably devoted to the saints, especially to that canonized member of his own family, Catharine dei Ricci. Nor were the earlier reformatory essays of Ricci at all worthy of blame; we must praise the bishop who disciplined the inmates of certain nunneries who had reduced to practice the theories of an exaggerated Quietism. But it soon became evident that the abolition of real evils, the correction of real abuses, could not satisfy the zeal of Ricci, or rather that of his master, Leopold. He introduced into his diocese modifications of the liturgy which were redolent of the most extreme Jan-

styled the Sovereign Congress. The united provinces will always profess the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion; and they will preserve inviolably the unity of the Church.' *Mercur de France*, Feb., 1790.

senism. Thus he would have only one altar in a church, so that there could not be a simultaneous celebration of several Masses, a custom which had been encouraged, he said, "by ignorance, and by the interests of the ministers of the sanctuary"; he abolished the use of "privileged altars"; he undertook a crusade against the veneration of relics and of "miraculous images"; and he tried to introduce the vernacular into the liturgy. By the advice of Ricci, the grand-duke sent to all the bishops of Tuscany a new *Catechism* which was to replace that of Bellarmine, and the tenor of which was thoroughly Jansenistic. It was by the same advice that Leopold ordered that secular priests, not regulars, should be confessors to nunneries; that the property of all religious establishments should be administered by persons who were independent of the ordinaries; that all criminal causes of clerics should be considered in the grand-ducal courts; and that no ecclesiastical censure or admonition should be pronounced without the permission of the sovereign. Ricci issued pastorals against the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and he minimized the significance of Indulgences; in these and other writings he proposed the "appellants" of France as models to his clergy and people. He termed Quesnel "a learned man, and a pious martyr to truth"; the Abbé Racine, Gourlin, and other Jansenist leaders were "luminaries of the Church." He founded at Pistoja a printing house for the reproduction of Jansenist works; and announced that his object was "*to reveal the unjust pretensions of that spiritual Babylon which has subverted and metamorphosed the entire economy of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, of the communion of saints, and of the independence of princes.*" His mansion became the rendezvous for a number of crotchety ecclesiastics, who, with affected or problematically real sincerity, decried the Bull *Unigenitus*, lauded the "appellants," and even defended the position of the schismatics of Utrecht. One need not hesitate in answering the question which Picot puts to himself: "What spirit of discord prompted Ricci to introduce into Italy disputations, about which, as yet, she knew nothing whatever; to resuscitate writings which could interest malignity alone; to disturb with his innovations, a

church which was tranquil in its faith?" In vain did Pius VI. write to the inflated fantastic, urging him to return to the ways of truth and of common sense; the poor weakling, whom Cantù rather generously terms "an honest mediocrity," replied with additional innovations (1). In the early days of 1786, Leopold sent to all the Tuscan bishops a circular, inviting them to hold diocesan synods for the purpose of considering a number of reforms which his grand-ducal intelligence deemed necessary for the well-being of religion. "One of the chief objects of these synods will be to provide for a reformation of the *Breviaries* and *Missals*. . . . They will inquire into the utility of using the vernacular in the administration of the Sacraments. One of their most important duties will be to restore to the bishops those original rights which the Roman court has usurped; and they will point out how Rome has encroached on the jurisdiction of bishops by reserving certain dispensations to herself" (2). The first bishop to comply with this invitation, or order, was Ricci; and since he knew that he could not rely on a majority of his priests for an endorsement of his own and the grand-ducal sentiments, he invited a number of outsiders to assist at the synod—a proceeding which was a manifest violation of the Canons. He brought from Pavia the celebrated Tamburini, the most intrepid Jansenist in Italy, and perhaps the most learned in Europe; and he even made him promoter of the assembly. In his own *Memoirs*, as interpreted by De Potter, he plainly indicates that he prevented many of his priests from attending the synod, in some cases even having had recourse to imprisonment, in order that the desired majority might be assured. In his letter of convocation, Ricci took care to flatter his clergy, assuring them that "their submission to the episcopal ordinances, about to be

(1) The curious reader is referred for interesting details concerning the reformatory course of Ricci to the *Life of Ricci, Based on Manuscript Autographs of the Prelate* (Brussels, 1840), written by the celebrated Belgian apostate, Louis Antoine de Potter, author of a famous *History of Christianity*. But the work must be read with a discriminating eye; for we are told in its first lines that "he who wishes to prove that the Christian religion is badly calculated for the origination and nourishment of civic virtues, and that Catholicism is the most dangerous enemy of the social system, need only look for his evidence in the history of the Church."

(2) The *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques* thinks that this circular "is worthy of Theodosius, Charlemagne, St. Louis, and St. Stephen of Hungary."

issued, would be due only in case that there would have been practiced full liberty of discussion"; a doctrine which Pius VI. afterward condemned as "false, rash, injurious to episcopal authority, subversive of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and favorable to the heresy of Arius." The priests were also informed that they were "judges of the faith"; and that this right of judgment "was *de jure proprio*, being derived from their ordination." But if the reader gives detailed attention to the *Acts* of the synod, he will not believe that they were discussed, decided, and drawn up, during the ten days of the synod's existence; he will opine that Ricci, aided by Tamburini, Vecchi, Guarisci, Monti, Bottieri, and Palmieri (outsiders *ejusdem furfuris*), had prepared the alleged synodal enactments before the assembly was opened.

The Pseudo-Synod of Pistoja was opened on Sept. 18, 1786. Since the spirit of Jansenism presided over its deliberations, it naturally adopted the Baian and Quesnellian distinction of two states and two loves; the idea of a dominant delectation on the part of grace; the theory of the omnipotence of grace; and that of the small efficacy of fear. As to indulgences, it was taught that they absolve only from ecclesiastical penances; that the scholastics invented the idea of a treasury of the merits of Christ, and that of the application of these merits to the souls of the dead. Concerning Sacramental Confession, the synod recognized no reservation of cases. In matter of censures, it was declared that excommunication produced only external effects. When they approached the Sacrament of Matrimony, the synodals besought the grand-duke to pronounce it a civil contract; although they insisted on the necessity of the sacerdotal benediction. They recognized the power of princes to establish impediments, and declared that "originally the sovereigns alone designated diriment impediments, and that the Church derived her present power in the premises from a concession of the civil power." The custom of giving an *honorarium* for the celebration of Mass was discouraged. Referring to the hierarchy, the synod declared that the bishops are vicars of Christ, and that they receive their faculties immediately from Christ; therefore no power (*excepting that*

of the state) can interfere with their diocesan rights. Just like the bishops, it is asserted, the priests can decide as to matters of faith. Touching the liturgy, it was decreed that there should be only one altar in each church; one image should not be venerated more than another; devotion to the Sacred Heart was condemned in most bitter terms; the Mass should be celebrated in the vernacular, and every part of the service should be recited in a loud voice. Of course, religious orders could not escape the attention of the "reformers"; therefore they were to be reduced to one, and in that one perpetual vows were not to be taken. The famous Four Articles of the Assembly of the French Clergy in 1682 were adopted, and included in the synodal decree *De Fide*. While this precious body was "deliberating," Leopold was watching every movement that it made. When Marchetti "and other mischief-makers" (1) valiantly sustained the rights of the Apostolic See and the cause of dogmatic truth, he caused them to be removed from the synod; and when he found that a large number of the members objected to being "reformed," he devised the project of a "National Council," that is, of all the bishops of Tuscany, whom he hoped to gain over to his views. As a preparation for this Council, he summoned all the bishops to a conference in the Palazzo Pitti; but when he found the prelates invincibly attached to the Holy See, he resigned himself to wait for a development of the seed which had been sown in Pistoja. "In the meantime," says Cantù, "there appeared on the scene, besides the bishops and the courtiers, an actor who is sometimes deified as 'the people,' and sometimes despised as 'the mob.' Just as in Flanders, the religious innovations of Joseph II. had led to a furious outbreak, in which the professors of the new seminary were outraged, and which culminated in open insurrection; so in Tuscany the people, deeply attached to the religion of their ancestors, looked askance at the reforms of Ricci. Inflated by the atmosphere of the court, Ricci abolished practices which were dear to piety; for instance,

(1) Marchetti was the author of the best among the many works which have been written in criticism of the great work of Fleury. In the *Ami de la Religion*, vol. xxii., pp. 241 and 353, the reader will find two exhaustive articles by Picot, in which Marchetti's merits and faults are judicially presented.

the midnight function on Christmas Eve. When the people heard the Mass celebrated in Italian, and at the end heard the priest chanting: 'Go! Mass is finished!' an outburst of laughter resounded in the church. The books of piety which Ricci recommended were either torn to pieces, or thrown into the sewers. On the main door of the cathedral was affixed a placard, on which was read: 'Pray for our heretical bishop!' When it was rumored that Ricci was about to remove from the cathedral of Prato (1) the altar before which the cincture of Our Lady was specially honored, the people crowded into the edifice, chanting in the fashion which Ricci had prohibited; they burned his throne and his escutcheon (2), and all the new-fangled books; they restored to their places the relics which had been buried, and buried instead the pastorals of their bishop. The grand-duke punished twenty-eight of the rioters with public whippings; twenty-one were imprisoned; and seven were sent into the army; the prince declaring that he was not more severe, because of the intercession of Ricci" (3). On Aug. 28, 1794, Pius VI. issued his Dogmatic Bull, *Auctorem Fidei*, condemning eighty-five propositions which had been emitted at Pistoja. Seven of these were pronounced heretical; namely, that the doctrine and faith of Christ had become obscure in the Church; that the supreme ecclesiastical power was given to the Church, not to the Pope; that all bishops and priests receive their jurisdiction from the Church; that the coercive judicial power of the Church is an abuse; that the bishops receive from God every right and power necessary for the government of their dioceses, and that they cannot be deprived of those rights and powers (*unless by the state*); that reforms should be actuated by the bishop and his parish-priests in synod, the latter enjoying the "deliberative voice"; that in the better days of the Church, even the decrees and definitions of General Councils

(1) The diocese of Prato had been united to that of Pistoja.

(2) When Ricci erected another episcopal throne, he caused this inscription to be engraved on it: "To the perpetual disgrace of the people of Prato, who, on the night of May 20, 1787, through an excess of fanaticism, insulted their excellent bishop, burning his escutcheon and his throne; this new throne has been erected by order of the most pious and most just prince, Leopold."

(3) *Heretics of Italy*, vol. iii., p. 473. Turin, 1866.

were obligatory only when they had been accepted by the diocesan synods. The other propositions were stigmatized as respectively erroneous, subversive of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, false, rash, capricious, injurious to the Church and her authority, inducing contempt for the Sacraments and for pious practices, and offensive to the piety of the faithful. It was declared, in the censure of each proposition, whether it was condemned because it had been reprobated already in the works of Wyckliffe, Luther, Baius, Jansenius, or Quesnel; or because it was opposed to the Tridentine decrees; or because it detracted from the authority of General Councils. When the Bull *Auctorem Fidei* appeared, Ricci was no longer bishop of Pistoja; Leopold had become Holy Roman Emperor, and his successor on the Tuscan throne, Ferdinand III., had demanded and received the resignation of the innovator on May 28, 1791. Writing to Pius VI. in April, 1794, Ferdinand had been able to say: "Great as was the displeasure with which the people and clergy of Pistoja and Prato received the decrees of the Pistojan synod, that source of a thousand scandals and tumults; just as great was the applause accorded to the pastoral of Falchi, the new bishop, which abolished entirely the novelties which Ricci had tried to introduce" (1). Ricci continued, however, to perorate the cause of "reform." We find him tendering his services in favor of Archbishop Colloredo of Salzburg, of whose schismatic efforts we shall soon treat. On March 10, 1794, he congratulates the Constitutional bishop, Gregoire, because, "thanks to him, a holy Christian philosophy is succeeding that superstition and irreligion which have afflicted the Church of Jesus Christ." Shortly afterward he writes to Pancieri, parish-priest of San Vitale: "I have never doubted that Rome is that Babylon, of which we read in the *Apocalypse*, in *Jeremiah*, etc. I believe that the carnal spirit of the Roman Curia is figured in that prostitute who works evil, and glories in it. But for how many centuries this scandal has reigned! Who knows whether it will terminate?" Nevertheless, when Pius VII., returning from the coronation of Napoleon, passed through Florence

(1) *Riccian Archives*, f. xvi., cited by Cantù, *loc. cit.*, p. 513.

in 1805, Ricci prostrated himself at the feet of His Holiness, declaring that he "had never entertained sentiments other than those defined by Pius VI.; that he had never held the doctrines indicated in the *Auctorem Fidei*, according to the sense in which they were condemned; and that he had always been ready to correct any of his sayings which might give occasion to misinterpretation." The Pontiff received the apparently repentant prelate with great kindness; and shortly afterward, the latter wrote to His Holiness: "I shall ever remember with filial tenderness the happy day when my prayers were heard; and in the retreat where I am now attending to the great affair of my eternal salvation, I shall never cease to pray that the Most High may preserve to the Church, in the person of Your Holiness, an enlightened and zealous pastor." Pius VII., speaking of the submission of Ricci in his Allocution of June 26, 1806, says: "He declared that he received sincerely (*ex animo*) the Constitutions which condemn the errors of Baius, Jansenius, Quesnel, and their followers; and especially the Bull *Auctorem Fidei*, which condemns eighty-five propositions extracted from the *Acts* of the Synod of Pistoja, which had been assembled by himself. He declared that he condemned all and each of these propositions in the sense expressed in the Bull; and that he wished to live and die in perfect submission to the Roman Church, and in the obedience which is due to the Roman Pontiff. After this solemn declaration, we received him; and when he had assured us of the sincerity of his sentiments, and of the attachment to the orthodox faith and to the Apostolic See which he had preserved even in the midst of his errors, we embraced him paternally, and reconciled him to us and to the Catholic Church." Many unprejudiced and acute intellects have refused to discern sincerity in the submission of Ricci. Certainly the following words, written to his friend, Targioni, immediately after his reception by Pius VII., are of suspicious tenor: "I have raised my voice without fear; I have fought in the open field, with the help of the Lord, so long as I thought He required such action from me. Now my duty is silence, retreat, prayer. The time for speaking will come; but perhaps God has reserved

it for our posterity, *when Babylon shall have filled up her measure*. Whether Rome wills it or not, the Church presents now all the appearances of weakness and old age, *because of the obscuring of so many truths, of which many are ignorant, and for which the greater number do not care*" (1). It is certain, however, that Ricci died (Jan. 27, 1810) an edifying death; and at the end of his *Memoirs*, the writing of which had occupied his last years, we read sentiments which are thoroughly Catholic: "Praise, therefore, and glory be to the Lord who has heard my prayers, snatching me from the dangers to which I was exposed, and using such unexpected and even—by me—unthought-of methods! May He deign to preserve me from future risks; and may He grant me, through the merits of Jesus Christ, and through the intercession of Mary Most Holy, of my guardian angel, of my patron saints, and of all the elect, to so spend the rest of my life, that at the moment of my death I may be called to the enjoyment of that happiness which He has merited for me by His Precious Blood!"

Our attention is now claimed by a phase of Josephism, which involved the four principal archbishops of Germany in revolt against the Holy See. When Joseph II. was freed from some semblance of restraint by the death of his mother, the electorate of Mayence was occupied by Frederick von Erthal, a luxurious prelate whose character is summarized by Picot when he says that "Erthal lived in a thoroughly secular fashion; arrogant because of his relations with the king of Prussia; and seeming to remember that he was a bishop, only when there presented itself an occasion for tormenting the Pope, and attacking the Holy See." Clement of Saxony, the elector of Treves, was a worthy ecclesiastic, but of a weak and inconstant temperament. Originally a partisan of Febronius, he had afterward abandoned that in-

(1) "The intolerance of the scrupulous can perceive in Ricci nothing but duplicity. The intolerance of venal adulators, worse than that of the Inquisition, stamps him as vile, asserting that through fear he belied his conscience. We discern in him an erring man who repented, but who could not repress every impulse of human pride. Let him who is without sin condemn him. In him, however, we also see how dangerous it is to desire novelties which accord not with the habits and ideas of the people, relying for support on governmental authority; and we perceive how foolish it is for this authority to meddle with matters which belong exclusively to the Church." CANTU; *loc. cit.*, p. 484.

novator; but in 1782, he succumbed to the influence of Joseph Beck, an ardent Febronian, and returned to the path which leads to schism. The elector of Cologne was Maximilian of Austria, a brother of Joseph II., and a prelate who did not hesitate in surrounding himself with a number of *Illuminati* (1). Probably by the advice of those sectarians, Maximilian aided to establish the University of Bonn in opposition to the University of Cologne, as a means of propagating the new doctrines; inviting to its chairs a number of unfrocked friars and of semi-Protestant speculatists (2). Jerome Colloredo, archbishop of Salzburg, was an able and charitable man, but impregnated with notions similar to those which Ricci was encouraging in Tuscany. The pretext which served these four dignitaries of the German Church as a means of demonstrating their devotion to German independence of Roman encroachments, and which only the convulsions consequent on the French Revolution prevented from leading to lamentable consequences, was the creation of a new Apostolic nunciature at Munich. The reader should know that for many years the nuncios in Germany had exercised more extensive authority than that of those who were sent to other countries; for instance, they granted dispensations which in other lands were sought from the Holy See, and they decided many cases which the general rule referred directly to Rome. This extraordinary authority, which had been granted because of the confusion caused by the Reformation (3), had never been contested

(1) So says Cardinal Pacea, who, while he was nuncio at Cologne, had every opportunity of learning the truth of the matter.

(2) Among these new luminaries who were to dissipate the darkness caused by the University of Cologne, still true to Catholic teaching, were notable Thaddeus Saint-Adam, an ex-Carmelite, professor of hermeneutics; Hedderich, a Minor Conventual, professor of Canon Law; and Schneider, a secularized Franciscan, professor of eloquence. This Schneider became a commissary for the French Revolutionary government during the Reign of Terror, distinguished himself by his monstrosities, but finally ended his career on the guillotine. In a Brief addressed to the Chapter of Cologne on March 27, 1790, Pius VI. thus speaks of the teachings of the professors of Bonn: "*Doctrinarum portenta atque monstra, quæ ab Hedderichio, Spiegeltio, Wemero, Thaddæo, Schneidero, aliisque professoribus traduntur.*" When the elector opened the University in Sept., 1786, Spiegel, who was made *curator*, pronounced a discourse on the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline in the sixteenth century which the hearers all regarded as a panegyric of Protestantism.

(3) The church of Cologne, especially, had been threatened with destruction. Two successive archbishops had favored the new doctrines; one of them, Truchses, had

until the Josephist mania for "reforms" led certain spirits to discern in it an invasion of the rights of the ordinaries. When the elector of Bavaria, Charles Theodore, requested Pope Pius VI. to establish a nunciature at his capital, so that his subjects might be obliged no longer to recur to the nuncios at Cologne, at Vienna, or at Lucerne, the Pontiff cheerfully gratified a prince whose devotion to the Holy See was so eloquent a contrast to the conduct of the German emperor; and by this action His Holiness in no way infringed on the rights of the three ecclesiastical electors, or on those of the archbishop of Salzburg. Nevertheless, these prelates immediately made all Germany resound with their lamentations; and the too willing Joseph II., on Oct. 12, 1785, sent to them a consolatory letter, from which we take the following passage: "They (the four archbishops) have asked for that imperial protection which, *as SUPREME PROTECTOR of the constitution of the GERMANIC CHURCH*, I owe to them. . . . Like a good brother, friend, and associate, I must contribute all my power to their recovery of all the rights which they enjoyed of old, and which have been lost, only because of evil days and usurpations. Therefore I have resolved to notify the entire empire concerning my sentiments on this subject, and also to declare to the court of Rome that I shall never allow the bishops of the empire to be disturbed in the exercise of the diocesan rights which they have received from God and the Church, and that henceforth I shall recognize the papal envoys only as such for political affairs, or for affairs which concern the Pope immediately as head of the Church" (1). Shortly after the receipt of this letter, the elector of Cologne, through his grand-vicar, published a pastoral which began with these words: "*His Imperial Majesty having abolished every kind of jurisdiction and all the faculties of the Apostolic nuncios, and having restored to the bishops all their ancient rights . . .* the archbishop-elect of Cologne forbids all prelates, archdeacons, deans, pastors, etc., and the superiors of all regular

"married," publicly apostatized, and endeavored to propagate heresy. By rallying around the nuncio, the Catholics of Cologne weathered the storm.

(1) Pacca gives only a synopsis of this document; but it is found entire in the *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques* for 1786, p. 87.

orders, even those who are exempted, to have recourse to the nunciature of Cologne, for any purpose whatsoever" (1). After this manifestation, fully worthy of a Cranmer or a Siemaszko, it was not surprising that the four recalcitrant bishops should cause their respective deputies to hold a Congress at Ems, and there, on Aug. 25, 1786, sign a series of twenty-three articles which were equivalent to so many invitations to the Catholics of Germany to desert the bark of Peter. The tirade begins by informing the Germans that His Majesty had resolved to restore to the bishops "all that they had lost, *through a frightful usurpation*"; and that this resolution, taken by "THE HEAD OF THE GERMANIC CHURCH," has encouraged the prelates to make the following declaration. "Jesus Christ gave to the Apostles, and to the bishops, their successors, the *unlimited* power of binding and loosing. . . . Each bishop, exercising this power of binding or loosing, can accord dispensations from both the general and the particular laws of the Church . . . but each bishop is free to ask the *opinion* of His Holiness. . . . Since dispensations are granted nearly always in cases of the third and fourth degree of consanguinity and affinity, the bishops ought to consult as to the abolition of these impediments. . . . *Each bishop has the right to abolish the obligations resulting from Holy Orders, in the cases of deacons and subdeacons, whenever there is urgent reason. . . . No papal Bulls, and no ordinances of Roman Congregations, shall be recognized in Germany without the consent of the bishops. . . .* Once that the bishops will have been placed, through the powerful protection of His Imperial Majesty, in the possession of the rights which belong to them by divine institution, and that their causes of complaint against the court of Rome have been heeded; then only will they be in condition *to proceed to a reformation of the discipline of the Church.*" The four archbishops immediately ratified the proceedings of their deputies; and sending their report in a letter signed by all of them on Sept. 8, they dilated on its contents; assuring His Majesty that "*for the present*" they would not beg him to abolish the Concordat, but entreating him to convoke a National Council,

(1) *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques*, 1786, p. 88.

"since there had been no fulfilment of that promise to correct abuses, which the Council of Trent had made." They trusted that in this National Council "*the German nation would be delivered from oppression, and restored to perfect liberty.*" Joseph replied to this request by telling his four sycophants to consult with their brethren of the German episcopate. They obeyed; but they found no others prepared to plunge into the gulf of schism. Nevertheless, they endeavored to enforce the regulations devised at Ems; and when they did not succeed, the emperor thought to terminate the difficulty by laying the matter before the Aulic Council. Having obtained no satisfactory response from this incompetent tribunal, he issued a decree on Aug. 9, 1788, whereby the question was referred to the Diet which was about to meet at Ratisbon. When the Diet had assembled, the four principal prelates of Germany so far laid aside their own dignity, so far ignored the pre-eminent dignity of the Vicar of Christ, as to hurl their unfounded accusations against him in an assembly composed almost entirely of laymen, and to a great extent, of heretics; calling upon not only their own presumed Catholic emperor, but also the Protestant king of Prussia, the Protestant elector of Hanover, and many other heretical princes, to pass sentence on the Father of Christendom. Shortly before the meeting of the Diet, in Nov., 1788, the hallucinated bishops had afforded the Pope, as it were, an opportunity of escaping from this insult, by urging him to abolish his nunciatures in Germany; and Pius VI. had condescended to reply to the impudent proposition in the calm but firm letter from which we have drawn the particulars of this episode of his reign (1). The Pontiff had drawn the attention of the bishops to the gross impropriety of invoking a lay tribunal for the consideration of an entirely ecclesiastical matter, and one which involved the prerogatives of the Apostolic See. Then having discussed each of the German claims, and having especially shown the antiquity of the nunciatures, and the ever-admitted right of the Popes to establish them, the Holy Father had said:

(1) *Reply of Pius VI. to the Metropolitans of Mayence, etc.* Qto., pp. 350. Bologna, 1790.

"Let your religion and your sense of justice tell you what you should do. We can neither appear before the Diet, nor send an extraordinary legate to it ; for we cannot submit the Apostolic See to an incompetent judge. We cannot abandon the rights which are of the very essence of the primacy which has been entrusted to us." But nothing definite was effected in the Diet ; and before long the Congress of Ems was only an unsavory remembrance. The German princes cared little for ecclesiastical disputes, while the storms of the French Revolution were rolling toward them ; and the four recalcitrant bishops soon lost both their sees and their temporal power.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE "CONSTITUTIONAL CHURCH" OF FRANCE.

Of all the events which rendered the pontificate of Pius VI. one of the most sorrowful in modern times, that which most afflicted him was the passage, on July 12, 1790, of the decree by which the National Assembly of France made it obligatory on all the ecclesiastics of the kingdom to accept the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy." Before the enactment of this measure, the Assembly had followed the suggestion of Talleyrand de Perigord, bishop of Autun, supported by the eloquence of Mirabeau ; and had decreed, on Aug. 4, 1789, that "all the property of the clergy was placed at the disposition of the nation" (1). The Church could survive this robbery, as experience has shown in other countries, as well as in France ; but had the Civil Constitution of the Clergy been adopted universally by the French ecclesiastics, the French Church would have perished. Probably the impious of that day realized that Catholicism

(1) According to Necker, the entire revenues of the French clergy, at that time, amounted to one hundred and fifty millions of francs. If this sum appears large, let the reader remember that the French clergy were then more numerous than at present. Reliable judges say that if this sum had been divided equally, each ecclesiastic would have received three hundred and eighty-nine francs. But we must not forget that the Church always reserved a large portion of her revenues for the poor ; and that the residue was divided into three parts, to be distributed to the titulars, to the needs of public instruction, and to the colossal work of foreign missions.

and poverty are not incompatible ; probably it was because of this knowledge that they aimed at a debasement of the Church by a measure which would bend the consciences of her ministers. "The general interest," said the "philosopher" Naigeon to the Assembly, "requires that the priest be rendered contemptible. In order to render the priest contemptible, we must impoverish him ; and we have done well thus far. But the design of discrediting the clergy entirely in the minds of the people merits praise only when it is fully executed ; there must be no temporization." Therefore the Assembly decreed that mixture of Presbyterianism and laicization which, in order that it might not be perceived immediately that it involved matters which depended exclusively from the spiritual authority, was termed a *Civil Constitution*. It decreed that a newly-appointed bishop should not ask for the papal confirmation ; he should merely notify the Pontiff of his nomination by the government, and should make that notification simply as an indication of his desire to be in communion with the Roman See ; he should receive his canonical institution from his metropolitan, or from the senior bishop of his province ; if both of these prelates refused to recognize him, he could be consecrated by any bishop, and the government would indicate the one whose duty it would be to instal him. The bishops and pastors were to be chosen by the same Electoral Colleges who nominated the civil officers, and it was declared that this method was a restoration of the ancient form of elections ; whereas history shows that in the early ages the chief part in the elections of bishops and pastors was taken by ecclesiastics. And certainly in the olden times heretics and Jews had no share in these elections. According to the *Civil Constitution*, the bishop could perform no act of jurisdiction without previous consultation with his vicars. The parish priests were to select their assistants from among the diocesan clergy ; but the bishop was to have no voice in the matter. The ecclesiastical division of France was assimilated to the civil ; the one hundred and thirty-five existing dioceses were reduced to eighty-three, one for each of the new departments. By this arbitrary arrangement old metropolitan sees were

annihilated; unimportant bishoprics were made metropolitan; and sees were created where none had existed. No Frenchman could be subject to the spiritual authority of a foreign bishop or metropolitan. "It is a matter of Catholic faith," says Emery, "that only the successors of the Apostles have received from the Holy Ghost the power to rule the Church of God. I ask whether there can be any act, in the governing of the Church, more absolute and capital than the suppression of fifty-three dioceses, and the erection of eight or ten others; than the destruction of metropolitan sees which dated from Apostolic times, and the creation of others; than the taking from each metropolitan some of his suffragans, and the substitution of others; than the abolition, by subtractions and additions, of the ancient boundaries of all the dioceses of France. And all this was effected by one act of the civil power." Well does Villemain say that the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was "an innovation which was false in theory, and tyrannical in fact"; and with reason does M. de Falloux term it "a Jansenist, impious, and Protestant conception." In one of his early works, Thiers affirmed that the Constitution was "the work of the most pious deputies in the Assembly," and he blamed severely those who opposed it (1); but in his mature age he agreed with Jules Simon that "it was absurd" (2). Louis XVI., a sincerely religious prince, could not approve this document; but he feared to refuse his signature. In his anguish he recurred to the Pope; and he received a Brief in which His Holiness reminded him of the true principles concerning the authority of the Church, and advised him to follow the advice of Lefranc de Pompignan, archbishop of Vienne, and of Champion de Cicé, archbishop of Bordeaux. Some publicists contend that Mgr. de Pompignan counselled the king to sign the Constitution; the other prelate certainly did so advise, and ever afterward bitterly repented. Meanwhile the "ecclesiastical committee" of the National Assembly were threatening Louis with the displeasure "of the nation"; and hence, after many postponements, on Aug.

(1) *History of the French Revolution*, bk. 3, p. 229. Paris, 1823.

(2) *Discourse in the Chamber*, Dec. 4, 1867.

24 the Civil Constitution of the Clergy received the royal assent. Had the great body of the French clergy now remained silent, Catholicism would have been, in all probability, ruined in France. But the French episcopacy remained true to its glorious traditions. On Oct. 30 there appeared an *Exposition of Principles Concerning the Civil Constitution of the Clergy*, which had been written by Boisgelin, archbishop of Aix, and signed by thirty episcopal members of the National Assembly, with Cardinal de La Rochefoucauld at their head. It was a calm but thorough condemnation of the impious act of the Assembly; and since it was signed also, as soon as possible, by one hundred and ten other bishops (1), it was accepted as the authoritative judgment of the French Church on the vexatious matter. However, the revolutionary party in the Assembly succeeded in passing, on Nov. 27, a decree which Mirabeau had proposed, declaring that all the bishops and pastors, who would not have subscribed to the Constitution within eight days, would be regarded as having resigned their positions (2). Then a delay until Jan. 4, 1791, was granted to the ecclesiastical members of the Assembly. When the period for reflection had passed, out of the three hundred ecclesiastical deputies, sixty submitted, with the famous Gregoire at their head (3). A few days afterward, thirty-

(1) A few of these were foreigners, whose dioceses extended into France.

(2) Toward the end of his life, Mirabeau said that he had proposed the oath to the Constitution, in the hope that the measure would encounter a vigorous resistance. He declared that having perceived that the disorder in the Assembly was irremediable, he had deemed it wise to increase that disorder, so as to accelerate the dissolution of the half-insane body. *Memoirs of Malouet*. Paris, 1820.

(3) On July 9, 1790, during the discussion as to the ceremony of taking the oath, which was to occur on the 14th, the bishop of Clermont said: "Gentlemen, together with all the individuals of the nation, we are about to renew our oath to be faithful to that nation, as well as to the law and to the king. Where is the Frenchman, nay, where is the Christian, who will hesitate in taking an oath consecrated by every principle? I declare myself ready, if it be necessary, to sign it with my blood. . . . But, gentlemen, while I remember all that I owe to Cæsar, I cannot hide from myself all that I owe to God. In all that belongs to civil, political, and temporal concerns, I must swear to uphold the Constitution; but a law which is superior to every human law compels me to proclaim loudly that in my civic oath I shall not intend to cover matters which belong entirely to the spiritual authority. Any appearance of including such matters would be a great scandal. . . . I beg you to perceive that the exception which I make is really a guarantee of my fidelity to that which I shall swear to observe." When the bishop finished his protestation, all the bishops of the Right, and very many of the lay and priestly deputies, signified their agreement with his sentiments. On Jan. 4, 1791, Gregoire affected to believe that the Assembly had no intention of entrenching on the purely spiritual. "It is certain that the purely spiritual is

six other ecclesiastics imitated these ; but twenty-five of them soon retracted. On Jan. 9, the oath was tendered to the parish clergy of Paris ; more than three-fourths refused to swear. In the provinces, five-sixths of the clergy spurned the Constitution. In fine, so admirable was the fidelity of the great body of the clergy, that Mirabeau exclaimed : " We have their money ; but they have preserved their honor." Only four bishops, out of the hundred and thirty-five then in France, were derelict ; namely, the Cardinal de Brienne, archbishop of Sens, whom Pius VI. afterward expelled from the Sacred College ; Savines, bishop of Viviers, who after some years of extravagancies as constitutional bishop of L'Ardèche, declared that he must have been crazy (1), and retracted ; Talleyrand de Perigord, bishop of Autun ; and Jarente, bishop of Orleans. On Jan. 25, 1791, without any pretense of consent from the ordinaries of the *consecrandi*, without any commission from the Roman Pontiff, without any previous Profession of Faith, and in spite of the protests of the bishops and Chapters on whose rights he thus trampled, Talleyrand consecrated, in the church of the Oratory at Paris, Expilly as bishop of the Finisterre, and Marolles, as bishop of L'Aisne (2). The assistant consecrators were Gobel, (a Swiss) titular-bishop of Lydda, and Miroudot, bishop of Babylon (3). From that time the sacrilegious conse-

outside of its province ; the Assembly has always proclaimed this principle, and has always applauded its defenders. The Assembly does not demand an interior assent to the law ; it does not judge consciences." *Mercur de France*, July 24, 1790, and Jan. 8, 1791.

(1) In fact, he was for several years confined in the asylum at Charenton.

(2) Probably this church was chosen for the ceremony because Polret, the superior of the Oratory in Paris, had taken the oath. He had also accepted the pastorship of Saint-Sulpice.

(3) As an indication of the character of Gobel, we submit the pastoral which, in his capacity of constitutional " bishop of Paris," he issued on the death of Mirabeau : " J. B. F. Gobel, heretofore, by the divine mercy and the grace of the Apostolic See, bishop of Lydda ; but now, because of the Constitution, the grace of the voters, and the decision of the tribunal, bishop of Paris ; to all the citizens of our diocese, health and benediction, by order of the law, the nation, and the king. While we were engaged on the pastoral which we had designed to address to you, an awful calamity troubled our meditations. To the chants of joy and triumph which we were preparing for your hearing, have succeeded the plaintive accents of grief ; and the national hymn, the *Ca ira*, which was so sweet to us when we repeated it with you, is now replaced by the funeral cry, ' He is no more.' That incomparable man, who was formed for our century, is no more. . . . If you owe to him that peaceable and radiant life which you now enjoy, we, dear brethren, owe to him that ministry which we now exercise *canonically* on the banks of the Seine, instead of exercising it, as once we did, miserably and without glory, amid the rocks and snows of Switzerland. . . . When we first came here, we were filled with abominable prejudices which alarmed our conscience ; *or we had been nurtured in the study of theology, and we had false ideas

crations continued ; the lately consecrated transmitting their jurisdictionless episcopal character for the perdition of conscienceless men like themselves. Before the end of the year 1791, every department of France had its schismatic bishop in opposition to its legitimate one ; for as yet very few of the latter had been compelled to flee into exile. Each constitutional prelate adopted every means to surround himself with priests of his own stamp ; and when he found that the number of Jansenist Frenchmen and apostate Germans (of these latter, says Pacca, there were very many who were ready to sustain the new church) fell short, he ordained any poor starveling who was but too glad to sustain life with the spoils of the sanctuary. On March 10, 1791, Pius VI. addressed a Brief to the episcopal members of the Assembly ; and on April 13, another to the other bishops, and to the clergy and people of France ; condemning and annulling all the proceedings of the schismatics. Such of the unfortunates as had acted in good faith, and it would seem that there were many of these, now opened their eyes, and returned to the fold of unity ; but the majority devised innumerable pretexts in justification of their schism. France was deluged with pamphlets attacking, now the form of the Papal Briefs, then their authenticity ; but the refutations of these sophisms were so convincing, that at length those alone were deceived who wished to be deceived. Certain of the legitimate bishops, uniting love of Church and of country with a sublime humility, surmised that peace might be given to their sorely-tried flocks, if they were to resign their croziers in favor of the intruders ; and when the idea was broached, all the prelates who had signed the *Exposition of Principles* wrote to the Pontiff, begging him to accept their resignations, if he deemed such a course apt to conduce, in the slightest degree, to the welfare of souls.

concerning those phrases, Catholic communion, ecclesiastical authority, the Apostolic Roman Chair, etc. . . . But with what zeal the eloquent Mirabeau dissipated this darkness, and banished our insane scruples !" (*Parliamentary History*, vol. ix., cited by Jager, in his *History of the Church of France During the Revolution*, vol. ii., p. 265. Paris, 1862). Miroudot had been a Cistercian, and in 1776 had been made bishop of Babylon by the Propaganda. He went no nearer to his diocese than Aleppo ; then he returned to Paris, where, until he joined the Constitutionals, he aided the archbishop in certain episcopal functions.

Pius VI. replied that the proposed sacrifice would, in the circumstances then subsisting, cause error to triumph, rather than to depose its pretensions. The rest of the history of the Constitutional Church of France is involved in that of the Revolution, and is easily attainable by the student; we shall merely say a few words concerning two points which are seldom noticed by the histories in vogue—the open apostasy of most of the Constitutional clergy, and the manner of their deaths. On Nov. 7, 1793, three days before that horrible profanation which was termed the Feast of Reason, the president of the Convention read to the members a letter from the municipal authorities of Paris, stating that they were about to accompany the *ci-devant* bishop of the capital and his *ci-devant* clergy to the Convention, where those individuals, "of their own accord, would exhibit a striking and sincere homage to Reason and to eternal justice." When Gobel and his followers entered the hall, a representative of the municipality announced that the *ci-devant* clergymen would now "despoil themselves of that character which superstition had impressed upon them." Then the miserable Gobel made the following declaration: "Born a plebeian, my heart soon received the principles of liberty and equality. . . . Now that the nation is marching so swiftly toward a happy revolution; now that it is about to profess no other public and national religion than that of liberty and holy equality, because the sovereign (people) wishes it so to be; I, consistent with my principles, submit myself to the national will, and I do now here loudly proclaim that henceforth I renounce the functions of a minister of the Catholic worship. The citizens, my vicars, now here present, join with me in this act. *Vive la république!*" (1). When Gobel and thirteen of his vicars had signed this attestation amid the frenzied plaudits of the Conventionals, the president congratulated the apostates: "Citizens, having sacrificed these playthings of superstition (2) on the altar of the country, you are worthy of the republic. Citizens, having abjured error,

(1) Our account of these proceedings is taken from the *Procès-Verbaux of the Convention*, vol. xxv.-xxvii.; and from the *Moniteur* describing the sessions of the xvii. Brumaire, and the following days, year 2.

(2) Alluding to the episcopal ring and cross which Gobel had laid on the "altar."

you will now and ever inculcate the moral and social virtues. That is the religion which is agreeable to the Supreme Being ; and now you are worthy of Him." Then the red cap was brought to Gobel ; and he placed it on his head (1). Several priests and bishops, all Constitutionals, now succeeded each other in the tribune, all protesting that Reason was the sole object of their worship. Lindet, Constitutional bishop of L'Eure, called the attention of the Convention to the fact that "he had never taught anything but morality ; that he had been the first of the bishops to 'marry.' " During the next few weeks, there were read from the tribune many notifications of apostasy, which had arrived from all parts of France—all so many instances of the truth concerning which ecclesiastical history is so eloquent, that in the matter of clerical disobedience to Church authority, "abyss calls on abyss." It is worthy of note that very many of these unfortunates became victims of the fever which they had helped to excite. Fauchet, Constitutional bishop of Calvados, had been guillotined with the Girondins a few days before the apostasy of Gobel ; but shortly before the fatal moment he had been reconciled to the Church, and had reconciled several of his companions. Gobel himself, condemned in 1794, and being unable to procure the attendance of a priest, sent a retraction in writing to the Abbé Lothringer, begging him to be at the gate of the Conciergerie, in order to give him absolution, as he went forth to death. Lamourette, Constitutional bishop of Saône-et-Loire, guillotined in Jan., 1795, had made his retraction some months previously, in the hands of the Abbé Emery ; and on the scaffold he declared that he accepted his fate "as a just chastisement of the divine justice." We read nothing concerning the sentiments with which the scaffold was mounted by the Constitutional bishops, Gouttes of Bouches-du-Rhône, Marcel de Loménie of L'Yonne, and several others. As for

(1) Gregoire, in his *History of Religious Sects*, a work in which he tries to palliate the guilt of his companions, says that when, on the day before this scene, Clooz and Pereira urged Gobel to abandon his errors in a public manner, the prelate replied that he knew of no errors in his religion. Then, says Gregoire, they remarked that there was no question of principle in the matter ; that he was merely asked to yield to the will of the people, who wanted no more of his functions. "If that is the will of the people," replied Gobel, "certainly the people elected me, and now they dismiss me."

those who survived the horrors of the One and Indivisible Republic, nearly all were in time reconciled with the Church (1).

Although the scope of our work precludes any attention to the general details of the French Revolution, we must not omit a brief narrative of the sufferings entailed upon the clergy who refused to swear fealty to the Civil Constitution. The month of May, 1792, beheld the prisons of France filled with non-juring ecclesiastics; in the prison of Laval alone there were confined more than four hundred. On May 26, the Assembly condemned all the recalcitrants to deportation; the measure having been adopted principally because of the insistence of Roland, the Minister of the Interior whom the factious had forced on Louis XVI., and having been opposed by not one of the Constitutional episcopal members, or by those Girondins whom ignorance designates as moderate. But the king, sorely beset though he was, placed his veto on the decree; and when Roland, yielding to the vanity of his wife, read before the Royal Council a letter (which probably she had composed) in which His Majesty was told in very insolent terms that he could not refuse his sanction (2), the minister, and his colleagues, Servan and Clavière,

(1) Among the priestly Constitutionalists who became victims of the revolutionary guillotine which they themselves had glutted with innocent blood, was Joseph Lebon, an ex-Oratorian, who became head of the tribunal of Arras, his native city, and was accustomed to assist, in company with his "wife," at each of the hundreds of executions which he had ordered. The fall of Robespierre caused him to be guillotined on Oct. 9, 1795. Dumesnoy, representative of the people with the Army of the North, distinguished himself for republican exaggerations; and having taken part in the Jacobin insurrection of May, 1795, and having been condemned to death, he stabbed himself in prison. Chabot, a Capuchin, and vicar for Gregoire at Blois, was one of those who voted for the death of the king. He incurred the enmity of Robespierre, and when he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, he poisoned himself; but before death supervened, he was thrust under the axe, on April 5, 1794. Simond, episcopal vicar at Strasburg, was executed as an accomplice of Gobel on April 13, 1794. Jacques Roux, who had been suspended before the Revolution, became one of the constitutional clergy of Saint-Sulpice; and he accompanied Louis XVI. to the scaffold, conducting himself in a most brutal manner. Having been condemned to death for robbery, he escaped the guillotine by stabbing himself on Jan. 7, 1794. We have already met George Schneider, the German Franciscan who was one of the Josephist professors in the University of Bonn. Emigrating to France at the outbreak of the Revolution, he was made episcopal vicar of Strasburg by the Constitutional bishop. During the Terror he officiated as public accuser for Alsace; and he never travelled unaccompanied by the guillotine. His monstrous excesses revolted even the tyrants at Paris; and he was executed on April 2, 1794.

(2) The following passage is sufficiently indicative of the tenor of this document. "The conduct of the priests, the pretexts which fanaticism furnishes to the malcontents, have caused the passage of a wise law against the disturbers. Let this law be sanctioned by

were dismissed from the cabinet. Roland laid his letter before the Assembly; and that body declared that "the regrets of the nation" followed his dismissal. Then began, throughout France, that exhibition of "popular" hatred for the "reactionary" clergy which was to culminate in the decree of Aug. 26, and the consequent massacre of Sept 2 (1). On Aug. 10, the king and his family were imprisoned in the Temple, and all power now resided in the Assembly, or rather in that invention of the Jacobin Club, the Commune of Paris, to which the Assembly perforce submitted. Acting in concert with the Minister of Justice, Danton, the Commune erected the guillotine in the Place du Carrousel; and during the night of Aug. 29-30, domiciliary visits were made throughout the capital in order to provide the victims. When the prisons of Les Carmes and of Saint-Firmin were filled, the unfortunates were thrust into La Force and the Abbey of Saint-Germain. The populace was prepared for the tragedy to come by a rumor that all the prisoners had

Your Majesty; the public tranquillity demands that sanction, and the safety of the priests calls for it. If this law is not enforced, the departments will find themselves compelled to substitute for it those violent measures which have been adopted already in many places."

(1) On June 4, Raynan, archdeacon of Senez, accompanied by two canons, left Senez in order to escape the persecution of the Constitutionals. On the 6th, having arrived at Saus-ses, the three were seized by the police; and they were being led to prison, when a band of soldiers fell upon them, beat them cruelly, and threw Raynan into the Var. When he was dragged forth, it was found that one of his legs was broken, and that his other limbs were dislocated. The brutes continued to beat him, and he died under their blows, saying: "I forgive you" (CARON; *Confessors of the Faith*, vol. i., p. 1. Paris, 1842). On July 13, Langoiran, grand-vicar of Bordeaux, together with a prebendary named Dupuy, and a Carmelite named Pannetier, were seized by the police. Pannetier escaped; but the others were massacred in the courtyard of the archiepiscopal palace (JAGER; *loc. cit.*, vol. iii.). At Baune, in the Ardèche, on July 12, the pastor, Pradon, and another priest named Naval, fell under the sabres of infuriated soldiers. On the 13th, at the same place, La Bastide, a canon of Uzès, was shot to death. On the 14th, at Naves, the anniversary of the glorious Revolution was celebrated by the slaughter of eight priests who had fled to that quiet spot, and had been received warmly by the inhabitants (GUILLOX; *Martyrs of the Faith*, Paris, 1840). On the 20th, at Clairac, Lartigne, a priest who had devoted an immense patrimony to the poor, was murdered with circumstances of inconceivable barbarity (CARON; *loc. cit.*, p. 153). On the 23d, at Marseilles, two Minims, Miratte and Tassy, who were exercising their ministry in secret among the poor, were discovered by some of the "clubbists," dragged to the Hotel de Ville, and there stabbed and hung, despite the intercession of the Constitutional bishop of Bouches-du-Rhône. A few days afterward these same Marseillaise "clubbists" beat and then hung, at Manosque in Provence, a septuagenarian Franciscan named Ponthion, the Abbés Pochet and Reyra, and a parish-priest named Vial (*Martyrs of the Faith*, art. Pochet; *Confessors of the Faith*, vol. i., p. 25). At Belesme, the Abbé Duportail was dragged to the public square, asked whether he would renounce the Pope, and then pontfarded. In Normandy, at Pont-Ecrepin, the Abbé Saint-Martin was first tortured, and then shot to death (*Ibid*).

conspired to aid the Prussians, who were already in Champagne; while the brave Parisians were making ready to withstand the foreigner, it would be madness to expose themselves to an attack from those intestine enemies "who yearned to destroy their women and children." On the morning of Sept. 2, it was reported that the enemy was at the gates of Verdun; all the citizens were called to arms; a ferocious band of Marseillais and other desperadoes, many of them just freed from prison for the purpose, were armed and designated for the destruction of the domestic "enemies of the Republic." The firing of a cannon was the signal for the guards at the Hotel de Ville to march all their prisoners, arranged in three columns, either to the Abbaye, or to La Force, or to the Conciergerie. The massacre began at the Abbaye. The infernal work was superintended by commissaries of the Commune, wearing their municipal scarfs. The best authors differ as to the number of persons slaughtered at the Abbaye; Jager says that the official list records 216, of whom 86 were priests; the *Religious Annals* puts the number of priests at 60; while Guillon says that there were only about 40. Authorities differ also as to the number of priests murdered at Les Carmes and La Force. Records in the Hotel de Ville put the number killed at the former place at 120; but a few hours after the event, Fauchet, Constitutional bishop of Calvados, told the Assembly that 200 priests had fallen at Les Carmes. Among those who succumbed here were the two brothers La Rochefaucauld, bishops of Saintes and Poitiers. On the following day, pike, dagger, or club, continued their inauguration of the untrammelled reign of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, at the Seminary of Saint-Firmin. Here at least 74 priests were despatched; many being only half-killed in the building, and then thrown out of the windows, to be the sport of the mob below, until their last breath was exhaled with, in many instances, the words, "God, forgive them; for they know not what they do!" The official lists of the Republic give the number of victims of the September massacres in Paris, counting also those slaughtered in the asylums of Bicêtre and the Salpêtrière, as only 1,458; but whether or

not this estimate be correct, it seems to be certain that over 400 priests received on those terrible days the crown of martyrdom (1). There is no exaggeration in this qualification of these priestly victims; for each one would have saved his life, and would perhaps have been "honored" by the Republic, had he taken the abominable oath which was tendered to him as the fatal weapon was poised above him. The blood of these martyrs was still flowing when the Commune of Paris, through its "Committee of Execution and Surveillance," sent to every municipality in France the following invitation to general massacre: "The Commune of Paris hastens to inform those of all the departments that some of the *ferocious conspirators*, confined in our prisons, have been put to death by the people—an act of justice, which seemed to be necessary in order to terrify the legions of traitors who were within our walls at the very moment when we were starting to meet the enemy. Undoubtedly the entire nation will immediately adopt the same useful and necessary means." This provocation to assassination was signed by Duplaix, Panis, Sergent, Lenfant (2), Jourdeuil, Marat, Deforgues, Leclerc, Dusor, and Cailly; and was countersigned by Danton, as Minister of Justice (3). In many districts the invitation was spurned; but in too many others, notably in Versailles, Rheims, Meaux, and Lyons, the sanguinary scenes of the capital were reproduced. But thousands of faithful priests continued to exercise their functions, through the aid of devoted persons who hid them from the hunters; and shortly after the execution of Louis XVI., the Convention began a systematic search for the

(1) Granier de Cassagnac, searching in the archives of the Hotel de Ville for the secrets of this massacre, found indisputable proofs that the Committee of Execution had hired nearly three hundred abandoned wretches to do their work; that these murderers were kept continually drunk during their labors; and that they were paid twenty-four francs a day. See Cassagnac's *History of the Girondins and of the September Massacres*. Paris, 1860.

(2) This Lenfant was a brother to a Jesuit of that name, whom the Committee of Execution believed to be the confessor of the king, and who had been confined in the Abbaye at the time of the massacre. Maillard, who superintended the slaughter at the Abbaye, received an order to spare none of the prisoners, "excepting Father Lenfant, who was to be put in a safe place." On Sept. 5, friends succeeded in smuggling the Jesuit from the prison; but while they were taking him through the Rue Bussy, he was recognized by spies of the Committee, and having been returned to the Abbaye, he was immediately murdered.

(3) PAPON; *History of the Revolution*, vol. iv., p. 277. Paris, 1801.

"enemies of society." From all parts of France priests were marched to the seaports, the intention being to cast them on the shores of Guiana, or to abandon them in the wilds of Africa. Two-thirds died before the arrival of the ships which were to carry them to a living death; they had been thrown into dungeons reeking with filth, or had been assigned to tasks which were beyond their strength. Many priests, however, succeeded in reaching some foreign land which accorded to them a willing hospitality. The Roman Pontiff especially welcomed many of these confessors of the faith; and cardinals, prelates, patricians, and monasteries, vied with each other in doing them honor. In Spain, the bishop of Orense, Pedro de Queveda, gave sustenance to more than two hundred; Cardinal Lorenzana, archbishop of Toledo, supported five hundred for many years. The Low Countries and Switzerland also welcomed many; and during the years 1792 and 1793 seven thousand landed in England, where their zeal and constancy dissipated many Protestant prejudices, and caused many conversions to the true faith (1). In no country, however, were the French priestly exiles so gladly welcomed as in Poland; there the nobility and gentry found in them excellent tutors for their children. Canada gained much by the exile of so many French ecclesiastics; and much of the early progress of Catholicism in the United States must be ascribed to the same cause (2).

(1) For interesting details concerning this priestly emigration, see the *Memoirs for the History of the Persecution*, by the Abbé d'Auribeau. Rome, 1794.

(2) We have abstained from any reflections on the French Revolution, unless when treating of matters which immediately concern the Church; and we shall pursue the same course when we describe the pontificate of Pius VII. As compensation for a seeming neglect, we present the following observations of one of the most judicial minds of our century: "In the latter part of the past century, there appeared in French society a movement of ideas, of which we cannot yet foresee the ultimate consequences. Down to that time, nations had indeed modified the conditions of their public life to a certain extent, according to the needs of the day, and the state of the minds of men; and in the long course of her history, France herself had not failed, on many occasions, to accommodate her civil and political life to new conditions of things. In reforms such as these were, reforms inspired by justice and accomplished with wisdom, there is nothing which is not conformable with the designs of Providence, and with the natural order of things. But that a nation should suddenly cut itself away from its entire past, instantaneously making a *tabula rasa* of its government, its laws, and its institutions, in order to build a new social edifice—new from foundation to roof—and without taking into consideration either right or tradition; that a nation reputed to be at the head of all nations, should declare to the whole world that it had pursued a wrong path for twelve centuries, that it had always been mistaken in regard to

its genius and its mission; that there had been neither justice nor legitimacy in all that had constituted its grandeur and glory; that all was to be begun anew, and that it would never again take rest until every vestige of its past history would have disappeared; a spectacle so strange had never been beheld by men. But was it indeed the will of the nation, in 1787, that France should tear up her glorious history, in a moment of anger, in order to plunge herself into a terrible unknown? By no means. I have just read attentively the *cahiers* (the official instructions of the electors to the deputies in the States General) in which the clergy, the nobles, and the Third Estate, had given a free and sincere expression of their sentiments and desires; for, 'no elections were ever more truly free than those of 1789' (So admits Chassin, the ultra panegyrist of the Revolution, in his *Genius of the Revolution*, vol. i., p. 217. Paris, 1863). Here all agree in preserving the foundations of French society; monarchical government, the inviolability of the person of the king, and the hereditary of the crown from male to male; the Catholic religion being dominant, that is, alone having the right of public worship (See *The Cahiers of 1789*, by Leon de Poncins, p. 146. Paris, 1886). None of these things are questioned in any of the *cahiers*; and the Third Estate is not the least enthusiastic when there is an opportunity to exhibit devotion to royalty (Chassin admits this fact, p. 240). It is therefore absolutely true that the idea of a radical revolution is totally absent in the *cahiers* which were prepared by the intellectual *élite* of the nation, and which were approved by the deliberate and free votes of the electors. In those *cahiers* you must search, if you wish to know the veritable sentiments cherished by the French nation on the eve of 1789. As Mounier said: 'They wished to destroy abuses, not to overthrow the throne'; they wished to introduce reforms, not to effect a revolution. Yes, they wished to destroy abuses, and there were grave and numerous ones. They wished to work reforms, and unanimously and in accordance with right—reforms in matter of privileges, which once conduced to the general welfare, but which, for the greater part, had not then the olden reason for their existence; reforms in the matter of partition and collection of taxes; and above all, a reform by restoring the true principles of the French Constitution—the consent of the nation to the levy of a tax; and a participation of the nation, through its representatives, in the framing of legislation, according to the old maxim, *Lex consensu populi fit, et constitutione regis*. Behold the real aspirations of every class of French society, toward the close of the last century. . . . No one dreamed of maintaining the abuses; every one wished for the actuation of the reforms. At no time, and in no country, had there been seen, on the part of any government or political body, so much good will and generosity in regard to a pacific transformation of the social state. The enthusiasm did not pause to reflect; witness that night of Aug. 4, when the nobility and clergy sacrificed their privileges without restriction, without any reservation of acquired rights, and therefore at the risk of violating justice and equity in the case of others who were interested in the question. But long before that event, and without any outside pressure, the hitherto privileged orders had spontaneously and solemnly renounced every exemption in matter of taxes (PRUDHOMME; *Summary of the Cahiers*, vol. i., p. 197, and vol. ii., p. 182). The clergy especially, recognizing "the needs of the state, which form the supreme law," had insisted on being subjected to the same pecuniary charges which weighed on the other orders. Many of the *cahiers* expressed the wish that daily laborers should be exempt from every tax; and that in no case whatever, the poor man should be deprived of the tools needed for his work, or of the furniture needed by his family. . . . Every sincere patriot should ask himself this question: What would be the condition of France to-day, if the reform movement of 1789, as indicated in its grand outlines by the *cahiers*, had followed its natural course, instead of giving place to permanent revolution; if traditional institutions, rejuvenated and strengthened, had developed progressively, according to the needs and interests of the country; if the government had not oscillated between dictatorship and anarchy, as it has done for the last hundred years, but had rather maintained the just equilibrium in which the general desire would have placed it; if, sparing itself ten revolutions and thirty years of—albeit glorious wars, the French nation had known how to profit by the marvellous resources with which Providence has deigned to endow it? No one possessing political acumen will hesitate in agreeing with us when we say that if the reform movement of 1789 had been actuated under such conditions, France would have then given the tone to all Christian Europe, and that to-day she would be at the head of the entire world. . . . All the civil and political reforms—I mean the useful, serious, and legitimate ones—which have been accomplished since 1789, have had

absolutely nothing in common with the French Revolution. The *cahiers* of the clergy, of the nobility, and of the Third Estate, demonstrate that all those reforms would have been effected more surely, more wisely, and more efficaciously, without the Revolution. . . . Do we advise a reaction against the revolutionary movement of 1789? Undoubtedly; for the salvation of France depends on that reaction—on a reaction both profound and vigorous; a reaction of realities against illusions and fictions; a reaction of experience against a series of lamentable deceptions; a reaction of principles against an absence of all doctrine; a reaction of hereditary and national right against the usurpations of force; a reaction of Christianity against atheists and materialists; a reaction of a country which wishes to live against the debilitating causes which would eventually kill it. If present evils and the threats of the future produce this result, we may bless God and thank men for them. As for me, I can conceive but one formula for deliverance: to bid farewell to all revolutionary ideas, and then to resume unhesitatingly, and with firmness, the reforming movement of 1789." *The Centennial of 1789, by Mgr. Freppel, Bishop of Angers, and Deputy from Finisterre.* Paris, 1889.



APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Of the Roman Pontiffs, Rulers of Principal Nations, Principal Councils, Ecclesiastical Writers, and Sectarians.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

<i>Popes. Date of Election.</i>	<i>Holy Rom. Empr's. Date of Death.</i>	<i>Kings of France. Date of Death.</i>	<i>Kings of Spain. Date of Death.</i>
Leo XI., 1605	Rudolph II., 1612	Henry IV., 1610	Philip III., 1621
Paul V., 1605	Mathias., 1619	Louis XIII., 1643	Philip IV., 1665
Gregory XV., 1621	Ferdinand II., 1637	Louis XIV., 1715	Charles II., 1700
Urban VIII., 1623	Ferdinand III., 1657		
Innocent X., 1644	Leopold I., 1705	<i>Kings of Naples. Date of Death.</i>	<i>Czars of Russia. Date of Death.</i>
Alexander VII., 1655			
Clement IX., 1667	<i>Kings of England. Date of Death.</i>		
Clement X., 1670		Philip II. of Spain, III., 1621	Boris Godounov, 1605
Innocent XI., 1676			Feodor I., 1605
Alexander VIII., 1689	Elizabeth., 1603	Philip III., of Spain, IV., 1665	Vassily V., 1612
Innocent XII., 1691	James I., 1625		Michael Romanov, 1645
Clement XI., 1700	Charles I., 1649	Charles IV., of Sicily, III., of Spain, II., 1700	Alexis., 1676
	Charles II., 1685		Feodor II., 1682
	James II., dep., 1688		Peter I., 1725

Ecclesiastical Writers: Baronio, Bellarmine, Molina, Du Perron, St. Francis De Sales, Thomas de Lemos, Alvarez, Sirmond, Petau, Morin, De Marca, Bollandus, Labbe, Bossuet, Fénelon, Bourdaloue, Massillon, Mabillon, Ruinart, Fléchier, Richard Simon, Fleury, Baluze, Huet, Le Nain de Tillemont, Pagi, Combessis, Thomassin, Noris, Segneri.

Councils: About 50.

Sectarians: The Puritans in England. Bains. Arminius. Gomar. Presbyterians in Scotland. Illuminati in Spain, afterward in France. Quakers. Preadamites. Jansenists. Quietists.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

<i>Popes. Date of Election.</i>	<i>Holy Rom. Empr's. Date of Death.</i>	<i>Kings of France. Date of Death.</i>	<i>Kings of Spain. Date of Death.</i>
Innocent XIII., 1721	Leopold I., 1705	Louis XIV., 1715	Philip V., 1746
Benedict XIII., 1724	Joseph I., 1711	Louis XV., 1774	Charles III., 1788
Clement XII., 1730	Charles VI., 1740	Louis XVI., 1793	Charles IV. forced by Napoleon to abdicate in 1808
Benedict XIV., 1749	Charles VII., 1745	Louis XVII., (Said to have died in) 1795	
Clement XIII., 1758	Francis I., 1765		
Clement XIV., 1769	Maria-Teresa, 1780		
Pius VI., 1775	Joseph II., 1790	Constituent Assembly.	<i>Czars of Russia. Date of Death.</i>
Pius VII., 1800	Leopold II., 1792	Legislative Assembly. Convention. Directory.	
<i>Kings of England. Date of Death.</i>	<i>Kings of Prussia. Date of Death.</i>		Peter I., 1725
William and Mary reign together until the latter dies in 1694; then William is sole monarch until his death in 1702	Frederick I., first king of Prussia, proclaimed in 1700, died in 1713		Catharine I., 1727
Anne., 1714	Fred. Wm. I., 1740		Peter II., 1730
George I., 1727	Frederick II., 1786		Anna., 1740
George II., 1760	Fred. Wm. II., 1797		Ivan VI., 1741
George III., 1820			Elizabeth., 1761
			Peter III., 1762
			Catharine II., 1796
			Paul., 1801

Ecclesiastical Writers: Ballerini, Mansi, De Colonia, Gotti, Muratori, Concina, Benedict XIV., Orsi, St. Liguori, Mamachi, Litta, Daubel, Tournely, Grancolas, Le Quien, Longueval, De Tourmenine, De Montfaucon, Martene, Languet, Billuart, Calmet, Witasse, Collet, Berthier, Bergier, Berault-Bercastel, Nonotte, Feller.

Councils: About 130.

Sectarians: Quesnel. The Appellants. The Philosophists. The Schismatics of the "Constitutional Church" of France.

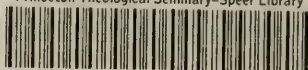
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IN
CHURCH HISTORY

BY
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“That a theologian should be well versed in history, is shown by the fate of those who, through ignorance of history, have fallen into error. Whenever we theologians preach, argue, or explain Holy Writ, we enter the domain of history.”—

MELCHIOR CANUS, *Loc. Theol.*, B. XI., c. ii.

JOHN JOSEPH McVEY
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STUDIES IN CHURCH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE PONTIFICATE OF PIUS VII.

On Dec. 30, 1797, two days after the death of General Duphot, a catastrophe which promised to entail the most serious consequences on the government of the Pope-King (1), Pope Pius VI. issued the Consistorial Bull (2) *Christi Ecclesiæ regendæ munus*, providing for the contingencies which would probably occur, if, as seemed probable, he should die in a foreign land, and if the members of the Sacred College should be dispersed (3): "We wish and command that after the demise of the Sovereign Pontiffs (4), such of the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church as are present at the time shall assemble immediately. They will then examine the situation, and determine whether the Conclave shall be held in the customary place, or whether it be preferable to not fix on any place for the assembly. They will also determine whether the entrance into Conclave shall be hastened or deferred. All will obey the voice of the majority." When Pius VI. had been dragged from Rome by the troops of the One and Indivisible French Republic, and the cardinals had fled to various hospitable countries, this Bull was regarded as insufficient; and accordingly, the Pontiff issued from Florence, on Nov. 13, 1798, the Constitution *Quum nos superiori anno*, whereby the following dispositions were promulgated. Derogating from the Constitutions of his prede-

(1) See our Vol. iv., p. 573.

(2) So termed because it was signed by all the cardinals present in the Consistory.

(3) These measures were supposed not to be divulged; but the *Nouvelliste Politique* of Paris, in its issue of the iv. Messidor, An vi. (July 2, 1798), gave a synopsis of the Bull.

(4) The Latin text of the Bull uses the plural; and so does Baldassari in his Italian translation. It would seem, therefore, that Pius VI. anticipated a prolonged exile of the Papacy from its legitimate seat.

cessors, His Holiness dispensed the cardinals from all the usual formalities of a Conclave which do not involve the validity of an election. Reflecting on the peculiar circumstances of his situation, the Pontiff abolished the law which prohibited their Eminences from debating, during the life of a Pope, on their future choice of his successor ; he expressly allowed them to come to an agreement as to everything pertaining to the imminent Conclave, enjoining on them, however, not to publish, before they really met for the election, the name of the cardinal on whose elevation they might have agreed. The essentials for a valid election were declared to be those which had hitherto obtained ; the liberty of the cardinals was to be beyond question, and two thirds of the votes would be necessary for a choice. The right and duty of electing the new Pontiff was to belong to the most numerous body of cardinals residing, at the time of the death of Pius VI., in the dominions of some Catholic prince, and to such other cardinals as would join them. Immediately after the demise of His Holiness would have become a matter of certainty, the dean of the Sacred College was to indicate the time and place for the Conclave, and to summon the cardinals to it ; however, if the cardinal-dean should not be, at that time, in the Catholic country wherein the largest number of cardinals was found, the convocation to the Conclave was to be issued by that one of their Eminences who was the most exalted in dignity. That provisions such as these were necessary for the peace of the Church, must be evident to him who remembers that the emissaries of the French Directory had been preaching in Rome the alleged right of the parish-priests, in conjunction with the people of the Eternal City, to elect the successor of Pius VI.; and that the same principle was advanced with much acrimony by the Constitutional clergy of France. The government of the French Republic had resolved on an attempt to prevent any election of a new Pope ; and in case of failure to impede the Conclave, it had taken measures for the election of one in whom it hoped to find a docile instrument of its policy. Cretineau-Joly, in his French translation of the *Memoires* of Cardinal Consalvi, asserts that Bona-

parte did not pay any attention to the Conclave which elected Pius VII. (1). But it is certain that Bonaparte occupied himself with this Conclave not only while it was being held, and while he was First Consul, but also at as early a date as 1797, when he was commander of the Army in Italy. Writing from Mombello to the Directory on May 26, 1797, he said: "The Pope, citizens-directors, is still unwell. I beg you to send me new powers in reference to the Conclave, so that when it becomes necessary, I may communicate them to the French minister in Rome. We have the right to exclude one cardinal; and that one should be Albani, if he is pushed forward" (2). And on Sept. 29 of the same year, Bonaparte wrote to his brother, Joseph, then ambassador to the Holy See: "If the Pope dies, *you must do all that is possible to prevent the election of another one, and to effect a revolution. . . .* If it is impossible to prevent the election of another Pope, do not permit Cardinal Albani to be named. You must not merely exercise the right of exclusion (in regard to Albani); you must threaten the cardinals, declaring that I will march immediately on Rome" (3). Bonaparte was then encamped at Passeriano. And would Cretineau Joly have us believe that when Bonaparte was all-powerful and all-directing as First Consul, he was unaware that on Feb. 18, 1800, while the Conclave of Venice was still debating, Talleyrand communicated the following diplomatic note to Muzquiz, the Spanish ambassador in Paris? "I deem it necessary, M. l'Ambassadeur, to present to you some reflections on an imminent event which will interest both Spain and the French Republic in many ways. An election of a successor to Pius VI. is being made in Venice under the absolute influence of the House of Austria,

(1) See his Note in his Vol. I., p. 270. (2) *Correspondence of Napoleon I.*, III., 65.

(3) Albani, a nephew of Clement XI., had for many years been hostile to all French influence in the Eternal City. In the Conclave of 1775, this hostility had led to an altercation between him and Cardinal de Bernis, who was then also French ambassador to the Holy See. Lifting his biretta from his head, Albani remarked to the Frenchman: "This biretta was not given to me by a courtesan" -- an allusion to the indebtedness of his adversary to the Pompadour. When the revolution of 1789 showed its true colors, Albani used every influence at his command to prevent the spread of its principles in Italy. Therefore it was that Berthier, after his subversion of the pontifical government, in 1798, sequestered all the possessions of the Albani family, among which were the immense treasures of art and literature of the Villa Albani, which were sent to Paris.

and by cardinals who are from countries now ruled by that dynasty (1). Many circumstances combine to render this election illegitimate. It is easy and scarcely necessary to recount here all the reasons which, according to principles which are of sacred authority in this matter, nullify the proceedings of this Conclave. These are the absence of cardinals representing all the Catholic powers; the influence exerted by one alone of those powers; the participation of the two non-Catholic governments of London and St. Petersburg (2); the manifest neglect of the usages and forms hitherto observed in all the Conclaves which have been held in Rome. . . . When the election is completed, undoubtedly it will be communicated to the king of Spain. *The first Consul orders me, M. l'Ambassadeur, to signify to you his opinion that it will be for the interest of the two countries, and in accordance with the obligations which unite them, if His Catholic Majesty refuses to recognize this election*" (3). We may note that the enterprise of Talleyrand, or rather that of Bonaparte, his master, was fruitless; for on March 15, the prime-minister of Spain, Urquijo, wrote to Muzquiz that the election at Venice was proceeding freely and regularly, and that a Spanish cardinal, who had received the instructions of His Catholic Majesty, was one of the electors. "There-

(1) Here the perspicacious Talleyrand erred egregiously. Albani was a Roman. The Duke of York (Henry IX. of England), or as he was more ecclesiastically styled, the Cardinal of York, was a Roman by birth, but always insisted on his English nationality. Antonelli was a pontifical subject, being a native of Sinigaglia. Mattei was a Roman. Carafa di Trajetto was a Neapolitan. Zelada was a Roman, though of Spanish origin. Caccagnini was a Ferrarese, and therefore a papal subject. Archetti, although a native of Brescia in Lombardy, was bishop of Ascoli, a papal city. Doria was a Genoese. Borgia was a native of Velletri, in the Papal States. Caprara was a Bolognese, and therefore a papal subject. Pignatelli was a Neapolitan. Roverella was a Ferrarese. Somaglia was a Piacentino, and therefore a Parmesan. Antonio Doria was a Genoese. Braschi was from Cesena, a papal city. Manry was a Frenchman. Honorati was from the papal town of Jesi. Gioannetti was a Bolognese. Gerdil was a Savoyard, and therefore a subject of the king of Sardinia. Chiaramonti was from Cesena. Lorenzana was a Spaniard. De Pretis was a Piedmontese. Ruffo was a Neapolitan. Therefore, of the thirty-five cardinals in the Conclave of Venice, *twenty-four were subjects of no one of the branches of the House of Austria*. Of the eleven who were subjects of either the Austrian, Tuscan, or Modenese Hapsburgs, ten were Italians, and therefore not apt to favor unduly the desires of the Viennese court. One alone, Herzan de Harras, could be said to be devoted to the Hapsburgs; and he was a Bohemian.

(2) This assertion was a downright lie.

(3) See the valuable collection by Count Boulay de la Meurthe, entitled: *Documents Concerning the Negotiations for the Concordat of 1801, and Concerning Other Relations of France with the Holy See in 1800 and 1801*. Vol. i., p. 2. Paris, 1835.

fore," added the minister, "in conscience and as a matter of good policy, the king cannot avoid a recognition of the Pontiff who will be elected."

Pope Pius VI. having died in his prison at Valence on Aug. 29, 1799, the Catholic world was brought face to face with that question which it had anticipated during the previous two years—where was the Conclave to be held? It might be held in Rome; for the Coalition of 1799, aided by the absence of Bonaparte in Egypt, had momentarily checked the triumphs of the French Republic in Italy, and a Neapolitan army had taken possession of the pontifical capital. At first it seemed that Rome would indeed be chosen as the place for the election; for since France had withdrawn from the Catholic concert in Europe, her olden position of pre-eminence in that concert seemed to have devolved upon the Holy Roman Emperor. And Thugut, the imperial Minister for Foreign Affairs, was favorable to the selection of the Eternal City. However, Francis II. declared that the condition of the papal capital was not as yet sufficiently settled to warrant the Sacred College in proceeding thither; and when Ruffo, the papal nuncio at Vienna, proposed to Thugut that Padua should have the honor of the Conclave, he learned that His Majesty had decided to offer the Benedictine monastery of St. George in Venice for the momentous event (1). The Queen of the Adriatic then harbored more members of the Sacred College than were to be found in any one Catholic state; therefore, by accepting the invitation of the emperor, even though it was prompted by interested motives, their Eminences obeyed the commands of Pius VI. The particulars of this interesting Conclave of Venice, as recorded by the Chevalier Artaud de Montor (2), who had enjoyed the confidence of many of the electors, will undoubtedly satisfy the ordinary reader. The accomplished diplomat was firmly convinced that he had said the last word concerning the election of Pius VII.; he ventured to say: "In order to tell all the truth in regard to the Conclave of 1800,

(1) Letter of Ruffo to Cardinal Antonelli, Sept. 24, 1799.—See also Mgr. Ricard's *Diplomatic Correspondence and Unedited Memoires of Cardinal Maury*. Vol. I., pp. 202, 203, 220.

(2) *History of Pope Pius VII.* Paris, 1836.

it was necessary to speak of it as we have spoken." Nevertheless, the work of Artaud had scarcely appeared, when its exactness, in very many points, was impeached by Baldassari (1), one of the fellow-prisoners of Pius VI., and a prelate whose acquaintance with the papal court rendered him more authoritative than the French *chargé d'affaires*. The conclusions of Baldassari were adopted by Moroni (2). However, more light on the proceedings of the Venetian Conclave was still desired by those who take interest in questions of this nature; and the demand was almost completely satisfied when Cretineau-Joly published his translation of the *Memoires* of Cardinal Consalvi (3). Additional information has been furnished recently by Mgr. Ricard in his publication of the literary remains of Cardinal Maury (4); and now the patient labors of an enterprising Jesuit, Charles Van Duerm, have presented the student of ecclesiastical history with a mass of pertinent documents drawn from the Imperial Archives of Vienna (5). Referring the ambitious reader to these sources of more detailed information, we proceed to a succinct narration of the proceedings in the Conclave of 1800. Thirty-five cardinals took part in this election, unavoidable circumstances having prevented the attendance of the eleven other members of the Sacred College (6). The Conclave began on Dec. 1, 1799; and from the first day it was evident

(1) *Narrative of the Misfortunes and Sufferings of the Glorious Pope Pius VI.* vol. ii., p. 407-421 (Edit. Rom. 1889, vol. v., of the *Collection of Historico-Polemical Works*).

(2) *Dictionary of Historico-Ecclesiastical Erudition.* Articles *Pius VII.*, *Albani*, *Braschi*, *Consalvi*, *Pacca*, etc.

(3) *Memoires of Cardinal Consalvi, With An Introduction and Notes.* Paris, 1864. The Italian original has never been published; why, we cannot tell.

(4) *Diplomatic Correspondence and Unedited Memoires of Cardinal Maury*. Lille, 1891.

(5) *Some More Light on the Conclave of Venice, and on the Commencement of the Pontificate of Pius VII.* Paris, 1896. Both Cardinal Consalvi and Cardinal Maury, and after them Count d'Haussonville (*The Roman Church and the First Empire*, Paris, 1869), find much fault with the conduct of Herzan de Harras, who was the mouthpiece of the emperor, Francis II., in the Conclave. An unprejudiced inspection of the documents revealed by Van Duerm proves that, whatever may have been the personal inclinations of Francis II., the spirit of Kaunitz, that spirit which animated nearly every one of the Holy Roman Emperors of the German line, still survived in Vienna in 1800, and hoped to make capital out of the troubles of the Holy See.

(6) These absentees were the Italians: Gallo, Ranuzzi, and Zurla; the Frenchmen: La Rochefoucauld, Rohan, Montmorency-Laval; the Spaniards: Mendoza, Sentmanat; the Hungarian: Bathyanzi; the Austrian (Tridentine): Migazzi; and the German: Franckenberg.

that the imperialist influences in the Conclave were to be directed toward the election of Alexander Mattei, archbishop of Ferrara. Mattei was a perfect model of episcopal virtue ; but not for that reason had he obtained the preference of the imperial cabinet. He had been one of the papal signatories of the Treaty of Tolentino, by which instrument the Holy See had been forced to cede the three Legations to the conquering French. These Legations were now in the possession of the Austrians ; and the cabinet of Vienna had not the slightest inclination to restore them to the Pontiff. Consalvi shows us how the imperial selection of Mattei as a preferred candidate had been determined by the Austrian greed for ecclesiastical territory : "It must be remembered that the object of the Viennese court, in this election of a new Pope, was to secure for itself, as far as possible, the tranquil possession of the three Legations, which its troops had recently occupied, after the retreat of the French. Concerning this intention of Austria, there were not only the clearest indications, but proofs the most evident and decisive. In order to attain its object, the imperial court wished for a Pope who would confirm in its favor the cession which had been imposed on Pius VI., or at least for a Pope who would not oppose its retention of the provinces when things came to be settled. . . . Remembering that Cardinal Mattei had negotiated and signed the Treaty of Tolentino, the Austrian cabinet imagined that he, less than any other, would attack the instrument, and reduce it to nothing. Supposing that Mattei would condescend to its desires, the court of Vienna tried to advance his candidature, to the exclusion of all others" (1). The manœuvres of the Austrian cabinet are clearly betrayed in the instruction which the emperor gave to his representative in the Conclave, Cardinal Herzan, on Nov. 26, 1799 : "We, Francis II., by the Grace of God Emperor-elect of the Romans, ever August ; King in Germany ; King of Hungary, of Bohemia, of Dalmatia, of Croatia, of Slavonia, of Gallicia, of Lodomeria, and of Jerusalem ; Archduke of Austria, etc. Secret instruction in reference to the future pontifical election, given to His Eminence the Father in God, Francis,

(1) *Loc. cit.*, vol. i., p. 238.

of the Holy Roman Church Cardinal Herzan, of the Holy Roman Empire Count de Harras, Grand-Cross of the Royal Hungarian Order of St. Stephen, Our Active Privy Councilor, and Bishop-elect of Stein. . . . We oppose most seriously the election of any cardinal from the dominions of Spain, Sardinia, Naples, or Genoa ; or of any cardinal who has given proofs of devotion to the interests of any one of the three crowns here mentioned. . . . We extend our exception to all cardinals of French origin, and to all those who have shown any disposition to espouse the cause of France. . . . In a most special manner we formally and absolutely exclude the cardinals Gerdil, Caprara, Antonelli, Maury, and those of the Doria family. . . . Our paternal heart discerns only two cardinals whose qualifications promise a capability to encounter present difficulties ; it is our duty to name them, and we enjoin on the cardinal (Herzan) to display the greatest activity in their favor. In the first place stands Cardinal Mattei, in whom we place more confidence than in any other. We cannot understand how the cardinals could at all reasonably oppose his election. However, if in the course of the Conclave it shall be seen that all our endeavors for the election of Mattei will have been vain, then we inform the cardinal (Herzan) provisorially and confidentially that our second choice is solely Cardinal Valenti (Gonzaga).” Such were the instructions with which Herzan entered the Conclave ; and on Dec. 14, Cardinal Maury wrote to Louis XVIII., then at Mittau : “ When he entered the Conclave, Cardinal Herzan told us that the emperor, since he was master of Italy, wanted a Pope who would suit him. However, we may regard as certain that the king of Naples will oppose the election of an imperial subject, and that he would not restore, at least immediately, the city of Rome to such a Pope.” It would seem that the Austrian cabinet was not averse to a project similar to that which Napoleon afterward devised in his own interests. Maury adds that “ It is even feared that the new Pope, like the duke of Modena, *will be asked to accept, in exchange for his dominions, some compensation in Germany, whither the Holy See would be transferred.*” However, the imperial agent failed to obtain for

his candidate more votes than were cast by the cardinals who followed the leadership of Antonelli. They numbered thirteen; while the twenty-two followers of Braschi, during nearly two months, continually voted for Bellisomi, bishop of Cesena. Then a change was operated in the views of some of the electors; and there appeared a probability of the election of the celebrated Barnabite, Gerdil (1). But this pre-eminently learned and virtuous cardinal was one of those whom the German emperor had "formally and absolutely" excluded; therefore Herzan pronounced his "exclusion," although by so doing the Bohemian lost the opportunity of thereafter protesting against the election of one who might be much more obnoxious to his master. Then two of the Antonelli party announced their intention of joining the ranks of Braschi—a procedure which would have given to Bellisomi the necessary two thirds. Unable to exercise the imperial right of "exclusion" a second time, Herzan urged that since the Conclave was being held in the dominions of the Holy Roman Emperor, it might be well to discover the sentiments of that sovereign, before the electors emitted their definitive votes. Their Eminences deemed it proper to concede this matter of courtesy, and a special courier departed for Vienna. A month passed before the imperial reply was received; and in that space of time an influential prelate, one who was not a member of the Sacred College, destroyed the prospects of both Mattei and Bellisomi, and procured the adhesion of all the cardinals to the candidacy of one whom his enlightened zeal had pronounced

(1) "A scholar of the first rank in nearly every field which is cultivated by the human intellect; a prelate who was worthy of the first ages of the Church; Gerdil was, in these latter days, one of those men who have been the most useful to religion. Ever attentive to this grand object; familiar with no places but his study and his oratory; he preserved his peace of mind amid the storms which agitated his old age. . . . The characteristic of all his works is forceful reasoning, united with wisdom and moderation. Cardinal Gerdil presses his adversaries persistently; but nothing offensive is uttered by him. Ordinarily it is from their own writings that he obtains the weapons with which to combat them. One perceives that it is truth that he seeks, the truth of which he is the champion; it is error alone, not an individual, that he attacks. The most distinguished scholars, even those whose opinions he rejected, deemed his friendship an honor; and all rendered justice to his merit, his modesty, and his knowledge. He astonished all by his immense erudition, and by an extraordinary memory which he preserved to the end. He was so penetrated by Holy Writ, by a knowledge of the Fathers and of the Councils, that he spoke their language admirably and without effort." (MICHAUD; *Biography*, art. *Gerdil*.)

to be the man of the hour. This prelate was Hercules Consalvi, one of the two secretaries of the Conclave, and one of the most striking figures of the Napoleonic period of history (1). The predilections of this statesman were in favor of Cardinal Gregorio Barnaba Chiaramonti, a member of the Benedictine Order, and bishop of Imola. Having triumphed with great difficulty over the diffidence of his favorite, Consalvi gained for him the promises of nineteen votes; and shortly afterward he was assured of the adhesion of the cardinals who followed the lead of Cardinal Maury. On March 14, the election was consummated; every vote, excepting his own, having been cast for Chiaramonti. The new Pontiff assumed the name of Pius VII.

Gregorio Barnaba Chiaramonti was born at Cesena in 1742. Following the example of his mother, who became a Carmelite after the death of her husband, the young Gregorio devoted himself to the monastic life, and when sixteen years

(1) The first Napoleon was pre-eminently a judge of men, and he declared that the magnetic influence exercised by Consalvi merited for him the designation of "Siren of Rome." Born in the Eternal City on June 8, 1757, of an honorable family of Pisan origin, Hercules Consalvi was left an orphan, at the age of nine, to the guardianship of Cardinal Negroni. His first studies were made in the College of Urbino; but while yet a boy he attracted the attention of the cardinal-duke of York, bishop of Frascati, who took him under his affectionate supervision, and transferred him to the new institution which he had opened in his episcopal city. Having finished his course of theology at the extraordinarily early age of eighteen, he was admitted to the Academy for Noble Ecclesiastics at Rome, where he went through a further course of six years, enjoying, among other advantages, the study of history under the guidance of the celebrated Zaccaria. In 1782 he was appointed private chamberlain to the Pope; but his first step in the administrative career was taken in 1786, when he became a municipal judge—*ponente del buon governo*. He was also made secretary of the Ospizio di San Michele,—that immense establishment on the right bank of the Tiber, at once an orphan asylum, a protectory, and a technical and art school, which the Popes have rendered the wonder and edification of the world. He was thirty-four years old when he was assigned to an auditorship of the *Ruota*, a position which agreed with his studious tastes, and which, as it entailed a residence of only five months in the year, enabled him to satisfy his inclination for travel. His new office drew him considerably into society; and the most select *salons* of Rome soon resounded with anecdotes of his tact and exquisite delicacy. One instance of this latter quality, so advantageous to a diplomat, merits remembrance. Among the numerous *émigrés* whom the late French Revolution had forced to seek the hospitality of the Father of the Faithful, were the Princesses Adelaide and Victoire, aunts of King Louis XVI. One evening at a *conversazione* some indiscreet royalist, having detailed the news of a victory of the Austrians over the troops of the Republic, dilated with glee upon the losses of the latter. Consalvi interrupted him with: "A moment, sir! You forget that you speak in the presence of French ladies." The wave of the triumphant French Revolution threatened to engulf the States of the Church, and Pope Pius VI. anxiously sought for men who were capable of withstanding the storm. Republican emissaries were openly at work, and the maintenance of order in Rome was an arduous task. Consalvi was intrusted with the directorship of the military commission, which corresponded to the Ministry of War in other countries; and so well did he fulfil his duty, that the French Government, having no confidence in their being able to provoke an insurrection

of age, donned the cowl of St. Benedict. In the course of time Dom Gregorio became professor of theology, and finally abbot in the monastery of St. Calixtus at Rome. Pius VI. made him bishop of Tivoli; and in 1785 he was transferred to Imola, and enrolled in the Sacred College. In the early part of 1798 Cardinal Chiaramonti published a homily which he had delivered in his cathedral on the previous Christmas Day. This discourse was decidedly democratic in tone; and in later years revolutionary publicists, following the lead of the infamous Gregoire, who translated it and published it with numerous virulent commentaries, upbraided Pius VII. with an abandonment of his olden principles. Artaud expresses the opinion that Chiaramonti wrote only a portion of the criminated homily; the author-diplomat opines that some of the prelate's *entourage* afterward added to it the passages which certain critics have deemed objectionable. The opinion of Artaud is pure conjecture; and he does not attempt to furnish any reasons for it. Nor will the

against the Pope-King, impudently invaded the Pontifical territory. The disastrous treaty of Tolentino was the consequence of this sacrilege and violation of international law. In a few months the French Directory, under the pretext of avenging the death of General Duphot, killed in a riot provoked by himself, sent an army under Berthier to proclaim the Roman Republic. The Pontiff was dragged from his capital. Consalvi, warned by a friendly Jacobin, could have escaped; but, disdaining flight, he was imprisoned in Sant' Angelo, and his property was sequestered. After a long detention, the apostles of liberty condemned him to deportation to Cayenne, that living tomb to which they were wont to consign such ecclesiastics as they did not dare to guillotine. The intercession of some friends, however, prevented the enforcement of this sentence; and the seven Consuls of the Roman Republic decreed that Consalvi should be mounted on an ass, paraded through the streets of Rome, and flogged at stated intervals for the delectation of the populace. The commander of the French garrison possessed sufficient good sense, if he were actuated by no better motive, to ignore this decree of "commutation"; but, although he allowed the prelate to depart from Rome in a carriage, he compelled the driver to keep, throughout the entire journey to Naples, in the immediate company of eighteen galley slaves; and the refined gentleman was forced to share the meals of these presumed wretches, or starve. At Naples he was allowed to embark for Leghorn; and in due time he arrived at Florence, where he received the affectionate and grateful blessing of Pius VI., then confined in the Chartreuse of that city. He was next transferred by his persecutors to Venice, where he learned that his already sequestered property had been confiscated, as that of an enemy of the state. Pope Pius VI. died at Valence, on August 29, 1799; and, as it had done often before, has done in our day, and will do many a time before the sounding of the judgment trumpet, infidelity, backed by schism and heresy, pronounced the Papacy dead at last. But soon the foes of the Revolution triumphed for a moment, Italy breathed more freely, and Providence convened the Conclave at Venice. From this event dates the preponderating influence in the temporal, and to a great extent in the spiritual, affairs of the Papacy, exercised by Consalvi to the end of his life. Unanimously chosen as secretary of the Conclave, probably the most important one of modern times, he had abundant opportunity, and even need, of displaying the consummate tact which ever distinguished him in an eminent body, of whose members tact is the ordinary characteristic.

reader feel compelled to relieve the eminent writer of the homily from any part of the responsibility of its authorship, if he examines carefully the passages over which the revolutionists gloated. In the beginning of the discourse the prelate spends some time in showing how revealed religion manifests their true duties to men. Then he undertakes to prove that docility to the teachings of religion can alone render men happy under that democratic form of government, which has been established for more than a year (since the Treaty of Tolentino, ratified by Pius VI.) in the province of Imola. And then the preacher continues: "A democratic form of government is not opposed to the maxims which we have set forth. That form is not opposed by the Gospels; on the contrary, it requires all those sublime virtues which are inculcated only in the school of Jesus Christ—virtues which, if practiced by you religiously, will procure happiness for you, and glory and splendor for our republic. Let the solid foundation of our democracy be that virtue which leads man toward perfection, directing him toward his real end!" What is there in this passage which could justify Artaud in believing that in penning it "the *co-opérateurs du cardinal* forgot the rules of common sense"? The French royalist was a devout Catholic; but in forming this judgment he closed his eyes to the writings of Catholic theologians on the origin and forms of civil government. Nor could Gregoire, the apostate Conventional, justly derive from this teaching any support for his misnamed republicanism. Cardinal Chiaramonti found the Cisalpine Republic in *de facto* and in *de jure* possession of the province of Imola; and although in his heart he yearned for the day when the Pope-King would recover the entire Patrimony of St. Peter, he realized that it was his duty to procure the happiness of his people by explaining to them the nature and object of civil government. This homily was well known to the cardinals who met in Conclave in Venice; and the fact that all of them agreed as to the piety, prudence, and learning of Chiaramonti, is proof that neither Gregoire nor Artaud has properly presented the meaning of the document.

When the German emperor learned that his efforts in favor of Mattei had been useless, and that Chiaramonti, of whom his imperial penetration had taken no cognizance, had been elected, he vented his disappointment by declining to be officially represented at the ensuing coronation of His Holiness (1). It was because of this petty and boorish conduct of His Imperial and Apostolic Majesty that Pius VII. was crowned in the church of the monastery of St. George, and not in the Basilica of St. Mark. Francis II., who was soon to consent, at the bidding of his French conqueror, to the dissolution of the German Empire, even tried to force one of his subjects on the Pope as secretary of state. Pius VII. simply replied that as the Holy See had been robbed of its territories, he had no need of a prime-minister; a pro-secretary would suffice. That official he then proclaimed in the person of Consalvi; and in the following August, a month after his entrance into his capital, he enrolled the prelate in the Sacred College, and made him prime-minister. The task of the new head of the Papal cabinet was not an easy one: there was no army, no organization, no money. To be sure, on the day when he embarked at Pesaro, Pius VII. had learned that the Austrians, just beaten at Marengo on June 14, 1800, had lost the Legations; and at Foligno, they had surrendered a part of his dominions. But the greater part of the Patrimony of St. Peter was in the hands of strangers; and the Neapolitans, who had replaced the French in the Eternal City, showed no inclination to fulfil their promise to evacuate it. As in our day, the new minister could count neither on the Roman people nor on the Catholic powers; and neither could he rely much upon the support of the Pontiff, in enforcing the measures he felt to be necessary for the introduction of durable reforms, and for the triumph of his ameliorating projects. The gentle character of Pius VII. would tolerate nothing that savored of severity. But our limits will not allow us to dwell upon Consalvi's administration of the temporal sovereignty of the Papal States. In a paper which the great minister left for the guidance of Leo XII., he says: "Your Holiness

(1) See the letter of Cardinal Berzan to Thugut, March 22, 1800.

knows that nothing is more difficult than the science of government. I acquired it only after committing many mistakes. Mistakes instruct us. The greatest of all faults is to talk too much ; but one must tell the truth. The habitual life of nearly all courts is a continual lie. A lie on the part of Rome would ruin an entire pontificate ; a new Pope would become an instant necessity." Providence had reserved for Cardinal Consalvi a more lasting title to glory than that attainable by the successful government of a little state. More than any one man, far more than Bonaparte, to whom so many ascribe undue credit for so doing, he was to contribute to the re-establishment of religion in France ; and that work he was to effect by the conclusion of the Concordat. Bonaparte risked the failure of the project by his autocratic demands ; Consalvi insured it by his prudence and firmness. French imperialists are too much given to compare Bonaparte to Clovis and Charlemagne, in this matter of the Concordat. When, on June 5, 1800, Bonaparte delivered his famous allocution (so it was styled in the printed version, distributed among the clergy of Italy) to the parish priests of Milan, an address in which he duplicated that diplomacy already displayed to the Egyptian Mohammedans (1), he did not dare proclaim himself as the sole cause of the return of France to the Catholic worship. He merely said that he had "contributed *beaucoup*." The Catholic clergy of France, as a body, had not been derelict to their duty during the storms of the Revolution ; they had kept up the sacred fires, and had not awaited a Concordat to continue their mission. Bonaparte did not rebuild the demolished altars ; these were already rebuilt. It is certain that at the period when the negotiations for the Concordat were going on, the Catholic worship had been resumed in forty thousand communes. As to Bonaparte's sincerity and single-mindedness in this matter, if he proposed to gratify the clergy, it was for the purpose of using them. He had said to Bourrienne, the comrade of his boyhood : " You will see how I shall make use of

(1) Because of that diplomacy, men applied to him the verse of Voltaire :

" *J'eusse été, près du Gange, esclave des faux dieux,
Chrétienne dans Paris, Musulmane en ces lieux.* "

the priests." And to Lafayette, who foresaw his designs, and asked him whether the signing of the Concordat was not a prelude to his coronation, he replied: "We shall see; we shall see."

The Revolution of 1789 had not only destroyed the civil order of the olden *régime*, but had overthrown the constitution of the Church, and had impelled a part of the clergy and people into schism. The exiled bishops and priests were the rightful pastors of the desolate churches; but the Constitutionals—that is, such clergymen as had adhered to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, imposed by the National Assembly on July 12, 1790, and condemned by the Pope—were in possession, and would not yield (1). All efforts to establish the worship of the Goddess of Reason had failed, and for ten years the religious question had been acrimoniously debated. Bonaparte had realized, for some time, the necessity of restoring religious tranquillity to France; but he had been thwarted by the Directory. When that body succumbed, more to popular contempt than to the young general's grenadiers, he was free to act. Accordingly, after the decisive victory of Marengo, Bonaparte wrote to Cardinal Martiniana, bishop of Vercelli, that he "desired to be on good terms with the Pope; and to arrange for the speedy restoration of religion in all the states subject to the Republic." Soon afterward he dispatched the reformed revolutionist, Cacault, as *chargé d'affaires* at Rome, with instructions to "treat the Pope as though he had two hundred thousand soldiers under arms." Pius VII. immediately appointed Mgr. Spina, archbishop of Corinth, and the theologian Caselli, to arrange the articles of a Concordat with the Abbé Bernier, a priest who enjoyed the esteem of the First Consul. But there were many obstacles in the way. Any transaction with the Roman Pontiff was obnoxious to unfrocked ecclesiastics like Talleyrand and Sieyès; to infidel scientists like Lalande and Monge; and to irreligious soldiers like Augereau, Massena, and Bernadotte. Then there were the Constitutional clergy, who announced a National Council for the spring of the following

(1) See our Vol. iv., ch. 23.

year. And not the least difficulty was that caused by the numerous legitimate bishops, whose resignation was demanded by the Pontiff as a concession to the government. This concession was refused by some, who contended that the Pope betrayed the Church of Christ if he absolved the sacrilegious robbers who had desolated their dioceses. Finally, there was the impetuous nature of the autocrat, who could ill brook the time-honored and generally necessary slowness in decision which is so characteristic of the *Curia Romana*. One day Cacault rushed in upon Consalvi, and breathlessly informed him that Bonaparte had written that if the affair was not consummated in the manner desired by him, within five days, all negotiation would cease. "Now I realize very well," said Cacault, who desired with all the enthusiasm of a convert the conclusion of a Concordat, "that you cannot sign so important a document without deliberation. I see but one thing for you to do: start at once for Paris. The consul will talk with a sensible cardinal, and between you the Concordat will be arranged (1). If you do not go, I must disrupt our relations; and Murat, who is now at Florence, will march on Rome. Go, and we shall bring Paris to her senses." The prelate and the *chargé* left Rome in the same carriage; and the saddening spectacle of profaned churches and monasteries, which met their eyes all along their route, made Consalvi feel how wise was Pius VII. when he insisted that his representative, while remaining inflexible in matters of dogma, should yield in every possible question of discipline, when such acquiescence proved essential to the conclusion of the Concordat.

(1) Thiers asserts that Consalvi, very unlike the old cardinals, was very partial to France; and that he foresaw in Bonaparte, just returned from Egypt, a future champion of the Church. The truth is that Consalvi did not judge France by the revolutionary exploits of her agents and soldiers. His insinuating disposition, his noble and affable manners, had made him friends in his jailers of Castel Sant' Angelo and Terracina. While condemning their principles, he admired these agents of an impious government, who generally manifested consideration for the victims of the Directory. For more than a hundred years the Bourbons of Spain and of Naples had tired themselves in afflicting the Popes; Austria, with the *quasi*-heretical laws of Joseph II., had unsettled religion in Germany, the Low Countries, and Tuscany. For such ungenerous Catholics was France, then, who, at least, did not play the hypocrite, to be forgotten? Her wicked government would fall; but the nation would remain, and it ought not to be sacrificed for the others.

Bonaparte received Consalvi with all due honor, and with sincere pleasure; but there was an evident determination, on the part of the consul, to hurry the business through in five days. Five drafts of an agreement had already been rejected by the Holy See, and a sixth was now tendered to the prelate; but its phraseology was too ambiguous for the precise and prescient jurisprudence of Papal Rome. Another thing Consalvi soon realized. Of all his court, Bonaparte was nearly alone in wishing for peace with the Holy See; the ambitious consul was constantly told that the signing of a Concordat would be the signal for the return of the Bourbons. But Consalvi did not lose hope. Writing to Cardinal Doria, his substitute in the premiership, he said: "You should be here to understand matters. These men are capable of anything. We three [Spina, Caselli, and himself] perspire blood and water, but we shall never abandon what is essential." After many conferences of the plenipotentiaries, in which twenty-five days were consumed, a Concordat was finally arranged, and July 13 was assigned for affixing the signatures. When the time arrived, Consalvi, as a matter of course, took up the document and read it for himself. What was his surprise and indignation on discovering that a substitution for the paper agreed upon had been effected! He quietly laid the parchment back on the table, declaring that he would not sign it. The text had been vitiated: it now contained several conditions, especially some concerning the marriage of priests, and the still unsold confiscated property of the Church, which the Pontiff had always refused to concede. Whether Bonaparte himself had laid a trap for Consalvi is disputed; many authors accuse him and Bernier of the trick; but others opine that it was devised in the ministerial bureaux. Joseph Bonaparte, first French commissary, threatened the cardinal with the anger of his brother, and insisted that it was now too late to withdraw: the signature had been already announced in the official journal, and the promulgation was to ensue at a state-banquet on the next day. For nineteen hours the discussion went on, but Consalvi was indomitable. How easy it would have been to procure the original

Concordat, and sign it! The suspicion that Bonaparte himself was the originator of the substitution, is certainly strengthened by the fact that when, at mid-day of July 14, Joseph Bonaparte carried to his brother a copy of the only agreement which Consalvi would sign, the furious autocrat tore it to pieces. All this because of the unwillingness of the son of the Revolution to concede full freedom of worship to the children of the Church. Consalvi could not well avoid the state-dinner of that memorable occasion. No sooner did the eye of Bonaparte fall upon him, as he entered the hall, than the following tirade, uttered in a furious tone, saluted the ears of the company: "Very well, my Lord Cardinal! You have resolved to end our negotiations. So be it, then! I have no need of the Pope. If Henry VIII., who had not the twentieth of my power, succeeded in changing the religion of his country, rest assured that I can, and will, do the same; and in changing the religion of France, I shall do so in nearly all Europe—wherever, that is, my influence reaches. Rome will realize her losses, and will weep over them; but then it will be too late. You may go, my Lord; that is all the good you can do now. When shall you depart?"—"After dinner, General," calmly returned Consalvi. The coolness of the prelate astonished Bonaparte, and he regarded Consalvi fixedly for a moment. The latter tells us that he profited by the consular stupor to declare that he could not exceed his instructions, nor trample on the maxims professed by the Holy See. The consul now somewhat modified his truculent mien, but continued with a series of menaces. After dinner he returned to the charge, but finally said: "Well, to show the world that it is not I who wish to end the negotiations, I authorize the commission to meet again to-morrow; but it is for the last time." Accordingly the plenipotentiaries re-assembled, and the draft proposed by Consalvi was adopted. The Concordat was signed on July 15, 1801.

The chief obstacle to an agreement had been the article regarding the publicity of Catholic worship. The government admitted this publicity in principle, but it insisted on

the declaratory article's stating that the exercise of the Catholic worship would be granted, conformably to the regulations of the police. Consalvi would sign, only on condition that it was stated that the police regulations would be put forth only when the public peace was involved. Bonaparte did not wish to concede this modification of his right to interfere in matters ecclesiastical; it might prove an obstacle to the success of those "Organic Articles" which he was thinking of adding to the Concordat. Then Consalvi said: "If you are in good faith, in affirming that the government wishes to subject the Catholic worship to police regulation, only in the interest of public tranquillity, why not say so in the article itself? There must be hidden reasons for this restriction, which is designedly left vague and undefined; and I have reason to fear lest the government may intend to try to subject the Church to its will." Bonaparte accepted the essential addition, but, as the event proved, he was only biding his time. The famous instrument of 1801 has been variously judged, even in our day. When it was first enforced, the infidel and constitutional parties were profoundly irritated. The royalists murmured, to say the least; just as in our day, the ultra among them could not tolerate anything approaching a reconciliation between the Church—which they regarded as exclusively their own, both to patronize and to persecute—and the republicans. And how many good Catholics merited their name of "irreconcilables"—*intransigents*,—thinking of the new compromise with trembling suspicion, as though it were a compact between virtue and vice! But the immense majority of the French people were transported with joy, when there loomed up a prospect of exemption from the excesses of the last ten years. Cardinal Consalvi could not but congratulate himself on the happy result of his mission. In a letter to Cardinal Doria he wrote: "Amid all these griefs, I must tell Your Eminence that the foreign representatives, as well as all well-instructed persons, regard the conclusion of the Concordat as a real miracle. As for myself, I can scarcely believe that the affair is finished." The value of the Concordat of 1801 was evinced in later times, when very different men from its

framers attempted to "reform" it. While Consalvi was at London and at Vienna, Louis XVIII. tried to procure a change in this instrument. He was incited to this endeavor by the old legitimist bishops who had not resigned at the request of the Pope. Consalvi detected the snare, and avoided it. After stormy negotiations, two successive Concordats (August, 1816; and June, 1817) were tried; and in the end the instrument of 1801 was again put in force (1819).

This celebrated document was couched in the following terms: "The government of the French Republic recognizes the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Religion as the religion of the great majority of the French. His Holiness equally recognizes that the same Religion has received, and now still expects, the greatest good and the greatest splendor from the restoration of the Catholic worship in France, and from its special profession by the Consuls of the Republic. Therefore, after this mutual recognition, they have agreed on the following for the good of religion, and for the maintenance of internal tranquillity: Art. I. The Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Religion shall be professed freely in France; its cult shall be public, in conformity with such police regulations as the government may deem necessary for public tranquillity. II. The Holy See, together with the government, will prescribe new boundaries for the French dioceses. III. His Holiness will declare to the titulars of French bishoprics that he confidently expects from them, for the sake of peace and unity, sacrifices of every nature, even that of their dioceses. If, after this exhortation, they refuse to make the sacrifice demanded for the weal of the Church (a refusal which His Holiness does not anticipate), provision for the government of the bishoprics newly circumscribed shall be named in the following manner. IV. The First Consul of the Republic will nominate, within three months after the publication of the Bull of His Holiness, to the archdioceses and dioceses of the new circumscription; His Holiness will confer the canonical institution, in accordance with the forms established for France before the change of government. V. Nominations to bishoprics which become vacant hereafter will be made by the First Consul, and the

Holy See will confer the canonical institution, in conformity with the preceding article. VI. The bishops, before entering upon their functions, will take, directly before the First Consul, the oath of fidelity which was customary before the change of government, viz. : 'I swear, and promise to God, upon the Holy Gospels, to be obedient and faithful to the government established by the Constitution of the French Republic. I also promise to have no understanding, to assist at no meeting, to have no part in any league, either at home or abroad, which may be contrary to the public tranquillity ; and if, in my diocese or elsewhere, I learn that any conspiracy against the state is being formed, I shall make it known to the government.' VII. The ecclesiastics of the second order will take the same oath in the hands of the civil authorities designated by the government. VIII. In all the Catholic churches of France the following formula of prayer shall be recited at the end of divine service : '*Domine, salvam fac Rempublicam ; Domine, salvos fac Consules !*' IX. The bishops will establish new boundaries for the parishes of their dioceses, which boundaries shall not be effective until the government approves them. X. The bishops will appoint the parish priests ; but they must choose persons satisfactory to the government. XI. The bishops may have Chapters for their cathedrals, and seminaries for their dioceses ; but the government does not oblige itself to endow them. XII. All the metropolitan, cathedral, parochial, and other churches, which have not been confiscated, and which are necessary to religion, shall be placed at the disposition of the bishops. XIII. For the sake of peace, and for the sake of a happy restoration of the Catholic Religion, His Holiness declares that neither he nor his successors will in any way trouble those who have acquired confiscated church property ; and that therefore the right to such property now rests secure in their hands, or in those of their representatives. XIV. The government will provide proper revenues for the bishops and pastors whose dioceses and parishes will be included within the new boundaries (1).

(1) This concession of the government was no favor ; it was but a small instalment of justice, since the entire amount accorded for the expenses of divine worship represented a

XV. The government will take measures to the end that Catholics, when they so desire, may endow their churches. XVI. His Holiness recognizes in the First Consul of the French Republic the same rights and prerogatives which the olden government enjoyed. XVII. The contracting parties agree that in case any one of the successors of the present First Consul should not be a Catholic, a new Concordat shall determine as to his enjoyment of the rights and prerogatives above mentioned, and in the matter of the nomination of bishops."

The signing of the Concordat, followed by Bonaparte's many acts of justice toward the hitherto persecuted Church of France, inspired Pius VII. with a most cordial affection for the First Consul; and Consalvi, who never trusted implicitly in the sincerity of that personage, found it no easy task to moderate the impulses of his master. The perspicacious secretary heartily lauded Bonaparte for his restitution of the confiscated churches, for his promise (afterward fulfilled) to recall the Sisters of Charity, for his protection of the many French missionaries in foreign lands, and for his dismissal of very many of the Constitutional clergy. But all of the Constitutionals were not deprived of their usurped offices. Writing to his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, archbishop of Lyons, Bonaparte had dared to order: "You must dexterously, but surely, give places to as many Constitutionals as possible; and you must assure yourself well of the sympathy of that party. You need not hide from yourself the fact that this question of Constitutionals and non-Constitutionals is merely a political one for us leaders, although many priests call it a religious one You will displease me infinitely, and you will injure the state greatly, if you hurt the feelings of the Constitutionals." And we read in a letter to Portalis: "I forward you a note on the bishop of Rennes, which has been sent to me by the inspector of police. I wish you to write to him to the effect that he has been guilty of displacing a Constitutional priest; and that

trivial interest on the amount which the state had stolen from the Church. Hence the absurdity of styling the French clergy a *salaried* body. The only *salaried* ministers of religion in France are those of the few Protestants and Jews; for their property was not stolen by the Revolution.

it is my will that such work stop at once" (1). Facts like these prevented Consalvi from experiencing much surprise when Bonaparte, taking malicious advantage of the clause in the Concordat which declared that the Catholic worship should be public "in conformity with such police regulations as the government may deem necessary for public tranquillity," caused the Corps Législatif to adopt, and ordered to be annexed to the Concordat, a series of articles which had never been even mentioned during the negotiations, and which were veritable attacks on the rights of the Church. These famous *Organic Articles* were seventy-seven in number; but a citation of only a few will suffice for our purpose. "I. No Bull, Brief, Rescript, decree, mandate, provision, signature making provision, or any other (document) expedited by the court of Rome, even though they concern private individuals, can be received, published, printed, or otherwise put in force, without the authorization of the government. II. No person styling himself a nuncio, a legate, a vicar, or a commissary Apostolic, or one who uses any other determining title, can exercise on French soil or elsewhere any power in regard to the affairs of the French Church, without the same authorization. III. The decrees of foreign Synods, even those of General Councils, cannot be published in France before the government has examined their form, and their conformity with the laws, rights, and privileges of the French Republic. IV. No national or metropolitan Council, no diocesan Synod, no deliberative Assembly, can be held without the express permission of the government. VI. Recourse to the Council of State shall be had in every case of abuse on the part of superiors or other ecclesiastical persons. The following are cases of abuse: Usurpation of power, or excess in its use; violation of the laws and regulations of the Republic; violation of the rules which are consecrated by the Canons received in France; any attack on the liberties, privileges, and customs of the French Church; and every undertaking or proceeding which, in the exercise of religion, might compromise the honor of citizens, trouble

(1) See also the Letters numbered 6,121, 6,122, 6,136, 6,214, in the *Correspondence of Napoleon I.*, Vol. vii.

their consciences, or which might degenerate into an oppression of them, or become a public scandal. XII. Bishops shall be permitted to join to their names the title of *Citizen* or *Monsieur*; all other designations are forbidden. XIII. The bishops shall nominate and instal the pastors; but, nevertheless, they must not publish these appointments or grant the canonical institution, until the nomination shall have been approved by the First Consul. XXVI. The bishops shall not ordain any ecclesiastic who does not prove that he possesses property producing a revenue of at least three hundred francs, who has not attained the age of twenty-five years, or who does not possess the qualities required by the Canons received in France. The bishops will ordain no persons whose names have not been submitted to the government, and approved by it. XXXVI. During the vacancy of a see, the government of the diocese will devolve on the metropolitan, and in his absence, on the senior of the suffragan bishops. The vicar-general of the (vacant) diocese will continue to exercise his function until the new bishop is installed. XLIII. All ecclesiastics will dress in French style (*à la Française*), and in black. In addition to this costume, the bishops may wear the pectoral cross and violet stockings. LII. In their instructions, the pastors must not find any fault, direct or indirect, with persons or with forms of worship which are authorized by the state." It is evident that these surreptitious additions to the Concordat were simply a bone thrown to the dog of the Revolution. Cardinal Caprara, who had recently been appointed legate *a latere* in Paris, immediately protested to Talleyrand against the date and method of publication of the articles, both date and method leading the unwary to suppose that the venomous additions were natural corollaries of the Concordat. Of course, Thiers insists that the Organic Articles formed, for the French government, "a matter purely domestic, which needed not to be submitted to the Holy See." But are not the imprescriptible rights of the Church involved in ordinances which presume to determine the discipline of the clergy, the rights and duties of bishops, the relations of bishops with the Roman Pontiff, and the manner in which bishops are to exer-

cise their jurisdiction? Consalvi well declared that such provisions nearly pulled down the edifice which he had so laboriously constructed. In a Consistory held on May 24, 1802, Pius VII. announced that he had demanded the abrogation or modification of articles which had been joined to the Concordat without his sanction, and which were opposed to the discipline of the Church. Consalvi tells that in 1804, before Pius VII. would accede to the request of Napoleon for imperial consecration at the pontifical hands, a promise to revoke the obnoxious ordinances was made as a condition *sine qua non*; but the pledge remained void of effect. Repeatedly during his pontificate Pius VII. insisted on the fulfilment of that promise; but not until 1817, when he made a new Concordat with Louis XVIII., were his desires satisfied. Then this apposite clause was inserted in the new instrument: "The Organic Articles which were prepared without the knowledge of His Holiness, and published without his consent, are abrogated, so far as they contain anything contrary to the doctrine and laws of the Church" (1). Fortunately, these Articles did not effect as much harm as they threatened; many of them soon fell into disuse, and Napoleon's own good sense corrected the others (2).

(1) Speaking of the first three articles, Cardinal Caprara says: "The first attacks the freedom of ecclesiastical teaching in its source; the second attacks it in its agents. The first puts obstacles to the publication of truth; the second impedes the apostolate of those who are entrusted with that publication. The third tends to sacrifice Religion, the work of God Himself, to the ever imperfect and often unjust works of men."

(2) When Napoleon was at St. Helena, he perhaps revealed to Count de Montholon the state of his mind toward the Church in 1801, when he said: "Men would scarcely believe the extent of the resistance which I had to meet when I restored Catholicism (in France). I had great difficulty in inducing the Council of State to receive the Concordat; many who yielded were then plotting to evade it. They said to each other: 'Let us become Protestants; then the Concordat will not affect us.' It is certain that in the disorder of that time, amid the ruins which I found around me, I could have chosen between Catholicism and Protestantism; it is also true that the inclinations of the moment cried for the latter. But, besides my real devotion to the religion of my ancestors, there were most powerful motives to influence my decision. What had I to gain by proclaiming Protestantism in France? There would have been two great parties, and I wished for only one. I would have revived the horrors of the 'wars of religion.' The Catholics and Protestants would have torn each other to pieces, and would have destroyed France, and rendered her the slave of Europe; whereas my ambition was to make her Europe's mistress. With the aid of Catholicism I was much more sure of attaining my grand desires. Outside of France, Catholicism rendered me sure of the Pope's aid; and with my influences and armies in Italy, I did not despair of obtaining, sooner or later, the direction of the Pope." *Mémoires for the History of France under Napoleon, Written at St. Helena under His Dictation by the Count de Montholon.* Paris, 1835.

On Aug. 15, 1801, Pope Pius VII. issued the Bull *Ecclesia Dei*, whereby he ratified the Concordat with France; and on the same day he addressed to the French bishops a Brief, in which he called upon them, in the interest of peace and of ecclesiastical unity, to resign their dioceses, imitating the noble spirit of the thirty prelates who, in 1791, had tendered their resignations to his predecessor (1). "We are compelled," said the Pontiff, "by the exigencies of the day which exercise their violence even upon us, to inform you that your written replies must be sent to us within ten days, and that these replies must be absolute and not procrastinating. If we do not receive such replies as we desire, we shall perforce regard you as having refused to comply with our demand" (2). At this time, out of the hundred and thirty-five dioceses of the France of 1789, fifty-one had become vacant by the deaths of their bishops. Talleyrand of Autun, Savines of Viviers, and Jarente of Orleans, were regarded as having renounced their mitres. Of the remaining eighty-one prelates, forty-five readily acceded to the wishes of the Pontiff; some of the others demanded time for reflection, and some refused positively to resign. Then, by an act of his plenitude of power, one which is without parallel in history, Pope Pius VII. abolished all the episcopal sees then existing in France, creating, in their places, sixty new ones. This radical transformation was decreed in the Bull *Qui Christi Domini*, issued on Nov. 29, 1801; and shortly afterward Bonaparte nominated the new bishops, and the Pontiff confirmed the selections. The recalcitrant prelates sent many complaints to Rome, insisting that they were victims of injustice, and lamenting the conduct of the Holy See in allowing bishops to swear fidelity to the First Consul. Indeed, these prelates were as much exercised, because of the Pontiff's apparent contempt of the rights of the Bourbons, as because of their own removal from office. These episcopal reclamations were generally respectful in tone; but many of the priestly foes of the Concordat not only declared that the bishops

(1) See our Vol. iv., p. 610.

(2) Bonaparte had made these resignations a condition *sine qua non* of the restoration of religion in France.

who had resigned were excommunicated because of "heresy," but they even stigmatized Pius VII. as involved in the same censure. The Abbé Gaschet dared to assert: "There is no doubt that Pius VII. is, in the strict sense of the term, a schismatic, and an abettor of heresy and of apostasy. He has lost all the honor of the priesthood, all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all right to the obedience of the faithful. It would be blasphemous to mention his name in the Canon of the Mass." Cardinal Pacca tells us that many priests of the school of Gaschet imitated the ancient Donatists in their declaration that they were the sole Catholics in the world, the Roman Pontiff and the rest of the Church having plunged into schism (1). Influenced by the declamations of Gaschet and a few other semi-lunatics, by the protests of some of the bishops who would not resign their sees, and by the nomination of twelve Constitutionals to as many of the new dioceses, certain priests formed a new "Church," which came to be known as the "Anti-Concordatary Church," and also as the "Little Church," or "Sect of the Illuminated." Only one bishop, Mgr. de Thémines, who had been ordinary of Blois, joined this band of fanatics; and he soon became reconciled to the Holy See (2).

When, in the early part of 1804, Pius VII. learned that Bonaparte had resolved on the establishment of an imperial form of government in France, and that the French people apparently welcomed the imminent change, he manifested his satisfaction by these words, written by Consalvi to Caprara, the papal legate in Paris: "This grand event, so glorious for the First Consul, which will consolidate the peace of the French nation, and therefore that of Europe, proves the foresight and wisdom of that nation, preferring a monarchical to the infinitely less durable elective system of government. . . . The Holy Father feels a joy which is beyond expression." A few days after the legate had received this

(1) *Memoires*, vol. 1., p. 178.

(2) The "Little Church," like all other schismatic organizations, was soon afflicted by radical dissensions, and became subdivided into four "churches." One of these sects still subsists in the diocese of Poitiers, having no hierarchy; being governed by a layman, who styles himself the prophet, Elias, and says that he was sanctified in his mother's womb. RIVAUD; *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iii., p. 359. Paris, 1883.

letter, Bonaparte informed him that it was his wish, and that of the French nation, that the work of the Concordat should be completed by the pontifical consecration of the new sovereign. Circumstances, he added, prevented him from imitating Charlemagne, who had gone to Rome for his imperial crown; therefore he would entreat the Pontiff to journey to Paris, being satisfied that the condescension of His Holiness would redound to the great benefit of religion. Pius VII. hesitated to grant the request of the all-powerful son of the Revolution. Certainly a refusal would be pardoned neither by the young conqueror who had done so much for the restoration of Catholic worship in his country, nor by that French nation which had recently been endeavoring to obliterate the horrid traces of its temporary insanity. But on the other hand, were the Pope to consecrate Bonaparte as emperor, he would deal a mortal blow to the Bourbons; he would offend nearly the whole of European society, which abhorred everything which recalled the revolutionary storm from which it had almost miraculously escaped; he would seem to recognize those Organic Articles which he had condemned, and to pardon those Constitutionals who had not yet submitted to the Holy See. Consalvi came to the aid of the Pontiff. "Who knows," he asked His Holiness, "whether this all-powerful soldier will not yet restore to the Holy See all that once belonged to it; and whether Your Holiness will not obtain from him the abolition of the measures which now restrict the action of the Church? The Protestants, philosophists, and revolutionists are all enraged because of this prospective consecration; and that fact demonstrates that it will be a good thing for religion." After four months of negotiations, our Pontiff resolved to gratify the First Consul; and he started on his journey on Nov. 2, 1804. When he arrived in France, his reception by the masses of the people caused him to wonder whether he was indeed in the midst of a nation which, only five years previously, had remained apparently indifferent while its rulers so cruelly persecuted his venerable predecessor. Secular historians will furnish the reader with the particulars of the consecration of the General Bonaparte, whom the world was

ever afterward to know as Napoleon. A few days after the ceremony, the Holy Father made a formal demand for the abolition of the Organic Articles, as well as of several other obnoxious statutes; but the emperor answered only with empty words. Perceiving that a longer stay in France would be of no avail, the Pontiff signified to Napoleon that he was about to return to the Eternal City. He was not surprised—for he had foreseen the probability of such a result of his journey—but he was inexpressibly pained, when he learned that his imperial host had formed the design of retaining the Head of the Church in France. “The Pope would never reveal,” says Artaud, “the name of the high official who hinted to him that he should dwell in Avignon; that he should accept a papal palace on the lands of the archbishop of Paris; and that there should be established around his residence a privileged quarter like that at Constantinople, in which only the ambassadors accredited to the Pontiff could reside. . . . The diplomatic body in Rome heard of this project; in my innocence I did not credit it. But the insinuations were repeated with such assurance, that the Pope deemed it proper to remark, in the presence of that certain high official: ‘It is said that they wish to retain us in France. Well, if they deprive us of our liberty, we have guarded against that calamity. Before we departed from Rome, we signed a formal act of abdication, to be valid in case of our imprisonment. That document is far from the power of the French. Cardinal Pignatelli now has charge of it in Palermo; and when he learns that the design now meditated has been actuated, the French will have in their hands merely the poor monk, Barnaba Chiaramonti.’” Pius VII. was allowed to return to his capital.

A few years after his coronation, while the great uncrowned was meditating, one day at St. Helena, on the stupendous events of his meteoric career, he remarked: “One cannot lie in the bed of a king without catching the madness of royalty: I became a madman.” And, indeed, the heir of the Revolution had scarcely donned the imperial purple when he evinced such a taste for despotic methods as would justify this fantasy. The Holy See, possessing but

little brute force, was naturally among the first to feel the effects of this tendency. In 1805, six months after Pius VII. had returned to Rome, the French suddenly seized on Ancona; and when the Pontiff demanded a reason for this violation of the law of nations, he was told that the French emperor was by virtue of his office the protector of the Holy See, and was therefore bound to prevent "the desecration of Ancona by Greeks and Mussulmans." The imperial troops also took possession of Benevento and of Ponte Corvo, the pretext being that those duchies were a cause of dispute between the Roman and Neapolitan courts. Then Napoleon insisted that the Sovereign Pontiff should adhere to that "Continental System" which had been introduced for the injury of English commerce; the emperor demanded the closing of all the papal ports to English ships. Napoleon even called on the Father of Christendom to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the French empire; that is, to recognize as enemies of the Holy See all those against whom the emperor might wage either a just or an unjust war. Napoleon was not entirely ignorant of ecclesiastical history, for his early military and civil education at Brienne had been imparted by the Friars Minims; but he showed bad faith when he justified his last demand by the fact that certain Popes had entered into leagues for purposes of war, and had willingly embarked in military enterprises. It was an easy task for Consalvi to show that these Pontiffs had joined such or such a league, or entered on such or such a war, "because of some given and transient necessity"; and that they had never bound themselves blindly to any permanent alliance. These Pontiffs, taking part in a particular war, or entering into some particular league, because of the circumstances of the time, had been able to form judgments as to the justice of those wars or alliances; whereas the Napoleonic idea, being one of a permanent league, allowed to the Holy See no possibility of acting according to the justice or injustice of the enterprises which it would be bound to undertake. The Pope, added Consalvi, had very good reason to fear that he would find himself, were he to accede to the Napoleonic demand, an abettor of undue ambition and of

mere greed of conquest. Again, remarked the cardinal-secretary, the principle animating the cited leagues and wars was not that which Napoleon wished the Pontiff to recognize; namely, one of vassalage and feudal subjection to "*a new and pretended Charlemagne*," a personage very different from the king of the Franks, whom the Roman Pontiff made the first Holy Roman Emperor (1). Finally, argued His Eminence, while we admit that certain Popes acted in the manner alleged by Napoleon, we do not assert that such acts were always worthy of praise. Who of us, asked Consalvi, is unacquainted with the reproaches which politicians have heaped on those Popes because of those same actions? Was it not worse than illogical to offer the course of those Pontiffs as a model for that of Pius VII., after having so often, and sometimes unjustly, declaimed against it? But absurd as was the insistence of the emperor, still more absurd, concluded the cardinal, was the *raison d'être* for it which His Majesty presumed to advance—that the French sovereign, as successor of Charlemagne, was emperor of Rome. Such, in brief, was the reply of Pius VII., as expressed by his secretary of state, to pretensions more worthy of a German emperor than of any one who occupied the throne—albeit debased—of St. Louis. And in order to show that his resistance was not a mere matter of verbosity, the Pontiff refused to expel from Rome, at the command of Napoleon, the king of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel I., who had thrown himself on the hospitality of the Father of Christendom. "Rome is the refuge of fallen grandeurs," wrote Consalvi to Talleyrand, "and she will never surrender that glorious privilege."

The anger of Napoleon was greatly aggravated by the refusal of the Holy See to countenance the union of the emperor's brother, Jerome, already married to an American Protestant woman, with a German candidate for worldly honor—a refusal concerning which we shall speak at some length in the following chapter. Cardinal Fesch, maternal uncle to Napoleon, was replaced as ambassador at Rome by

(1) For a refutation of the theory of the Pope's subjection in temporals to the successors of Charlemagne, a theory which Napoleon condescended to borrow from the impudent assumptions of certain mediæval German emperors, see our Vol. II., p. 27. *et seqq.*

Alquier, an "unreformed revolutionist," a regicide, and a man ready for any evil work. Even this violent partisan was forced to admit, in a letter to Talleyrand, that he found Consalvi "reasonable and conciliating, whenever there was no pretext for theological discussion." It happened, however, that there were too many of these "pretexts"; and hence one day Alquier, exceedingly proud of the mission, read to His Eminence an imperial dispatch which ran: "Tell Consalvi that I am at his heels [*je le talonne*]; and that nothing done by him fails to reach my ears." At length Napoleon insisted that Consalvi should resign; and the prelate felt that it might be to the interest of the Church if he were to comply. Addressing the Pontiff, he compared himself to Jonah, and urged: "It appears that I am the cause of this tempest now raging against the Church. Throw me into the sea." And as Pius could not willingly separate from so faithful a servant, the secretary pleaded: "You have been obliged to refuse so many of the emperor's requests that it might be well to grant this one, in which neither the faith of the Church nor the dignity of the Holy See is involved." The resignation was accepted on June 17, 1806, but Pius VII. never gave to the successors of Consalvi any other title than that of pro-secretaries of state. The ex-minister left the Quirinal, then the pontifical residence, for his beloved Ospizio di San Michele, the direction of which he resumed. Just before laying down his portfolio, Consalvi, foreseeing the imminent catastrophe, had written, with his own hand, a protest to be sent to all the European powers on the day when Napoleon would steal the Pope's temporal crown. He had also ordered the preparation of a Bull of Excommunication against all the invaders of the papal dominions. These documents were soon put to use. General Miollis (1) led a French division into the capital of Christendom on Feb. 2, 1808; and on May 17, 1809, an imperial edict declared the Papal States annexed to the French Empire, the usurper having informed the world that

(1) This general was a brother of Charles de Miollis, the bishop of Digne whom Victor Hugo so absurdly travestied in the picture of "Myriel" in his novel, *Les Misérables*. See our apposite article, entitled *The Bishop of Digne in Fact and in Fiction*, in the *Archæologia*, Vol. xlv.

“Charlemagne, his august predecessor, had conferred those territories on the bishops of Rome as fiefs; that Rome had never ceased to be part of the empire of Charlemagne; that the union of the two powers (spiritual and royal), in the person of the Head of the Church, had been a continual source of discord; that therefore he (Napoleon) now annexed the states of the Pope to his own, according to the Pontiff a revenue of two millions of francs.” Pius VII. protested vigorously against both the temporal and spiritual usurpations of Napoleon; and finally, on June 10, 1809, he promulgated a Bull of Excommunication against “the authors, abettors, and executors of all the injustices recently committed against the Holy See.” His Holiness recapitulated the crimes of the French government against his person and his office; but it is not true that, as we often read, “Napoleon was the last person excommunicated *by name*” by the Roman Pontiff. Not once does the name of the emperor occur in the decree; not once is he specially indicated as one of the “authors, abettors, and executors” (1). The seizure of the pontifical person was now a matter of course for the sons of the Revolution. Acting under instructions from the emperor, Murat, who was then seated on the usurped throne of Naples, ordered Miollis to undertake the disgraceful task; and that officer entrusted it to his subordinate, General Radet. On July 7, 1809, an hour before sunrise, Radet stationed troops at every exit from the pontifical

(1) After a careful but calm enumeration of all the reasons for the decree, the Pontiff proceeds: “Wherefore, by the authority of the Omnipotent God, of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and our own, we declare that all the heretofore indicated, as well as those who have commanded them, as also their abettors and counsellors, and all others who have prepared the above crimes or who have themselves committed them, have incurred the greater excommunication and other censures and ecclesiastical punishments inflicted by the holy Canons, by the Apostolic Constitutions, and especially by the decrees of General Councils, notably of that of Trent (*Sess. xxii., ch. 4, De Reform.*); and if it be necessary, we again excommunicate and anathematize them.” Then, lest the royalists might take advantage of the Catholic principle, so universally held in the Age of Faith, that an excommunicated prince could not govern a Christian people; lest the Bourbonists, a very large portion of the French nation, should precipitate the land into another ocean of blood; the Pope added: “However, although we are forced to unsheathe the sword of severity of the Church, we do not forget that here on earth, despite our unworthiness, we hold the place of Him who, when He exercises His justice, still remembers His mercy. Therefore, addressing ourselves to our own subjects and to all Christian people, we wish and we command, by virtue of holy obedience, that no person dare to inflict any damage or prejudice on those whom this decree concerns, or on their goods, rights, or prerogatives, under pretext of this present decree.”

palace; then ascending to the private apartments of His Holiness, he managed, though pale and trembling, to announce to the Pontiff that he was commissioned to obtain an immediate renunciation of the papal temporal sovereignty. "We cannot renounce," replied the Pope, "what does not belong to us. The temporal dominion of the Popedom belongs to the Roman Church; we merely administrate it." Accompanied only by Cardinal Pacca, the chief pastor of the Church was then led to a carriage; the door was locked, and surrounded by a squadron of dragoons, the prisoners of the great Napoleon were hurried toward France. Between them, the Pope and the cardinal had forty cents in their pockets when they left Rome. At Florence, the Pope was deprived of the companionship of Pacca. At Turin, the illustrious captive was attacked by sickness; but, nevertheless, the journey was continued until, having crossed Mt. Cenis, a short stop was made at Grenoble. Here the prefect, in whose mansion His Holiness was lodged, was obliged to throw open his gardens to the thousands who besought the papal benediction; but the bishop of the diocese was not allowed to communicate with his chief superior. From Grenoble the Pope was transferred to Savona. During his detention in this city, he was allowed to communicate with no person, save in the presence of governmental witnesses.

After the seizure of the Pontiff, all the cardinals then in Rome, among them Consalvi, had been summoned to Paris, where Napoleon fancied he could subdue them to his will. Consalvi refused to leave the papal capital without a papal command; and it required force to lead him to the presence of Napoleon. He had aged somewhat in appearance since his last meeting with his foe, and the latter might have properly attributed much of the change to the imperial conduct. Willing to be gracious, the monarch advanced toward his compulsory guest, saying: "Why, Cardinal Consalvi, you have grown thin! I would scarcely have known you."—"Yes, Sire," replied His Eminence, "the years pass; ten have elapsed since I had the honor of saluting Your Majesty."—"True," returned Napoleon, "ten years since you came for the Concordat. We drew it up in this very room, and it has

vanished in smoke ; Rome ruined everything. But I must admit that I made a mistake when I deprived you of your portfolio. If you had remained Minister, things would have turned out differently." Consalvi could not allow this insinuation to pass unrebuked, and he remarked : " If I had retained my portfolio, Sire, I would have continued to perform my duty." And the conscientious prelate soon gave a proof that he was still ready to fulfil his obligations at any cost. He so influenced his brethren of the Sacred College that they declared that while separated from their head, the Sovereign Pontiff, they would not deliberate, or take any part in the affairs of the Church. This action was a blow to Napoleon, who, holding the Pope a prisoner at Savona, trusted to be able to ignore the Pontifical authority, "*se passer du Pape*"; and, with the aid of a complacent Sacred College, to supply all episcopal vacancies as he listed. In fine, Napoleon had hoped to find a docile instrument of his tyranny in the Church of France. The so-called marriage, the real concubinage, of the autocrat with the daughter of the Austrian sovereign, brought matters to a crisis. In his pretended divorce from his legitimate wife, Josephine, Napoleon had indeed "dispensed with the Pope." But Consalvi and twelve other cardinals refused to so far recognize the legality of the union with the Austrian archduchess as to be present at the ceremony. Had it not been for the moderating counsels of Fouché, the furious sovereign would have ordered out a platoon, and caused Consalvi to be summarily shot. But he was fain to content himself with depriving the audacious cardinals of the pensions which he had allowed them in the place of their confiscated revenues, and with forbidding their wearing the insignia of their office ; hence their designation of "black cardinals." Consalvi was conducted to Reims, where he resided for three years, subjected to police surveillance, but devoting his time to his *Memoirs*. He managed, somehow, to communicate with the outside world, probably with the aid of the young priest Bernetti, afterward cardinal and secretary of state ; and he conceived and initiated a plan to deliver his venerable sovereign from captivity. An English frigate was tendered, and entered the waters of Savona ;

but the design transpiring, Pius VII. was transferred to Fontainebleau. The Pontiff was still at Savona, however, when Napoleon endeavored to obtain the sanction of the French clergy for his design to govern the French Church without the intervention of the Holy See. At this time the fortunes of Napoleon were at their height; the glory of no human potentate had ever equalled that which encompassed him; with one exception, all the powers of Europe bowed at his nod. That one exception was the venerable prisoner of Savona, the earthly Head of Christ's Church. Napoleon had feigned to laugh at the excommunication; writing from Dresden to his stepson, when he had begun to anticipate such a sentence, he had said: "They would denounce me to Christendom. So ridiculous an idea can emanate only from a profound ignorance of the day in which we live; the idea is a thousand years out of date. . . . Would he place my throne under an interdict; would he excommunicate me? *Does he suppose that then the muskets will fall from the hands of my soldiers?*" (1). Less than three years after that excommunication, the baffled sovereign beheld that spectacle which had appeared to be an impossibility; during his retreat from Moscow, he saw the muskets drop from the benumbed hands of his brave grenadiers, not in isolated instances, but in the case of entire regiments at a time. But no worldly-wise person in Europe would have dreamed, in 1811, that the Napoleonic drama was nearing its end; and the spirit of the world found it quite appropriate that an endeavor to bend the will of a Roman Pontiff should be put forth by him who could coolly send word to three kings in his antechamber that they should wait until he was ready to see them (2). From the day of his deprivation of liberty, Pius VII. had refused to grant the canonical confirmation and institution to any persons nominated by the French emperor for the mitre. When, because of just and important reasons, the Holy See

(1) Letter of Napoleon to Eugene de Beauharnais, then Viceroy of Italy, July 22, 1807.

(2) Napoleon had entered on a consultation with the famous Sulpician, M. Emery, whom he greatly esteemed, when the door of the apartment was thrown open, and a chamberlain announced: "Their Majesties, the Kings of Holland, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg!" The emperor exclaimed in a loud voice which was plainly heard by the monarchs who were on the point of entering: "Let them wait!" ARTAUD; *loc cit.*, Vol. ii., ch. 37.

adopts this measure, it wishes, observes Cardinal Pacca, to manifest its indignation because of the conduct which has driven it to such an extreme ; it does holy violence to the government and people concerned, so that they may repent of their crimes, and pause in their illegitimate and often sacrilegious enterprises (1). Napoleon fancied that he could provide for the necessities of the French Church, and thus escape the indignation of that powerful Catholic party which was his sole reliance in face of the revolutionary factions, by appealing to the French Church itself, many of the most eminent leaders of which were his own appointees and partisans. Therefore he appointed a commission to devise ways and means for an obviation of the inconveniences caused by the "obstinaey of the Pope." The members of this commission were Cardinals Maury and Fesch ; the archbishop of Tours ; the bishops of Vercelli, Evreux, Treves, Nantes ; the Barnabite general, Fontana ; and the superior of Saint-Sulpice, the Abbé Emery. Fontana participated only in the first sessions. The commission debated during many days ; and finally reported to the emperor that it had arrived at the following conclusions : I. When actuated merely by temporal motives, the Pope cannot refuse attention to spiritual matters. II. In regard to the nominations of cardinals, and in regard to other prerogatives of sovereigns, the emperor could claim for himself all the rights attached to the sovereignties of the countries which he had subjugated. III. The emperor and his ministers had not acted in any way contrary to the Concordat. IV. The emperor was not to be blamed for the religious innovations which the Pontiff had charged to him ; the invasion of the Papal States, etc. (the seizure of the Pope, of course, included), were merely temporal matters, which ought not to be confounded with spiritual ones. V. As to the means for procuring a canonical institution of bishops, it would be well to have the opinion of a National Council. (Napoleon said that this reply was evasive ; and he demanded a categorical answer as to the rights of a National Council in the premises. Then the commission reported that "the National Council might

(1) PACCA ; *Memoires*, Vol. i., p. 289.

opine that, in the present urgent circumstances, the institution might be accorded by the metropolitan or by the senior suffragan.") VI. As to the disorder prevalent in the dioceses of the German provinces which Napoleon had subjugated, a Concordat would probably remedy them. VII. The excommunication of the emperor was "null and void, since it had been launched in the defense of temporal interests." Protest- ing against this view of the excommunicating power, Emery showed that it implied an accusation against many General Councils, notably against the Council of Trent; and in his excitement the Sulpician declared that "he would immediately become a Protestant," if it could be proved that the Church did not possess a power which it had so constantly exercised. He also insisted that the preservation of the temporal dominion of the Holy See is not a thing apart from spiritual interests; since the independence of the Roman Pontiff is secured by that dominion. Picot well says of the report of this commission that its general tenor and its flatteries of Napoleon astonish and afflict us, when we consider that its ecclesiastical framers might have acquired great glory by a strong support of the claims of the imprisoned Pontiff.

Pius VII. soon manifested his judgment on the report of the Napoleonic commission. In a Brief to Cardinal Maury, dated Nov. 5, 1810, he expressed his astonishment at the cardinal's acceptance of the nomination to the archdiocese of Paris (1); and he called on His Eminence to renounce the promotion at once, under pain of prosecution according to the Canons. On Dec. 2, the Pontiff sent a Brief to the vicar-capitular of Florence, forbidding the clergy of that diocese to admit in any way the authority of the bishop of Nancy, whom the emperor had set over them. The Chapter and all the Florentine clergy cheerfully obeyed. The firmness of Pius VII. entailed new persecutions upon him. On Jan. 7, 1811, his modest apartment was searched most minutely; his writing desk was rifled, and all its contents, even his Breviary, were sent to Paris. The same treatment was ex-

(1) Cardinal Fesch had refused to gratify his imperial nephew by accepting the nomination.

perienched by all the members of his little household. From that day he was allowed to have no writing materials whatever. He was even deprived of his confessor and his chamberlain. On the 14th, the prefect of the department received orders to write to his prisoner the following letter: "The undersigned, in accordance with commands emanating from His Imperial and Royal Majesty, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, etc., notifies Pope Pius VII. that he is forbidden to communicate with any church of the empire, or with any subject of the emperor, under pain of disobedience on his part and on their part; that he, who preaches rebellion and has a heart filled with gall, has ceased to be the organ of the Catholic Church; that since nothing can render him wise, he shall see that His Majesty is sufficiently powerful to do what his predecessors did, that is, to depose a Pope"(1). His Holiness was also notified that thenceforth His Imperial Majesty would allow for his sustentation, and that of his few attendants, only the sum of fifty cents (*cinque paoli*) per day for each individual; but this contemptible puerility lasted only two weeks, as Napoleon could not endure the shame of knowing that the people of Savona were sending, every day, donations of food to his prisoners. If the emperor had hoped that Pius VII. would succumb to these and similar petty trials, he was disappointed; for the venerable Pontiff gave no sign of discouragement. A new session of the commission was now ordered, two other members being added to it—Cardinal Caselli, bishop of Parma, and Mgr. de Pradt, archbishop of Malines. They were asked to solve these difficulties: I. Since there is at present no communication between the Pope and the subjects of the emperor, to whom shall the latter apply, when they desire dispensations such as the Holy See was wont to accord? II. When the Pope refuses persistently to grant Bulls of Investiture to bishops nominated by the emperor, what legitimate means can be adopted to procure the canonical institution of those prelates? To the first question the commission replied that when the faithful desired dispensations in matters of daily

(1) ARTAUD; *loc. cit.*, Vol. III., ch. I.

necessity, but which did not concern the general administration of the Church or its internal discipline, they might recur to their ordinaries. The second difficulty was solved by a suggestion that His Majesty might add to the Concordat a clause establishing that, if the Pontiff did not grant the institution within a given period, the right of institution would devolve on the Provincial Councils. It would be advisable, however, subjoined the commission, to refer these matters to a National Council before acting upon them. This report was presented to the emperor during a solemn audience at the Tuileries on March 30, 1811. Napoleon opened the audience with one of those violent outbursts with which he frequently affected sincere indignation—a fury which was very often merely theatrical. With one exception, the members of the commission remained mute when the tirade was finished. When the octogenarian, Abbé Emery, saw that no cardinal, no bishop, offered to brave the autocrat by a defense of the imprisoned Head of the Church, he calmly arose and said: “Sire, I can hold but one view of this matter, and it is that which is presented in the *Catechism* which is taught, *by your orders*, in all our churches. To the question ‘Who is the Pope?’ this answer is given: ‘He is the Head of the Church, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, to whom all Christians owe obedience.’ Now, I ask whether a body can dispense with its head, with that person to whom, by divine law, it owes obedience? *We are compelled*, here in France, to uphold the Four Articles of the Declaration of 1682; but that doctrine ought to be received in its entirety. You will perceive that the preface to that Declaration declares that the Pope is the Head of the Church, to whom all Christians owe obedience; and furthermore you will see that the preface subjoins that the Four Articles were decreed, not so much to limit the power of the Pope, as to prevent men from not recognizing in him what is essential (to his office).” Then, after a minute explanation of the Four Articles, the abbé concluded with the declaration that *the projected National Council would be of no authority whatever, if it were held without the sanction of the Pope*. Evidently ill at ease, Napoleon now observed: “Well, I shall not deny the spiritual

power of the Pope, since he received that from Jesus Christ ; but it was Charlemagne, not Christ, who gave the temporal power to him (1), and I, as successor to Charlemagne, now deprive him of it, because he knows not how to use it, and because it impedes him in the exercise of his spiritual functions." Emery rejoined : " Your Majesty respects the great Bossuet, and is frequently pleased to quote him. . . . In his *Defense of the Declaration*, Bossuet says : ' We know well that the Roman Pontiffs have received by the concession of kings (2), and that they now possess legitimately, certain properties, rights, and principalities (*imperium*). We know that these possessions, being dedicated to God, are so sacred that they cannot, without sacrilege, be invaded, stolen, or given to seculars. The sovereignty of the city of Rome and of other districts has been granted to the Apostolic See, in order that said See may be free in the exercise of its authority throughout the world. Because of this fact we congratulate not only the Apostolic See, but the Universal Church ; and we pray, with our entire hearts, that in every sense this sacred principality may remain secure ' " (3). Certain members of the commission begged Napoleon to pardon the injudiciousness of the abbé ; he was in his dotage, etc. The emperor replied : " I am not at all offended by the conduct of the Abbé Emery. He talks like a man who has a grasp of his subject." Dismissing the commissioners, Napoleon paid special attention only to Emery. " This incident," writes Cardinal Paea, " confirmed me in my opinion that Bonaparte would not have become a persecutor of the Church, if he had found, in the beginning, more firmness and courage in the French bishops, and less condescension in the court of Rome " (4).

On June 17, 1811, a so-called National Council of the French Empire met in the cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris, under the presidency of Cardinal Fesch ; and His Eminence

(1) For proof that the Roman Pontiff was a temporal sovereign long before the advent of Charlemagne, see our Vol. I., ch. 40.

(2) Here the Eagle of Meaux errs. The original source of the Papal dominion in the Roman States was no concession of sovereigns, but the will of the populations of those states, who had been abandoned by the Constantinopolitan emperors. See *ubi supra*.

(3) *Defense of the Declaration*, bk. 1, sect. 10, ch. 16. (4) *Memoires*, Vol. t., p. 214.

courageously began the conciliar proceedings by pronouncing the customary oath : " I swear and promise true obedience to the Roman Pontiff, etc." The address of the synodals to the emperor, which had been composed by the bishop of Nantes, proved to be so sycophantic that very many of the prelates voted against its adoption, unless the objectionable passages were omitted. Napoleon refused to receive the corrected compliments, and ordered the assembly to proceed to the business for which it had been convoked. A commission of twelve members was then appointed to prepare a report concerning the " proper " means of supplying a deficiency of Papal Bulls of Investiture. After many debates, Cardinal Fesch was requested by the commission to inform the emperor that it was the opinion of the Council that a deputation should wait upon the Pontiff, and beg His Holiness to provide for the needs of the churches of the empire. Napoleon replied that if the Council did not perform its duty immediately, he would dissolve it, and then compel the metropolitans to institute the bishops ; he also insisted on the preparation, then and there, of a decree which the commission afterward presented to the synodals as " an extreme condescension of the emperor, a benefit which they should hasten to welcome." When this decree was read in the Council, several bishops declared that they would not sign it. Then Napoleon arrested and sent to the fortress of Vincennes the chief opponents of his measure, the bishops of Troyes, Tournay, and Gand ; and he threatened to incarcerate also the archbishop of Bordeaux. Several of the synodals braved the imperial anger by returning to their dioceses. Thiers ascribes to Cardinal Maury the invention of the plan now adopted by Napoleon to gain his point (1). One by one, the prelates were summoned to the residence of the Minister of Worship, and there subjected to either seduction or intimidation (2). The governmental

(1) *History of the Consulate and the Empire*. Vol. xiii., p. 174. Paris, 1845-65.

(2) One of the prelates who resisted all the efforts of both the Minister and Napoleon was the bishop of Digne, the " Myriel " of Hugo's *Miserables*, of whom we have already spoken. Hugo says that " Myriel " attended at only one session ; that, " being a bishop of a mountain diocese, and being accustomed to contact with nature in all simplicity and severity, he seemed to bring among these eminent personages certain ideas which changed

machinery having accomplished its utmost, the Council met in "general congregation" on Aug. 5, and a large majority voted for a decree such as the emperor had demanded. It was provided that no see should remain vacant for more than a year; that the emperor should be *besought* to continue to provide for vacancies as the Concordat prescribed, and that his nominees should ask His Holiness for the canonical institution; that the Pontiff should grant that institution within six months after reception of the request; that in the case of a bishop, if the Pope did not grant the Bull of institution within six months, the metropolitan, and in that prelate's absence, the senior suffragan, should effect the institution; that if the case were one of a metropolitan, the senior suffragan should act; and finally, that the decree should be submitted to His Holiness, together with a prayer for his approbation of it, the Council being convinced that "it alone could put an end to the woes of the churches of France and of Italy." Hefele asserts that only one synodal, Droste-Vischering, a Rhenish prelate, raised his voice against this decree (1); but the German historian is contradicted by the Acts of the Council, which record the dissentient votes of the archbishop of Bordeaux, and of the bishops of Vannes, Saint-Brieuc, Soissons, Amiens, Angers, Limoges, Agen, Mende, Namur, Digne, and Grenoble. As deputies of the Council, charged with the task of procuring the pontifical assent to its decree, Napoleon chose the archbishops of

the character of the assembly. He soon returned to D.; and when he was questioned as to the speedy departure, he answered: "I tired them; I brought with me an outside atmosphere; I was like an open door to them." The truth is that Mgr. de Miollis attended all the sessions of the Council; his name is found on the rolls of all of these, and of all the special conferences. It is true that he was an *intransigent*, always pronouncing for the prerogatives of the Apostolic See. When the Minister of Worship, Bigot de Préameneu, endeavored to conquer his resistance to the imperial pretensions by citing the submission of "many distinguished bishops," Miollis remarked: "I understand you, M. le Ministre; and precisely because Providence has given more talent to others than to me, I consider myself obliged to make the best possible use of the little that I possess." Napoleon himself exerted all his wiles, and put forth innumerable sophistries, to gain the vote of the simpleminded prelate; but just when he was flattering himself that he had prevailed, Miollis declared that he wanted time for reflection. "I have never yet come to an important decision without previous prayer to the Holy Ghost." The emperor told him to give his answer on the following day; and when the time arrived Napoleon sarcastically asked what the Holy Ghost had said. The reply was: "Not one word, Sire, of all those which your Majesty pronounced yesterday." Of course Hugo suppressed these facts.

(1) Thus in the *Church Lexicon* of Wetzer and Welte, art. *Pius VII.*

Tours, Pavia, and Malines; and the bishops of Faenza, Piacenza, Feltre, Evreux, Nantes, and Treves. His Majesty deemed it prudent to join some of the cardinals to this deputa-ⁿtion; and strange to say, he selected five of his "red" Eminences, Roverella, Ruffo, Doria, Dugnani, and Bayane—men whose records would scarcely influence the Pontiff in favor of the cause that they espoused. The details of the meeting of these prelates with the prisoner of Savona are unknown to this day; but there is reason to believe that we must regard as authentic the approbation of the Conciliar decree which, on their return to Paris, the deputies presented to their imperial master. In reference to this approbation, extorted from the betrayed and suffering Pontiff, Cardinal Pacca remarks: "If I had not discovered, among the documents entrusted by the Pope to us at Fontainebleau, the minute of this Brief (*Ex quo*), I would not have credited its existence; or at least I would not have believed that it was couched in the terms which are given in the *Fragments Regarding the Ecclesiastical History of the First Years of the Nineteenth Century*, written by M. de Barral, nephew of the archbishop of Tours." Napoleon had conquered in the first stage of the game which had for its stake the enslavement of the French Church. Great, therefore, was the astonishment of the prelates who had compromised with their consciences, when they were informed that His Majesty refused to accept the Brief for which he had so persistently labored. Publicists differ as to the reasons for this imperial inconsistency. It is not improbable that Napoleon felt that, were he to accept the pontifical concession, he would be obliged, in common decency, to restore the successor of St. Peter to his capital and to liberty—a procedure which would have been equivalent to a renunciation of his dream of a Napoleonic Western Empire. The bishops were ordered to return to their dioceses, and an end was put to an assembly which had been thoroughly illegitimate, and which, among all modern ecclesiastical reunions, most perfectly resembles the so-called councils of the Arian or schismatic Byzantine emperors.

On June 9, 1812, our Pontiff was informed by his jailers

that he was to be immediately transferred to Fontainebleau. Some authors opine that Napoleon feared that during his imminent Russian expedition, an English squadron might deliver his prisoner from Savona; others more reasonably suppose that the autocrat imagined that by bringing Pius VII. under the direct influence of his magnetic personality, he could more readily obtain what was then his principal desire, the papal abdication of the kingship of the Roman States. When the guards had conducted the Pope as far as Mt. Cenis, he was found to be so seriously ill, that word was sent to the French authorities of Turin, with request for orders as to what was to be done. The reply was to the effect that the commands of the emperor were to be obeyed. Meanwhile the Holy Viaticum had been administered to His Holiness, and in his carriage; for the reader must know that during this journey of eleven days, the venerable prisoner was not once allowed to leave the vehicle. Fontainebleau was reached on June 20; and the Pontiff was put to bed, where he remained during several weeks, hovering between life and death. After his disastrous campaign in Russia, Napoleon went to Fontainebleau; and he succeeded in wrenching from the weakness of the suffering Pontiff, then without other advisers than the "red" cardinals, a signature to a draft for a new Concordat. The circumstances which preceded this signature, accorded on Jan. 25, 1813, are unknown; but the Pontiff ever afterward declared that when Cardinal Doria handed him the pen, His Eminence and the other "red" cardinals assured him that the document contained "only simple preliminaries, which would remain secret until, in a meeting of all the cardinals, it should be decided how to put them in force." The Pope also declared that it was untrue that, as was then said, and as is still often asserted, the infuriated emperor struck the Vicar of Christ (1). By the instrument signed at Fontainebleau, among other things which were redolent of the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy," Pius VII. agreed to reside wherever the emperor would indicate; thus tacitly abdicating his temporal throne. The wily monarch published what he

(1) PACCA; *Memoires*, pt. ii., ch. 13.

chose to style a new Concordat on Feb. 13; and it was immediately registered as a law of the empire. But Providence had decreed that this document was not to trammel the independence of the Holy See. Napoleon had promised to free the cardinals and other ecclesiastics who were confined in the prisons of Fenestrelles, Pignerol, Capraja, and other fortresses; and although he broke his word in the case of the bishops and simple priests, he liberated the cardinals. Consalvi arrived at Fontainebleau on Feb. 18. As we have seen, Pius VII. had intended, when signing the draft of Jan. 25, that a condition *sine qua non* of its validity was to be its approval by all the cardinals united in Consistory. Consalvi soon found that their Eminences differed in judgment as to the pretended Concordat, but his own opinion was at once delivered in these words: "Holy Father, a cloud may obscure the light of the sun, but the sun does not hence become a cloud. For the honor of the Church, this instrument, extorted from Your Holiness by violence, must be disavowed." This judgment was then unanimously adopted. Consalvi and Pacca were delegated to draw up a disavowal, to be forwarded to Napoleon. When the monarch received this missive, he trampled it under foot and exclaimed: "Things will never be settled until I have cut off the heads of some of these priests!" But he merely tried fresh negotiations, which dragged their weary length along until Pius VII. declared that he would give the matter no further consideration until he found himself in Rome. And that day came. On January 22, 1814, Napoleon allowed the Pontiff to return to Rome. Consalvi, however, was conducted by the police to Beziers to be interned; but before separating from his venerable master, he wrote out instructions for those cardinals who remained in Paris. They were prohibited, in the most positive manner, to enter upon any negotiation in reference to any arrangement with the Holy See. Nevertheless, in February Napoleon tried his hand once again; but in three months he abdicated the throne in that same chateau where he had so shamefully treated the Vicar of Christ (1).

(1) "History does not accept that humanitarian Napoleon and that sentimental Cæsar

Pius VII. re-entered his capital on May 24, 1814. Murat, the soldier whose fortune Napoleon had made, and to whom he had given his sister Caroline in marriage, had basely joined the allied enemies of his benefactor, and had invaded the States of the Church. Napoleon preferred to see those States in the hands of the Pontiff, their legitimate sovereign, rather than in those of an ambitious traitor; therefore, he allowed his illustrious captive to leave the soil of France. The spirit which animated Pius VII. when he entered the Eternal City, which had become demoralized under the rule of the sons of the Revolution, may be illustrated by an incident which happened during his journey. While resting at Cesena, he was told that Murat, who was still king of Naples, and whose soldiers were occupying several of the papal provinces, was in the neighborhood, and would gladly be honored with an audience. The request was granted; and when the first compliments had been exchanged, Murat expressed his surprise at the Pope's intention of proceeding to Rome. The spirit of the Romans, he said, was averse to a rule by ecclesiastics. And in order to convince the Pontiff that he spoke the truth, he showed to His Holiness a petition (men said that it had been solicited by himself) which was signed by many Roman patricians and landowners, urging Murat to use his influence with the allied sovereigns to procure the government of Rome by some secular prince. The Pope took the document; but without reading it, he threw it into the brazier which was warming the room, and remarked: "Now nothing prevents our going to Rome." We may here note that on the day after our Pontiff had re-entered the Quirinal Palace, from which the

which some have tried to impose upon it. So far as genius is concerned, Napoleon stands forth as the great contemporary figure, as warrior and as organizer. At the close of the French Revolution, which had produced only chaos, he intuitively discerned the two needs of society—namely, religion and administration. With the intelligence which perceives he united the will which executes, when it is aided by circumstances. He also possessed military genius, and that helped him to hide his despotism under the mantle of glory. To three sides of his nature—a knowledge of civil and political affairs, a will, and military genius—he owed his fourteen years of reign. He fell, through an abuse of the principle of his rule, which was the omnipotence of one will imposing itself on every person and every thing. This principle was irresistible so long as circumstances favored it; but it failed in an impossible duel with contrary circumstances, partly through his own fault, and partly through the natural course of events." (Alfred Nettement, cited by E. d'Argill, in his *Centennial of 1789*. Paris, 1889.)

children of the Revolution had dragged him, nearly five years previously, one of the patrician signers of this petition threw himself at the feet of His Holiness, and begged pardon for his treason. The gentle Pontiff replied : " Well, well ! Do you think that we ourselves find in our conduct no fault for which we ought to be blamed ? " Just before he entered his capital, Pius VII. named Consalvi plenipotentiary to all the courts of Europe. Talleyrand, who had presented him to the First Consul, now introduced him to Louis XVIII. The great object of the prelate was to obtain the restoration of the States of the Church in their pristine integrity. This was no easy task ; for the weaker governments could scarcely trust to equitable treatment when so many vultures were disputing over the remains of the Colossus. England had her eye on the Low Countries, Russia claimed Poland, Prussia coveted Saxony, while the ravenous stomach of Austria yearned for nearly all, if not all, of Italy. France, of course, could only remain silent. In this emergency, Consalvi resolved to claim the support of that Protestant kingdom, the protection of whose subjects had brought upon the Holy See its chief persecution. He went to London, and so charmed the prince-regent, that when the English plenipotentiaries were starting for the Congress of Vienna, they were told to support all the demands of the papal representative ; for they would be just ones. Before his departure from London, Consalvi, in the name of Pope Pius VII., requested the emancipation of the British Catholics. He arrived at Vienna on July 20, strong in the support of the English representatives, and in the good-will of Alexander of Russia, which the friendship of the prince-regent had procured for him. On November 19, the Legations, Benevento, and Pontecorvo, were restored to the Holy See ; but the royal participants in the Congress impudently, if solicitously, impressed upon the pontifical government the necessity of introducing reforms such as not one of them dreamed of adopting in his own dominions. At this Congress Consalvi gained one of his most notable diplomatic triumphs. To avoid all rivalries, he said, among the mutually jealous great powers, he suggested that precedence should be accorded to the

papal ambassador whenever the diplomatic body met. The Pope, he argued, represents one of the weakest temporal powers, but the strongest moral one of all. In the name of England, Wellington agreed. Prussia objected; but the czar interfered, saying: "The Pope is the head of the largest body of Christians existing, while in a political sense he is neutral. If I had the honor of meeting him in an assembly of sovereigns, I would ask for no other presiding officer than the Holy Father; my ambassadors will treat his nuncios as I would treat his person." This settled the matter; and to this day the provision for a nuncio's precedency is one of the few ordinances of the Congress of Vienna which are still respected by the cabinets of Europe. But Consalvi entertained very little confidence in the permanently healing qualities of the Congress. Listen to the following avowal: "I have heard the most sinister predictions from the lips of my colleagues in the Congress. The powers hope to dominate the Revolution by compression, or by reducing it to silence; and, nevertheless, the Revolution lifts its head at the very table of this body. We are trying, by dint of sheer force and money, to bolster up an old edifice which is crumbling before our eyes; and we never dream of rebuilding it in a solid fashion—a thing which would be, perhaps, less expensive, and certainly more durable." The bass-relief on the beautiful monument to Consalvi in the Roman Church of St. Mary of the Martyrs, once the Pantheon of Agrippa, represents the return of the great diplomat from the Congress of Vienna, and his presentation to the Pontiff-King of the provinces wrested from his sway eighteen years previously. But it would have been impossible for the artist to picture, within the compass of a single monument, all that Consalvi effected toward the restoration of her olden lustre to Rome. Under the withering touch of that movement which, according to its frenzied advocates, was to entail the very culmination of prosperity, the capital of the Christian world had seen grass growing in the Square of St. Peter's. Consalvi, restored to the secretaryship of state, resolved to renew the olden traditions, and to surround the Apostolic Chair with all the glories of the sciences and the arts. He

initiated immense works, destined to replace the spoliations of the modern Vandals, and put forth every effort to effect the restitution of the treasures of art which the Gallic conqueror had stolen for the adornment of the Louvre,—a task, however, in which he was not entirely successful. He encouraged and protected the greatest of modern sculptors, Canova, and the Danish Thorwaldsen, who finally executed his monument; the young and struggling musician, Rossini; Cimarosa in his decline; the Englishman Lawrence, whom George IV. had sent to paint his portrait; Bernetti and Angelo Mai, who afterward continued his policy. He was the friend of Humboldt and of Niebuhr; but he knew how to do the honors of the capital to kings and princes, and the festivities with which he welcomed them were among the most splendid of the day.

Just as Pius VII. had refused to acquiesce in the demand of Bonaparte to expel the king of Sardinia from Rome, so did he refuse the repeated interpellations of the allied sovereigns for the withdrawal of the papal hospitality from the Bonaparte family, who had taken refuge with the Apostolic See after the ruin of their head. The Pontiff even interested himself in the lot of the captive of St. Helena. Hearken to the following letter to Consalvi: “The mother and family of Napoleon appeal to our mercy and generosity, and we deem it just to respond. We are sure that you will cheerfully comply with our injunction to write, in our name, to the allied monarchs, and especially to the prince-regent [of England], who has given us so many proofs of esteem. He is your good and dear friend, and we expect you to ask him to lighten the sufferings of such a banishment. It would be an extraordinary joy to our heart to have contributed to lessen the torments of Napoleon. He can no longer be a danger to any one; and we wish him to be an occasion of remorse to no one.” Such, also, were the sentiments of Consalvi; and the man who would have shot him had the benefit of his intercession at London, Paris, and Vienna. When the mother of Napoleon learned, through Cardinal Fesch, of the efforts of Consalvi on behalf of her son, she wrote to His Eminence: “The sole consolation left me is the knowl-

edge that the Holy Father forgets the past, and remembers only his affection for all belonging to me. We can find no refuge save under the pontifical government; and our gratitude is commensurate with the benefit. I speak in the name of my entire family of proscribed ones; and, above all, for him who is now slowly dying on a desert rock. His Holiness and Your Eminence are the only persons in Europe who try to soften his fate" (1).

The return of Pope Pius VII. to the capital of his temporal dominions, and, therefore, to his normal position of spiritual independence, was the signal to innumerable bishops throughout Christendom for so many petitions for the restoration of the Society of Jesus. Already, in 1801, our Pontiff had permitted a canonical establishment of the Society in Russia, conferring on its members in that empire all of their olden powers and privileges. And in 1804 he had extended this concession to the kingdom of Naples, hearkening to the prayer of that same Ferdinand who, in 1767, had so heartily entered into the Masonico-Jansenist conspiracy against those religious. Cardinal Pacca finds in the restoration of the celebrated Society by Pius VII., and in his own prominent connection with that restoration, a wonderful

(1) Consalvi was indefatigable in labor. Even when at the height of his honors and fame, he never worked less than fifteen hours a day. He was often reproached with his intimacy with schismatics and Protestants. Once Pius VII., commenting on his having tamed the ferocious Lutheran, Niebuhr, remarked: "That is one of our dear Consalvi's greatest miracles." He was very forgiving, but he was never weak. One day, when he was being beset by a multitude of office-seekers, pension and sinecure hunters, and others of that ilk, he discerned among them certain olden revolutionists of the direst and bloodiest stamp. "I am surprised to see you here," he said.—"But we have been amnestied," was the cool reply.—"True," returned the Minister, with a dismissing gesture, "the Holy Father was willing to pardon you, but not to reward you." One of his recreations was the cultivation of flowers, to which he was passionately attached. The Duke of Orleans, afterward King Louis Philippe, wishing to testify his gratitude for some favor received, Talleyrand told him: "If you wish to please him, send him some flowers." He detested any approach to ostentation. George IV. having sent him a piece of the finest Indian cashmere, woven expressly for the purpose, his valet managed, unknown to the prelate, to have a soutane made of the elegant material, and to get his master into it on the occasion of a solemn function. As usual, too preoccupied to notice his costume, he set out for the ceremony, and his gorgeous raiment received admiring attention. He retired at once to his apartments, doffed the precious robe, and sent it as a gift to an impoverished country church. The powers of Consalvi as secretary of state expired, of course, with Pope Pius VII.; and then his own fast-failing health warned him to prepare to follow the master he had so faithfully served. He retired to his villa at Porto d'Anzio, and returned again to Rome only to attend to the magnificent tomb which he erected to the late Pontiff with the fruits of his economies. He went to his reward on January 24, 1824.

illustration of the difference between the ways of **Providence** and the theories of men: "The young Benedictine, Chiaramonti, studied under professors who were hostile to the Jesuits; and from them he imbibed doctrines the very opposite to those defended by the Society. Now everyone knows how deep is the impression produced by the studies of our youth. As for myself, I had been inspired, when a young man, with sentiments of aversion, and I may say of fanatical hatred, for the illustrious Society. For instance, there was placed in my hands, with an order to make extracts from it, the famous *Provincial Letters*, both in French and in Latin, together with those notes by Wendrok (Nicole), which were far more abominable than the text. They gave me also the *Practical Morality of the Jesuits* by Arnould, and similar works, which I credited in good faith. At that time who would have believed that the Benedictine, Barnaba Chiaramonti, having become Pope, would, immediately after the subsiding of a fearful tempest, re-establish that Society throughout the Catholic world; and that I would be the one to prepare the way for this new triumph, receiving from the Pope the duty of executing his sovereign orders? Having been a witness of those two memorable events, the suppression and the restoration of the Society of Jesus, I could appreciate the difference between the impressions produced by each of them" (1). Then the cardinal enters into the details of the resurrection of the Society on Aug. 7, 1814; and he declares that he wishes to avail himself of the opportunity "to leave in his writings a solemn retraction of the imprudent outbursts of his youth against a Society which has merited so well of the Church of Jesus Christ." The rehabilitating Bull *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum* was placed by Pius VII. himself in the hands of Panizoni, the provincial of the Jesuits in Italy and vicar-general of the Society. On May 29, 1815, King Ferdinand VII. of Spain repaired, to some extent, the harm which his grandfather, Charles III., had inflicted on the Society; he invited the Jesuits to return to Spain, and restored to them all their property which had not been sold. In France, however,

(1) *Memoirs*, pt. iii., ch. 8.

although Talleyrand advised Louis XVIII. to recall the Society as an efficacious support of the recently restored monarchy, either the king's philosophistic prejudices or his fear of the mob led him to withhold all governmental cognizance of the Bull *Sollicitudo*. In practice this reticence of the civil authorities interfered but little with the good which the Jesuits now resumed in France; the king did not extend to them his royal invitation to return to their work in his kingdom, but the Constitution left them at liberty to so return. Article V. of the *Charte* conceded to the Church, just as it allowed to Judaism and to the innumerable sects of Protestantism, full liberty of action in everything pertaining to the spiritual order, and in accordance with her own rules. Therefore, since the Pope had numbered the Society of Jesus among the Religious Orders, its members, albeit merely auxiliary priests in the eyes of the civil law, were able to enter legally into France.

Pope Pius VII. laid down his burden of over twenty-three years of pontificate on April 20, 1823. The pre-eminent characteristic of this Pontiff was indicated by Cardinal Pacca, when that minister and friend applied to him the words with which Holy Writ describes the legislator of Sinai—"He was the mildest of men." But although gentleness was his predominating trait, so much so that, with the sole exception of Pius IX., no modern Pope so filled with love of him all who held personal relations with him, he was not weak. In his charming and valuable reminiscences of the four pontificates which he had accurately and even critically studied, Cardinal Wiseman said: "The government of the Pope was vigorous and decided, because he knew better than most princes how to choose his minister, and, once chosen, how to give him his confidence. If this work were a history, it would be easy to give proof of this truly sovereign instinct. It may be sufficient to say, that no one could have served him more wisely, at the critical moment when his misfortunes commenced, than their historian, Cardinal Pacca; none could have guided the helm of his shattered vessel more skilfully or more firmly than the great statesman, Consalvi. It was in that middle space between these two ministers—

when no longer, indeed, a monarch, but a captive—when bereft of all advice and sympathy, but pressed on close by those who, themselves probably deceived, thoroughly deceived him—that he committed the one error of his life and pontificate, in 1813. For there came to him men ‘of the seed of Aaron,’ who could not be expected to mislead him, themselves free and moving in the business of the world, who showed him, through the loop-holes of his prison, that world from which he was shut out, as though agitated on its surface, and to its lowest depths, through his unbendingness; the Church torn to schism, and religion weakened to destruction, from what they termed his obstinacy. He who had but prayed and bent his neck to suffering was made to appear in his own eyes a harsh and cruel master, who would rather see all perish, than loose his grasp on unrelenting, but impotent, jurisdiction. He yielded for a moment of conscientious alarm; he consented, though conditionally, under false, but virtuous impressions, to the terms proposed to him for a new Concordat. But no sooner had his upright and humble mind discovered the error, than it nobly and successfully repaired it. He would have no help from others in this work; he would let no man risk peace or comfort by assisting him. He would be his own secretary; wrote, corrected, and transcribed the necessary documents; recovered his bright serenity, his sweet smile, and unruffled peace by his humble candor; and rose higher in the esteem and love of all who knew him, from the depth of the self-abasement into which he nobly descended” (1). Alluding to the justice and true liberalism of this Pontiff’s reign over his temporal subjects, after his restoration, the same calm and judicious authority says: “Had Pius VII. re-enacted the laws (framed by the foreign usurpers) under which his subjects had groaned as under an oppression, and re-established the republic which they still detested as a usurpation; had he acted in the teeth of all Europe, in spite of every principle which guided its sovereigns and statesmen in his restoration; had he even thereby risked for himself another catastrophe, and for Italy another war; there might nowadays be many

(1) *The Last Four Popes*, ch. 4. London, 1858.

who would extol him as a hero, and almost deify him as a man beyond and above his age. Had he acted so, however, at that time, he would have been ridiculed, deserted, and abused by all parties, whig or tory, conservative or radical, as a fanatic, an unseasonable phenomenon, a man behind the age, which had outgrown revolutionary fancies ; in fine, a dotard who had better have been translated from the cell of a prison to that of an asylum, than restored from exile to a throne. We doubt if even the sorry compliment of a newspaper paragraph would have been paid him for his pains. He was restored, as Pope, to the temporal government of the portion of Italy held by his predecessors, without share in the warlike achievements of other princes, without a claim to the prizes of their victories. He was restored concurrently by Protestant and Catholic Powers, with the applause of the civilized world, and amidst the acclamations of joy, or rather in accordance with the longings, of his own subjects. He was restored on the principle which formed the basis of all restorations at the time, that Europe, so long convulsed and so long unsettled, should return to the normal state from which she had been wrenched. Empires were restored as empires, kingdoms resettled as kingdoms, grand-duchies as grand-duchies, republics as republics. And so the Pope was given back to Rome, to rule as Popes had done, by a system exceptional, and in a form the loss of which experience had proved to be hurtful. The independence of the Pope, that is, the combination in one of spiritual rule over the whole Catholic Church with a temporal limited sovereignty, had been sensibly demonstrated to be an important element in the re-adjustment of Europe. The evils resulting from the subjection of the common Father of the Faithful to one of his more powerful children, had been universally felt ; and the continuation of such an irregular condition by a peaceful subjugation of the ecclesiastical to any lay power, would have been only providing for the habitual derangement of religious action."

CHAPTER II.

THE PRETENDED DIVORCES OF NAPOLEON AND JEROME BONAPARTE.*

In a pamphlet which he issued in 1887, Prince Jerome Napoleon, the illegitimate son of the Napoleonic king of Westphalia by a daughter of the king of Wurtemberg, found fault with the Austrian diplomat, Prince Metternich, because of an assertion by that generally circumspect personage to the effect that the great Napoleon had never been united sacramentally to Josephine. The Austrian had even dared to say that Cardinal Consalvi himself had admitted to him that *the Roman Pontiff, Pius. VII., had sanctioned the concubinary status of Napoleon and Josephine*, by the very fact that he had admitted the latter to a share in the imperial consecration. It was quite natural that Metternich, merely as a politician, should wish such to have been the case; under no other supposition could he uphold the honor of Maria Louisa and of her family. If Josephine was ever sacramentally united to Napoleon, the proud Hapsburgs had simply handed over one of their daughters to be the concubine of the "Corsican adventurer"; as Catholics, the imperial family of Austria were compelled to acknowledge this degradation of their escutcheon; therefore the Germanic imperialism of the Viennese chancellor impelled his presumed Catholic conscience to pronounce an abominable lie, and to insult the memory of one of the holiest successors of St. Peter. It shall be our present task to show that Prince Napoleon was in the right when he replied to Metternich that Napoleon and Josephine, "who had been only civilly married in the time of the Directory, were united religiously by Cardinal Fesch, in order to satisfy the scruples of Josephine, in the evening preceding the consecration, and in the presence of Talleyrand and Berthier, in the chapel of the Tuileries. I know this from the traditions of my family" (1).

Whether because they really ignored the circumstances of

(*) The first part of this chapter appeared as an article in the *Ave Maria*, Vol. xxxii.

(1) *Napoleon and His Detractors*.

Napoleon's marriage and divorce, or because they dared not reveal displeasing details, the memoirists of the First Empire—such as Bourrienne, Marco Saint-Hilaire, Loriquet, Gallois, the Continuator of Anquetil—have given us either travestied information or none at all. Thiers and d'Haussonville afterward narrated a part of the story. But in 1839 M. d'Avannes, vice-president of the tribunal of Evreux, while preparing his *Sketches of Navarre*, and wishing to give some place to Josephine, who had received the ancient kingdom as a kind of appanage, asked permission to consult the documents concerning our subject which were guarded in the archives of the Ministry of Justice. He was allowed to investigate, but not to copy them. In this emergency he had recourse to the friendly offices of the Abbé Rudemare, who had been promoter of the diocese of Paris under the empire; and who, more liberal than the state authorities, was able to furnish the investigator with even more information than that hidden in the archives. Add to this source the narration of Rudemare himself, as given among the “justificative pieces” in the *History of Cardinal Fesch*, by Lyonnet, and you have the means whereby to construct the entire history of the Napoleonic matrimonial complication.

When Napoleon married Josephine de Beauharnais, on March 9, 1796, it was a purely civil ceremony which, in accordance with the spirit and law of the Revolution, united the pair. At that time the most hellish spirit of the Revolution had subsided, and it would not have been difficult to find a priest to bless their nuptials; indeed, during the worst days of the Terror few good Catholics entered the matrimonial life under the sole auspices of the State, dangerous though their fidelity generally proved. Josephine passed for a virtuous woman, and even showed a certain amount of religious devotion; on her part, therefore, this neglect may have been a mere worldly weakness. But there is good reason for supposing that Bonaparte was actuated, if not from the very day of his betrothal, at least from a period shortly posterior to it, by a design to provide himself with a loophole for escape from what might possibly become an inconvenient burden. In vain did Josephine beg for a relig-

ious authorization of their union; this proved to be one of the few matters in which her influence over Napoleon was null. Eight years passed, and the time came for the coronation of Bonaparte as Emperor of the French. Pope Pius VII. came to Paris for the great ceremony, and Josephine succumbed to the influence of that mysterious prestige which ever surrounds the Vicar of Christ. Her soul was in agony. Could she bear to submit her head to the blessing of the Supreme Pontiff of that Church whose laws she was defying? Could she dare to receive an almost sacramental consecration while living in the bonds of sin? And then there flashed into her mind the prospect of being able to finally dissipate the cloud which had so long hung over her otherwise happy life. Her purely civil marriage might be annulled by the powerful wish of that ambitious husband, whose dearest hopes her continued childlessness so terribly thwarted; but would even Bonaparte succeed, where Philip Augustus had failed, in procuring the dissolution of a Christian matrimony? She had already told Bourrienne that from the day when Napoleon commenced to plot for the imperial crown, she had felt herself lost; but now she could put an end to this anguish. She would avow her trouble to the Pontiff himself.

Trembling with emotion and shame, she made her avowal on December 1, the day before that appointed for the coronation. The Pontiff was thunderstruck. In common with all of Josephine's friends—nay, with all France—he had believed her marriage to have been sanctioned by the Church. His answer was full of tenderness for the weeping woman, and of consideration for the unscrupulous man who would have deceived him, while it manifested the tact of the priest and the Pontiff. Canonically, the situation of the emperor did not concern him; that was an affair to be arranged between the potentate's conscience and himself. But now that he, the Pontiff, knew the state of affairs, he could not, much as he lamented the fact, admit the empress to a share in the consecration, unless she were first united to Napoleon before a priest. When Napoleon was informed of Josephine's action and of the Pontifical decision, his rage was terrific; but

what could he do? Proceed with his own consecration, and ignore the rights of Josephine? The scandal was not to be thought of; and the displeasure of the Pontiff, whose friendship he sadly needed, was not to be unnecessarily incurred. But one course was open to the schemer: to consent to the proposed nuptial benediction, and to devise some means for its nullification. According to the Canon Law, no Christian matrimony is valid unless performed in the presence of the pastor of one of the contracting parties; clandestine matrimony, such as, although illicit, the Church declares to be valid in most of the States of the American Union, and in other lands where the Tridentine decree on matrimony was never promulgated, is not recognized by the Church in France. Here, then, the astute Bonaparte imagined that his security was found. His union with Josephine should be contracted without the presence of the parish-priest or of witnesses; there was no time for the one, and necessary secrecy precluded the attendance of the others, as he told his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, on whose assistance and devotion he relied in his dilemma. At first Fesch refused to countenance what he rightly asserted would be a mere mockery of a religious solemnization, and of no validity; but he yielded sufficiently to propose recurring to the Pope for the powers necessary for his own assumption of the office of the *curé* of the Tuileries, and for the dispensation with witnesses. Can it be possible that Napoleon did not perceive that this action of his uncle promised to destroy his own hopes? Did he not realize that by recurring to the Pontiff, the source of Canon Law, for a dispensation from the provisions of that Law, he was cutting from under his feet the only ground on which he could securely stand, and on occupying which he had just resolved? The comedy which he had been enacting from the day of his marriage, which he was now developing for the illusion of Josephine, of the Church of France, of his future empress, of the august house of Hapsburg, was certainly threatened with collapse. At any rate, the cardinal proceeded to the apartments of Pius VII., and at once broached the subject of his quandary. "Most Holy Father, it may be that in the exercise of my duties in this matter, I shall need all the powers of

your Holiness.”—“Very well,” replied the Pontiff; “I accord them all.”

Here, then, is the solution of the entire question as to the religious marriage of Napoleon and Josephine, and consequently of the question of the validity of the pretended divorce by an incompetent ecclesiastical tribunal. With the action of the civil tribunals we, of course, having nothing to do. The sole ground for the acquiescence of the diocesan tribunal of Paris in the imperial demands was the non-fulfilment, at the religious marriage, of the conditions prescribed as essential by the Canon Law. But the Roman Pontiff had dispensed with these conditions in this particular case; he had derogated, in favor of Napoleon and Josephine, from the obligatory force of those conditions, just as he does in every case of clandestine matrimony, not otherwise illegitimate, celebrated in these United States and in other countries where the Tridentine decree was not promulgated. As soon as he had received full power to act in the premises, Cardinal Fesch betook himself to the apartments of the empress, and there married the imperial couple. Whether there were any witnesses or not to the ceremony appears to be doubtful. Capefigue, following Portalis, names that personage and Duroc. Thiers at first mentioned Talleyrand and Berthier; and then, on the testimony of certain original documents, denied their presence. The depositions of Talleyrand and Berthier before the “officiality” say nothing of their presence; but of course it was to the interest of their master that they should hide whatever would strengthen the validity of the religious ceremony. Just before the coronation Pope Pius asked Cardinal Fesch whether he had conferred the nuptial benediction. “Yes,” was the laconic reply. Two days afterward Josephine asked the cardinal to give her a certificate of the marriage; and although he at first demurred, for fear of offending the emperor, he yielded to her entreaties so far as to hand her a paper, the exact contents of which have never been made known. It was in 1809, after the treaty of Vienna, that Napoleon first opened his mind clearly to Cambacérès, arch-chancellor of the empire, on the matter of the divorce. A

senatus-consultus was immediately promulgated (December 16), proclaiming the dissolution of the emperor's civil marriage. Napoleon had flattered himself that the religious marriage would give him no trouble whatever; it was a secret shared only by the cardinal, his uncle, Josephine, and himself. But when he learned that Fesch had indiscreetly mentioned the ceremony to Cambacérès, and that he had even given a certificate to Josephine, Napoleon found himself compelled to seek from the ecclesiastical authorities a declaration of the nullity of his union. Ignoring the existence of the Pope, the proper judge in the matrimonial causes of sovereigns, recourse was had to the diocesan tribunal of Paris (not to a reunion of bishops, as Thiers would have us believe),—a body established to judge of similar causes between private individuals, and one composed of the appellant's subjects. On December 22, 1809, the Abbé Rudemare, diocesan promoter of Paris; his colleague, M. Corpet; and the two officials, MM. Lejeas and Boislevé; were summoned to a conference with Cambacérès. "The emperor," said Cambacérès, "cannot abandon the hope of leaving behind him an heir who will assure the tranquillity, glory, and integrity of the empire which he has founded. He intends to marry again, and he desires to espouse a Catholic. Hence his union with the empress Josephine must be annulled, and he wishes to submit the case to the diocesan tribunal."

"But, my lord," returned Rudemare, "such a cause as this is reserved, if not by law, at least by custom, to the Sovereign Pontiff."

"I am not authorized to recur to Rome," replied the arch-chancellor.

"You need not go to Rome; the Pope is at Savona," said the promoter.

"I am not told to treat with him," answered Cambacérès; "and it is impossible to do so under present circumstances."

"There are several cardinals, my lord, in Paris; why not submit this affair to them?"

"They have no jurisdiction, M. l'Abbé," returned the imperial confidant.

"But, at least," insisted the promoter, "we have here a commission of cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, assembled for affairs of the Church."

"They do not constitute a tribunal," said Cambacérès; "whereas the 'officiality' is one formed for the cognizance of these very causes."

"Yes, prince," returned the abbé; "but only for those of private individuals. The dignity of the parties here concerned prevents our tribunal from regarding itself as competent in the premises."

"What!" exclaimed the archchancellor. "Do you mean to say that His Majesty has no right to present himself before a tribunal established for his subjects, and composed of his subjects? Who contests his right?"

"He may present himself," acknowledged the promoter; "but such a course would be so contrary to custom that we could not assume the responsibility of acting as his judges unless the episcopal commission decided in favor of our competency. Although disposed to prove our devotion to His Majesty in every possible way, we must take every means to shield our own responsibility, and to insure the repose of our consciences. In undertaking this case we become a spectacle for angels and men."

"But this affair must remain secret," said Cambacérès; "all the documents shall be deposited in the cabinet of the emperor. At any rate, the Minister of Worship will see that you receive the approbation that you desire."

The motives for the nullification of the religious marriage having been submitted to the diocesan tribunal, the promoter exclaimed: "But we all thought, as did indeed the whole empire, that the marriage of Their Majesties had been celebrated in 1796 with all the canonical forms."

"That is a mistake," observed Cambacérès. "Foreseeing what has now happened, His Majesty would never receive the nuptial benediction. But on Saturday, December 1, 1804, tired of the entreaties of the empress, he told Cardinal Fesch to give the nuptial blessing; and it was given in the apartments of the empress, without any witnesses, and without the presence of the *curé*."

"Prince," asked the abbé, "where is the record of this marriage?"

"There is none," replied the archchancellor, who knew that Josephine had a certificate of the marriage, if indeed the imperial familiars had not found means to destroy it.

"This affair," remarked the promoter, "providing, of course, that our competence is assured, must be conducted precisely as though it were the case of one of His Majesty's subjects."

"What! Follow mere forms? They take too much time. I have been a lawyer, and I know."

"That may be," returned Rudemare; "but forms often lead us to a knowledge of the truth; and, besides, we cannot ignore them without risk of nullifying our proceedings. However, there is no reason why this second question should not also be submitted to the episcopal commission."

On January 1, Napoleon obtained from seven prelates, who had no authority whatever in the premises, a declaration that the diocesan tribunal was competent to decide his matrimonial cause. These prelates were the very same who afterward pronounced the excommunication of Bonaparte null, "because it had been launched in defence of temporal interests"; and who added to the sufferings of the august prisoner of Savona by threatening, in the name of the church of France, to provide for its necessities if he did not yield to the schismatic demands of Bonaparte. They were Cardinal Maury, Cardinal Caselli, bishop of Parma; de Barral, archbishop of Tours; Canaveri, bishop of Vercelli; Bourlier of Evreux; Manet of Treves; and Duvoisin of Nantes. In accordance with the tenor of this declaration, the tribunal of Paris listened, on January 6, to the attestations, signed and sealed, of Cardinal Fesch, Talleyrand, Berthier, and Duroc, to the effect that the canonical conditions had not been observed in the religious marriage of the emperor, and that His Majesty had intentionally arranged this neglect; for he could not dream, they said, of binding himself irrevocably in this matter at the moment when he was founding a new empire. On January 9, the tribunal heard a development of the further

motive for dissolution which had been hinted in this last clause. Napoleon, the master of Europe, *had been constrained* in the exercise of his free will. He had not consented to the marriage. The official Peter Boisleve then delivered judgment in favor of the imperial postulant, but with the important reservation that the decision was pronounced by him because of the difficulty of recurring to the Supreme Pontiff, to whom such a case should by right have been referred. The promoter having appealed to the metropolitan "officiality," its members confirmed the decision already given, but referred the affair for final adjudication to the primatial tribunal of Lyons. However, it was an easy matter to ignore the responsibility thus thrust upon this higher court; the archbishop of Lyons was Cardinal Fesch.

Such is the history of one of the most solemn burlesques of justice ever perpetrated by a human tribunal. An incompetent court, listening to testimony evidently false as well as interested, and ignoring the manifest suppression of what would have given another aspect to the cause, slavishly bent to the will of an autocrat, and passed over as never having occurred a marriage sanctioned by the Vicar of Christ; and, turning to the civil union which the Church had never recognized, pronounced the contracting parties free to enter upon new nuptials. Had Josephine resisted the imperial will—had she performed her duty as wife and woman, and carried her case before its proper judge,—her rights would have been proclaimed, even though the brute force of her husband might have forced her to yield her place to another. But she never appealed; sure of her husband's invincible determination to repudiate her, she perforce found consolation in an empty title and in a magnificent establishment. It has been asserted that Josephine was cognizant of reasons for preservation of silence; it has been declared that there was a real, though secret, impediment, which invalidated her union with Napoleon, and of which the Viennese court was informed during the negotiations for the hand of Maria Louisa. So say Thiers and Rohrbacher. But this impediment could not have subsisted. The existence of Eugene and Hortense, taken in conjunction with Josephine's own frequent anticipations.

as evidenced by her letters to her husband and her friends, forbid such a supposition.

We would remark in conclusion that the term "divorce" should not be used in treating of this case. When concubiniaries are separated, they are not divorced; they are simply declared not bound to each other. Here a sycophantic tribunal denied the existence of the religious marriage, and of course it could not recognize the civil union. In this state of affairs it pronounced the parties free from matrimonial obligations. A divorce, properly so called—that is, the dissolution of an existing tie (*quoad vinculum*)—cannot be and never has been granted by the Holy See in the case of *consummated* Christian matrimony; and history tells of no ecclesiastical tribunal in the Latin Church, whether competent or incompetent, legitimate or illegitimate, pretending to accord such a separation. As for the contrary course of the Uniates of the Greek and of the Greco-Slavonic Rites (1), an obstinacy truly Oriental, but which the Holy See has never punished with excommunication, we can only say with the judicious Perrone—*ipsi viderint*, and that "the Church has tolerated their action, just as she tolerates other sinners" (2). For an instance of the inflexibility of the Holy See in this regard, even in the case of the mighty ones of the earth, the mind of Josephine needed not to travel back many centuries; she did not need to search outside the annals of her husband's immediate family. The case of Jerome Bonaparte and his Baltimorean Protestant spouse was of recent date.

In the year 1803, while Napoleon was still First Consul of France, but was already preparing his way to the imperial throne, Jerome, his youngest brother and a lieutenant in the navy, visited the United States. The boy of nineteen became infatuated with a Miss Elizabeth Patterson, the daughter of an Irish Protestant merchant in Baltimore; a marriage was arranged, in spite of the protests of M. Pichon, the French *chargé d'affaires*; and the ceremony was performed by Mgr. Carroll, bishop of Baltimore. The Patterson family had been notified by the French representative that the union

(1) See our Vol. III., p. 520.

(2) *Lectures. Treatise On Marriage*, ch. 2, prop. 4, no. 148.

would be invalid in the eyes of the French civil law ; firstly because Jerome was a minor, and his mother, the surviving parent, had not given her consent ; and secondly, because no military officer of France could marry without the consent of his government. When Napoleon received the news of this marriage, he was deep in the preparations for his approaching coronation ; already he had, in his mind, placed his brothers and sisters on various thrones of Europe, as fancied security for the perpetuity of his glory. He declared immediately that he would never recognize "Miss Patterson" as one of his family ; and on March 21, 1805, an imperial decree "nullifying" her marriage was issued. A few weeks afterward, the emperor wrote to his mother : "Mons. Jerome Buonaparte has arrived at Lisbon, with the woman with whom he lives. I have ordered this prodigal son to proceed to Milan, passing through Perpignan, Toulouse, Grenoble, and Turin. I have informed him that, if he diverged from that road, he would be arrested. Miss Patterson, who lives with him, has taken the precaution of bringing her brother with her. I have given orders that she is to be sent back to America. If she were to evade the orders I have given, and come to Bordeaux or Paris, she would be brought back to Amsterdam, and put on board the first American vessel. I shall treat this young man severely if he shows himself unworthy of the name he bears, during the only interview I shall grant him, and if he persists in carrying on this *liaison*. If he shows no inclination to wash away the dishonor with which he has stained my name by forsaking his country's flag on land and sea, for the sake of a wretched woman, I will cast him off forever. I may make him an example which will teach young soldiers the sacredness of their duty, and the enormity of the crime they commit when they forsake their flag for a woman." The time had not yet arrived, when Napoleon would pretend that he could "do without the Pope" ; therefore, on May 24 of the same year, he wrote to His Holiness : "I have often spoken to Your Holiness concerning a brother of mine, then a lad of nineteen, whom I had sent to America on a frigate, and who, after a sojourn of a month in those parts, and in spite

of his being a minor, married in Baltimore a Protestant daughter of a merchant. He has just returned, and he realizes the entire extent of his delinquency. I have sent Miss Patterson, his so-called wife, back to America. According to our laws, the marriage is invalid. A Spanish priest was so far forgetful of his duty as to give the nuptial benediction (1). I wish for a Bull from Your Holiness annulling the marriage. I send Your Holiness several memorandums, one by Cardinal Caselli, which will greatly enlighten Your Holiness. It would be easy for me to have the marriage annulled, as the Gallican Church recognizes (declares) the non-validity of such marriages. But it would be better effected at Rome, were it only to serve as an example to members of reigning houses who contract marriage with Protestants. I would urge great secrecy in this proceeding on Your Holiness. Only when I learn that you consent to this step, shall I cause the marriage to be civilly annulled. It is important, even in France, that no Protestant girl should be so nearly related to me. It is dangerous that a minor of nineteen years of age, of distinguished position, should be exposed to so great a temptation, contrary to civil laws, and to every sort of propriety. Meanwhile, I pray that God may preserve you many years, Most Holy Father, to the government of our Mother, Holy Church. Your devoted Son, NAPOLEON."

That the Pontiff wished Napoleon to see that he had taken time for the examination of a matter which a tyro in theology would have settled as soon as it was placed before him, is evident from the date of the pontifical reply, June 27. His Holiness begins by informing the emperor that he has so well complied with the imperial request for secrecy, that he has

(1) It is absurd to suppose that Napoleon, having talked with Jerome on the matter, did not know that Bishop Carroll, an American, had blessed the marriage. But probably the schemer thought to diminish the *a priori* evidence for the validity of the ceremony which would necessarily attach to the fact that a bishop, who presumed knew his theology and his duty, had officiated. Probably also Napoleon eagerly availed himself of the report that had indeed been current in Europe, to the effect that the Patterson marriage had been celebrated by a Spanish ecclesiastic; but he should have known that the Holy See would soon learn the truth, if indeed it was not already acquainted with the details of the affair. The report as to the intervention of a Spanish priest, originated from the fact that the Marquis de Casa-Irujo, Spanish Minister to the United States, had been very officious in arranging the marriage.

reserved entirely to himself the consideration of a question which custom would have laid before a Congregation of Cardinals. The reply is lengthy; but the reader will not suffer if we present it almost in its entirety, since it is an authoritative explanation of the Catholic doctrine on the indissolubility of matrimony, even when one of the contracting parties is a Protestant. "Among all the reasons which have been advanced by Your Majesty, or which we can imagine, there is not one that would justify us in pronouncing the nullity of the said marriage. Each of the three memorials transmitted by Your Majesty is based on principles which are contradicted by the principles of the others; therefore these memorials destroy each other. The first, laying aside the other diriment impediments, contends that only two apply to the present case: the difference of religion (*disparitas cultus*) of the contracting parties, and the absence of the pastor from the celebration of the marriage. The second rejects these impediments; but alleges two others in the absence of the consent of the mother and relatives of the groom who is a minor, and in the allegation of a rape (*raptus*) which is indicated by the word 'seduction.' The third does not agree with the second; and adduces as the sole reason of nullity the absence of the consent of the pastor of the groom, a consent which is declared to have been necessary, since the groom had not changed his domicile, and since the Council of Trent prescribed the consent of the parish-priest as absolutely necessary in marriages. An analysis of these contrary opinions shows that four impediments are alleged; but having examined these separately, we could not find one which, in accordance with the principles of the Church, would authorize us to pronounce this consummated marriage null. In the first place, the difference of religion, which the Church regards as a diriment (invalidating) impediment, is not verified when both of the contracting parties are baptized, even though one of them may not be in the Catholic communion. This impediment exists only in a union contracted between a Christian and an infidel (or an unbaptized Protestant). The Church *abhors* marriages between Catholics and (baptized) Protestants; but

she recognizes them as valid. In the second place, it is not correct to say that the laws of France pronounce null, so far as the *Sacrament* of Matrimony is concerned, those marriages which minors contract without the consent of their parents or guardians. In 1629 the French lay legislative body itself, in reply to the representations of the General Assembly of the Clergy, declared that in their nullification of those marriages the legislators had intended to affect only the civil consequences of the unions, and that the lay judges could give no other interpretation to the law. Louis XIII., the author of this declaration, knew well that the secular power could not institute any impediments which would nullify matrimony as a Sacrament. The Church disapproves of marriages contracted without the consent of the parents or guardians; but she has always, and notably in the Council of Trent, insisted on their validity. In the third place, it is equally contrary to the laws of the Church to pronounce the nullity of this marriage because of a 'rape' (*raptus*) or 'seduction.' The impediment of 'rape' exists only when a marriage is contracted between the ravisher and the ravished before the latter has been set at liberty. Now, since there was no ravishment in the case in question, that which the memorial terms a 'rape' or 'seduction' is really the absence of the parental consent, which cannot be adduced as invalidating the marriage. Let us now consider the fourth impediment which is alleged to exist; namely, the absence of the parish-priest. This impediment was established by the Council of Trent. But it can be found only in those countries where the famous decree of the Council, *De Reformatione Matrimonii*, Ch. I., Sect. 24, has been published; and even in those countries, it subsists only in regard to those persons for whom it was intended. We have taken every care to discover whether the aforesaid decree was ever published in Baltimore; and for the purpose of this investigation we have caused careful search to be made in the archives of the Propaganda and of the Inquisition, archives which would certainly contain a record of any such publication. We have found no trace of any such record; but, on the contrary, we have found indications, especially a de-

cree of a Synod which was convoked by the present bishop of Baltimore, which show that the publication in question was never made. What is more, it may be well supposed, that said publication would not have been made in a country, the government of which is heretical. After this investigation of fact, we proceeded to consider whether the absence of the parish-priest militated for the nullity of this marriage; and we became convinced that it furnished no ground for an invalidation. There is no such ground because of the domicile of the groom; for even though he retained his domicile in a land where the Tridentine decree on matrimony had been promulgated, it is an incontestable maxim that, for the validity of a marriage, the domicile of only one of the contracting parties needs to be considered, especially when neither one of the parties has changed his or her domicile with intent to defraud. It is certain, therefore, that since in this case the laws of the domicile of the bride were observed, it was not necessary to act in conformity with the laws of the domicile of the groom, where the marriage was not celebrated. . . . Your Majesty will understand that, guided by the information that has thus far reached us, it is not in our power to pronounce this marriage null. If, besides the circumstances already alleged, there should be discovered any others which would indicate the presence of an invalidating impediment, then we might fortify our judgment with that proof, and give another decision, one also consonant with the laws of the Church, which we can never disobey by declaring invalid a marriage which, according to the word of God, no human power can dissolve."

It is not strange that when Napoleon resolved to divorce Josephine, he determined to effect his purpose without the aid of the author of this letter. Meanwhile, he succeeded, with very little effort, in bending Jerome to his will. The young man was of very different mould from Lucien, who, after having contributed more than any other person to the rise of Napoleon, took the road of exile rather than discard his legitimate wife (1). Napoleon carved out of subjugated

(1) Lucien bought the town and territory of Canino, near Viterbo and the Pope erected the estate into a principality in his favor, he doing homage for the fief on Sept. 2, 1814. A:

Prussia a kingdom for complacent Jerome; and a German Protestant princess was but too willing to usurp the place of the American wife. When Pius VII. was informed of this adulterous proceeding, he wrote to Napoleon: "We still hope that our examination of the reasons adduced for a nullification of the prince's first marriage will be followed by a presentation of other and just reasons which may have justified the ceremony, of which Your Majesty has just informed us. This hope sustains us in the anguish which we must feel when we remember all that we have already written to Your Majesty, after mature consideration, concerning this affair." Of course, this observation of the Pontiff was a mere formality, a piece of diplomatic courtesy; every probable and improbable reason for an invalidation of Jerome's union with Miss Patterson had already been advanced, and had been found groundless by the highest tribunal of the Catholic Church, the divinely-constituted guardian of Christian Matrimony.

Rome this sole uncrowned of the Bonaparte brothers found happiness in liberty, his domestic circle, and in a real and enthusiastic love of art and literature. The emperor often tempted him to discard his wife, and to marry into some royal family. He spurned even the project of a marriage of his daughter (by his first wife) with the heir to the Spanish throne; still more easily he declined a throne for himself. Among the recently published (1897) letters of Napoleon, there is one written in 1807 to his brother Joseph, then king of Naples, in which the emperor suggests that, if Lucien will submit to be divorced, and will then marry a princess, he may retain his present wife as a mistress: "I saw Lucien at Mantua. I had several hours' conversation with him. I must tell you that I am prepared to restore his rights as a French prince, and recognize all his daughters as my nieces. Only he must begin by annulling his marriage with Mme. Jouberton, either by divorcing her, or in any other way. This being done, all his children will be provided for. If Mlle. Jouberton really is in an interesting condition at this present time, and bears a daughter, I see no objection to the adoption of the child. If it is a boy, it may be considered as Lucien's son, but not born in open wedlock. And I am willing to enable this child to inherit the outside sovereignty I may confer on his father, independently of the rank to which his father may be raised by the general policy of Empire, but not to allow this son any pretension to succeed his father in his own real rank, nor to be called to the succession of the French Empire. You will see that I have exhausted every means in my power to recall Lucien, who is still in his first youth, to the employment of his talents in my service and that of his country. I do not see what he can now allege against this course. His children's interest is protected; thus I have provided for everything. Once Lucien has divorced Mme. Jouberton and has been raised to a great position at Naples or elsewhere, if he chooses to recall her and live with her, not as with a princess who is his wife, but in any intimacy he chooses, I shall make no difficulty, for the political aspect is all I care for. Apart from that I have no desire to run counter to his tastes and passions." The firmness of Lucien so enraged Napoleon that in Sept., 1810, he wrote to the chancellor of the Senate: "I write this letter to inform you that the name of M. Lucien Bonaparte is no longer to appear on the list of Senators. He has been absent five years from the territories of the empire, and, when Rome was added to these, he left this country to cross the seas, and retired to America. He has thus resigned his Senatorial duties and dignity. As President

CHAPTER III.

THE STRUGGLE OF POLISH CATHOLICITY WITH RUSSIAN
"ORTHODOXY." *

Just as to the sword of France the Europe of the early Middle Age owed its escape from imminent Mussulman domination, so does modern Europe owe to Poland the fact that it is not to-day either Turkish or Muscovite. Few publicists of the nineteenth century, that century of superficialities which is ever prone to ignore all that is truly grand, care to remember this fact; and still fewer ever note that the Holy See—always ready to perpetuate a nation's title to the grati-

of the Senate, we are bound to consider this resignation complete. When the will of the French nation raised us to the imperial throne, we had a right to the co-operation of all those, who, like him, owed us a special duty. . . . Whereas our brothers were raised by us to a rank befitting their birth and the interests of our crown, he remained a private individual. When, in later times, we had to overcome great perils, and struggle with all Europe leagued against us, his duty should have recalled him to our side, and we had a right to claim the services of the talents heaven had given him. He has always been deaf to our call, and he has sought refuge at last outside the empire, under the protection of powers which he knew had but scant affection for our throne, and has thus made his renunciation of his duty to ourselves, the Senate, and his country more utterly irrevocable. He had asked the Minister of Police for passports for himself and the object of his guilty passion, and he has gone far from the empire, which he had no right to leave without special authority. It is necessary to the peace and tranquillity of the State that he should not only cease to be a member of any political body in France, but that neither he nor his children should ever return to our empire." The passport here mentioned had been demanded by Lucien for a trip to America. He embarked, but was captured by an English cruiser, and was taken as a prisoner to England, where he remained until the first fall of Napoleon in 1814. When about to return to Rome, Lucien wrote to Pope Pius VII.: "Permit me, Holy Father, to congratulate Your Holiness from the depth of my heart on your happy though tardy deliverance, a consummation for which we never ceased to pray most earnestly from the moment when persecution deprived us of the refuge which your paternal protection had enabled us to enjoy. . . . Although we have been unjustly persecuted by the emperor, nevertheless, the lightnings of heaven which have struck him affect me deeply. Now, for the first time in ten years, I feel that Napoleon is again my brother. I forgive him, I pity him, and I pray that he may finally return to the bosom of the Church, and thus regain his claims to the mercy of the Father of Mercies, and to the prayers of His vicar. . . . On the point of departing from this fortunate England, where I have passed a long but mild and honorable captivity, I beg Your Holiness to accord to me, to my wife, and to our children, that apostolic benediction which we hope to receive very soon in person, when we prostrate ourselves at your holy feet." Notwithstanding his unjust and cruel treatment by Napoleon, the prince of Canino took part in the Hundred Days' struggle whereby the emperor endeavored to restore his fallen fortunes. After Waterloo, he advised Napoleon to dissolve the Chamber, and to continue the war against allied Europe, but, perhaps foolishly, his advice was not followed.

* This chapter appeared in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Vols. xxii. and xxiii.

tude of Christendom—conferred on the Polish kingdom, almost from its inception, the designation of "Most Orthodox," just as it had rewarded the zeal of the first French monarch with the style of "Most Christian." It was only during the reign of Boleslas the Great (992-1025) that the work of converting the Poles was terminated. Christianity had been brought into Eastern Poland during the latter part of the ninth century by Bulgaro-Greek monks, sent by St. Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, the victim of Photius (1). These missionaries introduced the Slavo-Greek rite into Moravia, whence they passed into Chrobatia (Western Gallicia), and shortly afterward their disciples introduced the same liturgy among the Poles along the Dnieper. The Latin rite was propagated among the Poles along the Oder and the Vistula toward the end of the tenth century, having come into Poland with the Czeck (Bohemian) princess, Dombrowska, when she espoused the duke, Mieczyslas I., the first Christian prince of the country. For many years the religion of the Poles was a mixture of Christianity and idolatry; but Boleslas witnessed the disappearance of the last remnant of paganism. Boleslas was one of the greatest princes of the Middle Age, whether he be regarded as warrior, legislator, or administrator; in fact, he was the Polish Charlemagne. He guaranteed his people against the onslaughts of their Russian, Bohemian, and German neighbors by subduing Chrobatia, Silesia, and Pomerania, and incorporating them into the new kingdom of Poland, which came into existence in the year 1000, when the emperor Otho III. crowned Boleslas at Guiesen, expressly avowing that Poland should never owe any vassalage to the Germanic empire. A few years only passed, and Boleslas had extended his dominions from the Dnieper to the Elbe. Boleslas was not satisfied with his coronation at the hands of Otho III., even though that monarch was the Holy Roman Emperor; he again and again despatched embassies to Rome, soliciting royal consecration from the Head of the Church. But as all these messengers were captured by the Germans, with whom after the death of Otho III. the Poles were continually at war, Bo-

(1) See our Vol. II., p. 50.

leslas received the royal unction from his own bishops toward the end of his life. Boleslas II., the third successor of the great Boleslas, lost the royal dignity because of his crimes. With his own hand he murdered at the altar the holy bishop of Cracow, Stanislaus, who had reproved him for his immoralities. Excommunicated and deposed by Pope St. Gregory VII., he died miserably in Hungary; and as the Pontiff had reduced Poland to the rank of a duchy, in order to teach other monarchs a lesson, there were no more kings of Poland during the next two hundred and forty years. Then Pope John XXII. yielded to the prayers of the nation, and allowed Duke Ladislas Loketek to don the royal crown.

From the reign of Boleslas the Great to the crime of 1772, the chivalry of Poland repelled ninety-one Tartar invasions, any one of which, if successful, would have at least jeopardized the existence of European civilization. For many centuries that chivalry was the sole barrier of Europe against the triumph of Muscovite ambition; and the reason of the Polish success is to be found, not in the unquestionable valor of the Polish heart, not in any solidity of the government which directed that valor, but in the religious tie which bound the Poles together—the only tie which this restive people have ever regarded as unbreakable. This is the most salient fact in all Polish history. The political constitution of Poland was the most faulty in Christendom, probably in the world; and precisely because of that constitution, her history is that of an almost continual civil war—a condition of things which in any other land would have rendered foreign invasion synonymous with national ruin. But so long as the religious tie remained, Poland could have a hundred thousand masters in the persons of her fractious nobles; the entire *people* could be serfs; and there would be but one law and one country for every Polisher. For many centuries the battle-hymn of this war-like race was a beautiful canticle in honor of Our Lady, which had been composed by the martyr St. Adalbert, the first apostle of Northern Poland; and to mention only one of the many customs which show how the Catholic spirit was identified with Polish patriotism, what a lesson the Polish boy received when, while assisting at Mass, he noticed that at the

reading of the Gospel every noble drew his sword half-way out of the scabbard, in sign of his sworn devotion to the faith, even unto death. The enemies of Poland, both Prussian and Muscovite, fully realized that in that devoted land the names of Catholicism and country invoke each other; that, as the idea has been well expressed by Poland's latest panegyrist, "from St. Adalbert to Mgr. Felinski, these words have one and the same sound. Not one step can be taken against the national liberty without treading on the corpse of a bishop; and never is religious liberty demanded, without a simultaneous effort for the national independence. Only this close connection between the principles of faith and Polish nationality can explain the otherwise inexplicable resistance of Poland to all the political combinations, and to all the onslaughts, which to this day have tended to reduce her to the condition of a simple province of the Russian empire. The political hostility is nothing when compared to the violent antipathy which the difference of religion induces in the two peoples—an antipathy which renders a fusion impossible, unless at the price of a veritable metamorphosis of conscience, that is, of a sincere conversion of Russia herself. For we must remember that if the national spirit of Poland, such as ten centuries of history have made it, is absolutely antipathetic to any assimilation with Russia, just so the national spirit of Russia, such as schism has made it, is no less incompatible with Polish civilization. This fact politicians refuse obstinately to acknowledge; and, therefore, no progress is made in the ways of a diplomacy which is indifferent to the demands of a people's conscience, and which is blinded by rationalistic impiety" (1). In fact, the crime of 1772 had scarcely been consummated, when Catharine II. realized that there can be no medium between an absolute dependence of the Church on the State and an absolute distinction of the two powers; that if Poland was to continue subject to Russia, either Poland should become schismatic, or Russia should become Catholic; that, therefore, all the Russian promises concerning religious toleration in Poland should be trampled under foot.

(1) LESCOEUR: *The Catholic Church in Poland under the Russian Government*, Vol. I., p. 14. Paris, 1876.

Before we approach the main subject of this dissertation, the persecutions visited on Catholic Poland by "Orthodox" Russia, we must ask the reader to remember that originally the Muscovite schismatic bishops enjoyed a quasi-independence, since they depended from the distant patriarch of Constantinople. But when the patriarch, Jeremiah II., sold the patriarchal dignity to the metropolitan of Moscow in 1588, the Russian prelates became mere instruments of the czar. It was not the simoniacal Jeremiah who gave the investiture to the new patriarch, but the grand-duke of Moscovy himself in these words: "Most worthy patriarch, father of all the fathers, first of all the bishops of Russia, I give thee precedence over all the bishops; I give thee the right to wear the patriarchal mantle, the cap of a bishop, and the great mitre; and I order that thou be recognized and honored as a patriarch, and the brother of all the patriarchs" (1). The principle here implied has been ever recognized by the schismatics of Russia. The author of the *Life of St. Josaphat* cites the following declaration of a Bulgarian archbishop: "The emperor is placed over all the churches. He is, and he is styled, the prince of wisdom; and consequently he presides over synods, and gives force to their decisions; he deposes the ministers of the Church; he prescribes the rule of life for the ministers of the altar; he even sanctions the judgments of the bishops. In fine, in one word, *in everything except the power to sacrifice, the emperor exercises publicly all the pontifical functions; and he does so legitimately and canonically*" (2). The name of this Bulgarian prelate was Demetrius Chomatennus; and his decision is given at length by Lequien, in his *Oriens Christianus*. The bloody Ivan IV., surnamed the Terrible, was very fond of exhibiting himself pontifically. "Ivan believed that kings are also pontiffs in their own states, and often he officiated pontifically with exemplary devotion. He used to prepare himself for these pontifical functions by a retreat in the monastery of Alexan-

(1) THEINER; *Vicissitudes of the Two Rites*, Vol. i., p. 18. Paris, 1843.

(2) GUEPIN; *St. Josaphat Kuncewicz, Archbishop of Polock, Martyr for Catholic Unity, and Martyr of the United Greek Church in Poland*, Vol. i., p. 44. Paris, 1874.

drowa" (1). The East was always prone to recognize the right of the emperors to interfere in the things of the sanctuary. In the days of St. Athanasius we find the same forces at work which we now discern in Russia; an emperor grasping the crozier, servile schismatic bishops, and resisting Roman Pontiffs. In 355, at the Council of Milan, the emperor Constantius, tempting the bishops to condemn St. Athanasius, said: "*My will ought to be a law of the Church for you; such is the power the bishops of Syria recognize in me. Obey, therefore, or go into exile.*" However, neither Constantius nor any other Arian emperor ever attempted such usurpation as the schismatic, or rather heretical so-called "Orthodox" Church condones in the Russian czar of our day. By the institution of the Holy Synod, Peter the Great became the sole effective patriarch in his dominions, the real guide of consciences; and this power has been exercised ever since, whether by the prostituted Catharine II., or by the maniac Paul, or by the cruel Nicholas, or by the comparatively decent latest emperors. By its very constitution this Holy Synod is completely dependent on the czar, and its president is ordinarily a soldier. This tribunal is really the chief engine of the imperial machinery; the most powerful instrument wielded by the Russian police. As an instance of the way in which religion is made a mere instrument of Russian statecraft, we may adduce the formal obligation laid upon confessors, under pain of death, to reveal to the government any conspiracy which may come to their knowledge in the tribunal of penance (2). It certainly seems strange that the prelates who sit in the Holy Synod, who term themselves the successors of Sts. Athanasius and John Damascene, can take this oath when they assume office: "I profess and swear that the supreme judge of this Synod is the most clement emperor of all Russia." The newspapers of Russia regard the slavery of the Holy Synod as a matter of course and an excellent thing. When Protasoff, a colonel of hussars,

(1) IVAN IVANOVISCH; *Memoir on the Reign of Peter the Great*, Vol. I., p. 180. The Hague, 1725.

(2) TONDINI; *The Pope of Rome and the Popes of the Orthodox Church*, p. 160. Paris, 1874.

and president of the Synod, died in 1860, the very orthodox journal, the *Nord*, of February 2d, thus eulogized him: "He was in fact, if not in name, the head of the Orthodox Russian Church. With his firm and energetic will he knew how to gain victory over the retrograde tendencies of the elder clergy. By means of the Synod, of which he was the veritable head, he distributed the bishoprics among the young and civilized clergy, he reorganized completely the system of education in the seminaries and academies," etc. With a colonel of hussars at its head it is no wonder that the Russian Church began to exhibit a "young and civilized clergy" impregnated with anti-Christian rationalism. Tolstoy, the successor of this Tartar rough-rider, was not a colonel; but although a mere lay civilian, he was able to prosecute the work of "civilization" among his subjects.

Attention should be paid also to a point which, when not understood, is apt to induce confusion in the mind of the tyro who starts on an investigation into the ecclesiastical condition of Eastern Europe. We have observed that a portion of Poland received Christianity from missionaries who, although in communion with Rome (for the schism had not yet been effected), belonged to the Greek rite; that is, who, while in strict subjection to the Roman Pontiff, used the Greek liturgy in the Mass, and followed a discipline which differed from that of Rome in several unessential points, as, for instance, in the matter of the celibacy of the secular clergy. So long as the patriarchate of Constantinople continued in the Roman obedience, there was no friction between the Poles of the Latin and those of the Greco-Slavonic rite, nor was there any immediately after Cerularius withdrew the peoples of his immediate jurisdiction from the unity of the Church (y. 1054), for it is certain that it was only at the beginning of the thirteenth century that the Greek Schism prevailed in the Muscovite and contiguous regions. But when that Schism attacked the eastern provinces of Poland, the Latin Poles began to look askance at their brethren of the Greco-Slavonic rite, even when these latter were as devotedly Roman as themselves. In the minds of the Latins the Greek and its derivative rites began to be synonymous with schism.

and heresy, and in the course of time this feeling was intensified, especially after the collapse of the reunion which had been proclaimed by the General Council of Florence in 1439, and which had been announced at Moscow by the patriarch Isidore. In 1595, several Polish schismatic dioceses, nearly all Ruthenian, returned to the fold *en masse*, having become disgusted with the exactions of the patriarchs of Constantinople and Moscow (1). Unfortunately, the converts did not experience at the hands of the Polish senate and aristocracy—all the members of which bodies were of the Latin rite—the consideration which they deserved; even the Latin clergy were more or less suspicious of a rite which seemed to render the Ruthenians akin to the schismatics. Both laity and clergy were less wise than the Holy See, which has ever strenuously defended the attachment of the orientals to their ancient rites, and has wished to perpetuate those rites as living testimonies to the Apostolicity of Roman doctrine. The result of this coolness toward the United Greeks was the gradual passage of all the Ruthenian nobility to the Latin rite, so that at the time of the partition of Poland the United Greek rite had come to be regarded as peculiar to the serfs, and therefore did not enjoy that perfect equality with the Latin before the law to which it had a right. However, the Poles had never persecuted either the United Greeks or the schismatics, as is asserted by Golovine, Dimitri Tolstoy and other "orthodox" writers, in an endeavor to justify the bloody deeds of the children of the Holy Synod in Poland. In spite of the repugnance of both the nobility and the serfs for everything which smacked of Constantinople or Moscow, the Polish kings allowed a schismatic hierarchy to subsist among the Ruthenians at the side of the Greek United. The schismatic University of Kiev was endowed by Ladislas IV. in 1645 with immense wealth, and he established in it a complete printing-plant. John Casimir, who was a cardinal before he became king, allowed the schismatic metropolitan of Kiev to place himself under the juris-

(1) Rahoeza, primate of Kiev, had convoked all his suffragans to a council in Brzesc, and there they proclaimed their submission to the Holy See. These bishops were those of Kiev, Wladimir and Brzesc, Luck and Ostrog, Polock and Witepsk, Przemyśl and Sambor, Leopold, Chelm and Belz, and Pinsk and Turov.

diction of the patriarch of Moscow. This toleration did not injure the Catholic cause in Poland. It was only when Poland was dismembered that the steady progress of the United Greeks was reversed; then, indeed, had not some of the United Greek dioceses fallen to the share of Austria, nearly every vestige of Ruthenian Catholicism would have vanished (1).

At the time of the first partition of Poland between Russia, Austria, and Prussia (August 5, 1772), the doomed kingdom had eighteen millions of inhabitants, of whom twelve millions were Catholics, about three millions were "Orthodox" schismatics, about one million Protestants, and the remainder either Jews or Mussulmans. In the supplementary treaty between the royal brigands, which was dated September 18, 1773, the Russian empress promised full toleration to her new subjects of the Catholic faith; but the Poles had not forgotten the words with which Catharine had despatched her Zaporogue Cossacks into Poland in 1768: "We have ordered Maximilian Zelezniak, colonel of the Zaporogues, to lead his men, together with the Cossacks of the Don, into Poland; and with the grace of God to destroy all the Poles and Jews who are traitors to our holy religion—those miserable assassins, men of perfidy, audacious violators of every law, who protect the false religion of the Jews and oppress a faithful and innocent people. We order that this invasion into Poland destroy forever their name and race." The Poles remembered that these Zaporogues, under the guidance of

(1) Whenever the student faces a question involving the relations between the Holy See and any of the oriental Christian peoples, or any of the Christian peoples who have derived their rites from the East, he must bear in mind one eloquent fact: Many years before the separation of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate from the centre of unity the orientals had begun to think more of their rites than of dogmas, and since the religious idea was with them the idea of country, their peculiar rites became, perhaps more than did their dogmas of faith, their symbols of nationality. Very easily, therefore, they began to regard peoples of different rites from their own as both heretics and political enemies. In illustration of what is more interesting to us—their proneness to think more of rite than of dogma—we shall cite a couple of cases. When Michael Cerularius separated definitively his patriarchate from the Chair of Peter, he assigned as his chief reasons the use of unleavened bread by the Latins as matter of the Eucharist, their use of *lactinia* in Lent, their suppression of the *Aboluita* during that season. The great reformer and robber of the Muscovite Church, Ivan the Terrible, in an edict of 1551, ordered his subjects to credit the following absurdity: "Among all the customs of heretics none is so condemnable as that of shaving the beard. (Peter the Great, another Head of the Russian Church, thought differently.) The effusion of all a martyr's blood would not atone for this crime."

their "popes," had slaughtered 200,000 defenceless victims of both sexes and of every age (1), and therefore they were not astounded when, the ink of the treaty of toleration being scarcely dry, out of 1,900 churches which the United Greeks possessed in Ukraine, more than 1,200 were handed over to the schismatics, their priests being persecuted and sometimes tortured until they signed promises of fidelity to the Church of Holy Russia. Facts like these had been sufficiently eloquent to justify the words of Maria Teresa: "It is very embarrassing to negotiate with the czarina, because she promises mountains and wonders, and then orders her ministers and generals to do the contrary of what she promised, as we have seen too frequently in the matter of the persecutions visited by the Russians on the persons and churches of the United Greeks" (2). Such facts, however, had caused Voltaire to write to the "Semiramis of the North" that happy indeed would be the man who would write her history (December 3, 1771); and, again, those words which would be blasphemous if their author had not been animated, in all probability, by the spirit of *opera bouffe*: "I have only a little of the breath of life left in me; but while dying I shall use it to invoke you as a saint, certainly the greatest saint ever produced by the North" (July 13, 1772). But the twenty years that intervened between the first and second partitions of Poland were years of calm for her Catholics, when compared with the sufferings which the "divine" czarina inflicted on them after the latter robbery. By the treaty of Grodno, concluded in 1793, Prussia obtained a compensation for her Rhenish provinces, just subjugated by France, in the acquisition of all that is now the province of Posen, while Russia received half of Lithuania, together with all Vollandia, Podolia, and Polish Ukraine. Again Catharine II. promised perfect toleration to "the Roman Catholic religion of *both rites*"; but immediately after the signing of the treaty she convoked an assembly of "Orthodox" prelates at St. Petersburg for the purpose of devising sure means for the severance of the Uniates from the Roman communion. That plan

(1) The Russian official reports spoke of 50,000.

(2) THEINER; *Pontificate of Clement XIV.*, Vol. II., p. 437.

seemed most feasible which was devised by Eugene Bulgari, a native of Corfu, whose philosophic sympathies had won for him the friendship of the Prussian Frederick II., and whom that prince had recommended to the notice of the czarina. By the advice of Bulgari, an establishment of "missionaries," richly endowed, was founded in the newly-acquired provinces, and placed under the charge of a bishop named Sadkowski. This apostle of "Orthodoxy" announced his arrival to his new flock by a violent pastoral against all communion with Rome, in which he promised great rewards to the Uniates who would join the Church of Holy Russia, and soon afterward bands of soldiers, each accompanied by one or more Russian popes, began the work of "conversion." Every Ruthenian priest who remained faithful to the Chair of Peter was either thrust into prison or was banished; and ere long there were few Uniates, publicly known as such, in the dioceses of the Ukraine or in those of Luck, Wladimir, Chelm in Volhynia, or Kamieniec in Podolia. Only in the diocese of Polock did the "Orthodox" missionaries meet with many failures; for there the civil authorities proved less docile instruments of the czarina than their colleagues—a fact which would have entailed their ruin, had not Catharine died in 1796.

No narrative of the relations between Catharine II. and her Catholic subjects would be complete without some account of the too famous Siestrzencewicz. This unfortunate personage was born in 1731 of Calvinist parents; and after some studies in Germany and England, undertaken with a view of becoming a Protestant minister, he suddenly entered the Prussian army as an officer. He soon abandoned the service of the Brandenburgers for that of Poland; and he had attained the rank of captain, when he resigned and became a tutor for the children of Prince Radziwill. Perceiving a chance of obtaining the hand of a wealthy lady, he abjured Protestantism; but the chance having disappeared, he followed the advice of the Uniate bishop of Wilna, and received Holy Orders in 1763. When the first partition of Poland took place, the bishop of Wilna, who had the utmost confidence in Siestrzencewicz, desired to have him as a suf-

fragan, charged with the administration of that part of the diocese which had been annexed to Russia. At this time the Latin Catholics of White Russia had no bishop of their own rite; they were under the jurisdiction of the Uniate bishops of Wilna, Livonia, and Smolensk. But scarcely had Catharine taken possession of the country, when, on September 14, 1772, she announced that the Latins would soon receive at her hands a bishop for themselves; but in fact another ukase soon informed all the Latins of the Russian Empire, whether they were Poles or not, that Her Majesty's solicitude for their spiritual welfare had prompted her to place them under the episcopal care of Siestrzenciewicz. This imperial appointment was, of course, null in the eyes of Garampi, the papal nuncio at Warsaw; but this prelate devised a means of preserving the dignity of the Holy See, while at the same time he obviated the anger which, were Catharine thwarted, would be visited on her Catholic subjects. He ordered the United Greek bishops of Wilna, Livonia, and Smolensk, to delegate to Siestrzenciewicz their own jurisdiction over the Latins of White Russia, while he conferred upon him spiritual faculties for the other Latins of the empire. In 1776 a new nuncio, Archetti, arrived in Warsaw; and he at once realized that one bishop was not adequate to the needs of all the Latins in Russia. He found, however, that Catharine was determined to allow only two Catholic bishops in her entire empire—one Latin, and one United Greek. In 1779, wishing to reward Siestrzenciewicz for having helped her in snubbing the court of Spain, (1) she announced him as archbishop of Mohilew, and demanded the pallium for him from the Holy See. On September 6, 1780, the Pontiff wrote to the empress trying to dissuade her from the contemplated promotion; and Catharine replied, reiterating her demand, and promising that if it were granted, she would

(1) The reader must know that Catharine had refused to allow the promulgation, in her dominions, of the Brief whereby Pope Clement XIV. had suppressed the Society of Jesus, on July 21, 1773; and that the Jesuits in Russia had continued in the exercise of their rule. (See our Vol. iv., p. 492). Very soon, Siestrzenciewicz, who had hitherto been hostile to the Jesuits, manifested great affection for them, in order to please his imperial protectress. He issued an order, authorizing the Jesuits of White Russia to open a novitiate in Polotzk. This action greatly disturbed Pope Pius VI.; for the Spanish court was as indignant as the Muscovite autocrat was elated.

indeed protect her Catholic subjects. The Pope considered the matter during ten months; and finally, in October, 1780, he consented to erect Mohilew into a metropolitan see, but he refused to grant the pallium to Siestrzenciewicz. Two years of fruitless negotiation now passed; and one day Count Stackelberg waited on Archetti, and read to him, in accordance with Catharine's commands, a letter which he had just received from her. In this document, dated November 15, 1782, Catharine impudently declared that if the Roman Pontiff exercised any authority in Russia, it was by her favor; and that if her demands were not satisfied immediately, she would suppress the Catholic worship in every quarter of her dominions. Of course the Pontiff yielded; the debated point was not an essential one, and there was a question of the salvation of souls. On January 11, 1783, Pius VI. wrote to Catharine that for the sake of religion he would forget the injuries which the Holy See had received from Siestrzenciewicz, and would make that prelate metropolitan of Mohilew. In order, however, that Catholic discipline might be thoroughly observed, he would appoint as nuncio to St. Petersburg the present nuncio at Warsaw, Mgr. Archetti. In the beginning of the following July Archetti arrived in the Russian capital, and was received by the empress in full court.

When his nunciature had terminated, Archetti, then enrolled in the Sacred College, published a very interesting narrative of his experiences. There is one episode in this story which the theological tyro, as well as the student of history, will read with profit. From the very commencement of his nunciature, Archetti was desirous of conversing with some of the schismatic prelates on the subject of reunion. At last the desired opportunity presented itself. An imperial princess, a granddaughter of Catharine, had come into the world; and her baptism being, of course, a matter of state ceremony, all the foreign ambassadors were invited to be present. After the function, Archetti saluted the archbishop of Novgorod with great urbanity, and the Russian prelate manifested much pleasure at the meeting. Thus encouraged, the nuncio visited the archbishop a few days

afterward, at his residence in the magnificent monastery of Alexander Newski. The conversation which ensued is well worth the reader's attention. A century has elapsed since it was held; and when we read it, we imagine that we are listening to an exchange of views between a Catholic and a Russian "Orthodox" clergyman of to-day. The first subject mooted by the Russian prelate was, quite naturally, one of a trivial nature—namely, the difference between the vestments worn by the Oriental and the Western clergy. Archetti remarked that this diversity was of no moment, providing the same faith were held; St. Paul tells us (*Eph.*, iv., 5) that the faith is one, because God is one. The archbishop replied that nearly all Christians agree as to what is necessary for salvation. They admit, said he, that there is but one God; that His Son became man to deliver us from the slavery of Satan; that Christ gave us the means whereby to recover God's grace. If they dispute on other points, that matters little. The Russian prelate did not realize, of course, the thorough Protestantism of this sentiment; for, much as the schismatics hate Catholicism, they despise Protestantism. The nuncio, however, insisted that many other points enter into Christian faith, for Jesus taught many others; and He commanded His Apostles and their successors to teach, unto the end of time, all that He had taught them. Those who receive only such doctrines as they themselves regard as necessary for salvation, do not, as a rule, preserve the true faith even within these narrow limits. A Socinian, for instance, who denies the Divinity of Christ, attacks the dogma of the Incarnation. And is the Incarnation respected by the Lutherans and Calvinists, who entertain so many false ideas concerning its effects, and as to the Sacraments which have it for a source? In religion, just as in other bodies of doctrine, the various parts are all linked together. Here Archetti took occasion to say that when enumerating the articles necessary for salvation, the archbishop had omitted that of there being only one Church, not many, in which to attain heaven. For the Scriptures tell us (*Eph.*, v., 25) that Christ loved His *Church*, not His *churches*; that for *her*, not for *them*, He suffered. It was *the* Church that He

wished to be Immaculate (*Ib.* 27) ; *the Church* that was to be the column of truth (*I. Tim.*, iii., 15). And how often we read that *the Church* is the House of God, a fold, a family ; and that there is but one Shepherd ! Therefore, observed the nuncio, the Roman Pontiffs deserve all praise for having constantly labored to put an end to schism. The archbishop then remarked that there was, after all, but very little difference between the Orthodox and the Roman Church. The chief point, and the one most strenuously contested, concerned the manner of the Procession of the Holy Ghost. As to that controversy, his own opinion was that it was very obscure ; in fact, it far exceeded the grasp of human intelligence. Would it not be better, therefore, to confine all remarks upon it to what we read of it in the Scripture ? There we are told, indeed, that the Son sends the Holy Ghost (*John*, xv., 26 ; *Luke*, xxiv., 49) ; but only of the Father is it said that the Spirit of Truth “proceeds” from Him (*John*, *Ib.*). The archbishop, therefore, could not but hold that the Latins acted “rashly” when they inserted the clause *Filioque* (“and from the Son”) in the *Creed*. To this Archetti returned that His Grace of Novgorod could not have forgotten that the Arians used to contend that the Son ought not to be styled “Consubstantial,” because nowhere in Scripture could that word be found. And, nevertheless, SS. Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzen, and other Oriental Fathers firmly resisted the attempt to keep the term out of the *Creed*. Therefore, he (Archetti) would now say what these Fathers then said : that the Pontiffs had the right—nay, it was their duty—to bring to the light what was hidden in the Scriptures ; to explain it by the use of words best adapted to that purpose. If the sense of such words is contained in the Scriptures, what matters it if the doctrine is not found expressed in the same syllables and letters ? Against new heresies, as St. Hilary teaches, we are often compelled to adopt new words. The nuncio, then, was forced to conclude that since the Scriptures show that the Holy Ghost proceeds also from the Son, and since the ancient Fathers openly taught that doctrine, the Latins should not be reproved for employing a formula which

would inculcate a doctrine concerning the nature of God that would be based, not on mere vague opinion, but on determined principles. And oh! sighed Archetti, would that there could be peace between the two Churches! He would willingly die, if that would effect union. To this aspiration of the nuncio the archbishop replied that a reunion was too great a work for any one man, no matter how excellent and holy, to effect. And, then, again, we should reflect, he observed, that there is no church which is not divided. Look at the Russian, the Lutheran, the Calvinistic bodies! Even the Latins have not escaped; for even at that time the Jansenists were giving great trouble to Rome. To this sophistical remark Archetti returned that the Church of Christ is not and cannot be divided. As to the Latins, they were all of one mind. All hearkened to and believed the words of the Gospel as announced by the successors of that Peter to whom Christ entrusted that function. "As to the Jansenists, they are no more members of the Church than were the followers of Simon Magus, of Menander, and of so many other heresiarchs. The Church is no less one even though heresies come out from her. The unity of the Church is effected by the union of the bishops and their flocks with their head, the Roman Pontiff, whom Christ made His Vicar on earth." But Christ has no need of a vicar, retorted the Russian prelate. "Christ is God, and His power is infinite. He confided the care of His Church to all the Apostles." Nevertheless, the archbishop declared that he admitted that the Most Holy Pope, as he always styled the Supreme Pontiff, was head of his Church. But so also was every bishop in his own sphere. To this remark the nuncio urged that neither had Christ any need of apostles or of bishops to govern the Church. However, he continued, *the question is not as to what our Lord might have done, but as to what He really did and instituted.* Now, we know that He did institute Apostles, bishops, and priests: but we also know that it was to Peter alone that He gave the task of feeding His sheep (*John*, xxi., 15-17), and of confirming his brethren (*Luke*, xxii., 32). Finally, if the various churches are not united under one head, if each church has its bishop for

that head, where is the unity of the Universal Church?

When the Holy See consented to make Siestrzencewicz archbishop of Mohilew, it assigned a coadjutor to him in the person of Benislawski, an ex-Jesuit; and this appointment proved providential, for in later days the coadjutor often neutralized the evil influence of his superior. In the ukase whereby Catharine "erected" the archbishopric of Mohilew, we read two articles which fully illustrate the pretensions which she advanced, and which the Russian government of to-day advances, to a right of interference in the religious affairs of even the Catholic dioceses of the empire. "Art. 12. The archbishop is commanded to send to the court a detailed account of the state of all his religious; he will describe those who teach the young, those who aid the sick and poor, and who thus merit the protection of the government; he will also make known those who pass their time in idleness, and are of no use to their fellow-men. Art. 13. *The reception of Bulls and Briefs from the Pope is prohibited.* Such Bulls and Briefs are to be sent immediately to the Senate, which body, after it has seen that they contain nothing contrary to the laws of the land or to the power which God has given to the monarch, will communicate them to the throne, and wait for permission to publish them." Siestrzencewicz complied with these and similar demands; and therefore it is natural that the apologists of the Russian Establishment should laud him, as does Dimitri Tolstoy, procurator-general of the Holy Synod under Alexander II., when, in his *History of Roman Catholicism in Russia* (1864), he represents the courtier-prelate as sharing the glory of Catharine II. in laboring for "the reformation and civilization of the Catholic clergy," rendered hitherto so vile and barbarous by the influence of Rome. Tolstoy says that "*to the great astonishment of the Latin fanatics, Siestrzencewicz never veiled his sympathies for a wise civilization; and this was so strange in the eyes of his brethren, that they could explain it only by the supposition that he had secretly apostatized from the Roman communion, for, according to them, intellect and science are incompatible with faith.*" This judgment of a Muscovite on the countrymen and fellow-clerics of Copernicus may cause a smile; but one is dis-

gusted when the practical head of the Russian Church asserts that "this enlightened bishop was capable of appreciating the eminent sovereign, and of *seconding her benevolent intentions for the good of her Roman Catholic subjects.*" Count Joseph de Maistre had come to know Siestrzencewicz well, during the years that he spent in St. Petersburg as the ambassador of the king of Sardinia; and in 1819, seven years before the death of the prelate, he wrote, in his letter on *The Condition of Christianity in Europe*, the following estimate of the character of Catharine's adjutant in the religious campaign against the Poles: "There is at present in Russia a very fanatical personage who could not be found in any other time or country. He is the archbishop of Mohilew, the Catholic primate of all the Russias, who was a Protestant and an officer of cavalry before he became a bishop. He is an instrument in the hands of our enemies, and a thousand times more dangerous than if he were a Protestant by profession. His servility would disgust a *noble* government, one for which mere obedience suffices. He is always ready to contradict, and even to defy the Holy See, because he knows that he will always be sustained. It was he who, one day as the emperor passed, cried out: 'Behold my Pope!' The witnesses of this admirable profession of faith are still living in St. Petersburg. In one of his pastorals this strange bishop presumed to falsify a text of the Council of Trent, and also a passage from a letter of Pope Pius VI. Because of this double *mistake*, if that word suffices, the reigning Pontiff (Pius VII.) could not avoid sending to him a Brief of reprobation, ordering him to retract; but he, knowing that he would be upheld, laughed at the Brief, and made no retractation." Tolstoy reproduces a long memorial by Siestrzencewicz on *The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the Empire*, from which we take the following passage as illustrative of the prelate's appreciation of Canon Law, and of his conception of the proper relations between Church and State: "In return for the daily bread which nourishes him (Catharine paid *him* 60,000 roubles a year), and because of the security allowed him in the empire, an ecclesiastic owes obedience and fidelity to the sovereign. He is not obliged to know all the laws, but only

those which concern him, and which regard the maintenance of the Church and the clergy. Consequently, the Canon Law must be taught in the seminary, *within the limits which will be prescribed by the sovereign.*" The reader will take notice that this last clause is italicized, not by us, but by the procurator-general of the Holy Synod; and he quite properly asked for special attention to it, for it is an epitome of his hero's entire episcopal teaching. In this memorial there is another passage which also merits italicization, and chiefly because it sounds like an excerpt from Voltaire. Just as Tolstoy contends that "in the schools of the Latins the intellect is purposely obscured," so Siestrzencewicz emits this raving: "In our day, *when men so justly complain of the decadence and corruption of the monastic classes*, and when scarcely any one thinks of some way of rendering them useful to the country, Providence has designed that *in the Golden Age of Russia, Catharine the Immortal should make them benefit her other subjects.*" It is no wonder that Catharine found in Siestrzencewicz an accomplice in all her schemes for the reduction of the Latin Catholics to servitude, for the absorption of the Uniates by the "Orthodox" Church, and for the utter annihilation of the pontifical authority in her dominions.

Throughout his work Dimitri Tolstoy shows us that he cares more for the fancied interests of his imperial master than he cares for the real rights of conscience; and that his inveterate prejudices, nourished in the darkness of schism, dread the light of historical truth. The following passage is interesting, both because of its naive admissions and because of the inconsistency of which it is redolent: "By the first partition, in 1772, Russia acquired White Russia, which formed only a part of the diocese of Wilna. The first act of the Russian government was to guarantee freedom of worship in those provinces, *and to organize the hierarchical administration of the Roman Church.* . . . Far from attacking the dogmas and rites of the Latin population of White Russia, Catharine, on the contrary, strengthened them by the institution of a hierarchy; *but she refused to recognize the right of Rome, under pretext of religion, to have anything to do with the*

discipline of the Latin Church in her empire. Following the example of the principal states of the Roman communion, she ordered, in 1772, that no Bull or Brief from the court of Rome, no commands of foreign ecclesiastical authorities, should be published in White Russia without the permission of the governor-general and the sovereign sanction. *This important measure, which utterly reversed the relations of the Polish higher clergy with the government and with the court of Rome, which hitherto had ruled absolutely through its nuncio at Warsaw, became a fundamental law of the empire.* This law was always confirmed by all the successors of Catharine, despite certain variations in the administration of the Church. *It exists at present, and it is to be hoped that it will never be changed in the future.*" According to Tolstoy, therefore, Catharine is to be praised for a spirit of toleration, when she violated her solemn promise to that effect by "reorganizing the hierarchical administration of the Roman Church"; when she effected this "reorganization" in such a manner that she "utterly reversed the relations of the Polish higher clergy with the court of Rome"; when she absolutely severed the tie of obedience and respect which bound her Catholic subjects to the earthly head of their Church; when she took as her guides the philosophistic, Febronian and Josephistic (nominally Catholic) statesmen, whose maxims the Church condemned. This conduct of Catharine, according to Tolstoy, was "not an attack on the dogmas and rites" of Catholics, but rather a "strengthening" of them; and, nevertheless, Tolstoy knew that the supremacy of the Pope—and, consequently, his right to command in matters of discipline, just as in matters of faith—forms part of Catholic dogma. But Tolstoy held a brief as an advocate of the State Church of Russia. And he was faithful to his commission, when, with an audacity which has been rarely equalled, he declared: "We should not forget that the regeneration of the Catholic Church in Russia, *whose decadence was so manifest at the end of the last century*, was inaugurated by a sovereign who did not belong to that Church." Tolstoy proclaims the name of this murderous and ostentatiously lubricious woman as "venerable"; but Catholics remember that when she left the em-

braces of her latest paramour for those of death—a death which reminds us of that of Arius—she could reflect that since the Treaty of Grodno, signed three years previously, she had forced four-fifths of her Uniate subjects into the ranks of “Orthodoxy.” She had strangled their faith as remorselessly as she had strangled her imperial husband; and the hundreds who had perished on the scaffold or under the knout, the fourteen thousand who were undergoing a living death in Siberia, the other thousands whose noses and ears were cut off after they had been deprived of their flocks—their sole means of subsistence—would scarcely have termed her “venerable.”

Paul I., the successor of Catharine II., riddled the administration of nearly all the creatures of his abominable mother; but among the few who succeeded in retaining their positions was the infamous Siestrzencewicz. Paul would have enforced the provisions for toleration which Catharine had signed and then ignored, had he not been influenced by the wily prelate, who hoped to secure for himself a patriarchate under the ægis of the civil power. When Paul requested and obtained from Pope Pius VI. the residence of a papal nuncio in his capital, Siestrzencewicz used every means to thwart that prelate, and finally procured his dismissal. He then drew up a series of regulations for the government of the Catholics in the empire, which rendered him, under the czar, their absolute master. Thus, every appeal from an episcopal decision was to be addressed to the Catholic Department of the College of Justice, and the president of this tribunal was Siestrzencewicz himself. For a time the Catholics breathed more freely, when Paul, heeding the complaints of the Jesuits, deprived His Grace of Mohilew of the presidency in the College, and conferred it on his coadjutor, Benislowski. But with the accession of Alexander I. to the throne, Siestrzencewicz returned to power. By a ukase of November 1, 1801, the Catholic Department of the College of Justice gave place to a Catholic College, which, sitting at St. Petersburg, was to be for all the Catholics in Russia what the Holy Synod was in regard to the schismatics. In the formation of this new tribunal

Siestrzenciewicz carefully ignored all who had any reputation for morality or honor. One of the members was his brother, a Protestant, and of very evil repute; another, a notoriously dissolute monk, apostatized and "married" soon after his appointment. However, in spite of the all but openly schismatic tendencies of their primate, the Catholics of Russia complained but little during the reign of Alexander I. So far as his surroundings would permit, this czar ever manifested a sincere desire to respect the religious convictions of those whom his "popes" represented as the most dangerous enemies of his empire; and it is not strange that during the last years of his life there were rumors of his conversion, and that when he died (in 1825) these rumors attained greater consistency (1).

The great work which Catharine II. had initiated, the destruction of the Greek Uniate Church, had been interrupted by the comparatively tolerant reigns of Paul I. and Alexander I.; but it was resumed by Nicholas I., and with similar but more cunningly-devised means. Catharine began the work with the aid of that Siestrzenciewicz whom De Maistre rightly termed "a Protestant in disguise;" and Nicholas

(1) Gagarin, an erudite Russian Jesuit whose writings on the ecclesiastical affairs of his country are rightly regarded as authoritative by the most judicial minds of our day, thus alludes to this matter in his *Catholic Tendencies of Russian Society* (Paris, 1860): "In the circle of intimates surrounding Alexander I. there was a zealous Catholic, General Michaud, who had undertaken the task of converting him, and had labored indefatigably. He was the possessor of very important documents which would have shed much light on this question. He placed these papers in the hands of the bishop of Cuneo in Piedmont; and after his death, at his express request his brother sent them to the czar Nicholas. Persons who were most trustworthy, and whom I believe to have been well-informed, declared that the documents reached the hands of Nicholas on the very day when that emperor received the Allocution which Gregory XVI. had pronounced on July 22, 1842. Moroni, in his *Dictionary*, at the article *Russia*, enters into interesting details concerning this subject; and he says that he received them from Pope Gregory XVI. himself. According to this recital, General Michaud waited on Pope Leo XII., in order to inform him as to the good dispositions of Alexander I., and to beg him to send to Russia a priest who enjoyed his full confidence, who would receive the abjuration of the czar. Leo XII. designated, at first, Mauro Capellari, abbot of the Camaldulense in Rome (afterward Pope Gregory XVI.); and when the monk declined the mission, it was entrusted to Orioli, a Franciscan (afterward a cardinal). Orioli was on the point of departure, when it was learned in Rome that Alexander I. was dead. I do not give this story as an historical document, or the fact as demonstrated; but one must regard the narrative as important. Its value is based on the testimony of three men: Pope Leo XII., Mauro Capellari, afterward Gregory XVI.; and Moroni, who insists that he reduced the recital to writing on the very day that the Pope pronounced it. If we consider the numerous other evidences which prove the Catholic tendencies of Alexander I. during the last years of his life, . . . we must admit that Catholicism had produced a profound impression on his mind."

finished it with the aid of another Uniate traitor, Siemaszko. The plan which Siemaszko, then an assessor in the Catholic College of which we have spoken, submitted to Nicholas, has been revealed in our day by Moroschkine, a Russian schismatic priest (1), and it refutes completely the assertions of Tolstoy and other official "Orthodox" writers that in the contest between Catholicism and "Orthodoxy," it was the former that first assumed the aggressive by troubling the peace of the latter. "*The Empress Catharine*, writes Siemaszko to Nicholas, "*did not hesitate to proclaim aloud that it was her intention to extirpate the Union in the annexed provinces.* With this idea, firstly, she enfeebled the action, without suppressing it, of the ecclesiastical authority of the United Greeks, and secondly, she prevented the clergy and nobility of the Latin rite from exercising any influence on the consciences of the Catholics of the Slavonic rite. When, in 1794, the Synod received an order to publish an appeal to the people in the newly-acquired provinces, it was to exhort them to embrace Orthodoxy. Her Majesty, on her side, ordered the governor, Toutolmine, to assist the Synod. She recommended him to watch carefully, *lest any proprietor or employee, ecclesiastical or civil, of either one of the rites of the Catholic religion, should dare offer the least opposition to those who might wish to embrace Orthodoxy.* She added that the slightest attempt at such a thing, being a hostility to the dominant religion, and contrary to her formal desires, would be considered a capital crime, to be brought before the tribunals, and involving a confiscation of property until the judicial decision should be rendered. *This menace, joined to the state of siege in which the provinces then were, produced its effect. Very soon Orthodox dioceses arose in the government of Minsk, and, above all, in Volhynia and Podolia.*" This passage needs no comment; but mark how Siemaszko admits that after the death of Catharine, "conversions to Orthodoxy" almost ceased. "*After the death of the empress, the vigilance of the authorities being relaxed, a*

(1) In an article entitled *The Reunion of the Union*, in the *European Messenger*, of St. Petersburg, 1872, cited by Father Martinov, S. J., in his work, *The Plan for the Abolition of the United Greek Church*. Paris, 1878.

great reaction occurred. . . . *The conversions of the Uniates to the dominant Church ceased, while returns to the Latin rite were numerous. From that time there was no instance of an entire parish, or even of part of one, going over to the Russian Church, but there were many instances of the contrary. . . . From time to time entire communities passed to the Uniates, leaving empty churches to the Russo-Greek clergy.*" This avowal of Siemaszko scarcely accords with the claims of Tolstoy, or with the impudent assertion of Catharine, that "the Uniates awaited a propitious occasion that they might return to a Church which they had abandoned with regret, and only in order to escape persecution" (1). The plan of Siemaszko for the wholesale perversion of the Uniates embraced four points: Firstly, a United Greek College was to be established; that is, instead of the United Greek Section in that Catholic College which managed the religious affairs of the Russian Catholics, there would be instituted a distinct College, the mission of which would be to guard against the introduction of any new features in the United Greek rite, and to watch over the exact observance of all its ancient features. Secondly, the number of Uniate dioceses was to be diminished, and only *reliable* men (that is, men of the stamp of Siemaszko) were to be placed over them. Thirdly, the ecclesiastical schools of the Uniates were to be so guarded that it would be impossible for their students to ever hold the slightest communication with those who followed the Latin rite. Fourthly, and above all, insisted Siemaszko, in order to prevent conversions from "Orthodoxy" to Catholicism, the monks of the order of St. Basil should be reduced in number, and those allowed to subsist should be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of their provincials. In accordance with this plan, Nicholas I. promulgated, on April 22, 1828, that ukase which Pope Gregory XVI., in his Allocution of July 22, 1842, described as having, by its institution of the United Greek College, "imposed on the bishops, in the exercise of their authority, a nearly absolute subjection to the Russian government."

(1) In her letter to Stackelberg, her ambassador to the Roman court, November 4, 1782. The context of the letter shows that its lies were intended for the ears of Pope Pius VI.

After the establishment of this governmental bureau, other persecuting enactments appeared as its logical consequences. The bishops and superiors of religious houses were forbidden to exercise any supervision over the education of the secular or regular clergy. Episcopal sees were systematically left vacant, or filled by either incapable or unworthy persons. The property of convents and monasteries was repeatedly sequestered. Thousands of children were deported to the interior of Russia, to be trained in the maxims of "Orthodoxy." Siberia was the destination of anyone who endeavored to convert an "Orthodox" person to Catholicism. All children born of mixed marriages were to be raised in the National Church. Mixed marriages were regarded as null, unless celebrated before an "Orthodox" pastor. No Catholic priest could hear the confession of a person who was unknown to him, nor could he administer the Holy Eucharist to such a person. Such was the legislation which, crowned by the apostasy of three bishops in 1839, brought almost total ruin upon the Ruthenian Church.

In 1830 Siemaszko was appointed suffragan to the metropolitan of Lithuania, who consented to the governmental action, only because the ambitious prelate swore to beseech the Pontiff to grant the canonical institution. It may be superfluous to remark that the oath was broken. An apostate provincial of the Basilian monks, and a few other corrupt Uniates, were found to be willing to accept mitres in return for the sacrifice of their apostolic liberty; and the work of robbing the Ruthenians of their most precious treasure proceeded with rapidity. Like all other schisms and heresies, the "Orthodox" Church waded in the blood of Catholic martyrs ere it triumphed in White Russia. Our limits allow us to cite only a few of the more prominent illustrations of the fidelity of the Ruthenians to the Chair of Peter. In April, 1834, fifty-four priests of the district of Novogrodek handed to Siemaszko a firm protest against his innovations. The wretch proceeded to violence; a few yielded, but the majority set out on the weary march for Siberia. One of the accomplices of this Polish Cranmer, Luziński, bishop of Polotsk, made a number of his clergy

drunk, and then wheedled from them a renunciation of the Roman communion. When the priests of the districts of Drisna and Lepel heard of this proceeding, they protested before God and man; then the imperial authorities transferred their churches to the schismatics. The district of Witepsk had for many years been attended by the Lazarists; but these devoted sons of St. Vincent de Paul had been banished in 1822. Shortly after the Easter of 1835, an imperial commissioner, accompanied by a company of soldiers, entered the church, and informed the people that it was the will of their father, the czar, that they should embrace his religion. When they refused, the military fell on them; many expired in the house of God, but many others fled to a neighboring pond, which was covered by a thin coating of ice. The commissioner ordered them to yield, but they replied that they would die rather than abandon the Catholic religion. Then the soldiers broke the ice; some of the unfortunates swam to the shore, but twenty-two found their martyrs' crowns in their watery graves. At Starosiel, a military colony, the commander informed his men, one day, that the czar had determined that they should adore his God. The simple-minded Poles replied that they did adore the same Christ, the Redeemer, whom the czar adored. "That is not enough," retorted the general; "you must adore God according to the regulations—in the manner decreed by the czar." The puzzled men exclaimed that Christ had not instituted the czar as Chief Pastor for His flock. "I know nothing about that," returned the commander, "nor do I wish to know anything about it. I know only my orders. Obey!" Most of the soldiers declared that they would die sooner than abandon their religion; whereupon the "Orthodox" ones fell upon them with clubs and swords, and another band of martyrs ascended to heaven. After seven years of persecution of this sort, Siemaszko could boast that in White Russia and Lithuania eight hundred and eighty-six parishes had passed from the obedience of the Vicar of Christ to that of the czar of Russia; and then he and Luzienski ordered their clergy to sign *An Act of Union With the Russian Church*. In the province of Mohilew every priest spurned

the document, and one hundred and sixty of them were sent to Siberia, where most of them died. In 1838 the Uniate bishop of Brest joined Siemaszko and Luzienski at Polotsk ; and having signed the *Act of Union*, they endeavored to procure the adhesion of the venerable metropolitan, Bullhak, to whom Siemaszko was coadjutor. The czar tried in vain to bribe Bulhak with the *cordon* of St. Andrew, a decoration which was given only to princes of the blood, and with a promise of the see of St. Petersburg. When Siemaszko dangled this latter bait before his eyes, the old man asked : "You offer me the highest dignity in the Russian Church ; but who will give me eternal salvation, if I violate my conscience?" And he immediately drew up an act of solemn protestation against the proceedings of his suffragans. That same night, Bloudow, minister of the interior, entered the bed-room of the archbishop, unannounced, and ordered him, in the name of the czar, to sign the *Act of Union*. The prelate calmly replied : "No human power shall induce me to proclaim my separation from the Universal Church—from Christ Himself. If others do so, and the government publishes their apostasy, I, at least, solemnly protest against their conduct." Siemaszko advised the czar to proceed to extremes, but Nicholas reflected that Bulhak was revered by schismatics as well as by Catholics, and he preferred to allow a natural death, which could not be far distant, to free him from the last firm support of the Ruthenian Church. The prelate went to his reward at the close of that year ; and then the czar gave him a gorgeous funeral, in order that the people might believe the government's assertion that he had finally entered the State Church of Holy Russia. On February 24, 1839, the three episcopal apostates published their *Act of Union*. It was received benignly by Colonel Protasoff, the head of the Holy Synod ; and from that day the apologists of the czarate have continually asserted, and Russian school children have been continually taught, that during the reign of the ever-memorable (*nezabvennyy*) Czar Nicholas I., nearly two millions of Ruthenians "returned" to the Orthodox Church spontaneously and gratefully.

The Polish Catholics of the Latin rite had their share of

suffering during the reign of Nicholas I. as well as those of the Greek rite. The suppression of all the religious orders, announced in 1828, was effected in 1832. The incumbent of the metropolitan see of Mohilew, Cieciszowski, a most worthy man, a living contradiction of his predecessor, Siestrzencewicz, was prevented by the infirmities of age from administering the diocese; and when his auxiliary, Szyt, showed that his attachment to the Holy See was invincible, he was deported into the depths of Russia. When the see became vacant, Nicholas named for it the bishop of Kamieniec, Paulowski, who had been so subservient to His Majesty as to order his clergy to observe the ukase of March 28, 1836, which forbade the priests of the Latin rite to administer the Sacraments to the Uniates. In 1841 Pope Gregory XVI. deemed it wise to grant a Brief for the canonical institution of Paulowski; and for this act he has been blamed by many Catholic publicists, notably by the generally judicious French historian, Rohrbacher. Certainly appearances were against the venerable Pontiff, when many devoted children of the Holy See, regarding things from a lower standpoint than that which he occupied, insinuated that his invincible opposition to all revolutionary manœuvres had rendered him an unwitting accomplice of the Russian persecutor. But listen to the apostolic simplicity and vigor with which Gregory XVI. explained his position in his Allocution to the Sacred College, delivered on July 22, 1842: "He whose unworthy vicar on earth we are, knows well that from the moment of our elevation to the Supreme Pontificate, we have neglected nothing which zeal and solicitude could suggest as remedies for the ever-increasing evils of the day. But what has been the result of all our labors? Facts, and very recent ones, tell us too plainly. . . . The public has no knowledge of all that we have done, unceasingly and determinedly, in order to protect and defend, in all the regions subjected to the Russian domination, the inviolable rights of the Catholic Church. All this has been unknown, especially in those regions; and it has come to pass, for the increase of our grief, that among the faithful dwelling there in such great numbers, the enemies of the Holy See, with that hereditary deceit

(*avita fraude*) which distinguishes them, have spread the report that we, forgetful of our sacred ministry, have ignored the misfortunes which have overwhelmed those peoples, and that thus we have almost abandoned the cause of the Catholic religion. So far has this matter been carried, that we have become almost a stumbling-block for a considerable portion of the flock of our Lord. . . . Since such is the state of things, we owe to God, to religion, and to ourselves, that we repel even the suspicion of so grievous a delinquency. With this object, we have ordered that there be given to each one of you, Venerable Brothers, a complete exposition of all that we have done in behalf of the Catholic Church in the empire of Russia. Thus it will be made plain to all the faithful, throughout the world, that we have been in no way neglectful of our Apostolic duties."

The publication of this exposition, which was a precise and thoroughly substantiated arraignment of the Russian government before the bar of Christianity and civilization, was a fearful blow for Nicholas I. One of his greatest anxieties had been caused by the fear lest his imitations of Nero and Diocletian should become known in Western Europe. He had succeeded in hiding them, thanks to the complicity of his Protestantizing brother-in-law, the king of Prussia; thanks also to the minister of Austria, that Metternich who rivalled even Nicholas in hatred of every true independence of thought; but thanks, above all, to the interested silence of nearly the entire press of Europe, which, in the hands of Freemasons and Jews, never condemned any injuries done to Catholics, just as to-day it says nothing when Cossacks bayonet the infants of Polish Catholics, while it wails through many columns of exaggerations on the woes which Eastern schismatics have brought upon themselves at the hands of the Turks. The language of the papal secretary of state was calm and dignified; but it carried conviction to the heart of every reader. Nicholas thought it would be a grand stroke of policy were he to show the world that he did not hesitate to justify himself in the very face of his accuser. We do not know the details of that interview which Pope Gregory XVI. granted to his Russian

Majesty in December, 1845. In his *Last Four Popes*, Cardinal Wiseman says: "What were the emperor's intentions, what his ideas, what his desires in coming to Rome, and having necessarily a personal meeting with the Pope, it is impossible to conjecture. Did he hope to overcome him by his splendid presence, truly majestic, soldier-like, and imperial? Or to cajole and win him by soothing speeches and insincere promises? Or to gain the interpretative approval of silence and forbearance? One must conjecture in vain. Certain it is that he came, he saw, and conquered not. It has been already mentioned that the subject and particulars of the conference were never revealed by its only witness at Rome. The Pope's own account was brief, simple, and full of conscious power: 'I said to him all that the Holy Ghost dictated to me.' And that he had not spoken vainly, with words that had beaten the air, but that their strokes had been well placed and driven home, there was evidence otherwise recorded. An English gentleman was in some part of the palace through which the imperial visitor passed as he returned from his interview, and described his altered appearance. He had entered with his usual firm and royal aspect, grand as it was from statue-like features, stately frame, and martial bearing; free and at his ease, with gracious looks and condescending gestures of salutation. So he passed through the long suite of anterooms, the imperial eagle, glossy, fiery, 'with plumes unruffled, and with eye unquenched,' in all the glory of pinions which no flight had ever wearied, of beak and talon which no prey had yet resisted. He came forth again, with head uncovered, and hair, if it can be said of man, dishevelled; haggard and pale, looking as though in an hour he had passed through the condensation of a protracted fever; taking long strides, with stooping shoulders, unobservant, unsaluting. He waited not for his carriage to come to the foot of the stairs, but rushed out into the outer court, and hurried away from the scene of a discomfiture. It was the eagle dragged from his eyrie among the clefts of the rocks, 'from his nest among the stars,' his feathers crumpled, and his eye quelled, by a power till then despised."

Probably it was this event which induced Nicholas to enter into a Concordat with the Holy See in 1847, and to consent to satisfy a few of the claims of the Pontiff. Thus, in Article 12 it was stipulated that the czar would appoint no Catholic bishop without a previous understanding with the Pope; in Article 13 the bishop was recognized as the sole judge of ecclesiastical matters in his diocese, and he was to appoint all the members of his council; in Article 21 the bishop was allowed to supervise the instruction of the ecclesiastical students in his seminary, and he was permitted to select the professors of theology from among the members of the priesthood; and in Article 21 private individuals who wished to spend their own money in defraying the expenses of Catholic worship were graciously allowed to do so, without fear of governmental interference. But at the moment that this "ever-memorable" head of Russian "Orthodoxy" was doling out his pitiful measure of justice to his Polish subjects in that Concordat which was designed to blind the eyes of Western Europe, he promulgated a code of criminal procedure which was almost worthy of Elizabeth of England. By Article 184 of this code any person who found fault with the "Orthodox" religion lost his civil rights and was doomed to forced labor for six or eight years, while six months or a year of imprisonment awaited him who did not denounce the person whom he had heard pronouncing such sentiments. By Article 187 the commission of this "crime" by writing or printing was punished, in the persons of author or printer, by deportation to Siberia. By Article 193 any persuasion to abandon the Church of the State entailed deportation to Tomsk or Tobolsk; any such persuasion, if savoring of "violence," was to be punished by deportation to Siberia. And the reader will please note that the deprivation of civil rights, as well as the condemnation to Siberia, entailed also a scourging with the knout, which consisted of from eighty to two hundred blows. Of course it is unnecessary to state that the imperial framer of this code did not observe the provisions of the Concordat, trivial though they were.

When Alexander II. succeeded his father, Nicholas I., in

1855, the similarity of his name, and a general belief that his nature was gentle, led the Poles to believe that his reign would be no more oppressive to them than that of his uncle. But in May, 1856, the future emancipator of the Russian serfs thus addressed the Polish nobility in Warsaw: "I bear you all in my heart, just as I bear the Finlanders and all other Russian subjects; but I intend to maintain the state of affairs which my father established. Therefore, cherish no reveries! I shall know how to restrain those who may continue to indulge in dreams. *The happiness of Poland depends on its entire fusion with the rest of my empire. What my father did was well done, and I shall uphold it; my reign will be the continuation of his.*" Alexander II., however, wished to present an appearance of being willing to satisfy the "legitimate" reclamations of the Holy See. One of his first acts, therefore, was the appointment of a committee, consisting of Nesselrode, Bludoff, the two Kisseleffs, Lanskoï, and the Poles, Turknul and Hubé, who were ordered to consider the demands which the Roman Pontiff had continued to make, ever since the government of Nicholas I. had signed the Concordat of 1847. We shall notice only a few of these demands, and the treatment which the ostensibly conciliatory committee accorded to them. The first point will scarcely be understood by the Catholic reader. Just as the Holy Synod of the "Orthodox" Church is governed by the czar through the secular procurator-general whom he appoints, so the government of St. Petersburg had for many years attempted to manipulate each Catholic bishop by means of a secretary for his council whom it commissioned, and who was not only a secular, but often a schismatic. To the protest of the Pope against this absurd and outrageous practice the committee replied: "After a minute examination of this matter, the committee finds that our government, *basing its action on the recognized right of all European governments to control the actions of the Catholic Church in their states (jus inspectionis)*, can, without fear of contradiction, whenever it deems the procedure necessary, appoint its delegates to watch the Catholic consistories, lest they adopt any measures contrary to the existing laws of the

empire. If the court of Rome opposes this action, it is not befitting for our government to renounce its prerogatives." To the pontifical demand that when Catholics wished to contract mixed marriages, they should be allowed to recur to their own episcopal tribunals, it was replied that such a pretension could not be entertained, *since the spiritual tribunals of the "Orthodox" Church alone had jurisdiction over the two communions.* With some consistency, therefore, the committee reported against granting the papal demand that the czar should withdraw the ukase of 1842, whereby it had been declared that no mixed marriage was valid unless contracted before an "Orthodox" priest. Quite naturally the committee condemned the Pope's insistence that Holy Russia should do what no modern government has yet done, that is, that she should restore the property which she had stolen from the Church. Of course the very "Orthodox" committee did not agree with the Pontiff when he said that apostate Uniates ought not to experience governmental restraint when they wished to return to the Catholic fold. Neither could the committee perceive any reasonableness in the papal wish that the spiritual wants of the still subsisting United Greeks should be satisfied by Latin bishops, when the government refused to allow them bishops of their own rite. By adopting the advice of this committee, Alexander II. showed how sincere had been the liberal promises which he had made when he mounted the throne ; and by this entrance into the way marked out by Catharine II., and so persistently followed by Nicholas I., he deliberately challenged the patience of Poland. Neither the scope of our work nor our limits permit us to detail the terrible events of the Polish insurrection of 1863, but a few words in illustration of its immediate causes will be pertinent to our present subject.

And here let us notice at once an accusation which was brought at that time against the Polish clergy by their "Orthodox" oppressors, and which has been too often repeated by ill-informed publicists in Western Christendom. The Polish clergy were and are styled revolutionists ; and, quite reasonably, the European revolutionism of our day is malodorous to Catholic nostrils. *If there was then, or is now, any de-*

fiency of proper spirit in the Polish priesthood, that deficiency exists because the Russian government has for more than a century systematically endeavored to demoralize that priesthood. It has deprived the Polish clergy of every source of instruction and piety, so far as human power could deprive it, by furnishing it with unworthy bishops in too many instances; by suppressing seminaries and religious orders, and by the corrupt maxims which Russian professors have taught to Polish youth. But it remains to be proved that the Polish clergy have ever knowingly played the game of the Masonic Lodges. The first politico-religious manifestation of 1861 was made in Warsaw. On February 25, 1839, the Poles had defeated the Russians at the gates of Praga, one of the suburbs of the capital; and on the anniversary an immense multitude, headed by many priests, who surrounded the national banner, proceeded to the site to offer prayers for the dead. On the way all chanted the popular and patriotic hymn *Święty Boże*, which, as a rule, the Poles never sang in the streets unless in time of epidemic or other public calamity (1). The service on the place of battle had nearly terminated, when Colonel Trepow, the chief of police, arrived with two squadrons of mounted gendarmes. Twice the inoffensive and still praying multitude were charged, and more than forty were either mortally or seriously wounded. On February 27th a funeral service was to be celebrated in the church of the Carmelites for Zawisza, one of the victims of Russian tyranny; and as the procession was nearing the church, Trepow attacked it with two squadrons of dragoons. The Poles held their ground, and another procession, issuing from the church of the Bernardines, distracted the attention of the Cossacks. Wheeling

(1) The hymn is as follows: "Holy God, Powerful God, have mercy on us! From pest fire, and war, Lord, deliver us! From sudden and unprovided death, Lord, deliver us! Sinners that we are, we beseech thee, O Lord, to deign to govern and exalt Thy Holy Church! Vouchsafe to render our country to us! Deign to dispose us unto true repentance! Jesus, Jesus, have mercy on us! Holy Virgin Mary, Queen of Poland, pray for us!" Hymns in the vernacular have a prominent place in the liturgy of the Poles of the Latin rite. The custom of congregational singing in Polish was introduced in the sixteenth century, in order to combat the influence of the Reformers, who were striving to abolish the Latin liturgy. There is no choir, in our sense of the term, in a Polish church. The organist intones the first words of the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, etc., in Polish, and the congregation chant the remainder. After each parochial Mass the *Święty Boże* precedes the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

about, the soldiers of Holy Russia fell upon the latter body, forced it back into the church, and galloped after it to the very foot of the altar. Meanwhile the first procession had tried to enter the hall of the Agricultural Society, intending to protest against the sacrilegious violence of the oppressor before the distinguished men who formed that patriotic and philanthropic body, and who were then in session. The president of the Society, Count Andrew Zamoyiski, true to his programme of abstention from anything which might serve as an excuse for governmental interference with the beneficent work of his organization, declared the session closed. The members retired, but as they reached the street the soldiers were ordered to fire, and five victims fell dead and more than sixty were wounded. On October 15th, the anniversary of the death of Kosciuszko, a requiem was being held in each parish church of Warsaw, when each was surrounded by soldiers, and an order that none of the suppliants should be allowed egress was issued. During seventeen hours the congregations were thus confined, and when, at four in the morning of the 16th, the military entered the sanctuaries, it was for the purpose of dragging more than two thousand innocents to the citadel (1). The resignation of the people of Warsaw during these days of outrage approached the sublime. So funereal was the aspect of the city, that the Russians might have thought their triumph already assured, had not one venerable man raised his voice of protestation in the name of religion and of humanity. With the courage of a Roman martyr defying a proconsul to do his worst, Bialobrzewski, the administrator of the diocese (Archbishop Fialkowski had died on September 25th), handed to the governor

(1) One of the victims of Cossack brutality on this occasion was an Englishman named G. Mitchell, and he wrote several letters to Earl Russell on the matter, from which we take the following passage: "Who could imagine that the Christian governor of a Christian city would order his Asiatic hordes of hideous savages to trample under their feet a Christian population, an inoffensive people, because it had entered or approached the house of God? When the Russian troops forcibly entered the churches, they found kneeling women in the first rows, and behind them were the kneeling men. The women were beaten, and the men were thrown to the floor and trampled under foot. In front of the church of the Bernardines, in the Fanbourg of Cracow, Captain Taraskewicz was seen lashing with his whip the women who were trying to escape from the Cossacks by fleeing into the church, and he ordered his men to do the same. . . . After these outrages the churches were despoiled of every object on which the soldiers could lay hands."—*The Events in Warsaw on October 15, 1861.* Paris, 1862.

a document in which, after an allusion to the desecration of the churches, he said: "These deeds are a disgrace to the soldiers of a civilized government, and make one believe that the days of Attila have returned. But since such are the facts, and since the soldiers menace an unarmed people with their bayonets, I am obliged, in conformity with the mind of the Church, to take measures which will make this justly indignant people realize deeply the barbarity of the outrages which have been perpetrated. I therefore order that all the churches of Warsaw be closed, and I prohibit all services in them. What will be the consequence of this shutting-off from all religious consolation a people who are already so profoundly irritated? I know not; but I do know that nothing can now renew the ties between governed and governing which have been so often and so cruelly broken." In spite of every threat of the government, the order of the administrator was obeyed by the clergy, and the people began to kneel in prayer before the doors which Muscovite cruelty had closed against them. Then a governmental decree forbade all public praying, under pain of the knout and imprisonment; and on November 12th the heroic administrator was thrust into the citadel, the ordinary torments of political prisoners being increased in his case by his being deprived of the consolation of his Breviary (1). His sufferings were of short duration; for since he would not resign his office, and the Chapter would not elect another administrator, he was condemned to death in the following December. Alexander II., now nominated for the see of Warsaw a priest in whom he fancied that he could discern one who would be, if not an instrument of Russia, at least an advocate of a policy of *laisser aller*. Felinski had been one of the few Polish clergymen who blamed Bialobrziski for closing the churches; and since he had resided outside of Poland for many years, and had judged of matters by official journals and documents, he had come to believe that the conduct of the Polish clergy had not always been noted for prudence. But Mgr. Felinski had scarcely taken possession of his see, when he proved to the czar and to the world that he was of the material which fur-

(1) *Ami de la Religion*, January 8, 1862

nishes to the Church her Athanasii and her Chrysostoms. At the beginning of May, 1862, the people of Warsaw having signified their intention to honor the Queen of Heaven, in that month which is specially devoted to her praises, by illuminations around all of her statues, the government ordered the archbishop to forbid such demonstrations, declaring also that all ecclesiastics who contravened the wishes of the czar in the matter "would be arrested and summarily punished." Felinski replied to this insolent command on May 5th, insisting that "it was for the ecclesiastical authorities to superintend the churches," and that "an order to publish police regulations to his flock was an outrage on his episcopal dignity." During the next few days many of the churches were invaded by the police, and in each several worshippers were arrested, in accordance with the formal orders of the chief of police, Pilsudski, to make at least five arrests in each church every evening. In the meantime the archbishop had left the capital for a visitation to a part of his diocese without the permission of the government. Luders, the governor-general, telegraphed several times to the audacious prelate, ordering him to return; but Felinski replied each time that his work was not yet accomplished. These few facts will give an idea of the state of men's minds when, on January 15, 1863, the Russian government began to enforce the law of conscription, and thus precipitated the great insurrection. On May 5th the Grand Duke Constantine, then governor-general, sent for the archbishop, and ordered him to forbid the procession of the coming Feast of Corpus Christi. When the prelate refused, Constantine threatened to place soldiers at the door of every church; then the contributing processions would be unable to join in one grand function. Felinski replied: "Very well, Your Highness. Then I, with the crucifix in my hand, shall be the first to go out of my church; I shall offer my breast to your bayonets, and men will know whether it is Your Highness or I to whom the religious war will be due." The procession took place. In the beginning of June the archbishop was asked by Constantine to degrade from the priesthood a Capuchin named Konarski, who had been condemned to death *by the grand-duke himself*, for having offici-

ated as chaplain in the insurgent army of Langiewiez. The archbishop denied that any secular tribunal could condemn an ecclesiastic to degradation; as for the present case, he knew of no reason why such a sentence should be pronounced. On June 14th Mgr. Felinski was arrested, and soon afterward interned in Jaroslaw.

While persecution was thus raging in the kingdom of Poland, properly so-called, the emissaries of the "mild" Alexander II. were carrying fire and sword into the olden Polish provinces beyond the Bug, *viz.*, Lithuania and the Ruthenian countries. The instrument chosen by the cabinet of St. Petersburg to stamp out the insurrection in these regions was Michael Mourawieff, a wealthy scion of a family which has ever been distinguished for its hatred of everything Polish and Catholic, and a veritable representative of the spirit of Old Russia (1). The powers given to Mourawieff exceeded any given to any general in modern times, unless we except those accorded in 1861 to the generals of the Italian revolution in the matter of repressing all Neapolitan devotion to Francis II., the legitimate monarch of the

(1) Mourawieff prided himself on being a freethinker. After the deportation of the bishop of Wilna, the administrator of the diocese, Bowkiewicz, had occasion to confer with the general. The discussion was fruitless, and Mourawieff remarked: "You people are ever talking about God. Now, here I am seventy years old, and I have never seen such a person." The priest replied: "Probably Your Excellency will never see Him." (REGNAULT: *Mourawieff and the Archives of Czarism*, p. 37. Paris, 1863.) The party of Old Russia, of which Mourawieff was a good exponent, underwent a transformation after the emancipation of the serfs. Under the influence of Michael Katkoff, editor of the *Gazette of Moscow*, it became a party of Young Russia. What does Young Russia desire? The *Journal of Paris*, on March 27, 1868, thus answers the question: "A political organization like this: At the summit of the edifice an all-powerful czar, beneath him a hierarchy of functionaries, whose mission it would be to execute the orders of the emperor, and at the bottom an innumerable multitude, among whom there would reign equality, where the citizens would be all confused in a kind of communistic promiscuousness which Young Russia regards as democracy. All this obtained, the religion of Slavism would be pushed to fanaticism, and there would flourish a love of domination without limits and the blindest devotion to the will of the czar, the lord and father of all the Russians. This singular political system has recruited a considerable number of adherents; it is pre-eminently the *National Party*. There is to be no more influence from without; everything is to be for Russia and through Russia. To-day there still remain in the higher government circles traces of the olden German influence; all these must be made to disappear. Pan-Slavism is a mission, and all who try to thwart it must be thrust aside; if they resist, they must be crushed. There are to be no more embarrassments; no such thing as Poland, with that phantom of independence which has hitherto been permitted to her. Pan-Slavism is to know no obstacles, such as treaties and the respect due to them. . . . Russia represents the principle of nationalities (as advocated by Cavour); she is to deliver the Slavs of Austria and Turkey."

Two Sicilies. Thus, we read: "His Excellency will employ the most energetic measures against all whom he *supposes* to be favorable to the rebellion; he will take such measures as he may deem advisable against *suspects*. His Excellency will use every means to instruct the peasants as to the czar's paternal intentions in their regard, and *he will represent to them that the land-owners are their enemies and oppressors*. If His Excellency deems it wise, he will furnish arms to such peasants as are attached to the czar and to Russia. *His Excellency will show the greatest possible severity toward the Catholic clergy, they being the instigators of the present rebellion*. He will cause a list of the suspected priests to be prepared, and he will proceed against these with the utmost energy. His Excellency will shoot immediately all rebel leaders who fall into his hands, and will take proper measures in regard to all other prisoners. When circumstances demand, His Excellency will proceed against families who may have relatives in the insurgent ranks. In fine, *His Excellency will adopt every means that he may deem conducive to immediate pacification*, His Majesty having deigned to confer all powers upon him." Between June 8th and December 28th of 1863 Mourawieff either hung or shot eleven priests in Lithuania, while many scores of other priests were deported. In 1864 he closed twenty-four churches; in 1865, twenty-six; in 1867, one hundred and forty. Every Catholic land-owner and every Catholic ecclesiastic who had been allowed to remain in Lithuania was mulcted to the extent of more than a half of his revenues. In January, 1865, Mourawieff expelled all the female religious from Lithuania, not even excepting the Sisters of Charity. On September 14th Kauffmann, the successor of Mourawieff, presided at the inauguration, in Wilna, of an "Orthodox" church and two chapels which had been founded by his predecessor. On the following day the official *Courier of Wilna* published the sermon which signalized this triumph of the czarate. "What do these monuments mean? They signify that not a stone will remain above another in all the cities of this land when Russia yields it to another. . . . On this occasion it is impossible not to glori-

fy the late ruler of this region, the virtuous and wise Mourawieff, *who came among us like another Archangel Michael, clothed in divine panoply, the cross on his breast, and beatitude on his forehead and lips, an olive-branch in one hand, and a flaming sword in the other. . . .* We see with joy this country throwing off the rags and dirt of its deplorable past, as every part of it enters more determinedly into the living and potent organism of the Russian Empire. . . . A few more efforts, a few more enterprises, a little more time and patience, and on the brow of this country will be inscribed 'Holy and Orthodox Russia.' " And a few days afterward Kauffmann thus addressed a deputation of the Lithuanian gentry: "The severe regulations of the last few years will be maintained until I am convinced that you are thorough Russians, that you march in the way that is marked out for you by the law, and that you do so sincerely." In plain language, Kauffmann signified the resolve of his government that the Catholics of Lithuania, like those of the other Polish provinces, and like those of the kingdom itself, were to deny their faith and their fatherland, unless they were ready for penury and deportation, and, in case of resistance, for the scaffold. When the marshal of the nobility, Krzywicki, at the head of a deputation of Lithuanian magnates, waited upon him in Wilna, the representative of the czar said: "There is no pardon, even for those who have been condemned only to internment, *so long as Polonism and Catholicism are not totally extirpated, so long as there remains one Catholic church in the land. Reconciliation with the government and fidelity to the throne consist in the embrace of Orthodoxy by all, without exception.* Let the obstinate in their faith depart; for, gentlemen, I tell you again that no Catholic shall remain here, especially among the land-owners." The determination here indicated was rendered manifest on January 8, 1866 (O. S., December 27, 1865), by the following imperial decree published in the *Gazette of the Senate*: "Considering that in the nine governments of the West, the inhabitants of which are generally Little Russians and White Russians, and partly Lithuanians and Samogitians, the population of Polish origin is comparatively small; and consid-

ering that this Polish population, composed generally of seignorial proprietors and of the middle class, impresses upon the country a Polish character—thus preventing the non-Polish inhabitants from progressing and profiting by the numerous reforms which His Imperial Majesty has granted to his other subjects; and considering that the strength of this class consists in the possession of property after the fashion of a close corporation, which admits none of any other nationality, especially none of the Russian nationality; His Majesty, the Emperor, orders as follows: While awaiting a definitive organization of the governments in the West by a sufficient increase of Russian land-owners in those regions, no persons of Polish origin shall be allowed to acquire seignorial lands in the nine governments of the West. . . . Land-owners who have been exiled from the provinces of the West may, within the next two years, sell their estates in those provinces to persons of Russian origin *who profess either the Orthodox or Protestant religion*" (1).

Many indeed were the protests of Pius IX. in favor of persecuted Poland. We cite only the following passage from his Allocution in the Consistory of April 27, 1864: "The blood of the weak and the innocent cries to the throne of the Eternal for vengeance on those who have shed it. Poor Poland! I would have wished not to speak of this matter before the next Consistory; but I have feared that were I to keep silence any longer, I would draw upon myself the punishment which the prophet announces as awaiting those who allow iniquity to be committed. No! I wish not to be compelled to cry, when I stand before the Eternal Judge, '*Vae mihi, quia tacui!*' I feel myself inspired to condemn that sovereign whose name I do not now pronounce because I shall mention it in another discourse; of that sovereign whose immense empire reaches to the pole. This potentate, who styles himself falsely an Eastern Catholic, but who is merely a schismatic cut off from the True Church, persecutes and kills his Catholic subjects, and by his cruelty

(1) The Paris *Monde* of January 24, 1866, states that at that time in White Russia and in Lithuania there were 21,000 Catholic land-owners to 1,600 who were either Orthodox or Protestants. In Volhynia and Podolia the proportion of Catholics was larger; in the sole district of Berdichef there were 244 Catholics to 4 Orthodox.

he has forced them to insurrection. Under the pretext of repressing this insurrection, he extirpates Catholicism, he departs entire populations to the regions of ice where they are deprived of all religious consolation, and he replaces them with schismatic adventurers. He tears priests from their flocks and exiles them, condemning them to forced labor, and to other degrading punishments. Happy are those priests who have been able to flee, and are now wanderers in strange lands! This potentate, heterodox and schismatic though he is, arrogates to himself a power which even the Vicar of Jesus Christ does not possess. He pretends to depose a bishop whom we have canonically instituted. Insane man! He forgets that a Catholic bishop, whether on his throne or in the catacombs, is ever the same, and that his character is indelible. Let no man say that we foment European revolution, when we raise our voice against these iniquities. We know how to distinguish between socialistic revolution and the struggle of a nation which fights for its independence and for its religious faith. In stigmatizing the persecutors of the Catholic religion, we fulfil our sacred duty. We give our Apostolic benediction to all who pray for Poland to-day. Let us all pray for her!" Even the enemies of the Papacy admired this protest of "the old man of the Vatican." One of the foremost leaders of the Italian Unitarian movement, Brofferio, said in the Italian parliament on May 7th, "Behold an old man, tired, sick, without an army or any resources, and on the brink of the grave. He anathematizes a potentate who slaughters a people. I am agitated throughout my entire being. I fancy that I am living in the days of Gregory VII. I bow my head, and I applaud."

On December 27, 1866, Meyendorf, *chargé d'affaires* at the papal court, was received in audience by Pope Pius IX. The pontiff protested against the persecutions in Poland and the western provinces of the empire. Especially he complained of the exile of Mgr. Felinski; of the imprisonment of that prelate's vicar, and of the vexations visited on the faithful Chapter of Warsaw. The envoy had the audacity to contest the exactness of the Pope's information

concerning events which were but too notorious ; and when subterfuge failed him, he contended that the unfortunate Catholics would have suffered nothing, had they imitated the Protestants, and sided with the government of the czar during the insurrection. Finally, the foolish and sublimely impudent envoy remarked that, after all the Russian sovereign ought not to have been surprised at the revolt of the Catholics, since Catholicism and revolution are one and the same thing—" *giacchè il Cattolicesimo vale lo stesso che la rivoluzione.*" It is possible that this outrage was premeditated ; but whether it was designed at St. Petersburg or conceived in a muddy brain which knew nothing of diplomacy, the Pontiff could not ignore it. "You may go," he replied. "I must believe, Monsieur, that your emperor is not aware of all the miseries which caused Poland to groan. Therefore I respect your emperor ; but I cannot say the same of his representative when he insults me in my own house, and when, in my person, he insults all the faithful, of whom I am the head." The Russian government never disavowed this act of its agent, and diplomatic relations between it and the Holy See now ceased. It was at this time that Cardinal Antonelli published his official *Exposition, Accompanied by Documents of the Continual Endeavors of the Supreme Pontiff, Pius IX., To Remedy the Sufferings of the Catholic Church in Russia and in Poland.* Concluding the touching narrative, His Eminence says : "The Holy Father had signed a Concordat, and he could never procure its execution. He has protested, but has received no satisfaction. Frequently he has raised his voice in public Consistories, but there has been no reduction of severity in the measures adopted. Finally he invoked directly the justice of the emperor, but in vain has he awaited a consoling reply. There remains for the Holy See, therefore, no other course for its justification than that of publishing the documents which will show how solicitous it has been in regard to this cherished portion of the flock of Jesus Christ. The picture presented is painful indeed ; one needs only to glance at it in order to be convinced of the desolation to which the laws and acts of the imperial government have reduced the

Church of Poland. We behold pastors snatched from their flocks, or despoiled of their authority; the priests either proscribed or prevented from exercising their ecclesiastical ministry; the religious expelled and reduced to indigence; the Uniate Greeks drawn violently into schism; the Latins seduced or deprived of religious aid; sacred worship suspended, the churches being either desecrated or given over to non-Catholic services; the property of the Church stolen, the hierarchy abolished, religious and secular education contaminated, schism propagated; and, finally, every means destroyed whereby the Supreme Pastor might succeed, teach, or console so large a number of his oppressed children." In an attempt to counteract the impression produced by this *Exposition*, Prince Gortchakoff sent to each diplomatic agent of Russia in foreign countries a *Memorandum* which seems to have been designed to flatter the Muscovite arrogance rather than to convince Christendom, for it coolly contradicts the facts of history, and is often gratuitously insulting to the Sovereign Pontiff.

We have alluded to the establishment, in 1801, of a "Catholic College" which, sitting at St. Petersburg, was to be for all the Catholics of the Russian Empire that which the Holy Synod was in regard to the schismatics. From the day when the infamous Siestrzencewicz was appointed by Alexander I. to the first presidency of this misnamed "Catholic" tribunal, it had constantly shown itself a perfidious and powerful engine for the destruction of all ecclesiastical independence. Count Dimitri Tolstoy, in that travesty of a "History of Roman Catholicism in Russia" (1864) of which we have already given some choice morsels to the reader, transcribes the memorial in which Siestrzencewicz explained the principles which were to guide this "Catholic College" in its mediatory relations between the czar and the faithful whom it was designed to betray. According to the traitor of Mohilew, the czar, "as the anointed of the Lord, enjoys the supremacy over all the Churches and over all the bodies of Christian clergy in his empire"; as to the Catholic Church, *the czar grants to it a dependence on the Pope, "as far as dogmas are concerned: but in re-*

gard to matters of discipline and internal government, *the czar entrusts them* to diocesan bishops who are his subjects, and under conditions hereafter specified." Then the Catholics of Russia were told that in the primitive Church, "before the Popes had usurped jurisdiction over the bishops," the archbishops were wont to convoke, twice a year, "councils or congregations" for the consideration of *dogmatic* or disciplinary questions; and that now "such a congregation was to sit permanently at St. Petersburg, the emperor naming as its members such of the Catholic clergy *as it would please him to choose*." Furthermore, just as the most mighty and most clement czar was the "supreme judge" over the Holy Synod, so in the new "Catholic College" that gracious autocrat was to have his representative. "A *secular* procurator will preside for the emperor, and will forbid all resolutions and decrees which *he may deem* dangerous; all which may be contrary to the imperial rights or to the laws of the country" (1). Shortly after the presentation of this memorial, His Grace of Mohilew addressed to the czar another, entitled "The Election of Popes," in which he feigned to discern a necessity, on the part of His Majesty, of putting an end to papal usurpation. Tolstoy relies on the ravings of Siestrzencewicz as proofs that "The consent of the Roman court to the consecration of a bishop is merely a sign of ecclesiastical unity; but the administrative authority in a diocese is that of the local bishop, *so far as the laws of the state permit it*." And Tolstoy adds that several other memorials of Siestrzencewicz were merely developments of the same convictions, "sustained by most positive proofs" against the claim of the papal nuncio to a jurisdiction over the Russian Catholic clergy. The archbishop of Mohilew insisted, says the apologist of the Holy Synod, not only that all papal Bulls should be submitted to governmental approval, but also that the Pope should not presume to send any decree into the Russian Empire, unless said decree had been requested by a metropolitan who had been authorized by the czar to ask for it. Dimitri Tolstoy, being the imperial procurator of the Holy Synod, *i. e.*, to all intents

(1) TOLSTOY, *loc. cit.*, Vol. ii., pp. 436 and 439.

and purposes the Russian Supreme Pontiff, was presumably an educated man ; and, nevertheless, he attempted to justify the course of Siestrzencewicz by this effusion : " History shows us a much more striking instance of a limitation of the papal authority by Catholic ecclesiastics. There exists to our day in Holland and in the Catholic (*sic*) Church of Utrecht (1), the bishops of which, although they remain entirely faithful to the dogmas of the Roman Church, and although they acknowledge the Pope as the Head of the Church, do not tolerate, on his part, any direct interference in the discipline and organization of the clergy, and consecrate their own bishops according to the rules of the primitive Church, without any request for his authorization " (2). It may be possible, on the score of crass ignorance of history, to excuse the procurator of the Holy Synod when he finds in the schismatic conventicle of Utrecht any more Catholicity than he would discern in the English Establishment, or in the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland ; but charity does not bid us excuse his wilful blindness to the salient fact that the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff is a dogma of Catholic faith, and that the right of " direct interference in the discipline and organization of the clergy " is necessarily included in that supremacy.

The ukase of Alexander I. establishing this " Roman Catholic College " is simply an abridgment of all the tyrannical laws by which Catharine II. endeavored to reduce the Catholic Church of both the Latin and the Uniate Rite to the level of the State " Orthodox " Establishment (3). The Roman Pontiff was to be absolutely ignored, not only in the selection of the members of the new tribunal, but also in every decree which it might issue. The archbishop of Mohilew was declared to be, *ex officio*, its president ; each of the Catholic dioceses of Russia was to be represented in it by a prelate or a canon, chosen by the Cathedral Chapter, but confirmed by the czar. In the third Article of the ukase the

(1) See our Vol. iv., ch. 14.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, p. 120.

(3) The entire ukase is given by Szantyr, in his *Collection of Information Concerning the Catholic Religion in the Russian Empire, and Especially in the Annexed Polish Provinces*. Paris, 1847. See also Theluer's *Vicissitudes of the Catholic Church of Both Rites*, Vol. ii. Paris, 1843.

members were enjoined to proceed according to the ecclesiastical canons, "but to observe strictly all the imperial prohibitions concerning every foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction and communication, preserving, in accordance with their sworn allegiance, all the rights of the autocracy and the imperial statutes." The fourth Article assigned to the College the right and obligation of deciding, *in last appeal*, all applications for divorce. And lest there might be some doubt as to the determination of the czarate to assimilate the condition of the Russian and Polish Catholics to that of the schismatics, the eighth Article prescribed that the Catholic College should be unable to decide definitely in any matter without the consent of the "directing Senate" of St. Petersburg; that the College should always "observe the rules prescribed by the General Regulation" (1). We have seen, when treating of the course of Nicholas I. towards his Catholic subjects, how that monarch, after his interview with Pope Gregory XVI., showed some little velleity to grant an almost indiscernible modicum of satisfaction to the pontifical claims; but even in that petty instalment of justice, which was quickly neutralized by new enactments of his persecuting spirit, no change was effected in the attributions of the "Catholic College" of St. Petersburg. After the rupture of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Alexander II., which, as we have seen, was entailed by an insult offered by a Russian ambassador to Pius IX. in his own palace of the Vatican, there appeared an imperial ukase (May 22, 1867), in which the jurisdiction of the "Catholic College" was minutely explained, and which terminated in these words: "All persons guilty of holding with the Pope of Rome and his government any relations other than those

(1) This "General Regulation" had been devised by that Peter who is termed "the Great." Peter had abolished all the "chancelleries of state," bodies equivalent to the "ministries of state" in other countries, and he had replaced their titulars by so many "Colleges" or Councils. Each one of these "Colleges" was ordered to follow the prescriptions of a General Regulation; and when Peter abolished the patriarchate of Moscow in all but in name, he established an ecclesiastical "College" which he afterward designated as the "Holy Synod," subjecting it to the same Regulation. It is evident that Peter saw no difference between the administration of ecclesiastical affairs and that of war, secular justice, or finance; and to the same level Siestrzencewicz endeavored to reduce the Church whose rights he had sworn to defend. See Tondini's *The Ecclesiastical Regulation by Peter the Great*, p. 3.

hereby allowed (that is, under a special and apposite imperial permission), and all persons who illegally receive from the Pope, or from his government, or from any foreign ecclesiastic, any Bulls, Briefs, or other instructions or decisions, without having sent them to the local government or to the Minister of the Interior, shall suffer the punishments prescribed by the special law on this matter" (1).

The Holy See was informed of this ukase, not by the Russian government, but by Staniewski, the administrator of the diocese of Mohilew; and this unworthy ecclesiastic, following in the traces of Siestrzencewicz, dared to tell the Pontiff that the Catholic bishops of the Russian empire had received the document with gratitude and reverence; that the "Catholic College" was revered by all honest Russian and Polish Catholics. His Holiness immediately issued an Encyclical, in which he drew the attention of all the bishops of the world to a decree which "trampled on the natural rights of man by its violation of the rights of conscience"; and on Jan. 3, 1868, Cardinal Antonelli called on Staniewski to repair the scandal which he had given, and to seek for absolution from the censures which he had incurred. His Eminence declared that were the Pontiff to recognize in the "Catholic College" a right to determine what affairs should be referred to the Holy See, he would confer his own primacy on that tribunal; that, furthermore, no lay authority, and especially no schismatical or heretical authority, could decree anything concerning purely ecclesiastical matters. The cardinal-secretary expressed his astonishment on learning that "a Catholic bishop could so far debase himself before a schismatical government as to accept voluntarily so pernicious a law; that a Catholic bishop could join other Catholics in forming a tribunal which had been designed for the ruin of religion; that a Catholic bishop could even preside over that tribunal, and thus become the enforcer of such a law." When Staniewski, on the part of the Russian government, ordered the Polish bishops to send delegates to the "Catholic College," some of them—the Papal condemnation of the tribunal not having yet reached them—thought that the gravity of the circum-

(1) *Journal of St. Petersburg*, cited by *Le Monde*, August 11, 1867.

stances might justify them in relying on the ulterior ratification of their submission by the Holy See. Among these compromisers were Lubienski, bishop of Augustovo, and Sosnowski, administrator of Lublin. Others, however, like Vincent Popiel, bishop of Plock, whom the reader must not confound with Marcellus Popiel, the wretched apostate bishop of Chelm, whom we shall soon introduce to his notice, replied resolutely that they would not obey the imperial command. Then Count Berg, lieutenant for the czar in Poland, summoned the intrepid Popiel to Warsaw, and bade him remember that although he was a bishop, he owed compliance to every order of the czar. "In affairs ecclesiastical," returned the prelate, "I owe no obedience to His Majesty. As a Catholic bishop, I owe obedience to only one human being—His Holiness, the Pope. You are a Russian general. What answer would you give to him who would tempt you from your allegiance? You would reply: 'Never.' Such is my answer now. They may dispose of my person as they see fit" (1). The indomitable man was immediately deported to Novgorod (2). Lubienski soon repented of his deference to the Muscovite demands, and in a long and eloquent letter to Count Berg (3) he described the perplexities of his conscience during the short period when he had endeavored to reconcile his episcopal duty with his devotion to the czar (4). He concluded with these words: "When I look back on all the circumstances which should have enlightened me much sooner, I recognize perforce an exceptional grace of God in the opportunity to confess my error, and to repair it as far as possible, which He has accorded to me. . . . I declare by these presents that, considering the imperial decree which endowed the Roman Catholic College of St. Petersburg with

(1) *Gazette of Augsburg*, October, 1868.

(2) Alexander III. allowed him to return to Poland. In 1875 he was transferred to Wladislav, and in 1883 he was promoted to Warsaw, where he still edifies the Poles by an evident readiness to suffer for the faith, if necessary, just as in his younger days.

(3) Published in the *Czas* of June 24, 1869, and reproduced by the *Dziennik Katolicki* of Grodzisk (Posen), July, 1869.

(4) "Lubienski had rendered himself an object of suspicion to his compatriots, because of the extreme zeal with which he sacrificed, ostensibly at least, the most legitimate demands of Polish patriotism, in order to exhibit the fidelity of a Russian subject—as though he wished thereby to purchase the right of remaining an irreproachable bishop,"—LESCŒUR, *The Church in Poland*, bk. iii., ch. i. Paris, 1876.

the right to inspect letters directed to the Holy Father by the bishops, and to decide as to whether those letters should be transmitted; and considering that the said College has for its president a bishop who has incurred canonical censures; therefore I can take no part in the composition or in the acts of the said College. What is more, I declare that by my convocation of the Chapter of Sejn for the purpose of electing a delegate to the said College, and by my order to the Abbé Andrzejewski to proceed to St. Petersburg in order to occupy a position in the said College, I committed a culpable action which has been reprobated by the supreme authority of the Church, and which, therefore, I also now reprobate. I beg Your Excellency to communicate this my declaration to His Imperial Majesty, to whose profound wisdom and generous justice I have the happiness of committing myself with all submission, in everything which is just that he may deign to command." The deportation of Mgr. Popiel had already indicated how much consideration the "generous justice" of Alexander II. would accord to Mgr. Lubienski. On March 31, 1869, at two o'clock in the morning, he was arrested in his palace, and a few hours afterward a detachment of police escorted him on the road toward Perm, in the depths of Russia. Great was the grief of Lubienski's diocesans; but in a few days their sorrow became horror. Their bishop had died on the road. Had he been murdered by the oppressors? He had been a healthy man, and had lived only forty-three years. Men recalled the similarly suspicious circumstances of the recent death of Mgr. Kalinski, the Uniate bishop of Chelm, and they formed their conclusions. The last days of Lubienski proved the fallaciousness of his theory that by force of sincerity and virtue, toleration might be wrung from the schismatic autocracy; that, as he expressed the idea, there is no invincible antagonism between the Pole and the Russian; that "the two peoples were made to understand each other, and that a Pole always agrees with a Russian better than with a German." The holy prelate's philosophy was that of the Polish proverb: "So long as the world is the world, a Pole will not be a brother to a German"; but his Pan-Slavist as-

pirations will never be satisfied until the standard-bearer of Slavism shall have returned to the fold of religious unity. The noble conduct of Mgr. Lubienski was imitated by Mgr. Sosnowski, the administrator of the diocese of Lublin; but more fortunate, in a worldly sense, than Lubienski, the administrator escaped from Poland.

The children of the Holy Synod are wont to justify their efforts to Russify the Poles by the fact that, many centuries ago, Poland subjugated many Russian provinces, and imposed upon them the Polish religion, language, and laws. But the reader must know that this "Polonization," concerning which the Muscovites find it convenient to complain, was neither a violent nor a sudden process; it was the work of four or five centuries, and the sword of persecution never aided it. On the other hand, the Russification of Poland is the very quintessence of violence, and its advocates endeavor to accomplish it without delay. Again, the much decried Polonization of Western Russia was an endowment of barbarians with that civilization which the best minds, even among Russian schismatics, would like to see the portion of millions of Russians to-day; whereas, the Russification of Poland signifies the degradation of a Catholic civilization by the introduction of a truly oriental autocracy and a servile Byzantine ecclesiasticism. The Russification of the Poles had been prosecuted, of course, with more or less energy ever since the commission of the crime of 1782; but it was reserved for the reign of the emancipator of the serfs to systematize the iniquity. By the advice of Nicholas Milutine, a brother of Dimitri Milutine, the Minister of War, Alexander II. decreed the compulsory use of the Russian language in all the Polish tribunals and schools, in private life, and even in the sanctuary. In order to arrive more easily at this end, the persecutors confiscated the estates of great numbers of Polish nobles and other Polish land-owners, and sold them to "Orthodox" Russians or German Protestants (1). The few Polish landlords who were spared found that by a ukase of December 10, 1865, they were forbidden to sell or lease their lands to other than "Orthodox" Russians; and lest they might

(1) MARTINOW; *The Russian Language in Catholic Worship*. Lyons, 1874.

find means of evading this prohibition, no sale or lease was to be held as valid unless it had been sanctioned by the governor-general of the province. The same ukase deprived Catholics of the right of bequeathing landed property to persons not their natural heirs. No Catholic could hold a position under the government; he could not be even an employee of a railroad. The chief means, however, of this Russification was to be the pretended conversion to "Orthodoxy" of those Uniates who had escaped from the persecution of Siemaszko in 1839 by their passage to the Latin rite. Under the supervision of Kauffmann, that German convert to "Orthodoxy" whom we have met as the successor of the atheistic Mourawieff as governor of Lithuania, the days of Siemaszko seemed to have returned.

One of the most zealous apostles of "Orthodoxy," although he proclaimed openly that money would make of him either a Turk or a Jew, was Prince Chowanski. This officer once reproached an assemblage of peasants with being remiss in their duty to pray for the czar; and when he was told that they always fulfilled that duty, both in church and at home, he asked for a demonstration of their veracity on the spot. The unsuspecting rustics dropped on their knees; and Chowanski, as though to increase the solemnity of the occasion, caused a lighted candle to be placed in the hands of each one. When the prayer had been recited, the military missionary congratulated his astounded hearers on their voluntary conversion to the religion of Holy Russia. In vain the peasants cried that they would die sooner than abandon the Catholic faith; they were told that they had become "Orthodox" by the very fact of praying while holding candles which had been blessed by "Orthodox" priests. An adjutant then registered all the names of the "converts," and the poor creatures were ordered to proceed to the schismatic church, there to seal their recantation of the errors of Popery by Holy Communion. With blows of clubs and threats of the bayonet they were driven to the schismatic altar, a "pope" administered the Blessed Sacrament to them; and the unfortunates found themselves and their children enrolled on the official registers of the State Church, and subject, if they

dared to protest, to the punishments which "Orthodoxy" visits on apostates. Similar scenes were multiplied throughout Lithuania; and when Alexander II. visited Wilna, he replied to a deputation of his victims who besought him to allow them to follow the dictates of their consciences: "I shall never authorize a return to the Catholic Church on the part of those who have once embraced Orthodoxy." We have alluded to the punishments with which "Orthodoxy" visits what it feigns to regard as "apostasy." Our limits forbid many illustrations of this phase of the policy of Russification; we shall notice only the case of Mary Denisow, which greatly agitated the Poles in 1869. This girl, born of Catholic parents in the department of Grodno, in 1848, and baptized in the Catholic Church, was forcibly "re-baptized" by an "Orthodox" priest when she was six months old, during the absence of her mother, and in spite of the protests of her dying father. According to the Russian law, therefore, the baby Mary had "embraced Orthodoxy," and the Catholic mother was bound by the same law to train her as a schismatic. However, Mme. Denisow succeeded in sending her child to a convent in Nice, where she remained until she reached womanhood. Returning to her native land, Mary married a Catholic named Kleczewski, in June, 1867. A child was born of this marriage in February, 1868, and was duly baptized by a Catholic priest. On the day after this baptism Kleczewski was summoned to the office of the chief of police, and questioned as to how he had dared to espouse an "Orthodox" woman, and as to how he had dared to have the offspring of that "Orthodox" woman baptized according to the Catholic rite. The trembling man was told to choose between Siberia on the one hand, and on the other a re-marriage to Mary in an "Orthodox" church, accompanied by the obligation to educate his present child and all future offspring in the religion of Holy Russia. If he refused to comply with the law, not only would he be sent to Siberia, but he would also know that his babe had been taken from its mother and was being raised in the asylum of illegitimate children. Kleczewski succeeded in having the case carried to the courts, but the decision was that "the said Mary

Denisow, cohabiting with Kleczewski, should be confined in a Russian convent; the child to be *re-baptized*, with new name and surname, and to be consigned to a House of Refuge." Before the sentence could be executed, the little family had crossed the frontier (1). It is not suprising that under pressure like this of the Kleczewski family there were many instances of Polish nobles and gentlemen succumbing to Russification during the reign of Alexander II. The most notable of these apostates were Bielnicki, marshal of the nobility of Troki; Prince Bronislas Drucki Lubecki; the two brothers Mirski, and Prince Nicholas Radziwill. In justice to Radziwill, however, we must record that at the time of his defection he was more than half demented. In 1867 he wrote to the czar offering to "embrace Orthodoxy," on condition that he were allowed to repudiate his wife, and to marry, at the same time, two daughters of a certain schismatic priest. Lax as is the practice of the "Orthodox" Church in the matter of divorce, Alexander II. and his Holy Synod found this application rather extravagant; and a government officer was instructed to subject the amorous prince to a medical examination. The physician testified that Radziwill was crazy; but, nevertheless, the representative of the czar pronounced the unfortunate duly enrolled in the State Church of Holy Russia (2).

In the estimation of the "Orthodox" clergy, the chief glory of the reign of Alexander II. was not the emancipation of the serfs, but rather the delivery of the Uniate Greeks of Russian Poland from the "thralldom" of Rome, and their subjection to that instrument of czarocracy, the Holy Synod. Although officially destroyed in the ancient Polish provinces since 1839, the United Greek rite still subsisted in 1866 in the "kingdom of Poland," being concentrated in the diocese of Chelm, the sole Uniate diocese which "Orthodox" persecution had spared. This diocese had a population of about 250,000 Uniate Ruthenians, who lived in such a state of intermixture with the same number of Polish Latin Catholics that in many of the villages the two parochial churches were

(1) The *Dziennik Katolicki* of Grodzisk, January 1, 1869.

(2) See the *Journal of Posen*, May 5, 1871, and August 13, 1872.

attended indiscriminately by persons of either rite. In 1865, two years after the insurrection, a deputation from all the communes of Poland having waited on the czar at St. Petersburg to thank him for his release of the peasants from certain burdens, the Ruthenian delegates availed themselves of the occasion to entreat His Majesty to leave them their religion. Alexander replied : “ *I give you my imperial word that your religion shall not be touched.*” And, nevertheless, in less than a year from that time, the compulsory transformation of the Uniate diocese of Chelm into a schismatic one had been begun. This “gentle” Alexander II. commenced with the schools. He pretended to regard the kingdom of Poland as divided into four nationalities : Polish, Lithuanian, Ruthenian, and German. In order to prevent the children of the Ruthenians (all Uniates) from frequenting the “Polish” schools, as the Russians termed those in which were any Catholics of the Latin rite, special institutions were established for them ; and when the parents asked why their little ones should be forced to learn the Russian language, when their prayer-books were all couched in Polish, the government introduced Russian into the churches, and consequently into the prayer-books. Kalinski, the bishop of Chelm, resisted ; but he was arrested, and ostensibly deported to Wiatka. Nothing more was ever heard of this episcopal “rebel” ; the Russian authorities said that he had died on the journey, but his children (he was a widower when he became a bishop) could never learn where the death had occurred. After the disappearance of Kalinski, the government gave the administratorship of the diocese to a canon named Wojeicki, who reorganized the consistories, appointing to them a number of schismatics and several apostate priests from Galicia. Circulars were sent by Wojeicki to all the parish priests, recommending the introduction of many schismatical usages, and the suppression of many Catholic rites which he pronounced redolent of “Latinism.” The Ruthenians were told that the matters at issue concerned their nationality, not their religion. The same insidious method was pursued by Kuziemski, a Gallician whom the czar nominated in 1868 to the see of Chelm, and whom the Holy See preconized, since hitherto

he had enjoyed an excellent reputation. But the event proved that when the Russian government selected Kuziemski as successor to Kalinski, it had perceived an instrument for its own purposes in his weakness of character.

There was another motive for the Russian selection of Kuziemski. An Austrian subject, and at one time a deputy in the Parliament of Vienna, he was one of the leaders of those Ruthenian priests of Gallicia who, under the name of "St. Georgians" (so called from the titular saint of the United Greek cathedral of Lemberg), posed as defenders of Ruthenian nationality against the Poles, and who feigned to be bulwarks of strength whereby the members of the Oriental rite could resist the alleged attacks on their customs by the enterprising Latins. This party supported an organ entitled the "*Slowo*," a journal which was Catholic only in name, since it openly advocated the establishment of a national church. The reader must remember that the United Greek clergy of Gallicia—married, of course, like the schismatic secular priests—form a hereditary class, and that, therefore, they are completely absorbed in their family interests. Hence is derived their hatred of everything Polish, especially of the Polish nobility, for whom they would substitute themselves; and hence, consequently, comes their distrust, if not hatred, for everything Latin. And here we may remark that it is this caste which disposes of the Ruthenian votes in the Cis-Leithan parliament; and that Russia, interested in a rivalry which existed long before the partition of Poland, encourages that rivalry in a thousand ways, under the very eyes of Austria, which seems to be blind to the lamentable fact. In the Paris "*Monde*" of September 2, 1875, we read an illustration of the strange complicity of the Uniate clergy of Gallicia with the Russian destroyers of the Uniates of the diocese of Chelm. We perceive how Russia, ever since 1830, labored for the perversion of the Catholics of the Greco-Slavonic rite, not only in Gallicia, but even in Hungary and Illyria. While Marcellus Popiel, the famous apostate, was a student in the Uniate College at Vienna, the Russian ambassador, Raiewski, cultivated most intimate relations with all the inmates of that institution. He visited

them for hours at a time, entertained them frequently in his own mansion, and never conversed with them on other than political matters. In 1848 the Austrian government, in order to neutralize the Polish discontent in Galicia, excited the Ruthenian population against the Latin Poles. From that time it was not an extraordinary thing to hear the Ruthenian subjects of His Apostolic Majesty lauding Holy Russia as the mother of their nationality, and acclaiming the Holy Synod as the protectress of their Church. Apostasy was not infrequent on the part of the Austrian Ruthenian priests. In 1874, when the Austrian government so far imitated the German as to persecute the Church with those laws which, after the fashion of *lucus a non lucendo*, were termed "ecclesiastical," the seven Ruthenian priestly deputies (one of them the rector of their seminary) all voted for the enactments. Facts like these cause many acute observers of Polish affairs to believe that most of the Austrian Ruthenian clergy are already Muscovite at heart, and that the people will be drawn quite easily into the schismatic ranks when Russia obtains possession of Eastern Galicia; and the same facts account for the readiness of the Russian government in appointing the Gallician, Kuziemski, to the see of Chelm.

Shortly after his arrival in Chelm, Kuziemski issued a pastoral against what he styled the "Polish propaganda," describing its effects as truly lamentable, since, as he declared, *on a soil essentially Muscovite*, many had ventured to quit the Uniate for the Latin rite; thus denying, moaned the lying sycophant, both their Church and their nationality. The manifesto concluded with the command that *all who had passed to Catholicism*, or who came of parents who had *illegally* changed their religion, should return to the *United Greek Church*. Let not the reader fail to note this affectation of a belief that Catholicism and the Latin rite are synonymous—an affectation which is habitual among "Orthodox" Russians, just as among all other Eastern schismatics. When the "Orthodox" Russian uses such language to a United Greek, he (consistently with his system) implies that there is only one true and legitimate Greek rite—namely, that of the Photian or Cerularian schism, of which his Church is the

daughter. But the utterance of such sentiments by Kuziemski, a bishop who called himself a Catholic, is certainly one of the curiosities of religious literature. No wonder that the Uniates discerned in their bishop a future Siemaszko. Great indeed, however, was their surprise on March 18, 1871, when the official journal announced that the ill health of Mgr. Kuziemski had led him to ask His Imperial Majesty to relieve him of his functions, and that he was about to return to Lemberg. The hatred of Kuziemski for the Poles had induced him to follow the suggestions of the Czar to the very point of apostasy; but since he refused to plunge into the abyss, he received his passports. His successor, Marcellus Popiel, was more complacent to Holy Russia. Popiel had been the most zealous of all the supporters of Wojciecki; and at the time when the Vatican Council was about to convene, he had publicly declared that if the papal infallibility were pronounced a matter of faith, he would not accept the definition. Such was the new administrator of Chelm, who was summoned by Count Tolstoy, the procurator-general of the Holy Synod, to a council in St. Petersburg, which the czar had appointed to settle the affairs of the United Greek Church in his dominions. The other members of this council, besides Tolstoy, were Count Schouvaloff and the governors of the departments of Lublin and Siedlcé. The nature of its conclusions is easily perceived in the speech made at a farewell dinner given in Chelm by Kokoszkín, the Russian functionary who had hitherto acted as imperial supervisor over the religious affairs of the Uniates: "The difficult task with which I was entrusted by Count Tolstoy, the Minister of Public Instruction, is ended. . . . The continuation of this mission is confided by the government to the most reverend administrator of the diocese, and to you, honorable gentlemen, who have comprehended the intentions of the government so well. It is true that there are still some fanatical priests in this diocese who do not appreciate the happiness of being definitively united with our holy mother, Russia, and who, therefore, prevent us from uniting ourselves with her; but I trust that they will soon perceive the error into which Polish intrigue has led them. Believe

me, gentlemen, for I am an honest man, . . . and I assure you that no religion is better than the Orthodox Greco-Russian, that no civilization is superior to the Russian, and that there is no happiness so great as that of being a subject of the magnanimous emperor, Alexander II. Reflect well, you gentlemen of Galicia! Do you not know, by your own experience, that I am speaking the truth? I need say nothing concerning the most reverend administrator of the diocese, whose learning and virtues are so well appreciated by *His Excellency the minister* who honors him with his confidence. But you, Father Rector (1), would you have been made a canon by the Austrian government? Would that government have given you the cross which now rests on your noble breast? And you, Father Cybilin, would you have attained your present dignities under that government? No! It is only under a government like ours, under a monarch like ours, that one can hope to be so honored. . . . Although, Gallicians, you may be true representatives of *that part of Russia which is oppressed by Austria*, I regret that I cannot speak as freely in Lemberg itself, at the side of the worthy Fathers Malinowski, Pawlikow, Pietrusiewicz, and other honorable personages whom I know so well; *but let us hope that our desires will soon be satisfied*. I offer this toast to the health of His Majesty, the President of the Holy Synod of St. Petersburg, *who is the Supreme Head of the Orthodox Greco-Russian Church*." The priests who applauded this speech termed themselves Catholics; but their effrontery was well matched by that of the Russian government, which, generally so severe in its censorship of the press, allowed the effusion of Kokoszkina to be published in "*The Polish Journal*" (December 11, 1872). Here is a high functionary of Russia publicly advancing the pretensions of his autocrat to Austrian Galicia—claims based only on the community of rite followed by the Ruthenians of Russian Poland and by the Ruthenians of Austrian Poland. The czarate must be confident that it has already a number of Austrian Gallicians devoted to itself, a number sufficiently large to encourage it to speedy overt action—a number of

(1) Krynicki, who had been called from Galicia to be the rector of the seminary of Chelm.

unworthy priests like those who have been expelled or are voluntary exiles from Gallicia, who have been received into the diocese of Chelm, where, like Popiel and others, they have become or will become canons, pastors, even bishops, replacing the faithful ecclesiastics who are banished from the kingdom when they are not sent to Siberia (1).

In his zeal for the Russification of the Ruthenians, Popiel found that he could not obtain a sufficiency of pliable priests from Gallicia; and therefore his agents looked around for a number of wretches who were willing to enter into Holy Orders as his servants. Such were easily found; but how were they to be ordained? He procured the services of the notorious Sokolski, a Bulgarian who had abjured the Greek Schism, had then been consecrated by Pius IX. himself, and had finally apostatized (2). Popiel caused Sokolski, then residing in Gallicia, to make several visits to Chelm; and each visit was made the occasion of an ordination of several prospective apostates. Popiel was unable to seduce the masses of the laity; but he had much success with the children, who were placed under the tuition of either open or secret schismatics, and were taught the Greco-Russian hymns and Catechism, while nothing was allowed to remind them that the Church of their baptism was a part of the Universal Church which is ruled by the Successor of St. Peter. As we have already observed, not one of the innovations of the

(1) In the *Paris Univers* of April 10, 1875, we read: "If we remember that in Gallicia there are 2,300,000 United Greeks, and in Hungary and Transylvania more than 800,000, we may understand the danger which menaces the Austro-Hungarian Empire, not only from a religious, but from a political point of view. The cause of the evil is found in the miserable temporal condition of the United Greek priests, who are very numerous in Gallicia and Hungary, and are all married and fathers of families. By paying them, the Russian government makes them its instruments."

(2) In 1860 many thousands of Bulgarian schismatics, headed by their pastors, declared their subjection to the Holy See, and besought the Pontiff to give them a bishop. The candidate whom they presented was Joseph Sokolski, an archimandrite of one of their Basilian monasteries, and a person of approved morals and of supposed simplicity of character. In order to demonstrate to the neophytes his paternal interest, Pius IX. raised Sokolski to the episcopate in the Sistine Chapel; and the new bishop departed for Bulgaria laden with costly presents from His Holiness and the Roman patricians, which were intended to adorn the churches of the converts. Sokolski arrived in due time at Constantinople, but then he suddenly disappeared. Rumors reached Rome that he had been kidnapped by Russian emissaries, but it was finally learned that he had succumbed to the temptations of the Russian ambassador, and had returned to the schism. For interesting details concerning Sokolski and the reunion of the Bulgarians, see the *Paris Correspondant*, November 25, 1860.

Russifiers was presented to the people as tending to withdraw them from the communion of Rome; everything was designated as a "purification of the United Greek rite" from the deleterious intermixture of Latin observances. But the eyes of the simple-minded were opened when they saw that sixty-three of their priests preferred imprisonment, or even Siberia, to a connivance with the "purification" (1); when they saw these faithful pastors replaced by vagabond foreigners, whose first thoughts were of Russian gold; when they found themselves threatened with fines and the knout if they entered Latin churches; when they saw the new clergy affecting all the externals of the schismatic "popes," and heard them preaching in Russian. At first the resistance was passive; but when Popiel threw off the mask, it became active, and was frequently signalized by martyrdom. In the beginning of October, 1873, the Holy Synod told Popiel that he was proceeding too slowly; therefore, on the 31st (O. S., 19th) he sent to each one of his deans a copy of a new ritual which was openly schismatical, and he enjoined on each dean to enforce its adoption in all the churches of his deanery on and after January 1, 1874. In this new manual of liturgy, wherever the name of the Roman Pontiff had occurred, it was replaced by the words "the hierarchy." Since all the deans were creatures of Popiel, and since they had already installed men like themselves in nearly all the parishes, the people were dismayed when, on entering their churches at the time appointed for the change, they found themselves confronted by sanctuaries which displayed all the paraphernalia of the schismatic cult. The horrors which now ensued in every part of the vast diocese of Chelm have no parallels in modern history. The rods of the Cossacks and other more refined tortures knew no distinctions of age, sex, or relative debility, as they were applied for the purpose of extorting signatures to a petition addressed to "The Most Clement Czar, The Father Of All The Russians," begging that he would hearken to the "voluntary" prayers of "his

(1) Popiel took care to publish in the official journals that he "had been obliged to remove from their parishes only a few of the clergy for their refusal to obey the orders of the government"; but the journals of Lemberg submitted a list of sixty-three who had been imprisoned or banished in one year

loving Ruthenians," as they besought him "to be admitted to the embrace of the Holy Orthodox Church." Those who scorned this embrace of a daughter of foul schism and heresy received, when the regulations were observed (and they were generally exceeded), fifty lashes of the terrible Cossack *Nahajka*, if they were men; if they were women they were supposed to escape with twenty-five, and the children were deemed worthy of only ten. Mr. Jewell, then Minister of these United States to the Russian court, wrote to Secretary Fish on February 23, 1874, that many of "*the most obstinate and audacious women*" received a hundred lashes; and the callous envoy studiously abstained from stating the number of the "obstinate and audacious" Catholics who died from the effects of those lashes. For details of this persecution we refer the reader to the works of Martinov and Lescœur, which we have already cited, and to the pages of the *Monde* and of the *Univers* for 1874. We shall mention only a few cases in illustration of the eagerness which, according to the Russian official reports, the Uniates manifested for a separation from the Holy See.

In the village of Uscimow an officer named Tur ordered his squadron to drive the inhabitants to the neighboring lake. The unfortunates were pushed into the icy waters, and there compelled to remain for several hours, with only their heads and shoulders unsubmerged. Only when the demon became convinced that he could not obtain their signatures, did he allow them to leave the lake. Colonel Klemenko, governor of the district of Kurnick, and Kalinski, governor of Siedlcé, drove their populations bareheaded into the open fields, when the thermometer indicated a cold of 16 degrees (Reaumur), intending to keep them there until they yielded. The guards were relieved every two hours, while the "voluntary converts" persisted in remaining unconverted. When the persecutors found that their efforts were futile, they pillaged every house in the two districts. At Wlodawa, a captain of Cossacks, one Formin, saw three women die under the lashes of his men. At Pratulin, in the district of Janow, Colonel Stein shot nine of the obstinate to death, and wounded four mortally. Then he drove the inhabitants to witness the ef-

fects of disobedience to the orders of the benign czar. The mother of Onufry Wasyluk, one of the victims, was wailing over his body, when his wife cried out: "Mother, do not weep for your son. I do not weep for the death of my husband, for he is a martyr for the faith." Then the president of the district, Kutanim, thought that he might effect by persuasion what terror could not produce. He tried to bribe a peasant named Pikuta, an old man whose probity and intelligence had made him a power in the district, to persuade the people to become the spiritual subjects of their tender autocrat. Pikuta signified his readiness to address his neighbors, and Kutanim called out to the crowd, "Here is a man whom you love and respect. He will tell you what you ought to do." Pikuta spoke as follows: "You wish me, president, to tell my neighbors how they shall act. I am ready to obey you; but they know already what I would say. There is but one course for all of us—we must remain invincibly attached to our holy faith, come what may." Then the patriarch fell on his knees, and signed to his hearers to imitate him. When all had knelt, he drew from his bosom a crucifix, and pronounced the following oath, the people repeating it after him: "I swear by my grey hairs, by the salvation of my soul, by my hope of seeing God at the moment of my death, that I will never abandon one iota of our faith. The holy martyrs suffered innumerable persecutions for this faith; our brethren have shed their blood for it, and we must imitate them." The soldiers immediately seized the brave old man, and having loaded him with chains, dragged him to prison (1).

Martinov records an instance of a young mother being threatened with Siberia if she would not sign the act of apostasy; and when the officers told her that they would take her babe from her, she blessed the little one and placed it in the arms of one of them, saying: "There it is; God will care for it" (2). In the face of facts like these the official journal of St. Petersburg dared to say, on January 26, 1875, that "the opposition of the Latin Church and the Encyclicals

(1) *The Schism and Its Apostles*, published anonymously at Cracow in 1875, and translated into French for *Le Monde*.

(2) *The Brigandage of Chelm*, in the *Etudes Religieuses* of June, 1875.

of the Pope have had only one result—the *voluntary* conversion of 45 parishes, 26 ecclesiastics, and 50,000 parishioners to the Greek (schismatic) rite." And our Mr. Jewell, the sage diplomat already cited, informed his government that the priests of Chelm, as well as those of Siedleć, had decided "unanimously" to join the Orthodox Church. Mr. Jewell was careful to remark that "probably" this change of religious profession would be attributed to "violence"; and then the oracle emitted this solemn judgment: "It is more likely than an absence of all persecution and the progress of the age have tempered religious *fanaticism*, and prepared the way for more material and more prosaic interests, in this century of ours, *in which Mammon is so powerful*" (1).

The supplication for union with the Church of Holy Russia, which Popiel and his staff of excommunicated and degraded priests addressed to the head of that Church, Alexander II., is an interesting document: "Most August Monarch, Most Merciful Lord! All the ancient Russian Provinces which had fallen under the Polish domination, have had the happiness of re-entering the One, Holy, Orthodox Church. . . . The sole diocese of Chelm experienced the misfortune of remaining longer *under a foreign rule, remaining in union with the Popes of Rome, who, as has been well demonstrated by ancient facts and recent experience, govern the Church in a spirit which is not the spirit of kindness and of love which was taught by Jesus Christ, but rather a spirit which regards neither the temporal happiness nor the eternal salvation of the flock.* The powerful words of Your Imperial Majesty have broken the chains of serfdom which fettered the Russian people, and which were especially heavy in this region, under the influence of men of another religion, who sought to make the Russian population, ever animated by an ardent love for their Russian country, a blind and docile instrument of their political intrigues. The series of governmental measures which followed the emancipation of the peasants, the object of which was the well-being of the people and the clergy, and, *above all, the abundant revenues accorded by Your Majesty for the training of all classes in the*

(1) We quote from the *Monde* of April 29 1875

Russian spirit, have awakened in the populations the sentiment of national and ecclesiastical unity with the rest of Russia which had been suffocated under the *foreign* domination. . . . Firmly convinced of the purity of the dogmas of the Orthodox Church of all the Russias, from the communion of which *we were so long withheld*, and governed by the interests of the flock confided to our care, *and which thinks as we do*, we have resolved to prostrate ourselves at the feet of Your Imperial Majesty, begging you most humbly to assure the happiness of the Russian Uniates in the diocese of Chelm by allowing them to join the Orthodox Church of their ancestors, so that with one heart and one only tongue we may glorify God, and address to Him our prayers, together with the entire Russian people, for your health and welfare, Most Pious Emperor, and for the happiness and prosperity of Russia, the country which is so dear to us." This masterpiece of hypocrisy was soon followed by a *Capitular Act*, in which the "Chapter of Chelm" announced to the faithful subject to it that they were now children of the State Church of Russia; and which, from beginning to end, was redolent of the ideas of Tolstoy, and was frequently a *verbatim* reproduction of the audacious assertions of that minister. The Chapter, or probably Tolstoy writing in the name of that body, begins by giving the simple-minded Ruthenians a lesson in ecclesiastical history. They are told that "it was from the Orient, from the Greek Church, that their Slavic ancestors derived the faith"; but they are not told that when Sts. Cyril and Methodius evangelized the Slavs, and when "Greek priests first preached to the *Russians*," the Greek Church was subject to the Roman Pontiff, just as it had been from the beginning of Christianity. It is asserted that from that time "the Orthodox *Oriental* Faith penetrated to the very foundations of the *national life of Russia*," and thenceforth "*the name of Russia was identified with that of Orthodox*." The conversion of the Ruthenian schismatics in the sixteenth century is ascribed to the "treachery of the bishops, who yielded to Polish pressure, and were *guided by Jesuits who were hardened in intrigue*." The Uniates are informed that "although very able measures were taken to entangle the people

of Western Russia in the nets of the Roman domination and of Polonization, from the first moment of the proclamation of the Union the people perceived that in that Union with Rome there was involved not only a subordination to the bishop of Rome, but an attack on the purity of the Eastern Faith, *and an attack on the foundations of the national life, and on their nationality itself.* The people understood that *the object of the Union was the complete absorption of the Russians, and the destruction of their very name.*" The writer complains that "nearly all the Western Russian nobles had passed to the Latin rite; and that the Polish government, and the party of the Jesuits and of the Polish gentry, used every effort to efface every difference *between Catholicism and the Union.*" And why not? "Uniate" and "Catholic" were synonyms in Poland. However, by "Catholicism" the writer means "Polonism." Very innocently indeed the "Orthodox" apologist says that "when Poland lost her political existence, the Union immediately weakened in the provinces annexed to Russia. During the reign of Catherine II., two millions of Uniates *returned to Orthodoxy*; and in 1839, under the Emperor Nicholas I., *of blessed memory*, the remaining Uniates in the western provinces, *having declared solemnly that they renounced the Union, were received into the fold of the Orthodox Church.* Thus it was *with extreme facility that destruction fell on a work which had been accomplished by a double use of force, by a violation of the rights of conscience, and by material oppression.*" The sublime impudence of this passage needs no comment. But the diocese of Chelm was yet to be saved from the cruel Union which caused the Uniates "to manifest toward the Russian population religious intolerance and hostility, in all their force"; and the first measure for its redemption was taken when the "tender" Alexander II. opened rural schools for the children, "*wherein they might be trained in an atmosphere not corrupted by political agitators.*" The next measure, says Popiel or his Mentor, was the establishment of higher schools in which "*the young generation might imbibe the Russian spirit.*" Under the benevolent rule of Alexander II., writes the pen of the Holy Synod, "the Uniate clergy felt the need of examin-

ing more attentively their position in the land, and of understanding better their duties toward their flocks." They resolved to enter the Church of Holy Russia, in spite of the machinations of the Pope, who "legitimated all the alterations and Latino-Polish innovations in the United Greek rite; who showered blessings on the apostates (1) who separated themselves from the Church and the people." And the chief reason why Popiel and his precious "Chapter" could not remain Uniates was found in their unwillingness to place themselves in opposition to the dispositions and measures of the Russian government, "*and even in opposition to that Most August Emperor who had conferred so many favors on them, the humble ministers of the altars.*" Popiel received his thirty pieces of silver in the shape of the "Orthodox" diocese of Lublin, created expressly as a reward for his "apostolic" labors. Thus was consummated the extirpation of the United Greeks in Russian Poland—a work of fraud and violence far more detestable than that of England toward Catholic Ireland; since, before this century, England had never formally promised freedom of conscience to the Irish. In 1773, after the first partition of Poland, that crowned prostitute whom "Orthodox" Russians style "Catharine the Good," stipulated, in the sixth article of the apposite treaty, that "*the Catholic religion, in both rites, shall be maintained in the ceded provinces, and its rights and property shall be respected.*" In 1793, in the treaty for the second partition, the same German Messalina on a Slavic throne promised "*irrevocably for herself, and for her heirs and successors, to maintain perpetually the Roman Catholics of both rites in the unchangeable possession of their prerogatives, properties, and churches, as well as in the free exercise of their worship and discipline, and in all the rights pertaining to the cult of their religion; declaring that neither she nor any of her successors would ever attempt to exercise any sovereign rights in prejudice of the Roman Catholic religion of the two rites.*" Alexander I. ratified the treaties of 1814–15 which were entailed by the Congress of Vienna, and which guaranteed full liberty of worship to the Poles. In 1832 the Russian am-

(1) The "apostates" were those who abandoned the excommunicated Popiel.

bassador to the Vatican communicated to Pope Gregory XVI., by order of Nicholas I., an imperial Organic Statute which guaranteed that "the government of His Majesty would ever show special respect for the religion which was professed by the greater part of its Polish subjects." In 1847 Nicholas I. entered into a new Concordat, which repeated the assurances of 1832. And finally, only ten years before the catastrophe of Chelm, Alexander II. had said to a Ruthenian deputation: "*I give you my imperial word that no one shall touch your religion. I shall not permit it.*"

Justice to Alexander II. demands that we record that during the last days of his reign he manifested a conciliatory tendency toward the Holy See. When Leo XIII. mounted the papal throne in 1878, the absence of diplomatic relations with Russia did not prevent His Holiness from notifying the czar of his elevation. One of this Pontiff's earliest acts was the issue of a powerful Encyclical against Nihilism; and it so pleased Alexander II., that he caused it to be read in all the churches of his empire, despite the signature of "Supreme Pontiff," with which it terminated. The czar even caused his ambassador at Vienna, Prince Oubril, to enter into a comparatively just arrangement with Mgr. Jacobini, the papal nuncio at that capital, concerning the episcopal nominations and Catholic education in Russia; and as a further proof of his good intentions, he sent his sons to the Vatican in December, 1880. But the too usual fate of a monarch of Holy Russia befel Alexander II., ere he was able to prove that his sense of justice toward his Catholic subjects was conceived in other than a spirit of velleity. The first acts of Alexander III. in reference to the Holy See indicated a desire to follow in the later, rather than in the early footsteps of his father. The audience of Prince Oubril with Leo XIII., on April 20, 1881, was marked by every deference on the part of the envoy, and on the following December 24th a draft for a Concordat was signed at the Vatican by Jacobini (then a cardinal) and M. de Giers, the prime-minister of the czar. Then came the Franco-Russian *rapprochement*, and, as a natural consequence (since every Russian coolness toward Berlin means some consideration for the Papacy, and

vice versa), closer relations were resumed between the autocratic and the papal courts. M. Iswolski arrived in Rome as Russian ambassador at the Vatican in 1888, shortly after the Treaty of San Stefano, when Alexander III. withdrew from the Triple Alliance which had bound together the cabinets of Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Berlin. But Catholic optimists had forgotten one important personage. Constantine Pobedonostzev, the successor of Tolstoy as procurator of the Holy Synod, was implacably averse to any renunciation of the abuses which are the very life-blood of Russian bureaucrats; and as he had been the chief tutor of Alexander III.—a timid and hesitating man, although physically a giant—his influence over that sovereign was immense. He reminded his former pupil of the principal lesson which he had learned: that official “Orthodoxy” is the symbol and the sole *raison d’être* of Muscovite power and glory; that the entire programme of Russian policy should be based on the principle, “All and everything for *pravoslavié* or Slav “Orthodoxy”; in Russia all interests must yield to those of *pravoslavié*, for there is no *jus contra jus*” (1). Pobedonostzev gained his point, and in certain parts of Poland men soon came to think that Nicholas I. still reigned. The Polish language was absolutely proscribed in all schools; not even among themselves, and during recreation, could students use it. Not only teaching, but also preaching, was to be in Russian, even when the hearers did not understand a word of that language. No Polish Catholic could be employed by the state or by a municipality, even in the most menial capacity; with one stroke of the pen 55,000 Poles, employed on the railroads, were condemned either to apostasy or destitution. In no governmental document, and in no journal or periodical, could the name of Poland occur; the country was to be designated as the “Land of the Vistula.” Children were marched by force from the schools to the schismatic churches. Innumerable Catholic churches were closed or destroyed. Entire villages were proclaimed “Orthodox,” despite the protests of the inhabitants, and exile was the lot of the Catholic priest who dared to administer the Sacra-

(1) VILLEFRANCHE; *Contemporary Russia*, p. 316. Paris, 1895.

ments to those whose names the Holy Synod had placed on its registers. Where neither force, nor knout, nor money availed to crush "Polish obstinacy," Siberia was made the missionary of the State Establishment. In the governments of Vilna and Grodno, where in the olden time all the churches had been Catholic, and in 1863 one-half had become schismatic, in 1893 there were only 292 Catholic churches to 983 schismatic ones. The massacre of Krozé, in the province of Grodno, will serve as an illustration of the methods adopted by the apostles of "Orthodoxy," and of the culpability of the imperial government in the premises. The authorities having closed a parish church as a preliminary measure to its transfer to the state clergy, about a hundred peasants entered the edifice. They were immediately attacked by some Cossacks, and eight were killed, while forty-two were grievously wounded. Fifteen of the women were outraged, and their companions were knouted nearly unto death. When Pope Leo XIII. heard of the matter from unexceptional sources he protested to the czar, and that potentate ordered Prince Cantacuzene to make an investigation. The result was a report to the effect that the Catholics of Krozé, "justly suspected of Polonism, had attacked the imperial soldiers, and had met a deserved punishment." Then the Pontiff sent to Alexander III., by a sure hand, the evidence which had prompted his complaint, remarking, in an autograph letter: "It is evident, Sire, that one of us has been egregiously deceived. Since you are nearer to Krozé than I am, deign to discover, for yourself, which one of us receives misleading reports." The czar made a personal inquiry, and having found that Cantacuzene had hidden the guilt of the authorities of Krozé, he sent for the prince, and it is said that in the height of his indignation he gave the culprit a blow in the face. Be this as it may, Cantacuzene felt that he was disgraced, and on the following day he poisoned himself. Meanwhile the survivors of the massacre were languishing in prison, and it became necessary to try them. Some generous Russian lawyers, who had been edified by their behavior in the jails, volunteered to defend them. Evidence of their innocence was abundant; but, never-

theless, four of the accused were condemned to ten years of hard labor, three to Siberia, and twenty to some months of further imprisonment. The greater and most influential part of the European press, and all of the American secular and Protestant religious journals, entirely ignored this and similar episodes of the reign of Alexander III.; for the victims were Catholics. The editors, or at least the masters, of the principal continental journals of Europe are nearly all Jews; and when the "Orthodox" Russians direct their engines of persecution against the usurers of the Hebrew race, we are overwhelmed with columns of pathos. The time was when the Jews of Poland and of Russia sympathized with the Catholic victims of the Photian schismatics; and this sympathy was natural, the Jews having suffered nearly as much as the Catholics after the partition of Poland, whereas in the ancient Catholic kingdom they had enjoyed extraordinary privileges; for instance, in the eleventh century they enjoyed the right of imprisoning Christians for debt—a right which, among the Polish Christians, was exercised only by the nobles. In 1334 Casimir the Great pronounced the Jews *idonei et fideles*, and subjected them, just as the nobles were, to the common or territorial law, whereas the Christian burghers were subject to the more irksome Germanic municipal law. This Polish monarch even decreed that the testimony of a Christian should avail nothing against a Jew, unless it were corroborated by that of another Jew; whereas the oath of a Jew sufficed to convict a Christian of debt, and he could levy on the property of that Christian, if such a course was necessary in order to obtain his money. Even after 1406, when public indignation against Jewish extortions excited a bloody persecution against them, and when many privileges were taken from them, the Jews retained their civil equality with the Christians, and were even allowed to teach in the Polish universities. When the Polish Jews passed under the Russian domination, among other new burdens they incurred that of subjection to military service. It is true that Alexander I. remitted this obligation in the case of all Jews who could pay a fine; but Nicholas, from a population of two millions of Polish Jews, took twenty thousand for his army,

and many thousands of boys for his navy. This czar tried to subject the Polish Jews to the religious laws of his empire; and he designed to transfer them all in a body, when Russian conquests would have permitted, to some region beyond the Taurus.

When Alexander III. succumbed, in 1894, to the disease which had been the consequence of his attempted assassination in 1888, he was succeeded by his son, Nicholas II. Like those of his father, the first public acts of the young monarch promised a small but still acceptable measure of justice to his Catholic subjects. The victims of Krozé were allowed to return to their homes. General Orowski, the governor of Vilna, was summoned to St. Petersburg, to answer for his course in the fearful episode; but, like Cantacuzene, he cared not to survive his fall, and he blew out his brains in the railway carriage which was bearing him away from the capital. Gourko, the terrible executor of the mandates of Pobiedonostzef in the "Land of the Vistula," was placed on the retired list. Mgr. Vincent Popiel, archbishop of Warsaw, was allowed, together with two other Catholic bishops, to visit Rome—an authorization which had not been accorded during the previous fifty years. But a few days after the removal of Gourko, when the Poles had begun to realize the sweetness of easy breath, it transpired that Nicholas II. had written to him a letter of most affectionate praise—a letter in which the hand of Pobiedonostzef was plainly discerned. The czar lauded the "admirable" conduct of his governor-general; his "conscientious and energetic" method of welding the Polish provinces to the vast empire, "of which they are an integral part"; especially his zeal for the cause of official *pravoslavié*, as manifested by the erection of an "Orthodox" cathedral in the very centre of Warsaw. "By such efficacious means," concluded Nicholas II., "the influence of the Russian Church will be considerably augmented at the western confines of the empire." After the contents of this letter became public property, no surprise was expressed because the new sovereign deferred until after his marriage (November 16, 1894) any judgment in the case of the seminary of Kielcé, which had been closed because

some Polish books had been found in it. For this "crime" all of the professors had been arrested, and some of them had been deported to Siberia. We do not know, as we write these pages, whether any of these "conspirators" were included in the amnesty which, as usual on such occasions, followed the marriage of Nicholas II. ; but we do know that since that amnesty very many priests have been exiled for just such "treasons" as they committed. Thus, some months afterward, twenty-four priests were deported; all being condemned to three or five years of exile, and all who were teachers being deprived forever of the right of teaching. In justification of this proceeding there was adduced a note found in a memorandum-book belonging to one of them, showing that they had entered into an agreement to aid each other in the difficulties which the incessant Russian persecutions of the Church would probably entail upon them. At this same time the Paris *Monde*, one of the few (even among Catholic) French journals whose anxiety for the Russian alliance permits them to speak candidly on these matters, narrated how the bishop of Sandomir, returning from a visit to Warsaw, whither he had been summoned to "welcome" the new governor, found a squad of police dragging one of his most worthy associates from the episcopal residence; and how, when the bishop attempted to embrace the unfortunate, he was thrust aside, an order having been issued by the government prohibiting all communication with the arrested. At that time, also, some humble peasants were dragged from the village of Minoga and deported to the depths of Muscovy, their offence having been a propagation of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus—a devotion which the Russian State Establishment affects to regard as heretical. We hesitate, therefore, to yield credence to the recent reports concerning an intention on the part of Nicholas II. to grant some small measure of justice to his Catholic subjects.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE NUNS OF MINSK.

Enough has been said in the previous dissertation to enable the reader to determine the sense in which the Russians are justified in terming Nicholas I. "ever-memorable" (*nezabvenny*). But there is recorded one episode of the reign of this czar which is so illustrative of the persecuting spirit of "Holy Russia," so redolent of the barbarism with which six centuries of schism have endowed the masses of the empire, that a special chapter is needed for its proper presentation. We shall condense our narrative from the sworn deposition of the principal sufferer, a deposition made before a commission appointed for the purpose by Pope Gregory XVI. (1). When Nicholas I. ascended the autocratic throne of All the Russias, nearly all the Catholic convents in his dominions belonged to the Basilian Order (2), and one of the most flourishing was that of Minsk, in Lithuania. During the summer of 1838, Siemaszko, the episcopal apostate whom we have already introduced to the reader, had vainly endeavored to induce these nuns to join the "Orthodox" Church. When his third attempt had failed, he presented himself at the convent, and demanded of the

(1) *The Narrative of Makrina Mieczylawska, Abbess of the Basilienneses of Minsk; or A History of a Persecution of Seven Years, Suffered for the Faith.* Brussels, 1846. The commission appointed by Pope Gregory XVI. to take the testimony of the abbess, was composed of Very Rev. Maximilian Ryllo, rector of the Urban College of Propaganda; the Very Rev. Alexander Jelowicki, rector of the church of St. Claude, Rome; and the Rev. Louis Leitner, theologian of the Propaganda. Their labors began on November 8th, and ended on December 6th, 1845.

(2) The Basilian Order is probably the oldest in the Church, having been founded by St. Basil, bishop of Cesarea, in the fourth century; that is, St. Basil systematized for certain of his disciples a rule which had been followed, for at least two centuries, by many anchorites and cenobites, especially in Egypt. Nearly all the religious in the Orient still follow the rule of St. Basil. In the West this rule became known by the translation made by Rufinus (345-410); but it would seem that the Order was not established in western countries before the year 1057. Pope Gregory XIII. reformed the Order in 1579; and subjected the monasteries of the Italian peninsula, of Sicily, and of Spain, to one superior. It was at this time that Bessarion, a Greek Basilian who had abandoned the Photian schism, and had been made a cardinal, greatly abridged the rules of St. Basil, reducing them to the form in which they are now observed by the Catholic monks. The chief monasteries of the Basilians in the West are that of the Saviour in Messina, and that at Grotta Ferrata, near Rome; in both of which the average tourist is surprised when he hears the monks chanting the Divine Office in the Greek language.

abbess, Makrena, why she had not signed the act of abjuration which he had sent to her. The conversation which ensued was, on the part of the abbess, a series of heroic and apostolic rebukes to the apostate; and on the part of Siemaszko, an alternation of cajoleries and diabolic insults. On the third day after this scene, the wretched prelate, accompanied by the civil governor of Minsk, at the head of a company of soldiers, broke open the doors of the convent at 5 A. M. The nuns were in the act of proceeding to their chapel, and naturally each one started for her cell. But the soldiers barred the way, and at once the frightened creatures grouped themselves around their Mother. Then Siemaszko advanced and asked: "Whither were you going?"—"To the chapel, for meditation," replied the abbess. "Meditation," returned the bishop, with a sneer, and then he added: "By command of His Majesty I accorded you three months for reflection, but I have considered the matter, and have come to the conclusion that delay in action will only render you more obstinate. This present moment, therefore, is the last one you will have for a free choice. Which will you have—the revenues you now enjoy, and greater ones also from our magnanimous sovereign, if you embrace the Orthodox religion, or hard labor in Siberia if you refuse?" To this question the abbess replied: "Hard labor and a hundred Siberias rather than desertion from Jesus Christ and His Vicar!"—"But wait a bit," insisted Siemaszko; "when my rods will have stripped from you the skin with which you were born, you will be more amenable." A cry of indignation burst from all the religious, and one, Sister Wawrzecka, said: "Skin us, cut our flesh from our bones, and then crush those bones; you will find us even then faithful to Christ and the Roman Pontiff." At this the apostate burst into a torrent of blasphemies, and then ordered the soldiers to eject the nuns from the convent. "Blood of a Polish hound," he shrieked; "I will pluck out your tongue." The troops at once obeyed; but as the unfortunate women passed the chapel, the weeping abbess threw herself at the feet, not of the bishop, but of the civil governor, and besought permission to make a farewell visit to the Blessed Sacrament.

In spite of Siemaszko's protests, the governor assented, and the nuns all knelt, for the last time, in what is, to all religious, the dearest spot on earth—their own chapel. Thirty-five thus bent before their Sacramental Lord; thirty-four arose. One, Sister Rosalia Lanszecka, 57 years of age, who had been a religious thirty years, lay dead on the pavement.

When all had been thrust out of the chapel, the abbess again knelt before the governor, and begged that she might be allowed to carry on the road one of the crucifixes belonging to the convent. "It will teach us," she said, "to bear our own cross patiently." Again Siemaszko objected, but the governor yielded. He had already snatched from the hands of one of the nuns a richly ornamented crucifix which contained relics of St. Basil; but he gave to the holy Makrena a heavy processional cross, which she carried on her left shoulder throughout the ensuing march of seven days. As the little band took the road of exile, their orphans and pupils filled the air with lamentations, and many of the more courageous of the townspeople pressed on the wall of soldiers in an endeavor to touch the garments of the confessors of Christ. Bayonets were threatened, and the stocks of muskets were used to keep back the multitude; and after a league of march had been accomplished, the Sisters were chained in couples by both feet and hands. They were driven at the speed of a forced march, and those who sank to the ground, bleeding at nose and mouth, were aroused to some kind of strength with the lash. A sum of money equal to one of our dollars had been given to each nun, and this was to procure her food for a month; the governor promising that they would receive that sum each month. But scarcely were they on the road, when the commanding officer announced himself as their treasurer and provider, and appropriated the thirty-four dollars. During the seven days that the Sisters passed under his care, only once did he buy them any food, and that was a little bread and milk. On the first day these weak women walked forty-five miles, and this rate of travel was nearly always equalled. The nights were passed in the huts of the poorest peasants, and the soldiers, two of whom guarded each nun, allowed merciful hands to

give the fainting victims no article of cooked food. We may easily imagine the state of exhaustion in which they arrived at Witebsk, where they were to be confined for two years. Alas! their troubles had only begun.

At Witebsk there was a convent of Basilianesses, which, like all the houses of that Order in Lithuania, was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Six months before Siemaszko's schismatic campaign in Minsk, the abbess of this community, an aged woman named Eusebia Tyminska, had undergone an experience similar to that of the Abbess Makrena. Not one of her eighteen subjects proved recreant to their duty and their faith, and all were expelled from their home, though not from the locality. A more exquisite torment than that of territorial exile had been devised for them. They were destined to be the menial servants—hostlers, scullions, farmhands, etc.,—of a community of schismatic nuns, who were transferred from the regions of the Don to occupy this Catholic sanctuary. Most of these so-called religious were widows of Russian soldiers, and utterly wanting in education or in anything even approaching refinement. The eighteen Basilianesses were quartered in a little shed adjoining the convent stables, and before the arrival of the nuns of Minsk, the Abbess Eusebia and four of her subjects had succumbed to fatigue, squalor, cold, blows, and starvation, and had gone to their Spouse in heaven. In her deposition, the Abbess Makrena says of the Black Ladies (*Czernice*, so-called from the color of their robes): "We never saw them at prayer or at work. Their days were devoted to the singing of obscene verses, to mutual recriminations, hair-pullings, etc. After some bloody scenes their *Igumena* or abbess would appear, a kind of crosier in her hand, and after condemning both parties to a number of prostrations before herself, she would pronounce a fine, which was destined for the purchase of brandy, of which all were accustomed to partake, even to drunkenness. Their nightly orgies ended in songs and hurrahs in honor of the Czar Nicholas, and thus these Black Ladies fulfilled their obligation to pray for the sovereign, from whom they derived their support and a pension, each one, of seven roubles a month." With such women for task-mistresses, it is not

strange that the thirteen faithful Basilianesses of Witebsk threw themselves at the feet of the Abbess Makrena, when, with her daughters, she was led to the squalid "community-room." With tears and moans the brave sufferers cried : " We have lost our mother. Adopt us, therefore, Mother, as your children, and together we will render glory to God." The popes (schismatic priests), Black Ladies, and guards immediately heaped blows and curses on their victims, but, nevertheless, said the abbess : " We prayed and wept together, and God consoled us." One of the first proceedings of the new jailers of our heroines was to separate the couples, probably because more labor would therefore be accomplished by their slaves. But chains were retained on the galled feet of the unfortunates, and there they remained during the seven years of the persecution. One of the most painful features of the tasks to which our religious were assigned, was the fact that they were generally supervised by F. Ignatius Michalewicz, a Basilian monk, and once almoner of their convent in Minsk. This wretched man was now a schismatic, and he repeatedly urged the faithful nuns to conform with the imperial decrees. He had been insane, said he, when he had insisted on fidelity to the Holy See ; now his eyes were opened. He often beat these frail frames, and even threatened to have them flayed alive. But the nuns merely answered : " We are ready to follow St. Bartholomew, but we will not follow an apostate." The Abbess Makrena thus describes the day's programme : " Before six o'clock we were obliged to have the whole house cleaned and warmed, wood for the day prepared, water drawn and carried, and general order produced to hide the disorders of the previous night. At six we were led to our ' hard labor,' which varied with the seasons. In the beginning we broke stones, and transported the fragments in wheel-barrows to which we were chained. At midday we rested (?) for an hour. From one until night, hard labor. Then we were employed around the house, or in the kitchen, or in the stables. This work finished, we were locked in our shed, where our only furniture was some straw. But we had the cross we had brought from Minsk, and it was our church, our altar, our Master, our Father, our *all* ! At its feet we spent the nights in vigil and

in prayer, often taking but two hours of sleep. We always performed at night such exercises of our rule as we could not perform during the day. We always began our prayers prostrate on the earth, with one for the conversion of the Czar Nicholas." The food assigned these weak women was so insufficient in quantity and quality, that hunger drove them, in summer, to search the fields for edible roots and plants, and in winter to purloin the food of the cattle. For this latter action they were often scourged by the Black Ladies, who would say that the food of cattle was too good for such obstinate creatures. Notwithstanding the cold of a Lithuanian winter, our nuns were never allowed any fire or extra clothing, and so their limbs were generally half-frozen and almost useless.

Makrena and her daughters had been at Witebsk about two months when an order arrived from Siemaszko, to the effect that each of them should receive thirty blows of a rod twice a week. Michalewicz increased the number to fifty. These flagellations took place in the courtyard of the convent, in the presence of Michalewicz, of several popes, deacons, and chanters, and of all the Black Ladies, and many of the people. The abbess thus speaks of this flagellation: "On each occasion, I asked for the decree of Siemaszko, and read it aloud to my Sisters. Then, first of all, I prostrated myself to receive the blows. It was not necessary to hold us; we were held down by the Cross of Christ. During the whole torture we seemed to be looking on Our Lord at the pillar, and the sight deprived us of the sensation of pain. We felt but one real agony, and that came from the state of entire nudity to which our tormentors always reduced us. But we joined even that shame to the ignominies endured by Jesus. The scourging over, we intoned the *Te Deum*, and then, without an instant's rest, we were led to our labor. Our path was marked by our blood, and frequently we found on our bodies pieces of flesh which had been detached by the rods. When weakness caused some of us to fall, blows would force them to arise. After one of the whippings, one of our Sisters, Columba Gorska, fainted at her wheelbarrow, but the blows of Michalewicz revived her, and she tried to propel it. At the first step she fell

dead. . . . Two other Sisters, Suzanna Rypinska and Coletta Sielawa, were killed by these scourgings." Sister Baptista Downar was burned alive in a large stove or furnace in which the Black Ladies had shut her, after having sent her in to prepare the fire. Sister Nepomucene Grotoska met her death at the hands of a schismatic abbess, who split her head with a log of wood, because the unfortunate had used a knife to remove some pitch from the floor.

Siemaszko had often rebuked Michalewicz for his continued failure to subdue the "obstinacy" of the Basilianesses; therefore, after they had been at Witebsk about two months, this wretch devised another means of conquering them. Hitherto our Sisters had enjoyed the consolation and encouragement derived from companionship. They were now divided, and located in four different prisons, each one more loathsome than the shed. The abbess and eight of her daughters were thrust into a dark, cold, and damp cave, which "was filled with worms which soon covered them from head to foot, and crawled into their eyes, ears, and mouths." Each party then began a novena to obtain the grace of perseverance. The only food allowed the abbess and her division during the nine days of this trial was found in such remnants of vegetables as had been spared by the worms; the other Sisters received each day half a pound of bran bread and half a pint of water. Every day Michalewicz visited the prisons with an act of abjuration for each Sister to sign, and he tried the old trick of representing to each division that the others had yielded. "Why, then," he would urge, "do you refuse to sign? Come; the other nuns have renounced the Roman Church, and are now content and free; even now they are drinking their coffee. Sign, my children; the coffee awaits you." And then he would turn to the abbess: "Would it not be better, madame, to become an abbess again, rather than be eaten alive by worms?" When the abbess refused, denouncing him as traitor, liar, and apostate, he crammed her mouth full of worms and filth, and retired. At length the martyrs were led out to resume their hard labor.

In the beginning of 1839, Siemaszko resolved to "conse-

crate" the ancient church of Witebsk to the Orthodox worship, and as he insisted on our Basilianesses taking part in the ceremony, they were led before him, and he went through the form of absolving them from their sins. But the abbess cried out: "God will have mercy on our souls without your absolution. Now that you are an apostate, you are no longer our pastor. Think not, then, of our souls, but do think of our bodies, and give us some food, for we are dying of hunger!" But the prelate merely advanced to the door of the church, and ordered the guards to force the nuns to enter. "We resisted with all our might," says the abbess, "and all the Sisters were covered with wounds. In a transport of superhuman strength I exclaimed: 'Sisters, in the name of Jesus Christ, lay your heads under the axe,' and I seized an axe which a frightened laborer had dropped; all my Sisters fell on their knees, and I adjured Siemaszko: 'You have been our pastor; be now our executioner! Like the father of St. Barbe, kill your children! Our heads may roll into your temple; our feet shall not carry us.' With a blow of his fist Siemaszko caused the axe to fall from my hand, and the blade made a deep wound in the foot of Sister Jakubowska. Then the apostate dealt me a fearful blow on the mouth, and knocked out one of my teeth. I took it up and said: 'Take it, monster, and preserve it as a souvenir of the most beautiful act of your life. Place it among those diamonds which cover your stony heart, and it will shine more brilliantly than any of the jewels for which you have sold your soul.' Then Siemaszko fell fainting into the arms of the attending popes, and the nuns were led back to their labor." Michalewicz, who had never been known to drink strong liquor while he was a Catholic, now always carried a flask of brandy in his pocket, and was nearly constantly drunk. One day, after leaving his victims, he fell head-first into a pool, and was drowned.

One morning in the autumn of 1840, two years after their arrival at Witebsk, the Basilianesses were led into the courtyard, where a company of soldiers were drawn up, waiting to conduct them to Polock. As in their previous journey, the nuns were chained in couples, by feet and hands. To add to

their misery, they were not allowed to bring their precious crucifix, being told that they were unworthy to carry it. During a march of two days they would have received many kindnesses from the peasantry, but a wall of bayonets shut off all communication with them. On their arrival at Polock, they were placed in a Basilian convent which, like that of Witebsk, had been given up to popes and Black Ladies. In this prison they found ten Basilianesses, the survivors of the old community of twenty-five; the others had died from the effects of treatment similar to that experienced by our nuns of Minsk, and in a few days two others, who had become crazy, expired in the arms of the abbess. These nuns of Polock, like those of Witebsk, at once seized the opportunity of resuming the practice of obedience, and acknowledged Makrena as their superioress. In a few days the drunken protopope, under whose custody they had been placed, discovered that the townspeople were in the habit of throwing bread to the nuns, and he therefore moved the Black Ladies and their charges to a large convent situated on the brow of a hill at a league's distance. Here the Basilianesses were employed, some in breaking stones (without hammers, but with larger stones), some in levelling a part of the hill on which Siemaszko intended to erect a palace. During the summer of 1841, seventeen of the nuns perished by various accidents, all of which could have been prevented by the popes who supervised the work, but who, when appealed to, only replied: "Let the earth swallow the Polish dogs!" And the Black Ladies applauded the sentiment. During the fall of 1841, Siemaszko again tried in person to induce the Basilianesses to join the schismatics, but with no more success than of old. After one of his useless attempts, he knocked out nine of Makrena's teeth, saying: "I shall teach you who I am; you must know that the Czar and I form one person." Then he exhibited a paper, signed "Nicholas," on which was written: "All that has been done, or will be done, for the advancement of the Orthodox religion, by the arch-arch-archbishop (that is, thrice archbishop—a phrase peculiarly Russian) Siemaszko, I approve, confirm, and declare holy, holy, and very holy; and I command that no one shall dare to resist him in any

way. In case of any opposition, the military authorities will at once comply with any simple requisition of Arch-arch-archbishop Siemaszko for an armed force. I sign this ukase with my own hand." Having read this decree, the brutal prelate again struck the abbess in the face, so injuring the upper cartilage of her nose that she never again spoke distinctly. Then he seized her by the shoulders, threw her to the floor, and trampled upon her. When this interview had terminated, the nuns were scourged, no count being kept of the number of blows, and that night one of the victims died in the arms of the abbess.

During the spring of 1842, one of the nuns, Seraphina Sczberinska, seventy-two years of age, died under the knout, and two others from its effects. The news of these repeated scourgings reached the ears of a Polish lady, the wife of an old general in command of the garrison of Polock, and she begged him to interpose in behalf of the Basilianesses. The couple arrived at the convent just as a scourging was about to take place, and the sight of the preparations caused the lady to faint, whereupon the general rushed on the protopope, Wierowkin, and tearing from his hand Siemaszko's order, he cried: "Wretched pope, are you then the executioner of these innocent women?" The pope answered that he merely obeyed the commands of the arch-arch-archbishop, and then the general declared: "If you do so, I will hang you; and when the Czar hears of my action, he may say that I am crazy, but in the meantime you will assuredly have been hung." The nuns were then led back to prison, and the general gave a hundred roubles to the protopope to buy nourishment for the starving creatures, but all they received out of this fund was a little bread and salt. The scourgings now ceased, and, remarks the abbess, "the general's compassion resulted, undoubtedly, in great good for us, since it became the occasion of still more cruel suffering." Foiled in a measure by the general's interference, the apostate bishop resolved on revenge; and he meditated on a unique and fearful one during a banquet, or rather an orgy, given by the Black Ladies in his honor.

Let the Abbess Makrena describe Siemaszko's attempt:

“He ordered the deacons, the clerks of the church, and all the men in the establishment, to outrage us in the most infamous manner, promising the grade of protopope to all who consummated the crime. . . . Terrible hour—it was a true hell. . . . Who could number the blows, the bites, the lacerations? Who could recount the blasphemies of the persecutors? The aid which we received from our Divine Spouse enraged them, they tore us with their nails, they bit us, and the prison was inundated with our blood. Two of our Sisters were trampled to death, eight had their eyes torn out, and their faces otherwise mutilated. Finally, the monsters, fatigued (and foiled), retired. . . . Then such of us as were able, knelt down, thanking God for this new agony. . . . I had three fearful bites on my arm, my side was opened so as to show the entrails, and my skull was fractured. A third Sister died that night in my arms. . . . Siemaszko departed at once. On the next day, Wierowkin came to remove the corpses, and to send the survivors to their labor. ‘Behold,’ said he, ‘how God punishes your obstinacy in not embracing our religion!’ The Black Ladies also came and blasphemed in the same manner, but not one gave us a drink of water.”

The spring of 1843 had passed, when one morning our martyrs were led to the courtyard, and, chained in couples as during previous journeys, were put on the march with the usual guard. They thought that Siberia was at last their destination, and some cried out: “So much the better—we shall suffer more,” and then they chanted a hymn in honor of St. Michael. But after twelve days of marching, they halted at Miadzioly, a small village in the province of Minsk. Here they were consigned to the guardianship of some Black Ladies, who had taken possession of a Carmelite convent, and were immediately assigned to menial work. In this house were two apostate Basilian monks, who became the cause of an increase in the woes of our nuns, for they would steal the linen put into the wash-tubs, and give it to the Jews for brandy, while the Sisters bore the blame of the loss. There were also two wealthy novices from St. Petersburg, and as the community expected a great addition of revenue on their profession, its grief and indignation were great when

one morning the young ladies announced their immediate departure from the convent. "This is not a religious house," they said, "it is a Siberia. We leave you, and God will punish you." Of course, new tortures were at once applied to our nuns. In the fall of this year Siemaszko again essayed his skill at perversion, but with the old result. In order to tone down, as he expressed his idea, "the accursed Polish blood" of the Basilianesses, he ordered that they should be "bathed" in the lake on the banks of which Miadzioly was situated. With the exception of the eight blind ones, all the nuns were then clothed in sackcloth chemises, which had but one sleeve, which served as a manacle to the two arms thrust into it. With strong ropes around their necks, the victims were then led through the village to the shore. The procession was accompanied by a throng of weeping Jews; and here we must not omit to notice that the abbess makes frequent mention of the sympathy and practical aid which the Jews always extended to our martyrs whenever opportunity allowed. Several small boats were ready, and two men were seated in each. A nun was placed behind each boat, her two tormentors holding the end of the rope which encircled her neck. Then the protopope Skrypin, the superior of the schismatic nuns of Miadzioly, declared: "If you do not embrace our religion, you shall be drowned like so many puppies." The reply was: "We will never abandon Jesus Christ." Then the boats put out into the lake until the water reached the breasts of the victims. Again the same threat and the same answer. A greater depth was now reached, and the poor nuns sank under the surface. Pulled up half-drowned, and half-strangled, the boats returned with them to the shore, where Skrypin repeated his exhortations. Meeting with the old refusal, he cried to the popes: "Drown them!" The Jews wept, the popes laughed, and the Black Ladies, from the upper windows of the convent, clapped their hands with joy. The torture was repeated again and again, the entire "bathing" lasting about three hours. When the half-dead women were forced back to their prisons, many weeping Jews threw provisions to them, but their manacled hands could not gather the needed restoratives. They passed the night in their

icy sacks, and their wounds were terribly aggravated. The second bath was received three days afterward, and so on until six baths had been suffered. In the third, two nuns were drowned; in the fourth, another nun fainted; and in the fifth she also was drowned.

During the following winter, '43-'44, seven of the Basilianesses became utterly helpless. Add to these the eight ones blinded at Polock, and we may judge of the weight of care borne by the few who were comparatively strong. One favor was granted to our Sisters at this time; they were permitted to gather wood from a neighboring forest, and to have a fire. But the snow was deep, their feet were manacled, and the distance to the forest was not slight; hence they could not often avail themselves of the privilege. At the end of the winter of '44-'45, only four nuns were able to be of any use to themselves or the others; but these four continued to knit, whenever opportunity allowed, and exchanged the product of their labors for food secretly brought by the kindly Jews. In March, 1845, the abbess began to wonder whether escape was really an utter impossibility. The unfortunates were hundreds of miles from the frontier, and in the heart of a bleak and hostile land. They were weak, scarcely clothed at all, and absolutely penniless. Makrena consulted with her three daughters, who were as yet in comparatively good health; and they eagerly besought her to watch for an opportunity, and in God's name to make the attempt. It certainly seemed cruel to abandon the blind and infirm Sisters; but if they could only make the civilized world understand what Russia was doing even in this vaunted nineteenth century, would not the condition of these sufferers be at least ameliorated? At any rate, the hope of liberty had taken possession of their souls, and they were soon mastered by it. Providence favored them. On March 29th occurred the feast-day of the protopope Skrypin, and its usual celebration was a three days' carouse, in which all the popes, deacons, chanters, guards, and Black Ladies participated. On the third day of this year's feast, sodden drunkenness reigned supreme. About midnight the four nuns succeeded in raising a long trunk of a tree, so that one end

rested against the top of the wall surrounding the convent grounds. Up this the abbess climbed, and then found herself about thirty feet above the snow beneath. Making the sign of the cross, she leaped in safety. Sister Eusebia Wawrzecka followed; then Sister Clotilda Konarska, who had lost an eye at Polock. Sister Irene Pomarnacka did not appear, and the others were trembling with apprehension, when suddenly she jumped to their side, covered with a heavy mantle which she had secured from a sleeping soldier. After brushing off the snow with which they were covered, the nuns repaired to a ruined chapel not far away, and there recited the prayers for the night. They then separated, beseeching Heaven that at least one of them might reach the feet of Christ's Vicar, to lay there the laments of a people martyred for their faith, of a people loudly demanding the return of their pastors who were then, and are in our own day, dying in prison, or groaning amid the snows of Siberia. Whether the three other Sisters eluded the Russian police we know not; but after wandering for three months in the forests of Lithuania, suffering from cold, hunger, and thirst, constantly pursued by soldiers and tracked by dogs, the Abbess Makrena reached the Prussian frontier, and finally knelt at the feet of Pope Gregory XVI. in October, 1845. As for the nuns whom she left at Polock, the abbess afterward learned that two of them died a few days after her flight, and that the others were placed in a hospital after much resistance on the part of Siemaszko, who insisted on their previous reception of the Holy Eucharist at the hands of a schismatic priest. When he failed to obtain this concession, the apostate consented to the removal to the hospital, on condition that no Catholic priest should ever be allowed to see the unfortunates; and this promise was given by the authorities.

CHAPTER V.

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE CATHOLICS IN THE ENGLISH
DOMINIONS. DANIEL O'CONNELL.

ON March 25, 1805, when Fox had moved, in the English House of Commons, that a petition for the relief of His Majesty's Catholic subjects should be referred to a Committee of the whole House, Pitt manifested the mind of the royal ministers in these words: "The question ought to be discussed on the ground of *expediency alone*. . . . *I cannot allow that at any time, under any circumstances, or under any possible situation of affairs, it* (the abolition of the Penal Laws) *ought to be discussed or entertained as a claim or question of right.*" These sentiments of a truly typical English statesman of modern days, emitted thirty years after his Protestant fellow-countrymen had first begun to debate as to the necessity (not as to the propriety or justice) of removing some of the fetters which their Protestant zeal had rivetted on every Catholic in the British Empire, should be pondered by those innocents who have been led to believe that Catholic Emancipation in the realms of the Supreme Head of the Anglican Church was due to a cessation of treasonable practices on the part of the "massing-priests" and their benighted followers, or to a kindly disposition engendered in the Protestant heart by the presumed mollifying tendencies of the nineteenth century. Fear, and fear alone, was the actuating motive of every Act of Relief from the Bill of 1774 to the Emancipation of 1829. The threatening attitude of the American colonists produced the Irish Act of 1774. In 1778, the French acknowledged the independence of the revolted colonies, and concluded with them a defensive treaty, which England treated as a declaration of war. Immediately afterward, the first Act relieving the English Catholics was brought into Parliament, and passed without opposition; and the first which repealed any of the Penal Laws against the Catholics of Ireland was also passed in College Green. The next Relief Act was that passed in Ireland, 1782, to conciliate the Catholics in face of a threat-

ened invasion from France. In 1790, when the thunders of the French Revolution were terrifying Europe, an Act was passed to amend a previous Relief Act which had not produced the effect intended; but, as the Protestant Sir Henry Parnell observed: "This common act of justice was not, in any degree, the result of an inclination on the part of the Government to treat the Catholics with more than customary liberality." The revolutionary upheaval in France threatening to involve all other European nations, the English Government realized the necessity of promoting, as far as possible, the union of all Englishmen; and an Act giving a certain amount of relief to English Catholics was passed in 1791. On January 21, 1793, Louis XVI. was executed, and on February 1 the National Convention declared war against England. Of course, Irish soldiers were again needed. Again, a conspiracy with republican tendencies was known to be forming among the Protestants of the North. It was most important to conciliate the Catholics; accordingly, to use the words of Moore, the very same Parliament which in 1792 rejected with scorn the whole petition of the Catholics, in the very next year granted most readily more than they asked for; and the Relief Act of 1793 was passed. Finally, nothing is more certain than that the Emancipation Act of 1829 was passed, as Wellington and Peel both avowed, to prevent a civil war in Ireland. "It cannot be denied that other causes besides fear operated in a certain degree to produce concessions to Catholic claims. The spirit of animosity against us had lessened in the breasts of many; the principle of religious liberty, as it is called, had taken deep root in some master minds, as in those of Burke, Fox, and Canning, and party feeling found the Catholic question a convenient one to bring to the front. But all these motives only brought the Protestant feeling of the country up to a certain point. The history of the Relief Bills clearly shows, that not one of them would have been passed at the time it was passed, if fear of something worse than concessions to Catholics had not driven our oppressors to action" (1).

(1) *The History of Catholic Emancipation and The Progress of The Catholic Church In The British Isles, From 1771 to 1820*, by W. J. Amherst, S. J. London, 1886.

At the time when the first measure for some slight alleviation of the lot of British Catholics was enacted (1774), the blood of the faithful was not being shed, as in the days of Henry VIII., of Elizabeth, of James I., of Charles I., and of Cromwell. Then priests were not disembowelled alive as of yore, for the crime of saying Mass; then the laity were allowed to live, even though they "traitorously" denied the supremacy of His Majesty in religious matters. But if the Catholic priest and the Catholic layman were allowed to live, their persecutors took good care that life should have few charms for them. In the eleventh year of William III., "of pious and immortal memory," an Act had been passed "for the further preventing the growth of Popery." It was decreed that whoever, after March 25, 1700, should "apprehend a Popish bishop, priest, or Jesuit, and convict him of *saying Mass*, or of exercising his functions within the realm," should "receive of the sheriff of the county for every such conviction the sum of £100, to be paid within four months, upon tendering the judge's certificate of the conviction." If the sheriff made default in payment, he was to forfeit £200. It further enacted that "every Popish bishop, priest, or Jesuit *who should say Mass*, or exercise his function; *every Papist keeping school, educating or boarding youth for that purpose*," should suffer perpetual imprisonment. It enacted that "persons educated in, or professing the Popish religion, who" should "not within six months after they attained the age of eighteen, take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and make the Declaration *In 30 Car. II.*" (1), should "be disabled (but not their heirs or posterity) to inherit or take any lands, tenements, or hereditaments within this kingdom. And during such persons' lives, until they should take the said oath, the next of kin, being a Protestant," should "enjoy his lands," etc., without being accountable for the profits. It further enacted that after April 10, 1700, "every Papist" should be disabled "to purchase lands in this kingdom, or any profits out of

(1) This was the declaration commonly called the "Declaration against Popery." The Act 30 Charles II. cap. 2, was the Act which disabled Catholic peers from sitting and voting in the House of Lords.

the same." Whoever should convict a person *of sending his child or ward "beyond the sea to be educated in Papacy,"* was to receive as a reward the whole penalty of £100, inflicted by the Statute III. of James I. Finally, if the "Popish parents" of Protestant children should refuse them a fitting maintenance, in order to compel them to change their religion, the Act gave the lord-chancellor power to order as he should think proper. That the lives of the Catholic clergy and schoolmasters were passed in continual anxiety because of this "ferocious Act," as it was styled by Edmund Burke, will be readily believed. The reigns of William of Orange and of Anne were signalized by the perpetual imprisonment of innumerable "massing-priests"; and even during the reign of George III., whose personal relations with Catholics were frequently marked by kindness (1), very many clergymen died in prison. Charles Butler tells us, in his *Historical Memoirs*, that he inquired in 1780 "respecting the execution of the Penal Laws against the Catholics, and found that the single house (firm) of Dynely and Ashmall in Gray's Inn had defended more than twenty priests under such prosecutions, and that, greatly to their honor, they had generally defended them gratuitously." As late as 1780, Edmund Burke, in his celebrated speech at Bristol, took occasion to say: "It is about six or seven years since a clergyman of the name of Malony, a man of morals, neither guilty nor accused of anything noxious to the State, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment for exercising the functions of his religion, and after lying in gaol two or three years, was relieved by the mercy of Government from perpetual imprisonment, on condition of perpetual banishment." The last clergyman tried for the heinous offense of celebrating Mass seems to have been Mgr. James Talbot, the coadjutor to the venerable Bishop Challoner, and a scion of the noble House of Shrewsbury. Talbot was prosecuted several times, his last trial taking place in 1771; but fortunately

(1) Butler thought that the personal friendliness of George III. toward many Catholics was caused by his remembrance of the great kindness shown to his father, Prince Frederick of Wales, by the Duke of Norfolk. George III. himself was born in the duke's town-house in St. James's Square.

there were not wanting technicalities which saved him (1).

At the time when English Protestants first began to reflect that perhaps it might be well for the British Empire, if some trivial measure of justice were doled out to their Catholic fellow-subjects, there were in England not more than seventy thousand of the faithful. The axe, the rope, the dis-embowelling knife, and the spirit of this world (armed with the ostracizing Penal Laws), had done their fell work very thoroughly; accuracy would probably be consulted if the number of English Catholics in 1774 were set down as about sixty thousand. The reader must remember that at that time the great Irish immigration, which was to so richly endow the English Church with numbers, virtue, and even temporal means, had not yet begun; Burke, in the already-quoted speech at Bristol, said that then the Irish in London were less than five thousand, and it is certain that nine tenths of the Irish immigrants of the day were located in the capital. In 1780, Joseph Berington, an excellent au-

(1) Some of the judges were loath to condemn priests for the "crime" of saying Mass. Lord Mansfield, when lord chief justice, put every obstacle in the way of their conviction. "Two things had to be proved: that the accused was a priest, and that he had said Mass. The counsel for the prosecution argued that it was only necessary to prove that he had said Mass; for if he had said Mass he must be a priest, for no one but a priest could say Mass. Lord Mansfield laid it down in his charge to the jury, that each of the two facts—namely, that the accused was a priest, and that he had said Mass—must be supported by independent proof; that the jury must be first satisfied that he was a priest without regarding the fact that he had said Mass. His lordship further observed, that if the jury were to convict a man of being a priest on the ground that it had been sworn he had said Mass, they would run a great risk of convicting an innocent person. He said a man must be better acquainted with the ceremonies of the Mass than most Protestants were, in order to be able to swear that what he had seen was the Mass, and not any other ceremony. And supposing the ceremony to have been correctly performed, even that would not prove the man going through it to be a priest, as it was well known (and Lord Mansfield mentioned a particular case which had actually occurred) that the Mass had been so well imitated by an impostor, that even Catholics themselves had been taken in. His lordship concluded by repeating to the jury that they must have some positive proof that the accused was a priest, such as his ordination papers, or something equally authentic; that that proof neither he, the lord chief justice, nor the jury would ever be able to get. In this way Lord Mansfield obtained the acquittal of Mr. Webb, whose trial we have mentioned above. For this justice to Catholics, Lord Mansfield had his house pillaged, and his own life endangered two years afterwards during the Gordon riots. . . . On one of the occasions when Bishop James Talbot was tried for saying Mass, the following dialogue occurred: Lord Mansfield: "You say this man is a priest?" Informer: "Yes; I saw him say Mass. He had vestments on." Lord Mansfield: "Do not the Catholics say that the Mass essentially consists in certain words?" Informer: "Yes." Lord Mansfield: "Did you hear those words?" Informer: "No; they are said secretly." Lord Mansfield: "How, then, can you swear he said them?" Informer: "Oh, he had vestments on." Lord Mansfield: "If I were to put vestments on, would you say I was a priest?" AMHERST: *loc. cit.*, ch. 2.

thority, speaking of the probable number of the Catholics in his country, said: "From the best information I can procure, their number does not at this day exceed sixty thousand, and this even I suspect to be far beyond the mark." Of this number several thousands were among the working-people of Lancashire and Staffordshire; in London a few of the middle and of the laboring class had preserved their faith; but in the rest of England the light of Catholicism still shone only at the firesides of some half-score of the higher nobility, and among very many of the "county families," who lived in enforced retirement on such remnants of their ancestral estates as had been left by two centuries of enormous fines for their non-attendance at Protestant service, and by the legalized robberies committed by their apostate relatives. The lot of these county families was certainly happy, when compared to that of their fathers and grandfathers; but they were ostracized socially as well as politically, and the law of the realm ever obtruded itself to remind them that the amenities and conveniences of cultured life were only for those who cursed the Pope. Thus, although the law did not forbid a Catholic to own a horse worth more than £5, it empowered any loyal Protestant to tender £5 for the animal, and then, no matter what its value was, and whether the offer was rejected or accepted, to appropriate the prize (1). The social ostracism of the English Catholic gentry at the time of which we treat is bitterly deplored by Charles Butler, whose leniency toward his heretical countrymen was extreme even unto absurdity. "No person," says Butler, "who was not alive in those times, can imagine the depression and humiliation under which the general body of Catholics then labored. Often in early life has the writer heard the ancestors of the Catholic youth of that period tell them, that they could form no idea of the sufferings of the Catholics in the beginning of

(1) The late Charles Thomas Clifford told Father Amherst that his grandfather, Lord Arundel, was riding one day behind four valuable horses, when a Protestant "gentleman" drove up, offered £20 for the animals, unharnessed and drove them away, and left the nobleman sitting in his horseless carriage. About the same time, said Mr. Clifford, an Irish gentleman was made the object of a similar legalized highway-robbery; but before the loyal Protestant thief could present the "legal tender" for the coveted property, the benighted Celtic Papist had shot the horses dead in their traces.

the last century. He, in his turn, can now aver that the present Catholic youth can form no idea of the lamentable state of the Catholics, so lately as in the reign of George II. and the first years of George III. They cannot picture to themselves the harsh, the contemptuous, and the distressing expressions which at that time a Catholic daily heard, even from persons of humanity and good breeding. At a court ball, a Catholic young lady of very high rank, distinguished by character, by beauty, and by the misfortunes of her family, was treated with marked slight by the lord-chamberlain. 'It is very hard,' she exclaimed, 'to be so treated; after all, I was invited!' and burst into tears. They were noticed by Queen Caroline; and, when Her Majesty learnt the cause, there was not a kind, a generous, or a soothing excuse which she did not make to her. While this compassionate gentleness showed the amiable mind of the queen, the unfeeling rudeness of the chamberlain as strongly showed the temper of the times" (1). One of the most painful evils then suffered by English and Irish Catholics was the practical impossibility of obtaining for their children an appropriate education in their native land. All who could afford, by dint of prudent economy, to send their sons to one of the numerous English or Irish colleges on the continent, sent them cheerfully, whether or not the lads were destined to the sacred ministry. Similarly the daughters of the English and Irish Catholic gentry found in foreign convents the religious and polite training which was denied them at home. The names of the English and Irish establishments at Rome, Paris, Lisbon, Salamanca, Douay, and St. Omer, will tell future generations how great was the literary as well as the religious ambition of English and Irish Catholics during the period when the sons of the Reformation would have steeped them in ignorance. "We may fairly say," remarks Amherst, "that schools which gave to the world such men as Alban Butler, Challoner, O'Connell, and Milner, have made their mark in the history of the Church. Those who can remember to have met in their boyhood many of the Catholic gentlemen who had been brought up at St. Omer's and

(1) *Historical Memoirs*, Vol. iii., p. 277.

Douay, must remember also their polished and courtly manners, their taste for literature, and that patriotic and independent tone of mind which they preserved, while living in their country seats under the ban of their own country. The English Catholic ladies of that period had been chiefly educated in those convents abroad, the establishment of which began in the days of Elizabeth. Those who have seen the lists of names preserved in any of those communities which returned to England at the time of the French Revolution, have observed how many young ladies of old English families remained in the houses they were brought up in, to serve God in the religious state. And many Catholic families still remaining, scattered over England, have to thank God that those revered communities sent back to England every year, young maidens who in after life formed as grand a class of Christian mothers as the world has ever seen. We can remember some of them still. What strong faith, what matronly bearing, what a deep sense of the responsibility they felt was upon them, to be the guardians of religion and morals in the Catholic families of England, and that with them rested in great measure the charge of handing down truth and virtue to their posterity!" (1). Our limits preclude our dilating on the melancholy condition of His Britannic Majesty's Catholic subjects at the time of the Emancipation (2). We shall merely add that during the first years of this nineteenth century, men, still in the prime of life, told how they had always carefully bolted the door of the chapel (some secluded loft or attic) when the trembling congregation had assembled for Mass, lest some spy should give evidence against the "massing-priest." To this day in the Baptismal Register of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Norwich, may be seen a flyleaf, on which is written: "A Register of Baptisms copied from Mr. Angier, beginning from September, 1775; *no one being kept before, by reason of the Penal Laws.*"

(1) *Loc. cit.*

(2) The curious reader may consult *A Hundred Years Ago*, published by Washbourne, London, in 1877.

The first indication of any willingness of English Protestants to allow to their Catholic fellow-subjects the enjoyment of much more than the breath of life, and an indication which the beneficiaries observed with astonishment, was the statute (*11 and 12 George III.*) which was enacted in 1771, and entitled: "An Act For The Reclaiming Of Unprofitable Bogs." This brilliant reformatory measure provided that "Papists (in Ireland) might take fifty acres of unprofitable bog for sixty-one years, with *half an acre* of arable land adjoining, provided that it should not be within one mile of a town." Sheil regards this Act as "the first step in the progress of concession" (1). The step was certainly microscopic; but in 1774 the English prime-minister, Lord North, forced the so-called "Irish Parliament," the docile creature of the imperial government, to enact a measure for the relief of the Irish Catholics which was not entirely nugatory. In America the English colonists were defending with increasing boldness the theory of "no taxation without representation"; their respectful remonstrances were giving place to open threats of armed resistance; in fine, the royal ministers could not close their eyes to the fact that they should either abandon their pretensions to a despotic control over His Majesty's lieges beyond the sea—a thing not to be considered, even as a remote possibility—or resign themselves to an expensive and stubborn war with the recalcitrants. For such a war both soldiers and sailors were necessary, and Ireland could furnish more than her reasonable quota of both; for such a war, no hope of success could be entertained, if the ever-smouldering fires of Irish revolt were once fanned into vivid flame by the breath of transatlantic patriotism. Evidently Ireland was to be conciliated, at least to some extent. North introduced two successive Bills of Relief into the Protestant parliamentary body then sitting in Dublin; but probably because the members did not believe that the minister wished to be taken at his word, they refused to accept even the ministerial idea of justice for their Catholic compatriots. Lord North was desperate, and he ordered the semblance of a representative body to throw

(1) *Legal and Political Sketches*, Vol. ii., p. 161.

some bone to the snarling Irish Papists. Such was the origin of the Relief Bill of 1774, which was entitled : " An Act to enable His Majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him " (1). This document is interesting ; for the oath which it prescribed was the first proposed by Protestant England to Catholics which was not condemned by the Supreme Pontiff. The Act reads as follows : " Whereas many of His Majesty's subjects in this kingdom " (that is, Ireland) " are desirous to testify their loyalty and allegiance to His Majesty, and their abhorrence of certain doctrines imputed to them, and to remove jealousies which hereby have for a length of time subsisted between them and others of His Majesty's loyal subjects ; but *on account of their religious tenets* are, by the laws now in being, prevented from giving public assurances of such allegiance, and of their real principles, and good will, and affection toward their fellow-subjects : in order, therefore, to give such person an opportunity of testifying their allegiance to His Majesty, and good will towards the present constitution of this kingdom, and to promote peace and industry among the inhabitants thereof, be it enacted : By the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in the present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the 1st day of June, 1774, it shall and may be lawful for any person professing the Popish

(1) It has been said that this instalment of consideration was due to the good offices of the Earl of Bristol, who was then the Anglican " bishop " of Derry. The Rev. Thos. England, in his *Life of Father Arthur O'Leary*, writes that the Protestant prelate, while passing through Toulouse in France, was invited to dinner by the superiors of the Irish College in that city. At this dinner the Protestant guest expressed his regret that his kind hosts should be obliged to spend the best part of their lives in a foreign land. But he added, that he could not understand why his countrymen should refuse to the sovereign of their native country that allegiance which they gave to the monarch in whose dominions they were living. This observation drew forth from the hosts a denial of its truth. A long talk ensued, the result of which was that when the Earl of Bristol left the college, he was convinced of the loyalty of the Irish Catholics, and of the falsehood of the gross charges that were made against them. On his return to Ireland, he spread the statement that the Catholics were ready to testify in any reasonable way their loyalty to King George ; and this persuasion, concludes Father England, led to the preparation of the Act of 1774. But, as Amherst reflects, while it may be true that the friendly disposition of the Protestant prelate contributed to a willing acceptance of the Act by his co-religionists, there can be no doubt " that the real origin of this first overture to the Catholics was the same that caused all further concessions to us, namely, fear on the part of the English government."

religion to go before the Judges of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench, any Justice of the Peace for the county in which he does or shall reside, or before any magistrate of any city or town corporate, wherein he does or shall reside, and there take and subscribe the oath of allegiance and declaration hereinafter mentioned; which oath and declaration such Judges of the King's Bench, Justices of the Peace, and magistrates are required to administer." The reader will perceive that in the preamble of this Act the Protestant official framers naively admit that the English and Irish Catholics are suffering "because of their religious tenets," and not because of their politics, as was to be afterward alleged by such Protestants as were sufficiently gracious to be somewhat ashamed of the Penal Laws enforced by their religious forbears. The gist of the preamble is simply this admission: the Catholics had been charged with disloyalty; and precisely because they were Catholics, they had been forbidden to attempt to disprove the accusation. As to the value of the Act of 1774 and its appreciation by the Irish Catholics, Thomas Moore wrote: "The next great benefit bestowed upon the Catholics was the allowing them to take the Oath of Allegiance; and this kind permission to the victim to come and swear eternal fidelity to his tormentor, though as insulting a piece of mockery as can well be imagined, was received with the warmest gratitude by the Catholics, because it, at least, acknowledged their existence as subjects, and put an end to that lively fiction of the law which would have returned *non est inventus* of two millions of people" (1). In his *Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell*, Fagan says: "Up to 1774, the laws, to use the expression of a zealous lord-chancellor of former days, 'did not presume a Papist to exist in the kingdom; nor could they breathe without the command of Government' (2). At that time the American colonies were beginning to proclaim their wrongs, and were struggling successfully against the arbitrary dictation of England. The British Government, con-

(1) *Memoirs of Captain Rock*.

(2) This sage observation was emitted in 1759. See England's *Life of Arthur O'Leary*, p. 50.

scious that they had no hold on the affections or gratitude of the people of Ireland, deemed it prudent to recognize the Irish Catholics as subjects, without, at the same time, admitting them to the slightest privilege under the laws. They were then for the first time permitted, forsooth, to swear allegiance to the sovereign and become subjects of the Crown; and yet even this paltry enactment, which was deemed an act of grace by the helot Catholics of that day, was not passed without the positive demand of the English Government, so deeply prejudiced at that time were the Irish Parliament and the Protestant party against the great mass of the community. This Act of condescension was passed from dread of American contagion, and without Catholic agitation."

The next instalment of relief was extended to His Britannic Majesty's Catholic subjects in 1778. During the previous three years the American colonies had been in full revolt; France and Spain had recognized their independence of English rule; it was well understood that Russia, Holland, and Denmark, had determined to observe an "armed neutrality" in the conflict; and France was about to send to the seat of war that army which afterward determined at Yorktown the result of the American Revolution. Soldiers were needed sadly; for of the thousands of Germans whom the English government had hired to support the British forces against the American patriots, nearly all had been either killed or captured. Why should England hire more Germans, when better war material was at her command in Ireland? But would the Irish enlist? In their desperation the ministers proposed in the Commons the Relief Bill, *18 Geo. III., Cap. 60*. The introducer, Sir George Saville, said that "one of his principal views was to vindicate the honor and to assert the principles of the Protestant religion, to which all persecution was, *or ought to be* (happy qualification!), wholly adverse." In his speech supporting the bill, Dunning, the solicitor-general, referred to the Act of William III., which it was proposed to repeal in part, in these terms: "Some of its clauses have now ceased to be necessary, and others were at all times a disgrace to humanity. The imprisonment of a popish priest for life, only for officiating in the services of

his religion, was horrible in its nature, and must, to an Englishman, be ever held as infinitely worse than death. Such a law, in time of so great liberality as the present, and when so little was to be apprehended from these people, called loudly for repeal; and he begged to remind the House, *that even then they would not be left at liberty to exercise their functions, but would still, under the restriction of former laws, be liable to a year's imprisonment, and to the punishment of a heavy fine.*" Mr. Dunning concluded, according to the report, by saying: "With respect to the encouragement held out by it" (that is, by the Act) "to those children who were base enough to lay their hands on the estates of their parents, or which debarred a man from the honest acquisition of property, it needed only to be mentioned in order to excite the indignation of the House." When the bill came to its second reading in the House of Lords on May 25, the Protestant incumbent of the see of Peterborough, John Hincheliffe, admitted that "there might be particular circumstances which might make delay inconvenient"; but he felt it to be his duty to remark: "Permit me, my lords, to say that I am not so ignorant of the genius of Popery as not to know it is a very difficult matter to consider its religious principles altogether distinct from that political superstructure which has been raised upon them, and to the support of which, I cannot but fear, that should occasion offer, they might still be made too subservient" (1). Nevertheless, the bill became a law, and another step toward Catholic Emancipation had been taken. Those clauses of the Act of William III. which ordered the prosecution of "bishops, priests, and Jesuits," were repealed; also that clause which subjected any Catholic keeping a school to perpetual imprisonment; and the one which rendered all Catholics incapable of acquiring real estate, giving such property to the nearest Protestant relative. But there still remained on the statute-book other laws which prohibited as criminal the exercise of priestly functions, and the keeping of Catholic schools; the sole relief afforded by the Act of 1778 as to these mat-

(1) Such are the words of the divine, as given in Hansard's *Parliamentary History*, Vol. xix., p. 1142.

ters was the provision that whereas hitherto any informer could prosecute the priest or Catholic teacher, thereafter the prosecution was to be undertaken by the attorney-general; or at least the informer was not to receive any reward. And there still remained the prohibition to send a child to a foreign land for a Catholic education. Butler may well observe that limited indeed were the legal benefits which Catholics derived from the Act of 1778; but he discovered some extra-legal advantages as accruing from the measure: "It shook the general prejudice against them to its centre; it disposed their neighbors to think of them with kindness; it led the public to view the pretensions to further relief with a favorable eye; and it restored to them a thousand indescribable charities in the ordinary intercourse of social life, which they had seldom experienced. No Catholic, who recollects the passing of the bill, will ever forget the general anxiety of the body, while it was in its progress through the Parliament, or the smile and friendly greeting with which his Protestant neighbor met him the day after it had passed into a law" (1). The worthy nephew of Alban Butler was ever on the alert to discover some occasion for a manifestation of his unmerited good feeling toward his heretical and persecuting compatriots; but the Vicars-Apostolic in the kingdom, in their Pastoral Letters to the faithful, issued on the occasion of this instalment of relief, seem to have found in it but little consolation (2).

(1) *Loc. cit.*, Vol. iii., p. 294.

(2) Bishop Challoner, Vicar-Apostolic for the London District; Bishop Hornycastle, V. A. for the Midland District; and Bishop Walton, V. A. for the Northern District; issued this Pastoral:

"DEAR BRETHREN,—The great Apostle St. Paul, writing to his beloved disciple Timothy, and in him instructing all Christian pastors of souls, desires first of all, that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings (Eucharists) should be made for all men, for kings and all that are in high station and authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all goodness and chastity. For this is good, saith the Apostle, and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour. It is a duty we owe to our princes by His Divine ordinance, and the very principal part of that honor, which we are to give them, which is so much insisted upon in the Word of God. Wherefore, dear brethren, that both you and we may religiously comply with the most indisputable precept of God's own law, we take this occasion of addressing these lines to you in this public manner, requiring that all and every one of you should offer up your most ardent prayers to the Almighty, for our most gracious Sovereign King George III., and his Royal Consort Queen Charlotte, and all their royal family, and also that in your respective congregations (when you shall be able to meet, without danger to yourselves or your flocks from the many grievous penal laws which stand out

The Act of 1778 did not extend to either Ireland or Scotland; the former country immediately received a similar measure of justice, but the Scotch Presbyterians convinced the royal ministers that they would never tolerate any concessions to the Papists. A solemn fast was proclaimed by the Presbytery of Glasgow; and on Oct. 18, 1778, the Sunday following the appeal to heaven, the fanatics attacked the small congregation of Catholics in the little house that served them for a chapel, razed the building, and pelted the faithful with mud and stones. On Feb. 9, 1779, the same zealots burned the house of a Mr. Bagnal, in which Mass was being celebrated. In Edinburgh, a chapel had been formed out of a room in a house in Leith Wynd; therefore, on Jan. 29, 1779, circulars were distributed throughout the city, calling on every lover of the Kirk to appear at the Leith Wynd on the following evening, for the purpose of "pulling down that pillar of Popery lately erected there." The house was plundered and fired. On the next day the mob plundered another house in Blackfriars' Wynd, in which a chapel had been improvised; and in the evening the children of John Knox were on the point of wreaking their vengeance on Robertson, the celebrated historian, who had evinced some sympathy for the persecuted, when the military restored order. As Amherst reflects: "The animosity of the Scotch against the Church was, and still is, much stronger and deeper than that of the English. By many English Protestants the Church is hated more on political than on religious grounds, though in the minds of the majority there is no doubt a great revulsion from the Church's teaching. But in Scotland the predominating sentiment is undoubtedly a fierce, and, if I may be allowed the expression, a fiendish hatred of the dogmas of the Christian

against the Catholics of this kingdom) you shall recommend the rest of the faithful to offer up also their prayers for the same intentions: this being a duty which by the law of God all Christian people owe to their respective sovereigns."

The Pastoral of Bishop Walmesley, V. A. for the Western District, is of the same negative tone, unless when he betrays the abject downheartedness of his people by telling them that they should pray "because of the *extraordinary favor* newly granted to them by the Act of Parliament"; and when he urges that "the *great humanity of government toward us suggests a propriety of behavior on our part, in using the present indulgence with caution, prudence, and moderation.*"

Church. Hence the riots in Glasgow and Edinburgh were purely directed against the Catholics; it was the property of Catholics only which was destroyed: whereas in London the destruction of Catholic property immediately developed into general licence. Mr. Wilkes, speaking in the House of Commons in the year 1779, on the bill for the relief of Protestant Dissenters, said that "the progress of knowledge in almost every nation had softened the rigor of their laws respecting religious worship, or at least had, in a degree, suspended their execution, Scotland alone excepted" (1). Shortly after the Presbyterian demonstrations on which we have merely touched, Edmund Burke informed the House of Commons that he had a petition to present "from several of His Majesty's Catholic subjects of North Britain." By command of the king, Lord North informed the House that His Majesty, having learned the object of the petition, *recommended* it to the consideration of the members (2). The substance of this petition, the composition of which was probably the work of Burke, was a request for compensation for losses in the Scotch brigandage, and for future protection. The tone of the document is humble even unto abjection. "We are far, very far, from entertaining a resentment against any one whatsoever, or from desiring that any person should be called to account, much less should be punished, for the injury done to us; we forgive from the bottom of our hearts; and should any person be taken into custody, or prosecuted on our account, *if we were worthy to be heard*, we should presume to petition in the most earnest manner for his pardon." The suppliants even protest that, "considering the present flame that is raised" against them, they "cheerfully lay aside all thoughts of asking for any relaxation of" the Penal Laws at that moment. When begging for present and future protection,

(1) HANSARD; *loc. cit.*, Vol. XX., p. 320.

(2) This recommendation by George III. is worthy of the attention of us who have been wont to give that monarch credit for nothing whatever. "With only superficial knowledge," observes Amherst, "a Catholic might be inclined to look unfavourably upon George III., merely because he opposed the final Emancipation Bill; but, as a matter of fact, he was the first to begin and to develop our emancipation, and, up to the point of admitting Catholics into Parliament, he was to us by far the most liberal sovereign, indeed, the only liberal sovereign, who had governed England up to that time."

they say: "We most humbly beg leave to assure this honorable House that this our earnest request for protection is not made without the strongest reason, for the same unprovoked enemies who have hitherto persecuted us in so cruel a manner, far from being satisfied with their late success, have made it a ground for further violence. Those who never threatened us without executing their menaces, have published and dispersed a sort of manifesto, calling upon all orders of people strictly to enforce the execution of the most sanguinary laws upon us, denying the authority of Parliament to repeal those laws, or any other laws made before the Union, threatening the magistrates with the same violence which they have employed against your petitioners, if they do not cause them to be executed; representing those means of banishing and putting to death your petitioners as their rights and privileges, and proposing associations against buying or selling, borrowing or lending, or having any of the ordinary intercourse of society with those of our religion, and threatening to proceed against all who shall refuse to join them in those measures, as if they were Papists; and they have, in their late violent attempts against some of the most respectable characters in the Established Church of Scotland, shown how far they are capable of acting against such as discover any degree of moderation in their sentiments: in a word, nothing can be more deplorable and (without the effectual aid of the Legislature) more hopeless than our condition."

It was during the debate on the petition of the Scotch Catholics that the infamous Lord George Gordon made his first parliamentary speech against concessions to Popery. The sentiments of his second speech, delivered on May 5, were treasonable as well as incendiary; but the House suffered him to continue. However, when he moved that Burke's petition "be thrown over the table," and that "all further proceedings on the said petition be postponed to this day three months," no member saw fit to second the motions. But the comparative liberality of this House was no index of the mind of the English people of that day. The fire started in Scotland had reached London; the capital was ready for the

Gordon Riots. "Of a sudden," writes Lord Stanhope, "like a meteor rising from the foulest marshes, appeared those fearful riots, to which the most rank intolerance gave origin, and Lord George Gordon a name. Then the midnight sky of London was reddened with incendiary fires, and her streets resounded to the cry of an infuriated mob; then our best and wisest statesmen had to tremble, not only for their lives, but for their hearths and homes; then for once in our annals the powers of government and order seemed to quail and succumb before the populace of the capital in arms . . . It might be said, with but slight exaggeration, that for two days the rabble held dominion in the town. It might be said, in the eloquent words of Gibbon, an eye-witness to these proceedings, that 'forty thousand Puritans, such as they might be in the time of Cromwell, have started out of their graves'" (1). The history of these six fearful days is at the easy command of the serious student; the *Barnaby Rudge* of Dickens will furnish a not very unsatisfactory narrative to those who prefer to derive their history from fiction. Here we shall merely note that the conduct of the Catholic clergy and laity during the Gordon Riots was admirable. In his speech at Bristol, the Protestant but chivalrous Edmund Burke said: "There was one circumstance (justice will not suffer me to pass it over) which, if anything could enforce the reasons I have given, would fully justify the Act of Relief, and render a repeal, or anything like a repeal, unnatural, impossible. It was the behavior of the persecuted Catholics under the acts of violence and brutal insolence which they suffered. I suppose there are not in London less than four or five thousand of that persuasion from my country, who do a great deal of the most laborious work in the metropolis, and they chiefly inhabit those quarters which were the principal theatre of the fury of the bigoted multitude. They are known to be men of strong arms and quick feelings, and more remarkable for a determined resolution than clear ideas or much foresight. But though provoked by everything that can stir the blood of men, their houses and chapels in flames, and with the most atrocious profana-

(1) *History of England*, at year 1780.

tions of everything they hold sacred before their eyes, not a hand was moved to retaliate, or even to defend. Had such a conflict once begun, the rage of their persecutors would have redoubled. Thus, fury increasing by the reverberation of outrages, house being fired for house, and church for chapel, I am convinced that no power under heaven could have prevented a general conflagration; and at this day London would have been a tale. But I am well informed, and the thing speaks it, that their clergy exerted their whole influence to keep their people in such a state of forbearance and quiet as, when I look back, fills me with astonishment; but not with astonishment only. Their merits on that occasion ought not be forgotten; nor will they, when Englishmen come to recollect themselves. I am sure it were far more proper to have called them forth and given them the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, than to have suffered those worthy esergymen and excellent citizens to be hunted into holes and corners, whilst we are making low-minded inquisitions into the number of their people; as if a tolerating principle was never to prevail, unless we were very sure that only a few could possibly take advantage of it. But, indeed, we are not yet well recovered of our fright. Our reason, I trust, will return with our security; and this unfortunate temper will pass over like a cloud."

The year 1778 saw the passage of an Act for the relief of the Irish Catholics, as well as of another for those of England. By this measure it was enacted that Irish Catholics, provided they took the Oath of Allegiance prescribed by the Act of 1774, might hold leases for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, or "determinable upon any lives, not exceeding five." The lands of Catholics were made transferable and devisable, and Catholics were allowed to hold those lands which might descend or be transferred to them (1). But a radical improvement in the lot of the Irish Catholic was effected in 1782, when the hitherto obtaining penalties were abrogated for such priests as registered their names and residences in the manner prescribed by the Act. Such a favor was not granted to English priests until 1791. And

(1) BUTLER: *Loc. cit.*, Vol. iii., p. 487.

we may imagine the feelings of the Irish when another Act, passed in the same year. 1782. permitted a Catholic to teach. This privilege also was withheld from the English until 1791.

A few words must be devoted now to the organization styled "The Protestant Association," for the formation of which the chief responsibility must be ascribed to John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, and a firebrand whom Dr. Milner, one of the most prominent and interesting figures of that day, unhesitatingly denounced as the chief author of the Gordon Riots (1). Treating of the Act of 1778, Milner says : "Which, however small in itself, was as great as the temper of the times would bear. For now the *green-eyed monster* of religious jealousy, who had so long slept over his unresisting prey, at the first appearance of its escape from his cruel fangs, began to rouse himself to all his native fury. The pulpits of the lower sort, particularly those of John Wesley and his associates, resounded, and the presses of the metropolis groaned, with hypocritical lamentations on the pretended increase of Popery, and the fatal consequences to be apprehended from the late indulgence granted to its professors ; a religion which, it was asserted, had slain its thousands by its cruelty, and its tens of thousands by its ignorance. By these and other inflammatory harangues, a society was collected together at the beginning of the ensuing year, 1779, under the title of *The Protestant Association*, professedly instituted on the plan of similar associations in the last century, and particularly on that of the 'Solemn League and Covenant,' which produced the murder of the king, and the subversion of the Constitution. The pretext which was held out to the public ... was the preservation of the civil constitution and the Protestant religion, by petitioning Parliament for a repeal of the late Act. ... In the course of the same year, an *appeal from the Protestant Association to the people of England* was published and dispersed all over the kingdom, inviting the people to form similar associations in the different counties. ... At a general meeting towards the close of that

(1) *An Inquiry Into Certain Vulgar Opinions About Ireland*, Note to Third Letter.

year, it was unanimously resolved that, 'on account of the noble zeal for the Protestant interest, which had distinguished the parliamentary conduct of Lord George Gordon, he should be requested to become the President of the Association.' The 2d of June, in the year 1780, will be ever memorable in the history of this country, for the presentation of the grand petition of the London Associators to the House of Commons by Lord George Gordon" (1). The most direct incentive to the Gordon Riots was Wesley's *Defence Of The Protestant Association*, in which, among many incendiary utterances, the fanatic mouthed this absurdity: "*An open toleration of the Popish religion is inconsistent with the safety of a free people, and a Protestant government. Every convert to Popery is by principle an enemy to the Constitution of this country*" (2). As an immediate preparation for the Gordon Riots, the "pious" founder of Methodism published a tirade, invested with would-be logical forms which would probably captivate the attention of such ignoramuses as deemed themselves capable of pondering a syllogism, whereby he proved, to the satisfaction of the average Protestant (whether of the Establishment or a Dissenter), that "*no government ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion.*" Since such were the sentiments and the ignorance—affected or real—of the "gentle and tolerant" Wesley, it is not strange that his followers, far less well-informed than he was, should have ever manifested a senseless rancor against the Catholic Church. It is the fashion, among certain writers of the English Establishment, as well as among others who belong to the American Protestant Episcopal progeny of that Establishment, to regard John Wesley as a well-meaning enthusiast; but he was a veritable firebrand. "One of his first principles," says Amherst, "was no toleration to Catholics; he inculcated it in

(1) *Letters To a Prebendary*, No. vii.

(2) This Wesleyan opinion of the loyalty of Catholic converts was re-echoed by Gladstone in 1874, when, fuming because of the recent definition of Papal infallibility in matters of faith and morals, he audaciously said: "No one can become a convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another." And a century had passed since Edmund Burke felt himself justified in proclaiming: "Our reason, I trust, will return with our security; and this unfortunate temper will pass over like a cloud."

his followers, and he urged it by actual persecution. Hatred of the Church may be said to be almost as much of the essence of Methodism, as hatred of Christianity is of the essence of Mohammedanism. Hence there are very few converts amongst the Methodists. The anti-Catholic riots of 1779 and 1780 were the work almost entirely of Presbyterians and Dissenters; and Presbyterians and Dissenters are to this day the most obstinate maintainers of heresy, and the most determined haters of God's Church. This is shown in England by an extreme unwillingness on the part of Dissenters, especially of the Methodists, to listen to the voice of truth; and it is shown in Scotland, among the Presbyterians, by the instinctive horror which they seem to have of everything Catholic, I might almost say of everything Christian, and the rudeness with which they show it by word, look, and gesture. In the Church of England, *as a Church*, it is impossible, indeed, for a Catholic to see anything respectable; but *amongst the members* of the Church of England there are many who not only lead blameless lives, but are gradually preparing themselves to receive the truth."

In 1791, the storms of the French Revolution having warned the British ministers to procure as much unity as possible among the subjects of His Majesty, the Parliament of England passed a fourth Relief Act which not only contained a considerable measure of justice (albeit presented merely as an *expediency*), but was, in some respects, a better bill than that of the final Emancipation of 1829. The preamble of this Act terms the Catholics "Papists"; but those who were to take the prescribed Oath of Allegiance, one which said nothing concerning royal religious supremacy, were to begin their asseveration with the words, "I do hereby declare that I do profess the Roman Catholic Religion." No person could receive the benefit of the Act, unless he had taken the Oath. Having taken that Oath, one could not be prosecuted for non-attendance at Protestant service, or for being a "Papist," or for saying or hearing Mass, or for being a priest, or for belonging to any religious order, or for performing any rite or observance "of the Popish religion, or maintaining or assisting others therein." But it

was decreed that no religious worship should be held by the "Papists," until the place had been certified by the Quarter Sessions; and that no priest should officiate in that place, until a description of his person had been recorded by the nearest Clerk of the Peace. The benefit of the Act was to be forfeited by any priest who officiated in any place which had a steeple or a bell, such appurtenances being prerogatives of His Majesty's Establishment. The benefit of the Act was to be forfeited also by a priest who officiated at a funeral in any church or churchyard, that is, who would officiate in a once-sacred locality which had been desecrated by sacrilegious theft. The same benefit was forfeited by the priest who should wear the habit of his office, or officiate in any manner, outside of his certified chapel, unless in a private house, where there should not be assembled more than five persons in addition to those of the regular household. Schoolmasters of the "Papist persuasion" could teach, if they had taken the Oath; but no Catholic could teach in any endowed school, notably not in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It was declared that "nothing in this Act contained should make it lawful to found, endow, or establish any Religious Order or society of persons bound by monastic or religious vows, or to found, endow, or establish any school, academy, or college, by persons professing the Roman Catholic religion within these realms, or the dominions thereunto belonging; and all uses, trusts, and dispositions, whether of real or personal property, which immediately before June 24, 1791, shall be deemed to be superstitious or unlawful, shall continue to be so deemed and taken" (1). The most satisfactory feature of

(1) "In the year 1791, there was, as far as I know, no religious house of men in England. The French Revolution had at that time driven across the Channel the English houses established on the Continent. But there were many men in England belonging to Religious Orders. They were scattered about on various missions. . . . Although by Section XVII. of the Act no Order could be established, the members of Religious Orders then in England were included, and *nominatim* included, in the full benefit of the Act; for Section III., which protects from persecution persons who had taken the Oath, extends to any one "entering or belonging to any ecclesiastical order or community of the Church of Rome. . . . The Act of 1829 contains, as is well known, clauses for providing for the gradual suppression of Religious Orders; but the Act of 1829 goes further than the Act of 1791 and makes a most invidious distinction between the secular and regular clergy then in England: for 'Jesuits,' who had the distinguished honour of being specially named, 'and members of other religious orders, communities, or societies of the Church of Rome, bound

this Act of 1791 was its enactment that thereafter no one should be summoned to take the Oath of Supremacy whereby His Majesty of England was acknowledged as Head of the Church in England, or to subscribe to the Declaration against Transubstantiation (25 *Charles II.*). Another pleasing item in the Act is the announcement that the statute (*William and Mary, S. I., Cap. IX.*) banishing Papists or reputed Papists from London and Westminster, would no longer apply to such Papists as took the Oath of Allegiance. Perhaps the few Catholic peers of the realm derived some satisfaction from the repeal of the statute (30 *Charles II., S. 2, Ch. I.*) which forbade their entrance into the king's presence, or even into any building where he might be. Catholics of legal and forensic proclivities were certainly gratified by the intelligence that now they could become lawyers, notaries, etc. The Act of 1791 was certainly a boon to the persecuted Catholics of England and Ireland; but not until 1793 did the Catholics of Scotland receive their first instalment of relief. We say that the Act of 1791 was a boon to its beneficiaries; but it must not be forgotten that there were introduced into it, Relief Act though it was, cer-

by monastic or religious vows,' are obliged by the Act of 1829 to register themselves as such. And moreover, whereas the Act of 1791 allowed a man to 'enter an order,' that is, to take the vows of Religion in an Order, the Act of 1829, made any man who should do so liable to banishment, and if he evaded that sentence, to transportation for life. In short, whereas by the Act of 1791, though no one could found or establish an Order, any one might enter an Order; by the Act of 1829, any one entering an Order is punished as a felon. So that the Act of 1829 virtually repealed a portion of the relief which had been granted by the Act of 1792.

Are the Catholics of the United Kingdom generally aware that the great Emancipation Act deprived us of benefits which were granted when the repeal of the old penal laws began; that Religious Orders, before the law, have been since the Emancipation Act, and still are in a worse position than they were in between the years 1791 and 1829?

The attention of the legislature has several times been directed to the clauses of the Emancipation Act against Religious Orders. Some attempts have been made to obtain the repeal of those clauses, though the Catholics of England have never backed up the attempt as they ought to have done. A few years ago the subject was spoken of in the House of Commons, and Lord Beaconsfield, then in the Lower House, opposed the repeal of the clauses against Religious Orders, on the ground that though Jesuits and others were now perfectly harmless, yet they might become dangerous, and it might be as well to hold the clauses over them *in terrorem*. Passing by the expression of unjust suspicion in which we may hope Lord Beaconsfield had too much sense to be sincere, it may fairly be said that whatever may be the opinions of the great "Liberal party," the Conservatives of England, at least, might be well content to allow a man to enter a Religious Order in the year 1880, when William Pitt, the whole bench of Bishops, the Houses of Lords and Commons unaniously, and King George III. himself, were content to allow a man to do so in the year 1791. AMHERST; *loc. cit.*, Vol. i., ch. 6.

tain penal provisions which continued to torment the Catholics until the reign of Victoria (*9 and 10 Vict., Cap. 59*). It was ordered that "no schoolmaster professing the Roman Catholic religion should receive into his school for education the child of any Protestant father." It was declared that nothing contained in the Act "should be construed to give any ease, benefit, or advantage to any person who should by preaching, teaching, or writing, deny or gainsay the oath of allegiance, abjuration, and declaration therein-before mentioned and appointed to be taken as aforesaid, *or the declaration or doctrines therein contained, or any of them.*" The first provision was certainly a galling infringement of the parental rights of a British subject, and must have weighed heavily on the heart of the presumed Catholic mother. The effect of the second provision will be appreciated by the reader if he remembers that in the Oath of Allegiance—that tardily modified Oath which Catholics could conscientiously take, and by the taking of which alone they could profit by the Act—the juror was made to imply that a Catholic was, by force of his religion, addicted to "evasion, equivocation, and mental reservation"; that he might feel justified in evading the obligations of the Oath, because of a presumed "dispensation already granted by the Pope" to commit perjury in the matter at issue. The Act of 1791 declared that its beneficial effects could not be experienced by any one who would presume to defend himself and his religion against these insulting implications.

The passage of the Act of 1791 produced no other effect in Scotland than to render its Protestants more virulent than ever in their hatred of their Catholic fellow-subjects. At this time, there were very few Catholics in the Lowlands of Scotland; in Glasgow, where now there are one hundred and twenty thousand of the faithful, then a few score of the persecuted heard Mass in a private room with fear and trembling. Before the days of men who are still in the prime of life, the Holy Sacrifice was not offered publicly between Edinburgh and Berwick-on-Tweed. In the Highlands, the faith had fared better; nearly all the Macdonalds, Chisholms, and Frasers, as well as several other less important clans,

had been ever loyal to the Cross. The entire number of Catholics in the ancient Northern Kingdom was not more than thirty thousand, when, on April 22, 1793, the lord-advocate of Scotland stated in the House of Commons that "His Majesty's Catholic subjects in Scotland were incapacitated by law from either holding or transmitting landed property, and were liable to other very severe restrictions, which could not *then* be justified by any necessity or expediency." The advocate therefore moved "that leave should be given to bring in a bill to relieve persons professing the Roman Catholic religion from certain penalties and disabilities imposed on them by Acts of Parliament in Scotland, and particularly by an Act of the 8th of King William." On April 23 the advocate continued his speech, insisting that the Roman Catholics of Scotland labored under many hardships, and on account of their faith. "By one law an oath, called a formula or solemn declaration, was imposed upon them, which they could not take without renouncing the religion which they professed; and if they refused to take it, their nearest Protestant relation might deprive them of their estates." The advocate stated that "it was repugnant to justice and humanity that a subject should be deprived of his estate for no other reason than that he professed the religion most agreeable to his judgment and his conscience, or that he should be placed in the wretched situation of holding his estates at the mercy of any Protestant relation who might be profligate enough to strip him of it by enforcing this penal law. The liberality which had induced the House last year, and on a former occasion, to grant relief to the Roman Catholics of England, would, he was persuaded, induce them to extend relief also to the Roman Catholics of Scotland, whose loyalty and conduct gave them an equal claim to the indulgence of the Legislature. He admitted that the particular law to which he referred was too odious to be often carried into execution, but if it was not fit that it should be executed at all, it ought not to be suffered to remain, merely as a temptation to the profligate to strip honest and meritorious people of their property." He said that he was extremely sorry

to inform the committee "that there was, at that moment, a suit actually depending in the courts of law in Scotland founded on this particular statute. A Roman Catholic gentleman, as respectable and amiable in character as any man in this or any other kingdom, was possessed of an estate of £1,000 a year, which had been in his family for at least a century and a half. This gentleman, loved and respected by all who knew him, was now on the point of being stripped of his property by a relation, who could have no other shadow of claim to it than that which he might derive from this penal law, which he was endeavoring to enforce. In the courts as much delay as possible was thrown in the way, but it was to be feared that he must succeed at last, and reduce to beggary a gentleman in every respect a most meritorious subject. If it was too late to save him from such a misfortune, the Legislature, he trusted, would interpose, and take care that he should be the last victim to a cruel law, and that it should never operate in future to the destruction of any other person; for surely it was no longer to be endured that a man should be placed in the horrid situation of either renouncing the religion of his heart, or, by adhering to it conscientiously, forfeit all his worldly substance" (1). Whether or not the Commons felt the force of the advocate's argumentation, their fears of the consequences of the French Revolution were just then at their height, and the Relief Bill for the Scotch Catholics was introduced and passed. The Lords followed suit, and the king signed the Act, to the consternation and fury of the spiritual progeny of John Knox (2).

(1) BUTLER; *Loc. cit.*, Vol. iv., p. 104.

(2) "There can, I think, be no doubt that there is a greater and more deeply rooted hatred of the Church in Scotland, even to this day, than in England. . . . In England, a pseudo-hierarchy, claiming to be descended from the old Catholic hierarchy, has kept up the old form of Church government. The English have acknowledged the authority (?) of bishops and priests, and object only to Catholic bishops and Catholic priests. But the Scotch abolished all episcopal and sacerdotal authority, and therefore speak of bishops and priests with a virus unknown in England; and this virus is so bitter that no social laws of courtesy or good manners can keep it within the bounds of propriety. Besides this, the work of destruction was so completely done at the time of the Reformation, that the Christian feasts which were respected by the Anglicans were abolished by the Scotch. John Knox and his followers knew that to root out everything that was Catholic, they must destroy as far as possible everything that was Christian. And so great was their desire to put an end to everything Catholic, that they determined to obliterate from the minds of Scotch-

The last year of the eighteenth century was signalized by the passage of the Act for the Legislative Union of England and Ireland; and on the first day of the nineteenth century that Act went into effect. In order to render the Irish Catholics favorable to the Union, Pitt had given them to understand that he considered an Act of Relief as a necessary accompaniment of an Act of Union, and, furthermore, he had implicitly averred that he would introduce a bill authorizing the admission of Irish Catholics into Parliament. But when the great minister, after the first meeting of the new Parliament on Jan. 22, 1801, broached the crucial subject in a cabinet council, His Majesty being present, his venturesomeness resulted in a return of the "king's illness," as the periodical insanity of George III. was euphemistically designated by all loyal Englishmen of that day. In his *Life of Pitt*, Lord Stanhope shows that George III. himself ascribed the recurrence of the "illness" to Pitt's proposal of emancipation: "On Friday, the 6th of March, the king . . . was clear and calm in mind. . . . With respect to Mr. Pitt, His Majesty used the following words—'Tell him I am now quite well. . . . But what has he to answer for, who is the cause of my having

men the recollection even of the great feasts of the Church. The feasts of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, and Whitsuntide were abolished. With the abolition of the feasts, the reality of the mysteries celebrated lost their hold on men's minds; until at this day the words Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter, and Whitsuntide bring to the minds of Scotchmen, even of educated Scotchmen, no idea whatever in any way connected with religion. In England there is a great deal that is political, as distinguished from dogmatical, in the hatred which is directed against the Church. Although the foundations and the more solid portion of the superstructure of British liberties were laid in Catholic times, the enemy of mankind has succeeded in possessing the English mind with the absurd but most deplorable delusion that the Catholic religion is opposed to the liberties of the people. Hence, all that miserable cant about "popery and slavery" is so constantly uttered, to the unspeakable disgust of all British and Irish Catholics. But in Scotland hatred of doctrine absorbs every other sentiment. Scotch Presbyterians seem to have this hatred always ready for expression. And as they emphatically hate the Catholic Church, so they appear to hate the members of the Church, and especially, of course, the priests of the Church. A Catholic priest cannot walk the streets of a town in Scotland without seeing in the countenances, and sometimes hearing from the mouths, of at least one half of the Scotch people whom he may meet, signs and expressions which convey the idea that they are saying in their hearts what the Pharisees of old cried out against our Lord: "Crucify Him, crucify Him!" The Church would look for its worst enemies amongst those whose religious thoughts were full of sadness and gloom. It is said in Scotland that the ministers who are most followed, are those who show the most cleverness in persuading those who "sit under" them that they form a portion of the elect. But in meeting these saints coming from church on a Sunday, a person might fairly judge by their appearance—awful in every respect—that the minister had undoubtedly convinced them that they were all predestined to eternal loss."

AMHERST, *Ubi supra*, p. 276.

been ill at all?' Pitt was deeply affected; and, before Mr. Addington, authorized Dr. Willis to tell His Majesty that during his reign he would never agitate the Catholic question—that is, whether in office or out of office. . . . Dr. Willis, in a letter to Pitt, says: 'I stated to him' (the king) 'what you wished, and what I had a good opportunity of doing; and after saying the kindest things of you, he exclaimed, 'Now my mind will be at rest!' Upon the queen's coming in he told her your message, and he made the same observation upon it.'" Pitt resigned his office of prime-minister, and, to quote the words of Dr. Aikin, "the sole reason assigned by him for resigning the post he had so long held with the applause of a great part of the nation, was his inability to carry the proposed measure in favor of the Catholics; and in a paper circulated in his name throughout Ireland, which he did not disavow, he assured the Catholics that he would do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favor (though he could not concur in a hopeless attempt to force it now), and prepare the way for their finally attaining their object" (1). There has been much diversity of opinion in regard to the real reason for Pitt's resignation of office in 1801. Therry, the friend of Canning, and the editor of that statesman's speeches, says: "Pitt resigned in consequence of his inability to carry a measure of relief, which he had given the Irish every reason to expect as the result of the Union" (2). But Alison opines: "The personal objections of the king to the removal of the Catholic disabilities, to which Mr. Pitt considered himself pledged as a consequence of the Irish Union, afford at least the ostensible reason for the resignation of that minister and his personal adherents, which took place on the 1st of February; the real cause, more probably, was the reluctance of Mr. Pitt to be personally concerned in concluding peace with France, which he saw could not be much longer delayed" (3). But Lord Stanhope believed that Pitt himself assigned the true reason: "It has often been said, both in England and abroad, and even now perhaps the rumor has not wholly died away, that the

(1) *Annals of George III.*, p. 107.(2) *Canning's Speeches*, Vol. v., p. 359(3) *History of Europe*, Epitome, p. 184.

cause assigned by Mr. Pitt was only his ostensible, and not his real motive. It has been asserted that he withdrew from office on account of the difficulties which he experienced or expected in the way of making peace. Lord John Russell and another eminent critic have some years since sufficiently disposed of this hostile allegation. The original documents bearing on the question, some of which have lately come to light, must, I am sure, convince every careful and dispassionate reader that any such idea is entirely unfounded "(1). But whatever was the reason of the great statesman's resignation, the fact was providential for the welfare of the Church in the English dominions. It is certain that if Pitt, at that time, had carried through parliament, and if he had induced George III. to sign, a bill for Catholic Emancipation, or even a partial Relief Bill, the Act would have been loaded with what were termed "securities" for the good behavior of the Catholics, especially those of Ireland. Of no comfort to the Catholics would it have been, to have beheld the fetters of the Penal Laws stricken from their limbs, if immediately they were loaded with the more galling chains of a royal power of "veto" on the appointment of a bishop, and of a clergy salaried by the British government—measures which Pitt, through Lord Castlereagh, had asked the Irish bishops to accept.

The question concerning the feasibility of allowing an heretical government to interfere in the appointment of bishops, the "Veto Question," as it was termed, agitated the Catholics of the United Kingdom for many years; and its own intrinsic importance, no less than its bearing on the matter of Catholic Emancipation in the English dominions, demands that we accord to it a brief but careful consideration. The scheme of the royal veto, coupled with the idea of a state-supported Catholic clergy, first appears to the attention of an investigator of our day in that famous letter to Lord Kenmare, which the Irish Protestant but just Edmund Burke wrote under the caption of *A Letter To A Peer Of Ireland On The Penal Laws Against Irish Catholics*. From this letter, dated Feb. 21, 1792, we take the following passage: "Be-

(1) *Loc. cit.*, Vol. iii., p. 309.

fore I had written thus far, I heard of a scheme of giving to the Castle the patronage of the presiding members of the Catholic clergy. At first I could scarcely credit it; for I believe it is the first time that the presentation to other people's alms has been desired in any country. If the State provides a suitable maintenance and temporality for the governing members of the Irish Roman Catholic Church, and for the clergy under them, I should think the project, however improper in other respects, to be by no means unjust. But to deprive a poor people, who maintain a second set of clergy out of the miserable remains of what is left after taxing and tithing—to deprive them of the disposition of their own charities among their own communion, would, in my opinion, be an intolerable hardship. Never were the members of one religious sect fit to appoint the pastors to another. Those who have no regard for their welfare, reputation, or internal quiet, will not appoint such as are proper. . . . It is a great deal to suppose that even the present Castle would nominate bishops for the Roman Church of Ireland, with a religious regard for its welfare. Perhaps they cannot, perhaps they dare not, do it. But suppose them to be as well inclined as I know that I am to do the Catholics all kind of justice, I declare I would not, if it were in my power, take that patronage on myself,—I know I ought not to do it." On Jan. 29, 1795, Dr. Hussey, in time first president of Maynooth College, and finally bishop of Waterford, writes to Burke: "Some plan is likely to be thought of by Parliament for the appointment of Catholic bishops. The *election* to rest with the clergy, and the election of one out of three so elected to be in government, or something similar" (1). To this Burke replies on the 24th of February as follows: "This is a great crisis for good or evil. Above all, do not listen to any other mode of appointing your bishops than the present, whatever it is; no other elections than those you have; no Castle choices." The Veto Question next appears in 1799, when Pitt is preparing for the Union. The minister commissioned Castlereagh, the chief secretary to the lord-lieutenant, to

(1) *Correspondence of The Right Hon. E. Burke*, edited by Lord Fitzwilliam, Vol. iv. p. 268.

sound the Irish bishops on the matter. Ten of the then twenty-nine Irish prelates were then in Dublin, having assembled for consideration of the affairs of Maynooth College; and Castlereagh consulted them "on the double plan of a State provision for the Catholic clergy, and of a government interference in the appointment of their successors" (1). So anxious were these ten bishops to obtain Emancipation, that they adopted a series of resolutions indicating a willingness to accept the governmental propositions, *but taking care to refer the matter to the Supreme Pontiff for final adjudication* (2). This not easily excused mistake of ten Irish bishops was the cause of much dissension in the Catholic ranks throughout the United Kingdom. Re-

(1) MILNER; *Supplementary Memoirs*, p. 115.

(2) RESOLUTIONS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATES IN 1779.

"At a meeting of the Roman Catholic prelates, held in Dublin, the 17th, 18th, and 19th of January, 1779, to deliberate on a proposal from Government, of an independent provision for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland under certain regulations, not incompatible with their doctrine, discipline, or just principles: It was admitted, that a provision through Government for the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom, competent and secured, ought to be thankfully accepted. That, in the appointment of the prelates of the Roman Catholic religion to vacant sees within the kingdom, such interference of Government as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed is just, and ought to be agreed to. That, to give this principle its full operation, without infringing the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, or diminishing the religious influence, which prelates of that Church ought justly to possess over their respective flocks, the following regulations seem necessary: I. In the vacancy of a see, the clergy of the diocese to recommend, as usual, a candidate to the prelates of the ecclesiastical province, who elect him, or any other they may think more worthy, by a majority of suffrages; in the case of equality of suffrages, the Metropolitan or senior prelate to have a casting vote. II. In the election of a Metropolitan, if the provincial prelates do not agree within two months after the vacancy, the senior prelate shall forthwith invite the surviving Metropolitans to the election, in which each will then have a vote; in the equality of suffrages, the presiding Metropolitan to have a casting vote. III. In these elections, the majority of suffrages must be *ultra medietatem*, as the canons require, or must consist of the suffrage of more than half the electors. IV. The candidates so elected to be presented by the president of the election to Government, which, within one month after such presentation, will transmit the name of the said candidate, if no objection be made against him, for the appointment to the Holy See, or return the said name to the president of the election, for such transmission as may be agreed on. V. If Government have any proper objection against such candidates, the president of the election will be informed thereof within one month after presentation; who in that case will convene the electors to the election of another candidate. *Agreeably to the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, these regulations can have no effect without the sanction of the Holy See, which sanction the Roman Catholic prelates of this kingdom shall, as soon as may be, use their endeavours to procure.* The prelates are satisfied that the nomination of parish priests, with a certificate of their having taken the oath of allegiance, be certified to Government. (Signed) Richard O'Reilly, Edward Dillon, P. J. Plunkett, Daniel Delany, James Caulfield, Thomas Bray, F. Moylan, Edmund French, John Cruise." PLOWDEN; *History of Ireland Since the Union*, Vol. iii., app., no. 2.

ferring the reader to the valuable work of Amherst for details of this lamentable dispute, we would state here that while it is true that some of the "Vetoists" appeared to be willing to make of the English sovereign a virtual head of the Catholic Church in his dominions (in matters of discipline), their opponents, by far the *savior pars* of the Catholic body, made a sad mistake when they charged Bishop Milner (after O'Connell, the foremost standard-bearer of Emancipation) with a willingness to surrender the liberties of the Church. O'Connell was one of these accusers of the zealous prelate; but when undeceived, he apologized handsomely for his rashness. As for the ten Irish bishops who took the first false step toward Emancipation, their mistake was corrected on Sept. 14, 1808, when the entire Irish hierarchy, assembled in Dublin, resolved: "It is the decided opinion of the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, here assembled, that it is inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode, hitherto observed, in the nomination of Roman Catholic bishops, which mode, by long experience, has been proved to be unexceptionable, wise, and salutary. Resolved, that the Roman Catholic prelates pledge themselves to adhere to the rule by which they have been hitherto uniformly guided; namely, to recommend to His Holiness only such persons, as candidates for vacant bishoprics, as are of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct." Milner says, in his account of the meeting, that the prelates "universally regretted that the proposal of Government in 1799, *with which the far greater part of them now became acquainted for the first time*, had been acceded to." Certainly this action of the Irish hierarchy was necessary; for a very large number of the English Catholics had credited the assertion, made by Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, that the Catholics of Ireland declared themselves perfectly willing to accede to the proposal that the Crown should exercise an *effectual negative* in the appointment of bishops. The Veto Question was now laid aside for a time. Had the Vetoists carried their point, the best that the Catholics could have hoped for would have been a Concordat between the Holy See and the British government; and as Father Faber once

remarked, "a Concordat is like a Catacomb." History shows that when the Church once concedes a right to the State, the State is inexorable and tyrannical in its use of the concession. "When an alliance between Church and State," says Amherst, "may be compared to a happy marriage, it is a very pleasant state of things; husband and wife agree perfectly together, and children love father and mother as children ought. But unfortunately an alliance between Church and State, formed by what is commonly called a Concordat, may be compared to a mere *mariage de convenance*, in which the parties are forced together against their will; an unhappy marriage, one that does not turn out well. In the present state of things, the relations between the Church and the State in the United Kingdom cannot be compared to a marriage of any kind. But still the Church and the State on the whole live together on friendly terms: there is even a certain amount of mutual respect; things are going on smoothly. May this long continue; or, rather, I will say, may it continue until the happiest of marriages can be contracted. One word more on this subject. There may be two opinions amongst the Catholics of the United Kingdom on the propriety of beginning diplomatic relations between the Holy Father and the Court of St. James's; there can be but one opinion about a Concordat."

Returning now to the chronological order of our subject, we notice that on May 15, 1804, Pitt resumed office; and that his former experience—the certainty of an attack of insanity befalling his royal master, if the subject of Catholic Emancipation were mentioned—had not been forgotten. Just before he resumed his portfolio, he wrote to Lord Chancellor Eldon a letter which was to be laid before the king, and which contained the following passage: "The state of Ireland and the delicate and difficult questions which may arise respecting the internal condition of that country are scarcely less deserving attention. I need not repeat to your lordship what has long since been known to His Majesty, how fully my own determination has been formed to prevent His Majesty being ever *disquieted* (a euphemism for "rendered insane") for a moment, as far as depends on me, by a renewal

of the proposition which was in question three years ago, respecting the extension of privileges to the Catholics ; but I cannot help seeing that, although my conduct under all circumstances is fixed, there may arise moments of difficulty in which, if this country remains divided by powerful parties, the agitation of this question may be productive of great inconvenience and embarrassment. The formation of such a system as I have supposed would, I conceive, among other advantages, effectually remove this source of anxiety, as I certainly can never suppose or wish it to be formed on any other ground but that of all those who might form part of the Administration joining in the same determination with myself, to endeavor to prevent the renewal of any such discussion." Broke-hearted by the result of Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz, the dissolution of the Coalition of which he had been the very life, Pitt died on Jan. 23, 1806. Then followed the "All The Talents" ministry under Lord Grenville (1), the "No Popery" ministry under the Duke of Portland (2), and in 1812 the ministry of Lord Liverpool. Neither the first nor the second of these ministries ventured to aggravate the periodical "illnesses" of George III. by re-opening the Catholic question ; but toward the end of 1810 the "illness" became permanent, and the Prince of Wales assumed the regency. Canning, who had refused to support the administration "because the determination remained unaltered in the Cabinet to resist as one man the

(1) The name originated from the stipulation made by Fox, that if he supported Grenville, each member of the cabinet would have to be a man of first-rate talent.

(2) So-called from the "No-Popery" cry which rang throughout England at that time, causing the defeat of nearly every parliamentary candidate who was supposed to be favorable to the Catholic claims. In his *Recollections*, Earl Russell thus speaks of the situation in 1807 : "The 'No-Popery' cry of 1807, and the general election of that year, was the proceeding most discreditable to the English people of any that has occurred in my time. Several of the ablest men in Parliament, the chief ornaments of the House of Commons, were obliged to take refuge in small boroughs. Mr. Grey, then Lord Howick, went from Northumberland to Appleby ; Mr. Windham went from Norwich to Romney. Mr. Perceval was the author of the 'No-Popery' cry, and did his utmost to arouse the people to religious hatred. The flame did not subside until 1829, when O'Connell agitated the people of Ireland to assemble in their thousands, and impressed upon the Duke of Wellington the fear of civil war." When the noble lord penned these lines, he found it convenient to forget that in 1850, when he was as yet Lord John Russell, the "No-Popery" cry which he then raised because of the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England by Pope Pius IX., was more virulent and "discreditable to the English people" than any manifestation of Protestant injustice had been since the Gordon Riots.

consideration of the Catholic question" (1), resolved, although he was an obstinate Vetoist, to espouse the cause of Catholic Emancipation. Accordingly, on June 22, 1812, he offered this resolution in the House of Commons: "Resolved, that this House will, early in the next session of Parliament, take into its most serious consideration the state of the laws affecting His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to such final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom, to the stability of Protestant establishment, and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of His Majesty's subjects." The motion was carried, thanks to the extraordinary influence of Canning, by a majority of one hundred and twenty-nine; but when, in the House of Lords, the Marquis of Wellesley made a similar motion, it was defeated by a majority of one. This slight majority for his side of the question horrified Eldon, the lord-chancellor; and Lord Campbell tells us, in his *Life* of the great lawyer, that he was seen to be deeply affected when he announced the division. It is interesting to note that Lord Byron was among the peers who voted for the motion, he having, according to Tom Moore, been summoned from a ball by the opposition "whip." He said: "I was sent for in great haste to a ball, which I confess I quitted somewhat reluctantly, to emancipate five millions of people. I came in late, and did not go immediately into the body of the House, but stood just behind the woolsack. Lord Eldon turned round, and, catching my eye, immediately said to a peer, who had come to him for a few minutes on the woolsack, as is the custom of his friends, 'D—n them! they'll have it now! By —, the vote that has just come in

(1) *Canning's Speeches*, Vol. v., p. 366.—"Canning," says Amherst, "was quite as determined to force on our claims, and to obtain relief, as his great master, William Pitt, had ever been. Unfortunately—but it was not entirely his own fault,—he was a Vetoist, and a Vetoist of the most objectionable kind. He is, however, entitled to the gratitude of Catholics. Though he would have put new chains upon us, they were not chains that he or any Protestants in those days would have objected to if put upon their own Church. And it must be said of Canning, that for many years he exerted all his great powers, his mastery of parliamentary debate, his force of argument, his sparkling wit, and his brilliant eloquence, in order to strike off the old penal chains which still lay heavy upon the Catholics of the United Kingdom. Among the masterpieces of English oratory must always be included Canning's speeches on the Catholic claims."

will give it them!'" Lord Campbell, who, quoting from Tom Moore's *Life of Byron*, gives this anecdote in his *Life of Lord Eldon*, adds, that "the noble poet afterwards, in some lines which he wrote as a continuation of the *Devil's Walk*, showed that he had taken a very unfavorable view of the ex-chancellor's feelings and wishes on this subject"—that is, on a supposed intended rising of the Irish (1). Lord Byron knew well that Eldon would have been delighted to see a rising in Ireland, in order that the Irish might be crushed by England. This would have been, in Eldon's judgment, the best means of putting down the cry for emancipation. It is also worthy of note, that among the English high-born of the time who sympathized with the woes of the Catholics was the Princess Charlotte, the heir-presumptive to the crown, who, had death not claimed her before it claimed her father, would have been Queen of England. Writing to Lord Albermarle shortly after the death of Fox, the princess speaks of that statesman's "laudable exertions for universal toleration and comfort to *our unfortunate and grossly abused sister-kingdom*, which, alas! were not crowned with success"; and then she continues: "And this is the man who, after devoting his time, health, and at length life, is called revolutionist. . . . Many there are who say they understand the word toleration. . . . There are dignitaries of the Church who pique themselves on their learning, but do not seem—no more than the temporal peers—to comprehend its meaning; or else they who are to preach meekness and charity would certainly not, I should conceive, seem to rejoice at the sufferings of Ireland, nor utter such virulent protests against their just claims . . . that God that they teach (or at least, feign to do, who enjoins charitableness and forgiveness) is wholly forgotten in their rancorous hatred toward our oppressed and unfortunate people, whose crime is following other ceremonies, not owning these dignitaries, but above all having the name of Irishmen. It is with honest pride, the pride of a true-born English person, that I

(1) "And he saw the fears in Eldon's eyes
Because the Catholics would not rise,
In spite of his fears and his prophecies."

avow these sentiments—principles that I am convinced are the only true foundation of this country, and the spirit of the Constitution, *nor shall I be ashamed to broach them before the whole world, should I ever be called upon.* Thank God, there are some young of both sexes, some that I have the happiness to know personally, as well as from report, that feel firm at this state of things, and that are, from their hearts and minds, followers of your late inestimable friend. Happy, thrice happy, will be the moment when the plans Mr. Fox pursued and planned are put into full force; then indeed England will have cause to rejoice, *then she may lift up her head in conscious superiority and pre-eminence.*”

Notwithstanding the defeat of 1812, the Catholics continued to hope; and on April 30, 1813, Grattan introduced into the House of Commons a bill “To provide for the removal of the civil and military disabilities under which His Majesty’s Roman Catholic subjects now labor”—a title which could not have been rendered more precisely indicative of all that the Catholics demanded, for they never asked for more than perfect political equality with other British subjects. When the bill was read for the first time, Canning declared that there was “nothing in it to which he did not most cordially agree”; but he added that “at the same time there were some provisions, not in it, which he desired to introduce.” Here again loomed up the spectre of the Veto. Grattan’s bill would have removed every fetter from the Catholics; but the majority of the members of parliament would consent to merely partial emancipation. The laity might enter parliament; but the English government should have the right of Veto on the appointment of bishops, and should forbid or allow, at its own good pleasure, any relations between those prelates and the Holy See. Canning realized that unless he made some concession to the spirit of rampant Protestant injustice, Grattan’s bill was doomed. The measure for unconditional relief was therefore supplemented by clauses which rendered it a curse instead of a blessing. There were to be appointed certain commissioners, who were to profess the Catholic religion, and to be lay peers of Great Britain and Scotland, possessing a freehold estate of one

thousand pounds a year ; to be filled up from time to time by His Majesty, his heirs, and successors. The commissioners were to take an oath for the faithful discharge of their office and the observance of secrecy, in all matters not thereby required to be disclosed, with power to appoint a secretary with a salary (proposed to be five hundred pounds a year) payable out of the consolidated fund. The secretary was to take an oath similar to that of the commissioner. It was then provided that every person "elected to the discharge of Catholic episcopal functions in Great Britain or Scotland should, previously to the discharge of his office, notify his late election to the secretary ; that the secretary should notify it to his commissioners, and they to the privy council, with a certificate, 'that they did not know or believe anything of the person nominated which tended to impeach his loyalty or peaceable conduct.' Persons obtaining such a certificate were rendered capable of exercising episcopal functions within the United Kingdom ; if they exercised them without a certificate, they were to be considered guilty of a misdemeanor, and liable to be sent out of the kingdom." The clauses concerning Ireland provided that the commissioners just mentioned, "with the addition, as to Great Britain, of the lord-chancellor, or lord-keeper, or first commissioner of the great seal for the time being, and of one of His Majesty's principal secretaries of state, being a Protestant, or such other Protestant member of His Majesty's privy council as His Majesty should appoint ; and with a similar addition in respect to Ireland ; and with the further addition, as to Great Britain, of the person then exercising episcopal functions among the Catholics in London,—and in respect to Ireland, of the *titular* (*sic*) Catholic archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, should be commissioners for the purposes thereafter mentioned." The commissioners thus appointed were to take an oath for the discharge of their office and observance of secrecy, similar to the former ; they were to employ the same secretary ; and three of them were to form a quorum. The bill then ordered that "subjects of His Majesty receiving any Bull, dispensation, or other instrument from the See of Rome, or any person in foreign parts acting under the au-

thority of that See, should, within six weeks, send a copy of it, signed with his name, to the secretary of the commissioners; who should transmit the same to them, but with a proviso, that if the person receiving the same should deliver to the secretary of the commissioners, within the time before prescribed, a writing under his hand, certifying the fact of his having received such a Bull, dispensation, or other instrument, and accompanying his certificate with an oath, declaring that 'it related, wholly and exclusively, to spiritual concerns, and that it did not contain or refer to any matter or thing which did or could, directly or indirectly, affect or interfere with the duty and allegiance which he owed to His Majesty's sacred person and government, or with the temporal, civil, and social rights, properties, or duties of any other of His Majesty's subjects,'—then the commissioners were, in their discretion, to receive such certificate and oath, in lieu of the copy of the Bull, dispensation, or other instrument." Persons conforming to these provisions were to be exempted from all pains and penalties to which they would be liable under the existing statutes; otherwise, they were to be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and, in lieu of the pains and penalties under the former statutes, be liable to be sent out of the kingdom. The third set of clauses provided that, within a time to be specified, the commissioners were to meet and appoint their secretary, and give notice of it to His Majesty's principal secretaries of state in Great Britain and Ireland; and the provisions of the Act were to be in force from that time. As soon as the addition of these mischievous clauses to the bill had been made known to Milner, who had been vicar-apostolic of the Midland District since 1803, he bent all his energies to thwart designs which he openly stigmatized as schismatical. Hastening to London, he arrived on May 19, and two days afterward every member of parliament received a printed copy of the *Brief Memorial*, which he had speedily prepared when he found that he could expect no aid from Poynter, the vicar-apostolic of the London District. "I shall be baited like a bull," he says, "but I am ready to encounter the white bears of Hudson's Bay and the kangaroos of Botany Bay,

rather than yield. I would willingly endure all sorts of sufferings for my own sins, but for the sins of the episcopacy I have nothing to answer" (1).

The three other vicars-apostolic had determined to offer no opposition to the actuation of the Vetoistic theories; therefore, on the morning of May 24, on the evening of which day the bill was to be taken up in committee, Milner made a final attempt to convert men whom he rightly regarded as perilously near to schism. He met Bishops Poynter and Collingridge in presence of two Catholic lords and several gentlemen; and, writes Husebeth, "he read three questions from a written paper, as to whether the bill contained anything contrary to Catholic doctrine or discipline; whether a Catholic could be a commissioner under the bill; and whether a vicar-apostolic was not bound to speak out openly in opposition to the bill. The other two bishops refused to answer these questions, 'though I showed,' says Dr. Milner, 'that by doing this they might, through the weight of the company then present, prevent their (the clauses) passing that very night. The conclusion of the conference was, that I answered these questions for myself in the manner that you will suppose, and in the most emphatical terms that occurred to me, and I charged my brethren, before God and the Church, with all the mischief which would arise from the expected Act'" (2). In Milner's own account of this fruitless conference (3), he says that he "maintained as incontestable, that if any two of the company present would go down to the House of Commons, and inform Mr. Grattan that the vicars-apostolic had found clauses in the bill incompatible with the integrity or the safety of the Catholic religion, it would even then be stopped in its progress." But, Milner was constrained to add, "as this was the event which was dreaded by most of the company, much more than the religious evils with which it was pregnant, the writer's protestations and arguments were equally disregarded, and the instrument of schism was left to take its course" (4). However, the

(1) HUSEBETH; *Life of Milner*, p. 231.

(2) *Life of Milner*, p. 233.

(3) *Supplementary Memoirs*, p. 208.

(4) "Milner had done what he could. His own unsupported appeal to Grattan would have been of no avail; for Grattan, Canning, Castlereagh, Ponsonby, and the other friends

Church in England was saved from the miseries which the intrepid Milner foresaw as her portion, if the bill of 1813 were carried; but in the Providence of God she was rescued, not by the zeal of her sons, or by the watchfulness of her Doctors in Israel, but by the bigotry of one of her adversaries. The speaker of the House, Abbot (afterward Lord Colchester), having left the chair because the House had gone into Committee of the Whole, arose and moved that the words in the first clause of the bill, *to sit and vote in either House of Parliament*, should be omitted. The House divided; Abbot gained his point by a majority of four; and the bill was then abandoned. The day on which this great blessing was vouchsafed to the Church in the English dominions is the Feast of Our Lady, the Help of Christians.

The English Vetoists revenged themselves on Milner by expelling him from the Select Committee of the "Catholic Board," a body which was supposed to watch over Catholic interests in the kingdom; but this "Milner baiting," as it was termed at that time, was countenanced by neither the hierarchy nor the greater part of the laity of Catholic Ireland. The majority of the Irish Catholic *aristocracy* indeed joined the greater part of their class in England in the advocacy of Vetoistic principles—in an attempt to propagate in the United Kingdom those ideas which they termed "Cisalpine"

of emancipation, must have looked upon the question of the clauses as a party question amongst Catholics, in which Milner was on one side, and the other bishops and the great bulk of the aristocracy on the other. What were Milner's thoughts and feelings when, after the meeting, he walked back to his lodgings in Titchfield Street? If we may compare the two situations, what would have been the thoughts and feelings of the duke if, on the morning of the 18th of June, 1815, every man under his command had marched off to Brussels, leaving him standing alone facing the French army? And let us remember that Milner loved his duty to the Church, threatened with a schismatical attack, far more even than Wellington loved his duty to England threatened with invasion. Milner was a man with strong feelings, and his suffering must have been acute. But he was also a man of strong convictions, and of a will immovable when he knew he was in the right. Opposition only made him more determined. The words in which Sir Walter sings the praises of the 'evergreen pine' might be applied to Milner:

'Moor'd in the rifted rock,
Proof to the tempest's shock,
Firmer he roots him the ruder it blow.'

This disposition in Milner must have greatly helped him through his many battles. And so the sturdy and disappointed bishop went to his home in London that evening, 'the success of the bill, on its third reading, being,' as he tells us, 'as confidently anticipated to take place in the course of a few hours as the rising of the sun the next morning.'" AM-
■ERST; *loc. cit.*, ch. 20.

in order to manifest their detestation of "Ultramontaniam"; but in full sympathy with Milner as the champion of really Catholic principles, and with probably the entire middle class of the English Catholics, were the then five millions of Catholic Irish laymen, headed by their thirty indomitable bishops. On the very day, and as Milner notes in his *Supplementary Memoirs*, at the very hour when a revolutionary minority of misguided English Catholics were trying to disgrace their noblest leader, twenty-seven of the Irish prelates met in Synod in Dublin, and declared that "Certain ecclesiastical clauses or securities contained in the bill are utterly incompatible with the discipline of the Catholic Church," and that they "could not assent to those regulations without incurring the heavy guilt of schism." The vote of approbation was worded as follows:—"Resolved, that the Right Rev. Dr. John Milner, Bishop of Castabala, our vigilant, incorruptible agent (1), the powerful and unwearied champion of the Catholic religion, continues to possess our esteem, our confidence, and our gratitude." On the 15th of June, a large meeting of the Catholics of Dublin was held in that city, and on the motion of O'Connell, who had been for about three years the acknowledged leader of the Irish Catholics, a vote of thanks was passed to Bishop Milner, "for his manly, upright, and conscientious opposition" to the bill. Many other Irish cities and towns sent similar encouragement to him who might have been, with all propriety, designated as the English O'Connell. But the struggle for the preservation of true Catholicism in the United Kingdom had by no means terminated. To some extent, victory had rested on the standard upheld by Milner. But, reflects Amherst, "Those to whom he was opposed were able and determined men. They were not inclined to give up their cause because so far they had not been successful. Milner, on his side, was not a man likely to surrender or to cease fighting. The time had not arrived when a younger man, and a layman, loyal to the Church, was to appear upon the scene, and, with a strong political power to back him, was to force on the question of emancipation freed from con-

(1) For many years Milner had been their authorized agent in London.

ditions which interfered with ecclesiastical discipline. Ten years had to elapse before O'Connell should form his Catholic Association. Milner then was an old man. He had earned his laurels. The strength of his arm was not needed in the fray when, sixteen years after the time I am writing of, the great political Hercules, wielding his gigantic political club, bore down upon bigots and Vetoists, and forced a way for himself and his followers to places from which Catholics had been so long shut out." Until Catholic Emancipation was finally extorted, this question of State interference in purely ecclesiastical affairs continued to agitate the Catholic mind in England and Ireland; but with the definitive abrogation of the Penal Laws in 1829 the hideous spectre vanished, let it be hoped, for all time. When the final measure was introduced by Peel, he gave, wittingly or not, this testimony to the victory which, though won by O'Connell, had been prepared by Bishop Milner: "A veto on the nomination of the Catholic bishops," said Peel, as he is quoted in the *Annual Register* for 1829, "was another security which had been contained in former proposed bills; but that, too, he would give up. His objection to it was, that it would be considered, and not unjustly, as *the commencement of a qualified Establishment with regard to the Roman Catholic Church*. He objected to it, not that he thought this an unreasonable demand on the part of the Crown, but because he thought that, if we had sent to us a list of the names of candidates for the dignity of Catholic bishops in Ireland, it would be extremely difficult to free ourselves from the responsibility that must attach to our choice. We, in fact, would thus be parties to the nomination of Roman Catholic bishops, and would commence a qualified establishment for that Church which, above all things, under existing circumstances, it was desirable to avoid. At once, then, he abandoned the idea of a veto—first, because it afforded no rational security; and in the second place, because objections might *possibly* be made by the Roman Catholics toward our exercise of such a power, which objections it was not worth while to raise." Undoubtedly it was "not worth while" for Peel to risk any ob-

jections to his bill. He had been defeated in the matter of the Veto ; and civil war was the alternative, if the bill lacking the provision for a Veto were not carried in that session of parliament.

We now direct the attention of the reader to the progress of Catholic Emancipation in Ireland ; and for that purpose we would, in the first place, quote some apposite reflections of Amherst. " Though the history of the emancipation of English Catholics be a matter of more interest, as relating to our immediate home affairs, still what was done in Ireland by her own people toward gaining the freedom of British subjects is of greater importance, because it brought into action a great political power—the only great political power which the Catholics of the British Isles possess. The political power of Ireland is the political power of Catholics in the United Kingdom. An English Catholic has many things to be proud of. There is a great deal in our past history of which we may justly boast. England, as well as Ireland, was at one time entitled to be called, as she was called, an Island of Saints. The history of England, when England was Catholic, though there are many blots upon its leaves, presents many centuries of wisdom and strength in government, of steady progress and persevering energy in its people, and of bravery and glory in war. Though an English Catholic has to lament that brute force drove the Church out of the land, leaving only a handful of members who were to form the stock out of which, in after years, true religion was again to grow, yet he has to rejoice in the fidelity of that handful, and to thank God for the increase He has given in our days. . . . The Catholics of Ireland have much more to boast of than we have. They have preserved the faith as a nation ; they possess great political power ; they have, by emigrating in large numbers to England, increased the Catholic population, and contributed a large share of whatever importance we may have in this country. In the highest interests which we have in this world, we and the Catholics of Ireland stand on the same ground ; we have the same rights to demand, and the same rights to defend when gained. It is our interest to keep up as close a connection

as we can in every respect with Irish Catholics. . . . The power of Ireland is the power of the Catholic Church in the United Kingdom. To keep that power strong ought to be an object in the conduct of every English Catholic ; it is difficult to see how it is not a positive duty. . . . If it were generally known throughout the Empire that English Catholics were faithful to the only power which they possess in Parliament, and that they looked upon the power of Ireland as a man in the midst of a shower of arrows would look upon his shield, English Catholics would be regarded as men of sense, and as men of moral courage, and as such they would be respected. The power of Ireland, too, would be more thought of and brought into account" (1). The source of the power so well recognized in these words was the Catholic Association of 1828 ; but that great engine of political action had its precursors, and the first of these was the movement of the Confederates of 1642. For the purpose of obtaining freedom of conscience, of maintaining the just prerogatives of the crown (violated by the English parliamentarians), and of procuring for the Irish all the privileges enjoyed by the English, a National Association was formed, the members swearing to uphold the free and public exercise of the Catholic worship, as well as to bear true faith and allegiance to King Charles, defending him against all who would endeavor to subvert the royal prerogative, the just powers of parliament, and the real rights of the subject (2). With the triumph of the Cromwellian murderers in Ireland, this confederacy came to an end ; and not until 1727 was there any united action on the part of the Irish Catholics. George I. had just died ; and as it was believed that most of the ferocious Acts of his reign, as well as those of Queen Anne, had been designed to punish the Irish for not having presented loyal addresses to those sovereigns on their accession, a deputation of the principal Catholic families waited on the lords-justices in Dublin Castle, presenting an address which Mitchell terms "humble and congratulatory" (3), and which Sheil stigmatizes as "servile" (4).

(1) *Loc. cit.*, ch. 10.(2) LINGARD ; *History of England*, at year 1642.(3) MITCHELL ; *History of Ireland*, Vol. i., p. 88.(4) SHEIL ; *Legal and Political Sketches*, Vol. II., p. 159.

Whether or not this document was forwarded to the king is still unknown ; what might have been regarded as a reply came very soon in the shape of that statute (*1. Geo. II., Ch. 9, Sec. 7*), which deprived the Irish Catholics of the right of voting for members of Parliament—a right which they had hitherto enjoyed. The next association of Catholics was occasioned in 1728 by the introduction of a bill forbidding Catholics to practise as solicitors. “Several Catholics in Cork and in Dublin,” writes Sheil, “raised a subscription to defray the expense of opposing the bill ; and an apostate priest gave information of this conspiracy (for so it was called) to bring in the Pope and the Pretender. The transaction was referred to a committee of the House of Commons, who actually reported that five pounds had been collected, and resolved ‘that it appeared to them, that under pretence of opposing heads of bills, sums of money had been collected and a fund established by the Popish inhabitants of this kingdom, highly detrimental to the Protestant interest’ ” (1). The reader will have perceived that the combinations just mentioned could not be regarded as organizations ; but in 1757 the first step toward real organization was taken by the formation of the first Irish “Catholic Committee.” Mitchell, whose accuracy in stating facts has never been impugned, whatever may be the judgment one may form concerning his political theories, thus describes the act of injustice which gave birth to the Catholic Committee: “A young Catholic girl named O’Toole was importuned by some of her friends to conform to the Established Church ; to avoid this persecution, she took refuge in the house of another friend and relative, a Catholic merchant in Dublin, named Saul. Legal proceedings were at once taken against Saul, in the name of a Protestant connection of the young lady. Of course, the trial went against Saul, and on this occasion he was assured from the bench that papists had no rights, inasmuch as ‘the law did not presume a papist to exist in the kingdom ; nor could they so much as breathe there without the connivance of Government’ ” (2). It was in order to protect the Catholics from injustices like that displayed in the Saul

(1) *Loc. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 159.(2) *History of Ireland*, Vol. I., p. 125.

case, that the Catholic Committee was formed. In 1759 the English Government recognized this body as representing the Irish Catholics; and quite prudently, since, as Theobald Wolfe Tone, as quoted by Sheil, tells us that it was composed of "the bishops, the county gentlemen, and of a certain number of merchants and tradesmen, all resident in Dublin, but named by the Catholics in the different towns corporate to represent them" (1). For many years the committee displayed great vigor. Thus, availing itself of the difficulties into which the revolt of the American colonies had plunged the English government, it extorted several consecutive concessions, until finally it obtained the Act of 1782, which allowed Catholics to buy, sell, and transfer real estate. In 1793 the Committee, under the leadership of John Keogh, obtained the elective franchise for the Irish Catholics, a right which their English brethren did not receive until 1829. Then followed an agitation for the right to sit in Parliament; but this movement was paralyzed by the rising of 1798 and by the Act of Union which followed. In January, 1808, Daniel O'Connell, the future Great Liberator of the Catholics of the United Kingdom, began to take the lead in Irish Catholic affairs. The occasion was furnished by a meeting of the Committee which had been ordered for a consideration of the advisability of an immediate petition to Parliament for the total abrogation of the Penal Laws. The negative was urged by some of their number, supported by the opinion of John Keogh, who was, however, prevented by illness from attending the meeting in person. His object was said to be founded on the idea that it was "beneath the dignity of the Catholic body to petition so repeatedly," and that it would be more advisable for them to remain quiet, watching in "dignified silence" the course of events and the conduct of their parliamentary friends. O'Connell was the principal speaker in opposition to any delay in presenting the petition; he gained his point; and, in the words of O'Rourke, in his *Centenary Life of O'Connell*, "at this meeting, the policy of delay, well meant, no doubt, may be said to have come to

(1) The persons most active in forming this committee were Dr. Curry, the author of the *Historical Review Of The Civil Wars*; Mr. Wyse of Waterford; Charles O'Connor of Balanagare; and Lords Fingall, Taaffe, and Delvin.

an end; and O'Connell's immortal flag, bearing the words 'Agitate! Agitate!' was hoisted, and the nation rallied around it, and fought under it, until it won complete unqualified Emancipation. O'Connell was now the undisputed leader of the Irish people." Mitchell, when speaking of this meeting, says: "O'Connell's influence was, even thus early, very powerful in softening down irritation, soothing jealousies, and inspiring self-abnegation, for the sake of the common cause. It was this great quality, not less than his commanding ability, which made him, soon afterward, the acknowledged head of the Catholic cause." Plowden says: "The meeting was preserved in unanimity by the power of Mr. O'Connell's eloquence." And Sheil, in concluding his notice of Keogh, writes as follows:—"He had been previously defeated in a public assembly by a young barrister, who had begun to make a figure at the Bar, to which he was called in the year 1798, and who, the moment he took part in politics, made a commanding impression. This barrister was Daniel O'Connell, who, in overthrowing the previous leader of the body upon a question connected with the propriety of persevering to petition the Legislature, gave proof of the extraordinary abilities which have been since so successfully developed." In 1810 there was a new organization of the Irish Catholics, under the immediate direction of O'Connell. The organization consisted of permanent boards holding communication with the general committee in Dublin. In the following year, 1811, the Government put down the committee by prosecuting some of the members for a breach of the Convention Act. Shortly after this a "Catholic Board" was established; but that again was suppressed in 1814. But the agitation, says Mitchell, "took the form of Aggregate Meetings, thus avoiding all possibility of incurring the penalties of the Convention Act; while the meetings were even more useful than the Board in arousing the people, diffusing sound information as to their rights and their wrongs, and keeping up a continual public commentary upon current events."

When the final fall of Napoleon had allowed the potentates of Europe to draw free breath, and when, therefore,

there was no more need of Irish soldiers to enable England to perform her part in crushing the "Corsican usurper," the English House of Commons became indifferent to the grievances of their Catholic fellow-subjects; and this callousness endured until 1821, when a majority of six declared in favor of some show of justice. But between 1813, the period which Canning assigned as the abandonment of the Catholic question (1), and the year 1821, when Plunket obtained his majority, the Catholics did not fail to present several petitions for relief to parliament. Meanwhile they were consoled by the knowledge that the Holy See, much as it yearned for their emancipation, would not consent to any such compromise of Catholic interests as the English government, in its most conciliatory moments, sustained by the misguided Vetoists, persistently urged for their acceptance. A brief narrative of the decision pronounced by Pope Pius VII. on this matter of English governmental interference in English and Irish Catholic affairs is necessary. When Napoleon, having left his prison-kingdom of Elba, entered upon his brilliant but unsuccessful campaign for the restoration of the Empire, Murat, whom the allies had allowed to retain the usurped throne of Naples, marched his army toward Rome. Pius VII. fled from his capital, and took up his residence in Genoa, then temporarily garrisoned by England. The Pontiff entered the Ligurian metropolis on April 8; and on April 26 Cardinal Litta, prefect of the Propaganda, in the name of His Holiness, addressed to Bishop Poynter, vicar-apostolic of the London District, a letter which was a complete vindication of the stand taken by Bishop Milner against the Vetoists. It is worthy of note, as Milner himself remarked, that in this letter "no dereliction of principles, or other unworthy concession of Catholic principles to Protestant prejudice, is to be found, although the Pope and cardinals were then completely in the power of the British government." The cardinal-prefect begins by stating that he has been ordered to inform Bishop Poynter of "His Holiness' ideas (2) respecting the conditions

(1) Thus in the House of Commons in 1825.

(2) We use the translation by Charles Butler.

that would be allowed, with a view of enabling the Catholics to obtain from the government the wished-for bill of emancipation. His Holiness, before whom, in compliance with my duty, I have laid the whole transaction, having been again compelled by the present unexpected conjuncture to absent himself from Rome before he was able to finish the examination of that affair, which he had begun a long time since, is unwilling, consistently with his eminent prudence, to pronounce his final sentence concerning a matter of such great moment. He has, however, been pleased to communicate to me his sentiments with regard to the only terms which, *after rejecting all those that have been hitherto proposed* (1), his dear Catholic children of Great Britain may admit with a safe conscience, should the bill of emancipation, as has long been expected, have passed." His Holiness considered that a simple Oath of Allegiance, on the part of a bishop-elect, was sufficient "security" for the English government; but the cardinal says: "Nevertheless, to their more ample satisfaction, His Holiness will feel no hesitation in allowing those to whom it appertains, to present to the king's ministers a list of candidates, in order that if any of them should be obnoxious or suspected, the government may immediately point him out, so as that he may be expunged; care, however, being taken to leave a sufficient number for His Holiness to choose therefrom, individuals whom he may deem best qualified in the Lord for governing the vacant churches."

As to the Vetoistic willingness to allow the government to inspect all correspondence of the bishops with Rome, His Eminence says: "As for the examination of the receipt, to

(1) Although Milner finds no fault with Butler's translation of this letter, it may be observed that the clause "after rejecting all those that have been hitherto proposed" is a minimizing translation of the pontifical *OMNINO rejectis aliis quibuscunque propositis*, which really signifies "absolutely rejecting all other propositions, of every kind whatsoever." Commenting on this condemnatory clause, Milner reminds us that the Pontiff wished to stigmatize Sir John Throckmorton's admission of "a direct appointment by the crown"; also Ponsonby's recognition of a royal "unlimited negative, which would have had the effect of making the king Head of the Catholic Church"; also Charles Butler's scheme of "a lay domination in a divinely constituted Episcopal Church"; also the pet idea of certain Irish Catholics—a "domestic nomination," based on "*a Concordat between the Pope and the bishops*"; and finally also the concession made by Milner himself—a recognition of a loyal "limited negative, confined to avowed charges of disloyalty or sedition against the candidate."

which I have alluded above, or what is called the *Regium Exequatur*, it cannot even be made a subject of negotiation. For your lordship well knows, that as such a practice must essentially affect the free exercise of that supremacy of the Church which has been given in trust by God, it would assuredly be criminal to permit or transfer it to any lay power, and indeed such a permission has never anywhere been granted." It is true that by this letter Pius VII. did not intend to pronounce "a final sentence... in a matter of such great moment"; but certainly the decisions seem to be peremptory, and it is certain that while from that day there have been in parliament several attempts to resuscitate the rejected theories, they have never since been made subjects of negotiation with the Holy See. The prudent economy displayed by the Roman Pontiff in his letter to Bishop Poynter did not satisfy the Irish bishops. The reader must judge whether the bounds of respect were passed by the Irish hierarchy when, in a meeting held in Dublin on Aug. 23, 1815, they adopted these resolutions: "Resolved—That though we sincerely venerate the Supreme Pontiff as Visible Head of the Church, we do not conceive that our apprehensions for the safety of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland can or ought to be removed by any determination of His Holiness adopted, or intended to be adopted, not only without our concurrence, but in direct opposition to our repeated resolutions and the very energetic memorial presented on our behalf, and so ably supported by our deputy, the Most Rev. Dr. Murray, who in that quality was more competent to inform His Holiness of the real state and interests of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland than any other with whom he is said to have consulted. ... Resolved—That a declaration of these our sentiments, respectful, firm, and decided, be transmitted to the Holy See, which, we trust, will engage His Holiness to feel and acknowledge the justness and propriety of this our determination." This document was signed by the four archbishops, by the coadjutors of two of them, and by the warden of Galway. Two prelates, Murray, coadjutor to the archbishop of Dublin, and Bishop Murphy of Cork, were deputed to pro-

ceed to Rome, and to protest against the instructions given by His Holiness through the prefect of Propaganda. In the audience which the Pontiff graciously accorded to them on Nov. 5, 1815, the two deputies patronizingly "conjured the Pope not to sanction any measure destructive to religion" (1). Of course the gentle Pius VII. hearkened patiently to this advice; but its consequence was a letter to the Irish hierarchy confirming the arrangements which he had proposed through Cardinal Litta, and alluding to the Irish protest as having produced in his mind "a deep sense of concern," as well as some "pain." This important letter, which is given in full by Charles Butler (2), is dated from St. Mary Major's, Feb. 1, 1816. We cite only the following passage: "It is unquestionably evident that what we have done" (that is, in the letter of Cardinal Litta) "amounts only to this: we have agreed to act steadily toward the British Government, according to the same rule, useful in itself, founded in prudence, which our predecessors the Roman Pontiffs, even before those times when the nomination of bishops was granted to princes, determined in their wisdom to maintain as effectually as might be; that is, not to promote to vacant sees any persons whom they might know to be displeasing to the powers under whom the dioceses to be administered by them were situated—which rule, far from being considered injurious to the Church, and far from having brought any evil on it, is justly approved of and praised by all." Milner's account of this portion of the letter is as follows:—"His Holiness proves that he has not conferred any power of nomination, presentation, or postulation on the British Government contrary to the terms of the declaration of Benedict XIV., made to the king of Prussia; but that he had barely signified to the prelates themselves how far, and no farther, he was willing to proceed in the event of a complete emancipation taking place, namely, that when they themselves had in each instance made out lists of clergymen qualified in every respect for the episcopal functions and dignity, the civil government, if it suspected the principles of any of them, might object to the promotion of a cer-

(1) HUSENBETH; *Life of Milner*, p. 310.(2) *Historical Memoirs*, Vol. iv., at end.

tain number of them, yet so as to leave a sufficient number of names on the list for the Holy See to exercise its judgment in the appointment of one of them. His Holiness strongly argues that *as all the candidates are to be chosen by the Catholic prelates, and as the ultimate appointment of some one among them in every instance will rest with himself*, there can be no danger of unfit or unworthy candidates being promoted, to the detriment of the Catholic religion" (1). The Irish Catholics took no comfort from this pontifical explanation; and to add to their discontent, came the news that Father Hayes, a Franciscan friar whom they had sent to Rome in 1815 to perorate their cause, had been expelled from the Papal States, without having obtained from the Pope any answer to the Irish "Remonstrance," which, according to his own showing, he had presented in a very unsubmitive manner. In July, 1817, the Irish Catholic Board sent a second Remonstrance to the Holy See, reiterating their supposed grievances, and complaining of the treatment accorded to their delegate by the "political minister," Cardinal Consalvi. On Feb. 21, 1818, Pope Pius VII. replied to this Remonstrance. His Holiness informs the Catholics of Ireland that he did not answer their first letter, firstly, because its tone displeased him; and secondly, because his letter to the bishops, of the 1st of February, 1816, was a sufficient answer to the matters contained in the Remonstrance, and that the prelates could have communicated that answer to the laity. The Pontiff then proceeds to explain to the Irish Catholics the spirit in which any concession would be made to the government as the price of emancipation. All that His Holiness says is in accordance with the letter of Cardinal Litta to Bishop Poynter, and with his own letter to the Irish prelates. His tone is paternal, and the admonition is given in such a way that no offence could be taken in Ireland. His Holiness evidently appreciated the anxiety which the Irish laity showed concerning the Veto. But in the third part of the letter Friar Hayes is denounced in the strongest terms. He is accused of abusing "the hospitality which he enjoyed in Rome"; he is charged with conducting

(1) *Supplementary Memoirs*, p. 238.

himself in a manner "altogether unbecoming a man professing a religious institute"; he is censured for his "arrogance and audacity"; his expulsion from Rome is justified; and the letter concludes by saying: "That same man of whom we speak, since his return to his own country, has not changed his line of conduct; for, in the public journals of the 17th day of last December, printed in Dublin, we have seen a report delivered by him to you, of his proceedings in this city. Like his former writings, it is full of falsehood and calumnies, to which report, therefore, we most unreservedly declare to you that no credit should be attached" (1). Concerning this episode of the struggle for Emancipation, the judicious Amherst makes some very apposite reflections: "When Cardinal Consalvi saw that the Irish, through their deputy in Rome, were strongly opposing any interference whatever on the part of the English Government in the choice of bishops—even that limited interference which had been sanctioned by Pope Pius—His Eminence was naturally extremely annoyed, and was afraid his negotiations with England (for Emancipation) might be injured. The indiscreet conduct of Mr. Hayes afforded Consalvi a plea for demanding the expulsion of his opponent from Rome. . . . There were some Catholics in England who thought that the Irish laity were wrong in sending any remonstrance to the Pope on the subject of the Veto. I judge such to be the case from the perusal of a long article written by Andrews in the *Orthodox Journal*. The ground which Andrews takes is, that the appointment of bishops being a purely ecclesiastical matter, the Irish bishops having addressed the Pope on the subject, and His Holiness having written to them a final reply, it was no business of the laity to interfere. We have seen that Pope Pius tells the Irish laity that they might have been content with the answer he had sent to their bishops. But still, there is nothing in the Pope's words which can be ascribed as anything approaching to severe blame. Nor, indeed, could any impartial person, calmly and sensibly viewing all the circumstances,

(1) *Calumniis referatum, cui propterea nullam esse adhibendam fidem, vobis apertissime declaramus.*

impute positive blame to the action taken by the Irish Catholic Board. Cardinal Consalvi, looking at the Veto question chiefly from a political point of view, may have blamed, and no doubt did in private blame, the conduct of the laity. But in objecting to the Remonstrance, his action in this particular would seem to justify the proceedings of those of whom he complained. The interference of His Eminence in the question can only be justified on the ground that it was one which involved civil and political matter. But if the question of the Veto concerned politics in Rome, it was because it concerned politics in Ireland. Cardinal Litta also may have been a little annoyed that the affair had not been allowed to rest after his last letter to the Irish bishops; but he could hardly have blamed the remonstrants when he saw the action of the political minister, the Hanoverian ambassador (1), and the English and Irish intriguers who were then in Rome. It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, that the letter of Pope Pius should have contained only mild terms in speaking of the interference of the Irish board. The appointment of bishops, though a purely ecclesiastical affair, is one of the greatest political importance to the Irish. It is a vital matter that no right of interference should be conceded to the English government which would prevent the Supreme Pontiff from appointing prelates acceptable to the Irish nation. The Holy Father should not be made in the smallest degree the means of enabling English statesmen to govern Ireland on British and Protestant principles. . . . When everybody else was allowed to talk and intrigue as they pleased, could it have been said that the staunch Irish Catholics, who stood up for the freedom of the Pope, even at the

(1) The reader must know that any minister of England who held political communication with the Vatican, thereby incurred the dreadful penalties of a *præmunire*, and that the English Government, until the death of King William IV., used to transact business with the Roman Court through the Hanoverian ambassador at Rome, the king of England having been, since the accession of George I., also king of Hanover. England stood, in this respect, remarks Amherst, in a very absurd position. "She had been assisting the Pope with troops and ships against Napoleon, and paying court to his ambassador to Paris; but when there was a question of diplomatic communications, she drew herself up and assumed the ridiculously pompous position of the Grand Master of the Templars, in Sir Walter Scott's *Tevanhoc*, when Isaac of York presented his petition. The words of Beaumanoir to Conrad may be slightly changed as follows: 'Back, sir! I touch not Papists, save with the rope. Ompteida; take thou the letter from the Pope.'"

sacrifice of their own liberties, were not to interfere, and that they alone were to remain silent and inactive when their opponents were at work? Pope Pius VII. would never have consented to such a proposition. He wished only to chide the Irish Board for a little over-zeal in the cause of the liberties of the Church and of their own" (1).

We have already remarked that King George III., despite his frequent personal relations of kindness with certain Catholics, was prevented from countenancing a total abrogation of the Penal Laws by what he was pleased to term a scruple of conscience. This scruple, which, by the way, had been generated in the royal mind by Lord's Clare and Loughborough (2), had not been shared by the Prince of Wales during the years previous to 1810, when his father's permanent relapse into insanity caused the passage of an Act constituting him regent of the kingdom. But from almost the very day of his assumption of the regency, the future George IV. changed his ostensibly Whig sentiments for those of the Tories; and naturally a change came over his quondam sympathy with the "Catholic claims." Probably the reason for this change of views was indicated by Lord Campbell when he wrote that "The more probable solution (of the problem) was the effect of the possession of royal power, which was supposed to have indisposed His Royal Highness to any concession to the Catholics, or any extension of popular rights, and induced him to look with preference to those who were for carrying the power of the crown to the highest pitch. His Royal Highness, at a subsequent period, certainly manifested an entire change of opinion on the

(1) *Loc. cit.*, Vol. ii., ch. 29.

(2) The Hon. G. T. Kenyon, in his *Life of Lord Kenyon*, says: "Lord Clare, the Irish Chancellor, and it is generally supposed also Lord Loughborough, the English Chancellor, raised the first scruple in the mind of George III. on the subject of emancipation and the coronation oath. Lord Kenyon, the Lord Chief Justice, being asked for his advice by the king, gave it that his oath did not preclude him from signing an Emancipation Act, *if in the opinion of the king such an Act would not destroy or essentially affect the government of the Established Church*. The king was peculiarly susceptible to anything which reflected, or might seem to the world to reflect, on his honor. And thus the idea that any concession to the Catholics would be an infringement of the oath, took so deep a root in an ill-regulated mind, enfeebled by disease, that no argument or persuasion, even from those whose opinions he most valued, could ever afterwards eradicate it. The motives, however mistaken, which guided him, must be universally held in respect, though they will now almost universally be acknowledged to have occasioned most deplorable results."

question of Catholic Emancipation, and showed that he became thoroughly reconciled to his father's high prerogative principles of government; but I am inclined to think that as yet he was actuated only by personal motives" (1). Certainly no one who is acquainted with the private life of this prince can suppose him to have been accessible to religious scruples. As for his coronation oath, if he ever considered the matter seriously, and with a view to justice alone, he realized full well that his own and the Protestant interpretation of that oath rendered the taking and the keeping of it, not the violation of it, a sinful and detestable thing. And what regard for the sanctity of an oath could have been entertained by the man who, for merely political reasons—for the purpose of retaining his right of succession to the crown,—had trampled on his marriage vows by the repudiation of his Catholic wife, Maria Fitz Herbert, a woman, too, whom he seems to have loved, more than he ever loved any one of his innumerable paramours, with such modicum of real affection as his brutal heart was capable of cherishing? No respect for an oath troubled this man when, in order to obtain from parliament money which would have been denied if he had admitted that he was married to a Catholic, he authorized Fox to deny his marriage in the House of Commons. How his porcine obstinacy was compelled to yield to the claims of a tardily recognized political expediency, but without a thought of the dictates of justice, will soon be manifested.

In July, 1821, the people of Ireland learned that for the first time since they had been subjected to the English crown, a reigning English monarch was about to set foot in their island without hostile weapons in his hands. The motive which impelled George IV. to this condescension must be ever a matter of conjecture. English statesmen then declared that he was actuated by a pure love of the sister-isle. *Credat Judeus Apella!* Very many, even among his flatterers, insisted that his unpopularity in England, produced by his outrageous persecution of the German princess whom he had located as Queen Caroline in the

(1) *Life of Lord Eldon*, v. 276.

place of his wife, led him to seek for a counter demonstration on the other side of the Channel. O'Connell declared: "He came to Ireland to humbug the Catholics, who, he thought, would take sweet words instead of useful deeds. We were not to be humbugged" (1). The royal visit lasted from Aug. 12 to Sept. 3; and during the three weeks of feasting, His Majesty made so many promises in favor of his Catholic subjects, that hope began to dawn in the breasts of many who had been the most distrustful of Protestant sincerity in regard to Papists. We read in the *Life of Lord Eldon* that the king "half believed himself that he was sincere," and that Eldon became so frightened, that he straightway engineered the royal departure. O'Connell was severely censured for his extraordinary courtesy toward the king, and toward even the Orange-Tory party, during this visit; but probably Canon O'Rourke has reason on his side, when he asks us to bear in mind that the great Liberator "was always an enthusiastic advocate for union among Irishmen, and that he, moreover, believed that attempts to promote union were attended with benefit, and that even the semblance of union was useful. The king's visit offered a most happy opportunity for promoting this union, and he, by his conduct, placed himself on this firm logical ground—that if the attempt to effect a patriotic union among his countrymen failed, that failure could by no possibility be attributed to him" (2). Moreover it is certain that much of the blame visited on O'Connell because of his

(1) O'NEILL DAUNT: *Personal Recollections of O'Connell*, Vol. i., p. 131. After stating that O'Connell gave this opinion to him, Daunt narrates the following interesting anecdote: "I have had," said O'Connell, "the honor of sustaining some royal abuse. William IV. scolded me in a royal speech; but George IV. had previously bestowed a most royal malediction on me. I attended the first levée after the Emancipation bill passed; the wretched king was suffering from an utterly broken constitution, and the presence-chamber was kept as thin as it was possible, to preserve him from inconvenient crowding. When I got into the midst of it, approaching the throne, I saw the lips of His Majesty moving; and thinking it possible he might be speaking to me, I advanced, in order to make, if requisite, a suitable reply. He had ceased to speak—I kissed hands and passed on. In some days, I saw a mysterious paragraph in a Scotch newspaper, remarking on the strange mode in which an Irish subject had been received by his prince, who was stated to have vented a curse at him. I happened to meet the Duke of Norfolk, and asked him if he could explain the paragraph. 'Yes,' said he, 'you are the person alluded to. The day you were at the levée, His Majesty said, as you were approaching: 'There is O'Connell!—'G—d damn the scoundrel!'"

(2) *Centenary Life of O'Connell*, p. 119.

conduct on this occasion was unmerited, being based on reports which were absolutely mendacious, as he showed in his reply to the article entitled *O'Connell's Inconsistencies*, which had appeared in the *Dublin Courier* (1).

Out of deference to the judgment of Plunket, who then had charge of the Catholic interests in the House of Commons, the question of general Catholic Emancipation was not brought before Parliament in 1822; but Canning introduced a bill allowing Catholic peers to sit in the House of Lords. When the Commons had passed the bill by a majority of twelve, and the Lords had rejected it by a majority of forty-two, a meeting of the Catholic Committee was called, and O'Connell urged the members to use all their influence to induce the Irish priests to take an active part in the politics of their country—a course which they had hitherto scrupulously avoided: "Gentlemen, we have a power that has never yet been called into the field, one that must coerce them to do us justice, and that power is the

(1) Taking up each of these statements, O'Connell thus replied:—" *He procured a meeting to be held at the Exchange.*"—Quite untrue. The meeting was held at the nomination of the Lord Mayor. It was *procured* by a requisition, signed by nearly thirty noblemen and Protestant bishops. The Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Enniskillen, Lord Farnham, Dr. Trench, the Protestant Archbishop of Tuam, etc., were the leading requisitionists. My name was, as it ought to be, low, very low down in the requisition. It is, therefore, as much at variance with the truth as anything can be to say that I procured that meeting. "*He proposed a palace should be built for George IV.*"—Quite untrue. The proposal respecting the palace was moved by Lord Carbery, seconded by Colonel Cuffe. There were three plans for a national testimonial submitted to the meeting. The one was for a column, the second a palace, the third a bridge. I supported the second during the debate; but it is not true that the proposal was mine. It was, as I have said, proposed by Lord Carbery—with whom I am very slightly acquainted—seconded by Colonel Cuffe, a gentleman, I believe, I never saw before that day or since, and never spoke to in my life. See, then, how false it is to make me the *procurer* of the meeting, and the *proposer* of the palace. "*He promised that a million should be raised for this purpose.*"—Again, a pure invention. I never made any such promise. "*He pledged himself to give one thousand pounds a year, from his own income, for that purpose.*"—Totally untrue. I did, indeed, make a pledge to give an annual sum out of my income, but it was an annual sum of twenty guineas—£22 15s. of the then Irish currency—and no more! The vile accuser turns twenty guineas a year into only £1,000 a year!—that is all. "*He escorted His Majesty to Kingstown.*"—Quite untrue. I did not escort His Majesty at all that day. He was, in the morning, in the county Wicklow. I rode with some gentlemen to Kingstown, and there remained until the king's arrival. I did not see him at all until the arrival at Kingstown. "*He followed him (literally) into the sea, in order to present him with a laurel crown.*"—This is so circumstantially false, that it must be called, literally, a lie. I did not follow the king at all; nor did I go nearer the water, when presenting the laurel crown, than about twenty paces. "*He knelt in the water.*"—Totally untrue. I presented the crown to the king in a tent, the nearest part of which to the water was at least twenty paces from the water's edge. I presented it at the end of the tent farthest from the water, in as dry a place as ever king stood upon. I, of course, knelt on

priesthood of Ireland. In combining them with us, we bring to our aid learning, virtue, and influence, not belonging to any other class. Without them we cannot succeed. To succeed we MUST have them with us, and from this day forward." There was a majority against this proposal, and it was combatted with the most persevering opposition; but O'Connell was immovable, and at last succeeded. "The clergy," says Fagan, "were brought into the agitation, with what result it would be superfluous to say" (1). It was determined that Ireland should have a great "Catholic Association" which should include every Catholic in the land; and it was by means of this permanent and, despite the Convention Act, legal organization, that Emancipation was finally carried. Thomas Wyse, no enthusiastic admirer of O'Connell, thus speaks of the great tribune's fitness for the task of forming this Association: "To conceive such a plan, and still more to reduce it from theory into practice, required a mind of very peculiar temperament. It required the ardor of youth, and the sagacity of age; a nature which could delight in obstacle, which could draw strength from opposition, which could triumph over time, and defy delay. It required a man who, feared if not respected by the aristocracy, applauded by the citizens, should be idolized by the

one knee in presenting the crown; but so far is it from being true, that I was guilty of any unbecoming servility, that I did not even kiss the hand which the king held out to me for that purpose. *'He forgot his promises.'*—Quite untrue. I made no promises, save that of paying twenty guineas a year as my mite towards building a palace; and so far was I from forgetting that promise, that I was one of the *very, very few* who attended the committee, after the king's departure. There were plenty to attend while he was here; but the moment he was gone, there was no getting the subscribers to meet—there was no getting those who put down their names to pay their subscriptions. Nay, I persevered until after all hope was extinct; nor did I abandon the plan of a palace until we found it impossible to procure from one of the then judges the sum of thirty guineas which he had affixed to his name while the king was here. I then, and not till then, gave up the palace in despair, and left the bridge-builders to complete their plan: having first paid in my own subscription. The bridge has since been built. There is, therefore, nothing more untrue than the assertion that I forgot any promise of mine, or declined to fulfil it. *'He, not long after the king's departure, inveighed against His Majesty, in language which we cannot venture to inscribe.'* This indeed would establish me guilty of an inconsistency; but it does no such thing. Why? Because it is totally false. On the contrary, the fact is that I was reproached for years and years after the king's departure from Ireland, with being in the habit of speaking too favorably of the king. I was taunted with my complacency, not only in prose, but even in 'immortal verse.' But the fact is, before Emancipation, abuse of George IV. would have been such bad policy, that the enemies of religious liberty would gladly avail themselves of any such abuse, to render the king more desperate in his opposition."

(1) *Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell*, Vol. i., p. 26.

people ; a man who could touch with the spell most congenial to each, all those adverse and oftentimes conflicting natures. It required the audacious disdain of secondary considerations, the adventurous spirit of a fanatic, the intrepidity of a successful commander, the deep insight into his materials and resources, of an experienced general. It required a man who could view Irish interests through Ireland ; who, essentially Irish himself, knew where the national heart really lay, and could bend or drive it to every purpose ; a man, the reflection of the men on whom he had to act : the representative of their feelings, the organ of their desires, the speaker of their passions, and the reckless flatterer, at times, of their prejudices ; with an eloquence not of the schools only, but of the fields, not for one class, but for all,—a man doing what he recommended, and completing in the tedious details of the committee, what he had impetuously and often imperiously carried in the debate. Such a man, happily for the freedom and safety of the country, existed ; he had the fortune to conceive, and the resolution to execute :—The Catholic Association rose before him ” (1). Mr. John O’Connell, a son of the Liberator, thus describes the beginning of the organization. “ It has been stated that the first idea of a Catholic Association arose in a conversation between O’Connell and Sheil, in the house of a mutual friend in the County Wicklow, in the spring of 1823. The idea, however, had originated long before the rencontre in question, and it originated in Mr. O’Connell’s mind. He had been for some time revolving it, and maturing it in his thoughts, ere that event ; and the story had its rise from the simple circumstance of his having first mentioned his plan of a popular association, at a dinner party at Glencullen, the seat of C. Fitzsimon, Esq., the then residence of the late well known and respected T. O’Mara, Esq., where Mr. Sheil was also present. Mr. O’Connell then stated that his plan contemplated two classes of members, the one paying a pound, the other one shilling, a year—the working committee of the body to be chosen from the former class. . . . Mr. Sheil expressed doubts ;

(1) *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association*, Vol. I., p. 197.

he feared the plan would not work, and that the time was not very suitable for such an effort as the getting up a new association. Mr. O'Connell said he considered the time come, and that the plan would work—that, in fact, he would *make it work*" (1). The new Association progressed rapidly, and principally because O'Connell was its heart and soul. Although primarily warring on the enemies of the Catholics, the great agitator did not spare the feelings of his co-religionists when they deserved rebuke. In one of the first meetings, he particularly impressed upon the Catholics of Dublin that their supineness was inexcusable, in neglecting to preserve the rights to which the laws entitled them. By a culpable passiveness, he said, they sacrificed their own and their brethren's privileges to the freedom of the city of Dublin, to which they were eligible for the last thirty years. "Some few years since," continued Mr. O'Connell, "I undertook, at my own expense, to obtain for a man named Cole, the civic rights to which he was entitled, as having served his time to a *freeman*; but when he had gone through all the forms, and completely succeeded, the poor man died; and the *Hibernian Journal* announced the event by stating, that *God had miraculously saved the Corporation from the contamination of a Papist!*"

In 1824 O'Connell established the great engine which came to be known as the "Catholic Rent," designed to furnish the sinews of war by means of a monthly contribution of one penny from every Catholic in Ireland. By some, even patriotic men, the Rent was ridiculed, and styled the "beggar's tax," but it performed its work. But it soon began to frighten the Protestants; and Canon O'Rourke says that he knew a Protestant lady, who sent a pound as Catholic Rent to the Association, expressing in her letter a hope, that the Rent was not intended "*for powder and ball.*" This letter gave O'Connell the opportunity of repeating, in the most decided terms, his doctrine of peaceful and constitutional agitation. During the speech which O'Connell made on the 4th of February, 1824, in proposing the establishment of the Catholic Rent, he assumed that the Irish Catholics numbered seven

(1) *Memoirs and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M. P., By his Son.* Vol. II., p. 408

millions ; he did not, therefore, hesitate to say that it would “with very little exertion produce *one hundred and twenty-two thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven pounds ten shillings*. “He liked,” he said, “to give them down to the very *shillings of it*, and had there been pence, he would give them the pence too” (a laugh, and cheers). “Suppose, however,” he continued, “that the product was less than one-half that sum. Say it would be *fifty thousand* pounds, although one penny per month from each Catholic in Ireland ought surely to yield a sum considerably above that amount.” For practical purposes he assumed the Catholic Rent would bring in fifty thousand pounds annually, which he proposed should be employed in the following manner :—For parliamentary expenses, £5,000 ; for the services of the press, £15,000 ; for law proceedings, in preserving the legal privileges of the Catholics and prosecuting Orange aggressors, £15,000 ; for the purpose of education for the Catholic poor, £5,000 ; *for educating Catholic priests for the service of America*, £5,000 ; which items amount to £45,000. The remaining £5,000 a year was to accumulate in order to repair and build Catholic chapels and schools. However, calculations of income based on population, as O'Rourke remarks, are often deceptive, even when the government tax-man has the law at his back ; of course they are not reliable at all in the case of voluntary offerings. “To this the Catholic Rent was no exception. For the whole five years during which it was collected, it produced very little over £50,000, which sum was O'Connell's *reduced* estimate of income from it for *one* year.”

The month of December, 1824, witnessed the first prosecution of the Liberator by the government. At a meeting of the Association held on the 17th, O'Connell, probably incited by the presence of General O'Farrell Ambrose, an Irish Catholic who had been thirty-nine years in the Austrian service, and had seen thirty-four campaigns, declared that the *Dublin Courier* “had attacked the Catholics, and boasted that the Wellingtons, the Packs—in short that all the generals of the British army were Protestants. Why,” said O'Connell, “that is the *grievance*, not the *fault* of the Catholics. Was the *Courier* ignorant,” he continued, “that there was not a

foreign service, of which the Catholics were not at the head? Was the *Courier* aware that, when Maria Teresa instituted the order of the Cross of Military merit in Austria, of the first fifty individuals who were promoted to that honor, forty-two were Irish Catholics (hear, hear, and cheers). It was an extraordinary fact, but he (Mr. O'Connell) would pledge himself to procure the names of those distinguished individuals." Having reminded the British government that there was in Ireland such a thing as physical force which might one day be invoked by her sons, although he himself preferred constitutional agitation, the orator alluded to Bolivar, who had just triumphed in South America, and to the Greeks who were at that moment in revolt against the Turks. As reported in *Saunders's News Letter*, O'Connell said: "The Greeks were engaged in warfare for the recovery of their rights; they (the Catholics) trusted that their ends would be procured through more peaceable means. Nations had been driven mad by oppression. He hoped that Ireland would never be driven to the system pursued by the Greeks. He trusted in God they would be never so driven. He hoped Ireland would be restored to her rights; *but if that day should arrive, if she were driven mad by persecution, he wished that a new Bolivar might arise—that the spirit of the Greeks and of the South Americans might animate the people of Ireland!*" Three days afterward the orator was arrested on a charge of inciting to sedition; but the grand jury threw out the bills by a vote of fifteen to eight, and the majority of the English newspapers ridiculed the prosecution as a blunder. Nevertheless, the English government resolved to suppress the Catholic Association. When the parliament met on Feb. 3, 1825, the royal speech called on "the wisdom of parliament to consider without delay the means of applying a remedy to this evil." When it became evident that the Association was in danger of suppression, the largest meeting it had yet held convened on Feb. 9th. Resolutions were adopted, in which the proceedings of the Association were defended. One declared that the Association, in all its proceedings, had been most particular to act legally and constitutionally, and was guided not only by the letter, but by the spirit of the

existing laws—nay, more, that it manifested an unfeigned respect for the spirit of the Constitution ; that its proceedings were attended with the happiest effects, having quieted the fears of all the peaceable and loyal inhabitants of the country. On the same day, a petition to Parliament was adopted, praying that the Association might be heard by counsel at the bar of the House, to show cause why it ought not to be suppressed. But when the motion to hear the Association by counsel was put in parliament, it was rejected by a vote of 222 against 89 ; and then the bill for the suppression was passed by a majority of 146. However, despite this evident check to the aspirations of the Catholics, a report was credited, at that very time, that Emancipation would be effected in the parliamentary session then progressing. Plunket, the parliamentary manager for O'Connell, told him that all was settled, and that he should draw up the Emancipation Bill at once. On March 7th, O'Connell wrote to the Association announcing two clauses which he would embody in the measure—clauses which quite properly brought upon him showers of indignant protests. Treating of paragraph vii., he wrote : “ A provision is to be made for the Catholic clergy, which will enable them to give charity, instead of being almost the recipients of it.” And in paragraph viii., he announces that the elective franchise in *counties*, but not in cities, should be raised from 40s. to £5 or £10 (the sum does not seem to have been finally fixed). “ This alteration,” he says, “ was suggested by many members of parliament connected with government.” He approves of this, and says that the influence the forties gave the landlords was “ quite frightful ” ; and that, in his opinion, “ the raising of the qualification to five or even ten pounds would add to Catholic influence in Ireland.” But the Irish people did not fancy the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders ; and as for the pensioning of their clergy, in any form whatsoever, they would almost as readily have welcomed the *Veto*, against which their champion had fought so bravely. There was no need, however, for any intestine broil on this matter. Emancipation was still refused, even when coupled with the conditions which O'Connell had accepted. Fagan thinks that O'Connell was

treated with great perfidy in London on this occasion. He was led to believe that Emancipation was certain, once that it was accompanied by the "wings," as the obnoxious conditions were called. "Every one at the time in London, who was mixed up in the matter, believed it. Mr. Blake, the Chief Remembrancer, who was then in London, who was examined before the Committee on the state of Ireland, and who was also on terms of familiar intercourse with the leading political men of the day—he has often since stated his conviction, that the matter was settled. Lord Plunket was, as we have said, himself deceived, and was thus the means of deceiving O'Connell and the rest of the deputation. The system of deceit was carried so far as to induce O'Connell to attend the Duke of York's levee at the Horse Guards." It is not improbable that the government, fearful of the influence of O'Connell, hoped by means of his admission of the "wings" to embroil him with the Irish people. That the king had no intention of assenting to the bill, is shown by the fact that while O'Connell was framing the document, the Duke of York made his famous "So help me God" speech. The Dean and Chapter of Windsor had presented a petition "against any further concessions to the Catholics"; and His Royal Highness replied: "It is now twenty-five years since this measure was first brought into discussion. I cannot forget with what events that discussion was, at the time, connected—it was connected with the most serious illness of one now no more." He spoke of the impropriety of having Catholics legislating for the Protestant Church; but said there was a still more delicate question about the Coronation Oath; and he asked their lordships to consider the situation in which they placed the sovereign if they passed the bill. Finally, he said: "He had been for twenty-five years, ever since the question had been agitated, advocating the cause of Protestant ascendancy. I have been brought up from my earliest years in these principles, and from the time when I began to reason for myself, I have entertained them from conviction; and in every situation I may be placed in, during my future life, I WILL MAINTAIN THEM, SO HELP ME GOD!" (1).

(1) By this asseveration the duke meant that if he survived his brother, the king, and

O'Connell had frequently declared that he could "drive a coach and six through any parliamentary law"; and men were not surprised when it became known that he had devised a means whereby the suppression of the Catholic Association would be rendered practically nugatory. At a meeting held on June 8th, only four months after the parliamentary enterprise, O'Connell manifested his design in these words: "Let us rally and unite round the standard of liberty. I have promised in England that there shall be a new Catholic Association. I have promised that there shall be a new collection of the Rent. The people shall be enumerated—the census from the parishes is already coming in. I have this day got a census from the parish of Ardcaith, in the diocese of Meath. The return of the Catholic population is as follows:—males, 682; females, 561. And then as to the Protestants—there is but one Protestant inhabitant in the parish—and yet, what do you think the poor people pay for church-rate? No less than four pence an acre, although there is no Protestant church. But there is a salary of £20 a year for a parish clerk, who has nothing to do, and £10 for one who is too old to do anything. Lord Liverpool has determined to put down the Catholic question. The Catholics have been cruelly, and I will say, treacherously defeated, in their struggle for their rights, in one of the Houses of Parliament, after their claims had been, not only recognized, but triumphantly established in the other branch of the legislature; and under these circumstances it becomes our duty to consider, what means are best calculated to ensure the ultimate attainment, for ourselves and our children, of those rights which have been so long withheld. 'Tis true, we have been defeated, but we are not dismayed; we have been betrayed, but are unconquered still." A Committee was then appointed for the purpose of circumventing the "Algerine Act," as the Catholics styled the Act which suppressed their Association, and which had prohibited any association or meeting for a redress of grievances, for fur-

therefore mounted the throne, owing to the fact that George IV. had no legitimate children, he would continue the anti-emancipation policy. He died, however, in 1837, and was succeeded as heir-apparent by the Duke of Clarence, the third son of George III., who afterward reigned as William IV.

thering a petition on political subjects, for the prosecution or defence of even civil causes, or for any change in the established order of matters ecclesiastical or civil. Certainly it seemed that this drastic measure had cut the ground completely from under the feet of the consummate agitator; but at the next meeting, held on July 13, he declared that while the Committee had resolved "to obey a statute which they could not respect," they had determined to form a new Association which would continue to consolidate the constitutional resources of the Catholics. The new Association would not assume the power of acting for the purpose of procuring the redress of grievances in Church or State, or the alteration of any matters by law established, or for the purpose of carrying on the prosecution or defence of causes civil and criminal, and in order to guard still more against governmental interference, it had been determined that the new Catholic Association would not be composed of different divisions or parts, acting in any manner separate from each other, and there would be no distinct secretary or delegate, or other officer appointed by, or authorized to act for, any particular part; neither would the new Catholic Association communicate with any other society, or body of persons; neither would it, in any respect, act in any manner inconsistently with the said statute of *6 Geo. IV., cap. 4.* The new Catholic Association would be formed merely for the purposes of public or private charity, and such other purposes as are not prohibited by the statute of *6 Geo. IV., cap. 4.* The objects of the Association were declared to be: The promotion of public peace and concord; the encouragement of an enlightened and religious system of education, founded on the basis of Christian Charity and perfect fair dealing; the distinctive enumeration of the people according to their various creeds, and the number of children of each belief receiving education; the rendering of aid in the erection of places of Catholic worship, and interment of the dead; the promotion of improvements in native agriculture and manufactures; and, finally, the diffusion of information calculated to advance the cause of religious toleration, and the support of a liberal press. For

the future, petitions to Parliament were to be adopted at separate local meetings, instead of emanating, as heretofore, from a central body (1).

Immediately after the revival of the Catholic Association which the British Government fondly supposed to be buried, O'Connell established his "New Catholic Rent," a fund for the protection of persecuted tenants who had voted for religious and civil liberty at the last general election. The old Catholic Rent continued to be collected and handed in as usual, with the saving clause, "for all purposes not prohibited by law." He also instituted *The Order of Liberators*, from which his title of Liberator is derived. It was modelled on existing Orders of Knighthood, having Liberators, Knights Grand Cross, and Knights Companions. The title on which a person would be admitted to any of those grades, was the doing of some real service to his country. In originating the new Catholic Rent, O'Connell, in the letter he addressed to the people, signed himself, "DANIEL O'CONNELL, of the Order of Liberators." Meanwhile the new Association was growing in strength; and at a meeting held in Dublin in February, 1828, it was resolved: "That we will consider any Irish member (of Parliament) an enemy to the peace of Ireland, who shall not declare his determination not to support any administration which shall not make Catholic Emancipation a Cabinet measure." Soon after the passage of this resolution, the Duke of Wellington coolly told the Catholics that cessation of agitation would alone alleviate their lot. He received his answer when O'Connell triumphed in the Clare election. Several years previous to this famous event, John Keogh had conceived the idea of returning a Catholic to Parliament, in spite of the penal law which rendered a "Papist" ineligible. Keogh had contended that when the elected Catholic was rejected at the bar of the House, because he refused to take an oath, which it was absurd to expect him to take, the "fair-minded" people of England would feel how unjust a thing it was to disfranchise a constituency, because the man of their choice would not swear that *his*

(1) O'ROURKE; *Loc. cit.*—McCULLAGH; *Memoirs of Richard L. Sheil*, Vol. 1., p. 251, et seqq.—HUIH; *Memoirs of O'Connell*, p. 382.

own religion was DAMNABLE AND IDOLATROUS! O'Rourke surmises that perhaps O'Connell had never heard of this theory of Keogh; but it is certain that when the idea was communicated to P. V. Fitzpatrick by Sir David Roose, and then by Fitzpatrick to the Liberator, the latter accepted it enthusiastically, and offered himself for Clare. We quote the following passages from his address to his proposed constituents: "It is true that as a Catholic, I cannot, and of course never will take the oaths at present prescribed to members of Parliament; but the authority which created these oaths can abrogate them; and I entertain a confident hope that if you elect me, the most bigoted of our enemies will see the necessity of removing from the chosen representative of the people an obstacle which would prevent him from doing his duty to his king and to his country. The oath at present required by law is, '*that the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and other Saints, as now practised in the Church of Rome, are impious and idolatrous.*' Of course I will never stain my soul with such an oath. I leave that to my honorable opponent, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. He has often taken that horrible oath. He is ready to take it again, and asks your votes to enable him so to swear. I would rather be torn limb from limb than take it. Electors of the County of Clare! choose between me, who abominate that oath, and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, who has sworn it full twenty times! Return me to Parliament, and it is probable that such a blasphemous oath will be abolished forever. As your representative, I will try the question with the friends in Parliament of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald. They may send me to prison. I am ready to go there, to promote the cause of the Catholics, and of universal liberty. The discussion which the attempt to exclude your representative from the House of Commons must excite, will create a sensation all over Europe, and produce such a burst of contemptuous indignation against British bigotry, in every enlightened country of the world, that the voice of all the great and good in England, Scotland and Ireland, being joined to the universal shout of the nations of the earth, will overpower every opposition, and render it impossible for Peel and Wellin-

ton any longer to close the doors of the constitution against the Catholics of Ireland. . . . If you return me to Parliament, I pledge myself to vote for every measure favorable to radical reform in the representative system, so that the House of Commons may truly, as our Catholic ancestors intended it should do, represent all the people ; to vote for the repeal of the Vestry Bill, the Subletting Act, and the Grand Jury Laws ; to vote for the diminution and more equal distribution of the overgrown wealth of the Established Church in Ireland, so that the surplus may be restored to the sustentation of the poor, the aged, and the infirm ; to vote for every measure of retrenchment and reduction of the national expenditure, so as to relieve the people from the burdens of taxation, and to bring the question of the Repeal of The Union, at the earliest possible period, before the consideration of the Legislature. Electors of the County of Clare ! choose between me and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald ; choose between him who so long cultivated his own interest, and one who seeks only to advance yours ; choose between the sworn libeller of the Catholic faith, and one who has devoted his early life to your cause, who has consumed his manhood in a struggle for your liberties, and who has ever lived, and is ready to die, for the integrity, the honor, the purity of the Catholic faith, and the promotion of Irish freedom and happiness." When Wellington and Peel learned that more than two thirds of the voters of Clare had declared for O'Connell ; that more than sixty thousand able-bodied men had taken part in the "chaining" of the champion through Ennis ; that forty thousand others, fifteen thousand of whom were mounted, had escorted him into Limerick ; they realized that Emancipation was won. On Dec. 11, Wellington, writing to Archbishop Curtis, the primate of Ireland, did indeed say that "he saw no prospect of a settlement" ; but in the same letter he admitted : "If we could bury it in oblivion for a short time, and employ that time diligently in the consideration of its difficulties on all sides (for they are great), I should not despair of seeing a satisfactory remedy." And Lord Eldon, alluding to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in favor of the Protestant Dissenters, a measure just

passed at the instance of Lord John Russell, said : " Soon-
ner or later, perhaps in this very year, almost certainly in
the next, the concessions to the Dissenters must be followed
by the like concessions to the Roman Catholics. That
seems unavoidable, though at present the policy is to conceal
this additional purpose " (1).

Keen indeed must have been the anguish of George IV.,
when Wellington and Peel demonstrated to him the neces-
sity of granting Catholic Emancipation, and what was more
poignant, of recommending that measure to Parliament.
He yielded ; but his speech from the throne was read by
commission. On Feb. 5, 1829, His Majesty's loyal peers
and commoners were informed that : " The state of Ireland
has been the object of His Majesty's continued solicitude.
His Majesty laments that in that part of the United King-
dom, an Association should still exist, dangerous to the
public peace, and inconsistent with the spirit of the consti-
tution : which keeps alive discord and ill-will amongst His
Majesty's subjects, and which might, if permitted to continue,
effectually obstruct every effort permanently to improve the
condition of Ireland." He then expresses a hope that Par-
liament will commit to him such powers as may enable him
to maintain his just authority. In the next place he recom-
mends to their deliberate consideration, " the whole condi-
tion of Ireland ; and that they should review the laws which
impose civil disabilities on His Majesty's Roman Catholic
subjects ; finally, they are to consider, if the removal of
these disabilities can be effected consistently with the full
and permanent security of our establishments in church and
state ; with the maintenance of the reformed religion estab-
lished by law ; and of the rights and privileges of the bishops
and clergy of this realm, and of the church committed to
their charge." We are not informed by such records of the
time as we have consulted whether the noble lords and the
honorable commoners wept or smiled, when the reading of
the royal recommendations was terminated. But during the
next few days, their attention was given to an enormous
quantity of petitions which poured upon them, some anathe-

(1) GRIZOT ; *Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel*.

matizing them if they heeded the clamors of the Papists, and others conjuring them to obey the dictates of justice and of common sense. When March the 5th arrived, Peel introduced into the House of Commons a "Catholic Relief Bill," which he supported in these words: "I rise as a minister of the king, and sustained by the just authority which belongs to that character, to vindicate the advice given to His Majesty by a united Cabinet—to insert in his *gracious* speech the command which has been read, respecting the propriety of taking into consideration the condition of Ireland, and the removal of the civil disabilities affecting our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects." Then the minister proceeded to demonstrate that his present attitude toward the Catholics was induced by considerations of *mere expediency*, not by any idea of the rights of man. "I have for years attempted to maintain the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from Parliament and the high offices of the State. I do not think it was an unnatural or unreasonable struggle. I resign it in consequence of the conviction that it can be no longer advantageously maintained; from believing that *there are not adequate materials or sufficient instruments for its effectual and permanent continuance. I yield, therefore, to a moral necessity which I cannot control, unwilling to push resistance to a point which might endanger the Establishment which I wish to defend.* . . . I move, Sir, that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole House, to consider the laws imposing civil disabilities on His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects." On the third reading of the bill, the division stood: For, 320; Against, 142. Majority for Catholic Emancipation in the House of Commons, 178. In the House of Lords, the bill was read for the first time on March 21st, and a very sharp debate ensued. When it had been read for the second time on April 2d, Wellington avowed that the extensive organization of the Irish people foreboded mischief; and he said that when he was asked why he did not carry the law into execution, he had to reply that *there was no resistance to the law*—a splendid testimony to the efficacy of O'Connell's policy of agitation. To the insistence that "if the law will not do, let us proceed to blows," the

duke replied: "What, I suppose, is meant by proceeding to blows is coming to civil war. I am one of those who have, probably, passed a longer period of my life engaged in war than most men, and principally, I may say, in civil war; and I must say this—that if I could avoid, by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war, in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it. I say, there is nothing which destroys property and demoralizes character to the degree which civil war does. By it the hand of man is raised against his neighbor, against his brother, and against his father; the servant betrays the master, and the whole becomes a scene of confusion and devastation." The division in the Lords on the third reading of the bill, gave a majority of one hundred and four.

"The year 1829 will undoubtedly remain for ever a great epoch in our history. The admission of Catholics into the Legislature was the first great blow which Protestant ascendancy received. England has indeed been since called an essentially Protestant country, and no doubt there are many who would still so call it. But when Catholics were admitted to an equality in the making of laws, the principle of a purely Protestant State was surrendered. In theory the majority of law-makers may be Catholics, and this is not consistent with a purely Protestant State. There is nothing in the English law to prevent the majority of the Cabinet ministers from being Catholics. Without breaking any Act of Parliament, and without violating their consciences, the fifteen judges and the vice-chancellors might all be Catholics. The making of laws and the administration of laws might be entirely in the hands of Catholics. This could not be in a State essentially Protestant. The sovereign, it is true, must be a Protestant; but Belgium was not the less a Catholic State when it had a Protestant king; nor is Saxony the less a Protestant State because it has a Catholic king. If the chancellor (the keeper of the Queen's conscience) cannot be a Catholic, the reason is not that a Catholic could not administer equity or preside over the House of Lords, but that he could not administer the ecclesiastical patronage in the hands of the Crown. The Act which enabled Lord O'Hagan

to be Chancellor of Ireland is a proof of this. The general commanding-in-chief may be a Catholic. The disestablishment of the Church of Ireland was logically grounded upon this principle—that the State in the British Isles is not essentially Protestant. The disestablishment of the Church in England will, at perhaps no very distant day, be merely a corollary to the Act of 1829. . . . Since the Act of Emancipation, we are entitled to retort upon the words of a great minister (1), that at no time, nor under any possible situation of affairs, can we ever go back to the old principle that Catholics are not in every respect equal before the law to their Protestant fellow-subjects. It is the more necessary to insist upon this, as some of the older ones amongst us, who can remember the passing of the Emancipation Act, may still retain some slight remnant of the old idea that we Catholics are a proscribed race. It is true the notion has been fast fading away; but no tinge should now remain. And it is especially important that our youth should be completely free from all suspicion that they are not on an exact equality before the law with their Protestant fellow-countrymen. For it was this sense of inequality which weakened the energy, overbore the strength, and destroyed the ambition of so many who might have used their talents to rise to the level of any others in the land. And even down to our own day, it may be the retiring shadow of the oppressor who has gone, which has kept many a young man of promise from feeling that sense of freedom which is necessary for action. For it cannot be doubted that there has been, and still is, amongst the Catholics of England, a fearful waste of talent and of strength, which might be of essential service both to the Church and to the State” (2).

There is no need, even though our limits permitted, for dilating upon the glory which has accrued to the name of Daniel O’Connell because of his preponderating share in the struggle for English and Irish Catholic Emancipation. The student knows how the praises of the Liberator have been

(1) Mr. Pitt, saying that he could not allow “under any circumstances, or under any possible situation of affairs, it (the relief demanded) ought to be discussed or entertained as a claim or question of right.”

(2) AMHERST: *Ubi supra*, in Introduction.

sounded by the most eloquent and most judicious publicists in every nation of Christendom. We may well hesitate ere we compare O'Connell with a Donoso Cortes or a Montalembert; but although the Irish champion attained his object by no great subtleties of reasoning, he was, among all the children of the Church in the nineteenth century, pre-eminently a "Catholic of action." He understood his mission; and as his most recent panegyrist has remarked, "he reduced that mission to action, and succeeded in effecting, by himself alone, and with the aid of his individual strength alone, what appeared impossible to an entire phalanx of men who were powerful because of their personal courage, and because of their social influence" (1). When O'Connell died in Genoa, on May 15, 1847, while on his way to the Eternal City, to which he had bequeathed his noble heart, the London *Standard* thought to stigmatize him as the "Thomas More of the nineteenth century, a thorough Popish fanatic"; and all the English and German Protestant journals of the day declared that the key of his whole career is furnished to those who realize that his life was devoted to "a tightening of the Pope's hold on Ireland." Reflecting on this universal Protestant opinion of the day, one is amused when he reads in the pages of that revered Masonic authority, Findel, that in 1799, when the future Liberator was twenty-four years old, he took the oaths of fidelity to the Dark Lantern in the Grand Lodge of Dublin; and that as a "devout" adept of Square and Triangle he filled the office of "Venerable" until the year 1838. When the Brethren of the Three Points claimed, in after years, Pope Pius IX. as one of their own—a matter which we shall touch in due time—the "profane" world thought that the impudence of the sectaries had culminated; but the innocent "profane" forgot that the apex of sublime audacity had been reached when Findel asserted that eternal hatred to Rome and her priesthood had been sworn by the great tribune who spent his entire life in destroying the work which the Lodges fabricated—by that same tribune who continually urged his auditors to abhor

(1) GAETANO ZOCCHI, S. J.: *Daniel O'Connell and the Revindication of Christian Right*, in the *Roman Civiltà Cattolica*, Aug. 7, 1897.

all secret societies, those fearful and yet despicable associations which were, as he proclaimed, "detested by all honest men." Findel forgot that there still lived in England and Ireland men who had been witnesses of O'Connell's simple and heroic Catholic life; men who had often heard him declaring: "I am ready for anything—anything but an abandonment of my religion, the religion of my ancestors." A phenomenal adept of Freemasonry indeed would have been made out of that O'Connell who never took an important step without the approbation of the Irish episcopate. The pious, although (in one sense) "liberal," Father Ventura discerned no Masonic traits in the hero whom he lauded as "one of the greatest glories of Catholicism; the grandest, the most extraordinary, the most stupendous personage, of modern times" (1). Lacordaire did not see in O'Connell a fit companion of Cagliostro, Weisshaupt, and Mazzini, when he compared the grand patriot to Moses, Judas Maccabeus, Constantine, Charlemagne, and Gregory VII., all of whom, however, "labored with the aid of a regular sovereignty, while O'Connell had only the strength of a citizen, and the sovereignty of genius" (2). Louis Veuillot did not exaggerate when he said that Rome was the sole place worthy of guarding the heart of O'Connell, "since Rome was his true country, he having, by his immense labor, by the splendor of his faith, by the glory of his courage, and by the fruitfulness of his genius, attained to a grandeur which made him a citizen not only of Ireland, but of that world of which Pius IX. was the great king" (3). The faculty of historical perception must be wanting in the person who does not agree with the prince of modern historians, the incomparably judicious Cantù, when he says, that "He who seeks for a personage who may be compared with this great agitator, must recur to the times of robust beings, to the days when a Peter the Hermit, a St. Bernard, a St. Anthony, drew to their standards hundreds of thousands of men" (4).

(1) *Funeral Oration for Daniel O'Connell, June 28 and 30.* Edit. Cairo. Rome, 1847.

(2) *Funeral Oration for Daniel O'Connell*, in Vol. vii. of Lacordaire's Works. Edit. Paris, 1862.

(3) *Mélanges*, Vol. iii., p. 551. Paris, 1857.

(4) *History of a Hundred Years*, Vol. iii., p. 178. Florence, 1851.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY XVI.

Bartholomew Albert Cappellari was born in Belluno, in Lombardy, in 1765. At the age of eighteen he entered the monastic branch of the Camaldolese Benedictines (1), and with the habit of that Order he assumed the name of Mauro. The fame of Dom Mauro Cappellari as a theologian and a canonist caused Leo XII. to enroll him in the Sacred College in 1825. When the cardinals entered into Conclave to choose a successor to Pius VIII., who had died on Dec. 1, 1830, it appeared at first that the tiara would be placed on the head of the saintly Cardinal Giustiniani. But when twenty-one of the necessary twenty-nine votes were seen to be certainly his, the right of exclusion by the Spanish crown was exercised against him by Cardinal Marco, the agent of His Catholic Majesty. Probably the reason for this exclusion was the part taken by Giustiniani in the recent nominations to the long vacant sees in South America—nominations which the Spanish government had insisted on reserving to itself, although it had already practically admitted the independence of its revolted colonies (2). The manner of

(1) The Camaldolese are not, as many suppose, all hermits. Besides their hermitages, they have many magnificent monasteries, among which the principal one is that of St. Gregory on the Caelian Hill in Rome. It was from this monastery, then belonging to the parent Benedictine Order, that St. Augustine and his fellow-monks went forth, at the command of Pope St. Gregory I., to evangelize the Anglo-Saxons.

(2) "South America had thrown off the Spanish rule, and enjoyed an independence of some years' duration. On May 21, 1827, the Pope (Leo XII.) addressed the Cardinals in Consistory assembled, on the ecclesiastical position of that continent. Spain had refused to recognize the independence of its many states, although it had ceased effectually even to disturb them. It claimed still all its old rights over them, and among them that of episcopal presentation. The exercise of such a power, if it existed, would have been contradictory to its object, and therefore self-defeating. Bishops are intended to feed a flock; and of what use would bishops have been, who would never have been allowed even to look upon their sees, or to be heard by their people? For it would have been quite unreasonable to expect that the free republics would acknowledge the jurisdiction of the country which declared itself at war with them. On the other hand, there had been no formal ecclesiastical treaty or Concordat between these commonwealths and the Holy See, by which previous claims had been abrogated, and new rights invested in their present rulers. It was just a case for the exercise of the highest prerogative which both parties acknowledged to be inherent in the supremacy, however galling its application might be to one of them. In the allocution alluded to, the Pope announced that, not feeling justified in longer per-

Giustiniani's reception of this exclusion merits remembrance. When the cardinal-dean had read the notice which deprived him of any hopes of the tiara, if indeed he had ever hoped for it, Giustiniani arose and calmly said: "If I did not know courts by experience, I should certainly have cause to be surprised at the 'exclusion' published by the most eminent dean; since, far from being able to reproach myself with having given cause of complaint against me to His Catholic Majesty, during my nunciature, I dare congratulate myself with having rendered His Majesty signal service in the difficult circumstances wherein he was placed." He then referred to the fact that the Spanish government itself had often lauded his conduct, and continued: "I shall always cherish the memory of these kindnesses shown me by His Catholic Majesty, and shall entertain toward him the most profound respect, and in addition a most lively interest for all that can regard his welfare and that of his august family. I must add that of all the benefits conferred on me by His Majesty, I consider the greatest and most acceptable to me (at least in its effects) to be his having this day closed for me the access to the most sublime dignity of the Pontificate. Knowing, as I do, my great weakness, I could not bring myself to foresee that I should ever be asked to assume so heavy a burden; and when I saw, during these last days, that you thought of asking me, my heart was filled with the bitterest sorrow. To-day I find myself free from my anxiety; I am restored to tranquillity, and I retain only the gratification of knowing that some of my most worthy col-

llecting those sees to remain vacant, and those immense populations to wander like sheep without a shepherd, he had provided them with worthy pastors, without the intervention of either side, but in virtue of his supreme apostolic authority. The Court of Madrid was angry, and refused to admit the Papal Nuncio, Tiberi; and a little episode in the life of the present Pontiff (Pius IX.) arose from this passing coolness. Pius VIII., at the request of Cienfuegos, envoy from Chili, sent as envoy to that republic Mgr. Muzi, and as his assistant the Ab. Mastai, now Pius IX. The Pope dying before the expedition had sailed from Genoa, it was confirmed by Leo XII., who, in his brief, declared that the Count Mastai had been originally appointed by his desire, describing him as "*Nobis apprimè charus.*" The commissioners sailed Oct. 11th, 1823, but were driven by stress of weather into Palma, the capital of Majorca. Upon ascertaining from their papers who were the ecclesiastics on board, and what their mission, the governor had them arrested, kept them four days in a common prison, subjected them to an ignominious examination in the court, and was on the point of sending them to banishment in an African *presidio*, when common sense prevailed, and they were restored to liberty. See a full account in the *Dublin Review*, Vol. xxxiv., p. 469." WISEMAN; *Last Four Popes*, pt. ii., ch. 8.

leagues have deigned to cast a look on me, and have honored me with their votes, for which I beg to offer them my eternal and sincerest gratitude" (1). The Spanish government had certainly accentuated its displeasure toward all who had contributed to its defeat in the matter of the South American bishoprics; but it was doomed to behold the election of one who had been far more prominent than Gius-tiniani in thwarting its desires—the Camaldolese, Cappellari. As we have frequently had occasion to remark, the privilege of "exclusion" could be used but once in the same Conclave by its possessor; therefore, when their Eminences turned their attention to Cappellari, the objections of Spain were as though non-existent. The humble Camaldolese was raised to the Chair of Peter on Feb. 12, 1831; and he assumed the name of Gregory XVI., because of his devotion to St. Gregory the Great, the first Pope furnished by the Benedictine Order, and in honor of Pope Gregory XV., the founder of the Congregation of the Propaganda, of which he had been the Prefect. Shortly after the coronation of the new Pope-King, the editor-in-chief of *L'Avenir*, Lamennais, then already regarded as having succeeded to Bossuet's title, "The Last of the Fathers," thus expressed the sentiments which were then evoked in the minds of such Christians as were both discerning and well-minded: "Piety, Science, and Wisdom have again been placed on the immortal Throne of St. Peter. An excellent apprenticeship for the Popedom was that which Cardinal Cappellari underwent as Prefect of the Propaganda; he became accustomed to regard the world in its entirety." We shall see, in another dissertation, how Lamennais came to represent His Holiness as the incarnation of ignorance, both as to the world and as to the means for taming it. As yet, however, the heart of the Catholic publicist bade him proclaim that the blessing given by Gregory XVI., for the first time in his pontificate, *Urbi et Orbi*, "would remind the extremities of the earth of that benevolence which the very deserts have recognized."

Had Pope Gregory XVI. possessed all the qualities which

(1) MORONI; *Dictionary*, Vol. xxxi., p. 221.

Cardinal Mai, in his exhortation to the Eminent Fathers who were about to enter into the Conclave of 1830, urged those electors to discern in their choice for a successor to Pius VIII., he would not have been superabundantly equipped for his task. "Give us," cried Mai, "a Pontiff who in faith will be a Peter, who in constancy will equal Cornelius, who will be as felicitous as Sylvester, and who in eloquence will vie with Damasus. May he have the exquisite clearness of Leo the Great, the learning of Gelasius, the piety of the great Gregory, the fortitude of Symmachus, and may he be loved by princes as Adrian was loved. May he be a Eugenius in preserving harmony among the churches, a Nicholas in his patronage of the learned, a Julius in grandeur of thought, a Leo X. in liberality, a Pius V. in sanctity, and a Sixtus V. in strength of mind. And not to recur to olden times alone, give us a Pontiff in whom there will not be wanting the erudition of Benedict XIV., or the munificence of Pius VI., or the force and benignity of Pius VII., or the vigilance of Leo XII., or the rectitude of Pius VIII." This aspiration for an ideal Pontiff, a picture which the learned decipherer of palimpsests could scarcely have hoped to see realized, was not to be satisfied in Gregory XVI.; nevertheless, few Popes have been more fervent in their religious zeal, and he was a firm and prudent administrator of his temporal dominion.

It was the misfortune of Gregory XVI. to have assumed the duties of a Pope-King at a time when very many of the Italian clergy were not equal to the sublimity of their mission. The impartial, intensely patriotic, and uncompromisingly Catholic Cantù draws this picture of these unworthy sons of the sanctuary: "Having left the seminaries, into which a real vocation had not always led them; dreading impopularity and derision, they seemed desirous of obtaining forgiveness for their ecclesiastical position and dress by an adoption, as far as possible, of worldly manners. They frequented the cafes and other rendezvous, and were seen on the promenades, and even in the theatres. They formed their minds by reading the newspapers, so as to be able to chat on politics in the liberal jargon. They were no

strangers to the secret societies, nor did they keep aloof from conspiracies. With the romances of Berchet, the drolleries of Giusti, and the declamations of Gioberti, they inebriated themselves with the idea of Italy soon recovering her legitimate primacy. They tortured the Bible in order to discover encouragement and justification for their demolitions. They were the first in ridiculing the study of theology, the ecclesiastical virtues—charity, no less than devotion, and all priests who manifested uncommon learning or disinterested zeal; while they regarded as progress every slight on the faith of their ancestors, every condemnation of those ‘abuses’ in which they themselves participated, every secularization of ecclesiastical institutions, every abolition of a religious community. And they grieved because they were obliged to hide their own great talents and activity under the soutane. Such priests were caressed by the secret societies; and were allured by the prospect of a civil and social revolution which would, however, lay no hands on Catholicism, that is, on the benefices which they enjoyed, and on the dignities to which they aspired. Therefore many of them good-naturedly believed, or at least proclaimed, that Catholicism, about to lead the procession of modern ideas, would soon conquer the entire world” (1). The reader will note that in the mind of the great Italian historian there is no question of the morality or of the absolute faith of these “political priests” of Italy; when the number of ecclesiastics in Italy is considered, statistics would probably show that while the world of our day has resounded with the names of such wretches as Bassi, Gavazzi, Achille, etc., the clergy of no other country have furnished fewer scandals. Cantù wished to illustrate the baneful effects of the Giobertian fever—effects which still endure. Cardinal Bernetti, secretary of state to Gregory XVI., and the most calumniated statesman of his day, because he was really intelligent, and knew how to cope with men whose “diplomacy” was mere chicanery, spoke of the Italian clergy of that time in terms very similar to those used by Cantù. In a letter dated Aug. 4, 1845, written to a

(1) *Heretics of Italy*, Vol. iii., p. 531. Turin, 1866.

friend, probably Cantù himself, the cardinal said: "The clergy are imbued with ideas which are liberal, in the worst sense of the term. Profound studies are abandoned, despite the encouragement given to the students, despite the rewards given to professors, despite the favors which the Holy Father is ever ready to dispense. Young men prepare indeed for their future duties, but not with joy and ambition, as was the case in the halcyon days of Rome; few care to become learned theologians, profound casuists, able canonists; they become priests, but they aim at being men; and when they use this word 'men,' they give to it a buffoonesque emphasis, so absurd is their mixture of Catholic faith with Italian phantasmagorias. . . . The day will come when these mines, charged with the powder of Constitutionalism and Progress, will explode; and God grant that I, who have witnessed so many revolutions and disasters, may not behold new woes for the Church!" (1).

Gregory XVI. had scarcely entered his apartments, after having imparted his inaugural blessing "to the city and the world" from the *loggia* of St. Peter's, when he was informed of the revolt in the Romagna. The signal which had been given at the barricades of Paris during the "Three Days" of July of the previous year, when the elder branch of the House of Bourbon was dethroned to make way for the younger in the person of Louis Philippe d'Orleans, had been heeded. Temporary paralysis had been entailed by the general restorations of 1815 on the secret societies with which Europe was honeycombed; but those baneful organizations were now in the enjoyment of their pristine activity, and they had ordered another campaign against the temporal crown of the Roman Pontiff. This revolutionary movement was soon crushed, thanks to the interested intervention of Austria, who not only hoped to acquire for herself the so long coveted Legations, but was forced by self-interest to protect the Hapsburg dukes of Tuscany and Modena, as well as Mary Louisa, the so-called widow of Napoleon, to whom the Congress of Vienna had assigned the duchy of Parma as compensation for honors to which she could advance no

(1) Cited by Cantù, *loc. cit.*, p. 560.

legitimate claim. In their task of subverting again the dominion of the Pope-King, the Masonic Lodges had relied on the aid of the monarch whom they had just placed on the throne of his cousin; but Louis Philippe, through Casimir Périer, whom he had raised to the ministry, refused to do more than protest against the intervention of Austria. We must note here that a leading part in this insurrection was taken by the two sons of Louis Bonaparte and Hortense de Beauharnais, the young princes Charles Napoleon and Louis Napoleon (afterward emperor as Napoleon III.), who thus repaid the cordial and munificent hospitality which the Roman Pontiff had accorded, and was then according, to the Bonaparte family (1). When Bologna had been taken by the Austrians, and Rimini and Ancona had surrendered; when brute force had failed to destroy once more the civil royalty of the tiara, diplomatic chicanery undertook to emasculate that royalty. Louis Philippe knew full well that the late revolution in the Papal States was unjustifiable; but he owed some satisfaction to the Carbonari, who were affiliated to those who had made him King of the French. Therefore he pretended to regard the complaints of the rebels of the Romagna as worthy of consideration. In concert with Lord Palmerston, or rather in obedience to that English minister, who was then, and during many

(1) Justice to the memory of Napoleon III. demands that we record a circumstance which in some sort palliates his guilt on this occasion. Prince Louis Napoleon, the vicissitudes of whose early life had given to him a character which was a result of mingling German pseudo-philosophy, Italian duplicity, English aristocratic tendencies, and Swiss quasi-democracy, was in his twenty-second year when he accompanied his elder brother, Charles, into the ranks of the armed Carbonari. Having entered an inn at Forlì, the landlord brought his register in order to receive the descriptions of the personality of his guests. A comrade of the princes wrote on the open page: "Accursi, conspirator, on the road to Rome to upset the Pope." Charles Bonaparte took the pen, and repeated the rhodomontade of Accursi. Then Louis Napoleon wrote on the register: "My duties and my sentiments of gratitude forbid, on my part, any *direct* attack on the Pope. My family has found, in all Europe, refuge and assistance only at the feet of the Holy Father; and I fear that I may find on the grand stairs of the Vatican my grandmother and the rest of my relatives. I accompany you (Accursi and Charles Bonaparte), in order to subvert the clerical power in the provinces; but do not ask me to march on Rome." On the following morning, Charles Bonaparte died in the arms of his brother, having received a ball in the breast, according to one story, or having been stabbed, as the servants of the inn narrated. The future emperor now escaped to Ancona, and thence into France, where Louis Philippe would have allowed him to remain, had not Casimir Périer induced the monarch to send him out of the kingdom. It was while Louis Napoleon was engaged in this insurrection of 1831, that the mother of his great uncle wrote to him: "You know, my son, that we owe to His Holiness the roof that covers us, and the bread that we eat."

subsequent years, the practical head of European Masonry, he induced the Masonic cabinets of Russia and Prussia, and the partly Masonic cabinet of Austria, to appoint delegates to a conference which should meet in Rome, the Pope's capital, to consider the ways and means for a prevention of future trouble in the Papal States. The impudence of these cabinets in undertaking such business in the Eternal City was truly sublime and phenomenal; therefore it was no matter of surprise to the Catholics of Europe, when they learned that a seat at this conference had been assigned to Sir Hamilton Seymour, a representative of England, a power which, unless its monarch and ministers braved the terrible penalties of *premunire*, could hold no diplomatic relations with the Holy See. When this body of bespangled and otherwise bedizzened sectaries had convened, they assigned to the Prussian delegate, the Chevalier Bunsen, the task of framing a *Memorandum* which should indicate to the Pontiff the conditions, an acceptance of which might secure to the Popedom, on the part of Masonry and its friends, a continuance of the recognition of the temporal power. The Pontiff was asked to grant, as though it was to be a new thing in his dominions, the admission of laymen to positions in the administration; and this demand was made in face of the fact, as admitted by Rayneval, the French ambassador in Rome, that the ecclesiastical employees of the pontifical government were in proportion to the laymen in office as is one to sixty (1). Municipal liberties were demanded for a country which had preserved the communal system with a tenacity which the vicissitudes of time never overcame—for a country to which other lands had turned for lessons when they essayed communal government (2). Reforms in the judiciary were demanded for a country which already enjoyed, and for centuries had enjoyed, as Rayneval observed, "a regular legislation, resting on foundations established by equity, and which past ages have respected; a legislation which is modified every

(1) SAUZET; *Rome Before Europe*, p. 125. Paris, 1870.

(2) For an excellent description of the development of municipal government in the Papal States, and of the local liberties enjoyed by the communes, see the *History of Pope Urban V.* by the Canon Magnan. Paris, 1860.

day, as need occurs, with a regularity which is unknown in any other land." There could have been but one object in urging on the Pontiff the adoption of institutions which were already in full vigor in his dominions; the Masonic conspirators wished to weaken, in the eyes of the peoples of Europe, and especially of the Italian populations, the majestic authority of the Pope-Kings. And it was, forsooth, "in the general interest of Europe," according to the *Memorandum*, that the conspiring powers insisted that the pontifical government should be secured on "the solid foundation of ameliorations, and of an internal guarantee, which would render it superior to *those fluctuations which must be inherent in the nature of every elective government.*" The rank and file of the Carbonari, whose aim was a so-called republic, could scarcely have welcomed this reflection which the "conservative" Masons of the European cabinets could not refrain from emitting; but they were willing to ignore it, providing that their immediate end were attained—the imposition of a Constitution on the papal government. The Carbonari, more honest and more logical, although apparently more openly diabolic than those other Masons whose aristocratic surroundings or proclivities rendered them "conservative" in everything that was not Catholic, were not blind to the fact that the paper Constitutions, devised by European Masonry during the previous fifty years, had been patched and tinkered, modified and metamorphosed, so persistently and necessarily, and amid the noise of tumbling thrones, that no sane mind could regard them as "internal guarantees" of a government's durability. The last demand of the Masonico-Franco-Anglo-Prusso-Russian conferees was for the establishment of a Supreme Court of Finance in Rome, and also for "an administrative Council which would be composed of persons elected by the local councils." The government of Louis Philippe, which filled Europe with incendiaries in order to preserve itself from the fire which its own hands had kindled, and which could have no justifiable confidence in its own durability, had the presumption to guarantee the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See, if Gregory XVI. would accept the conditions of the *Memoran-*

dum To this insidious offer Cardinal Bernetti replied that "although the guarantee of the French government was to be appreciated by the Holy See, nevertheless His Holiness found it impossible to purchase such security with a veritable abdication of his pontifical independence." However, the allied "conservative" Masonic powers persisted in their attack. Palmerston, through his representative, Seymour, chanted a eulogy of all past and future rebels to the papal authority; and assured Cardinal Bernetti that England would protect all future insurgents, unless the Pontiff introduced into his dominions "complete representative institutions, full liberty of the press, and a National Guard." In the name of the Pope, the cardinal-secretary replied that an illimited liberty of the press was less a danger to the Church than it was an impossibility for any serious government. "As for the National Guard," said Bernetti, "the Pontiff is not quite certain whether its advantages are greater than its inconveniences. But if the English government were itself to try in London, and for fifteen or twenty years, an experiment as to the value of that institution which it so cheerfully recommends to other governments, perhaps His Holiness might be induced to adopt it." The cut was neatly delivered; no English minister of that day would have dared to adopt the French invention of a National Guard in his own land. The sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia seemed to have experienced, shortly after this rejoinder of Bernetti, an attack of either shame for their impudence, or fear for their own crowns in the storm that they were invoking; whatever was their motive, Russia ordered her commissioner to repudiate everything that was imperious in the *Memorandum*, Prussia disavowed the conduct of her representative, and Austria quietly dropped the matter. The "king of the *bourgeoisie*" was incapable of shame; and as for England, she was the England whose post-Reformation foreign policy generally disgusts the unprejudiced observer. Palmerston ordered Sir Hamilton Seymour to return to Florence, to which capital he was accredited; and after the agent had departed, it was found that he had left for the papal secretary of state a letter of farewell which

was an implicit programme of the future Masonic campaign in Italy—a programme which, directed by Palmerston, was executed shortly afterward in Rome by Lord Minto (1).

We find it easy to understand why the cabinets of England, Russia, and Prussia, should have brought this pressure to bear upon Pope Gregory XVI. ; but why did France and Austria join in so unfilial and otherwise ungracious a task? Of course, Louis Philippe, as true a son of the Revolution as ever the veriest Jacobin of the Mountain had been, was a creature of the secret societies which had placed him on the throne of Henry V. ; but he was not entirely destitute of Catholic sentiments, and he knew that the immense majority of his countrymen were as sympathetic with the anxieties of the Roman Pontiff as the subjects of St. Louis could have been. Austria was Catholic and legitimist, even though the cabinet of Metternich did contain avowed Masons of high degree ; and although she was constantly on the watch for some opportunity for stealing the Legations from the Pope-King, her emperor did not cultivate the traditions of his German predecessors of the Holy Roman Empire to such an extent as to wish to despoil the Pontiff of all of the Pat-

(1) This piece of epistolary ambassadorial effrontery merits remembrance. "The undersigned has the honor of informing Your Excellency (*sic*) that he has received orders from his court to leave Rome, and to return to his post in Florence. The undersigned is also ordered to explain briefly to Your Excellency the reasons for which the English government sent him to Rome, and why it now withdraws him. The English government has no *direct* interest in the affairs of the Roman States, and has never dreamt of interfering in them. It was invited by the cabinets of France and Austria to take part in the negotiations at Rome, and it yielded to this invitation in the hope that its good offices, joined to those of the other cabinets, would help to procure an amicable settlement of the dissensions between the Pope and his subjects. The papal government not having done anything that it should have done to calm the discontent, the trouble has increased, especially because of the disappointment caused by the failure of the late negotiations in Rome. Failure has attended on the efforts made by the five powers, during the last year and more, to establish tranquillity in the Roman States ; the hope of seeing the populations voluntarily submissive to the power of the sovereign is no nearer realization than it was at the beginning of the negotiations. In these circumstances the undersigned has been ordered to declare that the English government has no more hope of success, and that there being no longer any reason for the presence of the undersigned in Rome, he has been ordered to return to his post in Florence. The undersigned has been told to express the regret that fills his heart because he has seen nothing done, during the past year and a half, for the re-establishment of tranquillity in Italy. The English government *foresees* that if the present course is pursued, new and more serious troubles will occur in the Roman States, and their consequences will be multiplied, and will become dangerous to the peace of Europe. If unfortunately this anticipation is verified, England at least will be free from all responsibility for the evils which will have been entailed because of the Pope's rejection of the wise and persistent advice of the English cabinet."

rimony of Peter. The fact is that the French and Austrian cabinets of that period vied with each other in an endeavor to secure the permanent support of the Masonic Lodges. Mazzini had been trying to obtain a *point d'appui* in these same Lodges for his society of "Young Italy," and its kindred associations of "Young Germany" and "Young Switzerland." If the cabinets of France and Austria could exclude the terrible Italian from the benefits of the more "conservative" Masonic Lodges, they would probably ward off from themselves the effects of the blow which "Young Italy" was about to deal against the Pope-King. Masonry was necessarily to be satisfied; therefore the French and Austrian cabinets proposed their species of capitulation to Gregory XVI. We abstain from dilating here on the matter of Mazzini and his "Young Italy," as plentiful occasion will be furnished when we treat of the reign of Pius IX.; we simply note that Mazzini, by his foundation of the journal entitled *Young Italy*, and by his simultaneous inauguration of the society bearing the same name, had separated from the Constitutional Carbonarism of the Restoration, and had inexorably cut his political and social ship adrift from everything papal, royal, or aristocratic; having resolved to establish a unitarian republic in Italy as the sole reliable means, according to his fancy, of procuring liberty for the "sons of the ancient Romans." His success as a political propagandist was phenomenal; and ere Gregory XVI. had reached his third year of reign, Italy appeared to be writhing fitfully over a volcano.

The generality of historians inform us that the Caliph Omar-ben-Akhattib wantonly burned the great Library of Alexandria; and while they seem to be ignorant of the many good reasons for a belief that at the time of Omar there was no library in Alexandria of any great value (1), they all grow eloquent in a denunciation of a vandalism which they declare this glorious nineteenth century to be incapable of perpetrating. Gregory XVI. was in the throes of his anxieties which had been entailed by the revolt in the Romagna, when there came to him from refined and cultivated Paris

(1) For proofs, see our apposite articles in the *Ave Maria*, Vols. xl. and xli.

information of an act of vandalism more condemnable than any ever excogitated by either Arab or Hun, or even by a follower of Genseric. For our account of this achievement of the allied forces of Masonry and mobocracy, we shall not rely on any legitimist or "clerical" evidence; the pages of Louis Blanc, one of the most energetic of the defenders of the principles of 1789, are before us. "It was by order of the magistrates of the city that the cross on the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois was hurled from its pinnacle. The soldiers of the regular army were apparently hiding themselves; and the National Guards, so ardent in protecting the shops, left a clear path to the mob who had started to pillage the churches. It was the work of a moment to level an altar, to smash a pulpit, to pull the statues of the saints from their pedestals, to reduce the holy pictures to shreds. . . . The sacristy was ransacked, and vaudal buffoons donned the sacerdotal vestments." When the royal usurper was informed that the next enterprise of the liberals was to be an attack on the archiepiscopal residence, he commanded M. Baude, the prefect of police, to restrict his energies to the protection of the royal palace. As the revolutionary historian admits: "No measure for the protection of the archbishop was taken; but mysterious agents mingled with the mob, and, turning its fury away from the royal abode, allowed that fury to vent itself against the archiepiscopal palace." When a detachment of the 12th legion of the National Guard, commanded by Francis Arago, arrived on the spot, the demolition of the building was being finished, and the valuable Library was being annihilated. "It is impossible to estimate how much science and art lost by this wholesale destruction of rare books and precious manuscripts. M. Arago, a witness of the lugubrious scene, stormed with rage because he was unable to prevent this vandalism. However, he was about to command his battalion to advance, when he was informed that authoritative personages had induced the soldiers to allow matters to take their course. Particular mention was made of Thiers, then sub-secretary of state in the Ministry of Finance; and, in fact, M. Arago perceived that gentleman promenading amid the ruins, smil-

ing with satisfaction." Quite naturally, Louis Blanc, a thorough radical in his most moderate moments, says as little as the ascendancy of truth will allow him to say concerning this systematic devastation of one of the chief historical and literary glories of France. Another eye-witness, however, the famous *littérateur*, Paul Lacroix, gives many details of the vandalism (1). "The destruction of the Archiepiscopal Library of Paris must be recorded as one of the exploits of the National Guard." The uniformed and un-uniformed devastators formed a line reaching from the Library to the river; and the doomed volumes were passed from hand to hand, lacerated on the way, and then flung into the water. "More than 30,000 volumes of the most valuable books in the world were thus treated, while the mob vented its joy in insensate shouts. The 12th legion of the National Guard was the *plus peuple* of all the legions of that body; and it heartily sympathized with the vengeance which was openly proclaimed as against the priesthood, *contre la calotte*. . . . When I entered the immense hall where the great Library had reposed, it was empty; but, looking out of a window, I saw in the garden a heap of books which was more than twenty feet high, a remnant of the collection which had not yet been cast into the river. The guards were marching majestically on the top of this mass of literature, ever and anon bayoneting and otherwise lacerating the precious pages. . . . In a few moments not a volume of the grand collection remained" (2). The few Catholics who admire Thiers may not place much faith in the picture of their hero here drawn by Louis Blanc; but they must know that in 1849 Michel de Bourges, speaking in the National Assembly, reminded the chameleon-like statesman that when they were both students in law, they swore, at the same time, hatred to monarchy in very piquant (*sic*) circumstances: "M. Adolph Thiers held the crucifix while I took the oath, and I held the same crucifix while he swore to the same effect" (3).

(1) See the *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et Curieux* for January 15, 1864; also the *Études Religieuses* for some extracts from the narrative of M. Lacroix.

(2) *History of Ten Years* (1830-1840), Vol. ii., p. 284.

(3) On Dec. 1, 1872, when Thiers was president of the Third French Republic, the *Provence*, a journal of Aix, recalled this and similar facts in the career of the great little man,

The truth is that in his Orleanist monarchical days, Thiers also merited the rebuke which the republican, Trélat, administered to his prosecutors during the famous trials of April, 1839: "There is here a judge who consecrated ten years of his life to develop republican sentiments in the minds of young men. I myself have seen him brandishing a dagger while he delivered a eulogy on Brutus. Does not that man feel that much of the responsibility for our acts rests with him? Without his republican eloquence, would we be here? I see before me many of my old comrades of the Carbonari; and I hold in my hands the oath which one of them took. And they want to condemn me for my fidelity to my oath" (1).

Proceeding now to the questions of a religious nature which were agitated during the pontificate of Gregory XVI. we must say a few words about Hermesianism, which then caused much trouble, although now its very name is almost unknown, even to many lovers of the recondite. Its author, George Hermes, was born in 1775, in the principality of Munster, in Germany. We learn from his writings that toward the end of his scholastic career, he conceived certain doubts concerning God, revelation, and immortality. He professed great admiration for Kant, who had proved, according to him, that "the olden metaphysics had no solid foundation"; but, nevertheless, he cared little for the Kantian system, feeling that Fichte had demonstrated that "the philosophy of Kant could not be defended." Raised to the priesthood in 1799, Hermes taught successively in the Universities of Munster and Bonn until his death in 1831. His system was vaunted by himself and his disciples as a reconciliation of the Catholic Faith with what he qualified as "the interests of human thought"; he fancied that he had created a rigorously philosophical demonstration of the truth of all Catholic doctrine. In his problematically laudable enterprise, Hermes had thrown aside, as it were, and for the nonce, all that he really believed, and all that he knew, in matter of religion;

and no one of his numerous ex-monarchical friends attempted to refute the charges. The *Provence* quoted from the *Presse*, the *Credit*, and the *Opinion Publique* to show that in 1849 the oath of Thiers against monarchy was public property.

(1) The *National*, June 5, 1839.

he granted, for the moment, the truth of the supposition that in the universe there is nothing certainly true—not only no certainly true Catholic Church, but no other evident truth, such as that of the existence of God, of the existence of this world, etc. From a base of operations, therefore, which was nothing more nor less than positive and universal doubt, Hermes entered on a campaign with no other weapons than those furnished by his human intelligence ; but the reader must not confound this universal doubt of the German speculativist with the methodical doubt of the Father of Modern Philosophy, Descartes. The doubt exercised by the French philosopher turned on metaphysical, not on moral certitude ; he admitted, because of the moral evidence in their favor, things which an absence of metaphysical proof would have led him to reject ; he excluded from his doubt, and most formally, not only those first principles which are universally admitted, and which he regarded as innate in the intellect of man, but also all the truths of divine faith and of the supernatural order ; in fine, the methodical doubt of Descartes had nothing in common with the scepticism toward which the less logical mind, and especially the less precise habit of formulating his mental conceptions, led the German dreamer. The infelicitous inability of Hermes to express himself with lucidity, even in contingencies when his personal orthodoxy was involved, led Gregory XVI. to remark, in a letter to Elvenich, a most enthusiastic Hermesian : “ I have read, examined, and weighed—*legi, examinavi, perpendi*—his doctrine. Hermes was undoubtedly a man of pure morality, and there can be no doubt as to his personal orthodoxy ; but it may be that he was unable to explain his thoughts always in that precise manner which is indispensable in theology.” Hermes flattered himself, and his disciples applauded him, for having made a wonderful discovery ; namely, a hitherto hidden or ignored principle by means of which man could attain, by successive steps of rigorous demonstration, to all truth—simple, religious, Catholic—a principle which would compel every investigator to admit that either there exists no truth whatever, or that truth is Catholicism. After a patient examination of this specious but evidently dangerous as-

sumption, Pope Gregory XVI. condemned it in a Brief issued on Sept. 26, 1835, from which we make the following synopsis : " Among the teachers of error may be numbered George Hermes, who, departing most rashly from the path which universal tradition and the Fathers have traced for the explanation and defense of the truths of faith ; who, even despising and haughtily condemning that path ; has opened a road of darkness which leads to many different errors by establishing positive doubt as the basis of all theological investigation, and by declaring as a principle that reason is the sole means by which man can attain to the knowledge of supernatural truth. . . . This author wanders in his notions. He advances ideas which are absurd and utterly at variance with the doctrines of the Catholic Church, especially when he treats of the nature and the rule of faith ; when he speaks of the Holy Scriptures, tradition, revelation, and the primacy in the Church ; when he assigns the motives of credibility ; when he describes the ordinary arguments for the demonstration of the existence of God ; when he speculates on the essence of God, on His holiness, justice, and liberty ; when he talks of the end which God proposes to Himself in those works which theologians designate as *ad extra* ; when he touches the necessity and distribution of grace, and the matter of rewards and punishments ; and when he descants on our first parents, on original sin, and on the capabilities of fallen man. These works (1) must be condemned, as containing doctrines and propositions which are respectively false, rash, captious, leading to scepticism and indifferentism, erroneous, scandalous, destructive to divine faith, redolent of heresy, and already condemned by the Church." During two years, little or no attention was paid in Germany to this Brief. In the Universities of Munster, Bonn, and Breslau, the professors were nearly all Hermesians ; nearly all the clergy were infected with the poison ; and in Prussia, then at variance with the Holy See because of the question of mixed marriages, the power of the government was used to further the progress of anything that Rome condemned. But in 1837, Mgr. Droste-

(1) The principal works of Hermes are *The Internal Truth of Christianity*, Munster, 1805 ; an *Introduction to Philosophy*, 1825 ; a *Positive Introduction*, 1829 ; and his *Dogma*, 1834.

Wischering, an intrepid prelate, having been appointed to the see of Cologne, issued a pastoral prescribing obedience to the pontifical decision, and ordering that eighteen accompanying anti-Hermesian propositions should be signed by all the professors and students in his jurisdiction, as well as by all those having care of souls. Many of the recalcitrants appealed to the king; and on Nov. 20, the archbishop was thrust into a mail-coach, and conducted by a troop of dragoons to the fortress of Minden. Then the government convoked the Chapter for the election of an administrator of the diocese of Cologne; and the canons servilely chose the royal candidate, thus securing the restoration of all the Hermesians to the places from which Droste-Wischering had expelled them. Elvenich, Braun, and many other Hermesians, continued for years to plead their cause at Rome; always insisting that the condemnation of their opinions was a defence of the doctrine of Lamennais. But Cardinal Lambruschini, the Jesuits, Perrone and Roothan, and all other Roman theologians who took part in the correspondence, needed to merely paraphrase the reply which Gregory XVI. emitted: "Both parties are in error; they who attribute everything to faith and leave nothing to reason, and they who claim everything for reason and grant nothing to faith." Thirty-five years after Gregory thus expressed himself, the Nineteenth General Council in its Constitution *Dei Filius* (Chap. IV.), circumscribed the respective missions of faith and reason when it said that reason demonstrates the foundations of faith; and, enlightened by faith, it develops a knowledge of divine things—*Ratio fidei fundamenta demonstrat, ejusque lumine illustrata, rerum divinarum scientiam excolat.*" But until the Council of the Vatican had put an end to all discussions on this matter among men of good faith, there were many who took advantage of the condemnations which they liked, in order to advance theories which were equally amenable to censure; for instance, Bautain and Bonnetty in France, and certain less celebrated writers in Germany (1).

(1) The article on *Hermesianism*, written by Mattès for the *Church Lexicon* of Wetzer and Welte, is especially notable for this propensity. See the article on the same subject in Le Noir's *Adaptation of the Dictionary of Bergier to the Intellectual Movement of the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*. Paris, 1880.

While the Hermesians of Germany were displaying a Protestant-like obstinacy in regard to the Gregorian Brief which had condemned the vagaries of their master, an equally enthusiastic school in France was furnishing to them an example of becoming docility to the decisions of the Roman Pontiff. Louis Bautain, born in Paris in 1796, entered the Superior Normal College in 1814, and had for his teachers such men as Cousin and Royer-Collard. In 1817 he obtained the chair of philosophy in the Royal College of Strasbourg, and his lectures soon procured for him a wide reputation for eloquence and solidity of thought. An avowed deist, a severe sickness taught him the value of religion, and he became an ardent Catholic, devoting his talent and energies to the production of works, of which his *Morality of the Gospel Compared with the Morality of the Philosophers* (1827) may be regarded as a sample. The conversion of Bautain was followed by that of many of his admirers, among whom we may mention three Israelites, Ratisbonne, (1) Goshler, and Lewal. These disciples, together with a young man who was destined to celebrity as Father Gratry of the Oratory, and another who in time became Cardinal de Bonnechose, followed their master into the priesthood; and Mgr. Legappe de Trévern, bishop of Strasbourg, confided his preparatory seminary to their care. But very soon it was rumored that an unsound philosophy was being taught by the new professors; and having investigated, the bishop requested the Abbé Bautain to subscribe the following six propositions. I. Reason can demonstrate with certainty the existence of God. Faith, a gift of heaven, is posterior to revelation; therefore it cannot properly be adduced to an atheist as a proof of the existence of God. II. The Mosaic Revelation is proved with certainty by the oral and written tradition of the Synagogue and of Christianity. III. The argument of Christian Revelation, based on the miracles of Jesus Christ, so convincing to the eye-witness (of those miracles) has lost none of its force

(1) This Ratisbonne, the elder, took the name of Marie-Theodore at his baptism, which occurred in 1826. He founded the Society of Our Lady of Sion, destined to the conversion of Jews, in 1842. His younger brother, who took as a Christian the name of Alphonse-Marie, was not converted until 1842; and he ascribed his change to a miraculous apparition of Our Lady to him in the church of San Andrea delle Fratte in Rome. See *The Three Romes*, by Mgr. Gaume, Vol. II., p. 173. Paris, 1847.

for subsequent generations. We find this proof in the oral and written tradition of all Christians. IV. We have no right to expect an incredulist to admit the resurrection of our Divine Saviour before we have given to him certain proofs of it; and these proofs are derived by reasonings from tradition. V. The use of reason precedes faith, and through revelation and grace reason leads men to faith. VI. Reason can prove with certainty the Revelation given by Moses to the Jews, and by Jesus Christ to the Christians. From these propositions, intended to contradict the peculiar theories of Bautain, the reader will perceive that the fundamental principle of the well-meaning professor was that without faith, we can be sure of nothing, not even of the existence of God. Although similar to the error of Lamennais on the same subject, this theory should not be confounded with that of the great unfortunate. Both Lamennais and Bautain wished to humiliate individual reason, and indeed they had both annihilated it; but while the former admitted the testimony of men as a criterion of truth, and claimed that the *sensus communis* is the same as that of the Church, the latter discerned no certainty without the aid of divine faith. Bautain contended that the Holy Scriptures "contain everything that is true, and everything that is good"; that is, he would have told men to regard the Bible as the sole criterion of truth, even though he frequently lauded the worth of tradition. The reply of Bautain to the demand of his bishop was unsatisfactory; and after many efforts to bring the professor into more orthodox ways, the prelate referred the affair to the Holy See. Gregory XVI. gave his decision in a Brief dated Dec. 20, 1834, confirming the judgment of the bishop. Immediately after he was informed that "Rome had spoken," Bautain signed the six propositions; and accompanied by the Abbé Bonnechose, he went to Rome, there to confirm his act of submission. When he returned to Strasbourg, he declared: "We departed from Rome with hearts full and light, as happens to all who have done their duty" (1).

During nearly the whole of his pontificate, the paternal heart of Gregory XVI. was afflicted by the persecution vis-

(1) *L'Ami de la Religion*, Vol. lxxxi., p. 305, 387, 418, 448.

ited by the government of Prussia on its Catholic subjects, because of their desire to obey the laws of the Church in the matter of mixed marriages. The dangers which are nearly always attendant on these unions had been immensely aggravated in 1803, when it was ordered by His Prussian Majesty that thereafter the Catholic party should not exact from the Protestant one a solemn promise that all children of the union should be raised as Catholics. This iniquitous law, which deprived the Prussian Catholics of that free exercise of their religion which had been assured to them by many treaties, was renewed in 1815; and after many years of suffering, the bishops of Prussia besought the Holy See to devise, if possible, some means of satisfying their tyrannical government without prejudice to Catholic duty. This appeal was made in the beginning of 1830, and on March 25, Pope Pius VIII. replied as follows: "You know full well the horror which the Church entertains for mixed marriages, unions which entail so many spiritual deformities and dangers. Precisely because of this horror, the Church has always insisted on obedience to those canons which prohibit those alliances. It is true that sometimes the Roman Pontiffs have derogated from this prohibition; but they so acted because of very grave reasons, and with the utmost reluctance. Again, they never failed to insert in the dispensations explicit conditions that there should be no danger of perversion for the Catholic party, and that all the progeny of both sexes should be trained in the Catholic religion. Therefore we would become guilty of a heinous crime before God and His Church, if we were to authorize you or the pastors in your dioceses to act in any way which might justify the conclusion that if the Church does not formally approve mixed marriages, she at least approves them indirectly and in reality. Each time, therefore, that a Catholic, especially a woman, wishes to espouse a non-Catholic, the pastor or bishop must instruct him or her in the canonical regulations concerning marriages; and they must warn him or her of the guilt which is incurred by a Catholic who dares to violate these canonical regulations by entering into a union, the consequence of which will be that the education of the

resulting children will depend entirely on the will of the non-Catholic parent. This salutary warning must be repeated, according as prudence may dictate, as the marriage-day approaches. Then, if the paternal counsels of the pastor have not been heeded, that pastor will indeed abstain from any censure of persons by name, simply in order to preserve religion from greater evils ; but, on the other hand, the pastor must not honor the marriage with any religious ceremony ; he must abstain from any act which might seem to imply that he has given his consent to the union. In fine, all that can be tolerated in these cases is that the pastors, for the sake of avoiding greater evils, may suffer the unions to be contracted in their presence ; that they may certify in the Registry of Marriages, that the union has been validly accomplished ; but that they shall beware of approving these illicit unions by any act of their own, above all by the use of any prayer or rite of the Church." All of the bishops of Prussia were not faithful to their duty in enforcing this Brief, which, as Gregory XVI. wrote, when commenting on it in 1837, "pushed its indulgence so far, that one might truly say that it reached the boundary line which could not be passed without violations of duty." But while the bishops of Treves, Munster, Breslau, and Paderborn compromised with the government, Mgr. Droste-Wischerling, as we have seen, and the Polish prelate, Mgr. Dunin of Giesen and Posen, suffered imprisonment for their fidelity to conscience. When, despite the chicaneries and even perfidies of the Prussian cabinet, and of its ambassador in Rome, Bunsen, the true state of affairs was made known to Gregory XVI., he stigmatized the injustice of the tyrant in Berlin in language so energetic, that even the delinquent prelates were brought to a sense of their episcopal obligations. On his death-bed in Nov., 1836, the bishop of Treves had already announced that he rejected the agreement with the government into which he and his three companions in weakness had entered ; and now the bishops of Munster and Paderborn followed his example. The bishop of Breslau heeded the exhortation of the Pontiff, and resigned his diocese. A general reaction occurred among the pastors who had been timid in the face of

civil power; and in 1838 the king, Frederick William III., deemed it the part of prudence to issue a decree whereby he admitted that it pertained to the bishop alone to judge as to what marriages in his diocese could receive the priestly benediction. Gregory XVI., wishing to give an object-lesson in this important matter to the Catholic world, caused an official account of the whole affair, together with all the documents which it had originated, to be published in Rome. When Frederick William IV. mounted the Prussian throne (1840), our Pontiff had the satisfaction of learning that the new monarch condescended to allow the bishops in his dominions to hold direct relations with the Father of Christendom; thereafter, decreed the king, the prelates should not be obliged to submit every iota of their correspondence with Rome to the good Protestant judgment of the royal prime minister (1).

The religious condition of Spain afflicted the heart of Gregory XVI. during his entire pontificate. Under the Napoleonic domination, two-thirds of the religious establishments in that pre-eminently Catholic land had been confiscated; some of the Religious Orders had been entirely suppressed; many of the bishops and their Chapters had been led either by fear or by bribery to receive the Articles of 1682. When Ferdinand VII. was restored to his throne, he re-established religious affairs in their olden condition; but in 1821 the false "liberalism" of the time imposed on him a revolutionary Constitution which led men to fear that the days of Aranda had returned (2). Immediately after the birth of the Princess Isabella in 1830, the influence of her mother, Maria Christina of Naples, induced Ferdinand VII. to abolish the Salic Law, to the prejudice of the legitimate heir to the crown, his brother, Don Carlos. Ferdinand died in 1833, and the three-year-old Isabella was proclaimed queen, under the regency of her mother. Then "liberalism" and all its attendant miseries became the order of the day in Spain; translations of every pre-eminently anti-Catholic or atheistic work were diffused throughout the land, and every other means for the demoralization

(1) *L'Ami de la Religion*, Vol. lxxxiv. and ci.—ALZOG; Vol. iii., p. 529, 539.

(2) See our Vol. iv., p. 468.

of the Spanish people was adopted. This revocation of that clause of the Salic Law, whereby a female was debarred from the Spanish throne, and which had been brought to the peninsula by its first Bourbon king, the grandson of Louis XIV., is so intimately connected with all the ecclesiastical as well as the political vicissitudes of the Land of the Cid during the last seventy years, that a brief narration of the means by which the abolition was effected will not be foreign to the purposes of our work. During the usurpation of the Spanish throne by Joseph Bonaparte, his French officers were indefatigable in their endeavors to propagate the ethics of Freemasonry, and thus to un-Hispanize a people who could not otherwise be conquered. A certain amount of success was attained, for men of the stamp of Llorente, the Josephist writer on the Spanish Inquisition, are always to be found in every land; but to the immense mass of the Spanish people a Freemason remained synonymous with a Frenchified Iberian, one who was practically a traitor to his country, an *Afrancesado* who was stench to the nostrils of a Spanish patriot. When the curtain fell on the Napoleonic drama, the weak hold of Freemasonry on Spain became still more feeble; and the "liberalization" of the Spanish throne became a matter of life or death for the Lodges. Other than a Masonic brain might have excogitated the plot which was now conceived; but none other than Masonic engineering could have executed it. During the year 1824 there was circulated among the Lodges an instruction from the Grand Orient, in which the following passage occurred: "In the present emergency, we should put forth greater efforts than ever to produce discord in the families of the despots. Throughout the entire extent of the Peninsula the Lodges must spread the report that malcontent royalists have conspired to dethrone Ferdinand VII. and to proclaim Don Carlos as king; that the other brothers of the king are accomplices in this design; and that the frequent visits of numerous royalists to the residences of the Infantes have no other object" (1). The diabolic order was obeyed. In 1826,

(1) The entire text of this instruction is given in the *History of Secret Societies in Spain*, by V. de La Fuente, Vol. iii., p. 662, *et seqq.* Madrid, 1850.

Spain was deluged with what purported to be copies of *pronunciamientos* emanating from royalist societies, and insisting on the substitution of Don Carlos for his brother on the throne of Spain. All of these incendiary documents were composed and printed in London, to which city the leaders of the Spanish adepts of Square and Triangle had fled (1). King Ferdinand began to mistrust his brother; the masses of the people knew not what to expect or what to fear. Don Carlos himself, a man of elevated character, sincerely religious, and of unimpeachable morality, was respected even by the Freemasons, and was loved by all of orthodox Spain; he was the presumptive heir to the crown, since the three successive marriages of the king had furnished no prince-royal. Naturally the king was jealous of this brother who was so greatly loved, and who seemed destined to succeed him; but when the Masonic trap was sprung, Ferdinand quickly recalled to mind the many instances of independence of judgment which Don Carlos had displayed, and the allegations of the sectarians were credited. However, the calumniated prince demanded an investigation; more than a thousand persons were interrogated, and the accused emerged triumphant from the ordeal. But the Lodges were not dismayed. On May 18, 1829, death claimed Queen Amelia, the pious third wife of Ferdinand VII.; and on June 19, the monarch, conquered by the arguments of his sister-in-law, Carlotta, daughter of King Francis I., of the Two Sicilies, made a demand on that sovereign for the hand of Carlotta's sister, Maria Christina. The marriage was celebrated on Dec. 15 of the same year; and great was the rejoicing in the Lodges, for several of the Neapolitan Bourbons had been enticed into the Masonic meshes, and it was well known that Maria Christina was not free from the contagion, although she had not given herself, like Carlotta, in bondage to the Brethren of the Three Points (2). In last analysis, all the miseries of Spain during the last seven decades may

(1) See *The Revolutions of Spain from 1808 to the End of 1836, With Biographical Sketches of the Most Distinguished Personages, and a Narrative of the War in the Peninsula, Down to the Present Time, from the Most Authentic Sources*, by W. Walton; Vol. I., p. 363. London, 1837.

(2) LA FUENTE; *Loc. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 510-599.

be charged to the Princess Carlotta, the willing instrument of the Lodges. Soon after the birth of the Infanta Isabella, the king was besieged by the two sisters with entreaties for an abolition of the Salic Law, so that in the event of no male issue being born to His Majesty by Christina, the royal diadem might devolve, not on Don Carlos, but on his niece. The decree was issued; but remorse soon seized on Ferdinand, and profiting by the absence of Carlotta, who was then in Andalusia, he signed a codicil to his will, revoking the unjust abolition. The execution of this codicil was to have remained a secret between His Majesty and the Minister, Calomarde; but there were too many adepts of the Square and Triangle in the palace. Carlotta was informed of the danger threatening the Masonic scheme; she hastened her return to La Granja; and aided by Christina, she so worried the vacillating monarch, then stretched on his bed of death, that the codicil was cancelled, and Don Carlos was summoned to acknowledge the baby Isabella as his future sovereign. The prince protested that he would defend with the armed hand his own rights and the true interests of the Spanish people; from that moment the Carlist flag was unfurled. While the king was dying, but apparently able to give sane directions, every member of the Ministry was dismissed, and his place was filled by some pet of the Lodges; and a decree of amnesty, recalling to Spain all the exiled sectarians, was promulgated. King Ferdinand VII. died in 1833, and with the regency of Queen Christina, under the ægis of Freemasonry, there began for Spain the most unhappy period of her history, a period of civil war and chronic revolution, and one the end of which no man can now foresee (1).

(1) If we rely on the knowledge possessed by the Masonic Grand Orient of Spain, there were no traces of Masonry in the Peninsula before 1728. In June and September, 1875, that esteemed Masonic authority, the *Monde Maçonnique*, published a long communication from the Spanish Grand Orient, in which we read: "The first traces of Masonry in Spain are those of a propaganda by that Masonry which was reformed in England in 1717, receiving the name of philosophical (See our Vol. iv., p. 411). . . . In a quarterly meeting of these English brethren, held on Wednesday, April 17, 1728, in the Crown Tavern near the London Stock Exchange, the delegate of the Grand Orient communicated a letter from some Masons of Madrid and other places in Spain, in which it was told how advantage had been taken of the presence of the Duke of Wharton (*sic*), in order to found a Lodge named *Matritense* in the street *Ancha de San Bernardo*. This Lodge met on the first Sunday of every month. The letter is dated Jan. 15, 1728; and it was signed by Philip, Duke of Wharton (*sic*), delegate of the Grand-Master; by Charles de Labelye, Venerable

Pope Gregory XVI. recognized the new government of Spain, just as he had recognized those of the recently revolted Spanish-American colonies ; that is, as a government *de facto*, pre-scinding entirely from the question of abstract rights. He had proclaimed the necessity of this procedure in reference to the Mexicans and South Americans in his Bull *Sollicitudo Ecclesiarum*, dated Aug. 31, 1831 ; and precisely because, as Wiseman remarked : " At the moment when changes were rapidly made in governments and dynasties, and when sceptres passed from hand to hand with the rapidity of magical or illusory exhibitions, it was at once bold and prudent to lay down simple principles by which the judgment of the Holy See might be easily anticipated ; at the same time that it kept itself clear of all internal disputes and embarrassing appeals during actual contests." However, the prudent policy of the Pope did not conciliate those whom the votaries of the Dark Lantern had blinded. In 1834 the cholera appeared in Madrid ; and simultaneously the " Liberals " spread the report that the priests, and of course the Jesuits especially, had poisoned the water-sources. On July 17 a furious mob attacked the Jesuit College, and massacred several of the fathers, using in some cases refinements of tortures which would have done credit to the minions of the English Elizabeth and Cromwell. Similar scenes were also enacted at the establishments of the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Fathers of Mercy. In 1835 the same panorama of " liberalism " was exhibited in Saragossa, Barcelona, Cordova, and many minor cities. In 1836, under the cloak of the authority of the six-year-old Isabella, the Masonic Ministry confiscated all the property of the Religious Orders ; and then came the turn of the secular clergy. Hundreds of the priests and many of the bishops were banished ; churches, asylums, and hospitals were pillaged. On Feb. 1, 1836, and on several oc-

by Richard I, First Vigilant ; etc., etc. Therefore, the first authentic trace of Spanish Masonry, attested by documents still existing in Madrid and in London, shows that the institution began here, just as in France, through a delegation from the English Grand-Master ; and that a Frenchman was the first Venerable." The reader must not forget that it was not until ten years after this birth of Spanish Masonry, that the Order was condemned by the Church. This fact will account readily for what would otherwise be inexplicable—that Masonry should have been able to establish itself, though never so slightly, on Spanish soil.

casions during the following five years, the Pope begged for the prayers of Christendom in behalf of the afflicted Church of Spain. To the first Allocution of the Pontiff, the Masonic tool and champion, Espartero, replied with a manifesto which characterized the papal complaint as "offensive to Spanish honor, and a declaration of war." All relations with the Holy See were suspended; and the vacant sees were filled by persons named by the government, and installed by force. But the "Duke of Victory" was banished from Spain; and when, in 1844, the majority of Isabella II. placed, to some extent, the reins of power in her own hands, comparative peace was restored to the Spanish Church. We must note, however, that no restoration of the stolen ecclesiastical property was made; post-Reformation history shows that just as in England, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries, so in Catholic countries which have periodically succumbed to Masonic rule, the grip of the state on Church property is never loosened, once that it has been effected (1).

Portugal also was the occasion of much sorrow and anxiety to Gregory XVI. Just as in the case of Spain, the Napoleonic fever and its accompanying Masonic eruptions had left the patient on the verge of both political and spiritual death. The reader will remember that when the armies of Napoleon invaded Portugal in 1807, the regent, afterward King John VI., fled to the most promising of the Portuguese colonies, Brazil, leaving to England the task of defending his native land. The fall of Napoleon having restored to him his European crown, Dom Juan preferred to remain in Rio Janeiro, styling himself "King of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves"; thus reducing, as it were, his European dominions to the condition of a quasi-dependency on an American state. The Portuguese bore the absence of the royal court with bad grace; the agents of the Dark Lantern found their task easy when they incited the mob to a revolution; nor did the promulgation of a new Constitution, that panacea of the "liberals" for all political evils, and for the introduction of which John VI. made the long

(1) For interesting details concerning the vicissitudes of the Church of Spain during the pontificate of Gregory XVI., see *L'Ami de la Religion*, Vol. xxiii., p. 82-93; HENRIOT: *History*, Vol. xiii., p. 253, et seqq.

voyage from his loved Brazil, please the majority of the nation. When John VI. died in 1826, his eldest son and heir, Dom Pedro, avowing that, like his father, he preferred Brazil as a home and as a kingdom, resigned the crown of Portugal to his daughter, Doña Maria da Gloria; and with the resignation he presented to his Portuguese subjects, by way of parting gift, a presumably glorious second Constitution which he had imitated from the French *Charte* which was then not very much loved or respected by the subjects of Charles X. When passing the crown of Portugal to his daughter, Dom Pedro had chosen to ignore a fundamental law of the kingdom, which, voted by the Cortes in 1641, and confirmed by letters-patent of King John IV. on Sept. 12, 1642, decreed that if the Portuguese monarch should ever don a second crown, that of Portugal should pass to his nearest male kinsman. This kinsman, in the present case, was Dom Miguel, a brother of Dom Pedro, whom that monarch had constituted regent during the minority of Doña Maria da Gloria. The national sentiment called on Dom Miguel to assert his right; and as soon as the British forces had departed, that prince convoked the Cortes. Dom Pedro was pronounced a foreigner, because of his now separate kingdom of Brazil; therefore he could not pass the crown of Portugal to his daughter; therefore, but also because of the fundamental law of 1642, Dom Miguel was proclaimed king of Portugal in July, 1828. The Lodges put forth all their strength to prevent the triumph of "absolutism" in the person of Dom Miguel; but in the civil war which ensued, although the power and money of England aided the "liberals," the legitimate monarch everywhere triumphed, and had not the French Revolution of 1830 occurred, his reign would have been consolidated. Louis Philippe, influenced by his natural fear of legitimacy, and by England, whose commercial clutch on Portugal was threatened by Dom Miguel, declared for Doña Maria; and after a gallant struggle against England, the dominating powers in France, and the Brethren of the Three Points, legitimacy in Portugal succumbed. The triumph of the Lodges was signalized immediately by an onslaught on the Church. On Sept. 30,

1833, Pope Gregory XVI. protested, in an Allocution to the Sacred College, against the banishment of entire religious communities from Portugal, and against a decree whereby the government of Lisbon had forbidden all religious orders in its jurisdiction to receive any more novices. On Aug. 17, 1834, the Pontiff complained, in another Allocution, of a law by which all convents, colleges, hospitals, and asylums, owned by religious communities, were suppressed, all their property being confiscated to the state. The preamble to this law, said Gregory, contained a quantity of calumnies, than which "the most virulent enemy of religion and of the holy institutes could not invent anything more outrageous, more false and more opposed by incontestable monuments of ecclesiastical history." Truly, the adepts of Square and Triangle had waxed strong in Catholic Portugal, since the first introduction of their baneful society into that land in the first years of the nineteenth century (1), or perhaps during the ministry of the infamous Pombal (2). Probably much of the success of Masonry in Portugal is due to the fact that in the time of Pombal very many of the educated and aristocratic class were infected with Jansenism; it is certain that the famous Jansenist journal, the *Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques* which we have already introduced to the reader (3), was widely circulated in Lisbon. Again, an ultracismontanism such as no Gallican ever accepted had been rife in Portugal during many years; as a "liberal" writer of our day avows, this spirit had paralyzed religious zeal in its possessors (4). Moving in an atmosphere of Jansenism and Gallicanism, the votaries of Masonry could well be confident that the religious face which they presented would

(1) According to the *Chaine d'Union*, a Masonic organ much esteemed by European adepts, the first Lodges in Portugal were founded by English and French brethren during the Napoleonic era. See this journal for 1872-73, p. 581-584.

(2) Joseph Delvaux, an ecclesiastic of some distinction, who sojourned in Portugal during the critical period from 1829 to 1834, and whose *Unedited Letters on the Restoration of the Jesuits in Portugal* were published in Paris in 1866, says: "No one doubts that the rebels have issued from the Masonic Lodges. A constant tradition attributes to Pombal the establishment of the first regular lodge in Lisbon. It was modelled on those of England, which he had known while he was ambassador in that country.... Whether he himself was a Mason, cannot be verified; but it is indubitable that he and the sect which he transplanted to Portugal prepared the events, the consequences of which we now behold."

(3) See our Vol. iv., p. 587, in Note.

(4) DE LAVELEYE, *Letters from Italy*. Paris, 1880.

not be detested as a mask. It was in the name of religion that the Constitutionals, directed by the Lodges, banished the religious orders almost as soon as Dom Miguel was defeated ; just as in 1862 they expelled the Sisters of Charity in the same name. Finally, we must remember that like the olden Gnostics and Manicheans, and like the more modern Albigenes and Templars, the adepts of Square and Triangle had been aided by the connivance of a no small portion of the secular clergy. After the Papacy, the chief object of the hostility of Masonry has ever been the Religious Orders ; and in Portugal especially care was taken to separate, ostensibly, the cause of these Orders from that of the secular clergy. Ecclesiastical property, when not owned by regular communities, was generally safe in the days of which we now write ; the privileges of the secular clergy, the external respect ostentatiously accorded to bishops, suffered no diminution ; no attempt to detract from the adventitious grandeurs of divine worship was as yet even excogitated. These tactics blinded the masses of the Portuguese people, while they acted as mental and spiritual soporifics to such of the secular clergy as were either supinely ignorant or profoundly worldly. It was not necessary for Masonry to penetrate into the seminaries, or into the ranks of the ordained clergy ; although, indeed, as in the case of the German Illuminati (1), very many ecclesiastics, some even of the higher order, suffered themselves to be drawn into the Lodges. The object of the conspirators was gained when the greater part of the Portuguese secular clergy, bishops as well as priests, had been implicitly separated from the centre of Christian unity ; when, although not self-proclaimed schismatics, those deluded or perhaps conscious advocates of Gallicanism and of German Febronianism had become champions of all that the Brethren of the Three Points wished, at that moment, to actuate. We shall return to this point when, in our dissertation on Freemasonry in Latin America, we shall have occasion to descant on the melancholy state of religious matters in Brazil during the reign of Pius IX. One of the lamentable consequences of the malevolent attitude of the

(1) See our Vol. iv., p. 427,

Portuguese government of this period toward the Holy See was the schism of Goa, which, to the great detriment of the missionary cause in Hindostan, was not terminated until our day. The right of patronage which the Portuguese cabinet, with no view to the spiritual welfare of the peoples of India, insisted on exercising even in regions where it no longer enjoyed any jurisdiction, had produced many evils. Many of the bishops were destitute of any qualifications for the episcopate, and many insisted on residing in the more comfortable mother-country. Pope Gregory XVI. resolved to strike at the root of the evil. In 1838 he promulgated the Bull *Multa Præclare*, abolishing all the Portuguese bishoprics in India, and instituting in their place a number of Apostolic Vicariates in immediate dependence from the Holy See. The episcopal creatures of His Most Faithful Majesty's sectarian cabinet refused to obey the pontifical decree; the majority of the Portuguese clergy in India were equally contumacious; and many of the people, innocent and dumbfounded, found themselves drawn into the vortex of schism.

At the time when Gregory XVI. occupied the pontifical throne, the slave-trade, which in the olden time had been conducted by Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Portuguese, to almost the same extent as by Englishmen and Hollanders, was nearly exclusively in the hands of adventurers, who were either British subjects or citizens of the then orthodox Puritan regions around Cape Cod. When the Pontiff issued, on Dec. 3, 1839, his Bull *In Supremo Apostolatus Fastigio* against the nefarious traffic in human beings, he knew that his words would be heeded by only a small portion of the comparatively small contingent of Catholic traders in human liberty; but he performed his duty in words even more energetic than those which, in 1888, the now reigning Leo XIII. used in a similar contingency. The Pontiff showed how his predecessors had always condemned human slavery, whether that of the negro race in which nearly all Europe and America had been engaged for centuries; or that of the South American and Mexican aborigines, the guilt of which, during the sixteenth century, was shared equally by Spaniards and Portuguese; or, Gregory might have added, that of the white race,

initiated by the "pious" Cromwell, and continued by his equally pious successors in the government of Protestant England. Pope Pius II., on Oct. 7, 1462, had excommunicated the Portuguese who captured slaves in Guinea. Paul III., who had already declared that any attempted justification of Indian slavery was "an invention of the demon," had written, on May 29, 1537, to the archbishop of Toledo a letter which, as no occasion for its presentation occurred when we were treating of the sixteenth century, we here transcribe: "The Incarnate Wisdom, which can neither deceive nor be deceived, ordered its apostles to preach the Gospel and to instruct every people without distinction in its light, because all are capable of receiving that light. But the inveterate adversary of the human race, always hostile to good works and to whatever leads men to salvation, wished to prevent the preaching of the Gospel to all, and therefore he invented a means unknown before our days. Men filled with cupidity, and constantly intent on satisfying it, have served as instruments for the malice of Satan which would prevent, if possible, the Church from receiving into her bosom all the peoples of the West and the East who have been only recently made known to her. According to these masters of lies, the Indians should be regarded and treated as beasts, and reduced to slavery, because they do not possess the faith, or because they are incapable of receiving it. Under this pretext, which experience has proved to be an insensate calumny, the poor Indians are treated more harshly than beasts of burden. . . . Not being able to forget that we are the Vicar of Jesus Christ, representing Him on earth in the office confided to us through no merit of our own, we shall never neglect anything which may bring all the sheep into the fold of the Good Shepherd. Nor are the Indians less worthy of our attention, being men like ourselves; for we know not only that they are capable, after instruction, of receiving the gift of faith, but that they use praiseworthy endeavors to advance in Christian piety. Therefore, in order to render to them the justice that is due to them, and in order to remove what would be an obstacle to their conversion, we declare that the Indians, like all other races of men, even

though they are not baptized, should enjoy their natural liberty, together with the ownership of their properties; that no man has a right to disturb them in the possession of what they have received from the beneficent hand of God; and that everything done to the contrary is condemned by both the divine and the natural law" (1). Following in the steps of Pius II., Paul III., Urban VIII. (April 22, 1639), and Benedict XIV. (Dec. 20, 1741), Gregory XVI. insisted on that fact which the Protestant Macaulay was fain to admit, that the Catholic Church had always endeavored to abolish the institution of slavery. "This solicitude of our predecessors," continued Gregory, "contributed not a little to protect the Indians from the cruelty of their conquerors and from the cupidity of Christian merchants. Nevertheless, much is yet to be done before the efforts of the Holy See will be crowned with entire success; for the traffic in negroes, though partially prohibited, is still conducted by very many Christians. Wishing, therefore, to banish this ignominy from every Christian country, and following in the footsteps

(1) Robertson, in his *History of America*, bk. viii., says that in spite of this Bull of Paul III., the Council of Lima of 1567 ordered that, because of their incapacity, the Eucharist should not be administered to the Indian converts; and he adds that in his time, although two centuries have passed since the Indians of Latin America became Catholics, scarcely one can be found with intelligence sufficient to warrant the priests in admitting him to Communion. He admits that some few of the Indians acquire an academic education, but he says that they are esteemed by the Catholic clergy as of no account, and are never admitted to Holy Orders. That Robertson, in this matter as in very many others, erred egregiously, if not also wilfully, is evident to him who reads the decree of the council which was held in Lima in 1567, ordering that whenever the Indians showed that they understood the meaning of Holy Communion, and were otherwise fit, they should be admitted to the altar like other Christians. We give the words of the decree. "*Hujus provincie antistes cum animadvertent gentem hanc Indorum et recentem esse et infantilem in fide, atque id illorum saluti expedire judicarent, statuerunt ut usque dum fidem perfecte tenerent, hoc Divino Sacramento, quod est perfectorum cibum, non communicarentur, recepto si quis ei percipiendi satis idoneus videretur. . . . Placuit huic sanctae synodo monere, prout serio monet, omnes Indorum parochos, ut quos, audita jam confessione, perspexerint hunc celestem cibum a reliquo corporali discernere, atque eundem devote cupere et poscere, quoniam sine causa neminem divino alimento privare possumus, quo tempore ceteris Christianis solent, Indis omnibus administrarent.*" A decree of the second Council of Lima, held in 1583, shows that it was the fault of many of the priests that many of the Indians did not approach the altar; that these priests were negligent, not that the Church despised the Indians, or that the Indians were too ignorant; or, as Robertson is careful to tell his ignorant readers in England, that the faith of the Indians was unsubstantial and vacillating. This second Council of Lima had for its president St. Toribio Mogrobo, and his participation was a sufficient guarantee of the prudence and accuracy of the proceedings. The synodals said: "*Celeste Viaticum, quod nulli ex hac vita migranti negat mater Ecclesia, multis ab hinc annis Indis atque Aethiopibus ceterisque miserabilibus præberi debere, Concilium Limense constituit. Sed tamen, sacerdotum plurimum vel negligentia vel zelo quodam præpostero atque intempestivo,*

of our predecessors, we warn all Christians, let them be of any condition whatsoever, that they are commanded by us to no longer molest Indians, negroes, or any other race of men, by despoiling them of their goods, or by reducing them to slavery; or by aiding or encouraging those who conduct that inhuman traffic which proceeds on the principle that the blacks are not men, but rather animals created for servitude, and which, therefore, contrary to the dictates of justice and humanity, buys and sells those unfortunates, and condemns them to tasks which are often insupportable. By virtue of our Apostolic authority, we order that no ecclesiastic or layman presume to defend the traffic in negroes as licit under any pretext whatsoever; and that no ecclesiastic pre-

illis nihilo majis hodie prebetur. Quo fit ut imbecilles animæ tanto bono, tamque necessario, priventur. Volens igitur Sancta Synodus ad executionem perducere quæ, Christo duce, ad salutem Indorum ordinata sunt, severe præcipit omnibus parochis, ut extreme laborantibus Indis atque Æthiopibus Viaticum administrare non prætermittant, dummodo in eis debitam dispositionem agnoscant, nempe, fidem in Christum et penitentiam in Deum. . . . Porro parochos, qui a prima hujus decreti promulgatione negligentes fuerint, noverint se, præter divinæ ultionis judicium, etiam penas arbitrio ordinariorum daturus." As for Robertson's assertions concerning an irremediable deficiency of intellect on the part of the Mexican and South American Indians, and the weakness of their faith, we may cite to the contrary a letter which Garces, the third bishop of Tlascala in Mexico, wrote to Pope Paul III. in 1556, in which the prelate placed his Indian diocessans on a higher spiritual and intellectual plane than that occupied by very many of the whites of his flock. The letter is given in full by Canth, bk. xiv., ch. 6. At the time that Garces wrote, nearly a century before the Pilgrim Fathers landed in America, there were more than a million Christian Indians in Mexico alone, and in the Seminary of the Holy Cross hundreds of them were studying Latin, rhetoric, philosophy, and medicine. As for the assertion that the Indians were not admitted to the priesthood, had Robertson known anything about the policy of the Catholic Church toward newly-converted peoples, and had he been disposed to tell the truth on matters affecting that Church, he would have abstained from this calumny. It is true that the First Provincial Council of Mexico, held in 1555, prohibited the ordination of Indians; but it expressly stated that the reason for its action was the too inferior social condition of the neophytes, an inferiority which would possibly discredit the ecclesiastical state. And this prohibition was enforced for only thirty years. In the Third Provincial Council of Mexico, held in 1585, it was decreed that an aborigine should be on a perfect equality with the whites in all matters of the sanctuary. Of course, Robertson, holding a brief for the Anglo-Saxon, and perhaps also for the "Scotch-Irish" race (he was a Scotchman), and being unable to deny that those sons of the Establishment and of the Covenant were sweeping the Indian peoples from every territory into which they carried the English flag, could not abide the picture presented by Latin America. He saw contented populations, at least the equals of his countrymen in refinement, and indefinitely superior in morality. The Spaniards and Portuguese had not exterminated their Indian subjects, but had converted them, civilized them, and intermarried with them; and seven-eighths of the inhabitants of Latin America were then, as now, of either pure or mixed Indian blood. Hence the desire of the Presbyterian minister and royal historiographer to represent the missionary work of the Catholic Church in America as a failure; and to effect that object he endeavored to prove by the admissions of Catholic prelates that the Christianity of the great bulk of the Mexican and South American population was a mere veneering.

sume to teach, in public or in private, anything which may contradict the teaching of this, our Apostolic Letter."

We shall find occasion for comment on other features of the pontificate of Gregory XVI., in several of the following dissertations. The cited work of Cardinal Wiseman will furnish the reader with much interesting information regarding the rule of this Pontiff as a temporal sovereign, and with many illustrations of his sanctity as a man. We would merely remark that Gregory XVI. never forgot that he had been, and, in more senses than one, was still a monk. Amid the splendors of the pontifical throne he preserved for himself the simplicity and austerity of the cloister. Just as in the monasteries of his youth and matured manhood, his bed was a harsh mattress of straw; and his private table emitted no groans under the monastic fare which more than satisfied him. He was kind to his relations, and to every one of his household; but he never allowed natural affection to entice him beyond the bounds of strict justice. He was very shrewd, Christianly simple though he was, to the innermost depths of his soul. Thus, although he could half-forgivingly, half-criticizingly remark concerning Bishop Mastai-Ferretti of Imola, the future Pope Pius IX., that "in the Mastai house even the cat is a liberal," he heartily agreed with his friend, Father Ventura, as to the necessity of an anti-Austrian policy—a policy which Pius IX. was to actuate. Gregory XVI. went to his reward on June 1, 1846, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign.

CHAPTER VII.

LACORDAIRE AND LAMENNAIS.*

One of the most peculiar and most attractive personages whom history can discover; an impassioned friend of the nineteenth century, "in the very depths of whose bowels he was born" (1); and, nevertheless, a submissive conquest of the

* This Chapter appeared as an article in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Vol. xxii.

(1) Montalembert on Lacordaire.

faith to which he afterward subjugated so many happy souls ; Lacordaire was, of all the public men of our day, the most striking instance of what Catholicism can do for the natural man. Passionately devoted to liberty in a society which was too apt to confound that sacred gift with unbridled license, Lacordaire was saved by his Catholicism from a plunge into the gulf of anarchy. Endowed with a subtlety of imagination which is rarely given to man, he would have conceived arguments for any and every attractive theory, and would have wandered into the paths of intellectual and spiritual darkness, had he not been guided by the Star of Bethlehem. But because he was Catholic to the core, the quondam disciple of the mutilated Titan, Lamennais, bowed before the decision of the Chair of Peter ; the editor of *L'Avenir* transferred his logic and his eloquence to the pulpit of Notre Dame ; the Christian liberal of 1848 preserved his honor and his true liberty by abandoning the Constituent Assembly of the Second Republic ; and finally, just as in 1832 he had said that " he departed from Rome free and victorious," so at the end of his career he was able to proclaim that " the Catholic Church is the liberatrix of the human mind." Catholic in every pulsation of his heart, in every conception of his mind, he could love men without loving the world ; human respect, that most powerful obstacle to the propagation of every kind of truth, was conquered by him on the day when he bent to the yoke of Christ ; and therefore no man, better than Lacordaire, could effect that work for which he was pre-eminently distinguished—the infusion of shame for their cowardice into the hearts of those children of the Revolution who dreaded to be seen entering into a church. " Lacordaire caused these disciples of Voltaire to make the sign of the cross like Marceau, and to communicate with Paqueron and Ozanam " (1). He knew how to reach the hearts, to illumine the intellects of the devotees of that false liberalism which Montalembert has so thoroughly revealed to us. And yet this orator and polemic, who reminds us of Bossuet ; this tribune and political leader, who seemed to be another O'Connell ; this priest and ascetic, who stands forth

(1) PELLISSIER : *The Glories of Christian France*, p. 239. Paris, 1890.

among the living and dead of the nineteenth century as the most perfect embodiment of the spirit of St. Dominic, had himself drunk deeply of the poisoned waters of that bastard liberalism. His widowed mother, a strong and courageous Christian, had transmitted and developed her own characteristics in her four sons; and while he was still a child, the favorite recreation of little Henri was to preach some juvenile attempts at sermons to a congregation composed of his nurse and playmates. But when, after a sojourn of seven years at the State Lycée of Dijon, her boys returned to her maternal embraces, Mme. Lacordaire found that not one of them could join in her prayers. The future *conferencier* of Notre Dame says in his *Memoirs*: "When seventeen years old, I left college with my religion destroyed . . . holding before my eyes, as the luminary of my life, the human ideal of glory. And this result is easily explained. We had lived continually, during the course of our education, surrounded by the examples of ancient heroism and by the masterpieces of antiquity; and nothing had supported our faith while following a system in which the divine word gave forth only an indistinct sound, without eloquence and without consequences." In fine, the yoke of the University of that day was on the young Lacordaire; like all his professors, he cherished the vague reveries of Deism, and breathed the miasma of Voltairian scepticism.

Shortly after his admittance to the bar, Lacordaire, then only twenty-two years of age, attained to such distinction that the great Berryer predicted to him: "It is in your power to reach the highest rank in our profession." And the president, Séguier, remarked, after listening to one of his pleadings: "Gentlemen, it is not Patru that we have heard, but Bossuet." But at this very time, amid the whisperings of ambition, and in spite of the sentimental Deism of Rousseau, which he had brought from the University, Lacordaire had begun to apprehend that truth which illumined the old age of Chateaubriand: "The Christian idea is the future of the world. Far from having arrived at its end, the religion of the Saviour has scarcely entered on its third period—the political one. Although immovable in its dogmas, Christ-

ianity is mobile in the light that it sheds ; its transformation involves a general transformation " (1). In 1824 he was able to write to a friend : " It is strange, indeed, how my views have changed. Never was I more of a philosopher than I am at present ; but I believe more and more. . . . We can reach Christianity by all sorts of roads ; for it is the centre of all truths." Great was the surprise of M. Guillemin, the advocate to whom Lacordaire had brought letters of introduction when he arrived in Paris, when he heard that the priesthood was the great hope of the young man who but a year before had scorned the idea of going to confession. Mgr. de Quélen, the archbishop of Paris, was also surprised when the brilliant young lawyer requested him to procure his admission into the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice. " Gladly," replied the prelate ; " you have defended perishable interests at the bar ; now you shall defend those which are eternal."

From the moment of his entrance into the seminary, Lacordaire kept ever present before his mind, as he himself tells us, the great object of his life, and the great obstacle which he would probably encounter : " My object is to make Jesus Christ known to those who now know Him not ; the obstacle will be a desire to have men talk about me." The directors of Saint-Sulpice tested the vocation of their brilliant candidate to the utmost, and deferred his ordination long beyond the customary term ; but his humility stood the proof, and shortly after his ascent to the altar he gave a good indication of the spirit which animated him. One of his superiors, the Abbé Boyer, persuaded that he would effect more good in a position where his legal abilities and his knowledge of the world would be called into play, thus playfully addressed him : " Sit down ; I am about to make a cardinal of you." Then the Abbé told his late disciple that he had besought the royal Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs (Mgr. de Frayssinous), who had the right of appointment, to confer upon the young priest an auditorship of the Roman *Ruota*, which was then vacant. Such a position is generally a stepping-stone to the cardinalate ; but Lacor-

(1) *Memoirs from Beyond the Tomb*, Vol. II.

daire, far from manifesting any gratitude for M. Boyer's consideration, hastened to interject: "Had I coveted honors, I would have remained in the world; therefore, think no more of this project. I shall remain a simple priest, and probably I shall yet become a religious." It is evident that Lacordaire felt, with Pascal, that "the mania for being somebody destroys the best minds of our day. Glory is the best thing here below; and that very fact shows how little the things of earth really are."

Lacordaire began his priestly life at Paris just as he finished it at Sorèze; teaching the young, whose sympathies he knew so well how to captivate, at first as almoner in the College of Henry IV., and then in the same capacity with the Sisters of the Visitation. He devoted his spare time to the study of Christian apologetics, and to the gathering of those materials from the Bible, patrology, history, and philosophy, which afterward he used so advantageously in the pulpit. But he seems to have yearned for a more active life. We read that he often asked himself: "What am I doing? I dream, I read, I pray to the good God, I laugh two or three times a week, and I weep once or twice. Sometimes I rage against the University, that most unendurable child of kings that I know." He thought of becoming a missionary in the United States; and, having received permission from Mgr. de Quélen, he accepted the vicar-generalship of New York from Mgr. Dubois, who was then in Paris. However, it had been decreed by Providence that he should remain in his beloved France. He had already begun to bid farewell to his friends when he received from Abbé Gerbet a letter tendering him an associate editorship on the *Avenir*, then just founded by Lamennais. The motto of this new journal, "God and Liberty," banished from his mind every yearning for a foreign mission. Lamennais, Gerbet, and Montalembert had taken seriously the cry of "Liberty," with which the usurping "king of the *bourgeoisie*," Louis-Philippe, had saluted the forced flight of the lawful heir of St. Louis. They thought that they saw some hope in that insult to the fallen monarch, "At last the Constitution will be a reality." They fancied that the "Days

of July" indicated a possibility of a successful assault on the thralldom of the University; in fine, they believed that freedom of education, for which the Catholics of France had prayed so long, was now attainable. One of the most judicious publicists of this century, the erudite Benedictine, Dom Piolin, thus speaks of the French University of our day, which was fondly supposed to have taken the place of the grand University of Paris. "Certainly the French University is an evil; it is founded on a principle which is false and contrary to Christianity. It is also the most active instrument of tyranny. The decree of March 17, 1808, by which Napoleon I. instituted it, was one of the greatest crimes of the despot—one of those by which he most efficaciously dishonored our unfortunate country. ... Talleyrand, another evil genius of France, had divined that a body constituted outside the Church, giving instruction to the youth of an entire nation, would produce a race similar, if not inferior, to the ancient pagans. The views of these two men have been realized; at the present hour they are being realized more and more; wait a little, and you will see their bitter fruits. If the Christian spirit, which is still strongly implanted in the hearts of the majority of the French people, did not succeed in rejecting the virus insinuated into the young children of both sexes, we should have to despair of the country; to expect, every ten or twelve years, the orgies of the Commune; and to behold the worst savagery, the normal condition of a nation without God, without worship, and without morality. How comes it, then, that many eminent men, many honorable characters, even many truly pious and learned priests, join a corporation whose consequences are so dangerous? To this question there are many answers. ... In the new University many of the old teaching corporations had some of their members; and these maintained an excellent spirit, impelling many to regard the institution as a continuation, or even a renovation, of the venerable University of Paris, with which it had nothing in common."

From this time, during several years the life of Lacordaire was intertwined with that of Lamennais. Before we sketch the career of this extraordinary man—a career which was so

agitated, sombre, and well-nigh tragic—a few words should be said concerning the sources which are available to one who wishes to form an approximately accurate conception of him. Of course, a good idea of the man may be attained by the excellent biographical studies which we possess in regard to those grand characters with whose careers that of Lamennais was connected during its most notable phases—the “Lives” of Lacordaire (1), Montalembert (2), Gerbet (3), and Maurice de Guérin (4). But although forty-three years have passed since the *corbillard des pauvres* conveyed the mortal frame of Lamennais to Père-la-Chaise, the illustrious unfortunate has not been the subject of a really satisfactory biographer; of one, that is, who has been able to discover and unite the details of his striking career. Ange Blaize, one of his nephews, published in 1858 a “Biographical Essay,” which gave many precious documents, but which was merely a sketch of his uncle’s life. In 1859 M. Forgues, to whom Lamennais had bequeathed his papers, published two volumes of interesting correspondence, but they cover only the years 1818–1840, as the relatives of Lamennais secured a decree from the Court of Appeals, in Paris, prohibiting Forgues from issuing any more of the letters (5). In 1866 Ange Blaize produced two volumes of unedited works, which embraced only those of the author’s early life (6). In the same year Eugene de la Gournerie, of all men one of the best versed in the religious matters of our century, edited the letters which the two Lamennais brothers had written to Gabriel Bruté, at first professor in the seminary of Rennes, then a priest on the American mission, and finally bishop of Vincennes, in Indiana (7). On the death of Mgr. Bruté, in 1839, these letters had passed into the hands of Bishop Dubois, of New York, and in time Archbishop Hughes gave them to

(1) *The Reverend Father H. D. Lacordaire*, by Chocarne.—*Father Lacordaire*, by Montalembert.—*Father Lacordaire*, by Guillermin.

(2) FOURNIER; *Charles de Montalembert*.

(3) LADOUE; *Mgr. Gerbet, His Life, His Works, and the Lamennaisian School*.

(4) D'ARVOR; *Eugenie and Maurice de Guérin*, in the *Illustrations du XIX^e Siècle*.

(5) *Posthumous Works of Lamennais, Published According to the Wish of the Author*.

(6) *Unedited Works of F. de Lamennais, Published by A. Blaize*.

(7) *Unedited Letters of J. M. and F. de Lamennais Addressed to Mgr. Bruté, with an Introduction by Eugene de la Gournerie*.

Henri de Courcy, an American correspondent of the *Paris Univers*. The packet bore the following endorsement by Bruté, which must interest American readers: "Seventy letters from the two brothers, Jean and Féli de Lamennais. Exceedingly interesting, as treating of the ecclesiastical, literary, and political affairs of that time. I must preserve this treasure, even after it has ceased to be one of friendship. Oh, my God! Accept this separation! How I feel it, even now that twelve years have passed!" In these letters of Féli, says La Gournerie, we hear "the ardent voice of Tertullian, and the sweeter accents of St. Francis de Sales."

Another excellent source of knowledge in regard to Lamennais is the already cited work on Gerbet by the Abbé de Ladoue (1872). "The life of Gerbet," says Sainte-Beuve, "is very simple, having but one episode—his relationship with Lamennais, to whom he gave himself, for many years, with an unlimited devotion, and which terminated only when the grand, immoderate spirit rebelled. Gerbet, after having fulfilled the duties of a religious friendship, after waiting and hoping, retired in silence. For a long time he had been to Lamennais what Nicole was to Arnauld—a moderator. He had softened his friend's asperities as much as possible, and had saved him from many collisions. Only when there remained no possibility of continuing the task did he grow weary" (1).

Another precious source of information is one by Arthur du Bois de la Villerabel (2), embracing one hundred and fifty-two letters, addressed to Louis Marion, one of the friends of Lamennais from his boyhood; and in this correspondence the writer probably reveals his soul as in none of his other letters.

Probably the most valuable source of information is that published in 1893 by the Oratorian, Alfred Roussel (3), a collection of letters written by the two Lamennais and by the principal frequenters of La Chênaie, which were furnished to Roussel by another Oratorian, Mathurin Houet,

(1) *Causeries du Lundi*, Vol. vi., p. 314.

(2) *Confidences of Lamennais*, 1896.

(3) *Lamennais, According to Unedited Documents*, by Alfred Roussel of the Oratory of Rennes.

whose life had been for many years bound up with that of the great writer, and who never despaired of the wanderer's ultimate conversion, as we shall see. The volume issued in 1895 by Eugene Spuller, a politician of some note in the councils of the present Third Republic, affects the profundity of a philosophical essay, but it furnishes nothing new concerning its subject.

In 1896 there appeared a work in English (1) which might have benefited those who cannot recur to the admirable writings of Roussel and Ricard, had the author confined himself to the cold facts which those judicious publicists had marked out for him, and had he not essayed reflections on philosophical and theological matters which at least verge on heterodoxy. The title of this book is misleading. None of the enthusiasts of La Chênaie would have associated their names with that malodorous and nondescript thing which has been styled "Liberal Catholicism." Perhaps the term "Catholic Liberals" may be properly applied to Lacordaire, Montalembert, Gerbet, Guérin, and a few others of that interesting company, inasmuch as they aimed at a Catholicizing of the modicum of good which was discernible in the political liberalism which was the will-o'-the-wisp of their day. But "Liberal Catholics" they were not; and Lamennais himself, even when involved in rebellion to the Chair of Peter, would have spurned the name. And even though "the master" would have accepted the designation, even though his revolt may be regarded as the end toward which the "Liberal Catholic" must tend, one man does not constitute a "movement." Mr. Gibson gives us to understand on two or three occasions, that he is a Catholic; but he has produced a book which will lead the unwary to think that the catastrophe of the life of Lamennais was the result of the influence of a besottedly obstinate royalist cabal upon papal pig-headedness.

Born at Saint-Malo in 1781, Félicité-Robert de Lamennais prosecuted his early studies amid the storms of the great revolution. Such surroundings quite naturally caused the

(1) *The Abbé de Lamennais and the Liberal Catholic Movement in France*, by the Hon. W. Gibson. London, 1896.

teachings of Rousseau to be more attractive to his juvenile mind than those of Christ. But in his twenty-second year he abandoned the paths of incredulism, made his first Communion, and received the ecclesiastical tonsure. Not until he had attained his thirty-seventh year, and therefore the maturity of his powers, did he receive the priesthood. Several years before he stood at the altar, he had announced his change of front by the publication of a translation of the *Spiritual Guide* of Louis of Blois; but attention to him as a serious thinker had not been accorded until 1808, when he issued his *Reflections on the Condition of the Church During the Eighteenth Century and on the Present Situation*, attacking the "Organic Articles" which Napoleon had audaciously added to the already signed Concordat of 1801. Of course these reflections were interdicted by Fouché, the imperial Minister of Police. In 1814 Lamennais published a treatise on *The Tradition of the Church Concerning the Institution of Bishops*, a work which procured for him much contradiction on the part of dying Gallicanism. In 1818 appeared the first volume of his *Essay on Indifference in Religious Matters*, the key-note of which was struck by the ardent Breton at its very commencement: "Ah! who will breathe on these dry bones, and give life to them? Good and evil; the tree which gives life, and that which entails death, both nourished by one and the same soil; grow among peoples who, scarcely raising their heads, pass beneath, stretch upward their hands, and pluck the fruit by chance." The somewhat bilious and ironic style of the book aided the incontestable arguments which it presented; a happy reaction was soon evident in a society which had been permeated by the poison of Voltairianism and of the Revolution. The author was regarded by many as another Father of the Church. As Lacordaire said: "A hundred and fourteen years had passed over the tomb of Bossuet, a hundred and three over that of Fénelon, seventy-six over that of Massillon... when M. de Lamennais appeared. ... In one day he found himself invested with the power of Bossuet." Jean-Marie, the holy brother of the brilliant publicist, who had toiled patiently to develop in him both intellectuality and piety,

felt that his labor was now bearing promise of ultimate reward, and in his exultation he cried: "God has made him a soldier." Even he who had hitherto ranked, in the estimation of the French clergy, as the first of their champions of that day—even Frayssinous declared: "That man has an eloquence which would raise the dead." Joseph Le Maistre pronounced the effect of the essay to be nothing less than "an earthquake under a leaden sky"; and Montalembert saw in its author "the most celebrated and the most venerated of the French priests." Naturally there were some ultra-conservatives who murmured their displeasure because of some very daring flights of the new apologist, but the majority agreed with De Bonald when he told Lamennais: "Let the frogs croak!" It is interesting to note the impression produced by these early writings of Lamennais on the mind of Cantù: "Lamennais defended the papal authority with democratic ardor, recalling all the arguments which were ever adduced against certainty, and concluding that, in the order of principles, certitude is impossible, if there does not exist any infallible authority; and concluding also that, in the order of facts, such an authority always existed. That authority is the Catholic Church, in the triple manifestation of the divine word in patriarchal tradition, Moses, and Christ. In the *Essay on Indifference*, wonderful for its close reasoning and its robust eloquence, Lamennais concedes to philosophers that the adhesion of the intellect is distinctive of truth, but only when that adhesion is characterized by universality and perpetuity—qualities which are found only in the Catholic Church, and which are in her because she is the traditional echo of the divine word in every place and time. Descending to applications (in his *Religion Considered in its Relation to the Political and Civil Orders*, Paris, 1825), he combats the irreligious tendencies of politics. In the Middle Age the Catholic Church imposed belief and duties, and out of a dismembered society she formed one which was divine and indestructible, tending to reduce all to unity, and to co-ordinate the nations as members of one sole family. When the belief of the Middle Age had been shaken, 'political science became one of force di-

rected by interest; between the peoples there was no right but that of blind and brutal strength; between power and its subjects, the same blind and brutal strength.' Three systems dominate in Europe (continues Lamennais): the Catholic, which places the spiritual power of the Church between the sovereign and the subject; the Gallican, which makes kings irremovable, frees them from every really obligatory law, and leaves tyranny as the sole remedy against tyranny; and finally, the philosophical system, which constitutes the people the judge in every question of sovereignty. Therefore, Lamennais called for freedom of the press, of association, of teaching; and he placed the sovereignty in the people, declaring the king liable to deposition if he violated the law. The purblind liberals could not understand these theories, and they hooted at this priest who would have pushed the world back to the feet of Gregory VII.; but the king understood it, and its defender was called before the correctional tribunals. Many of the bishops, frightened at the resoluteness of Lamennais, emitted, in Paris, an exposition of their sentiments in regard to the independence of kings in the temporal order, as upheld by the Declaration of 1682. Lamennais, in a mordant reply, ridiculed both liberals and Gallicans, who, by their withdrawal of the civil power from all religious dependence, rendered it capable of degenerating into tyranny; he pitied the clergy who were courtiers of a government which protected them merely that it might have their support; and he insisted that from those brutal governments which robbed the prelates of their purple and jewels, those prelates derived that real glory of martyrdom which sanctifies the earth" (1).

The first volume of the *Essay on Indifference* had shown the importance and necessity of faith; but there remained many questions for solution. What is the true faith? How can we discover it? What authority should dominate and regulate human reason? Great was the impatience with which men awaited the second volume, in which they were confident that if Lamennais did not succeed in advancing

(1) *Universal History*, Bk. xviii., ch. 18. Ninth Ital. Edit., Turin, 1862.

any *nova*, he would at least present matters *nove*. "After two years of expectation," writes Lacordaire, "the second volume appeared. From the heights of the olden defence of the faith, from the bosom of the eloquence which he had sent in waves against the enemies of truth, M. de Lamennais had descended into the arid discussions of philosophy—to the question of certitude, at once the clearest and the most obscure approached by the human mind." In fact, the essay had undertaken to prove that "man, taken individually, can know nothing with certainty; but taken collectively, he can acquire certainty as to some things." In other words, one man may err; but when all agree, truth is found. Lacordaire ingenuously tells us: "I have often asked myself how a system, the faultiness of which I now perceive so clearly, could have held my reason in suspense for so long a time; and I have come to the conclusion that since I struggled against an intelligence stronger than my own, and struggled alone against it, it was impossible for me not to be conquered." If a mind like that of Lacordaire succumbed to the influence of Lamennais, it is not surprising that the brilliant apologist became the idol of nearly all the younger clergy of France, and that from every portion of Europe the dangerous incense of extravagant praise was wafted toward him. No wonder that he became "that grand immoderate spirit" which Sainte-Beuve described; and that to those who suspected his philosophy, especially to the bishops of France, he retorted either that they were all Gallicans, or that they understood nothing about the matter in question. No physical advantages on his part contributed to the ascendancy which this wonderful genius exercised over so many persons of more than ordinarily judicial perspicacity. Maurice de Guérin, shortly after his enrollment among the solitaries of La Chênaie, thus wrote to his sister Eugénie: "You see a Druid resuscitated in Brittany, chanting of liberty with a rather savage voice. . . . The great man is short, slim, pallid, gray-eyed, with an oblong head, the nose long and thick, and his forehead is furrowed deeply by wrinkles which stretch between the brows down to the root of the nose. From head to foot he is clothed in coarse gray

cloth, and he wears a straw hat which is very dilapidated." And Wiseman says of him : " How he did so mightily prevail on others it is hard to say. He was truly in look and presence almost contemptible ; small, weakly, without pride of countenance or mastery of eye, without any external grace ; his tongue seemed to be the organ by which, unaided, he gave marvellous utterance to thoughts clear, deep, and strong. Several times have I held long conversations with him at various intervals, and he was always the same. With his head hung down, his hands clasped before him, or gently moving in one another, in answer to a question he poured out a stream of thought, flowing spontaneously and unrippled as a stream through a summer meadow. He at once seized the whole subject, divided it into heads as symmetrically as Fléchier or Massillon ; then took them one by one, enucleated each, and drew his conclusions. All this went on in a monotonous but soft tone, and so unbroken, so unhesitating, and yet so polished and elegant, that, if you had closed your eyes, you might have easily fancied that you were listening to the reading of a finished and elaborately corrected volume."

The *Avenir* appeared for the first time on October 15, 1830 ; and the government of July was soon made to understand that no ordinary men were insisting that the State should respect " those who bore the grand name of Catholics." Prosecution followed after prosecution ; and when on one of these occasions the daring editors were charged with being the " organs of a foreign power," Lacordaire replied that their Master, God, is nowhere a foreigner. The *Avenir* announced that on May 9, 1831, its editors would open a free school in a house hired by Lacordaire ; and accordingly three teachers who had not been authorized by the State, namely, Lacordaire, Montalembert, and De Caux, began their labors with twenty scholars. On the second day a commissary of police ordered the pupils, in the name of the law, to depart. " In the name of your parents," cried Lacordaire, " I command you to remain " ; and the children obeyed him. Then the police ejected both pupils and master, although the latter was in his own house. As one of

the teachers, Montalembert, was a peer of France, the trial of the awful criminals was conducted by the Court of Peers. The brilliant defence by Lacordaire, and the equally impressive one by young Montalembert, are matters of history; a minimum of punishment, a fine of a hundred francs, was inflicted. A more threatening storm, however, was soon encountered by the daring journal. Shortly after the appearance of the first number of the *Avenir*, its editors had formed an association entitled a "General Agency for the Defence of Religious Liberty," which was destined to propagate the doctrines which the journal would advance. These doctrines were all in advocacy of a total separation of Church and State; of a suppression of the indemnities which the French government had agreed to give the Church, in partial recompense (about a quarter of 1 per cent.) for the ecclesiastical property stolen from her in the days of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality; of entire freedom of worship for all respectable sects; of freedom of instruction; and of absolute liberty of the press. To this mixture of good and evil the *Avenir* often added pretensions of a much more audacious and radical nature. Thus, in the issue of February 2, 1831, we read: "During the last fifteen years M. de Lamennais has labored for the regeneration of Catholicism; to restore to it, under a new form and by the aid of recent progress, the force and the life which have abandoned it." In many of the dioceses of France the ordinaries prohibited the adventurous periodical; and many, notably Mgr. d'Astros, archbishop of Toulouse, condemned fifty-six propositions of the Lamennaisian system. The first twenty of these propositions were taken from the *Essay on Indifference* (Vols. 3 and 4); eleven were drawn from the *Philosophical Doctrines on Certitude*, by the Abbé Olympe-Philippe Gerbet, afterward Bishop of Perpignan; eight from the *Catechism of the Sensus Communis*, by Rohrbacher; and seventeen from the *Avenir* itself. In 1834 thirteen bishops formally censured these propositions; and shortly afterward thirty-seven other prelates sent in their adhesion to the condemnation, while fourteen, though not adhering, manifested their disapproval of Lamennaisism. Ten bishops preferred to refer the mat-

ter at once to the Holy See (1). This condemnation was forwarded to Rome in 1832; but already Lamennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert, the three principal editors, had decided to suspend the publication of the *Avenir* temporarily, and to proceed to the Eternal City as "pilgrims of God and liberty," with the intention of submitting their doctrines to the judgment of the Vicar of Christ.

It is amusing to note that Mr. Gibson, who thinks that the episcopal condemnation of the *Avenir* may have been short-sighted, is careful to inform us that, "*amongst Catholics the condemnation was re-echoed by the worldly-wise, the interested, and the timidly-devout—all those, that is to say, the slothful serenity of whose devotional or social atmosphere had been disturbed by the somewhat acrid terms of the uncompromising journal, and who seized the opportunity which now offered itself, of turning over and composing themselves to sleep through the great drama of human society, the action of which was beginning too vividly to impress them.*" In the minds of such Catholics as these, religion, according to Mr. Gibson, "had been identified with the divine right of kings"; and we are frequently asked by this author to sympathize with Lamennais as he suffers from "their cowardly and underhand operations." The unfortunate writes to a friend at this time that these "interdicts, intrigues, underhand dealings—a frightful system of organized calumny—have been supported by Rome. Without explaining herself, . . . without wishing to pronounce a judgment we asked for humbly six months ago, she encourages and even urges on her enemies and ours. The position is untenable; we are going to abandon the *Avenir*, which was working splendidly. The only barrier which stood between the Church and material force is about to fail; . . . my soul is torn with grief. They repel, they trample on those who ask only one thing, that they should be allowed to sacrifice themselves, and the triumph of the Church would have been certain had they only wished it. . . . But no; her rulers have said it, it is necessary that she should die, it is necessary. . . ." It was with

(1) *Defense of Social Order Against Modern Carbonarism, With a Judgment on M. de Lamennais*; by M. Boyer, Director in the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice. Paris, 1835.

these sentiments rankling in his heart that Lamennais set out for Rome. We would prefer to remain under the guidance of Choearne or of Ricard; but the persistent efforts of Mr. Gibson to palliate the guilt of his idol, demand that we at least show how he prepares one for the action of Gregory XVI., "the monk inexperienced in the things of this world." He informs us that after Napoleon's "war of liberation" during that period, which "demonstrated the utility of an organization like that of the Carbonari," it is "abundantly evident, from contemporary literature, that the Popes might at this time have succeeded in winning for themselves a great position, as the representatives of a great idea; but, unfortunately, no one capable of realizing this was elected to the See of Peter. . . . Leo XII. was mediæval in his sympathies. By nature he was by no means despotic; but his reign became the occasion of a fatal reaction, sometimes marked with frightful atrocities. . . . Thus it happened that the name of one of the best intentioned of Popes came to be identified in the eyes of the Italians with the revival of inquisitorial methods, the encouragement of informers, secret trials before interested tribunals, and all the abominations of which men had fondly imagined that they had finally disappeared." Since such is Mr. Gibson's reading of history, we may suppose that he sympathizes with Lamennais (and not once in his book does he give us any reason to suppose the contrary) when the jaundiced visitor writes to Gerbet while he is waiting for an audience with Gregory XVI.: "Imagine to yourself an old man surrounded by men, many of them tonsured, who manage his affairs—men to whom religion is as indifferent as it is to all the cabinets of Europe—ambitious, covetous, avaricious . . . blind and infatuated as the eunuchs of the Lower Empire. Such is the government of this country, such are the men who have everything in their hands, and who daily sacrifice the Church to the vilest interests and the most vainly conceived of their temporal affairs. They count the peoples for nothing, and see in the world only ten or a dozen men who have become, because they are powerful, or seem so, their true divinities. And in spite of this, everything is sinking or

passing away, everything is dying. There are a few virtuous people who see this and who groan at it; but the remedy—where is it? I cannot see it.”

A memorial, drawn up by Lacordaire, was presented to Gregory XVI. Unable to approve the tendencies of the incriminated journal, the Pontiff willingly recognized the zeal and talent of its editors; therefore, he ordered information to be given to them of an early examination of their doctrines, and he added that since this examination might necessitate a tedious investigation, a return to France would probably be pleasing to them. But the impetuous Lamennais besieged the doors of Cardinal Pacca, and finally a pontifical audience was granted on condition that there should be no allusion to the *Avenir*. “Hoping against hope,” says Gibson, that the audience “might result in winning for the Church a place in that future which seemed to him inevitable” (truly the Church should be grateful for his consideration), Lamennais proceeded to the Vatican. Ricard tells us that when Lamennais prostrated himself before the Pontiff, His Holiness gently raised him, and opening his own snuff-box, asked him whether he ever used the stimulant. Politeness led the Abbé to taken a pinch, and the Pope, having also taken one, and having scrupulously flickered off some fallen grains from his soutane, asked his visitor whether he was fond of art. “Sometimes, Holy Father,” replied the impatient man. “That is not enough,” returned the Pontiff. Then with something very like impertinence Lamennais explained: “I love art in its proper place, Your Holiness, but at present . . .” Whereupon Gregory hastened to remark: “Nevertheless, in Rome art is a very important matter.” Persisting in his endeavor to introduce the affair of the *Avenir*, the Abbé observed: “Undoubtedly, Holy Father; but if Your Holiness will permit me. . .” Again the Pontiff warded off the inconvenient subject by asking: “Monsieur l’Abbé, have you visited the church of St. Peter in Chains?” The question seemed to furnish a fine opportunity, and Lamennais replied: “I have visited it, Holy Father; and would to God no other church in Christendom were ‘in chains!’” The Pope ignored the allusion, and pursued his train of

thought: "Did you admire the 'Moses' of Michelangelo?" And Gregory went to a bureau, and producing a silver statuette, he asked: "Do you recognize the lion's paw?" Lamennais looked at the precious object, but with an air of distraction. The Pope insisted: "Look at it well!" The poor man obeyed, and the Pontiff said: "I would like to give it to you; but nothing here belongs to me, since I must transmit, in my turn, all I have received to my successor." Then Gregory tenderly placed his hand on the head of his disappointed visitor, and having blessed him, said: "Farewell, Monsieur l'Ablé." The self-love of Lamennais was deeply wounded by this interview. He failed, and all of his apologists have failed, to perceive the delicacy of the Pontiff's hesitation to enter on a subject, the consideration of which might have entailed the condemnation of one whom Pope Leo XII. had so greatly admired, that he kept his portrait in his study, and bequeathed it in a special manner to his successor (1).

"The master," as Lamennais was styled by his admirers, wished to remain in Rome and provoke a decision, but Lacordaire had appreciated the meaning of the late audience, and he returned to France. Six months afterward, Lamennais lost his patience, and announced his intention to return also, and for the purpose of resuming the publication of the *Avenir*. The sojourn in the capital of Christendom had evoked very dissimilar sentiments in the hearts of these two great men. The mind of Lamennais was of far superior calibre to that of Luther, and he possessed an artistic taste, of which the German heresiarch had no conception. But the pride of Lamennais was as excessive as the vanity of the ex-Augustinian; and having entered Rome while dominated by that passion, he, like Luther during his visit, could discern nothing but ambition, subterfuge, and luxury. On the contrary, Lacordaire, like his other companion, Montalembert, though burning with perhaps even a more intense love of liberty than that which tortured Lamennais, returned from Rome strengthened in his faith that she was the depository of divine revelation. "The world seeks peace and

(1) Many have thought that Leo XII. intended, at one time, to enroll Lamennais in the Sacred College. See Wiseman's *Last Four Popes*, pt. ii., ch 6.

freedom, but in the paths of turbulence and servitude. The Church alone has ever been a source of these blessings for the human race. When the nations shall have tired of being parricides, they will find in her the good which they no longer possess. . . . Rome! Serene amid the tempests of Europe, thou hast not doubted of thyself, thou hast felt no fatigue. Thy glance, turned to the four quarters of the world, followed with sublime penetration the development of human affairs in their relation to the divine; while the storms left thee calm, because thou wast animated by the breath of God. . . . Rome! God knows that I did not fail to recognize thee, when I saw no kings prostrate at thy gates. I kissed thy dust with unspeakable joy and respect. Thou didst appear to me as what thou truly art—the benefactress of the human family in the past, the hope of its future, the sole grandeur now existing in Europe, the captive of a universal jealousy, the queen of the world.”

In August, 1832, Lacordaire visited Munich, and he had scarcely entered his hotel when he was met by Lamennais and Montalembert, who, on their way to France, had seen a notice of their friend's intention. Lacordaire at once entered on the subject of the resumption of the *Avenir*, and he succeeded in convincing “the master” of its inadvisability. Then the three friends attended a banquet tendered to them by the scholars and artists of the most literary and artistic city in Germany. Toward the end of the feast, Lamennais was called from the hall to receive from a messenger of the papal nuncio a copy of the Encyclical of Gregory XVI., in which the *Avenir* was condemned. Lamennais dissimulated his rage, and he even yielded to Lacordaire's suggestion that the three ex-editors should immediately sign an act of submission to the Papal decision. Accompanying the copy of the Encyclical received by Lamennais was a letter from Cardinal Pacca, which had been written by that prelate by the express order of Pope Gregory XVI. We subjoin a few passages of this interesting document: “Since you love truth, and desire to know it in order that you may welcome it, I shall frankly and briefly mention the chief features which have specially displeased His Holiness, after his ex-

amination of the *Avenir*. Firstly, he regretted that the editors have assumed to discuss before the public, and then even to decide, most delicate questions which should be decided by the government of the Church and by her supreme head. From this procedure there necessarily results a perturbation of minds, and even a division among the clergy, which scandalize the faithful. Secondly, the Holy Father disapproves and even reprobates those doctrines on civil and political liberty which, undoubtedly against your wishes, tend by their very nature to incite and propagate everywhere among subjects a spirit of rebellion against their sovereigns. That spirit is openly opposed to the precepts of the Gospel and of our holy Church—obedience on the part of the peoples, and justice on the part of rulers. Thirdly, the doctrines of the *Avenir* on freedom of worship and on the liberty of the press—doctrines which have been advanced by the editors with so much exaggeration—are reprehensible, being contrary to the maxims and precepts of the Church. They have surprised and afflicted His Holiness; because if, in certain circumstances, prudence commends a toleration of them as a lesser evil, they can never be defended by a Catholic as good and desirable things. This, M. l'Abbé, is the communication His Holiness has wished me to convey to you in confidential form. The Holy Father remembers with keen satisfaction the beautiful and solemn promise which you, at the head of your associate editors, once published, to the effect that you would imitate, according to the injunctions of our Saviour, the docility of little children, by an entire submission to the Vicar of Jesus Christ."

La Chênaie was a venerable country house in Brittany, about six miles from Dinan, whither M. Féli, as his friends fondly termed Lamennais, was wont to assemble his disciples during the last years of the Restoration and during the first years of the king of the *bourgeoisie*. The Lamennaisians playfully styled the humble habitation a *chateau*, but Féli describes it as a little hermitage. Between the years 1825 and 1833 many of the friends of "the master" resided altogether at La Chênaie, enjoying the tender hospitality of

him whom they regarded as one chosen by God to form their minds for the defence of religion—the sole object of their lives. Among those who nearly habitually resided at La Chênaie was Gerbet; and among those who passed much of their time there we may mention, besides Lacordaire, Edmond de Corzales, Leon and Eugene Boré, M. de Coux, the Abbé Rohrbacher, the Abbé Blanc, the Abbé Bornet, M. de Hercé, Montalembert, the Abbé de Salinis, the Abbé de Scorbiac, Eloi Jourdain (Charles Sainte-Foy), Cyprien Robert, La Provotaye, Daniel du Breil de Marzan, Hippolyte de la Morvonnais, and Maurice de Guérin. The last named tells us, in his *Relics*: “Unless one experienced it, the charm of these conversations could not be described. There philosophy, politics, travels, anecdotes, tales, pleasantries, all dropped from the lips of the master in forms the most original, the most vivid, the most incisive.” Every morning Féli assembled his friends in the chapel, which, in 1810, his holy brother and he had built at the extremity of the terrace, and there he celebrated Mass, and frequently fortified them with the Bread of Life. Many times during the day the company visited their Sacramental Lord, and on all the greater feasts they received the Benediction. Many years after he had quitted La Chênaie, and the most melancholy of dissensions had separated him from his olden friends, Lamennais wrote to M. Marion, who had advised the sale of some of the timber: “Although, apparently I shall never again see La Chênaie, all my souvenirs reside there, and I cannot think, without pain, of that beautiful spot, so cared for by me, as shorn of any of its charms. In comparison with those charms, what is a little money? Even now I walk in imagination under those trees in whose sap my olden life ran. It seems to me that if they were gone, I would be alone in the world. I know well that others will cut them down some day, but then I shall be no longer alive. Therefore, I ask a respite for those poor trees; their age is too much like my own, and I cannot see death approaching those who looked on my birth” (1). On September 4, 1832, Lacordaire wrote to “the master” that his rela-

(1) Letter to Marion, Dec. 31, 1844, in the *Confidences of Lamennais*.

tions with La Chênaie must necessarily terminate; he had realized that a gulf now separated him from his former guide. "To-night I leave La Chênaie, and from a motive of honor, being convinced that at length my life is useless to you, because of the difference of our ideas on the Church and society, a difference which increases every day, in spite of my sincere efforts to agree with you." And he afterward said: "I abandoned M. de Lamennais because I believed that the Church was more likely to be right than he was; because she has more claim to the submission of my intellect than he has. I have not instituted a school in place of his, but I have entered into the universal school." His reasons for separating from his old-time friend are indicated by Lacordaire in a letter to Montalembert: "The Church does not say to you, 'See!' for she has not that power; but she does say to you, 'Believe!' She says to you, now that you are twenty-three years old, and addicted to a certain line of thought, just what she said to you on the day of your First Communion: 'Receive the hidden and incomprehensible God; humble your reason before that of God and His Church, His organ.' Why, indeed, was the Church given to us, unless to lead us back to truth when we have been beguiled by error?"

In January, 1835, Lacordaire was appointed to deliver the Lenten Conferences at Notre Dame; and then Paris beheld what was to her a strange scene—the great basilica invaded at an early hour by more than six thousand men of every age, religion, and political school, all waiting to be refreshed by the all-powerful words of him of whom Montalembert wrote: "Who will render for us his surprises, his risky strokes, his familiarities—those adventurous assaults of a genius as audacious as sure of itself, skirting the precipice without ever falling over, and then mounting to the highest heavens as Bossuet alone has ever done; an effort which literally overwhelmed his auditors, leaving them a prey to an emotion which only one word can express, that word *ravissement*, which has been so commonly abused, but which recalls to the Christian mind the vision of St. Paul—*quoniam raptus in paradisum*." The grand Conferences of

Lacordaire are probably familiar to the reader; if they are not, let him know that all the great orator's teachings, inasmuch as they affected the hitherto unbelieving portion of his hearers, may be summarized in his words: "The olden society perished, because God had been expelled from it; the new suffers, because God has not been invited into it." The limits of this dissertation preclude any reference to his career as a Dominican friar, or to his momentous reception into the French Academy, which he entered, as he expressed the idea, as "a symbol of liberty, strengthened by religion" (1). He adorned the Academy only for a moment. When he returned to his dear College of Sorèze, he greeted his brethren and pupils with these prophetic words: "I come to you like *Œdipus*, with a fragile laurel in one hand, and a bit of cypress in the other." He resumed his work, but his God had called him to his reward. During his last illness he composed the canticle on St. Mary Magdalen, which many regard as his masterpiece. On September 27, 1861, he resigned his office as provincial of the French Dominicans, and the last words of his eloquent tongue were uttered on November 20th, as he extended his arms toward heaven: "*Mon Dieu ! Ouvrez-moi !*" He died on the following day, the Feast of the Presentation. If the reader is curious regarding the personal appearance of Lacordaire, he may learn from Montalembert what the great orator was when he had just enlisted under the banner of Lamennais: "He was twenty-eight years of age. His slender frame, his delicate and regular features, his sculptural brow, the royal carriage of his head, his black and flashing eye, and I know not what union of elegance and modesty in his entire person—all this was but the envelope of a soul which ever seemed to be on the point of flying away to heaven. His flaming glances emitted treasures both of indignation and of tenderness. His voice, already so nervous and vibrating, often assumed an accent of infinite sweetness. Born for combat and for love, he already bore the seal of the double royalty of soul and of

(1) In regard to the sad want of taste and the apparent but probably feigned ignorance of history displayed by Guizot in his discourse of reception on this occasion, see our Vol. II., p. 355.

talent. He appeared to me charming at once and terrible; the very type of enthusiasm for good, and of virtue armed in the cause of truth. I saw in him one predestined to all that youth adores and desires the most—to genius and glory.”

Sadly different from the death of Lacordaire was that of him whom God seemed, at one time, to have given to His Church as the Bossuet of the nineteenth century. When the future ornament of the Dominican Order and his friend returned to La Chênaie, after their futile visit to the Eternal City, the former soon perceived that there was to be no revival of the serene delights which had made the “little hermitage” so dear to each of them. “The woods,” writes Lacordaire, “had their olden silences and their olden storms; the sky of Brittany was the same, but the heart of the master was changed. The wound was still fresh, and each day the knife was turned in it by the very hand which should have withdrawn it and poured into its place the balm of God. Profound gloom had settled on that brow from which peace had been banished. Broken and menacing sentences dropped from those lips which had ever expressed the unction of the Gospel. Sometimes I thought that in him I beheld Saul; but none of us had the harp of David with which to calm those sudden irruptions of the evil one, and most fearful anticipations constantly overwhelmed my crushed spirit.” The crisis could not be long delayed. In 1834 appeared the *Words of a Believer*, a work which Lamennais himself pronounced a revenge for all the “disappointments of his life.” Once that he had resolved on the publication of this book, which Gregory XVI. was to term “small in size, but immense in perversity,” he yearned to see it in circulation. He entrusted the task of putting the manuscript through the press to Sainte-Beuve, writing to him: “I send you herewith a little manuscript which I would wish you to have issued as quickly as possible. I depart in two days. Arrange with a publisher quickly, very quickly, I pray you.” It has been well said that the contents of this work can be summarized in two propositions: all kings are monsters, and priests are the *seides* of kings. And over this blatant demagoguery the author affected to make the sign of the cross,

beginning it with the invocation: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Royer-Collard fancies that he sees in the book the spirit of 1793 making its Easter duty. De Nettement calls it a would-be Apocalypse, interspersed with many blasphemies. Vitrolles termed it the red cap of the *sans-culottes* surmounting the Cross. These qualifications do not exaggerate; for the calmly judicial Encyclical of June 25, 1834, manifests the horror of the Supreme Pontiff for a volume which, as we have observed, he stigmatizes as *mole quidem exiguum, pravitate tamen ingentem*, and he declares that it presents propositions which are respectively "false, calumnious, rash, productive of anarchy, contrary to the word of God, impious, scandalous, erroneous, already condemned by the Holy Church when anathematizing the Waldenses, Wyckliffites, Hussites and other heretics of that stamp." We may observe that this Encyclical also condemns a system of philosophy which is evidently that of Lamennais. "You must perceive, Venerable Brothers, that here we also speak of that fallacious system of philosophy, recently invented, which we must reprobate entirely—a system in which an uncurbed yearning for novelties seeks no longer for truth where she really is to be found, but rather, casting aside holy and apostolic tradition, introduces doctrines which are futile, uncertain, and not at all approved by the Church." Lamennais celebrated the Holy Sacrifice for the last time on April 7th, the Easter Sunday of 1833. "Who would have said on that day," asks Sainte-Beuve, "who would have said to those who were grouped around the master, that he who had just given to them the Holy Communion would never again give it to another; that he would ever afterward refuse it for himself; and that too truly his device was to be 'an oak beaten down by the storm,' with the haughty motto, 'I break, but I do not bend?'" (1). Mgr. Antoine Ricard graphically describes the twenty-one years of bitter existence which followed the rupture of Lamennais with the Church which he had probably

(1) Ricard narrates that Lamennais once said to his nephew that if he were asked to select an emblem indicative of his career, he would choose the unbending, though possibly breaking oak.

once loved, and certainly had once served and honored so well. We wish not to dilate on sorrows such as these; the reader will find them depicted in the pages of Ricard, and he will receive new light upon them from the *confidences* of the unfortunate to a friend, revealed in 1886 by Arthur du Bois de Villerabel. Some years after the catastrophe, the fallen champion wrote to a friend in Saint-Malo: "I am alone. I perceive time receding, just as a traveller, seated on a naked rock at the edge of a torrent, waits for the stream to become fordable, that he may push on to his night's rest." The end of his life's journey did not come until the winter of 1854, when he was seventy-three years of age. When it became evident, on February 27th, that the hand of death was beckoning to him, his loving niece threw herself on her knees at his bedside and whispered: "Féli, you wish for a priest, do you not?" The obstinate man replied: "No!" In vain the weeping woman besought him to have care of his soul; he continually cried: "Leave me in peace!" Friends removed the niece to the next room as she exclaimed: "It is terrible to me to see my uncle die in this way, for it was he who made me a Christian." Soon afterward the sufferer said: "I wish to be interred among the poor, and like one of them. Put no mark over my grave—not even a simple stone." They told him that the archbishop of Paris wished to see him. He tried to speak, but seeing that he could not be understood, he made a gesture which might have indicated either impatience or discouragement, and turned his face to the wall. What passed between God and his soul at that moment we shall know on the day of final judgment. His last act of intelligence was an anxious look around the room, and then, as though he had not seen what he had sought, he began to weep. Three days afterward seven or eight persons followed a hearse—one of the kind furnished to the very poor—to the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise. When the grave had been filled, the digger asked: "Do you want a cross?" One of the friends of the deceased, M. Barbet, replied: "No!" Not another word was spoken at the ceremony.

Among the olden disciples who, while reprobating the

apostasy of Lamennais, remained personally attached to him until the very end, one of the most worthy and notable was Mathurin Houet, superior of the Oratory at Rennes, who died in 1890. Until the death of "M. Féli," Houet continued to hope and pray for his conversion, and when the master had gone to his dread account, the still loving friend tried to convince himself that the long extinguished luminary of the Church had finally been revived by "that penetrating and inexorable light which appears in our last moments as the dawn of eternity" (1). Enlightened far beyond the danger of superstition, the pious Oratorian nevertheless sought for justification of his confidence in that border-land which is occupied by certain children of divine predilection. "Indeed, we may hope," said he one day to M. Roussel; "it has been revealed to a holy religious that M. de Lamennais is saved" (2). Strange as it may appear, Houet was convinced of the good faith of Lamennais. Roussel is of the same opinion. Edmond Biré thinks that such must be the conclusion of all who read the work of Roussel. "It appears to me that the author of the *Words of a Believer* was not influenced, at the time of his rupture with the Church, by any interested motive. Far from having anything to gain by this rupture, it entailed upon him the loss of comfortable surroundings, of an immense popularity, and of a veritable intellectual royalty. It condemned him to isolation and to powerlessness. It deprived him of numerous devoted and enthusiastic friends, and threw him into a little group of sectarians who were foes of every ideal and of every grandeur. He was one of the grandest geniuses of his day, and perhaps he was its greatest writer. Nothing would have been easier than for him to have satisfied his ambition, if he had any, by a change of opinions. He derived from his persistency no other profit than greater poverty and a long imprisonment (3). Therefore his life testifies to his sincerity. If it were necessary, other witnesses would testify to it. I

(1) Letter of Lamennais to the Marquis de Coriolis, July 7, 1830, in the *Correspondence*, edited by Forgues, Vol. ii., p. 147.

(2) ROUSSEL; *ubi supra*, Vol. i., p. 6.

(3) On December 26, 1840, Lamennais was condemned to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 2,000 francs, because of his pamphlet, *The Country and the Government*.

allude to all those friends of his early life, who, though profoundly grieved by his apostasy, remained attached to him" (1). Biré errs when he contends that Lamennais was influenced by no interested motive when he refused submission to the teaching authority of the Church. He was influenced by pride, than which no wealth or its attendant luxury and sensuality can dominate more the intellectual man who has once preferred its allurements to the empire of truth. And the pride of Lamennais was not that inflating sentiment which actuates the ordinary man. It was not that comparatively harmless bubble which should rather be termed vanity. The pride of Lamennais was, in the words of Gregory XVI., *Superbia Satanica*. At times it frightened himself. He tells us how, when only eight years of age, his nurse was leading him along the ramparts of Saint-Malo, while the sea was being agitated by a violent tempest, and how the sight so affected him that "he thought that he discerned the Infinite and saw God." Then, astonished at what was passing in his soul, he said of the heedless crowd around him: "They behold what I behold, but they do not see what I see." Often when narrating this episode of his childhood, the mature Lamennais would say: "Whenever I think of that distant time, I tremble at the recollection of that haughty sentiment in a boy of eight years" (2). In 1809, when he was twenty-seven years of age, he wrote to Bruté: "You are right; one page, one line, one word of St. Francis de Sales or of the *Imitation* is far superior to all these miserably contentious pamphlets which only dry up the soul—mine especially, already so arid. My God! what has plunged me into this unhappy state? Pride! Yes, pride; every day I perceive that truth" (3). After the publication of the first volume of his *Essay on Indifference*, he thus expressed his opinion of the projected second volume: "The second will be much more valuable. I shall develop a new system of defence of Christianity against incredulists and heretics, which will be extremely simple, but which will be so rigorously demonstrative that, unless one is prepared to deny his

(1) BIRÉ; *History and Literature*, p. 305. LYONS, 1895.

(2) BLAIZE; *loc. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 8.

(3) ROUSSEL; *loc. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 22.

own existence, he will perforce repeat the Creed to the very end" (1). No one ever dared to contradict Lamennais. When he was not sure of the assent of his company, he either showed his irritation, or wrapped himself in silence. Sometimes, however, a more than ordinarily candid admirer would venture to warn him of the risks he was running. Thus, in the summer of 1825, the chief luminary of the French bar, Berryer, having listened at La Chênaie to a most eloquent exposition of some of those audacious theories which the master afterward developed in his *Outlines of a Philosophy*, felt that he was captivated; but he cried: "My friend, you frighten me. You will become a sectarian; and I foresee that you will lose the empire which you now exercise over me." Lamennais replied: "Sooner than do that, would that I could return to the womb of my mother" (2).

The works which Lamennais produced during the years of his separation from the Church were worthy of the author of the *Words of a Believer*. In 1835 appeared a collection of extracts from those articles in the *Avenir* and the *Mémorial Catholique*, which had entailed his condemnation; and in his preface he excuses his changes of opinion, both religious and political, by a law of progress in the human mind, the effects of which he has experienced. For the reader must know that during the early years of the Restoration our publicist had been more royalist than the king. When he became proprietor and editor of the *Conservateur* and of the *Drapeau Blanc*, he seemed to have but one idea, namely, that there was safety for France and for the king in absolute monarchy alone. In the orthodox portion of his career he gloried in being a prophet raised by God to purge the French Church of Gallicanism. But even before he published the *Words of a Believer*, he had deserted the ranks of the ultramontane theologians, and had enrolled himself among such of the Gallican jurisconsults as were really hostile to the independence of the Church, and who were condemned by the saner portion of the Gallican publicists. As

(1) LA GOURNERIE; *loc. cit.*, letter of February 22, 1818.

(2) After his return to Paris, Berryer narrated this episode to Laurentie. See the articles on *The Abbé de Lamennais*, by Laurentie, in the *Paris Union* for March, 1854. Also the *Mélanges*, by Laurentie, Vol. II., p. 714.

an excuse for this change of attitude, Lamennais pleaded : " In the war which I once waged against you I was too much of the soldier ; I perceived only one side of the question. Your parliaments have been reproached for their many great resistances against ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but they have rendered great services to society, and without their barrier against Roman usurpations, Rome would have seized on everything, and the priest would have been a king." Well did Boyer say that Lamennais, during his later career, condemned as nonsense every truth which he had once affirmed to be an axiom and a principle. In 1836 the *Affairs of Rome* appeared ; in 1838 the *Book of the People* ; in 1840 an *Outline of a Philosophy* ; in 1846 a *Translation of the Gospels*, with democratic and irreligious commentaries. In the *Outline*, Lamennais tried to reconcile Christianity and Pantheism. Like all Pantheists, he rejected the Christian idea of creation ; but he contended that God indeed created, though out of His own substance. According to this aberration, the divine intelligence at first conceived all the types of creation ; and then, when God wished to actuate these types as created forces, He placed a limit to His infinite power, and the created forces came into being. Created spirits were actuated by God's placing a limit to His infinite intelligence. In fine, God placed a limit to His own infinite life, and thus completed what we see as life ; He did this by attraction in the physical, and by love in the superior order. Every force in the universe, therefore, is the divine force and power—God the Father, with limitation. Every intelligence is the divine—the Son, with limitation. All life, all love, is the very life of God, with limitation. The force which is in us is really and substantially the force of God ; our intelligence, which tries to find truth, is substantially God's own ; our will, weak and vacillating as it is, is substantially God's will. Of course, Lamennais affected to modify what was an absolute deification of the universe. Although maintaining the idea of unity of substance, he held that the infinite substance, precisely because of the limitation which it receives on becoming finite, is essentially different from what it was in its infinite state. Thus he affected to preserve an essential difference

between God and creatures. The entire theory of the *Outline* rests on this distinction of a difference between God and the universe, which is not substantial but essential. Substantially, they are identical; essentially, they are different; although substantially identical with the infinite, the finite is nevertheless essentially distinct from the infinite. And when Lamennais is asked for a reason for this distinction between a substantial and an essential difference, he replies that it is a mystery. "It is the mystery of creation; and it would be absurd to try to penetrate it, since we know that substance is radically incomprehensible to finite beings." The reader shall judge whether the subtleties of Lamennais save him from Pantheism.

CHAPTER VIII.

OZANAM.

"Christianity and erudition; profound science and simple faith; all the subtleties of criticism, and all the wealth of an imagination placed at the service of Christian truth; an activity which carried him continually from the Library of the Institute to the garrets of the poor; a gift of eloquence which dominated a raging audience of young Voltairians by sheer persuasion, and which also calmed the sufferings of the sick and the outbreaks of the indigent; such is the spectacle offered to our admiration by the life of a man of genius and of heart whom we may regard as both the rival of Fauriel and of Villemain, and the emulator of St. Vincent de Paul" (1). Brave words truly, when penned in eulogy of a professor of the revolutionary Sorbonne of the nineteenth century; but they express no more than the severe truth concerning the life of Frederick Ozanam, which was one continual apostolate of a priest exercised by a layman. Probably no layman of this century, Montalembert excepted, has stamped upon his time so legible a mark of his Catholicity as that impressed by Ozanam. The aim of his life was to glorify Catholicism by means of his works; in fine, his

(1) PELLISSIER; *The Glories of Christian France*, p. 180. Paris, 1890.

career formed a picture of what a Catholic layman should be in our day, especially in our country, where Catholic organizations are in their infancy, when, indeed, they are not still unborn. He realized that God demands the co-operation of the laity with the zeal of His priests for the prosecution of the work for which He came upon earth. Frederick Ozanam was born at Milan in 1813, of French parents whom the horrors of the French Revolution had driven from their country. On the fall of Napoleon, the family returned to Lyons, the native city of its heads; and the young Frederick made his first studies under his elder brother, who had embraced the ecclesiastical career. At the age of ten he entered the Royal College of Lyons; and, to use the words of one of his professors, he "proved himself one of those students whom a prudent master restrains rather than spurs." To those who are familiar with the circumstances of the time, it will not appear strange that the precocious lad should have had his peace of mind troubled, even at an early age, by doubts concerning the fundamental truths of Christianity. But he came out of this trial with an increase of faith and of zeal. In later years Ozanam thus wrote to two friends concerning this ordeal: "Attacked for a time by scepticism, I realized the utter necessity of clinging, with all my strength, to the column of the Temple, even though it were to crush me when it fell; and behold, to-day I still cling to that column which I find illuminated by the rays of wisdom, of glory, and of beauty; I embrace it with enthusiasm and with love; I shall remain at its foot, and thence I shall extend my arms in invitation to the wanderers on the sea of life to regard it as their beacon of deliverance." And as though he had already conceived the idea of his Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul, he cried: "Happy will I be, if a few friends will gather around me so that we may join our efforts, create some good work, and having attracted others to our circle, lead all society to assemble under that protecting shadow! Then Catholicism, full of youth and strength, will arise before the world, and place itself at the head of this budding century, in order to lead it unto civilization and happiness. When speaking to you thus, my

friends, I am frightened by the fulness of the intellectual pleasure that I experience; the work is magnificent, and I am young and full of hope." The first result of his confirmed conviction was a project to compose a work which should bear the title, *The Christian Religion Demonstrated by the Antiquity of Historical, Religious, and Moral Beliefs*; and this design, although not executed by the youth of fifteen, nor afterward, nevertheless can be discerned as the generative and dominating thought in all his writings. Another effect of his early struggle against religious doubt is delicately described by his friend, Lacordaire: "In the pages which he had left, in his actions and discourses, you never find that anger which seeks revenge, nor that bitterness which grows as it is expressed, nor that contempt which defies, nor that irony which mocks, under the pretext of instructing or of correcting. While never lowering the Church in the eyes of the world, he ever extends a generous hand; because he is guided by that all-powerful sceptre, charity. He laments more than he accuses, he pardons more than he condemns."

Ozanam was only sixteen years of age when he received his Baccalaureate in letters; and then, merely to please his parents, he proceeded to Paris for the study of law. He relieved his mind, however, by publishing some poetry and many articles, all being permeated by the one idea—an apology of Christianity, and a research into philosophical truth. It is interesting to note his disappreciation of Paris, as at this period he compared it with Lyons, of which he always spoke as of his native city. "Paris displeases me; it is a moral desert. . . . For me, this city without limits, in which I am lost, is a Babylon, a place of exile; and Lyons, which holds those whom I have left behind, which has so much good-fellowship, the people of which are so charitable, and where the altars and faith are so respected, is my native city." He looks on the "Pantheon" from his window, and he writes: "This pagan temple in the heart of a Christian city, with its magnificent cupola, widowed of that cross which once crowned it so appropriately, is a singular monument. What is the meaning of a tomb without the cross, without any religious thought presiding over it? If death is merely

a material phenomenon which leaves behind it no hope, what signify these honors rendered to dry bones and rotting flesh? Truly the cult in the Pantheon is a comedy like that of Reason and Liberty." With such sentiments predominating in his soul, it was not strange that when he was still in his eighteenth year he should have begun to wield the pen in opposition to the sham philosophies of his day. Fifteen years had passed since Count Claude de Saint-Simon had formulated his doctrines; and they were now fairly well known by the general public of all civilized countries. In 1830 Ozanam attacked these theories in two articles which proved so logical that the doctrinaires were unable to reply. Even *Le Globe*, to which Augustin Thierry, Auguste Comte, Carnot, and Chevalier were contributors, preserved the same prudent silence. In 1831 the young polemic again entered the lists against this false and proofless system, in his *Reflections on the Doctrine of Saint-Simon*; and he proved that while his adversaries held Christianity to be a gross fetichism, our religion is, on the contrary, an outcome of that original religion of humanity, which the Jewish people alone preserved in its primitive orthodoxy, because they alone guarded the traditions of the human race. J. J. Ampère thus speaks of this work from a literary and philosophical point of view: "When scarcely eighteen years of age, he composed a pamphlet against Saint-Simonism, in which the youth of the author is manifest, but which merits being cited because of a sincerity and courage which impelled an unknown lad to combat a sect boasting men of talent, whose preaching had obtained a sort of success. This effort is also remarkable because it displays most of the qualities that afterward developed in Ozanam—namely, a vivid taste, though that of a novice, for erudition of the most varied kind; also warmth, impetuosity, and, united with an engaging conviction as to things, a great moderation toward persons. I like to indicate a liberality of views which led him to recognize sympathy even outside the ranks in which he fought; and to honor generously, for instance, in this book, the struggles of spiritualistic philosophy against materialism." Saint-Simonism vaunted itself as the direct heir of

Christianity, which it declared to be already relegated to the morgue of dead religious systems; it predicted for itself a future of indefinite progress, and it was destined to precede its founders to the tomb. Meanwhile it promised men that it would establish, by means of science and a new discipline, an indefinite reign of happiness, during which the rights of pleasure would be rehabilitated, and all the passions of man would undergo a "pacific reorganization." There was to be no more evil in the world—a very convenient consummation for the Saint-Simonians, who had shown their powerlessness in the matter of combating the ever present monster. Ozanam, on the contrary, recognized evil as an eloquent and stubborn fact; and he proposed to combat it with the arms of Christian charity.

At this period occurred an incident which will interest the reader. Ozanam had often expressed a desire to meet Chateaubriand, and finally he obtained an introduction. Chateaubriand had just returned from Mass, and he received the lad with great kindness. After some conversation he asked if Ozanam intended to go to the theatre that evening. Lacordaire tells us that the boy at first hesitated to avow that his mother had advised him never to enter a theatre; but finally he uttered the words. Chateaubriand embraced him, saying, "I conjure you to follow your mother's counsels. You would gain nothing at the theatre, and perhaps you would lose much." In fine, Ozanam never put foot into a theatre until he was twenty-seven years old, and then to see *Polyeucte*. Then he thought, says Lacordaire, that nothing can equal the representation furnished by the spirit to itself in a silent and a solitary reading of the great masters. Another effect of Ozanam's visit to Chateaubriand is noted by the great Dominican. "The charm it had left in his memory revealed to him the importance of the reception accorded by great men to those whom they have filled with admiration; and when he found himself honored and in request, he often thought of his obscure days, and freely opened his doors to the young men who were recommended to him from all sides, or who themselves sought him. Five times a week—that is, every day when he had not to appear in public—he re-

ceived them from eight to ten in the morning. And he received them graciously, conversing with them at length; and, although often devoured by the desire for the work they had interrupted, he would show no impatience. He felt himself a priest for those souls, and, like St. Paul, accountable for them all."

But let us hasten to the great event of Ozanam's life, and the one for which his memory is chiefly revered in this country. Many of his young friends had joined him in requesting the Abbé Gerbet, afterward bishop of Perpignan, to give them a series of Conferences on the philosophy of history. These reunions soon gave the idea of the celebrated Conferences of Notre Dame, first ordered by Mgr. de Quélen; but their chief effect was the institution of one of the most providential organizations of our day. Once, in the middle of an animated debate on the vitality of Catholicism, a young orator objected that the old faith was now dying. "If your faith is sincere," he cried, "it should show itself in works! Where are they? Let us see them!" The answer came very quickly. Some one exclaimed: "Let us establish a Conference of Charity!" No sooner said than done. The first reunions were held in the respective rooms of the young men; and, to use the words of the great Dom Guéranger, who was present at the first formal assemblage of the new Society, Ozanam was the *coryphée* of this crack corps of the French youth. M. Bailly, the editor of the *Tribune Catholique*, whose age and experience in good works seemed to designate him for the position, was elected president, and St. Vincent de Paul was chosen for patron. Of course, time has necessitated some new regulations, but the fundamental rules of the Society remain as they then were. Its object is always the same—to relieve the poor in their temporal necessities; to promote their moral improvement by visits to their homes; to render more easy their way to heaven. From their very beginning these Conferences were charged with being political machines. Under the government of Napoleon III., the Minister Persigny, applauded by the Freemasons and the French press—then, as now, almost entirely under Jewish control,—pre-

pared the way for the persecutions with which the Third Republic visited the Society. But all this only proves the great good done by it; the enemies of the Church ever assail her most important points. And in France, especially, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul is never backward in any truly Catholic work. For Ozanam, the success of the new Society was the constant preoccupation of his mind; his correspondence and discourses show what a preponderating part he had in it. A few months before he was called to his reward, when his strength was far from equal to his will, he journeyed to Florence to sustain the Italian Conferences, then persecuted by the civil power.

One of the most eminent bishops of that time, Mgr. Paris of Langres, characterized the great work of Ozanam in these terms: "I believe that the Catholic laymen of to-day have a particular and providential mission. Everywhere the world is secularizing itself. Everywhere the powers of the time repeat that the State is laic. Well, God has replied to the declaration: "I shall establish among you a lay priesthood—one destitute of that sacramental character which you blaspheme, one not clothed in that costume which you condemn, one which does not follow that segregated manner of life which you criticise; but one which will manifest the intelligence and zeal of the veritable priesthood, not indeed performing those sacred functions which must ever remain within the limits of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but performing social functions. Behold the action of Divine Providence in our days—the work of St. Vincent de Paul, of St. Francis Regis, of St. Joseph, of Ozanam."

In June, 1833, Ozanam and two friends, as representatives of a large section of the Parisian youth, called on Mgr. de Quélen, the archbishop, to request the establishment at Notre Dame of a series of Conferences such as they had enjoyed from the eloquence of the Abbé Gerbet. The prelate blessed them, and, embracing them, said: "In your persons I embrace all the Catholic youth"; but he hesitated to accord the favor. There was no difficulty as to the Conferences themselves; but as to the preacher, whom the students had already chosen—namely, the Abbé Lacordaire,

there was much hesitation. Concerning this fact, Dom Piolin, one of the biographers of Ozanam, and a man thoroughly acquainted with the inside history of the struggles of his day, says: "This may appear inexplicable to one who did not live at that time. The students not only requested the establishment of the Conferences, but they designated the preacher who was to give them. This man was certainly designed for the chair by his talent and by success already obtained. He was the Abbé Lacordaire, whom the students knew, above all, for his journal *L'Avenir*, and because of his trial in the matter of the free schools. But it must not be forgotten that three of the five prosecutions against *L'Avenir*, during its short existence, were caused by articles from the pen of Lacordaire. Nor must it be forgotten that the brilliant orator was one of three pilgrims, according to their expression, who went to Rome in November, 1831, to defend doctrines which were afterward condemned by the Encyclical '*Mirari vos*' (1832). Certainly Lacordaire signalized himself by his thorough submission to the decree of the Holy See, and there is no doubt that the avowal was as sincere as it was public; but, nevertheless, there were many recriminations against certain persons who were regarded as having worked for that condemnation. We would rather not recall here certain conversations in the drawing-room of Mme. de Swetchine—and these conversations had their echo,—but we will say that the published correspondence gives incontestable proof of the rankling then at the bottom of many hearts." Finally, in 1835, the archbishop himself offered the chair to the young and brilliant orator. The fame of these Conferences is world-wide; and since the days of their preacher, Ravignon, Félix, Matignon, and Monsabré have continued them with almost equal success.

By this time the literary reputation of Ozanam, although he was still a young man, was very great. The younger Dumas has somewhere said that nowadays "young men make their *début* in literature with old ideas in their heads; it requires much experience to conceive young ideas." But in Ozanam profound reflection had taken the place of experience, and competent judges expected to see him at the apex

of literary fame, long before he would have attained his prime. However, neither ambition nor his own tastes tempted him to deviate from the path his father had wished him to follow. He passed his examination for the Doctorate in Law in 1836; and when, in 1839, a chair of Commercial Law was established in the College of Lyons, the consent of Cousin, then Minister of Public Instruction, was obtained for Ozanam's promotion to it. Cousin was by no means what is now called a clerical; but when he sent the appointment to the new professor, and regretted that "his own regiment" could not claim such a recruit, he closed a flattering letter by saying, "I am sure, at any rate, that you will always serve the cause of true philosophy." Just a year before this appointment, when Ozanam, surrounded by circumstances of unusual pomp, had passed his examination for the Doctorate in Letters, Cousin, who had been one of the board, cried out to him: "Monsieur Ozanam, greater eloquence than yours is impossible!" Commenting on this compliment, Leon Gautier says: "These words will cause more than one erudite of the *petite école*, and to tell the truth, more than one pedant to smile. These rhetoricians of science would cheerfully write on the doors of our schools, 'Here all eloquence is prohibited.' They forbid us to be warm or even animated. 'Impassibility in pedagogy' is the dream of these shallow minds; and they fancy that with it we can master twenty-year-old intelligences. In Germany, perhaps; in France, never. In this matter, Ozanam is a model which we must copy persistently. He studied profoundly the matter of his lectures; he prepared them with the aid of the best scientific data; then he gave full play to his imagination, and feared not if he soared into eloquence during his delivery. . . . Ozanam gained quickly the affections of an essentially mobile public, one which was then more passionate than ever. At that period the term 'clerical' had not yet been invented; but the hatred of 1840 was no less ferocious. Nevertheless this professor who was only twenty-eight years old was received most favorably. Was his success due to his learning or to his eloquence? I think not; and I express my entire thought when I say that Oza-

nam was generous, and that his generosity was the best explanation of a triumph which was almost unexpected, although merited. Every noble cause attracted Ozanam. Were he living now, perhaps he would not speak of liberty as he spoke at that time; but it is enough to say that no one ever questioned his charming sincerity. He had a heart of crystal, in which everyone could read; and he possessed the gift of a spontaneous and unaffected enthusiasm. This it was that captivated the young; this made him popular as a professor; and from this point of view, no professor of his day was so popular as Ozanam" (1).

But if Cousin would have attached Ozanam to the University, others were endeavoring to direct his talents in other directions. Lacordaire entered the Order of Preachers in 1840, and would have liked to draw Ozanam after himself. Montalembert wished him to become co-editor of a periodical he had just founded. And the great preacher, the Abbé Combalot, said to the young lawyer's elder brother: "I would rather see Ozanam in the chair of truth than in that of the University." To the University Ozanam did go, and as an apostle. The chair of Foreign Literature being vacant in the College of Lyons, he applied to M. Cousin; but as that Minister was about to proclaim a competition for an adjunct professorship of that branch in the Sorbonne, he advised Ozanam to enter the concursus. The other candidates had been preparing for over a year, and there now remained only five months before the trial. Nevertheless, when the day arrived, Ozanam obtained the chair amid the applause even of his rivals. When the concursus was over, Fourier, the professor of Foreign Literature, then sixty-eight years old, successfully demanded that the young adjunct should be allowed to take his place whenever he might deem fitting. Ozanam always contended that God had especially aided him in this triumph. Speaking of Ozanam in the chair, the younger Ampère said: "Those who have not heard him do not know his talent. Laborious preparation, obstinate researches of texts, knowledge accumulated by great efforts, and then a brilliant improvisa-

(1) *Portraits of the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. ii., p. 134. Paris, 1895.

tion in entrancing language,—such is the teaching of Ozanam. Very seldom are so united the two great merits of a professor—depth and form, science and eloquence. He prepared his lectures like a Benedictine, and he delivered them like an orator; a double labor, which undermined an ardent constitution, and finally killed him.” As to his relations with the students, M. Caro, that Academician whose master intellect was part of so sympathetic a nature, that he was called the *philosophe des dames*, spoke as follows: “Ingenuous and good, we need not be surprised that he was popular among the young men around him; I never loved any master as I did him. Inevitable sympathy drew a youth to him, and this sympathy was faithful on both sides. In the course of years, nearly all his old disciples became his friends. No one could give him up who had once known him.” During his entire career as professor in the University, which, like all similar “unsectarian” establishments of our day, almost constantly furnished instances of would-be teachers handling subjects the first principles of which they ignore, Ozanam was ever on guard lest he might fall into the slightest inexactness of expression in regard to Christian dogma. When about to treat of, or to touch upon, any such matter of more than ordinary delicacy, he would consult some one of his ecclesiastical intimates—for instance, Dom Guéranger. Concerning this trait of Ozanam, Dom Piolin says: “We can bear witness to the scrupulousness with which he endeavored to avoid the slightest inexactness of expression whenever he touched on the dogmas and truths of Christianity. In June, 1843, I was working with Dom Guéranger. One day Ozanam entered the room, and told the abbot that being obliged, in his next lecture, to treat of certain points of the mystic life and of monastic discipline, he had called on his friend to be made sure that he was about to express himself correctly. He had brought his notes; and for about an hour, he announced his own views, and received the explanations of Dom Guéranger, engraving, as it were, each word in his memory, so visibly intense was the attention which was depicted on his features. It pleases me to be able to mention this incident in the life of

so well-informed a man. The fact ought to be a lesson to the multitude of writers who presume to treat of the most delicate questions of the mystic life, although they have not made the slightest study of its principles. The same remark may be made in regard to many lucubrations on monastic discipline; very seldom is exactness of expression observed."

M. Fourier died in 1843; and after some difficulty on the part of Villemain, then Minister of Public Instruction, Ozanam became titular professor in the chair which he had adorned so well. So young a titular had never been installed in the University. His lectures required much preparatory labor; but he continually found time for a further exercise of his educational apostolate in the best journals and periodicals of France. In 1843, while he was delivering his account of the literary history of Italy from the dawn of Christianity to the advent of Charlemagne, he published some of his most remarkable writings in the *Correspondant*, and in the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*. These articles were greatly admired, even by the "liberals" of the time; but they did not produce that furious excitement in the hostile camp which was caused at the same time by a discourse on the literary obligations of Catholics, which, at the request of Archbishop Affre, the professor pronounced before the "Catholic Circle." Michelet and Quinet, then teaching in the Collège de France, raised the insensate cry of "Jesuitism"—a word which had not yet given place to the equally ridiculous one of "clericalism"; and every means was adopted to excite the studious youth of the University against the uncompromisingly Catholic professor. In reality, the whole question between Michelet and Quinet, on the one side, and Ozanam, Lenormant, and Cœur, on the other, was the great one of freedom of education—a right which the Masonic powers in office refused to Catholics. But Ozanam persisted in his course; and as Lacordaire remarked, "he retained the affection of the Catholics, the esteem of the Faculty of which he was a member, and outside of those camps, the sympathy of that fickle crowd which is termed the public, and which sooner or later decides everything."

In 1844 the death of M. Bailly caused the unanimous election of Ozanam to the presidency of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, but his humility and numerous occupations would not allow him to accept the position; he entered, however, upon the duties of vice-president, and until his death was ever active in promoting the work of the organization. In 1846 he was named Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, and shortly afterward made a trip into Italy. He was affectionately received by Pope Pius IX., then surrounded by the honors of apotheosis on the part of the liberal party. Ozanam believed in the sincerity of these demonstrations, and with him, in this case, the wish was father of the thought. He was a pronounced democrat, but in a Christian sense. He firmly believed in the possibility, nay, the necessity, of a Christian democracy in the circumstances of to-day. In his mind democracy was now the natural goal of political progress, and he was persuaded that God was now leading the world toward it. "Gentlemen," he observed on one occasion, "when the barbarians overran Roman civilization, the Church pursued them, saying, 'I pass to the barbarians'; and with those barbarians she constituted modern civilization. To-day it is not barbarism, but democracy which invades the world. Let us pass over to the democracy, and with it let us form the civilization of the future." These ideas and hopes were shared by Lacordaire and by the Abbé Maret, then professor at the Sorbonne, and afterward titular bishop of Sura. They founded a journal, *L'Ère Nouvelle*, to propagate their views; but it lasted only a year (1848-49). Several very rash opinions were hazarded in this paper; so very rash that all the pressure of the French Government could not induce the Holy See to confirm the nomination of Maret, in 1860, to the diocese of Vanues. As to Lacordaire, he was called to Rome, and made to subscribe to propositions contrary to many advanced in *L'Ère Nouvelle*. Ozanam, however, steered aloof of these shoals; and during his connection with the journal, he combated those monstrosities which seem to be necessary accompaniments of European democracy.

The revolution of 1848, as at first actuated in France, was not displeasing to Ozanam. The republic which it pro-

claimed was certainly more legitimate than the bastard monarchy of Louis Philippe which it had subverted; in the beginning, at least, it seemed to recognize the rights of the Church as they had not been recognized, in France, for many years; and it was with sincere pleasure that many of the *curés* blessed the "liberty poles" of the day, and intoned the *Domine, salvam fac Rempublicam* in their churches. Amid all these opinions, illusions, hopes, and utopias appeared the white robe of Lacordaire, who was giving, in all tranquillity, his Conferences at Notre Dame. Ozanam allowed no excitement of the world to interfere with his enjoyment of these spiritual and literary feasts; but Leon Gautier narrates one episode which showed that the professor's democratic fever accompanied him to the cathedral. He had conceived the idea that so eminently "popular" a preacher as Lacordaire should not tolerate so "aristocratic" an institution as payment for sittings in a reserved portion of the nave. Therefore, one day the auditors of the great Dominican were treated to a rather distracting exhibition. Ozanam, who was dressed in the full uniform of the National Guard, suddenly left his seat, and tore away the barrier which separated the free from the reserved places. "This fact," says Gautier, "was frequently narrated to me by Dr. Faivre, the late Dean of the Faculty of Science in Lyons, who aided Ozanam in the rather revolutionary demonstration. In justice, however, I must add that they had obtained the consent of Lacordaire, and that from the height of his pulpit the great orator smiled upon them" (1). Ozanam had accepted the Republic of 1848 frankly and hopefully; and it was in order to demonstrate how the spirit of Christianity develops the glory and prosperity of true republics, that he immediately began his course of lectures on *The History of the Italian Republics of the Middle Age*. His illusion was of short duration; an experience of a few weeks showed that the work of the Masonic Lodges and that of mediæval Catholicism were not to be mentioned in the same breath. Impelled only by the obligations and hopes of Christian charity, it was he who, on June 25, 1848, together with Bailly and Cornudet, accompanied Archbishop

(1) *Loc cit.*, p. 138.

Affre through the insurgent ranks on his way to the quarters of General Cavaignac, head of the executive power of the Republic, where the prelate was to beg for the pardon of the rebels who would lay down their arms; and he also was one of the few who followed the saintly shepherd to his martyrdom at the barricade of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine (1).

In 1849 the constitution of Ozanam, never robust, began to show signs of decay. An attack of pleurisy in 1851 forced him to interrupt his lectures, and go to the Eaux-Bonnes, where he founded a Conference of St. Vincent de Paul. After a voyage in Spain, he proceeded to Tuscany, where the dowager grand-duchess had shown herself hostile to the Society so dear to his heart. His zeal in its favor was rewarded by permission to establish Conferences throughout the grand-duchy. At Pisa he grew weaker, but he devoted his time to annotations of the Bible; and in after years his friends gathered the sheets and published the contents, with the title *Book of the Sick*. On his journey toward France,

(1) The socialistic and other "exalted" leaders of the populace, not contented with a republic in which order, moderation, and justice were observed, had drawn the workmen of the capital into open insurrection against the authority of the National Assembly; and on June 24 that representative body had invested General Cavaignac, already head of the executive, with dictatorial powers. Senard, the president of the Assembly, announcing this proceeding to the National Guard, said: "Among the insurgents there are many who are mere victims of deception; and now the crime of those who have beguiled the unfortunate is patent. They do not demand a republic; that is already proclaimed. They do not ask for universal suffrage; that is already in force. What then do they desire? We know very well. They wish for anarchy, incendiarism, pillage. National Guards, let us unite for the defense of our beautiful capital!" Martial law was proclaimed, and the struggle assumed frightful proportions. During the night of the 24th, the troops carried the Faubourg Poissinière, thanks to the arrival of the National Guards of Rouen, which placed the insurgents between two fires. The Pantheon (the desecrated church of St. Geneviève) had been battered with cannon, and retaken, but with the loss of General Damesme, who was replaced by General Brea. After a night of fitful repose, the combat recommenced with the dawn. Brea carried the Faubourg Saint-Marcel, and was about to charge on some formidable barricades at the Barrière Fontainebleau, when he conceived the idea of parleying with the enemy. Having raised the white flag, he was asked to pass the barricades, in order to confer with the rebel leaders. Full of a legitimate confidence, and accompanied only by an aide, he crossed the barrier; and was dragged into a neighboring house and massacred, together with his companion. One may imagine the savage aspect which the combat thenceforth presented. The carnage was at its height, when Archbishop Affre waited on Cavaignac, and asked for permission to make his way through the attacking troops to the front of the battle, there to endeavor to bring his wayward children to reason. In vain Cavaignac mentioned the fate of General Brea; the prelate calmly replied: "A good pastor gives his life for his sheep." On his way to the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, where sixty-five successive barricades were confronting the governmental forces, he paused ever and anon to exercise the ministry of his office, as wounded and dying men were being carried from the field. Arrived before the first barricade, he showed the order of Cavaignac to the commanding officer, and demanded a cessation of the firing. The bugles gave the signal

in which land of his predilection he wished to die, he found awaiting him at Leghorn a member's diploma of the Italian Academy *della Crusca*; and also, what was inexpressibly dear to him, letters of affiliation to the Franciscan Order, sent to him by the General through the intervention of Cardinal Mai. Before embarking he received the Last Sacraments, and on his arrival at Marseilles, they were again administered. He was received by his beloved Society, and on the Feast of the Nativity of Our Lady (1853), surrounded by his wife and family, he peacefully expired. Pope Pius IX. sent a letter of consolation to Mme. Ozanam; Lacordaire, the younger Ampère, Caro, Perreyve, Laprade, and other eminent men, pronounced eulogies on him. Guizot terminated his panegyric in these words: "This model of a Christian man of letters, worthy and humble, an ardent friend of science and a firm champion of the faith, tenderly enjoying the pure pleasures of life, was taken away from the holiest

to the troops; a similar one caused a suspension of the insurgent fire; and the archbishop advanced, bareheaded, directly to the barricade. Many of the rebels jumped down to meet him; some greeted him with curses, while others knelt and kissed his hands and soutane. Calmly and distinctly he began to plead: "My friends"; and suddenly a musket was discharged. Then came from the insurgents the cry: "We are betrayed! To arms!" Those who had come forth to meet the archbishop quickly regained their posts, for the firing had been resumed; but as they looked toward the prelate they saw him fall. He had received a bullet in the groin. Again many of the insurgents sprang over the barricade, and lifting their wounded pastor, they swore that it was no gun of the people, but one belonging to the *bourgeoisie* that had laid him low. A litter was extemporized, and by direction of the *curé* de Saint-Antoine the victim of his pastoral charity was borne to the parochial residence. As the bearers proceeded, their murmurs of vengeance because of his misfortune reached the ears of the sufferer; and he cried: "No revenge, my friends! Let my blood be the last shed in this dissension!" Shortly after his arrival at the presbytery, the physicians informed him that his wound was certainly mortal. Raising his eyes toward heaven, he said in an undisturbed voice, "My God, I offer Thee my life; accept it in expiation of my sins, and as an oblation for the prevention of further effusion of blood! My life, oh God! is a little thing; but take it! I die content, if my sacrifice terminates this horrible civil war." After a few moments of meditation, he said: "Tell the insurgents that I conjure them to depose their arms. The government will not treat them badly." When he was told that the fight had ceased, as soon as it became generally known that he was wounded, he rejoiced; but his humility led him to say: "I suppose that when I am dead, they will pronounce on me eulogies that I do not at all merit." After he had received the Last Sacraments, he asked to be removed to his own residence. All Paris seemed to hush the streets through which the *cortège* passed; and the face of the dying man was the most serene in the multitude. His sacrifice was accomplished on the following day, and simultaneously the last traces of the insurrection disappeared. During the eight days that the body of Archbishop Affre was exposed in state, as we learn from the secular journals of the time, more than forty thousand swords were drawn from their scabbards, and laid upon the hands which seemed, even in death, to bless France.—CHANTEL: *Universal History*. Vol. vi., p. 501, 20th edit., Paris, 1891.—GUILLERMIN: *Denis Augustus Affre, in the Illustrious Men of the Nineteenth Century*. Paris, 1885.

affections and the noblest labors too soon, according to the world, but when he was mature for heaven and for glory."

To M. Guizot the world is supremely indebted for a *History of Civilization*, but this *doctrinaire* too persistently misinterpreted or ignored the influence of the Church. Ozanam filled his lagoon. To give an adequate idea of the writings of this young champion of the Church and of humanity is not our intention, but a brief analysis may prove acceptable. The works of Ozanam fill eight octavo volumes. The first and second give us, in the work entitled *The Civilization of the Fifth Century*, the customs of that period, the paganism, law, literature, theology, and philosophy; the Papacy and monasticism; the condition of women; the Latin language become a Christian tongue; the material civilization of the Roman Empire; the origin of the new Latin nations. By some strange oversight, this edition does not reproduce the *Documents Illustrating the Literary History of Italy from the Eighth to the Thirteenth Century*, published in 1850, as the result of a mission entrusted to Ozanam in 1846 by M. de Salvandy, then Minister of Public Instruction. The third and fourth volumes give the work entitled *The Germans before Christianity*, of which the first part describes what is now called Germany as it was before the coming of the Romans, its religion, language, and laws; the second part, treating of the same barbaric regions in face of Roman civilization, then as they were when made partly Christian under the Romans, and finally we have an account of the preaching of Irish and English monks, the Church, state, and schools. The fifth volume comprises the charming study entitled *The Franciscan Poets of Italy in the Thirteenth Century*, which treats of the services rendered by the Franciscans to Italian literature, and of the sources of Dante's *Divina Commedia*. The sixth volume presents the work on *Dante and the Philosophy of the Thirteenth Century*, an exposition of the *Commedia* from a thirteenth-century philosophical point of view. The seventh and eighth volumes give a collection of *Mélanges*—a series of articles on questions of religion, philosophy, jurisprudence, politics, and a number of biographies, descriptions of travels, etc.

CHAPTER IX.

MONTALEMBERT AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM OF
EDUCATION IN FRANCE.

Among the many noble families whose heroic devotion to France has been a hereditary characteristic for centuries, that of the Montalemberts has ever been conspicuous. They have ever justified the proud saying of the chivalrous Francis I. : " We are four gentlemen of Guienne who await in the lists any and all enemies of France ; I, Sausac, Montalembert, and La Chastaigneraye " ; but they were never known as mere hangers-on of the royal court, being, on the contrary, as the comrade of King Francis said, " better adapted for dealing blows to the foe, than for handing a shirt to the king." From this stock came that Charles René de Montalembert who was destined to show that neither nobility of lineage nor filial submission to the laws of the Church are obstacles to the moral, literary, oratorical, and political development of a Frenchman of the nineteenth century ; that, in fine, " it is possible for one to have mind and heart attentive to all the interests of the present, to bring to the conduct of public affairs and to a study of the questions of the day the qualities of lucidity and practical common sense, without any abandonment of the traditions of an illustrious race, and without any neglect of the duties and belief of a fervent Catholic " (1). Count René de Montalembert had been driven from France by the Revolution, and had married in London the only daughter of James Forbes, a scion of the noble house of Granard. It was in the English capital that the future Catholic champion was born in 1810 ; and when the Restoration permitted Count René to return to France, he left the boy in the care of his doting grandfather. Forbes was a man of remarkable attainments, and a member of the Royal Society ; and he regarded the education of his charge as the chief pleasure of his declining years. From the time when he was able to walk until his tenth year, Charles may

(1) PELLISSIER ; *The Glories of Christian France*, p. 144. Paris, 1890.

be said to have lived with his grandfather in the library of the latter ; and he not only acquired the rudiments of Latin and Greek, as well as an excellent knowledge of his two mother-tongues, but what was of more importance, he imbibed a taste for really serious study, together with an aptitude for profound observation, and for minute research into the reasons of things. In 1819 the death of his grandfather caused the removal of the boy to his father's house in Paris ; and here his studies were continued for seven years under the guidance of private tutors. In 1826 he entered the College of Sainte-Barbe, now known as the Collège Rollin. As "liberal" himself as any one of his new companions, all of whom were already indoctrinated with the theories of Foy, Lafayette, and other agitators of the period, Montalembert rendered himself popular by his translations of the great English parliamentarians, Fox, Pitt, and Grattan ; but he found himself almost alone in the matter of religious belief, there being but one or two fellows who did not vaunt himself a disciple of Voltaire. The *rara avis* was Léon Cornudet ; and as he was in the class of philosophy, while Montalembert was in that of rhetoric, the quickly made friends supplemented their unfrequent interviews by an epistolary correspondence which afterward saw the light for the edification of many under the title of *Letters to a College Friend*. The reader of these letters learns that in his eighteenth year Montalembert professed the same opinions which he propagated in his mature manhood. Son of a peer of France, and already determined on an entrance into political life, this young French student had taken for his models in statecraft those English parliamentarians whose career and discourses had captivated his imagination. "We will show the world," writes the young rhetorician, "that men can be Christians without being retrogrades, and that we can serve God with the noble humility of free men." In his exaltation the lad sent to his friend a sort of profession of political and religious faith which he had signed with his blood. Calmly and after due thought, however, the two enthusiasts, after having received Holy Communion together, solemnly swore to devote their friendship to the cause of "God and Liberty."

Thus the young Montalembert adopted the watchword which was to be proclaimed by Lamennais and Lacordaire ; and he framed it several years before those publicists used it, and when he did not know them.

In 1829 Montalembert visited Ireland, and called on O'Connell, who was then triumphing in a rôle such as the French youth had imagined for himself—that of a leader in a contest for full religious liberty. He was in London when the Three Days of July, 1830, expelled the elder branch of the Bourbons from France ; and he hurried to Paris in order to watch the progress of a revolution which did not entirely displease him. He found that Lamennais had just undertaken the editorship of a politico-religious journal in order to combat the theories of those Catholics, both clerical and lay, who seemed to fancy that the fall of the throne of the legitimate “son of St. Louis” necessarily involved the destruction of the altar. Montalembert would not have been true to the traditions of his class, had he not cherished the idea of a *réel* “alliance between the altar and the throne” ; but the history of the past two centuries had shown that in France that alliance had been made a gilded slavery for the Church, and the history of the past thirty years had demonstrated that such slavery was no longer tolerable. He immediately offered his services to *L'Avenir*, and they were graciously accepted. In the rooms of Lamennais he met Lacordaire for the first time ; and at once they loved each other “with that love,” he afterward wrote, “which is experienced by the young, pure, and generous, when they are together under the fire of the enemy.” When Montalembert joined the editorial staff of the journal bearing the motto, “God and Liberty,” he devoted himself entirely to that cause ; indeed, half measures and compromises were so foreign to his nature, that he could have appropriated to himself the remark which his father had made when he reproved the ministers of Louis XVIII. for not sending enough of troops into Spain : “When France draws her sword, she draws it entirely.” When treating of Lacordaire and Lamennais, we spoke sufficiently concerning the history of *L'Avenir*, and concerning the prosecution of Montalembert,

Lacordaire, and M. de Caux, for having dared to teach some children without permission from the government. We heard our young publicist describing himself, when replying to the initial questions of the court, as "Count Charles de Montalembert, twenty one-years old, *Schoolmaster, and Peer of France*." We now add only a couple of passages from his grand speech of defense: "The task of our lawyers is finished; ours begins. They have recited for you the strict language of right and of the law. It is for us, the accused, while explaining the motives of our conduct, to speak another language—that of our beliefs and of our affections, that of our hearts and of our faith—the Catholic language." It is very improbable that the court, composed chiefly of venerable peers who had grown old in the services of various governments, which were all equally indifferent to both religion and liberty, had ever before heard this "Catholic language" resounding through its forensic precincts. They had heard the eloquence of men like De Bonald and Chateaubriand, of Catholic royalists, or perhaps, rather, of royalist Catholics; but an eloquence which was purely and simply Catholic must have been indeed new to them. "We are resigned," continued the pedagogue-peer, "to everything but servitude. It is well for the government to understand this fact, and to think of it frequently." In his vindication of a Catholic parent's right to refuse to consign his children to the atheistic teaching and to the immoral discipline of the University, Montalembert recalled his own experiences in Sainte-Barbe, one of the colleges affiliated and subject to that governmental establishment. He inveighed against the contagious scepticism, the cold and calculated impiety, and the flagrant monstrosities of immorality, which remained ever afterward "among the souvenirs of every boy who spent even one week in such an institution." And he protested against a system which subjected an innocent child to the horrible risk which he himself had undergone, "the risk of purchasing a little science at the cost of the faith of his fathers, at the cost of all that was pure and fresh in his soul, at the cost of honor and of every virtue." The House of Peers refused to be influenced by these accents of truth; the

cause of liberty, of morality, and of the future of France, yielded to the threat of a loss of their hereditary privileges which hung over their heads. The punishment inflicted was certainly nominal ; but the Universitarian monopoly was re-consecrated, receiving a new lease of life, which was to endure for more than twenty years. And these "liberals" of 1830, who so deliberately condemned Catholic children to religious indifference, were the men who continually decried as a revolting abuse of power the conduct of Louis XIV., in ordering the children of Calvinists to be raised in the Catholic faith.

Twenty-two years of the life of Montalembert were devoted to the conquest of freedom of education ; and since an accurate idea of the importance of his work depends on a knowledge of the true significance of the pedagogic pretensions of the government of Louis Philippe, we subjoin a brief sketch of the origin and privileges of the "University of France." The reader must know that the ancient University of Paris had no authority and exercised no direct influence over the other Universities of the kingdom ; the other institutions, just like the many schools of the cloister, had their own special methods. Centuries of experience had demonstrated the utility of this independence, when Napoleon, whose continual aim was to centralize every power and influence in his own hands, conceived the idea of a new teaching body, comparable indeed, in some respects, with the venerable University of Paris, but to be founded on a much vaster plan. The entire system of instruction in France was to be guided by one and the same administration. By an imperial decree of March 17, 1808, it was ordered that all teaching in the empire should be the exclusive prerogative of the new "University of France" ; that no educational establishment could be continued or founded without the sanction of the grand-master of the said University ; and that no person, not a member of the same, could open a school, or teach science, letters, or art. Apparently an exception was made in favor of ecclesiastical seminaries ; but that exception was practically nullified by the order that the bishops, to whom the direction of their

respective seminaries was ostensibly conceded, should respect the ordinances of the head of the state in all educational matters. The exception was nullified also by the provision determining the number of Faculties of Theology in France—one for each ecclesiastical province; and by the fact that the professors in the seminaries were to be appointed by the grand-master of the University in the first instance, the chairs to be obtained thereafter by concursus. It was also ordered that all teaching in the seminaries should be in accordance with the Four Articles of 1682; that, in fine, as Napoleon expressed the idea, all ecclesiastical education should be based primarily on the precepts of the Church, but it should also be grounded in the idea of “fidelity to the emperor; to the imperial monarchy, the depository of the happiness of the people; and to the Napoleonic dynasty, the preserver of the unity of France, and of all the liberal principles which are proclaimed in the constitution.” When Napoleon first undertook to undo the fell work of the Revolution in matters ecclesiastical, his grand governmental instincts told him that the clergy ought, after the mothers of France, to be the first educators of French youth. “Napoleon never hesitated,” says De Pradt, “in the matter of the necessity of confiding public instruction to the clergy. I do not know whether that system is a good one or not; but I do know that it was his—‘That is their business,’ said he ” (1). But the time arrived when, as the son of the Revolution himself said, “having slept in the bed of royalty, he was infected with the madness of kings ” (2), and since the first symptom of that madness is generally a desire to wield crozier as well as sceptre, he found himself at war with the Roman Pontiff. Then came the creation of a body of laymen dependent entirely on the state, controlling public instruction in all its ramifications, despite the indubitable fact that the interests of souls—a matter pertaining to the province of the clergy—are necessarily involved in that instruction. It must not be forgotten,

(1) DE PRADT; *The Four Concordats*. Paris, 1830.—POUJOLAT; *Life of Ravignan*. Paris, 1875.

(2) See the *Memoirs for the History of France under Napoleon*, Written at St. Helena under His Dictation by the Count de Montholon. Paris, 1835.

however, that Napoleon still realized that ordinary laymen could scarcely fulfil in a creditable manner that mission which may well be termed a second priesthood. He knew that the state could not expect to find in its hirelings that spirit of devotedness to the educational apostolate which is of the very essence of the priestly and the religious life; but fancying that some semblance of that spirit might be evoked by merely barren imitation of impressive externals, he laid upon most of his Universitarian employees the obligation of leading a community life, and one of celibacy. In Article CI. of his decree of 1808, he ordered: "The provosts and censors of the *lycées*, the principals and regents of the colleges, as well as the prefects of studies in these colleges, will be constrained to celibacy and to the life in community." Did Napoleon forget that while a governmental decree may institute a parody of sacerdotal or monastic celibacy, something more than the pen of a secretary of state is requisite to enable the children of men to resist carnal temptation? Ought not his sublime intelligence, his own experience, have taught him that by this decree he placed a premium on the immorality of his governmental pedagogues? Of course this hypocritical mask was removed by the Restoration; and many other obnoxious features of the new University were also remedied. By a decree of Feb. 17, 1815, Louis XVIII. reduced the number of Academies, and gave to them the name of Universities; the *Lycées* were thereafter to be styled Royal Colleges. Each University was to be composed of a Council, of which the diocesan bishop was to be a member; and of Faculties, and of Royal and Communal Colleges. Each College, with the exception of the one in the principal city of the University circumscription, was to be governed by a bureau of administration, of which the bishop was to be a member. Instead of the Napoleonic grand-master of the "University of France," there was to be a Royal Council of Public Instruction, composed of a president and eleven councillors, two of the latter to be chosen from among the clergy. The president was to conduct all correspondence, to present all business to the council, to sign all decisions and to see that they were respected, and

to have a casting vote when a tie resulted. On Feb. 27, 1821, a royal ordinance empowered the bishops to superintend all religious instruction in the colleges; and in the following year the celebrated Frayssinous, who had recently been made titular bishop of Hermopolis, was created head of the University. Certainly the revolutionary University had been deprived of some of its poison; but in 1828, the Martignac-Portalis ministry gave a severe blow to the cause of free education, when it so far yielded to the clamors of the "liberal" opposition as to decree that the eight colleges of the Jesuits should be incorporated with the University, and that thereafter no one could teach in France, unless he or she declared in writing that he or she did not belong to any order or society which was not *legally* established in the kingdom. Shortly after the publication of this decree, another was issued, declaring that thereafter the number of ecclesiastical students should never exceed twenty thousand; and that no externs should be allowed to receive instruction in the seminaries. With the revolution of 1830 came the restoration of its Napoleonic prerogatives to the University. Then the chairs of public instruction throughout the kingdom were filled by men who were formed according to the image of the state as it was then constituted—Positivists at best, but generally rank Pantheists and sordid Materialists.

When Charles de Montalembert undertook to procure freedom of education in France, he entered into his paternal inheritance; for the last words of Count René in the House of Peers had been: "As Frenchmen and as Catholics we ask for, indeed, we demand, freedom of education. That freedom is indispensable for the happiness of our families, for the maintenance of paternal authority; and for my part, I shall not cease to demand it, so long as I have a seat in this assembly." The time seemed to be opportune for success against the Universitarian monopoly, when the liberal agitation penetrated all minds in 1830, and when the superior talents of Lamennais and his disciples gave strength to the cause. But the sanguine Christian liberals were doomed to learn that one of the saddest consequences of the Revolution

of 1789, a continual Hosanna to liberty without the possession of the thing itself, was destined to satisfy their countrymen for many years. Ever since the subversion of the throne of St. Louis, neither reason nor experience has been able to convince Frenchmen that the interference of the State in every possible concern of the citizen is not a consummation devoutly to be desired; even in our day, after so long a trial, the average French republican, unless he is a positive anarchist, finds Statolatry a very comfortable doctrine. But in spite of this slavish tendency of the victims of the principles of 1789, Montalembert continued to hope that his Catholic compatriots would soon realize that religion ought to penetrate and inspire all education; that religion "ought to exercise over education that absolute domination, without which no education can be truly good." Like Mme. de Staël, who was very far from being a "clerical," Montalembert believed that "religion is nothing unless it is all"; and that this truth is realized by the Masonic liberalasters of our time, is shown by the zeal with which they effect the banishment of religion from the halls of education in every land where they attain predominance. As a first step in the career which he had marked out for himself, as a first blow in "that determined and holy combat of conscience, truth, and right, against the then triumphant forces of mendacity," Montalembert laid the foundations of a "Catholic Party" in 1836, shortly after his marriage with Mlle. de Mérode, a daughter of that Belgian patriot and statesman who had recently contributed so powerfully to the independence of his country (1). In a letter to Rio, the famous art critic who so enthusiastically shared in the literary and philosophical movement started by Lamennais, but who remained uncompromisingly orthodox, the champion said: "There must be in France a party which will be simply Catholic, liberal without being democratic, conservative though not absolutist. This is evident to both you and me; but it is no less certain that such a party can be formed only

(1) It was only after his union with Mlle. de Mérode that Montalembert discovered that his beloved companion was a lineal descendant of the "dear St. Elizabeth of Hungary" whose life he had so charmingly delineated. He always ascribed his domestic happiness to the protection of his "sweet saint."

amid a thousand disappointments and a thousand heart-burnings. And, indeed, if it were formed otherwise, it would be a mere bonfire, a thing of no durability and of no use." Evidently the Catholic champion had taken to heart the lesson of Calvary, the all-powerful nature and the all but absolute necessity of sacrifice as a factor in any truly humanitarian movement. The first difficulty encountered was the indifference of very many of the French Catholics. The majority of these held themselves aloof from political life, waiting for the coronation of their idolized "child of the miracle" (1), the noble Comte de Chambord, whom they so zealously proclaimed as Henry V., King of France and of Navarre. Others compromised with the Orleans usurper, in order to secure their properties, and for the sake of office. And very many refused co-operation in any policy of aggression, on the ground that resignation was the first of Christian virtues. There was no exaggeration in the words with which Montalembert described these victims of a policy of *laissez faire*: "The French Catholics of our time have a predominant inclination for one thing that is peculiar to them—sleep. To sleep profoundly, to sleep comfortably, to sleep for a long time; and when they awake, to go to sleep again as quickly as possible; such, down to the present day, has been their politics, their philosophy, and according to some, their ability." Montalembert tried to rouse them; and alleging the example of the Catholics of Ireland and of Belgium, he urged them to talk, to petition, and to vote. His success was but small; and probably the chief reason was the distrust of public discussion which was entertained by most of the French bishops. One prelate would murmur: "Noise does no good, and what is good makes no noise"; and he would illustrate his fancied truism by indicating the recent exaggerations of *L'Avenir*. Another would express horror

(1) The Brethren of the Three Points had hoped to exterminate the elder line of the Bourbons by the murder of the Duc de Berry, son and heir of Charles X., on Feb. 13, 1820; but seven months after the catastrophe the Duchesse de Berry (Mary Caroline of Naples) gave birth to a son. The rage of the sectaries and the joy of the legitimists because of this birth caused the young prince to be acclaimed as "the child of the miracle"; and the admirers of Victor Hugo will please note that their idol was at the head of the poets of the day who congratulated France on the promised perpetuation of the elder branch of the Bourbons.

of lay "interference" in ecclesiastical affairs, apparently ignoring that what was urged was some lay energy to destroy the most monumental and most outrageous of lay interferences with what belonged to the sanctuary. Archbishop Affre of Paris and several other prelates opposed most vigorously the formation of a Committee of Direction for the Catholic Party; but fortunately Mgr. Parisis of Langres, who held that "the laity had not only a right, but a sacred duty to speak and act" in the premises, appealed to Mgr. Fornari, the papal nuncio. The representative of Gregory XVI. declared: "In the present circumstances it belongs to the laity to save the Church of France." This approbation infused new energy into Montalembert; and the government of Louis Philippe found that ten years after the apparent burial of the educational question in the grave of *L'Avenir*, the same question was being agitated in the House of Peers.

In 1842 Montalembert published his pamphlet on *The Duties of Catholics in the Matter of Freedom of Education*, giving both the signal and the programme for the campaign. Not since the days of the League, three centuries previously, had the Catholics of France rallied together in utter independence of political or dynastic interests, intent only on the defence of their rights as children of the Church of Christ. Their cause was championed by a noble band. Before the peers perorated Montalembert. In the pulpit of Notre Dame argued and appealed Lacordaire and Ravignan. In the Chamber of Deputies were heard the eloquent accents of Berryer and Carné. In the columns of *L'Univers* cowardice and supineness were made to blush by the invectives of Louis Veuillot, the most brilliant journalist who has wielded pen since journalism became a profession. In the University itself, the philippics of Ozanam and Lenormant demonstrated that while all despots in Christian times have, like Napoleon, found fault with the Church because she "leaves to monarchs only the bodies of their subjects," reason replies that the Church demands merely a distinction between the spiritual and the temporal. In fine, all these earnest sons of Catholicism, supported, in their respective circles, by the Abbé Combalot and by the (then) Abbés Dr.

paulou and Gerbet, showed to all who were not wilfully blind, that in their day also was verified the description of the effects of State education which the very un-clerical Portalis gave in 1802—a description which we, who have studied the course pursued by the Third French so-called Republic, find also verified under the rule of that conglomeration of inanities and insanities. “It is time for theory to be silent in the presence of facts,” said Portalis; “there should be no instruction without education; and there can be no education without morality and religion. Our instructors have taught in the desert; for it has been imprudently decreed that religion must not be mentioned in the schools. Instruction has been null for the last ten years. Our children have been given over to a most dangerous idleness, and to a most alarming vagabondage. They have no idea of a Deity, and no notion of the just and the unjust; hence their ferocious and barbarous manners, and hence a ferocious people. If we compare the present condition of public instruction with what it ought to be, we must tremble for future generations. All France calls on religion to come to the aid of morality and society” (1).

The bravery of Montalembert was naturally very distasteful to Louis Philippe; and when the champion appeared at court, after a brief visit to Madeira, made because of the ill health of his wife, the monarch very significantly asked: “M. de Montalembert, when do you return to Madeira?” But intimidation was wasted on Montalembert; and on April 16, 1844, he called on the royal cabinet to render an account of its religious policy. Then from among the motley crowd of Orleanists, radicals, time-serving Catholics, and Masonic adepts, was heard the cry that the Catholics were rebels to the civil authority; and in the Chamber of Deputies the elder Dupin urged the government to act with unsparing vigor—“*Soyez implacable!*” he cried. Montalembert replied: “When we were silent under oppression, it was asserted that we were conspiring in darkness; that we were engaged in subterranean in-

(1) *Explanation of the Reasons for the Concordat, Given to the Corps Legislatif by Baron Portalis, Minister of Worship. Paris, 1804.*

trigues. In the days of the Restoration, you cried: 'Ye Blacks, come out from under the earth!' When we presented ourselves, and announced what we are and what we want, you exclaimed: 'What audacity! What insolence!' . . . Well, be 'implacable,' if you so wish. Do all that you desire and are able to do! The Church replies to you through the mouth of Tertullian: 'You have no need to fear us, and we do not fear you.' As for myself, I proclaim, in the name of the French Catholic laymen of the nineteenth century, that amid a free people we are unwilling to be Helots. We are the successors of the martyrs, and we shall never tremble before the successors of Julian the Apostate. *We are sons of the Crusaders*; and we shall never quail before the sons of Voltaire." This qualification of the Catholic party as being composed of "sons of the Crusaders" was a happy thought, and for years it was a kind of war-cry for the friends of educational freedom. When it was heard by the nominal Catholics who supported the irreligious policy of the Government of July, their patriotism must have rebuked them; for the sons of the Crusaders are the true servants and soldiers of France, and have for their model that St. Louis who was respected by all his enemies, whereas Voltaire was the complacent valet of the Prussian Frederick II. Ten days after this first attack on the enemy's positions, Montalembert repeated his onslaught on the occasion of the presentation of a bill on secondary education by Villemain and Cousin, both of whom were professors in the Sorbonne, and had alternated as grand-masters of the University. Villemain expressed his disgust with the opposition of "that young man" who presumed to question the value of state-dispensed education; and the young man ridiculed the pretended fears of his adversaries: "You fill every place—Chambers, academies, tribunals. In the Sorbonne just as in the Palais de Justice, in the College of France just as in the Court of Cassation, you alone speak, and you speak continually. You alone are masters, and you are masters everywhere. You are everything, we are nothing; and nevertheless you tremble. And before whom? Before us poor ultramontane fanatics, before the sacristy, as you term us."

And then he ridiculed the University as being like a body of Chinese mandarins. Cousin also was prodded by Montalembert. The father of eclecticism had not disdained to attack the Jesuits from the tribune, adopting as weapons a number of those falsified passages from the works of certain authors of the Society which had formed an arsenal for the parliamentary jurists in the campaign which preceded the suppression of the sons of Loyola (1). Montalembert had an easy task in his restoration of the mutilated and interpolated texts of the Jesuit writers; and, he observed: "Since we have been brought to the subject of Escobar, it will be admitted that at least in this instance, *Escobarderie* is not peculiar to the Jesuits." The debate of that day resulted in a victory for the Orleanist principles, for Masonry, and for irreligion in general, by a majority of only eighteen. Meanwhile the misdeeds of the Jesuits were being depicted by Michelet and Quinet in the College of France; in the columns of the *Débats* the crimes of *Rodin* and other mythical Jesuits were being evolved by Eugene Sue as incidents in the path of his *Wandering Jew*; and in the Chamber of Deputies, the elder Dupin and Thiers were urging the application of existing laws to the detriment of the hated Society. Montalembert ridiculed these efforts of the anti-Catholic party; and reminding his fellow-peers of the vitality of the Society of Jesus, he said: "You must realize that in last analysis, the sacrifice of the just is of profit only to justice. Such has been the case ever since the time of Pontius Pilate; and I would recommend a consideration of this fact to those successors of that famous statesman who are now among us."

After the revolution of 1848, when Ozanam, Lacordaire, and Maret founded the *Ere Nouvelle* in the interest of democratic ideas, Montalembert accepted indeed the situation created by the events of Feb. 24; but fearing the advent of a *sans-culotte* administration, he entered the ranks of the conservatives. The Catholic Electoral Committee having begun its campaign for a selection of candidates for the Constituent Assembly, he published this declaration: "I have cher-

(1) See our Vol. iv., p. 461.

ished a sincere and disinterested faith in constitutional monarchy; I still believe that representative government has given to our country thirty-four years of peace, order, prosperity, and liberty—not complete, indeed, but incomparably better than any in our previous history. But if the Republic, while bettering the condition of the workingman, will guarantee, as does the Republic of the United States, the supreme benefit of liberty to religion, to the family, and to property, then it will have no more sincere and more devoted defender than myself.” Elected in the Department of Doubs, he immediately assumed the defence of his favorite thesis, predicting that education by the State would make no more republicans than it had made monarchists since the date of its introduction. Almost the sole effect of his discourse was a denunciation of himself, on the part of certain electors of Cherbourg, as an orator sold to the enemies of France. The Assembly paid no attention to this and similar attacks. We have seen how Montalembert had taken in 1831 the motto “God and Liberty” for his own. Now he substituted “God and Society”; being unable to countenance that remedy for the evils around him which consisted, as he said, “in chopping society into bits, and stewing them in the caldron of Socialism.” He urged the Assembly to wage serious war against Socialism; and when one of its organs declared that the Catholic party had “vowed itself to the infernal gods of the Revolution,” he replied: “We know what that means. It is a choice between the scaffold of the Terror and the poniard which felled Rossi. Behold the infernal gods of the Revolution!” It was on the occasion of this discourse, on Oct. 19, 1849, that Victor Hugo inaugurated his puerile and cowardly custom of leaving the Assembly, immediately after one of his illogical frothings, so that he might not hear its refutation. Louis Napoleon, then prince-president, had sent to Pope Pius IX., then at Gaeta, a letter which appeared to dictate conditions for his restoration to his capital. In the debate which followed, Hugo attacked the papal government in virulent fashion; and as he descended from the tribune, he noticed Montalembert preparing to mount it, and then he marched directly to the door. One

passage of the discourse which Montalembert then delivered merits remembrance: "We may deny the strength of the Holy See; but we cannot deny its weakness. And you must remember that in this very weakness lies the secret of its invincible strength in resisting your attacks. Permit me to make a homely comparison. When a man is forced to fight with a woman, she can brave him with impunity, unless indeed she is the most debased of creatures. She can say to him: 'Strike me, if you will; but you will disgrace yourself, and you will not conquer me!' Well, the Church is a woman, and she is more than a woman; she is a mother (A whirlwind of applause here greeted the orator). She is a mother, the mother of Europe, the mother of modern society. One may be an unnatural son, an ungrateful son, a rebellious son, but one is always a son; and there comes a moment when this matricidal contest becomes insupportable to the human race, and when he who has engaged in it falls, crushed, annihilated, either by defeat or by the unanimous reprobation of humanity." Thiers was enchanted with this discourse. "Montalembert," said he, "is the most eloquent of men, and this oration was the most beautiful that I have ever heard. It causes me to envy him; but I hope that this envy is not a sin, for I love the beautiful, and I love Montalembert." At this period Thiers had come to agree with his olden adversary on another important point, the one which was ever foremost in that adversary's mind, the educational question. Thiers had hitherto proclaimed the Universitarian monopoly the brightest gem in the crown of Napoleon; now, he agreed with Montalembert in the opinion that the same monopoly was responsible for the progress of the revolutionary fever. The ex-Orleanist minister was one of the loudest in applauding the following illustration: "Probably you have translated Livy as I have, and probably you have forgotten him as I have; but you may remember the siege of Falerii by the Romans under Camillus. During the siege, the schoolmaster, to whose care had been entrusted the *élite* of the Faliscan youth, led the children to the camp of the enemy, and there delivered them. I hesitate not in declaring that the same thing is

done here in France by the monopoly of public instruction."

The courage and persistence of Montalembert and the Catholic party were rewarded to some extent in 1850; no intelligent observer of the politics of the day would have imagined that anything more satisfactory than a compromise on the great issue would be effected. M. de Falloux, Minister of Public Instruction, appointed a commission to agree upon a new educational law which would be considered by the government. The principal members of this commission were Montalembert, the Abbé Dupanloup, Cousin, and Thiers; and the result of the deliberations was the law which Lacordaire termed "the Edict of Nantes of the nineteenth century." By this measure it was enacted that the University should remain a public institution, supported and directed by the State, but enjoying no longer the monopoly of education. The Church was allowed to have and to direct her own educational establishments; and then throughout England, Germany, and the United States the sage journalists of Protestantism declared that by this concession the French government had signified its willingness that the Inquisition should be re-established in France. On the other hand, many wise and zealous Catholics blamed Montalembert and Dupanloup for having consented to State pedagogy in any form; the fiery Louis Veuillot filled columns of *L'Univers* with verbal pyrotechnics which depicted Montalembert in what was almost the guise of a traitor. Montalembert replied from the tribune to this indictment in these words: "We have been charged with having substituted an alliance for our fight. Gentlemen, I have been in the combat, and I enjoyed it; I fought longer, and perhaps better, than many of those who now blame me for having stopped fighting. But I have never believed that war is the prime need of our country." This defence was sufficient; but the champion erred, when, knowing as he did that Freemasonry and its kindred powers of darkness had been and still were in control of the French government, he conceded that "the State may have a right to offer a national system of education." Whatever he might have been obliged to

tolerate, he should not have conceded that the government of his day might have a *right* to *offer* an educational system, even to that part of the nation which was composed of its deluded partisans; for such a concession was the declaration as a principle that legalized disorder and rampant atheism have a right to assume the office of cultivators of intellects and directors of consciences. We do not recognize the right of opium eaters and morphine fiends to *offer* their poisons even to their own children. However, Montalembert had fought the good fight; and had he survived to witness the abominations of the Third Republic, he would have realized the necessity of restricting the action of the State to matters of the purely secular administration. He would have taught that the government ought not to be what Pellissier terms an anonymous association for the development of the rich lodes of a mine, forcing them to produce, for its own profit, the greatest possible quantity of electoral and taxable material.

The scope of our work precludes any detailed notice of the purely political features of the career of Montalembert; but we may devote a few words to an explanation of his attitude toward Louis Napoleon at the time when that prince was planning the restoration of the empire. Of all the members of the Assembly, the Catholic champion was the most fearful of any success on the part of the Socialist propaganda; and in order to check that movement, he was forced to choose between the majority of the Assembly and the prince-president. A man of very ordinary power of discernment must have perceived that the Constitution of '48 foreshadowed a conflict between the executive and the legislative powers; and it was morally certain that France, accustomed to so many centuries of monarchy, would decide in favor of the executive. Again, the anti-Socialist deputies formed, as Montalembert said, a veritable "Tower of Babel"; when there was a question of the safety of society, the legitimist tongue acclaimed Henry V., the Orleanist tongue prated on the Count of Paris, and the Bonapartist tongue lauded the firm hand of the Empire. Montalembert allowed his sympathies to influence him when he witnessed the insults which

the Mountain heaped on the head of Louis Napoleon ; and when the election for the presidency was held, he deprived General Cavaignac of nearly all the Catholic votes. During several interviews between Montalembert and Louis Napoleon, the prince had indicated that he detested centralization ; and his silence as to education caused Montalembert to hope for the best. M. de Falloux was wont to say : " During my life, I have known two great silences ; the silence of Lacordaire, and that of Louis Bonaparte ; the silence of a monk, and that of a conspirator." The consummate loyalty of Montalembert was duped by the man who appeared to be so gentle, serious, and modest ; who knew how to listen better than any prince of his day ; and who seemed to yearn for good advice. Even the apparent lack of brilliancy of the future emperor seemed to promise security ; so mute and so apparently indecisive a personage was scarcely to be feared. Montalembert justified his conduct fully in his discourse of Feb. 10, 1851 : " I have undertaken to defend the government without any enthusiasm, without unlimited confidence in any person whomsoever. I do not speak of the past ; I do not answer for the future. I am not the president's voucher, nor am I either his friend, his counsellor, or his advocate. I am simply his witness ; and before the country I bear witness that he has in no way injured that grand cause of order which we all wish to serve. It may be that some day he will cause me to regret that I ever had faith in him ; but now, since I owe him nothing and ask him for nothing, he can do nothing for me." His course embroiled him with Thiers and Molé, and with all the leaders of the majority ; while his language did not please Louis Napoleon. He was soon forced to cry : " They tell me that I shall be alone ; but I hope better for my country. However, I have been alone for a long time, under other governments ; and I shall resign myself to perpetual solitude, sooner than become a silent accomplice in the furling of my standard." When the prince-president, on Dec. 2, 1851, dissolved the Assembly by force of arms, Montalembert wrote to Lacordaire : " I did not counsel or approve this deed ; I knew nothing about it." In regard to the course

to be pursued by Montalembert in the matter of the plebiscite which Louis Napoleon had ordered, the friends of the champion did not agree. Dupanloup, Lacordaire, Ravignan, Villemain, and Foisset, were most eloquent in their entreaties that he should take no part whatever in the election. Bishops Parisis and Gousset, the Chancellor Pasquier, Donoso Cortes, Mme. Swetchine, and many others, thought that he might recognize an "accomplished fact." On Dec. 12, he published a letter in which he said to the Catholics of France that in regard to the proposed condonation of the extra-legal conduct of the president, "to vote against it would be to vote for Socialism; to abstain from voting would be an abdication of your rights. Therefore, vote 'Yes.'" He was soon undeceived. He found that the consultative Chamber was consulted in nothing. When he called at the Elysée, the prince hearkened to his arguments concerning the liberty of the Church with an air of distraction. In vain did Fould and Persigny urge him to accept a senatorship; he was determined in his resolve to preserve his independence at any cost. When men asked why he would not be a senator, when he was perfectly willing to sit in the legislative body, he replied: "Perhaps it is true that the members of the Corps Législatif are mere *supes* (*comparses*); but the senators are confederates (*compères*) in the trickery."

No public man realized better than Montalembert the capricious despotism of public opinion; he had ever preserved in his memory the words of his father: "Human passions demand from us, above all else, that we sacrifice our independence completely; that we submit blindly to the ideas which are dominant at the moment, even though those ideas were to precipitate us into the abyss." He was not surprised, therefore; but he would have been more than human, if he had not been saddened; when, in 1857, after twenty-two years of brilliant and loyal service in the cause of political and religious liberty in the legislative assemblies of France, he saw the governmental candidate preferred to himself by the majority of the Catholic voters. It had been the general opinion that the government would not oppose the election of Montalembert; but the holders of this opin-

ion must have given to Louis Napoleon credit for a sublimely forgiving disposition. In the previous summer, during a tour which was at once political and archæological, Montalembert had attended a banquet at Alaise (Doubs), the town which disputes with Alise-Sainte-Reine (Côte-d'Or) the honor of having been the Alesia of Cæsar's Gallic War. Perhaps imprudently, Montalembert on this occasion sacrificed his archæological opinions (for he did not credit the claims of Alaise) to his political interests; and in response to a toast to that town, he said: "Well, since it was here that Vercingetorix made his last struggle for Gallic independence, let us drink to the memory of Vercingetorix—the *enemy of Cæsar!*" A governmental candidate contested the next election in the Department of Doubs, and Montalembert was defeated. He never pretended to conceal his chagrin at this treatment by the electors of Doubs, those Franche-Comtois whom he had served so faithfully; comparing himself to the Lacedæmonian boy who did not cry out while his entrails were being devoured, he said: "The fox is there, and for a long time."

When the French troops crossed the Alps in 1859, in order to "make Italy," one of the first to protest against the religious consequences of this intervention was Montalembert. He took a prominent part in the war of polemics which was waged in the following year, and his pamphlet entitled *Pius IX. in 1849 and in 1859*, was worthy of his reputation. He showed how the imperial policy of 1859 had destroyed the work effected by the French Republic of 1849, and alluding to the emperor's sympathies with the unitarian revolution in Italy, he said: "Thousands of voices in the Church repeat the *Non licet* of the Gospel. ... That did not prevent Herod from working his own will; but after all, who would like to have been Herod? That did not prevent Pilate from allowing the passions of a blind and wicked people to triumph, so long as he could wash his hands of that triumph; but who would like to be the Pilate of the Papacy?" Of course the pamphlet was seized, but its author was not prosecuted. In the Piedmontese parliament Cavour undertook to reply to Montalembert, and reminding

the deputies of an earlier work by the champion, he said: "In this work which caused a great sensation, we noticed how the illustrious writer, *in a lucid moment*, demonstrated to Europe that liberty had been very useful in elevating the religious spirit." Montalembert replied: "I must protest, Monsieur le Comte, that I agree with you on no point. . . . I want an alliance of religion and liberty; but liberty pleases the Church, only when she herself enjoys liberty. Here I am speaking in my own name, without mission, without authority, and relying only on an experience which is already long, and which has been singularly instructive during the last ten years; but I do say without hesitation that my ideal is that of a Free Church in the bosom of a Free State." Cavour retorted: "That is also our ideal; and if we wish to go to Rome, it is precisely in order to proclaim the principle of A Free Church in a Free State." To this hypocrisy Montalembert replied by pointing to a picture which was spread at that very time before the eyes of all humanity: "You speak to me of a Free Church in a Free State; but I see only a Threatened Church in a Hostile State, a Despoiled Church in a Thieving State." When we come to treat of the pontificate of Pius IX., we shall have occasion to speak at some length on this specious formula so persistently and so impudently flaunted by the school of Cavour; and we shall see the effects which were produced when the audacious statesman's interpretation of an excellent formula was reduced to practice.

Happily for Montalembert, death called him to the reward of his labors for the Church of Christ before his beloved France experienced her signal punishment at the hands of an angry God—the shame, unique in her history, of the German war, followed by the horrors of the Commune. He had already declared that the devious policy of Napoleon III., the suppression of all political vitality, the encouragement of a bestial pursuit of pleasure, the incitement to a practical adoration of Mammon, were "paving the way for a revolution, in comparison with which the crises of 1830 and 1848 would appear to have been child's play." One of his latest utterances was indicative of his unquestioning docility to the teach-

ings of the Church. A few days before his death, which occurred on March 13, 1870, several months before the promulgation of the dogma of Papal Infallibility, to which promulgation he was opposed as a matter of present expediency, some friends asked him what he would do, if the dogma were proclaimed. "My course would be very simple," he replied; "I would submit." Already, in 1864, when Pope Pius IX. was about to issue his Encyclical, *Quanta Cura*, followed by the since much discussed *Syllabus*, and when Montalembert was told by certain adversaries that those documents would contain a condemnation of some of his teachings, he had given similar testimony to his never-failing Catholic obedience: "We shall know the nature of this Encyclical when it appears. I shall yield to it every respect, just as I yielded to the Encyclical, *Mirari vos*, thirty-two years ago." No other course could have been followed by him whose whole life had been a combat for the cause of God and Liberty represented by the Church. In the eyes of Montalembert, the entire world was dominated and transfigured by God and Religion; and therefore it was that he, the self-dedicated Catholic champion, engaged in a struggle of superhuman dignity, was a man of pre-eminent personal humility. Throughout his entire career, those who knew him well saw that he was never any more arrogant than he had been when, a youth of twenty-one, he said to his judges, the Peers of France: "Oppressed by the weight of the responsibility which I have assumed, I feel that by myself I am only a boy, a mere nothing; that I am so inexperienced and obscure, that nothing can encourage me, save the thought of the grand cause, of which I am a humble defender. . . . I know too well that at my age one has neither antecedents nor authority; but at my age, just as at any other, one has duties and beliefs." But the humility of Montalembert never interfered with his courage: "I am convinced that the greatest of evils in political society is fear. In that infamous and bloody epoch which some persistently try to rehabilitate, do you know what was the cause of all our catastrophes? It was fear. Yes; the fear which honest men feel for villains, the fear which little villains feel for great ones. Do not fear, gentlemen; do not allow the

unprincipled to monopolize all energy, all audacity. Let good men have the energy of good ; let good citizens show, when it is necessary, their own audacity. Montalembert never allowed his ardor to impel him into theatrical transports ; his zeal never turned his gestures into the exaggerations of pantomime ; although, as Pellissier observes, "the agitation inseparable from public discussion, the enthusiasm of his friends, and the ability of his adversaries, tended to push him into these excesses." Perhaps he owed his constant empire over himself, in no small degree, to the counsels which his friend, Joseph Theophile Foisset, gave to him at the outset of his parliamentary career. Among other warnings, Foisset gave the following : "Never waste yourself ; never enter the tribune unless you have a serious duty to perform. Remain modest ; never allow the dignity of your life to be compromised by any acceptance of the advances that will be made to you, although you should not repel such advances with ostentation. Follow the path of an independent conservative ; it is a good path in itself, and it will cause men to listen to you " (1). Down to the very end of his life, Montalembert preserved the youthfulness of his heart. One must sympathize with the tears of a father, as he reads these words, wrung from a heart which was, nevertheless, entirely reconciled to the will of God. Speaking of his sufferings because of separation from one of his daughters who had recently taken the veil, he said : "I am caught in my own net. No one can understand my grief ; no one, not even you, will pity me. My tears will not cease to flow—those tears which do not touch or interest any one else, although they are much more poignant and legitimate than those which are excited by the sorrows of youth." During this trial, he compared himself to a warrior who is "proud of his victory, but wounded, and with blood still flowing from his wounds" ; but, as in every other trial of his life, he remembered the motto which his father, during his exile, had written beneath the cross which ornamented the escutcheon of his family, *Cecidi, Sed Surgam*.

When Guizot reproached Montalembert with being exclusively devoted to the cause of religious liberty, he received the

(1) FOISSET ; *Montalembert*. Paris, 1887.

reply: "The liberty to which I am devoted is liberty in its entirety, the liberty of all in everything." But unlike most of the liberals of his generation and country, Montalembert, not having made a *tabula rasa* of all French history which antedated 1789, did not derive his liberalism from that epoch. He cherished no sympathy for the Constituent Assembly, which he preferred to designate as a *Deconstituante*, since it demolished more than it constructed; "it had a mania for that uniformity which is a parody of unity, and which Montesquieu termed the passion of second-rate men. It preferred to declare that during twelve centuries the French people had been merely a collection of slaves, so that it might create a new people, a people which had just been manufactured like a machine on which it might experiment with the theories and abstractions with which it had become enamored." Such remarks would not have been made by a Mirabeau or by a Lafayette. Montalembert was an aristocrat in the best sense of the term; and although an aristocratic liberal, he disliked democracy, which was the constant hobby of his friend, Lacordaire, who devoted many an hour to the attempt to demolish what he styled Montalembert's class prejudices. The ideal government for Montalembert was that of parliamentary monarchy, and principally because he thought that it alone could save France from a so-called equality which he regarded as a general debasement. He was fond of saying that the despotism of the Revolution, and he might have added, of every Statolatry, regards liberty as a concession of the state—an implication that servitude is the natural condition of the individual man. "I contend," said he, "that in a free country the contrary principle must be admitted. Liberty is according to the natural law. The restriction of liberty, the intervention of the public authority, can be justified only when it is necessary."

From the day when the electors of Doubs relegated him to private life, Montalembert devoted himself untiringly to historical and other literary work. In his early days he had been a fervid romanticist, dividing his admiration among Lamartine, Hugo, and Sainte-Beuve. Like Lamén-

nais and Lacordaire, he belonged, as a writer, to the school of that prince of the romanticists, Chateaubriand. In his later years he imitated Sainte-Beuve, who had thrown off the enchantment of the romanticists, and had returned to the rule of the classics of French literature. Among foreign writers, the preferences of Montalembert were firstly, for Dante, and then for Shakspeare, Burke (whom he termed the "grandest of moderns"), and Joseph de Maistre. Among ancient writers, he preferred Tacitus, but probably because of that author's hostility to the Cæsars. Most of his writings appeared in the *Correspondant*, the editorship of which he had assumed in order to make it a Catholic *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The last years of his life were devoted to the production of his *Monks of the West*. He himself tells us how he came to give us this grand work. When he had finished his charming *Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, he resolved to write a *Life of St. Bernard*. This saint was a monk; and in his studies of the Middle Age, absolutely necessary for a proper treatment of his subject, Montalembert found that at that period nearly all the Popes, bishops, and saints, the bulwarks of the Christian society of the time, had also belonged to the cloister. Therefore he prepared an elaborate *Introduction* for his work, setting forth the commencements and the development of monastic institutions. This *Introduction*, finished in 1842, was a full volume in itself; and it had nearly all been printed, when he bethought himself of submitting the proofs to the Abbé Dupanloup and to M. Foisset. The prescient abbé advised his friend to enlarge his plan, so that it might include a complete history of the monastic glories of the West. The humble publicist deferred to the judgment of one whom he regarded as his intellectual superior; he suppressed his book; and began to revise and develop it. His political engagements prevented the appearance of the first two volumes of *The Monks of the West* until twenty years had elapsed since he had begun to study the career of St. Bernard; two other volumes followed just before his death; and the remaining two were published by his executors. Beginning with the accession of Constantine, and ending his

researches with the twelfth century; treating firstly of St. Anthony and the anchorites of the desert, and discoursing afterward on all the great luminaries of monasticism, down to St. Bernard; he proved the truth of the assertion which he had so often pronounced in the tribune—that the Church was the mother of Europe, and that she was such through her monks, the apostles and civilizers of the Teutonic and Slavic barbarians. Montalembert had no toleration for that sickly sentimentality, so well exemplified in the *Genius of Christianity* by Chateaubriand, which asks the men of the nineteenth century to admire the monasteries of the olden time because they were refuges for sick and despairing souls. He protested against the idea that the monasteries were *Les Invalides* of the world. “The monasteries were not peopled by sickly souls, but by the most healthy and most vigorous souls that the world has ever produced. Far from being a refuge for the weak, the religious life was the arena of the strong.”

Montalembert was of too pure and ardent a nature, not to have had many loving and beloved friends; but he loved none as he loved Lacordaire. From their first meeting in the rooms of Lamennais, their mutual affection was never for a moment lessened by their numerous and frequent differences concerning even important matters. When Lacordaire died, Montalembert thought for a while that Father Hyacinth had succeeded to the place which the great Dominican had occupied in his heart; it was to the eloquent Carmelite, as to the heir of some of Lacordaire's talent, that he gave the rosary which had been the latter's solace for many years. When, in Sept., 1869, Father Hyacinth discarded his monastic tunic, Montalembert endeavored to restore him to the path of duty, and therefore of necessary sacrifice. If his words seem to indicate a needlessly harsh estimate of certain good Catholics whose opinions on debatable subjects differed from his own, Montalembert was justified, absolutely speaking, when he said to the unfrocked son of Mt. Carmel: “During the last fifteen years I have heard the name of Lamennais used as a bugbear by every narrow, suspicious, servile, and jealous mind; and if I have the mis-

fortune of living fifteen years longer, I shall hear your name pronounced, every day, as a warning to every priest, to every Christian, who manifests any spark of intelligence or generosity." Montalembert was not to know, in this world, that the ex-Carmelite had taken unto himself a "wife"; but as though he had foreseen the degradation of his whilom friend, he added: "If, unhappily, you heed the invitations of free-thinkers, if you become an orator at profane and vulgar meetings, you will fall far lower than Lamennais himself; you will become the plaything of a publicity which is without mercy and without restraint; you will be the *ludibrium vulgi*, like those captive gladiators who were dishonored, in spite of their natural nobility, by the caprices of an obscene pagan mob."

As a parliamentary orator, Montalembert was generally calm and even phlegmatic; but he was also graceful and even elegant in his delivery. His manners were always those of the *vieille noblesse*; he was always at his ease, and he was polite even in his sarcasms. Not so profound a jurist as Berryer, not so fine a debater as Thiers, nor so precise a logician as Guizot, he nevertheless moved his auditors as these parliamentarians never moved them. After 1840, it was said that "his explanations of parental rights; of the weakness of the Holy See which constitutes its principal strength; of religion, the family, and property; and of very many other subjects; became the daily bread of Catholic polemics" (1). And it is certain that no equally nourishing daily bread has as yet been tendered by any other publicist in any land, for the use of those whom duty to God and country incites to periodical combat against Statolatrous usurpation of individual, and especially of parental rights in the matter of education. One of the last letters written by the Catholic champion was addressed to the students of Switzerland, the sorrowing children of the remorselessly crushed Sonderbund: "Courage and confidence! Work energetically for the good cause, for the truth and for justice, and be assured that you will never regret your labor." Three months afterward, on

(1) FOURIER; *Montalembert, in the Illustrious Men of the Nineteenth Century*. Paris, 1882.

March 13, 1870, Catholic France mourned for one of the noblest of her many sons who have placed their love of liberty, of literature, and of art, at the service of their faith. The whole life of Montalembert was a refutation of the impudent assertion, so brazenly declaimed by sectaries of every species, that the Church is hostile to liberty. His entire career showed that the Church and the religion which she teaches are neither monarchical nor republican; that all that they seek is the reign of God on earth; that, therefore, they are the only real bulwarks of order and of justice. And until the last moment of his life, Montalembert never despaired of convincing his countrymen of this truth; he had no patience with those "Catholics of resignation" who, admitting that the world was decadent, asked to be allowed to die in peace. Like Pascal, addressing his "enemies triumphant in evil," but with much more reason for confidence than that which animated the deluded coryphæe of Jansenism, until his last breath Montalembert cried: "I am one against thirty thousand; but I am in the right, and we shall see who will conquer." In fact, Montalembert believed most firmly that a state which affects to banish God from its counsels is doomed to misery; and with M. de Bonald he proclaimed: "The Revolution began with the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and it will finish only with a Declaration of the Rights of God." Above all else, Montalembert was a Catholic, "*Catholique avant tout*"; and although the liberalasters of his day affected to discern a lack of patriotism in that avowal, one more worthy of the name of "liberal," Gladstone, at the very moment when, in one of his Vatican pamphlets, he was decrying Montalembert's profession of faith, was constrained to admit that the formula "properly conveys no more than a truism; for every Christian must seek to place his religion even before his country in his inner heart" (1).

(1) * Montalembert was the spokesman of Catholics in a Catholic country. But France had in his time, and has now, many wayward children. The infidel principles which burst forth at the commencement of the great Revolution have, in greater or less degree, dominated in the government of the country down to our own time. In spite of so much that is greatest and best in France, she was gradually becoming an un-Christian country. In this state of things, the Christian champion rushed to the front, and loudly proclaimed, 'Remember, we are Catholic before everything.' What did he mean? He meant that

CHAPTER. X.

DUPANLOUP.

The career of Mgr. Felix Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, is one of those meteor-like lives which so illumine everything in their courses, that one cannot trace their paths without forming, at the same time, an extensive acquaintance with contemporaneous history. During his life, his actions and sentiments were much discussed; and, like all who play a prominent part in the political and religious struggles of their day, he made many enemies. Now the smoke of the battles he fought, and in some cases provoked, has been dissipated; and we may therefore form an equitable judgment on both him and his adversaries. Journalists were wont to style him "the fiery bishop," and he called himself an "old soldier." Probably he was the only bishop of the nineteenth century, if not of all time, who obtained from three successive Popes as many as forty-six Briefs, commendatory of his labors for the triumph of religion, and in defense of the maligned and persecuted Papacy. Felix-Antoine-Philibert Dupanloup was a Savoyard by birth, and therefore a natural subject of the king of Sardinia, but he

nothing that was un-Christian could be for the good of France. He meant that un-Christian principles disgraced his country, and that Christian principles honored her; and it was necessary in France then, and over the whole of Europe it is now necessary, to raise the cry of 'Catholic before everything,' if they who wish to give to God what belongs to God are to be rallied to stand the shock of the enemy, who would give everything to Caesar. We might, indeed, express the meaning of Montalembert, in the words used by Mr. Gladstone. When speaking of the words, 'A Catholic first, an Englishman afterwards,' he says, they 'properly convey no more than a truism; for every Christian must seek to place his religion even before his country in his inner heart.' Yes, the thought of Montalembert's inner heart was that, being a Christian, he must seek to place his religion even before his country. But he was not the man to be content to preserve Christian thoughts in his inner heart, and by word and by deed to flatter and help on the un-Christian principles of those around him. He was no gigantic hypocrite, pandering to tastes which in his heart he detested; he was no coward, 'letting *I dare not* wait upon *I would*.' He was a man whose mouth spoke out of the abundance of his inner heart. He was a man who could and did raise his voice when necessary, to proclaim what his heart believed. And herein was his great offence, in the opinion of such men as Mr. Gladstone. Let a Catholic keep his Christian principles in his inner heart, while with voice or with pen he denies them, and he is well pleasing in the eyes of the Liberal party. But let a Catholic give utterance to his principles; let him, as becomes a man, act upon them, and the chief men of the Liberal party will denounce him as incapable of being loyal, and of discharg-

became a naturalized Frenchman in 1818. He was born in 1802, in a little village near Aix-les-Bains, of a poor family. His father having abandoned his wife, the courageous woman made her way to Paris, as a place where she could more easily earn a living. She was able to send the little Felix to school, he manifesting some desire to become a lawyer, and he learned his Catechism at Saint-Sulpice. In time he developed a vocation to the altar, was received among the "*petits clercs*" of the great seminary, and at seventeen had finished his Humanities. Being obliged to live in domestic service, his mother could not give a home to her son during his vacations; but the lad was introduced by his professors to several noble and generous families, who welcomed him to their chateaux. Prominent among these friends was the Abbé-Duc de Rohan, at whose chateau of La Roche-Guyon the student formed a friendship with young Montalembert, who was already giving indications of his illustrious manhood. At Saint-Sulpice he was a fellow-student with Lacordaire and Ravignan; and some of the most remarkable personages of the French clergy, such as Frayssenous and De Quelen, manifested a keen interest in his career. Even before he was ordained, his evident predilection for the teaching of children had obtained for him the position of head-catechist at the Madeleine; and his first occupation as a priest was the development of these

ing his civil duty. It is no sin in England to be a Christian; but to act, under all circumstances, as a Christian should act, is treason. . . . A grand motto of which any Christian might be proud has been put by our enemies into a special form, for the express purpose of suggesting what is false; and then we are told that it is we who have led our countrymen to construe the motto in the evil sense which by that special form is conveyed. Mr. Gladstone, continuing his comments on the free translation of Montalembert's motto, observes: 'We take them to mean that the convert intends, in case of any conflict between the Queen and Pope, to follow the Pope, and let the Queen shift for herself; which, happily, she can well do.' What right has Mr. Gladstone to take the words to mean anything but what a Catholic would mean by them? If he will put words into our mouths, at least he should give us the privilege of interpreting them. But he will not allow us even this. He interprets them himself, charges us with the interpretation, and founds on the interpretation a charge of intending to follow the Pope rather than the Queen in purely civil matters. If such conduct were pursued toward any other class of Englishmen than Catholics, what would not be said of it? How true are the words which the author of 'Norton Broadland' puts into the mouth of Lord Hillsworth!—'I must confess I am astonished at the way in which even people who know how to behave in every other relation of life, seem to forget that they are ladies and gentlemen the moment that they come in contact with Catholicity.'"—AMHERST; *The History of Catholic Emancipation, From 1771 to 1820*, in Introduction. London, 1886.

classes. Eight years of catechetical instruction served to illustrate more and more the pre-eminent qualifications of Dupanloup for the training of youth, and he was appointed superior of the *petit-seminaire* of Saint-Nicolas, the noblest families of the realm confiding their children to his care. He guided his charges by means of their consciences, their sense of honor and of loyalty; but he had no pity for meanness or for a lie. One day a high-born pupil received permission to attend at the marriage of his sister, provided he would return in time for a certain class. He did not show himself until eight in the evening, whereupon the superior promptly expelled him. "Had he been the son of a peasant," he remarked, "I might have done differently; but he was the son of a gentleman." It was while he was at Saint-Nicolas that he had the inexpressible joy of preparing the eminent diplomat and notorious apostate, Talleyrand, for death. The archbishop of Paris, Mgr. de Quelen, had constantly prayed for this conversion, and had often said, "I would give my life for it." And he vowed a statue to Our Lady "*de la Delivrande*" in Normandy, if his prayer were heard. When Talleyrand fell ill in May, 1838, the prelate sent the Abbé Dupanloup to him, with a retractation of his oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, made in 1790, which he would have to sign, before he could be reconciled with the Church. The abbé told him that the archbishop had offered his own life for his conversion, and the old diplomat said: "He might make a better use of it." But faithful, at the last, to the motto of his grand old family, "No King but God," the one-time bishop of Autun signed: "Charles Maurice, Prince de Talleyrand," in the presence of Dupanloup, and of MM. de Barante, Molé, Royer-Collard, and Saint-Aulaire. The prelate fulfilled his vow, and died on Dec. 31, 1839.

The successor of Mgr. de Quelen in the See of Paris was Mgr. Affre, and one of his first appointments was that of Dupanloup to a chair in the Sorbonne. The great reputation of Dupanloup had prompted the faculty of the Sorbonne to confer the laureate, on this occasion, "by acclamation"; but he wished otherwise, and he chose for his thesis, rather

strangely, in view of his later course, a defense of the infallibility of the Pope. But his lectures were soon interrupted by the weakness of the Minister, Villemain, who was too subservient to the Voltairians of the day. Thereupon Mgr. Affre made the professor his vicar-general, and very soon the new dignitary found himself in the heat of the struggle for freedom of education. Although the Constitution of 1830 had formally pronounced that teaching was free, in practice there was no freedom. The complaints which Lamennais had made, in 1823, against the University and its teachings, were of as much force as ever; and in September, 1842, a republican and free-thinking journal, *Le National*, was constrained to admit: "The education given by the University is impious, immoral, and incoherent." Every family which wished its sons to receive a Christian education, sent them to the colleges of Belgium or Switzerland. Nothing could be expected from a regime in the hands of olden Universitarians like Guizot, Thiers, and Villemain. Dupanloup's *Two Letters to the Duke de Broglie*, and his book on *Religious Pacification* showed the world that a new champion had arisen for the Church, and procured for him the felicitations of the Roman Pontiff. The contest lasted long years, and Dupanloup displeased a great many; his archbishop deemed him rather *ultra* and rash, while others charged him with compromising with the enemy. His title of vicar-general hampered him, and he resigned it that he might be more free to labor in the great cause. About this time he had an opportunity of responding practically to an assertion of Thiers, that an ecclesiastical education enervates the spirit of patriotism. The king of Sardinia had always hoped to attract the Savoyard-born back to his native allegiance, and had already, in 1842, tendered him the bishopric of Annecy. Now that he saw his favorite free from his vicar-generalship, he again offered him a bishopric, and the portfolio of Minister of Public Instruction in his ministerial cabinet. Had the Abbé Dupanloup accepted the offer of Charles-Albert, would he have joined the line of the Sugers, the Ximenes, the Wolseys, the Alborno, the Consalvis? We doubt it; but, at any rate, he had an opportunity to

prove that if he was ambitious, it was not in a political line. He replied to the Marquis Brignole, the Sardinian ambassador, who made him the offer, that he felt a repugnance for the mitre, and that Providence having attached him to France, there he would remain.

The fall of Louis Philippe, Feb. 24, 1848, bringing with it an unbridled liberty of the press (when the government was not criticised), and therefore a horde of journalistic insects more or less venomous, the intervention of Christian journalism became a necessity. Dupanloup bought the *Ami de la Religion*, a paper of some age, and his vigorous pen at once rejuvenated it. He also made every effort to bring together men whose combined action would further the cause of truth; he made friends of Montalembert and Falloux, of Thiers and Cousin, and therefore the long-debated question of educational liberty was soon on the way to solution. When Louis Napoleon became President, he was obliged to meditate on such unions as these; therefore France restored the Pope to his throne, and freedom of teaching became, for a time, an established fact. Dupanloup became a member of an extra-parliamentary commission, of which Thiers was president, and in which the abbé was opposed by Cousin; he convinced them so well, that Thiers wrote to him, when their labors were terminated: "Without your aid I would have lost patience, so little of your profound intelligence did I find among your friends, so little of your impartiality and conciliatory spirit. I would have liked to satisfy you in everything, but that was impossible."

Several attempts had been made to induce the Abbé Dupanloup, who had been a titular canon of Notre Dame since his resignation of the vicar-generalship, to accept a mitre; but while, as a soldier of God, he was ever anxious to combat in the van, he wished to remain the simple priest, a journalist, orator, and polemic. It was chiefly owing to the arguments of Cardinal Giraud, archbishop of Cambrai, that he yielded. "Is it now," asked His Eminence, "when the fight is so terrible, that, under the pretext of tranquillity, you refuse a command when it is tendered to you?" Consecrated at Paris on Dec. 9, 1849, he took possession of the

See of Orleans two days afterward. He immediately began a visitation of his diocese. One of his first acts was the institution of an additional preparatory seminary, in which he raised the studies to such a level that the students soon represented the tragedies of Sophocles, Æschylus, and Euripides, in the original text, to the astonishment of Villemain and other Universitarians. About this time he entered into the celebrated controversy of the classics, excited by the learned Abbé Gaume, who, believing that he had found "a devouring worm" in the too pagan education of the Colleges, desired to banish from every curriculum followed by youth, the pages of Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Sallust, Cicero, and Tacitus, substituting in their stead the Christian classics. The prelate demonstrated that the thesis of Gaume was too absolute, that the reading of the pagan classics had not perverted St. Paul, St. Augustine, St. Thomas of Aquin, and so many of the saints who have arisen since the Renaissance. Victory attended his efforts, but he entertained no rancor against his adversary, as he evinced by his visit to Gaume in 1852. The campaign of Mgr. Dupanloup in favor of the classics was the cause of his election to a seat in the Academy; and on his reception, Nov. 9, 1854, the subject of his discourse was "The Alliance between Religion and Letters." When Littré, then the high-priest of modern Positivism, was elected to a seat beside him, Mgr. Dupanloup resigned his own. The Abbé Le Noir says of this resignation: "We admire the serious implacability of his manifestation of his Theism in face of an indifferent Academy, leaving his fauteuil empty at the side of that of an atheist, whose candidature he had opposed. After having taken the stand that he took, he had the courage to do what he ought to do, a courage nowadays almost universally wanting; and the manner in which nearly the entire press commented on this act of energy, is only one of many indications of the moral debasement into which we have fallen." (1) In spite of his protest, the Academy retained

(1) When Littré was in his seventy-sixth year, he became a Freemason; and after his death, his olden brethren of the sect declared that he ordered that his funeral should be consistent with his life, that is, that no religious ceremonies should accompany it. This precaution was unnecessary, for the Church would not have intervened at the burial of a

the name of the illustrious prelate on its list. Salvandy, in his reply to Mgr. Dupanloup's discourse on the day of his reception among the Forty, had said : "Childhood was the first love of your life, and it will be the last." This was true, and, therefore, as Salvandy also remarked, Dupanloup "was a whole corps of instructors in himself." Scarcely was he settled in his diocese, than he resumed the composition of treatises on his favorite subject. His first volume *On Education* had appeared in 1850 ; the two following were issued in 1857 ; and three others, devoted to the *Higher Education*, were published in his latter years. The *Letters on the Education of Young Girls* saw the light only after his death ; on the very day of his demise, he corrected its last proofs.

After the war of Italian independence of 1859, olden treaties of peace became waste-paper, and in face of outrages on the Roman Pontiff, on all right and justice, the government of Napoleon III. prohibited all discussion of them ; a suspi-

man who had never received baptism, and who had ever proclaimed his anti-Christian sentiments. But the mercy of God had decreed that the great Littré, the proud genius who had been venerated by the foremost scientists of his day, should not die and be buried as though he were a dog. There were many acts in the life of Littré, which, to our poor human intelligence, would seem to furnish the reason for the grace vouchsafed to him in his last moments. He had rebuked the arrogance of the Jacobins with his cry : "Beware ! In France universal suffrage is Catholicism." He had rendered justice to the Ages of Faith. He had been ever generous and tolerant. He had been accustomed to consult the curé of his parish, that he might know what poor persons had most need of his help. He had refused to vote for that infamous creation of Ferry, *Article 171*. ; and his writings against the anti-religious decrees of the Third Republic had been vigorous and unintermittent. Finally, during the last years of his life, he had become intimate with the Abbé Huvelin, vicar of Saint-Augustin, who visited him several times a week, and who, when he became dangerously ill, visited him every day. When the Abbé entered the room of his friend on June 1, 1881, he found the sick man speechless, but perfectly conscious, holding the hand of his weeping wife, and gazing with unutterable love on the kneeling daughter whom, with an inconsistency which is often seen in French atheists, he had carefully avoided to poison with his own infidelity. Littré smiled a welcome to the priest, and the two were left alone in the room. We may safely suppose that the minister of God knew his duty ; and that if, during those moments when he and the dying man were at the very feet of the Saviour who was soon to be the Judge of one of them, he had not found the proper dispositions in the heart of his friend, he would not have summoned the wife and daughter, and in their presence baptized, communicated, and anointed the venerable scientist. During the Mass of Requiem which was celebrated for Littré on June 4, in the church of Notre-Dame-des-Champs, groups of Freemasons, gathered outside the sacred edifice, disturbed the mourners with their noisy protests against the religious funeral. After the recitation of the last prayers in the cemetery of Montparnasse, although the widow and daughter protested against the sacrilege, Wiroubouff, the editor of the *Revue Positiviste*, pronounced a Masonic eulogy of the deceased, concluding with impotent denunciations of the religious funeral just performed.

cious police spied on the clergy, muzzled the Christian press, and molested Catholics in many ways. One vigorous protest sounded through France, and was re-echoed throughout the world. It was the voice of the bishop of Orleans, saying: "I can no longer confine to my own soul the emotions which this spectacle excites, and which, I am sure, are shared by every Catholic. What kind of hearts would be ours, if they did not suffer now, or rather if we suffered such indignities in silence? . . . A devoted son of the Holy Roman Church, mother and mistress of all the others, I protest against the revolutionary impiety which ignores the rights of the Pontiff, and wishes to rob him of his patrimony. As a Catholic bishop, I protest against the humiliation and the debasement menacing the first bishop of the world, him who represents the episcopate in its plenitude. I protest in the name of Catholicism, the splendor, dignity, and independence of which are diminished by this attack on the universal pastor, the Vicar of Jesus Christ. I protest as a Frenchman; for what Frenchman is not humiliated on witnessing, in spite of the contrary counsels and the protests of the emperor, this miserable consequence of our victories, and of the effusion of our soldier's blood? I protest in the name of gratitude, for history shows me the Sovereign Pontiffs as the luminous symbols of European civilization, as the benefactors of Italy, and as the saviours of liberty, in the days of its greatest peril. I protest in the name of good sense and of honor, which are violated by the complicity of an Italian government with conspirators and rebels, and by the onslaught of base and unintelligent passions against principles proclaimed by every true statesman in the Christian world. I protest in the name of shame and of European law, against this violation of Majesty. . . . I protest in the name of justice, against spoliation by the strong hand; in the name of truth, against lies; in the name of order, against anarchy; in the name of reverence, against the contempt of every right. I protest in my conscience and before God, in the face of my country, in the face of the world, and before the Church. Whether or not my protest finds an echo, I have fulfilled a duty." On Christmas-eve there arrived at Orleans a copy of the brochure in

which Napoleon III. pretended to dictate to the Pope and to a European Congress the course to be followed ; only the Vatican and its gardens were to be left to the successor of St. Peter. On the 26th a crushing answer to this pamphlet appeared in all the great journals of Paris. It was from the pen of Mgr. Dupanloup. The initiative of the bishop of Orleans was followed by Montalembert, Falloux, Villemain, Cousin, Thiers, Lacordaire, and even Guizot. In a few months our prelate published his first eloquent book on *The Papal Sovereignty*, and when the battle of Castelfidardo had convinced all Catholics of the treachery of the Imperial government, he was the first to celebrate a solemn Requiem for those who had accompanied the heroic Pimodan to a glorious death. The temporal power was certainly dying ; we forget how many times it has died. Pius IX. now affirmed his spiritual power by the issue of his celebrated *Syllabus*, a condemnation of the most important errors of modern philosophers and other publicists. On January 9, 1865, the cardinal-archbishop of Besançon and the bishop of Moulins were prosecuted for having read the *Syllabus* from their pulpits the day before ; and on the 26th appeared our prelate's work on *The Convention of September 15, and the Encyclical of December 8*. The writer showed that Napoleon was either a dupe or an accomplice of the Piedmontese government, and he cast such a light upon the Pontifical document, that his adversaries declared his interpretation a disfigurement and a travesty. But scores of bishops, from every part of the world, showed that they thought differently, by their congratulatory letters ; and very soon he received a Papal Brief of approbation. Night and day two presses were kept reproducing this luminous work, and in a few weeks, thirty-four French editions and three different Italian translations were exhausted.

When, in 1867, Mgr. Dupanloup was consulted by Pope Pius IX. upon the feasibility and need of a General Council, he, like all those approached in this regard, readily admitted the advantages which the Church would derive from such an assembly. When the Council met, he showed himself to be less well-inspired than he had been in emergencies

of less importance. It is but justice, however, to Mgr. Dupanloup, to say that he did not begin the controversy upon the propriety of making the doctrine of Papal Infallibility a matter of faith. This dispute had been in full blast throughout France, six months before he published his *Observations*. Was it opportune to rank this debated doctrine, generally though it was held, among the revealed truths of dogma? Dupanloup thought that he knew well the state of men's minds; he feared the ill-will of the European cabinets; and he feared even a rebellion of certain rather dubious Catholics. His very relations with certain influential statesmen led him to exaggerate the dangers which, they insisted, would result from the definition. No one questioned his right to sustain his opinion in the Council; but unfortunately, he carried into the debates an ardor which many misunderstood, but which was only natural to him, whenever he deemed himself in the right. He was even accused of trying to form a coalition against the will of the Church, as manifested by the immense majority of the bishops; some few even whispered that he had sold himself to the civil power (1). Had he been desirous of popularity as a means of advancement, what more easy than to have joined the majority? But no; he made many sacrifices, for he was sincere. Again, obstinacy is a characteristic of the heretically disposed. When Mgr. Dupanloup found that his views were repelled by the Council, the question having been decided by a vote of 533 to 2, there was no hesitation. He promulgated the decree in his diocese, and forwarded his submission directly to the Pontiff. The decision promulgated in the session of the Vatican Council, held on July 19, 1870, produced in France none of the effects which Dupanloup's fears had anticipated. The Napoleonic cabinet had indeed announced itself ready to take such measures as would prevent the doctrine of Papal Infallibility from becoming "an incentive to violations of public law, and a cause of social trouble"; but it now had other than theological difficulties to confront. On July 19, war commenced between France

(1) Mgr. de Segur, in his otherwise excellent work on Papal Infallibility (Paris, 1871), is particularly severe on Mgr. Dupanloup.

and Germany ; the victims of Castelfidardo were about to be avenged.

“ Do not expect a bishop to admire war,” wrote Dupanloup ; “ but I pray most ardently for the triumph of justice, and for the glorious army which combats and suffers to obtain it for us.” He immediately organized the services of charity in aid of the victims of war, prescribed a monthly collection in each parish, and at once put down his own name for 3,000 francs. The disasters which fell upon France from Aug. 4 to Sept. 4, pierced his heart ; and in a letter to his clergy, he said : “ A month ago, I cursed war ; to-day, when it puts so many frightful spectacles before my eyes, I curse it a thousand times more. I curse it in the name of outraged heaven, in the name of an ensanguined earth, and in the name of a stricken humanity. But do not think that my misplaced confidence, and the horrors I experience, will plunge me into a cowardly discouragement. . . . I believe in God ; I do not believe in force.” In a short time the Bavarians under Gen. Von der Tann, after three days of combat, entered Orleans, and demanded from the city a million of francs as a war contribution, and 80,000 francs a day in provisions. Such an indemnity was exorbitant, and the municipal council besought the bishop to intercede with the enemy. After labor, and only when he had convinced the Prussian king in person that Orleans was in danger of famine, he obtained the remission of the provision tax. Many occasions for his intercession now offered themselves. Thus, some German soldiers having been fired upon in the darkness by unknown parties in the communes of Saint-Sigismond and Les Aydes, fifty residents of the first place, and eleven of the second, were told off on Oct. 12, to be shot the next morning. The prelate wrote at once such a touching letter to Von der Tann, that the general went at once to the barracks, had the dismayed prisoners led out, and addressed them : “ You deserve death, but I pardon you. Remember, however, that you owe your lives to your bishop.” Many wounded Frenchmen having come to a stage of convalescence, the German general was about to send them off to Germany as pris-

oners of war, when our prelate drew his attention to the terms of the Convention of Geneva, whereby these wounded should be sent to their homes, there to remain during the war. "Monseigneur," replied the officer, "my orders are to cause you no anxiety"; and the wounded were soon homeward bound. One ray of hope came to Orleans. The French victory of Coulmiers (Nov. 9.) entailed the evacuation of Orleans, and Mgr. Dupanloup chanted a public *Te Deum* in the cathedral. This was the only *Te Deum* chanted by the French during the war. During the three weeks when Orleans was free from the enemy, the bishop sought everywhere for aid for his people. Among other offerings that came to him was one of 200,000 francs from Ireland, in return for 30,000 that he had once sent from the church of Saint-Roch in Paris. Another offering came to him in a very pleasant manner. The giver was an English-appearing man, and he asked the prelate: "Monseigneur, do you not remember me? You gave me my first Communion." It was the Prince de Joinville, a son of Louis Philippe, to whom Dupanloup, in his early days, while he was almoner to the Duchess d'Angouleme, had been catechist (1). They had not met for forty years, and now the scion of fallen royalty had come to give his services, once so valued by France, to his distressed country. The Republican government, however, feared to accept them, and after having fired a few cannon-shots in defense of the newly-attacked Orleans, Joinville departed. Meanwhile, the Germans had triumphed at Metz, and after the unfortunate efforts at Beaune-la-Rolande, Patay, and Loigny, the French army fell back on Orleans, passed the Loire, and consequently Orleans was again open to the enemy. The former occupation, having been effected by Bavarians, had been comparatively tolerable; but a different sort of men now entered it, and Dupanloup was destined to much suffering. His residence was invaded, and his private chamber was always guarded by two sentinels. Von der Tann remarked to him: "Monseigneur, you will now learn what real Prussians are; these men are Brandeburgers." One morning a rough captain rushed into his

(1) At this time (1829), he was also catechist to the Count de Chambord.

room, and blurted: "Here, you've kept me waiting five minutes. You've got to give up all your bedrooms to the general commanding the 3d corps."—"But, at least," returned Monseigneur, "you will allow my vicars-general to retain theirs?" The boor grasped his sword-hilt, and seemed about to draw upon the prelate. "What, sir?" said the bishop; "do you think to frighten the bishop of Orleans?" The abashed man retired, grumbling, "We are not Huns; we are civilized people" (1). After three days of bacchanalia in his mansion, the Prussian leaders took their departure, and were replaced by surgeons, who installed 250 wounded Germans in the episcopal apartments. It was only Christian charity to acquiesce in this, but then the Prussian doctors proposed to expel 50 wounded Frenchmen whom Mgr. Dupanloup had received. He protested so energetically, that he gained his point; the Frenchmen remained.

On the termination of the war, the grateful Orleanais elected their bishop to the National Assembly, then meeting at Bordeaux. Mgr. Dupanloup would have declined the representation: "I am sixty-nine years old, and I wish not to be separated from you." But he was forced to content his people, and he was the only bishop in the Assembly. His attitude as a legislator was reserved and worthy of an ecclesiastic. Leaving aside those personal ambitions and questions of party which are the bane of parliamentary government, he came to the front only when matters of religious and social interest were presented. His two first discourses were in favor of the Pope-King, and they drew re-assuring declarations from Thiers; his next four speeches were the main cause of the retention of military chaplains in the army. The Papacy, so maltreated by the Empire, had very little reason for blaming the Third Republic, during the first years of its existence; indeed, in 1874, this was

(1) While the above-mentioned officer was assigning the different rooms of the mansion to his comrades, a superior officer waited on Monseigneur, and ordered a banquet for ninety to be made ready at once. "And see that there is champagne!" "I have none," replied the prelate; "it has never entered my cellar." The astonished Prussians visited the cellar, and could not believe their eyes. "To think," they grumbled, "that a man so celebrated in Germany should have no champagne!"

probably the only government on the Continent which did not decree some measure hostile to the Church. At this time, M. de Corcelles, representative of France at the Vatican, begged Mgr. Dupanloup to pay another visit to Pius IX. He was received with the utmost affection; there was no allusion to past differences. The Pontiff wished our prelate to trace a tableau of the spoliations of the Church, effected by the Italian government; the consequence of the desire was the famous letter to Minghetti, Minister of Finance in the Italian cabinet, in which the writer showed, beyond all possibility of cavil, that the Roman question was not yet solved, and that, sooner or later, the temporal sovereignty of the Pope would have to be restored, in order to insure his liberty.

It is a curious fact that the political life of Dupanloup began at the Sorbonne, with a dispute concerning Voltaire, and ended at the Luxembourg with a debate on the same subject. He was a member of the Senate when the Municipal Council of Paris resolved to give to the centenary of the Sage of Ferney an official and national sanction. At once the bishop of Orleans published ten letters addressed to the Council, affixing ineffaceable stigmas upon the impious cynic, who, for that matter, ought to be regarded as *demodé et dépassé* in our day. The manifestation remained the work of a mere party, and the government disavowed it. One good effect accrued from these manifestations in favor of probably the most unpatriotic "great man" that France ever produced; and that was the presentation, in fuller relief, of the sweet and glorious Maid of Orleans whom the despicable cynic had so foully reviled. The memory of Joan of Arc was a passion with Mgr. Dupanloup; he had revived, as far as modern notions would allow, the olden *fêtes* in her honor; he had often preached her panegyric; and had made three journeys to Rome expressly to further the cause of her canonization. He deemed the moment when all good Christians were seized with a renewed disgust for her wretched reviler, an appropriate one for an appeal in honor of the Maid; he proposed to ornament the cathedral of Orleans with a series of magnificent pictures in stained glass, furnishing a

complete representation of her wonderful career. All France responded with a more than sufficient subscription, and thus Voltaire added another jewel to the crown of her whom he had tried to debase.

When Mgr. Dupanloup died (Oct. 11, 1878), in his seventy-seventh year, his funeral showed the estimation in which he was held by the best of his contemporaries. The Church was represented by twenty-four bishops ; while the Academy and the Senate, the arts, sciences, and literature, were also in mournful attendance. There was no panegyric ; he had prohibited it. The bishop who would never own a carriage, whose distinguishing mark in the street was an old cotton umbrella, and who was never so happy as when chatting with some little *gamin* who reminded him of his native Savoy, had desired to be attended by simplicity to the very grave. In the midst of so many and various duties, he had always reserved for pious exercises four hours a day, two in the morning and two at night ; and when he drew his last breath, his Rosary was in his hand.

CHAPTER XI.

RATIONALISM AND ITS CONSEQUENT ABERRATIONS OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

Whether or not the Jewish Pantheist, Spinoza (1632-1677), should be considered the first founder of that Rationalistic school which is merely a logical consequence of the essential principle of Protestantism—the denial of all authority in matters of faith (1), it is certain that a free path was opened for the pest by the vagaries of certain German Protestant theologians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who professed a sublime toleration for all contradictory dogmas, and demanded only the practice of virtue. This school of “Pietists,” as they were termed, was founded by Philip Spener (1635-1705), an Alsatian who officiated as a Lutheran pastor in different parts of Germany. Disgusted

(1) In Spinoza's *Letters to Oldenburg* are found the germs of all the Rationalistic doctrines.

with the dissensions between the "orthodox" Lutherans and the "reformed," those who refused to heed the official "Symbolic" formulas of doctrine, Spener boldly declared that the principles of the glorious Reformation prohibited any condemnation of the doctrines of those who refused to subject their intelligences to the official teaching. To this spirit of independence Spener joined a love of mysticism, insisting that no one should dare treat of theological matters, unless he was thoroughly illumined by the light of the Holy Ghost; and in order to produce the proper school of theologians, he established a number of *Collegia Pietatis*, thus originating the name by which his disciples were thenceforward known. The University of Halle, recently founded by the Elector of Brandenburg (soon to be king of Prussia as Frederick I.), was entirely Pietistic before the end of the seventeenth century; but the Universities of Wittenberg and Leipsic denounced as heretical 264 of the Spenerian theses. It is amusing to hear Meyer, a Protestant theologian of Hamburg, replying to the question, "Who are the Pietists?" in this fashion: "They are fanatics who, under an appearance of piety, persecute the pure and true Lutheran religion; who destroy its very foundations (the Confession of Augsburg), and the doctrines thence resulting; who open the gates of the Church to all heretics, defending and receiving them, allowing each one to believe as he pleases; who delude innocent souls with their hypocrisy" (1). Spener, however, in a work which Leibnitz deemed triumphant, easily demonstrated that his principles were reconcilable with those which had actuated the framers of the Confession of Augsburg; that is, he showed the absurdity of which the Lutherans were guilty, when they commanded respect for this or that "Symbolic" ordinance which had been promulgated here or there by persons without authority, and which differed from other "Symbolic" books which the rulers of other territories had issued. Shortly after the death of Spener in 1705, there was effected a kind of reconciliation between the "orthodox" Lutherans and the Pietists. Both parties realized the need of union, if they were

(1) ARMAND SAINTES; *History of Rationalism*, p. 77. Paris, 1850.

to hope to combat successfully the philosophic speculations of Wolf, which were attacking the foundations of revealed religion. But the cause of revealed religion, so far as that cause was still upheld by the Protestant world, had received a severe blow; the way for Rationalism had been opened. Having noted the chief reason which justifies the ecclesiastical historian in assigning a place in his records to a mention of the German Pietists, we may remark, before we take leave of those inconsistent imitators of asceticism, that their affectation of mysticism contributed greatly to the propagation of the Illuminism of Weisshaupt (1). The Prussian friend and disciple of Voltaire, the mis-styled "great" Frederick II., regarded the Pietists as "the Jansenists of Protestantism"; and he used to say that if they had a Cemetery of Saint-Médard, they would excel the convulsionaries of that Jansenistic shrine (2). And Mosheim, apparently forgetting that his words would apply much more naturally to Luther, says of Dippel, one of the leaders of Pietism: "If posterity ever reads the fantastical writings of this fanatical reformer, it will wonder that our ancestors were sufficiently blind to regard as an apostle a man who audaciously violated the most essential principles of religion and of common sense" (3).

"It was through the breach opened by Pietism," observes the Protestant, Armand Saintes, "that a number of Rationalists entered, and enabled others to occupy the entire edifice" (4); and the same author remarks that the so-called Wolfian philosophy, which was adopted to check the progress of Pietism, contributed to the triumph of the Rationalistic cause, since its arid and pedantic theorems were based on reason alone. When the school of Wolf had embraced nearly the entire teaching body of German Protestantism, the Sacred Scriptures, hitherto the substance of all Protestant sermons, came to be regarded as mere supplementary matter; and the people were treated to purely human reasons for the belief that they were asked to cherish. Then

(1) See our Vol. iv., p. 427.

(2) See the article *Spencer* in Michaud's *Universal Biography*.

(3) *Ecclesiastical History*, cent. xvii., sect. 2, pt. 2, ch. 1.

(4) *Loc cit.*, Vol. 1., p. 7.

came the example of the crowned Voltairian of Prussia to aid in the propagation of Rationalism. Some of the German rationalistic coryphees imitated the phlegmatic deists of England, making a grand parade of historical and philosophical erudition. Thus the poet, Lessing, spread his poison by means of his *Fragments of an Unknown* (1); and the publisher, Nicolai of Berlin, became, through his *Universal German Library*, nearly as much of a dictator of opinion in Germany, as the Encyclopedists had become in France. Another class of German writers imitated the French, rather than the English incredulists. Chief among these were Edelmann, a Saxon, author of *Moses Unmasked* (1740), of *Christ and Belial* (1742), and of *The Divinity of Reason* (1752); and Basedow, a professor in Hamburg, author of *Considerations on the Limits of Revelation* (1764). The gross Naturalism of these speculatavists was not accepted by all of the German ministerial Rationalists; many preferred a system which would not reject supernaturalism entirely, but would merely insist on receiving as true only such things as are comprehended by reason. Hence arose the "New Exegesis," which may be said to have been founded by Ernesti, a professor of theology in Leipsic. Ernesti would have us examine the Scriptures in precisely the same manner that we use when examining any other work; in order to explain the Biblical teachings, we should consider the profane history of the time in question, the bearings of philology on the passage, the sentiments of the day when the passage was written, etc. Semler, a professor in the University of Halle, greatly developed the "New Exegesis," establishing certain rules of criticism which justified him in rejecting portions of the Scriptures which had been always accepted as authentic by all Christians, and in supposing that the Apostles, and Our Lord Himself, "accommodated" themselves to the ideas of the Jews of their day. In accordance with this theory of "accommodation," all the miracles of Christ were explained by Semler in a natural sense; and he held that whenever the Saviour spoke of such subjects as angels, demons, the resur-

(1) This "Unknown," whose ideas Lessing borrowed, was Reimar, a professor of philosophy in Hamburg, who died in 1748.

rection of the dead, etc., He did not imply the reality of such subjects. Michaëlis, a worthy co-laborer with Semler, prostituted his philological science to a search after new senses, in which, as he claimed, many passages of Scripture ought to be understood; and many of his disciples, while appearing to respect the text, interpreted it in a fashion which bade fair to reduce the Gospel narrative to the level of a mythological tale. Such was the labyrinth in which the spiritual progeny of Luther found itself when the speculations of Kant rendered its deliverance a matter of still greater difficulty.

In 1788, two years after he had succeeded his uncle, the pupil of Voltaire, on the Prussian throne, Frederick William II. issued an edict on religious matters which is an eloquent testimony to the ravages which Rationalism had already made in the ranks of the German Protestant clergy. Having confirmed the right of Catholics to the public exercise of their religion; and having declared that he would *tolerate* the Jews, Mennonites, and Bohemian Brethren, the monarch prohibited absolutely the toleration of any other religionists, and ordered that no member of the "privileged" denominations should dare to attempt to make any converts. Commenting on this latter prohibition, the king commands that special watch be kept on the Catholic priests, since they are "indefatigable proselytizers"; but instead of finding anything to blame in the zeal of his ministers, he reproves them for their utter indifference in regard to the doctrines of their own communion, for their readiness to deny the fundamental teachings of Christianity, and for their attacks on the authority of the Bible (1). The same edict suppressed the *Universal German Library* which had been founded by Nicolai; and until the death of Frederick Wil-

(1) This edict terminated with some very wise advice to the Prussians in regard to their morals; but the monarch's own example helped to nullify his counsels. Not only did he waste his revenues on a number of charlatans and visionaries, but he was openly unfaithful to his marriage vows. He had three wives living at one time, having received permission from the Lutheran clergy to repudiate his legitimate sponse, Elizabeth of Brunswick, and her successor, a princess of Hesse. Imitating the condescension of Luther, Melancthon, etc., in the matter of the bigamy of the Landgrave of Hesse (see our Vol. III., p. 320), the ministers told their sovereign that "it was better for him to contract an illegal marriage, than to fall unceasingly into sin after sin." SEGUR; *Historical and Political Tableau of Europe from 1788 to 1796*, Vol. I., p. 71.

liam II., that diabolic publication continued to be issued in Holstein. Meanwhile, in Prussia just as in other countries of Protestant Germany, the ministers and professors persisted in the propagation of their "Neologism" or "New Exegesis"; emitting new systems of Biblical interpretation, all of which more or less attacked the divine authority of the books which their lay disciples worshipped as a fetic. Thus Eberhard, who had published in 1772 an *Apology of Socrates* (1), in which he attacked the Christian doctrines on the fall of man, now began to teach that Christianity was the effect of a kind of fusion of the intellectual culture of the Greeks with the moral culture of the Jews and other Asiatic peoples (2). To add to the confusion, the pernicious philosophy of Kant began to dominate Protestant German intelligence.

KANT. This speculativist was of Scotch descent, but born in Königsberg, in 1724. With the intention of combatting both the notions of the Materialists and those of the Spiritualistic dogmatists of the Wolfian school, he produced a *Criticism of Pure Reason*, contending that the intelligence of man, forced to regard things merely according to laws and forms which are of its own capacity, can never grasp their reality, and therefore appreciates only their *subjective*, not their *objective* value; that our intelligence is capable of perceiving *phenomena*, indeed, but not of perceiving *noumena*, things as they are in themselves. This idea once fixed in his mind, the speculativist of Königsberg applied it to the most fundamental truths; denying the value of the arguments which had hitherto been advanced in proof of the existence of God—arguments, for instance, drawn from the need of a First Cause, from the order which is visible in the universe, etc. However, in another work, the *Criticism of Practical Reason*, Kant admitted a moral law, written in the heart of man, and the existence of *absolute* duty, to which all particular interests are to be sacrificed; and from this principle or *categorical imperative*, as he termed it, he pro-

(1) Written on the occasion of the condemnation of Marmontel's *Belisarius* by the Paris Sorbonne.

(2) Eberhard afterward developed this theory in his *Spirit of Primitive Christianity*. Berlin, 1807.

ceeded to the idea of a Supreme Legislator who is the Judge of all our actions. Such was Kant's method of demonstrating the existence of God; he deduced all his ideas of religion from the *practical* element, and entered on the questions of *Theodicea*, only when he had established his principles of morality. His notion of religion was that of a system which incites in the mind a *moral ideal*: and he regarded all mysteries as so many moral allegories. Thus, in the work entitled *Religion Within the Limits of Reason*, he presents the Trinity as God regarded as the Moral Legislator, as the Administrator of the Moral Law, and the incorruptible Judge. He discerns in "The Word Made Flesh" an objective realization of the *moral ideal*, and a type of the perfection toward which man should aspire. The personality of Christ, according to Kant, is a mystery; His active life and His ascension into heaven were miracles; but nevertheless, contended the speculativist, a belief in the existence of the miraculous is no part of religion. As for the Church, she is to be respected, declared Kant, as a *moral* society; an association of men in harmony with the ideal of holiness; but the pretension that in prayer or in the recourse to Sacraments there is to be found a means of grace, is a superstition and a *species of idolatry*. The lucubration of Kant on *Religion Within the Limits of Reason* appeared with the sanction of the Theological Faculty of Königsberg; and after a few years Heine was able to congratulate the Germans on their consequent emancipation from the fetters of antiquated theology: "In the world of thought we have had revolutions, just as the French have had their own in the material world, and we were encouraged by the demolition of the olden dogmatism, as much as by the destruction of the Bastille" (1). Frederick William II. deemed it not inconsistent with his own trigamous existence to write to Kant, his "very worthy, very learned, friend and professor," reproving him for abusing the rights of philosophy in order to destroy the foundations of Christianity, and threatening him with a loss of the royal favor, if he persisted in

(1) *Essays on the History of Modern Literature in Germany*, p. 172. Hamburg. 1833.

his course. Then Kant promised that so long as Frederick William II. lived, he would abstain from religious discussions (1). Kant frequently avowed that he had no precise notion concerning a future life; and shortly before his death (1804), when his intimate friend, Hesse, asked him for his definite opinion on that subject, he replied that he had formed "none whatever."

FICHTE. Kant had always made a distinction between *object* and *subject*, although the former was, in his mind, very subordinate to the latter. Theophilus Fichte (1762-1814), a disciple of Kant, was not satisfied with the secondary and unknown state to which his master had consigned everything *objective*—in fine, the universe; he abolished the *objective* entirely. He would scarcely talk of *subject* and *object*; in his "philosophical" language, those terms were replaced by the *Ego* and *Non-Ego*. The *Ego* represented each person's feelings, intelligence, all his activity—that is, himself; the *Non-Ego* included all outside humanity, the rest of the universe. The principle of all philosophy, according to this dreamer, should be in the sphere of the *subject*—that is, in one's self; we know nothing concerning what is outside ourselves; we have no right to speak of anything but ourselves. We should close the door of the soul to every impression from without; we should concentrate our entire attention on ourselves, on our *Ego*; and only then we will become truly enlightened. The *Ego* in us shows itself to itself; that internal activity, of which each one of us is conscious, reflects on itself, and reveals its true origin to us. Fichte presents this mass of nebosity as an immediate and self-evident truth, one which needs no demonstration; and then from his *Ego*, his consciousness, which has created itself by means of its own activity and capabilities of reflection, he proceeds to draw a realization that there is something outside his *Ego*. "My activity," he sagely pronounces, "my *Ego*, experiences a shock which hurls it back on itself; my power has encountered an object which resists it, which poses as a denial of my activity. Therefore there is born in me a feeling that there is an existence distinct from my own—a

(1) SAINTES; *History of the Life of Kant*, p. 96. Paris, 1850.

Non-Ego, a universe, an objectivity, which limits me." A moment of lucidity seems to have been vouchsafed to the would-be metaphysician; for he now pays some little attention to the insistence of common sense, which proclaims that he can no longer say that the *object* is nothing, since, if the *Ego* finds itself limited by the *Non-Ego*, the *Ego* is not absolute and all-powerful. But the poor man fancies that he can recover his position; he claims that it is his own *Ego* that limits him: "What is it that thinks of the *Non-Ego*? The *Ego*. What thinks of the things that are outside of myself? I myself. By thinking of these things, I give existence to them. The picture of things arises from the depths of my *Ego*: I conceive them as existent; I give reality to them; I *objectivate* them; I furnish an external world. Therefore all these representations are born in my free and intelligent activity. It is true that the *Ego*, distinguishing itself from these pictures, encounters limitations; but since these representations—this *Non-Ego*—are produced by the *Ego* itself, it follows that it is the *Ego* that limits itself, and that, although opposed by the *Non-Ego*, it ceases not to be absolute, infinite, and sovereignly free." Well indeed it was to term such ravings a "*Transcendental Idealism*"; for they summoned a man to the most senseless of idolatries—that of himself, as though he were the source of his own life.

SCHELLING. One son of the Reformation had subordinated *objective* existence to that of the *subject*; another had banished all *objectivity*, everything outside himself, in favor of his own *Ego*; and now for a crowning glory of travestied Human Reason, it remained that some more enterprising foe of Popery should relegate *subjectivity* itself to the realm of nothingness. This task was undertaken by Frederick William Schelling (1775–1854), a Wurtembergian, and also a disciple of Kant. According to this sophist, it was no longer necessary to examine into the reality of any existence outside of ourselves; but we ought to discover whether we ourselves are real objects, in the "transcendental" sense of the term. *Object* and *subject* are correlative; therefore, argued Schelling, if we remove one, the other vanishes. Truth can be found, he concluded, only in an existence

which is absolute; and in reality there is only one existence, and that is one, eternal, and immutable. True philosophy is attained, according to Schelling, by a destruction of both the idea of *subject* and that of *object*; that destruction consummated, "intellectual intuition" enables the philosopher to grasp the truth of that absolute existence which is God, the principle of unity and of happiness.

HEGEL. Between the system of Schelling and that of his disciple, Hegel (1770-1851), rector of the University of Berlin, there is a difference of method alone. Unity is the continual preoccupation of the mind of Hegel; and he discerns unity in an identity of existence and thought, and in an identity of the substance that exists and the substance that thinks. He styled his system "the system of identity"; and it consists, says Gratry, in upholding an identity of all things in the real order, and an identity even of contraries and contradictories in the logical order (1). Commenting on the Hegelianists of our day, the learned and liberal Oratorian well says that they cannot distinguish the absurd from the evident; that they have abandoned all intellectual consistency, all restraints of logic, and all settled forms of reasoning; that they prate on all conceivable subjects, without knowing anything about them. The distinctive formulas of Hegelianism, the axioms held by every member of the "monstrous sect of sophists and atheists," as Gratry terms them, are these: There is no such thing as contradiction—There is no difference between affirmation and negation—No assertion is less true than its contrary—Existence and nothing are the same thing. Among the chief efforts of Hegelianism to subvert every principle of philosophy, morality, and religion, we may cite *Hegel and Hegelianism*, by Edmund Scherer; the *Critical History of the School of Alexandria*, by Vacherot; and the *Life of Jesus*, by Renan.

STRAUSS. Of all the ramifications of German Rationalism, the most dangerous, because the least nebulous where all is nebulous, is the Theory of Myths, which was reduced to the appearance of a system by David Strauss (1808-1874), a

(1) *The Sophists and Criticism*. Paris, 1854.

Lutheran minister of Wurtemberg, and a tutor in the "Evangelical" seminary of Tubingen. As detailed in the *Life of Jesus*, which Strauss published in 1835, this theory holds that Jesus Christ is merely a myth. The ostensibly Christian minister contends that in regard to the real life of Jesus of Nazareth, all that we know is, that having been baptized by John, the son of Zachary, He attracted to Himself a number of disciples, and finally succumbed to the hatred of the Pharisees; as for the wonders narrated in the Gospels, they are simply a product of superexalted imagination. These Gospels, according to the calculations of the most exact criticism, were not published during the time of the generation that had known Jesus; indeed, the New Testament was not completed until more than half a century had elapsed since the Christian priests began their career of proselytizing. In this space of time, triumphantly exclaims Strauss, how natural, how easy it was for the imagination of the admirers of Jesus to completely metamorphose His teachings, His character, and His very nature! From the Biblical narratives of the births of Abraham and Moses the early Christians derived their idea of the birth of their Messiah; from the stories concerning Nemrod and Pharaoh, they fabricated the tale of the Massacre of the Innocents; they located the manger in Bethlehem, merely because of a certain prophetic verse; the Star of Bethlehem was merely a souvenir of the Star of Jacob, mentioned by the prophet Balaam; the Presentation in the Temple was a pretty story, devised in order to make Jesus interesting; Jesus in the Temple, explaining Holy Writ when he was twelve years of age, was an imitation from the stories of Moses, Samuel, and Solomon. Strauss discovers that "the narrow mind of the Baptist, his illiberal tendencies, would not have allowed him to comprehend, still less to predict, the coming of the Messiah." As for the denial, on the part of Jesus, that His kingdom was of this world, Strauss refuses to heed it; for he finds that Jesus really hoped to obtain the sceptre of David. In the estimation of Strauss, the discourses of Jesus, as recorded by Sts. Matthew, Mark, and Luke, are incoherent fragments; while those given by St. John are

reminiscences of the School of Alexandria. The miracles of Jesus, according to Strauss, were originally narrated as parables; and in time they were credited as realities. In the Passion of Jesus, as narrated by the Evangelists, Strauss finds nothing pertaining to history, excepting the cross. He says that the agony in the garden, the bloody sweat, and the chalice presented by an angel, are all borrowed from the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Similarly, he derives from the twenty-second and the sixty-ninth Psalms the mention of the divided tunic, of the nailing to the cross, of the devouring thirst of the dying Jesus, of His last words, etc. The German sceptic in ministerial guise dares to say that the touching description of the Passion, given by St. John, "does honor to the ingenuity and animated style of the narrator." Having noted this phlegmatic exhibition of the Lutheran minister's Paganism, the reader will not be surprised when he learns that the trainer of the Protestant students in Tübingen denied the reality of the Crucifixion of Christ. As for the Resurrection, that crowning miracle was, in the mind of this luminary of Rationalistic Protestantism, an hallucination of the disciples of Our Lord, something like that of St. Paul, when he was travelling toward Damascus. The Ascension reminded the philosophaster of the apotheosis of Romulus, or of the fiery horses conveying Elias to heaven; but when using the latter comparison, Strauss flippantly remarks that "in order to conform to the sweeter disposition of Jesus, the fiery horses were changed into clouds." Such, in brief, is the substance of the tissue of repeated "perhaps" and "probably" with which, through fifteen hundred pages of what Rationalists term argumentation, Strauss attempted to sap the foundations of Christian faith. It were an insult to the intelligence of the reader to enter on a serious refutation of a mere mass of gratuitous suppositions and absurd allegations. Strauss resumed his entire "argumentation," when he said that the Gospel is a tissue of miracles; that miracles are impossible; and that, therefore, the Gospel narrative is not history, but a myth. Rousseau had already replied to the rationalistic assumption concerning the impossibility of miracles, when he wrote

"Can God work miracles?—that is, can God derogate from the laws which He has established? This question, if seriously put, would be impious, if it were not absurd. The man who answers it negatively would be honored too much by punishment; he should merely be isolated." Probably the most appropriate method of "refuting" the Straussian system was that adopted by a magistrate of Bordeaux, who had meditated on the words of the Holy Ghost: "Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he imagine himself to be wise" (*Prov.*, xxvi., 5). This author applied the rules of the Straussian mythism to the commonly received history of Napoleon, showing how all the attributes of that grand personage had been borrowed from the Sun, and how, therefore, he also is a myth.

FRENCH RATIONALISM. The French rationalists are less obscure and more logical than those of Germany, and therefore they are more baneful. The gross Materialism of La Mettrie was adopted by Cabanis, Broussais, Destutt de Tracy, and many others. Cabanis (1757-1808), the celebrated physician who furnished Condorcet with the poison which enabled him to escape from the guillotine (1794), began his speculations with the idea that all our ideas come from our senses; and he tried to explain this phenomenon by following, as it were, the paths pursued by our sensations, starting from the extremities of the nerves, which receive the first impressions from external objects, and ending his journey at the brain, in which these impressions are definitively fixed (1). When the sensations have arrived in the brain, said Cabanis, they are transformed into ideas. He described thought as "a secretion of the brain." Broussais (1772-1838), who, in a discourse pronounced at the grave of Gall, the phrenologist, congratulated that materialist on "having fought, during his entire life, against the foes of enlightenment and of philosophy," merited well of medical science; but his materialism is revolting. In his numerous writings, and in his public lectures at Val-de-Grace, he taught that there is no spiritual substance in man; that there is no such thing as soul; that perception, judgment,

(1) *Relations Between Physique and Morality.* Paris, 1802.

will, memory, moral affections, are all immediate results of cerebral action, or rather, different modes of an excitation of the nervous system; that our appetites, desires, and passions, are modifications of the viscera, perceived by the brain; that the virtues and vices of man are merely consequences of the struggle ever subsisting between the encephalon and the chief viscera. Count Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836) also contended that our faculty of thinking is a phenomenon proceeding from our physical organizations. According to this member of the French Academy, man is simply a compost of movements and sensations which are subject to necessity; and to the objection that his doctrine differentiated man very little from the brute, he complacently replied: "Man's sole superiority over the brute consists in his having an organization which is more favorable to a *perfection* of speech." The morality inculcated by M. de Tracy was consistent with his principle: "Every living being has an essential right to satisfy his desire, and his sole duty is to do all that he can in order to attain this object; because, being endowed with passions, he can be destined only to the least possible amount of suffering" (1).

COUSIN. During the course of a few years, no school of French Rationalism was so much in vogue among the less gross of the philosophists, as that which was styled the Eclectic. As its name indicates, it started with the idea that as there must be some truth in every error, the entire edifice of truth might be constructed with materials taken from every error that could be found. The mission of the Eclectics, according to their chief master, Victor Cousin, was "to separate the errors which are mixed with that portion of truth which is the life of each system"; but Cousin forgot that this task presupposes a knowledge of what is and is not truth, and that, in the words of Jouffroy, "to undertake the task of inspection and selection, without a previous acquaintance with the truth, is to expect to attain an end before possessing the means." The eight hundred students who were subjected to the quasi-hypnotism of the Talma of the Faculty of Letters, as Cousin was termed, proclaimed

(1) *Elements of Ideology*. Paris, 1820.

his system a miracle of originality ; but we find it in the Probabilism of Cicero, in the Conceptualism of Abélard, and in the Optimism of Leibnitz. And its natural consequence, Syncretism, or the mixture and confusion of all doctrines, into which the Eclectics soon fell, was a revival of that Neo-Platonic school which was founded, in the third century, by Ammonius Saccas, Plotinus, Jamblicus, Porphyrius, etc.—that school which endeavored to check the conquering progress of Christianity, and to shut off the light of the Christian School of Alexandria, by a union of all the discordant intellectual forces of dying Paganism. The modern Eclectics were necessarily very tolerant of all systems, the Catholic alone excepted ; they welcomed with equal cordiality the sensualism of Condillac, the scepticism of the school of Voltaire, and despite their own anti-Christian prejudices, all the vagaries of every one of the Protestant sects. And why should they have hesitated ? “There are no false systems,” said Cousin, “although there are many incomplete ones, which are true in themselves, but defective inasmuch as each one pretends to possess that absolute truth which is to be found only in all. Everything taught is true in itself ; but it becomes false, when it is accepted, to the exclusion of all else. Error is merely incomplete truth ; no other kind of error is possible” (1). While the *beaux esprits* of Eclecticism were fatiguing themselves in an endeavor to discover and to inculcate absurdities, Jouffroy, in one of those lucid moments which frequently seemed to be harbingers of the advent of that faith in which this most brilliant of the Eclectics was to die (2), thus spoke of the Catechism, that little book which is the *vade mecum* of every Catholic seeker for truth : “Here you will find the solution of all the questions, of all without exception, which I have proposed. Ask a Christian whence comes the human race ; he knows the answer. Ask him whither he is going ; he

(1) COUSIN ; *Philosophical Fragments*, In Preface. Third Edit., Paris, 1838. For a refutation of the paradox, according to which truth can result from an amalgamation of many contradictory systems, see RAIMBOURG ; *Rationalism and Tradition*. Paris, 1832.

(2) The Abbé de Noirlieu, *curé* of Saint-Jacques-du-Haut-Pas, who attended Jouffroy in his last sickness (1842), wrote to the archbishop of Paris that his penitent said : “Ah ! *M. le curé*, these systems are worth nothing. A good Act of Christian faith is worth thousands of thousands of them.” BACNARD ; *Doubt and Its Victims*. Paris, 1883.

knows the answer. Ask him how he is going thither; he knows the answer. Ask that little child, who has never thought at all about his life, why he is here below, and what will become of him after his death; and he will give you a sublime reply. Ask him how the world came into existence; why God placed animals, plants, etc., upon the earth; how the world came to be peopled, whether by one at a time, or by many families; why men speak in different languages, why they suffer, why they fight each other; how all this is going to an end. He knows it all; the origin of the world, the origin of species, the diversity of races, the destiny of man here and hereafter, the relations of man with God and with his fellows, the rights of man over creation. And when he grows up, he will have no doubts concerning the natural law, or political law, or the law of nations; for all these will appear clear to him, as explained by Christianity. Behold what I term a grand religion! I recognize it by this sign. It leaves unanswered not one of the questions which interest humanity" (1). This admission, drawn by the ascendancy of truth from Jouffroy, reminds us of the reply which Diderot gave to one of his comrades in impiety who had detected him teaching the Catechism to his little daughter: "Where will you find anything better?"

SAINT-SIMON. The idea of an indefinite progress of the human race toward perfection in this world, and even of its attainment of that end, was broached by some philosophists in the first years of the eighteenth century; but it was reserved to Count Claude de Saint-Simon (1760-1825) to attempt a practical hastening of the journey. While a boy of eighteen, serving on the staff of Lafayette in the War of the American Revolution, he fancied that the events around him indicated that an era of universal liberty and of consequent happiness was then dawning upon the world. When the French Revolution occurred, he fancied that it was an effect of the decadence of Catholicism, and that a new doctrine was necessary to prevent the dissolution of society. It was, therefore, "upon the ruins of the Catholic Church" that

(1) JOUFFROY: *The Problem of Human Destiny*, in the *Philosophical Miscellanies*. Paris, 1833.

Saint-Simon thought he would erect a mansion of bliss. After many travels and much study, he began, in 1810, to publish his theories, all of which were presented in such fashion as to show that he regarded his dream as a kind of religion, rather than as a philosophical doctrine. He contended that humanity, obeying a fatal and necessary law, had always advanced in the path of perfectibility; and that then a new era of indescribable beatitude was approaching. However, he was pained on observing that many interests conspired to retard this glorious consummation; that the retrogrades desired to push civilization backward, instead of forward. Because of this wicked propensity, France and indeed all Europe had suffered the fearful miseries of the previous fifty years. The storms of the Revolution had wrecked the fortune of Saint-Simon; the remnant, only 144,000 francs, was engulfed in the publication of works which produced no revenue for their author; and his mature age found him without protectors, with few disciples, and in real poverty. He attempted suicide; but he lingered for several months, and died as he had lived, a foe to the "old," and a self-styled herald of a "new Christianity." In his last book, which bore this title, and appeared just before his death, Saint-Simon said: "Moses promised universal brotherhood to men; Jesus prepared it; Saint-Simon has realized it. . . . Industry and science are holy, since they serve to ameliorate the condition of the poor, and to bring them nearer to God. Hereafter society will consist only of priests (ordained *à la* Saint-Simon), scientists, and workingmen. The leaders of these three classes will form the government; all property will belong to the (Saint-Simonian) Church; all occupations will be religious functions; every condition of life will be a grade in the social hierarchy. The kingdom of God arrives; all the prophesies are fulfilled." The dying sectary said to the few disciples who had remained to him: "The fruit is ripe; you will gather it." But even these few disciples did not agree. Some wished to reform the world by means of the physical sciences, which they termed *positive ideas*; they contended that religious ideas, very appropriate in the olden time, would be

too retrogressive for men whose reason had become developed. Others held that religious ideas were as necessary as ever, although they might be modified to suit present conditions and the expected future progress. The principal partisans of the latter opinion were Bazard, Enfantin, and Lherminier; and they very sagely appealed to the feelings of the female Saint-Simonians for an endorsement of their views. Their appeal was successful, and since the necessity of a new religion was thus made evident, they immediately instituted a hierarchy of "fathers" and "children" for the "Saint-Simonian Church," of which Bazard and Enfantin were declared to be the "supreme fathers." The fundamental doctrines of the new "Church" were as follows: I. Christianity, good in itself, well proportioned to the needs of the olden time, had been an admirable institution, and the philosophers of the eighteenth century had shown their ignorance when they decried it; but, nevertheless, Christianity had outlived its time, and was now powerless and quite dead. II. Saint-Simonism succeeded Christianity, just as that religion had succeeded Mosaicism. III. Christianity had thought only of the souls of men, and had treated the flesh harshly; but Saint-Simonism was to rehabilitate the flesh, and was to proclaim, as the end of man, the greatest amount of pleasure in this life. IV. Woman had been regarded as a slave by the Mosaic religion; Christianity had merely protected her; but Saint-Simonism would emancipate her, and make her the equal of man. V. Since the flesh cannot be rehabilitated, so long as men believe in the doctrine of Original Sin, that teaching is rejected; the nature of man was never vitiated, and there is no punishment for sin after death. VI. God has not the attributes which Christianity discerns in Him; Saint-Simonism proclaims that "God is all that is"; that is, Saint-Simonism is unadulterated Pantheism. VII. Therefore, there can be no question of creation; nature always existed. Man originally had neither speech nor thought; he has trained himself, and has progressed to his present condition; he will continue to advance toward perfection, and will finally be quasi-deified, and will desire nothing more. VIII. In order that this grand consummation

may be attained, it is necessary that all distinctions of birth or wealth disappear ; all the members of the Saint-Simonian "family," perfectly equal in the matter of birth, are to be classified, and to be treated in accordance with their respective capabilities ; and it is the privilege and duty of the "priests" or "fathers" to effect this classification. Many young men, and a few women who were not quite so young, were persuaded to enter the new organization ; but a schism soon occurred, because of the divergent views of the "supreme fathers" on the subject of the fair sex. Bazard was willing to allow divorce to his adepts ; but that concession to passion did not satisfy Enfantin, who insisted on that promiscuity of intercourse which came to be dignified by the name of "free love." Enfantin declared that he was waiting for a special companion, who was to be the "Woman-Messiah" ; his disciples searched for her throughout France, especially among the women of the street, and when it was asserted that she was to come from the Orient, they sent agents to search in Constantinople. The imprisonment of "Father" Enfantin, convicted of offences against public morals in 1832, ruined Saint-Simonism as a "religion" ; but individuals continued to advocate many of its theories. It cannot be denied that among the Saint-Simonians there were, especially while the founder of the system lived, very many men of talent with generous souls, who had been seduced by the dream of perfectibility, and by the hope of unadulterated felicity on earth.

LEROUX. One of the most prominent of the Saint-Simonians, Peter Leroux (1798-1871), manager of *Le Globe*, the official organ of the sect, followed Bazard when that "supreme father" separated from Enfantin (1). Very soon, however, he founded an independent school, the tenets of which, divested of their blasphemous illustrations, may be reduced to these points : I. Man is neither a soul, nor an animal ; he is "an animal transformed by reason, and united to Humanity." II. His destiny is to be in communication with his fellows,

(1) After editing the *Revue Encyclopédique* for some time, Leroux founded the *Encyclopédie Nouvelle* in 1838, but want of funds forced its suspension. He then joined Mad. Sand and Vlardot in founding the *Revue Indépendante*, and in 1846 he started the *Revue Sociale*. Among his numerous adversaries, none was so bitter as Proudhon.

and with the universe; the means for this communication are the family, one's country, and property. III. The true original sin is the despotism existing in the family, in one's country, and in property. IV. The remedy for this evil is charity; that is, a more extensive communication of men with their fellows. V. Christianity was once the grandest of religions; but there is something grander than Christianity, namely, Humanity. VI. Beyond this life, there are no such things as heaven, purgatory, or hell; to admit the dualism of a heaven and an earth, as though there were two worlds, has ever been an unfortunate error. VII. That which is, but is not seen, is heaven; that which is, and is seen, is earth; understood in this manner, heaven is God, and the earth and its contents are creatures. VIII. Every man is identified with Humanity; he does not exist by himself, but by the Humanity which is in him. Humanity does not die, but undergoes modifications in individuals; the individuals continue to live in Humanity, and grow with Humanity toward perfection. IX. Adam was a myth. There was no beginning for man; Humanity, considered in its essence, always was, and always will be.

FOURIER. As a panacea for all the evils which afflict society, Charles Fourier (1768-1837) wished to abolish its division into families. He would have formed among men certain social aggregations which he styled "groups, series, and phalanxes." A "group" was to consist of seven or nine individuals, and it would be "the first cell of the social hive, the nucleus of the association." From twenty-four to thirty-two "groups" were to form a "series"; and the different "series" were to constitute "phalanxes," each of which would number eighteen hundred persons. The habitation of a "phalanx" was to be termed a *phalanstère*; and it was to be provided with every possible means of pleasure. Persons of both sexes and of every age could enter into the new Eden, and they would be classified according to their tastes and capabilities. Communism was to be absolute, in everything affecting the individual; but the "phalanxes," etc., might have their own respective interests. The "phalanxes" were to unite in forming cities, provinces, and kingdoms, according as their interests might dictate; but they were to

all unite in a grand aggregation which would fill the habitable earth, and have its centre on the Bosphorus. The "philosophical" doctrines of Fourier may be summarized as follows: I. God, man, and the universe, are one; they absorb each other, or are fused together; as Saint-Simon said, God is all that is. II. The will of God is manifested by a universal attraction, from which is born a universal analogy; every human passion has its *analogue* in nature or in God. III. The world will last until it will have completed its eighty-thousandth year. It is now about seven thousand years old, and therefore in its infancy. It will soon enter upon its youth, and after a continual advance in the way of progress, it will attain a maturity which will endure for eight thousand years. Then its decadence will begin, and with its final decrepitude will come its dissolution. IV. God produced sixteen species of men; nine in the Old World, and seven in America. All these species are subject to the Universal Law of Analogy. V. When this world shall have disappeared, there will appear in succession eighteen others, each being produced by a union of the Austral and Boreal fluids. VI. The souls of men do not die with their bodies; but they pass into other human bodies which will live on this earth or somewhere else. The reason of this journey is found in the fact that the human body cannot be deprived of its right to physical pleasure. VII. The Law of Universal Analogy is illustrated in man by means of his passions, which come from God, as is evident from the fact that every human being is actuated, more or less, by their impulses. Whenever a human being encounters an obstacle to the gratification of passion, that obstacle comes from himself or herself, and the energies of the sufferer should be directed to a removal of the obstacle, not to a subjugation of the passion. In fine, there will never be harmony in this world, until a free rein is accorded to every individual passion. VIII. In each human being there are twelve radical passions, seven of which reside in the soul, and five in the flesh. It is from the free play of these passions that the *religious* sentiment originates; that sentiment is simply a result of a combination of all the passions, just as white is produced by

a union of all the colors of the prism. IX. The first duty of a human being is to follow the impulse of passion. X. The ordinary idea of vice and of virtue is essentially false. XI. The end of man is to cultivate the earth; his destiny is happiness; the means at his command are found in the Fourierite association, the destined producer of universal concord. XII. True happiness consists in having very many passions, and abundant means for their gratification. Fourier dared to represent his doctrines as those taught by Jesus of Nazareth; and he insisted that he and his disciples were destined to restore to their pristine purity the teachings which the New Testament had obscured, and which Catholicism had completely transformed.

COMTE AND THE POSITIVISTS. Auguste Comte (1798-1857), a native of Montpellier in France, graduated at the *Polytechnique* of Paris, and was a tutor in that establishment during the greater part of his life. He began to advance his positivistic theories as early as 1820 in the *Organisateur* of Paris; but their full development was attained in the *Course of Positive Philosophy*, which he delivered during the period between 1830 and 1842. Afterward he published several books in defense of his notions (1), as well as a number of *Considerations on Sciences and Scientists, and on the Spiritual Power*, which appeared in the *Producteur* of Paris, and led Benjamin Constant to denounce him as a defender of "Theocratism" and of "Industrial Popery." Comte would have reduced all philosophy to the "pure sciences," which he divided into six categories: mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, and social science. Besides these sciences there is nothing, thought Comte, which can claim the attention of man. Comte was an enthusiastic perfectibilist. In the progress of the human race he discerned three phases; that of a conquering military activity, that of a defensive military activity, and that of a pacific activity; and all of these, according to his dream, are subordinate to a scientific and philosophical progression which is constant and continuous. The Positivistic doctrine, with which the

(1) *Discourse on the Positive Spirit*, 1844.—*System of Positive Politics*; or, *A Treatise on Sociology*, 1851.—*A Positivist Calendar*, 1852.

name of Comte is now identified, was not excogitated by him; it has been the basis of Materialism in every age. We find it in the Scepticism of Enesidemus and of Sextus the Empiric; and moderns have only re-discovered it in the Empiricism of Hume which denied every idea of substance, cause, and finality. Comte merely pushed to its last and logical consequences the doctrine of scientific Materialism; he occupied himself, in the matter of human knowledge, only with facts and their relations; and he discerned the end and object of all scientific indagations in sociology. With Comte, psychology was an impossibility; all his researches were within the limits of physiology and biology. Positivism suppressed the idea of the absolute; just as Spinoza found his absolute in fatality, as Fichte found his in his *Ego*, and Schelling his in identity, so the Positivists found their absolutes in a "positivity" which they regarded as science, and in a "Humanity" which is revealed by science. In the morality of Positivism there is no idea of absolute duty or right; its morality is founded only on the inclination one person experiences in regard to another, *vers autrui*—an idea which caused its moral doctrine to be styled "Altruism," a thing which has nothing in common with Christian Charity. Comte believed in no Rights of Man as belonging to man as such; he admitted in man merely those privileges which society confers upon its members. None of the so-called systems of modern philosophy has effected more than Positivism toward the destruction of every grandeur of humanity. Besides the mathematical Positivism of Comte in philosophy, there are Positivisms of art, literature, music, and even of religion. There is the Positivism of the honest and good Littré (1), which dresses it-

(1) While this grand philologist was composing his monumental *Dictionary*, he founded the *Revue Positive* (1857), and by his numerous articles in support of the Comtian theories, wherein he applied those doctrines to the political, economic, and social ideas of the day, he came to be regarded as the new head of the Positivist school. In the Preface which Littré wrote for the *Materialism and Spiritualism* of Leblais, he held that thought is to the nervous substance that which weight is to matter; that is, that thought is an "irreducible phenomenon" which, in the present state of our knowledge, is its own explanation. "Just as the physicist perceives that matter has weight, so the physiologist sees that the nervous substance thinks; and neither the physicist nor the physiologist pretends to explain what he sees." And, nevertheless, like all Positivists, Littré contended that he was "no more a Materialist than he was a Spiritualist," even when he held that free will is "no

self in the fashion. "There is the Positivism of Proudhon which, with its panoply of war, is the most aggressive of all. There is the Positivism of the naked law, which guards the gate of the soul against the attacks of science and of reason. There is the Positivism of the multitude, which ends in Utilitarianism. There is the Positivism of artists who wish to be 'Realists.' There is the Positivism of scientists who will be guided by observation alone. There is the Positivism of literary men who, like the artists, wish to hear no more talk about that ideal which even Kant recognized as the 'great categorical imperative' in art, logic, and morality—the rule for our judgments and our acts. There is the Positivism of churchmen, which would reduce religion to 'pure practice.' In a word, there is Positivism everywhere around us; we see only the diabolic forms, either displayed or disguised, of this monster. What need have we, asks the new philosopher, of that hypothetical ideal which once we sought in the heavens? Let us return to earth; let us be practical. By one stroke of the pen metaphysics are laid aside; the thinker can now build without a foundation; philosophy is neutralized; human laziness wants nothing better; let us eat and drink—behold our philosophy! What need have we, asks the new writer, to seek for that beautiful which was the dream of our fathers? What need have we of that beauty of language for which our

illusion of internal optics"; that the brain transforms impressions into sensations and volitions, just as the liver changes food into bile; that morality, like beauty, is "a mere gift of nature." The heterodoxy of Littré was due to the circumstances of his parentage and early education. As a man, he seems to have lived in thorough accordance with the dictates of the natural law; and therefore he finally merited the grace of divine faith. Both of his parents were ardent and consistent, although not cruel, Jacobins; his infantine ears heard naught but praises of the men and things of the Revolution; his education was the pestiferous breath of the University. But he remained an honest man, and therefore he was ever tolerant of religious belief in others. In his later years he could write: "I have seen too much of the sufferings and difficulties of human life, to wish to deprive any person of those convictions which sustain him in his days of trial." Much of the goodness of Littré must be ascribed to his fidelity, in practical life, to the dictates of sound reason; but that same fidelity owed its existence to the example and encouragement of his Catholic wife and daughter. His mother, Jacobin though she was, was a woman of common sense; and when her son, in his thirty-fifth year, left to her the task of finding for him a suitable wife, she chose a thoroughly pious woman. Sainte-Beuve, the great critic who never believed and never hoped, said, when speaking of this marriage: "The daughter who was born to Littré, the girl who became so worthy of her father, an intelligent help in his labors, was raised in the faith of her mother. Thus it was that this philosopher, a man whose heart was as tender as his mind was elevated, understood toleration and practiced it. He himself educated his daughter, and just as he had ever re-

fathers strove unceasingly, and which they never found sufficiently perfect for their taste? Let us make no useless efforts; let us speak the language of the people; let us strive for wealth; let us eat and drink—behold our literature! What need have we, asks the new artist, to yearn for perfection of color, of design, of model, of melody, of harmony, of rhythm, etc.? What we want is the useful—behold our art! What need have we, asks the new scientist, to dream of hypotheses in order to explain things? Let us take things as they appear to our senses; let us confine our researches to realities. Theory, if it is well founded, will be attained by experience—behold our science! What need have we, asks the new pastor of souls, to form demonstrations based on that reason which is ever in opposition to itself? Let us believe and practice as did our fathers; let us eat and drink, and God will do the rest—behold our religion! Now, what is all this? It is Positivism. Reason is debased; religion is materialized; science is weakened; style becomes vulgar; voice disappears in measure; music is mathematicized (and despising melody, it becomes mere noise); painting is atrophied; art is extinct; man is inert; soul sleeps; nations decay; all things are dying" (1).

spected the plety of his wife, he respected that of his child with a delicacy which was perfect." Speaking of the study of Littré in his country-house at Mesnil, that great Catholic scientist, Pasteur, said: "There is the little table at which, near his own desk, his wife and daughter always worked by his side; and above that table—visible witness of Littré's tolerant spirit—was the image of Christ." When the great scholar retired to Mesnil, he always asked the parish-priest for the names of the poor who needed help, or whose maladies he might alleviate by a free exercise of the medical knowledge which he had acquired in his youth. Another indication of the good faith of Littré is the justice which he always rendered to the Church of the Middle Age. And let it be ever remembered that he refused to vote for the infamous anti-clerical laws of Jules Ferry, and that his pen did good service in defence of clerical liberty. On June 1, 1881, Littré, then on his bed of death, was baptized by the Abbé Huvelin, vicar of the parish of Saint-Augustin, a priest with whom he had long been intimate, and who had visited him several times in every week of his last years. Shortly after his reception of the Last Sacraments, he made a happy death. During the Mass of Requiem at Notre-Dame-des-Champs, the Freemasons were gathered in large numbers outside the sacred edifice; and they loudly protested against the "mummery" that was being performed over the remains of one who had belonged to the Dark Lantern. When the body had been deposited in its grave in the Cemetery of Montparnasse, Wiroubouff, the manager of the *Revue Positiviste*, scornful the entreaties of the widow and daughter, addressed the spectators in the name of the Masonic Order, ridiculing the ceremony which had just taken place.

(1) LE NOIR: *The Dictionary of Bergier Adapted to the Intellectual Movement of the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. x., p. 482. Paris, 1876.

GIOBERTI. Far more dangerous than the Rationalism of Germany, because it was lucid and logical; also more to be feared than any of the philosophistic systems of France, because it was specious and practical; was the Semi-Rationalism which Gioberti excogitated for the "regeneration" of Italy. The first works of this philosopher, polemic, and statesman, were redolent of learning, art, faith, and charity; so great became his influence over not only the younger portion of the Italian clergy, but also over the more worthy and enlightened among the political leaders who were dreaming of a renovated Italy, that it was said that at that time all the foremost statesmen of the peninsula were like so many seminarians, whose walks were superintended by a theologian. At that time Gioberti regarded Rationalism as the prime cause of the evils of modern society; and he contended that only a sincere return to Catholic ideas would restore modern philosophy (1). Cantù, who had been, with Gioberti, one of the original Neo-Guelphs, thus speaks of the lamentable change which came over his friend: "Already accustomed to yield to circumstances, he lost the light of that truth which had been his passion, when once he became drunk with the wine of disobedience; he debased himself by tempestuous discussions and violent writings in which he satisfied his personal rancors, at the same time that he drew weapons for use against the Church from his theological arsenal. The worst happened when an admiring rather than a prudent friendship published certain of his posthumous works which he had either merely outlined, or had written under the impulse of the moment when he was suffering from the bitter disappointments which often waited on his excessive pride—writings which probably he would have either destroyed or corrected, when calm reflection would have supervened; writings, also, in which he did indeed proffer rationalistic objections, which now appear to have been approved by him, although he may have intended to refute them. Reprobation is due, therefore, to some of the works which bear his name, rather than to Gioberti. Especially in the *Philosophy of Revelation*, how can

(1) See our Vol. iv., p. 442.

we believe that while advancing so many resplendent truths, and after an admirable defence of the supernatural and the miraculous, Gioberti would abandon Catholic unity by a declaration that many evangelical precepts were adapted only to their time; that the dogmas of predestination, of the small number of the elect, of eternal punishment, of an expiation in a future life, are absurdities; that the modern propaganda should be chiefly laic; that our epoch is one of an entire secularization of the Gospel?... Only he who has never written can fail to understand that symmetry and consistency are obtained only when a final polishing has been given to a work. We regard these salient contradictions of Gioberti as proofs that his posthumous works are simply so much material which he had prepared for future construction" (1). We may well hope that the great historian's judgment was correct; but it is certain that the mitigated Rationalism styled Giobertianism has been, during the past fifty years, a veritable plague in Italy (2). The partisans of this system had a lucidity of intellect which prevented their agreeing with German Transcendentalism in a divinization of human reason; but, nevertheless, while protesting their wish to reconcile reason with faith, they accorded to the former a supremacy over the latter. They described eloquently the distinction between the supernatural and the natural, even while they confounded them. They did not deny the dogma of original sin; but they ignored the effects of that calamity, since they reprobated mortification of the flesh and all asceticism. They proclaimed their belief in a state of future beatitude; but their chief efforts were directed toward a happiness on earth. They did not profess a belief in the perfectibility of the human race; but by their agitations they led the populations of Italy to yearn after an indefinite progress toward an unknown end. Their words indicated a filial devotion to the Church; but they wished to "modernize" a Catholicism which they declared to be "exaggerated, old-fashioned, ultra-mystical, and anti-social."

(1) CANTÙ; *Heretics of Italy*, Discourse lvi. Turin, 1866.

(2) For a complete refutation of these theories, see the *Civiltà Cattolica*, Series II., Vol. IV., no. 86.

They talked much about Christ, the Redeemer ; but they prated persistently about the human and civil effects of the Redemption, as though the Saviour had suffered and died principally for the political freedom of men, and for the improvement of their material conditions.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REVIVAL OF CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN.

The existence of Japan was first revealed to Europe by the narrative of Marco Polo in 1298. During his residence at the court of the Tartar emperor, Kublai-Khan, the daring and indefatigable explorer had learned much concerning *Cipangu*, as the Tartars termed the distant insular empire ; but when he repeated the information to his compatriots, few credited his tales. Not until 1542, the year in which St. Francis Xavier landed in India, did a European tread the soil of Japan, and thus demonstrate that when speaking of the existence of *Cipangu*, the great Venetian traveller had been neither a romancer nor a dreamer. Then it was that the Portuguese, Mendez Pinto, together with two companions, was driven by contrary winds to the coast of Tanegashima, whence he sailed to Kyu-Shu, one of the four largest islands of the finally discovered Japan ; and at the same time, three other Portuguese, who had been sailing toward China, were also cast on the shore of Kyu-Shu. The natives were greatly interested by the few Western products which Pinto and his companions were able to show them ; commercial relations were soon opened ; and from that day the Portuguese began to trade with the Land of the Rising Sun. The Europeans found two religions in Japan, Shintoism and Buddhism. The former, the "Way of the Gods," was the original religion of the land, its beginnings being confounded with those of the nation ; the latter had arrived in the sixth century of our era, having come from India, by way of China and Corea. The emperors had, in some sort, officially united these two systems ; and in very many places, the same temple was served by a Buddhist *bozu* (bonze) and

a Shinto *kamushi*—an arrangement which soon led the people to believe that the *Hotoke*, or gods of India, were identical with their own gods, the *Kami*, and which caused many of the early missionaries to represent Japan as having but one religion (1). During many centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese, the sovereigns of Japan, succumbing to the somniferous influence of Buddhism, had held themselves aloof from terrestrial affairs, yielding to the charms of a sacred quietude amid the mysteries of their capital, Myako (2), a city of palaces and temples; and they were ever venerated by the people as direct descendants of the national gods, and were regarded as the real heads of the state, although the reins of government were in other hands. The effective power had been disputed during several centuries by various powerful families, when, in 1190, it was concentrated in the person of a kind of lieutenant-general, who was styled the *Shogun*, and was not only regarded as the first among the great feudal lords, but as their head, was officially invested with the imperial authority (3). The feudal lords or *Daimios* (4) were, nevertheless, independent in their respective territories, issuing decrees, administering justice, levying taxes, raising armies, etc. In fact, the *Daimios* were petty kings; and hence it is that the *Relations* of the early missionaries speak of these princes as of so many real sovereigns. Under the rule of the *Dairi* (5), the *Shogun*, and the *Daimios*, the people were divided into four classes or *Shimin* (6), namely, the warriors, called *Samurai* or *Shizoku*; the agriculturists or *Hyakusho*; the artisans or *Shokumin*; and the traders or *Shonin* (7). The

(1) When the imperial power was restored in 1868, the two religions were again separated; and then the power of Buddhism began to decline.

(2) This word, composed of *Mya* and *Ko*, signifies the place where the emperor resided. Myako, also called Koto, became the capital in A. D. 794.

(3) The term *Shogun* is nearly equivalent to our word "generalissimo." At first it was applied to the generals who were sent to subdue the Ainos, an aboriginal race in the northern portion of the empire; but in 1190 Yoritomo gave to the Shogunate a greater significance.

(4) The literal meaning of *Daimio* is "a great name."

(5) This term was originally used to indicate the portion of the imperial palace which was reserved for the personal use of the sovereign; and in time it came to indicate the emperor himself.

(6) The word *Shimin* signifies "the four peoples."

(7) The Japanese sign for *Samurai* is the one used by the Chinese to indicate a lettered

Samurai were the armed retainers of the *Daimios*, supported by their lords even in time of peace, and owing to them fidelity, even unto death.

St. Francis Xavier and five companions (1) debarked from a Chinese junk at the port of Kagoshima on the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, 1549; and when, after a sojourn of twenty-seven months, Xavier departed in obedience to an order of St. Ignatius which imposed upon him the superiority of the recently created Province of India, he had baptized many thousands of the Japanese, and had gained the good will of several of the *Daimios*. The work thus begun was continued by other Jesuits brought to Japan in the Portuguese ships; and in 1582, at the death of Nobunaga, who had made himself the veritable sovereign of Japan, and was very partial to the Christian missionaries, there were in the empire 250 churches, attended by 200,000 of the faithful, among whom were the *Daimios* of Bungo, Arima, and Omura. Certainly it was a consoling and beautiful picture which was unfolded before the eyes of Pope Gregory XIII. by the embassy, composed of three Japanese princes, which His Holiness received in the Vatican on March 23, 1585; and when, that Pontiff having died eighteen days afterward, the new Pope (Sixtus V.) created the noble orientals Knights of the Golden Spur and Roman Patricians, men regarded the scene as a harbinger of a compensation which the Church was about to receive, in return for the losses which she had recently experienced in Germany and England. But these sanguine prophets forgot that with the exception of the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons, no nation has

man or mandarin. The word *Hyakusho* signifies "the hundred families," that is, the generality of the people. *Shokunin* means "men who work at a trade." *Shonin* is equivalent to our word "merchants."

(1) These companions were Father Como de Torrez and a lay brother, Juan Fernandez, both Jesuits; and three Japanese neophytes whom the saint had met at Malacca. One of these Japanese, a *Samurai* named Anjiro, torn with remorse because of a wicked life, had sought for encouragement among the bonzes, and had been on the point of despairing, when he remembered that the Portuguese in Kagoshima were ever talking about the wonderful sanctity and miraculous powers of a Christian priest who was then laboring in India. Having sought in many places for the holy missionary, he finally found him in Malacca, and received baptism, with the name of Paul de Santa Fe. The other Japanese were servants of this *Samurai*, and they also embraced Christianity. It was this Paul who introduced St. Francis to his lord, the prince of Satsuma; and it was in his house that the saint studied the Japanese language.

ever been converted from Paganism to Christianity without a profuse shedding of blood on the part of the apostles of the faith. When the Japanese ambassadors returned to their insular empire, they found that Hideyoshi, who had succeeded Nobunaga in his usurpation of the powers of the Shogunate, had yielded to the instigations of the bonzes, and had ordered the destruction of all the Christian churches, and the immediate expulsion of all the Christian priests from Japan. The Christian princes, however, had obtained a delay of six months in the execution of this decree, and permission for the missionaries to reside thereafter in Nagasaki for the benefit of the Portuguese residents; and under cover of this concession, the Jesuits had continued to propagate the faith. The return of the ambassadors in 1590, three years after the publication of the persecuting decree, effected a change in the mind of Hideyoshi. The envoys were accompanied by the Jesuit, Valegnani, as ambassador of the king of Spain; and when he had learned that the conduct of Hideyoshi was due to the suspicion that the missionaries were plotting against the independence of Japan, he offered to place ten of his fellow-religious in the hands of the prince, as hostages for the loyalty of their companions. The offer was accepted, and the Japanese Christians breathed more freely. The distrust of Hideyoshi was also considerably diminished by news that Konishi Yukinaga, a Christian, one of his commanding generals in the expedition recently undertaken against Corea, had covered himself with glory; and that four of his subordinate generals, the Christian *Daimios* of Tsushima, Arima, Omura, and Amikusa, had greatly contributed to the glory of Japan. The usurper even closed his eyes when four Spanish Franciscans, recently arrived from the Philippines, erected churches in Nagasaki and Osaka, and even in the capital; and when, in 1596, the Jesuit, Peter Martinez, having been consecrated to the episcopate, came for the purpose of exercising his office over all the Christians in Japan, he received full permission from Hideyoshi in an audience which was accorded to him. But in July, 1596, when the Christians in Japan numbered 300,000 under the care of 134 re-

ligious, there happened an event which revived the absurd suspicions of Hideyoshi, and entailed its first general persecution on the Japanese Church. A Spanish ship, the "San Felipe," while voyaging from Manila to New Spain, was wrecked on the coast of the province of Tosa; and according to the Japanese law, its cargo was declared the property of the *Dairi*. The Spanish captain tried intimidation as a means for saving the property. He showed to the Japanese officials a map of the world, and pointed to the immense possessions of Spain in both hemispheres, an empire on which the sun never declined. When the astonished Japanese asked how such a great empire could have been formed, the mariner replied: "By means of religion and the sword. Our priests prepare the way of conquest by converting nations to Christianity; then the work of subjugating the converts is mere child's play for us." When this remark was reported to Hideyoshi, he swore that "the Christians should learn that they could not play with him"; and on Dec. 9, nine religious were arrested at Myako and Osaka, and the governors of those cities were ordered to furnish lists of all who held any relations with those missionaries. Then were repeated the scenes which were common among the early Christians, on the eve of a general persecution. All prepared for the coming trial; old and young, rich and poor, strengthened themselves by prayer and fasting; all brought forth their choicest garments, "so that their triumph might be celebrated with befitting pomp, and in order that they might be clothed as splendidly as possible when fastened to the cross" (1). Many great lords hastened to the prisons where the priests were confined, demanding to be allowed to share their lot. Among these was Prince Justo, a relative of Hideyoshi, who had recently been placed over three provinces. However, when the martyrs were led forth for their passion, they were found to be only twenty-four in number: six Spanish Franciscans (2); three Japanese Jes-

(1) CHARLEVOIX; *History and General Description of Japan*, bk. x., ch. 8. Rouen, 1715.

(2) Fr. Peter Baptist, native of Castel San Stephano, in the diocese of Avila, a priest, fifty years old. Fr. Martin of the Ascension, priest, native of Vergara, province of Guipuscoa, thirty years old. Fr. Francis Blanco, priest, native of Monterey in Galicia, thirty years old.

nit clerics (1); and fifteen Japanese laics, members of the Third Order of St. Francis (2). Three of these laics, whose ages ranged from eleven to fourteen years, were "altar boys" who had refused to be separated from the fathers whom they loved so well. On Jan. 3, all of these confessors of the faith were led to a square in Myako where, according to the order of the government, their noses and ears were to be amputated; but the manager of the exhibition seems to have been somewhat affected by pity, for he contented himself with cutting off the lobes of their left ears. Then the victims were promenaded through the streets of the capital; after which "disgrace" they were subjected to the same treatment in Osaka, Sakai, Nagoya, and many other cities. Nagasaki had been designated as the place for the consummation of the martyrdom; and during the whole of the journey, they were accompanied by many Christians who proclaimed loudly their envy of the lot which had befallen the fortunate followers of Jesus. Two of these sympathizers obtained the wish of their hearts, and were joined to the exulting band, thus increasing the number to twenty-six. The last stage of the journey but one, from Sonogi to Tokitsu, was made by water; and the martyrs passed the night of Feb. 4 in the open air on the boat; but the glacial cold did not interfere with their canticles of joy. On the road to Nagasaki, the procession paused at Urakami; and here all the victims made their sacramental confessions. Finally, the little hill of Tateyama, near Nagasaki, which all Japanese Christians have ever since styled the Holy Mountain, was reached. Here twenty-six crosses had been prepared; each sufferer was at once laid on his instrument of torture,

Bro. Philip of Jesus, a cleric, native of Mexico, twenty-three years old. Bro. Francis of St. Michael, lay brother, native of Padilla in Castille. Bro. Gonzalez Garcia, lay brother, native of Bazain in India, of Portuguese parents.

(1) Paul Miki, Japanese, son of a lord in the court of Nobunaga, and a cleric in the Society of Jesus, thirty-three years old. John Suwano, or Goto, Japanese, cleric of the Society of Jesus, nineteen years old. James Kisaemon, Japanese, catechist in the Society of Jesus, sixty-four years old.

(2) Cosmo Takeya, Michael Kozaki, Paul Ibaraku, Leo Karasumaru, Louis Ibaraki, eleven years old; Anthony, thirteen years old; Thomas Kozaki, son of Michael, fourteen years old; Mathias, Bonaventure, Joachim Sakakibara, Francis of Meaco, Thomas Date, John Kisaemon, Gabriel, Paul Suzuk, Francis, Peter Kozaki Sukejiro, all Japanese. We have added the names of two Japanese who afterward joined this band.

bound to it by ropes, and by an iron collar which encircled his neck ; and then all the crosses, arranged in a single line, were lifted and dropped into their sockets. Then arose from one of the crosses, the one occupied by Father Peter Baptist, the strains of the *Canticle of Zachary* ; and the alternate verses were chanted by his companions. Then the noble cleric, Miki, prayed aloud for the conversion of his countrymen ; and at length, just as the executioners advanced to give the fatal lance-thrust from groin to shoulder, the pure voice of Anthony, the thirteen-year-old acolyte, ascended toward heaven with the first words of the *Laude, pueri* ; but the happy child terminated his song with the angels in paradise. "Jesus ! Mary !" cried each champion of the Catholic faith as he received the delivering thrust ; and thus was consummated the first in the long series of hecatombs, by means of which God designed to establish His Church in Japan (1).

Hideyoshi died in 1598, after having ordered the Japanese to adore him as a new *Hachiman*, or god of war, in a temple which he had constructed for his godship in Myako. His heir, a boy of six years, was placed under the tutelage of Yeyasu Tokugawa, an able man who soon began to ignore the rights of his ward, and ultimately obtained from the *Dairi* the title of *Shogun* (1604), which had not been borne since its suppression by Nobunaga, forty years previously, and which remained in his family until the imperial restoration of 1868. The first fifteen years of the new domination were devoted by Yeyasu to a consolidation of his power ; and therefore he had no time for a persecution of the "Perverse Religion of Jesus" (2). There were indeed several bloody persecutions, but these were purely local. The effects of the sacrifice on the Holy Mountain were quickly manifested ; in 1605 the Japanese Christians numbered 1,800,000. The Jesuits and Franciscans had been reinforced by the Domin-

(1) These twenty-six martyrs were beatified by Urban VIII. in 1627, and were canonized by Pius IX. on June 8, 1862.

(2) Such was the title by which, ever since the first persecutions, the pagan Japanese indicated the Catholic Faith. *Jaso Kyo* means the Religion of Jesus ; but they contemptuously termed it *Iaso Ja-Kyo*, the Perverse Religion of Jesus ; or, briefly, *Ja-Kyo*, the Perverse Religion.

ican and Augustinian Orders ; not only churches, but hospitals and orphanages were found in nearly every province ; divine worship was public, and was conducted with considerable solemnity. In 1607, when Louis Cerquiera, bishop of Japan, was received in audience by Yeyasu, he experienced much kindness. In 1611 the missionaries erected an astronomical observatory at Osaka ; and in Myako Father Spinola established an academy, which was frequented by many courtiers of the *Dairi*, who were desirous of proficiency in mathematics. In 1613 the *Daimio* of Sendai, Date Masamune, sent one of his vassals, Hasekura Rokuyemon, as ambassador to Pope Paul V. and to Spain. Rokuyemon was baptized in Madrid on Feb. 16, 1615, in presence of King Philip III. and of Anne of Austria, then betrothed to Louis XIII. of France. At Rome he was made a citizen and a Roman senator (1). These facts show that the prospects of the

(1) In 1876 the Abbé Langlais, a missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions in Paris, discovered in Sendai the letters-patent by which Rokuyemon was made a Roman citizen and senator ; and they are now preserved in the museum of Tokio. We give the text of this document : " *Quod Ludovicus Rentius Vincentius Mutus de Papazurris, Jacobus Vellius, aliorum urbis conservatores de illustro et excellimo Philippo Francisco Farecura Rokuyemon Romana civitate donando ad senatum retulere S. P. Q. R. de ea re ita fieri censuit.*

" *Quod in Urbe Romana antiquissimis etiam illis regum temporibus usitatum est, sequentibus deinde annis, Respublica consuevit ne nostra quidem aetas omisit, hesteros nempe viros, virtute seu nobilitate insignes, ad hanc aliam Urbem ex orbe universo confluentes, S. P. Q. R. non solum benigniter, verum etiam munificenter amplexus, illos magnitudine Romani nominis desuper notitiam propriamque nobilitatem cohonestando Civitate Romana donavit, ut viri virtute nobilitateque prestantes, inter Romanos cives adsciti, magno Reipublice nostrae usui atque ornameto fuissent vel esse aliquando possent.*

" *Nos igitur antiquissimi moris nostraeque majorum exempli auctoritate permoti non omittendum putavimus inter cives patritiosque Romanos adscire Illustrissimum et Excellentissimum Philippum Franciscum Farecura Rokuyemon ex civitate serventem in Sendai regni Vori in Japonie ortum. Cum ipse ex tam longinquis et remotissimis regionibus ad hanc aliam Urbem venerit orator ad Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Paulum Quintum Burghesium Romanum Pontificem Maximum, pro Serenissimis, Idate Masamune, rege Vori in imperio Japonico, ad Romanum Pontificem Catholicæ et Universalis Ecclesiæ pastorem, totius orbis parentem et Jesu Christi Filii Dei Omnipotentis Vicarium, ea qua decet reverentia venerando, ad accipiendam dicti regis ac regni tutelam paternamque curam hortaretur.*

" *Eapropter, S. P. Q. R. ut cum ipso strictissimo amoris nexu colligeretur, præfatum Illustrissimum et Excellentissimum Philippum Franciscum Farecura Rokuyemon amplissimo munere Romanæ Civitatis decorandum et in Senatorum ordinem merita cooptandum censuit. Quam voluntatem ac sententiam singulari omnium consensu ac lætitia comprobata per scribas ejusdem sacri senatus in publicas litteras ad æternam memoriam referri eidem S. P. Q. R. ita placuit, ut beneficium hoc, remque non magis dare quam accipere videretur. Anno ab Urbe Condita MCCCCLXVI., et ab Orbe Redempto MDCXV., XII. Kal. Decembris."*

Japanese Church were indeed brilliant when it was overwhelmed by the storm which all but annihilated it. The primary cause of this persecution was the virulent hatred of Catholicism which was a part of the very life of the Hollanders and Englishmen who had just arrived in Japan, and who had been dismayed by the success which was attending the missionary enterprise of the "Scarlet Whore of Babylon." Add to this truly diabolic envy the commercial greed of the Dutch and English, which prompted them to adopt any means which would enable them to supplant the Spanish and Portuguese in Japanese trade; and you have the secret of the all but complete disappearance of Christianity from Japan in the early part of the seventeenth century.

The Dutch trod the soil of Japan for the first time in 1609, and the English followed in 1611. The Hollanders were allowed to establish a trading agency, or "factory," on the island of Hirado, but in 1640 the twelve or thirteen resident merchants were transferred to Deshima. From the day of their arrival the Dutch endeavored to envenom the mind of Yeyasu with tales of Catholic conspiracies against the integrity of Japan; according to the Protestant traders, every Catholic priest in the empire was a sworn agent of the Spanish sovereign, and every Japanese Christian had been infected with a spirit of disloyalty to his government. Whether or not Yeyasu really believed that he was in danger from a Spanish and Portuguese invasion (1), he at least perceived that by a persecution of the Christians he could rid himself of many Christian *Daimios* who were partisans of the son of Hideyoshi, a prince who had now attained his majority. Accordingly, in 1613 he summoned fourteen lords of his court, and ordered them to renounce their religion under pain of being reduced to absolute beggary. All preferred penury to apostasy. The shedding of Christian blood began in the province of Arima. On Jan. 28, two brothers, Thomas and Mathias, their mother and their children, were decapitated at the same time. On April 27, the *Daimio* caused his two young Christian brothers to be slaughtered during their sleep; and on Oct. 5, the same prince

(1) At this period both Spain and Portugal were ruled by the same sovereign.

sent to the stake eight persons, three of whom, Adrian Takahashi Moto, Leo Hayashida Sukeyemon, and Leo Take-tomi, were lords of his court. When the Christians of the neighborhood learned that this hecatomb was about to be offered, over 20,000 appeared at the gate of the prison, and accompanied the martyrs to the place of execution, reciting with them the prayers of the Rosary of Our Lady. When the flames had begun their work, James Hayashida, a child of twelve years, whose fastenings had given way, but who was already a mass of fire, jumped to the ground; but he had no thought of escape. He had left his stake in order to throw himself, crying 'Jesus, Mary,' into the embrace of his burning mother. And at the same instant, his sister, Magdalen, who had consecrated her virginity to God, picked up some of the burning faggots from her pyre, and arranged them on her head in the form of a crown, as though she wished to be decorated in a befitting manner, when she would stand before her Spouse. During the ensuing two years, all the missionaries, excepting a few who succeeded in secreting themselves, were transported to the Philippines; but this deprivation of encouragement and consolation did not further the cause of apostasy among the faithful. Yeyasu died in 1615, and was succeeded by his third son, Hidetada. This prince renewed the persecuting edict of his father; for he had learned that several of the missionaries had eluded the search for their persons, and that many others, undeterred by fear of death, had recently landed in Japan. On May 22, 1617, John Baptist de Maciado de Tevora, a Portuguese Jesuit, and Peter of the Ascension, a Spanish Franciscan, were beheaded at Omura. On June 1, Alfonso Narvarrete, the provincial vicar of the Dominicans, and Ferdinand of St. Joseph, an Augustinian, suffered the same fate in the island of Tuka-shima. When Hidetada entered Myako in 1619, he burned fifty Christians, men, women, and children, at the same time. In 1621, a Dutch and an English ship captured a small Spanish vessel as it neared the Japanese coasts, and delivered the captain, two passengers, and the crew of thirteen, to the Daimio of *Hirado*. After an imprisonment of a year, the captain and the two

passengers, a Spanish Augustinian named Peter de Zugnica, and a Flemish Dominican named Louis Florez, were burned at Nagasaki; and the thirteen sailors, having refused liberty at the expense of apostasy, were decapitated. On Sept. 2, 1622, there occurred at Nagasaki the event which is noted as the Grand Martyrdom in Japanese ecclesiastical history. The hecatomb consisted of ten Jesuits, six Dominicans, four Franciscans, and thirty-two of the *élite* of Japanese society. The priests and five of the laics were fastened to crosses; the remaining twenty-seven victims were then decapitated; a bleeding head was then placed on a pole, and planted in front of each cross; and finally the crucified were burnt. Scenes like this were common during the remainder of the year, at Nagasaki, Omura, Hirado, and Shimabara. In 1623, Hidetada was succeeded by Yemitsu, a still more determined persecutor. In the provinces nearest to Yedo he instituted a most exact search for votaries of the "perverse religion"; and on Dec. 4, 29, and 31, ninety-one were given to the flames. In 1624, the persecution became general throughout the empire; the provinces which had contained the majority of the Christians, such as Hirado, Hizen, Bungo, Higo, Aki, and Iyo, were nearly depopulated, either by the slaughter or by the flight of so many of their inhabitants. But although every city of the empire had been made a shambles for humanity, the Christians remained indomitable; and therefore the Pagans resolved to use more terrible means than fire and sword to effect their end. Dutch Protestants are constrained to corroborate the narratives of the Catholic writers who describe the horrors which characterized the domination of Yemitsu from 1633 to 1637. Reyer Gitsbertz, as quoted by Charlevoix (1), tells how the finger-nails were torn from the hands of many of the martyrs; how, day after day, awls were thrust under the finger-nails of others; how some were flung into ditches which had been filled with vipers; how sulphurous smoke was conveyed by funnels to the nostrils of others; how many were lacerated by thorns, drawn slowly over every part of their bodies; how some were scourged until the souls departed from the nearly

(1) *Loc. cit.*, bk. xvii., ch. 2.

fleshless frames ; how infants were used as clubs with which to beat out the lives of their mothers ; how nerves and sinews were slowly laid bare, and then drawn out of the quivering limbs ; how many were tortured by a gradual roasting of their flesh by means of torches which crept slowly along their bodies until death relieved them ; how others were sawed into pieces, care being taken to pour restorative cordials down their throats from time to time, lest they might die too quickly. It is difficult to form a judgment on the number of Christians who were martyred during these early Japanese persecutions. It is certain that more than two hundred missionaries died for the faith ; and the most authoritative writers assign two millions as the number of the secular champions (1). It would have been strange, indeed, if no thought of fighting for their religious liberty had ever been entertained by the Japanese Christians ; but so long as their priests were with them, this natural impulse was repressed in favor of resignation. However, in 1637, the province of Arima, from which either martyrdom or deportation had banished its spiritual guides, became the scene of a desperate insurrection. The surviving male adult Christians of that province, to the number of 37,000, with a prince of the ancient ruling family at their head, assailed and captured the stronghold of Shimabara. Immediately besieged by the *Shogun* with 80,000 disciplined soldiers, they resisted successfully until the Dutch Protestants furnished a park of artillery to the Pagans ; then they made a sortie, and all, to a man, perished on the field of battle. The final act of this drama of persecution which signalized the rule of Yemitsu, but by no means the last bloody sacrifice which Japanese

(1) For this and other matters connected with the history of Christianity in Japan, the best works for consultation are : ALEXANDER OF RHODES ; *History of the Life and Glorious Death of Five Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who Suffered in Japan with Three Seculars in 1643.* Paris, 1654. CHARLEVOIX ; *ubi supra.* BOUX ; *History of Twenty-six Martyrs in Japan.* Paris, 1860. FORCADE ; *The First Missionary in Japan in the Nineteenth Century.* Paris, 1876. MARBOT ; *Life of Mgr. Forcade.* Paris, 1887. LAUNAY ; *General History of the Society for Foreign Missions.* Paris, 1860. KOEMPFER ; *Natural, Civil, and Ecclesiastical History of the Empire of Japan.* Cologne, 1727. LEON PAGES, *History of the Christian Religion in Japan, from 1598 to 1655.* Paris, 1880. *The Persecution of Christians in Japan and the Japanese Embassy in Europe ; A Memorial Addressed to the French Constituent Assembly.* Paris, 1872. LAYBLE ; *The Imperial Restoration in Japan.* Paris, 1880. MARNAS ; *The Religion of Jesus Resuscitated in Japan in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century.* Lyons, 1896.

Paganism demanded from the "Perverse Religion," was presented in 1640. Four Portuguese ambassadors, with a suite of seventy-four persons, arrived at Nagasaki. In spite of their ambassadorial character, all were thrown into prison, and informed that a renunciation of the Catholic faith would alone save them from death. Decapitation was the fate of all, excepting the sailors of the vessels which had brought them, thirteen in number, who were spared in order that they might return to Macao with this warning to Catholic Christendom: "So long as the sun warms the earth, let no Christian dare to enter Japan! Whoever disregards this prohibition, even though he be the king of Spain, or the God of the Christians, or even the great Sakya-Muni himself (1), will lose his head!"

More than two centuries were to elapse, ere a Christian could enter Japan without the sacrifice of his life. No exception to this rule was made when the Dutch were allowed to retain their establishment in Deshima; for each one of these Protestants denied his faith in Our Redeemer by the first step he took on Japanese soil. In the eyes of the Japanese, veneration for the cross, as the instrument of the Passion of Jesus, was a prime characteristic of all Christians; and whenever the Japanese succeeded in making an apostate, they forced him to consummate his crime, and, as it were, to testify to his sincerity, by trampling on that same cross. No Dutchman could land in Japan without performing the *Je Fumi*, as this act of apostasy was termed; for on every wharf or other landing-place a cross was either painted or engraved, ever awaiting the sacrilegious foot of the renegade. Of course these Calvinists of Holland, who, like all other Protestants, affected horror because of the alleged Catholic doctrine of the permissibility of equivocation, defended their abominable concession to Mammon by the assertion that they did not *really* intend to deny Christ when they desecrated His cross. These defenders of a new casuistry knew that the Japanese Pagans, whether they themselves had conceived the idea, or had rather derived it from the Protestants, as the missionaries contended, regarded the *Je Fumi* as the

(1) Siddartha, the great "Buddha."

seal of apostasy from Christianity. These pretended imitators of the primitive Christians knew that those confessors of the faith suffered death, rather than swear by the deity of Caesar—an oath which the Romans regarded as a profession of Paganism. These self-fancied experts in the Old Testament must have known that Eleazar preferred martyrdom to a life preserved by an act which, harmless in itself, would have been regarded by the Pagans as a denial of his God. And finally, if, unlike most Protestants, these Dutch Calvinists were well acquainted with the New Testament, with the sayings of Him whom they professed to regard as the Eternal Word, they must have known that He reprobated not only all who would deny Him formally, but also all who would be ashamed of Him (1). But the fact is that the Dutch Protestant traders in Japan did, for more than two centuries, deny Christ *most formally*, since they trampled on His image in order to convince the Japanese Pagans that they were not Christians, and that therefore they were worthy of domicilization in Japan. This fact is stubborn, and “will not down”; and hence it is that Kœmpfer (2), Haren (3), and other Dutch apologists of their renegade compatriots, gloss over the subject of the *Je Fumi*, when indeed they venture to mention it, and prefer to descant upon such matters as the dissensions between the various Religions Orders, to which misfortunes they sagely attribute the sufferings of the early Japanese Church. Kœmpfer, however, was constrained to avow that the Hollanders, in order to retain the commercial privileges which their treachery and profanity had stolen from the Spaniards and Portuguese, underwent the most abominable physical and spiritual debasements. Describing scenes which he himself witnessed, Kœmpfer says that the Hollanders, shut up in Deshima, and continually watched “as though they were the worst criminals in the world, are obliged to forego every kind of divine service on Sundays and solemn feast-days; to abstain from all psalm-singing and public prayer; to avoid all mention of the name of Christ in the presence of the natives; to eschew

(1) *Luke*, ix., 26.(2) *Ubi supra*, bk. iv., ch. 6.(3) *Historical Researches on the Condition of the Christian Religion in Japan*. Amsterdam, 1778.

every external mark of Christianity ; and, finally, to endure patiently and abjectly injuries which revolt persons who possess any refinement " (1).

During the two centuries when Japan was inexorably prohibited to the Catholic apostolate, many heroic souls succeeded in their endeavors to elude the vigilance of the Pagan authorities, at least so far as to enter the islands, and there lay down their lives as guarantees of an ultimate conquest by that Church, the blood of whose martyrs has ever been her most fruitful seed. Thus, in 1642, five Jesuits availed themselves of a vessel which the governor of the Philippines sent with reinforcements for the Spanish citadel in Formosa, which was then besieged by the Dutch. When the ship neared the Japanese coasts, the apostles induced the captain to land them on a small island in the Strait of Satsuma. The sufferings of these heroes, Fathers Rubino and Capecci, Italians ; Miciszki, a Pole ; Morales, a Spaniard ; and Marquez, a Portuguese ; together with those of three young laymen, two Portuguese and a Korean, who had joined them at Manila ; are described by Alexander of Rhodes, in accordance with the narratives detailed to him by Hollanders and Japanese eye-witnesses of the events. Not until they had endured seven months of horrible torture, agonies which remind us only of those which the Huguenots of the previous century had been wont to inflict on their Catholic victims (2), were they hung by their feet over a ditch filled with indescribable filth, and there, after from three to seven days of torments, allowed to breathe forth their souls to God (3). Shortly after these Christian champions had gone to their reward, five Jesuits landed in the Riu Kiu islands, then dependent on the principality of Satsuma. Four were priests ;

(1) *Loc. cit.*

(2) See our Vol. iii., p. 389.

(3) One of the torments merits particular mention. The victim was bound to a plank by ropes passing over every part of his body, excepting his left arm. This member was left free, so that if he concluded to apostatize, rather than suffer any more, he might signal his intention by laying his hand on his breast. Then the plank and its burden were laid on the ground. A funnel was forced down the throat of the martyr, and water was poured into him until his stomach would hold no more. Then another plank was laid over the upper part of the sufferer, and two men jumped upon it, thus forcing the water from every outlet of the quivering frame. This torture, which frequently resulted in immediate death, was inflicted on Rubino and his companions 105 times in the seven months of their martyrdom.

namely, two Spaniards called Maquez and Arojo, and two Italians named Chiara and Cassola. One, a Japanese called Andrew, was a lay brother. By order of the *Shogun*, the martyrdom of this band took place at Yedo; and it was effected by a slow sawing of the bodies into fragments, a Japanese physician being in attendance for the purpose of administering strengthening cordials, binding arteries, etc., so that death might not relieve the victims too readily. One episode of this martyrdom is interesting, as showing the estimation in which the Christianity of Protestants was held by the Japanese of that day. While the Jesuits were being conducted to Yedo, they were joined by ten Dutch mariners, who, having ventured to cast anchor at a port other than their privileged Deshima, were being also led to answer before the *Shogun*. The Dutch captain, Henry Cornelius Schaëp, assisted at the examination and tortures of the Catholic martyrs; and it was from his narrative that Charlevoix (1) derived information of the facts which we now adduce. Schaëp and his sailors were restored to liberty, and simply because they had convinced the Japanese that they were not Christians. During the entire journey to Yedo, said the captain, the foreigners were continually approached by natives who were curious to learn the nature of their religion. In order to discover this important fact, the questioners always placed their forefingers together in the form of a cross, and then kissing them, they asked the strangers to do likewise. When the Dutchmen refused, the natives cried: "Ah! Holland!" and departed satisfied. When the Hollanders were led into the presence of the *Daimio* of Hitachi, that prince also asked them whether they were Christians, telling them to kiss their crossed forefingers, if the answer was affirmative; and when they made signs indicative of horror for such an act, each of them received two cups of wine. Then the prince showed them a picture of the Madonna and Child; and when he saw that they manifested no signs of respect, "he laughed," said the captain, "and from that time the Dutchmen were treated most cordially, and received splendid presents."

(1) *Ubi supra*, bk. xix.

One of the most noteworthy of the missionary attempts to resume the task of Christianizing Japan, and especially interesting because of the light which a narrative of it sheds on the attitude of the Dutchmen of Deshima in face of Catholicism, is recorded in practically similar terms by Spanish (1), Dutch (2), and Japanese (3) authorities. The Japanese work, which we shall quote as it is cited by Marnas (4), is a circumstantial record of the interviews which the author, Arai Hakuseki, had with the martyr in the capacity of governmental examiner and interpreter. John Baptist Sidotti, a native of Palermo, and a secular priest, passed four years in the Philippines before he could procure the means of journeying to Japan, and to almost certain martyrdom. At length his apostolic zeal communicated itself to the soul of the governor of the Philippines, Don Domingos Zalbalburn Recheverri; and thorough son of Castilian Catholicism as he was, that officer equipped a ship at his own expense, and entrusted to Don Miguel de Eloriaga, the commander of the Spanish galleys in the Pacific, the duty of conveying Sidotti to the post which Heaven seemed to have decreed that he should occupy. On Oct. 12, 1708, Eloriaga placed the apostle on the island of Tanega-Shima. Almost immediately arrested, Sidotti was taken to Nagasaki; and the two governors, the princes of Arima and of Higo, summoned from the Dutch establishment in Deshima the superintendent, Gasper Van Mansdale, and several other Hollanders, that they might act as interpreters at the trial of the audacious Christian. From the details of this first trial of Sidotti we select one incident as peculiarly interesting. One of the Dutchmen, Douw by name, knew a little Latin; and as Sidotti's knowledge of Japanese was very limited, this Douw was told to put certain questions to him. A mat was placed by the side of the prisoner, and one of the governors signed to Douw to oc-

(1) *A Brief Narrative of the Arrival of Don J. B. Sidotti in the City of Manila*. Rome, 1718.

(2) VALENTYN; *A Short Account of What Passed in the Palaces of the Governors of Nagasaki, Arima, and Higo No Kami, Relative to a Roman Priest, J. B. Sidotti, Who Landed in Japan in the Year 1708*. Cited by Marnas.

(3) *Sei Yo Kebun (European History)*. Published in 1890 by an association of Japanese literary men.

(4) *Ubi supra*, Vol. i., p. 60, *et seqq.*

copy it; whereupon the Dutch Resident protested that it was an insult to all Hollanders, for whom Japan professed friendship, to put one of their number on an apparent equality with "a Papist." The governors assured the agent that no indignity was offered to the Dutch; that the present question was one concerning a service which they owed to the great sovereign of Japan. And the governors added that were Douw to sit in a more honorable position than that occupied by the Christian, the latter might refuse to answer the questions which they intended to put. After much debate, the mat of Douw was raised a couple of inches higher than that of the "Papist." Then followed the examination, and it was found that Sidotti was an Auditor of the Roman *Ruota*, forty years of age; that he had studied Japanese with the firm intention of endeavoring to convert the islanders to Christianity; that he still cherished that intention, and that with the help of God's grace he would persevere in it, even unto the last instant of his mortal life. He was then returned to his prison, and a report of the proceedings was sent to Yedo. Not until Oct. 28, 1709, did orders arrive for his conveyance to the court of the *Shogun*; and he made this journey of four hundred leagues, continually confined for five weeks in a *nori-mono* (1), suffering so fearfully from the cramped position, and from the consequent non-circulation of the blood, that during the remaining six years of his life he was unable to walk. When he had been placed on the floor before the commissioners of the *Shogun*, he could be retained in a sitting posture only by the aid of two soldiers. Three examinations were held during the month of December; and Hakuseki, the official interpreter, and the author of the *Sei Yo Kibun*, speaking of the impressions produced in his own mind by the attitude and replies of Sidotti, says: "From this examination I concluded that he was a superior man, one whose mind was endowed with a considerable amount of knowledge. His character was certainly that of a sincere, serious, calm, and self-denying man. There was in him one characteristic which greatly charmed me; he thanked one immediately for the most

(1) This is a kind of sedan-chair, so narrow and low-roofed that the passenger must perforce sit with his legs folded under his trunk.

trivial attention; his gentleness was that of a sage." In fact, Hakuseki conceived a sincere affection for the Christian priest; and whereas the Protestant Dutchmen had contributed their utmost to send him to the most horrible of tortures and of deaths, the Pagan official endeavored to save him from all punishment. Hakuseki tells us that he addressed to the *Shogun* a memorial which terminated with these words: "I would advise that this Christian be instructed concerning the severity of the laws of our country; and that after he shall have been warned as to the fate which must overtake the foreigner who lands on our shores, he be allowed to return to Luçon by the first ship which arrives at Nagasaki from Canton." Probably it was this memorial which caused the *Shogun* to decree that Sidotti should be merely imprisoned for life. Five years were now passed by the martyr in what was, if we reflect on Japanese ideas of consideration for prisoners, comparative comfort; but in 1714, two of his jailers, a man and a woman, whom he had converted and baptized, were seized by a desire for martyrdom, and proclaimed their Christianity to the authorities. Then, as the Dutch author already cited testifies, the Christian champion was thrust into a hole in the ground, four or five feet in depth; over this species of cell was placed a cover, an aperture in which allowed the passage of sufficient air to prevent immediate suffocation, and through which a modicum of abominable food was passed at rare intervals. Not until Dec. 15, 1715, did Sidotti obtain his martyr's crown.

For more than two centuries after the too successful persecution by Yemitsu, material for sad but hopeful speculation was furnished by the question, so often propounded to each other by the Catholic missionaries in China and India, as to whether there were still any Christians in Japan. Of course it was impossible that the fulness of the faith should have been preserved by a people who were deprived of the priesthood. There had been very few native priests in Japan; and when the last of these died, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass became a matter of tradition. But it was not impossible that out of the two millions of Catholics whom Yeyasu began to exterminate, there should have survived

many who would have continued to practice in secret all the Christian offices which laymen could practice without the intervention of the priesthood; and certainly these Christians would have baptized their offspring, and would have transmitted a more or less accurate knowledge of Christian doctrine to a remote posterity. The opinion of very many missionaries was expressed by Mgr. Imbert, vicar-apostolic of Corea, when he wrote in 1838: "If Corea is the object of my chief care, it does not absorb all my thoughts. I often turn my desires and hopes to the shores of Japan. I often picture to myself some scattered surviving remnants of the olden Japanese Church, living in the forests or on the mountains whither their ancestors fled; invoking in the silence and obscurity of their retreat the God whom they cannot adore publicly; and yearning for the happy time when the blood of their martyred forefathers will have become the seed of new Christians, for the day when some ministers of peace will bring again to their land the tidings of great joy" (1). Mgr. Imbert, together with the Abbés Maubant and Chastan (2), was martyred in Seoul on Sept. 21, 1839; but had he lived a few years longer, he would have found that his conjectures were well founded. On March 17, 1865, the Abbé Petitjean, one of the two priests who then officiated in the recently constructed church of The Twenty-Six Martyrs in Nagasaki, noticed a group of twelve or fifteen Japanese of both sexes, strangers to him, standing before the closed door of the sacred edifice, and manifesting far more respect than curiosity. Opening the door, the Abbé walked up the aisle of the church, followed by the strange natives; and when, having arrived at the rail of the sanctuary, he genuflected before the Blessed Sacrament, he was astonished when three of the women, about fifty years of age, knelt by his side. Praying to Our Lord to inspire him with words which would touch efficaciously these apparently willing hearts, the missionary arose. Suddenly one of the women, her hand over her heart, came close to him, and with a look around the church as though she feared that the walls would

(1) Letter to the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Vol. xiii., p. 165.

(2) All three were subjects of the Seminary for Foreign Missions in Paris.

hear her, whispered: "All of these persons have hearts just like your own"—a Japanese method of expressing that their faith was the same as that of the priest. "Where do you come from?" asked Petitjean. "From Urakami," was the reply; "in Urakami nearly all have the same hearts that we have." Then the woman asked: "*Sancta Maria no gozowa doko*—Where is the image of Holy Mary?" Whatever doubts the abbé may have entertained concerning the identity of his visitors, they were dissipated by this mention of the holy name of the Mother of God. He signed to those whom he now recognized as descendants of the primitive Japanese Christians, indicating that they should follow him. Together, shepherd and the remains of a flock which had been dispersed two centuries ago, they all knelt before the altar dedicated to the honor of Mary; and we may imagine the joy of Petitjean, when he heard the exclamations: "Yes, yes! This is indeed the Holy Mary! See! She holds in her arms *On ko Jesus Sama*—her august Son, Jesus!" Then there were many interchanges of ideas between the priest and the strangers concerning the *Deus Sama*, the *Jesus Sama*, and the *Sancta Maria Sama* (1). The image of the Infant Jesus reminded the simple souls of the Feast of the Nativity, which they celebrated in the eleventh month. One of them remarked to the abbé: "We keep the feast of *On Aruji* (2), *Jesus Sama*, on the twenty-fifth day of the *Shimo Tsuki* (3). It has been handed down to us that at midnight on that day Jesus was born in a stable; that afterward He grew up in poverty and suffering; and that when He was thirty-three years old, He died on a cross for our salvation. Just now we are in the time of sorrow—*kanashimi no setsu*: do you observe that solemnity?" Petitjean understood that his questioner meant the season of Lent; and he replied that then the Christian world was at the seventeenth day of *kanashimi no setsu*. Soon the visitors began to talk of St. Joseph, whom they termed *O Jesus Sama no yo-fu*—"the putative father of Jesus." While this

(1) In Japanese, the word *Sama* is an honorific term, equivalent to Sir, My Lord, Monsieur, or Madame.

(2) The Master, The Lord.

(3) The Month of the Hoar Frosts.

conversation was being held, some other Japanese entered the church ; and the first callers, having observed them, tried to hide themselves. But almost immediately they returned to the priest, saying that there was no need of fear ; that they had recognized the newcomers as men from their own town, and that all had hearts like their own. However, they said they ought to depart, since at any moment governmental officers or other Pagans might enter the church. The reader must know that although several ports of Japan had been opened to foreign commerce by the treaties of 1858, and although Christian churches had been tolerated soon afterward in those ports for the accommodation of foreigners, many years were to elapse, ere a Japanese would be free to profess the "perverse religion" (1). Therefore the abbé bade an affectionate farewell to his guests, after having obtained from them a promise that they would visit him as soon as possible. But on the following day, and on many successive days, other bands of "old Christians" prostrated themselves at the altar of *Jesus Sama*; the news of their interview with the Christian priest had been spread throughout the valley of Urakami by the first callers. From letters which, in the form of a diary, the Abbé Petitjean wrote at this period to his superiors of the Seminary for Foreign Missions, and which are cited by Marnas, we gather some interesting particulars concerning the intercourse between these zealous souls and their newly-found pastors. On March 18, the abbé writes : "From ten in the morning until night these bands succeed each other. The Japanese officers, alarmed by this extraordinary attendance, send one of their number into the church every quarter of an hour." On March 19, he says : "Same concourse as yesterday. Many Japanese remain in the church, even at Mass, and among them I can recognize our Christians. By fours or fives, as they come to venerate the crucifix, I teach them how to make the Sign of the Cross, for they have been accustomed to make it by marking a cross

(1) Even as late as 1858, as Petitjean learned in 1866, these same "old Christians" of Urakami had been visited by dire persecution. Eighty had been arrested because of their Christian practices, and of these, thirty were thrust into prison. During the next two years the mangled bodies of ten of them were cast into the pit reserved for dead criminals; but were secretly removed by the relatives, and respectfully interred. The twenty others were finally discharged ; and their condition corroborated their story of their treatment.

with the right thumb on the forehead and the breast (1). They always ask our names, telling us that their names are Petoro (from *Pedro*), Paolo, Jiwano (from *Juan*), Domingo, etc." On March 20, he writes: "The number of visitors increases; the whole quarter is thunderstruck; the officers have mounted guard around the church. As yesterday, so to-day, we refrain from showing ourselves in the church, since the least imprudence would compromise these poor creatures. When perchance we can send them a word, we tell them to return to-morrow, that the officers are watching them. One mother of a family replied: 'We shall come to-morrow—I, my husband, and my children. Meanwhile, pray for us. If you please, remember our names; my husband is called Paolo, my son here is Petoro, and I am named Marina.'" On March 21: "The officers are still on the watch. Christians and Pagans are mixed together in crowds. We recognize the former by their laying their right hands on their breasts, whenever they catch our eyes. We tell them to come only once in a fortnight, so that they may not expose themselves to the vengeance of the government. They understand that their lives are at stake, but their zeal in seeking us is invincible." On March 22: "Our Christians have undoubtedly heeded our recommendations, for they now come in smaller numbers; and hence the officers either stay away, or come without their swords. We have been able to talk with a few of our friends, and have appointed to meet them to-morrow on a mountain near the city. We hope to satisfy ourselves then on certain points; for instance, as to whether these 'old Christians' have preserved the integrity of the form of Baptism. And have they preserved a knowledge of the essential mysteries of Christian faith? Do they say their prayers regularly? Of course we shall be unable to effect all that we wish to-morrow; but unless a sabre-stroke overtakes us, the neighboring mountains and forests will enable us hereafter to continue the work." On March 23: "We have returned from

Besides repeated floggings and continual semi-starvation, they had endured such torments as skinning of the hands, removal of the finger-nails, and crushing with rocks.

(1) Such is and was the Spanish and Portuguese fashion: therefore their tradition was at least two centuries old.

our rendezvous. Only one of our friends was there, but he gave us very important information. In spite of persecution, Urakami has never ceased to contain many Christians; Holy Baptism has been regularly administered; Sundays and feast-days have been observed. They pray to God; and they invoke the Blessed Virgin, their guardian-angels, and their patron-saints. Paolo, my informant, has promised to introduce me, next Thursday, to the 'baptizer' (1) of Urakami in a house which is visited freely by Europeans, and the master of which is a Christian. Last year we were there with the Abbé Girard and Furet; but we little knew that the family was Christian. When I mentioned this fact to Paolo, he replied: 'We saw you often in our village and in the city; but we did not know that you were priests, until you had built your church.' When we returned from this meeting with Paolo, we found a large crowd of Christians waiting to enter the church, for we had closed the doors when we departed. There were also on hand many officers, but they had no swords. The cunning fellows would like to repeat the game of Yokohama (2); but they will be shrewd, indeed, if they detect us in public preaching. Of course the governor is very much pleased with me, because of the lessons in French which I give in his college during two hours of every day; but I believe that were I to preach to the people, he would sacrifice me to his inveterate hatred of Christianity. Why should I take the risk, when there are many of the faithful, to whom I can minister secretly?

(1) In every community of these "old Christians," one or more persons of more than ordinary intelligence and integrity were entrusted with the duty of baptizing the newly born.

(2) In 1861, the Abbé Girard of the Seminary for Foreign Missions, who had been recognized by the Japanese government as a Catholic priest and as the official interpreter of the French consul-general, was informed that in many parts of the empire there were groups of families who were descendants of certain apostate Christians of the olden time. These families had retained a certain knowledge of the Christian faith, and the real Christians supposed them to be "of the same heart as themselves," while in reality they were employed by the government as decoys to entrap the votaries of the "perverse religion." Marnas says that this report was never confirmed; but whether it was true or not, Girard, as Superior of the Japanese Mission, determined to endeavor to communicate with some of these descendants of apostates, hoping that he might find one or more repentant souls among them. There was little reason for this hope; for enmity is a powerful foe to religious sentiment, and in every city and village of the empire the public placards still announced a reward of 300 taels to every denouncer of a Japanese Christian. Girard thought that his end would be best served by the erection of churches, wherever permission could

Twelve leagues from Nagasaki there is another village of Christians, although less populous than Urakami; and perhaps we may discover many others, when we penetrate further into the country." During the following month of May, the two priests in Nagasaki discovered several communities of "old Christians." A young man named Gaspard Yosaku, newly arrived from the Goto islands, attracted by the crowd which was entering the church, satisfied his curiosity by making one of the number; and when he saw the cross, and the statue of Mary, he knew that he was in a church of the *Kirishitan*, and hastened to pay his respects to the priests. He told them that his family was originally from Nagasaki, and had fled from persecution, two centuries previously; that they had preserved the faith inviolably, and that there were a thousand Christians on the island where he dwelt. A few days after this discovery, while Petitjean was praying before the altar of Mary, two fathers of families approached him with the usual declaration that their hearts were like his own, and said: "We come from a village which is ten leagues from Nagasaki, and we have made a long detour, in order to outwit the police. In our mountains there are fifteen hundred Christians; but we have no images or other religious objects, the government having destroyed them all. So please give us some, that we may be helped to pray." On May 15, at break of day, there arrived a deputation from the

be obtained, for the use of the resident Catholic foreigners. Through the influence of the French consul-general, he erected a neat little church in Yokohama, and it was dedicated on Jan. 12, 1862. Writing to the directors of the Seminary for Foreign Missions on Feb. 25, Girard said: "During the past month nearly a thousand Japanese have visited our chapel every day. Suddenly our joy was turned into consternation. While leaving our precincts, thirty-three of our hearers were seized, bound, and imprisoned. Nevertheless, on the following day there was a great number of Japanese in the church. Twenty-two of these were also arrested; and then there was a general panic. We had recourse to M. de Bellecourt (the French Minister); and His Excellency held a long conference with the Japanese authorities. These gentlemen denied nothing, excused nothing; they plainly declared that the Japanese in question had violated a fundamental law of their country, and that they would experience its utmost severity. After much disputation, the governor said that some compromise might be effected, if I would promise never to preach again in Japanese. M. de Bellecourt knew perfectly well that he could not make such a promise in my name; but he visited me personally, and asked me whether I could not make some concessions, in order to save the lives of the prisoners. I replied that we would accord everything excepting an abdication of our divine right to preach the Gospel. . . . On March 1, M. de Bellecourt informed me that he had obtained the freedom of our prisoners; and that in order to show some conciliatory disposition to the Japanese government, he had agreed to request me to abstain from preaching in the language of the country."

Christians of the island of Kaminoshima, headed by their "baptizer." This man pronounced distinctly the words which he used when administering the Sacrament of Regeneration, and the form was found to be valid. He said that his co-religionists frequently recited the Rosary; and that the Act of Contrition was familiar to them, being invariably pronounced at the hour of death. He was curious to know the name of the "Great Priest" who was then the "Grand Head of the Kingdom of Rome." When about to depart, the "baptizer" asked, with an air of timidity: "Have you any children?" Petitjean answered: "The good God has given to us all your countrymen as our children. Other children we cannot have; for just like the first priests who came to Japan, we are bound to celibacy." Then the entire company fell on their knees, and having touched the ground with their foreheads, they exclaimed: "*Virgen degosaru! O arigato! O arigato!*"—They are virgins! Thanks! Thanks!" The simple souls had heard that a few weeks previously, some of the Christians of Urakami, visiting Nagasaki, had noticed a cross on top of the recently-built Protestant temple, and imagining that the building was their long-desired place of worship, had entered, but only to be quickly undeceived. The preacher received them enthusiastically, and urged them to bring their wives for instruction in the religion of Christ; but unfortunately the poor man added that his wife would be very glad to meet the Japanese ladies. The remark showed that the dominie was of religious stock very different from that of St. Francis Xavier and his successors; and the men of Urakami bade him farewell. Petitjean learned afterward that the "old Christians" had another infallible method of discovering whether they should pronounce an ostensibly Christian system a sham or the Church of Christ. They would ask every missionary whom they met for the first time: "Have the Great Kingdom of Rome and your kingdom the same heart? Have you been sent by the Great Head of the Kingdom of Rome?" On May 17, another Christian village, situated in the mountains near Nagasaki, sent a deputation, begging for a visit from the priests. On June 8 Petitjean wrote to Girard that he knew of twenty

Christian communities, and that he had communicated with seven "baptizers." He wished Girard, as his superior, to determine as to the advisability of attempting some kind of organization in these scattered flocks; but he was advised to be content, for the present, with such secret meetings as could be held. We have remarked that Petitjean had observed that the proper form of Baptism had been perpetuated among such of the "old Christians" as he had met. But in the latter part of 1865, he found that in the island of Kuroshima the form was at least defective, and that in the Goto archipelago it was very often absolutely invalid. The "baptizers" were carefully instructed as to their duties, and conditional baptism was given in every case where there was the least probability of its necessity. The question of marriage among the "old Christians" caused much anxiety and trouble to the missionaries. Many of the "old Christians," following the example of their Pagan compatriots, who regarded marriage as neither a civil nor a religious act, had discarded their legitimate wives, and entered into other unions. "It was reserved to us," wrote M. Petitjean, "to teach them that marriage is a Sacrament. According to the custom of Japan, marriage is dissoluble, at the will of the parties; and our (old) Christians, whose lives are often impregnated with Paganism, conform too frequently to such usages. Already two men have come to us, and having explained their situation, have asked what they should do, in order to save their souls. One of them will separate from his illegitimate spouse; but the other will not be obliged to make such a sacrifice, since his first companion and he were debarred from marriage by the prohibitive degrees of consanguinity. We fear that other cases, not so easy of solution, are before us." It was soon made evident that one fourth of the marriages among the "old Christians" were invalid, either because of previous unions, or because of disregard of the impediments of consanguinity or affinity.

On August 9, 1866, the Abbé Casenave, procurator of the Society for the Foreign Missions at Shanghai, arrived at Nagasaki, bearing to the Abbé Petitjean the pontifical Bull for his promotion to the episcopate, and his appointment as

Vicar-Apostolic of Japan. The new prelate was consecrated on Oct. 21 at Hong Kong by Mgr. Guillemin, Vicar-Apostolic of Canton, and he returned immediately to Japan. Debarking at Yokohama, in order that he might consult with M. Roches, the French Minister, who had captivated the esteem of the *Shogun*, Mgr. Petitjean was encouraged by the assurance that "if the Christians of Japan were disturbed, they might rely on the protection of the Minister of France." And M. Roches added that he had good reason for belief that complete religious toleration would soon reign in the entire empire. Nine months had elapsed since this remark of the Minister, when the newly resuscitated Church was visited by an open persecution which, although not so murderously violent as those of the seventeenth century, would certainly have annihilated it, had it been a human institution. During the night of July 14, 1867, the chapels of Urakami were pillaged and destroyed by emissaries of the government, and sixty-four of the principal Christians were thrust into prison; the authorities alleging as an excuse for this violence the refusal of the Christians to allow bonzes to conduct Christian funerals with Pagan rites. A few days afterward, 110 Christians of the province of Oruma were also arrested. In the beginning of October, the representative of the *Shogun* at Nagasaki announced to M. Léques, the Consul of France, that because of the intercession of the French Minister, the Christian prisoners were to be released (1). But before the mandate was obeyed, a supreme effort was put forth for the purpose of procuring the apostasy of all the unfortunates. Thirty had already signified their readiness to do anything for the sake of release from their abode of torture; and chicanery was adopted as a means for the conquest of the others. On Oct. 5, the prisoners were led into the presence of the governor, and they were told that they would be freed, if they signed this avowal: "This is a public admission that we recognize the prohibition, by public authority, of the foreign religion which we have followed" (2). The Abbé

(1) The promise had been given when M. Roches first protested; that is, immediately after the arrest.

(2) "*O Kamino koshowa itsu shinkowo moyosuru tokorowo konotabi O Kamiyori machihsayeno kiwo o soreiru toni kohode gosarimasen.*"

Cousin, writing to the Seminary for Foreign Missions on Oct. 12, tells us how this equivocal formula was received. It was signed by the thirty who had already practically apostatized; the others remained firm until they were subjected to torture. One alone, Domingo Zen-yemon, the "baptizer" of Urakami, was indomitable. But immediately after their liberation, thirty-eight of these weak creatures proceeded to the house of the governor, and protesting that they had "apostatized only with their tongues," insisted that they were ready to die for their faith. A few days afterward, ten others wished to follow their example, but they were not allowed to see the governor. Nearly all the apostates soon begged to be reconciled with the Church; but as guards were placed before each of their houses, they were unable to meet the priests. Writing to the directors of the Seminary for Foreign Missions, the Abbé Laucaigne said: "I cannot understand how such souls could have apostatized; they must have been mad for a moment, for now they seem to be strong indeed. By the advice of Zen-yemon, they fast every Friday." In a few weeks the unfortunates were relieved from surveillance, and were at once received again into the Church. When the Shogunate had been abolished (Jan., 1868), many Christians opined that the imperial restoration would be signalized by at least a negative amelioration of their lot; that the government of the Mikado would close its eyes to the progress which the Church was making among the natives. But in April the foreign Ministers, then resident in Yokohama, read the following edict, which had been affixed to the gates of the city, and which, according to a notification by the Supreme Council, was to be made known "in even the most insignificant villages of the empire": "Since the abominable religion of the Christians is severely prohibited, every person is obliged to denounce all suspected individuals to the competent authorities. A reward will be given for every denunciation" (1). The following circular,

(1) The scale of rewards for informers had been fixed by an edict issued in the First Year of Shōtoku, Fifth Month (June, 1711), and now preserved in the Museum of Tokio. For the denunciation of a *Pateron* (word derived from *Pater*, the title of a priest) was given 500 pieces of silver. For the denunciation of an *Irman* (word derived from the Spanish *Hermano*, a "Brother"), 300 pieces. For the denunciation of a "Relapsed," that is, of

published on June 7, by the Supreme Council in reference to the Christians of Urakami, will serve as a specimen of the orders which were given in regard to all the Christian communities: "In spite of the many severe prohibitory edicts issued during the course of centuries by the Shogunal government, Christianity has not yet been extirpated. It has been learned that among the inhabitants of Urakami, a town near Nagasaki, the number of the secret professors of this religion is increasing every day. In this emergency, His Majesty, moved by sentiments of benevolence and humanity, has ordered as follows: Since this religion has been long prohibited in the empire, the *Daimios*, into whose jurisdiction these individuals will be deported, must endeavor, when they have said persons in their hands, to bring them to a sense of their duty as subjects by instruction and paternal exhortation; but all the rigors of the law must be visited on those who do not submit. A list of the most obstinate must be sent to the Supreme Council. None of the deported, unless they show signs of repentance, shall have any communication with the regular inhabitants. The local authorities will employ the deported in agriculture, or at the oil wells, or in the mines, or in any other manual labor, as may appear most profitable. The deported must reside in villages on the mountains. They will be sent in lots from Nagasaki, and the *Daimios* will have commissioners at the points of disembarkation to receive their respective quotas." The accompanying lists of the names of places whither the deported were to be conveyed show that the designated unfortunates numbered 4,010, but in reality the victims were 3,404. Some of these were taken to their destinations immediately, but most of them were not deported until 1870. All, excepting the few who apostatized, endured the painful exile and still greater horrors until 1873 (1). When the survivors were allowed to return to

an apostate who had afterward repented, and had been reconciled with the Church, 300 pieces. For the denunciation of a simple Christian, 100 pieces. If the denouncer, however, was himself a Christian, he received 500 pieces.

(1) Marnas devotes a chapter to the tortures suffered by these Christians of Urakami. The favorite method of furthering apostasy was to keep the victim for one or two hours in a pool of ice-cold water. When he was pulled out, his comrades were charitably allowed to huddle around him, and to try to restore his vitality by pressing him to their own comparatively warm bodies.

their desolated Urakami, a census made by their pastor, the Abbé Lemaréchal, showed that one fourth of the original number had died, victims of torture, or of starvation, or of brutal taskmasters, or of all combined.

Four days before the departure of the famous Japanese embassy which was sent on Dec. 22, 1871, to the United States and Europe in order to procure a revision of the treaties which were then expiring, sixty more Christians were deported from Nagasaki. Nevertheless, one of the consequences of this embassy was a resolution, on the part of the government of the Mikado, to take, as it afterward expressed the idea, "one step on the road toward religious toleration." Since the beginning of the modern persecution, there had been no time when the misnamed Christian Powers of the West could not have brought it to an end. The indifference of these ostensibly Christian governments is generally ascribed to the fact that they took interest in Japan only so far as their commercial relations were concerned; but probably the real reason for their inaction is to be found in the fact that a persecution of Catholics did not excite those heretical or Masonic sympathies which respond so readily when Oriental heretics bring infinitely less trouble on themselves. The only powers which were able to exercise any influence over Japan were France, England, the United States, and Russia. The inveterate hatred of "Orthodox" Russia for the Holy See caused her to at least smile at any sign of apparent failure on the part of the great converter of the heathen. The foreign policies of England and the United States are directed by men whose energies, when occasion is born, are invariably exercised in favor of any cause which promises to injure the Church. As for France, the land of St. Louis and of the Maid, since 1830 each one of her governments has been a Masonic creation. However, we do not assert that the representatives of the Western Powers in Japan were always frankly indifferent to the sufferings of the Japanese Christians; we know that on several occasions they tenderly reminded the imperial authorities that religious intolerance was not in accordance with that Western civilization which the Japanese were try-

ing to assimilate. But they never presented a determined front in the face of the chicanery and the frequently absolute mendacity of the Japanese government; and every interpolation on their part was as much of a comedy as was that conference which was held on Feb. 9, 1870, between the representatives of France, England, the United States, and Holland, and the imperial Ministers, Sawa and Terashima. When this conference dissolved, Sir Harry Parkes on the part of England, Max. Outrey on the part of France, C. E. De Long on the part of the United States, and M. Von Brandt on the part of Holland, signed the following document: "The Japanese government having declared that serious troubles have been caused because certain missionaries have preached outside the limits of the reservation, and said government having declared that this proceeding furnished one of the reasons because of which it deemed the deportation of the native Christians in the neighborhood of Nagasaki a political necessity; therefore the representatives of the foreign powers do not hesitate to announce that they themselves, in their own name, will use every possible means to prevent the foreign missionaries from repeating their action, and that the representatives of the powers will punish the said missionaries if they persist—(*qu'ils les puniront, s'ils y persistent*"). Such pusillanimity was not shared, however, by the peoples of Europe. When the Japanese ambassadors had finished their consultations with the Cabinet of Washington concerning a future treaty of commerce, they departed for England on Oct. 31, 1872. On their arrival, they found that the public mind was debating whether the British government ought not to profit by the occasion to insist upon a cessation of religious persecution in Japan, even though the victims were Catholics. Lord Ebury, president of the Council of the Evangelical Alliance, presented a memorial, answering this question in the affirmative, to Lord Granville, the Minister for Foreign Affairs (1). It was in France, however, that the ambassadors were first made

(1) Granville charged Sir Harry Parkes, because of his long experience in Japan, with the duty of framing a report on the condition of the native Christians. The report was an attempt to extenuate the guilt of the Japanese government, simply because the persecution was "a legacy from past ages."—*China Telegraph*, Feb. 9, 1872.

to realize that the honors heaped upon them only accentuated the deep humiliation felt by the Catholics of Europe because of the supineness of their governments in face of the sufferings of their co-religionists. Léon Pagès had just published his eloquent and masterly memorial entitled *The Persecution of the Christians in Japan, and the Japanese Embassy in Europe*; and the great heart of Catholic France, just then encouraged by the temporary reaction against the maxims of the Commune, was asking itself whether France had indeed abandoned her traditional position as protectress of the foreign missions. The sentiments of the immense majority of Frenchmen were voiced in the National Assembly when, in the session of Dec. 7, 1872, Count Desbassayns de Richemont directed the attention of the deputies to the lamentable condition of the Japanese Catholics (1), and elicited from Count Charles de Remusat, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the assurance that the French government would use all its influence to procure religious toleration in the island empire. The promise was fulfilled; and to add to the impression produced on the mind of the ambassadors, when they arrived in the capital of Catholic Belgium, their carriages were continually followed by multitudes of the

(1) The speech of M. de Richemont merits remembrance. "Gentlemen, one of our honorable colleagues drew our attention yesterday to certain lamentable occurrences on the eastern coast of Africa; and he called on the Minister of Marine to instruct the French officers commanding in those waters to come to an understanding with the English cruisers, in order to put an end to a crime against humanity. I allude to the slave-trade. Now I would ask permission to address an analogous question to the Minister for Foreign Affairs; I would speak of facts which are not less lamentable than the slave-trade—facts which, I am sure, will excite the attention of this entire assembly to a humanitarian question of the first importance. You know, gentlemen, that one of the most immovable empires of the Far East, the empire of Japan, has recently presented an extraordinary spectacle, throwing off suddenly and at once its lethargy of centuries, abandoning the absolute exclusiveness which has been the special characteristic of its policy, and manifesting a taste—we may call it a passion—for the civilization of the West. And not only has Japan sought to adopt our arts and inventions; she has asked the most prominent of the civilized nations in both hemispheres—France, England, and the United States—to send to her their scientists, jurists, professors, etc., and those nations have responded to the request. In every part of Japan, schools have been opened, old laws have been modified, chairs of public law have been founded; and even our fashions in dress have been introduced. We could only applaud this transformation, gentlemen, if that same empire did not, at the same time, exhibit to us a most unexpected contrast, a painfully scandalous scene. Until to-day we were accustomed to think that persecutions of Christians occurred only in the olden time, or among barbarians. Who would have thought that we were to behold the practice of persecution associated with the practices of modern progress? Who would have imagined that the same dispatch would inform us of the opening of a railroad, and

faithful who demanded justice for their brethren in the Land of the Rising Sun. The ambassadors were men of consummate ability and of great experience; and two of them, Iwakura Tomomi and Okubo Toshimichi, courageously abandoned their prejudices which had been consecrated by many centuries of possession, and advised the government of the Mikado to liberate all the Christian confessors. The news of this change of sentiment on the part of such influential statesmen caused joyful anticipations to be entertained by the clergy in Japan. At Yokohama, each morning after his Mass the Abbé Pettier would walk out in order to see whether the placards against "the perverse religion" were still in position; and finally, on March 31, 1873, Mgr. Petitjean was able to write to the Abbé Osonf, procurator for the Society of the Foreign Missions at Hong Kong, that the denunciations had disappeared. The Christians who were still in prison or in exile were allowed to return to their homes. However, it soon transpired that the Japanese government did not regard its present leniency as other than "a step toward toleration." Such were its words to the French representative; and in its notice to the prefects to remove the obnoxious placards, it stated that "those denunciations were no

of a persevering torment of men whose sole crime was their adoration of Jesus Christ? . . . These facts are so eloquent, gentlemen, that they need no comment. I merely remind the Assembly that Japan, properly desirous of obtaining a place among civilized nations, is just now sending a formal embassy to various European powers. I have deemed the present an opportune occasion for a request to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, as to whether he can furnish any light on the facts which I have had the honor of laying before the Assembly; as to whether any diplomatic proceedings in regard to them have been held; and finally, as to whether the Minister does not perceive that the advent of the Japanese embassy furnishes an excellent opportunity for the voice of France to be heard in regard to a most painful state of affairs. Gentlemen, you will not contradict me, when I say that France has ever been, and is still, despite her recent misfortune, the first among Christian nations. . . . The French tribune has always defended the persecuted; and I believe that I simply express the thought of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, when I proclaim that in every crisis and under any form of government whatever, France will never resign to another that protection which probably forms the most honorable page in her history." This discourse was greeted, according to the *Journal Officiel*, by hearty plaudits from all the members excepting those of the radical Extreme Left; and the reply of Count de Remusat, on the part of the government, recognized the truth of all that M. de Richemont had advanced. In conclusion, the Minister said: "Nothing indicates that this embassy has any other object than a study of our arts, railroads, telegraphs, and other inventions of this century. But besides teaching these valuable things to the Japanese, besides initiating them into all the benefits of modern civilization, we shall neglect no occasion of causing the return of the ambassadors to be signalized by the acquisition, on the part of the Japanese populations, of that which is much more precious—an appreciation of humanity and toleration."

longer necessary, since their tenor was sufficiently known to the people."

By a decree of May 22, 1876, the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda divided Japan into two vicariates-apostolic. The northern vicariate, comprising Yezo and the adjacent islands, and the northern part of Nippon, including the provinces of Echizen, Mino, and Owari, was assigned to Mgr. Osouf, a native of Coutances in France, and director of the Seminary for Foreign Missions in Paris (1). The second vicariate, including the rest of the empire, was entrusted to Mgr. Petitjean, who had been sole vicar since 1866. One of the first consequences of the comparative, although precarious, freedom now enjoyed by the missionaries, and certainly the most momentous and most consoling of all, was the need of more apostles of the faith throughout the empire. Fortunately there were many zealous souls ready to respond to the call emitted by Mgrs. Osouf and Petitjean. God had designed that the resuscitation of that faith which had been planted in Japan by the sons of Sts. Ignatius, Dominic, and Francis, should be effected by secular priests, and by priests who were Frenchmen (2). We have seen how the French Society for Foreign Missions entered Japan through the breach which had been opened by St. Francis Xavier; and to-day that Society continues to respect its traditions. Thanks to the missionary spirit which ever has been a pre-eminent characteristic of the French clergy and the French Catholic laity, the Society for Foreign Missions could rest assured that Japan would never cry in vain for priests, so long as France remained France; but history, as well as *a priori* reasoning, shows that a native clergy is necessary for the perpetuation of a work which foreign priests have initiated. Immediately after the discovery of the remnants of the olden

(1) From 1850 to 1875 he had been procurator of the Society at Singapore and at Hong Kong.

(2) In the early days of the resuscitation, the Christian religion was called by the Japanese Pagans "The Religion of the French." The Abbé Marin, director of the school established by the French Sisters of Saint-Maur at Tokio, narrates how a young Japanese officer whom he accompanied on a visit of inspection through Northern Japan, and whom he converted, was seized by a mortal sickness; and how, when he could no longer talk, he asked for writing materials with a gesture, and then, as a servant held his wrist, he traced the words: "God! France!" and expired.

Japanese Church, and when his relations with them were perforce secret and infrequent, Mgr. Petitjean had surrounded himself with a number of intelligent young Christians, who, while passing for his servants in the minds of the Pagans, were being educated by the Abbé Laucaigne. Soon afterward the Abbé Cousin formed a class of ten other lads, all of whom had signified a desire to become priests; and in 1868, when the storm of persecution began to rage, he succeeded in transferring them to the college established by his Society in Pinang, in China. In 1870 the Abbé Laucaigne conveyed his band of students, now thirteen in number, to the same institution; and he took with them a Japanese scholar of eminence who would impart to them a full knowledge of the literature of their country. Nor had the prescient missionary neglected to bring also five Japanese printers for the purpose of producing books treating of Christian doctrine and devotion in their own language. All of these students suffered much from sickness in China; four died, but the others returned as priests to Japan in due time. Meanwhile Mgr. Petitjean had opened a little seminary in Tokio; and in 1874 another was founded in Nagasaki. In 1882 the seminary in Tokio contained only twelve students, but that of Nagasaki counted seventy. Speaking of the sacerdotal spirit of the first Japanese priests, the Abbé Marnas reminds us that experience has demonstrated that it is very difficult to lead the sons of converted Pagans to the priesthood. "They have in their blood a something which must necessarily be eradicated; and it is an admitted fact that those of them who aspire to the altar should have come from at least two or three generations of Christian ancestors, if they are to be priests in the depths of their souls." But, adds the experienced missionary, "thanks to the faith of the primitive native confessors of Japan—a faith which was transmitted from father to son during more than two centuries—the formation of a native clergy was not a futile attempt" (1). Many of the seminarians had shared the imprisonment and other sufferings of their parents for the faith; and they were not only pious,

(1) *Ubi supra*, Vol. II., p. 479.

but fond of study. They were not allowed to neglect the study of their own classics ; and it was only when they had learned to speak Latin with facility, that they were introduced to the study of philosophy, theology, and history. It was at the midnight Mass of the Christmas of 1881 in the Church at Nagasaki that, for the first time in two hundred years, a Japanese deacon preached a sermon to his compatriots ; and in the following year this deacon and two others were raised to the priesthood, thus inaugurating the body of zealous native ecclesiastics who will soon furnish the future bishops of the resuscitated Japanese Church.

The cessation of all active persecution of the Christians had worked no change in the position of Buddhism and Shintoism in Japan. These two religions were still recognized as institutions of the state, were supported by the public purse, and in return, were supervised, both as to doctrine and as to discipline, by the civil authority. This official recognition enabled the Buddhist bonzes and the Shintoist *kannushi* to molest the Christians, especially in the matter of funerals ; and in 1884 the government of the Mikado resolved to break all official connection with the two Pagan systems. The decree was promulgated on Aug. 11, and the reader will appreciate its importance, if he reflects on the observations which, on that occasion, the Abbè Midon addressed to the directors of the Seminary for Foreign Missions : " Buddhism, undoubtedly the most diffused system in Japan, dates from the sixth century, having been imported from Corea, as a present to the emperor from the sovereign of that country. Thanks to the imperial favor, in fifty years it acquired very many temples and monasteries ; several emperors even abdicated, in order to become monks. By the side of Buddhism flourished Shintoism, the original religion of Japan, and a system which rendered worship to the ancestors of the Mikado, and to himself when he had died. But, whereas Buddhism possessed a body of doctrines, Shintoism was satisfied with certain external ceremonies. The bonzes, instead of clinging rigorously to the Buddhist doctrine, became lax, and in order to conciliate the Shintoists, placed their *kami*, or gods, by the side of the Buddhist divinities, and even intro-

duced the latter into the temples of Shinto. It was not a rare thing to behold a number of Buddhist chapels in a *mya* (Shintoist temple). In time Buddhism became so powerful, that the authority of the Mikado disappeared; and when, three centuries ago, the dynasty of the Tokugawa usurped the functions of the grand-lieutenancy of the empire, and proposed to annihilate Christianity, it showered favors on the bonzes, and invested them with the powers of officers of state. They were obliged to prepare an annual census, and to assure themselves whether any Christians were to be found. It was their prerogative to preside at all funerals; and any refusal to accept their ministrations was regarded as an avowal of Christianity, and was punished accordingly. While the Shogunate lasted, Shintoism preserved some semblance of existence only within the precincts of the imperial palace; but the restoration of 1868 effected a change. Then Buddhism was ordered to render its dues to Shintoism; the deities of Shintoism could no longer be found in the Buddhist temples; and the Buddhist divinities disappeared from the *kami*. . . . The public newspapers have narrated how the bonzes recently attacked the Christian oratories in Kyoto, Mino, Gei-Shu, Kishu, and other places, showering stones on the worshippers, and wounding many. The government was regarded as responsible for these excesses; but in the face of Europe it could not admit its complicity. Therefore it has just issued a decree, the entire purport of which we do not know, but in which it disclaims any connection with the outrages perpetrated by the ministers of the national religion. It has given autonomy to each of the sects, thirty-seven in number, each being allowed to govern itself by means of a kind of patriarch who is to be subject to the Minister of the Interior. According to the letter of the law, there is to be hereafter no state-religion; but, nevertheless, Shintoism remains the religion of the sovereign, and its ceremonies are still obligatory for very many of the governmental officers. One would suppose, considering the decree in itself, that it would gratify the bonzes, since it restores to them that liberty of action which they enjoyed before the restoration. But all the sects are enraged by the decree; and this fact indicates that they

regard it as the first of a series which will finally culminate in a law granting entire religious liberty. Everywhere we hear the cry that Buddhism has weakened."

By a Brief dated March 20, 1888, Pope Leo XIII. detached from the southern vicariate-apostolic all that portion of Nippon which is at the west of Lake Biwa, as well as Shikoku and its dependent islands; and the resultant new vicariate was confided to the episcopal care of Mgr. Midon, a native of Nancy, who had been pro-vicar of the northern vicariate since 1876. A partition of the northern vicariate followed in 1891; the new jurisdiction, entitled the vicariate of Hakodate, embracing the island of Yeso and the northern provinces of Nippon, being entrusted to Mgr. Berlioz, who had been administrator of the district during the previous six years. These changes in the ecclesiastical organization of Japan were quickly followed by the most important change that could have been made—the institution of a regular hierarchy for the empire. In the new Constitution which was proclaimed by the Mikado on Feb 11, 1891, it was established in the twenty-eighth article that: "All Japanese subjects shall enjoy freedom of conscience in everything that is not prejudicial to peace and good order, or contrary to their duties as subjects." Regarding this disposition of the imperial government as a guarantee that the Church would thereafter be secure from persecution, and that no impediment to her regular development would be encouraged or tolerated, Pope Leo XIII issued, on June 15, 1891, an Apostolic Letter whereby he made Tokyo an archiepiscopal see, having for suffragan dioceses those of Nagasaki, Osaka, and Hakodate. Mgr. Osouf was named metropolitan; and the suffragan dioceses were assigned respectively to Bishops Cousin, Midon, and Berlioz. From the reports which the four prelates submitted to the Propaganda on Aug. 1, 1895, we learn that there were then in Japan 108 missionary priests, of whom 20 were Japanese. To assist these in their apostolic work there were 27 Marianists, devoted to the instruction of the male sex (1); and

(1) This society was founded in 1817 by William Joseph Chaminade, a canon of the cathedral of Bordeaux, and was approved by the Holy See in 1825. It is composed of both

also 136 female religious belonging to the Congregations of the Infant Jesus (Saint-Maur) and of Saint-Paul de Chartres, 51 of whom were Japanese, occupied in the education of girls. There were 304 catechists, of whom 154 were Japanese. The Japanese Catholic population then numbered 50,302; the number of foreign Catholics resident in the empire was not recorded. There were 71 churches or chapels; and 98 oratories had been improvised in private houses. The various seminaries had been consolidated into one in 1890, and had been established in Nagasaki, with 46 aspirants to the priesthood, all Japanese. There were two colleges, fully worthy of that designation, for the education of boys; and their Japanese students numbered 181. Higher education was given to Japanese females in three of the convents, and there were 171 resident pupils. The primary schools, 41 in number, were attended by 2,924 children. The catechists, whose importance cannot be overestimated by one who considers the circumstances, have a training-school in Nagasaki, where at present there are 12 subjects preparing for their arduous mission. The orphan asylums numbered 19 in 1895, but it was said that many new ones were being projected; these institutions then sheltered and educated 2,080 children. There were 26 industrial schools, attended by 764 pupils of both sexes. Four hospitals, one of which was exclusively for lepers, had full staffs of chaplains and physicians, and 45 trained nurses; and in addition to these essential concomitants of Catholic charity, there were 14 free dispensaries of medicine. Few readers of this exposition will not find their interest chiefly excited by the fact that one-fifth of the priests in Japan are natives. Of what mental and spiritual calibre are these native lights of the sanctuary who must be, humanly speaking, the principal hope of the Japanese Church? The question is answered by studying the natives who are in the seminary. The Abbé Marnas, who had observed these students for many years, says: "Their studies are

priests and laymen, and is devoted exclusively to the education of youth, its chief establishment being the Collège Stanislaus in Paris. Besides its houses in France, it has many in Spain, Belgium, Germany, and Africa.

serious, indeed, but they enjoy them ; they apply themselves to their tasks assiduously, and they succeed. In the lower classes they learn Latin, the Japanese language, and the Chinese signs. In the next classes they learn history, geography, the sciences, and philosophy. Then come dogmatic and moral theology, and the Sacred Scriptures. The entire course embraces a period of more than fifteen years ; and very rarely does an aspirant receive the priesthood until he is thirty years old. Before they receive the subdiaconate, they are subjected to a test. The rule requires that they leave the seminary for a year, spending that period as catechists, under the supervision of missionaries, in the interior of the country ; then, if they fear to bind themselves by the inviolable obligations which every priest must contract before he ascends to the altar, they need advance no further. Even those who still persist in their original design are then tested during another year in the seminary, before they are allowed to take the decisive step. The appearance of these young men pleases one ; they are simple, polite, full of good humor, and high spirited ; they are equally ardent in their play and in their studies. Their countenances are open and pure. In the sanctuary they are recollected and grave ; they perform the ceremonies perfectly, and they chant the liturgy well. Most of them are sons of confessors of the faith ; and some of them had the happiness of suffering for Jesus in their tender childhood, having shared the imprisonment of their parents during the last persecution. Those whose parents are converted Pagans are a minority ; they come from dioceses which are not so fortunate as to have had any ‘old Christians.’ Who can regard indifferently these young disciples of the Saviour, who are to have undoubtedly a fruitful career in a land which is so given to grand aspirations ?” (1).

What is to be the religious future of Japan ? Before the days of toleration, when to preach Christ was equivalent to the signing of one’s death-warrant, the task of the missionary was comparatively simple. His foe was undiluted Paganism, and its followers saw in his doctrine that of the

(1) *Ubi supra*, Vol. ii., p. 546.

Christ whom he announced. Complications now confront the Pagan who is curious to learn something concerning the Jesus whom he hears proclaimed as the Saviour of Men. With the days of security there came to Japan a horde of heretical preachers who could not agree among themselves as to the constituents of Christian doctrine; but who unanimously denounced as indeed "the perverse religion" the sole Christianity which had ever been taught in Japan—the religion of St. Francis Xavier, of the Twenty-Six Martyrs, and of their thousands of imitators. Amid the din of discordant vociferations, the poor Pagan is tempted to turn his back on all his religious adversaries; or at most to accept some one of the invitations merely as a means of acquiring a Western education. It is an undeniable fact that the Japanese are much more willing to accept a knowledge of Western science, than they are to adopt Western ideas of religion. Hence it is that when a Japanese has lost his faith in Buddhism or Shintoism, he may be tempted to be satisfied with that system which makes the fewest demands for obedience; which presents no definite body of doctrine to which he must subscribe, under pain of being "as the heathen and the publican"; which consecrates his right of private judgment, as essentially the prerogative of every Christian, in all religious matters; which hampers him the least when there is a question of gratifying his baser passions; which is, in fine, because of its practical deification of human reason, no more of a revealed religion than the Paganism which he has abandoned. Such are the apparent advantages presented to the Pagan by any one of the Protestant sects which have recently invaded Japan; and since many of their so-called missionaries are also teachers, with immense salaries, in the public schools of the state, it is a matter of wonder that their "converts" are not more numerous (1). Another source of triumph for heresy in Japan is the fact that when Japanese of wealth go to Europe or to America for purposes of study, they are generally attracted by the glamor surrounding those institutions which are the most inimical to Catholicism—institutions in

(1) According to Marnas, there were 33,110 Protestants in Japan in 1895.

which the study of history is really that vast conspiracy against truth which Joseph de Maistre so eloquently stigmatized. Very many of these Japanese seekers of truth return home with an increase of hatred for Christianity, as the consequence of having followed the curriculum of an ostensibly Christian University. In 1893, one of these civilized Japanese Pagans, Inouye Tetsujiro, who had received the doctorate in philosophy from the University of Berlin, and was then a professor in the University of Tokio, published a work in which he endeavored to invest Buddhistic Pantheism with all the forms of German Rationalism. In writing this book, Tetsujiro was actuated, surmises the Abbé Ligneuil (1), not only by a devotion to the party of Old Japan, but by a deference to Masonic influences. "He copies too exactly the charges of the Masons against the Church, and he uses their phraseology too constantly, not to have had more than a passing acquaintance with the sect. His great reputation for science, and eminent position, gave much authority to his words; and therefore he was well fitted for a new enterprise against Christianity." He endeavored to show that Christianity is detrimental to Japan; and principally because it proposes a new God for the adoration of a people who have hitherto worshipped the gods who founded their nation. For the Japanese, declares Tetsujiro, the true religion is patriotism; the morality of a Japanese should consist entirely in fidelity to the Mikado, and in respect to his parents; both his religion and his morality should have no other object than the dignity of the nation and the happiness of his family. Since Christianity proposes to man an end other than national glory and family prosperity, it follows, concludes the Germanized professor, that no Japanese of common sense can be a Christian, and, least of all, a Catholic. The Japanese are told that in the West the Catholic Church is decadent; that it is despised by the upper classes and by all the highly educated, who have long ago discovered that its doctrines are incompatible with the teachings of experimental science. Great stress is laid on the alleged inferiority of the Catholic

(1) In the report of the work in 1893, sent to the Seminary for Foreign Missions.

clergy in all matters of intellect, as well as on the corruption so prevalent in Europe, and which the Church has been unable to prevent. The author draws freely from the stock in trade of the Protestant preachers; and therefore he regales his readers with sage reflections on the pig-headed obstinacy of Catholicism as it ever opposes the civilization of the human race. Of course he emits the customary lamentations of Protestants because of the horrors of the Inquisition, and concerning the torture of Galileo, etc.; and of similar ebullitions there are over two hundred, not one of which is supported by proof, but which is invariably accompanied by the refrain: "Therefore, Christianity is the enemy of Japan." In view of the vogue attained by this and similar works which have attained an immense circulation among the Pagans of the Mikado's empire, the missionaries are now straining every nerve in the difficult task of developing the powers of the Catholic press; as yet there is but one Catholic periodical published in Japanese, and there is only one Catholic newspaper. In this matter of using the press as a means of religious propaganda among the Japanese, the Protestants, and even the few emissaries of the "Orthodox" Russian Church, are far more active than the Catholics; probably for the reason that the time of the Catholic missionary is entirely devoted to the essential duties of his ministry. But in spite of all the bibles, tracts, and newspapers, with which the Protestants deluge the land, such influence as they have acquired is that of a social force, rather than that of a religion, properly so called; for a chaos of incoherent opinions ever vacillating and never authoritative, cannot satisfy the reflective mind of a Japanese—and nearly all Japanese minds are reflective—who yearns sincerely for religious truth. As for the efforts of Russian "Orthodoxy" to gain a foothold in Japan, every subject of the Mikado knows that the Muscovite Establishment is a purely National Church—a system inseparable from the secular policy of the czarate, and the autocrat's most effective agent of police; therefore the ardent patriotism of the nation, joined to the fear inspired by the proximity of "Holy Russia," will never encourage a colonel of hussars to feign

an ecclesiastical jurisdiction of any great extent in the Land of the Rising Sun. The sentiments of an intelligent and sincere Japanese toward the Catholic Church must necessarily be of a nature diametrically opposite to those which he entertains toward any one of the innumerable Protestant sects, or toward the agents of the Holy Synod of St. Petersburg. He realizes that the progress of Catholicism in his beloved country is not the march of a conqueror toward temporal domination; and he realizes also that while the insubordinate spirit of Protestantism propagates ideas of false independence in a land where a religious respect for authority has ever been a salient characteristic, the spirit of Catholicism is not a social danger. Considerations such as these lead the Catholic observer to predict the near triumph of the Church of Christ in Japan. Certainly there is one great obstacle in the austerity of the doctrine which must be accepted, ere a Japanese can claim spiritual kinship with the Christian martyrs of his race. The definite faith of the Catholic Church, admitting of no elasticity for the purpose of accommodation to the peculiar temperament or idiosyncrasy of the individual, is repugnant to the haughty spirit of the natural Japanese; her inflexible laws of morality, dominating the very thoughts of a Catholic, as well as his actions, excite a revolt on the part of the grosser passions. But this obstacle is conquered by the grace of God; and the works performed by the Church, works which are peculiarly her own,—the works of her sublime charity, which would be impossibilities without the aid of divine grace,—are continually leading sincere souls to the foot of that altar and of that tribunal where the plenitude of that grace is distributed.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE "OXFORD MOVEMENT."

One of the consequences of the French Revolution of 1830 was a great development of Radicalism in England; as the younger Mill tells us, that event "aroused his utmost en-

thusiasm, and gave him, as it were, a new existence" (1). In 1832 the famous Reform Bill was passed; and then, in the minds of the more conservative, every English institution was shaken to its foundations. "Every party, every interest, political or religious," writes Thomas Mozley, "was pushing its claims to universal acceptance, with the single exception of the Church of England, which was folding its robes to die with what dignity it could. . . . At such a time, when a thousand projectors were screaming from a thousand platforms, when all England was dinned with philanthropy and revolution, spirituality and reform; when the scissors and pastepot were everywhere at work on the Prayer-Book; when Whately was preparing to walk quietly over ten churches in Ireland; and Arnold was confidently hoping to surpass Bunsen's scheme of universal comprehension in England; Newman was laboriously working his way into the hitherto unvisited region of Patristic Theology" (2). Certainly those Protestants who regarded themselves as churchmen had reason to fear for the existence of the royal Establishment; for the Radicals talked of appointing parliamentary committees for a revision of the Prayer-Book and of the Creeds—a measure which was certainly within the parliamentary province, as much as had been the original sanction of that Prayer-Book and of those Creeds. It certainly appeared that the Radicals had designs on the very existence of the Anglican Church; for a measure was in progress for a parliamentary suppression of ten of the Anglican sees in Ireland. According to his son, John Stuart Mill detested, "next to an aristocracy, an Established Church or corporation of priests, as being by position the great depravers of religion, and interested in opposing the progress of the human mind." Alarmed at the prospect of Disestablishment, Dr. Arnold, the famous master of Rugby School, published in 1832 a pamphlet on Church Reform, proposing that the discordant members of the State Church should sink all dogmatic differences, and that the Dissenters should be recognized as good Anglicans; stipulating, however, that

(1) See Mill's *Autobiography*, p. 172.

(2) *Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement*.

the enlarged Establishment should be closed to all Unitarians, although, as was well remarked, his own theory of Scripture interpretation scarcely accorded with a belief in the divinity of Our Lord (1). It is evident that the school represented by Arnold—the Oriel school, or Noetics, as they were called—was influenced by the incendiary principles advanced by Stuart Mill; as Mark Pattison said: “This knot of Oriel men was distinctly the product of the French Revolution. They called everything in question; they appealed to first principles, and disallowed authority as a judge in intellectual matters” (2); and their teachings were the logical source of the views afterward advocated by Dean Stanley, Professor Jowett, and Matthew Arnold. Simultaneously with the Arnoldian theory, another and very different movement was being undertaken at Oxford with the same object of protecting the Establishment from threatened dissolution. “The true and primary author of it,” declared Newman in later years, “as is usual with great motive powers, was out of sight. . . . Need I say that I am speaking of John Keble?” (3). In the words of Church, “Keble gave the inspiration, Froude (Richard Hurrell) the impulse; then Newman took up the work, and

(1) “Arnold divided the world into Christians and non-Christians: Christians were all who professed to believe in Christ as a Divine Person and to worship Him; and the brotherhood, the ‘Societas’ of Christians, was all that was meant by ‘the Church’ in the New Testament. It mattered, of course, to the conscience of each Christian what he had made up his mind to believe, but to no one else. Church organization was, according to circumstances, partly inevitable or expedient, partly mischievous, but in no case of divine authority. Teaching, ministering the word, was a thing of divine appointment, but not so the mode of exercising it, either as to persons, forms, or methods. Sacraments there were, signs and pledges of divine love and help, in every action of life, in every sight of nature, and eminently two most touching ones, recommended to Christians by the Redeemer Himself; but except as a matter of mere order, one man might deal with these as lawfully as another. Church history there was, fruitful in interest, instruction, and warning; for it was the record of the long struggle of the true idea of the Church against the false, and of the fatal disappearance of the true before the forces of blindness and wickedness. Dr. Arnold’s was a passionate attempt to place the true idea in the light. Of the difficulties of his theory he made light account. There was the vivid central truth which glowed through his soul and quickened all his thoughts. He became its champion and militant apostle. These doctrines, combined with his strong political liberalism, made the Midlands hot for Dr. Arnold. But he liked the fighting, as he thought, against the narrow and frightened orthodoxy around him. And he was in the thick of this fighting when another set of ideas about the Church—the ideas on which alone it seemed to a number of earnest and anxious minds that the cause of the Church could be maintained—the ideas which were the beginning of the Oxford movement, crossed his path.”—*The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years, 1833-1845*. By R. W. Church, *Sometime Dean of St. Paul’s*. London, 1891.

(2) *Memoirs*, p. 79.

(3) *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, pt. iv.

the impulse henceforward, and the direction, were his" (1). This movement differed more from the Latitudinarianism of the Arnoldians than it did from the Radicalism which had evoked it; for while Arnold held the historical truth that the union of the Establishment with the State is of its very essence, the party of the Movement would have deluded itself, in all sincerity, with the fond notion that the essence of the Establishment is independent of the will of the crown. Again, the men of the Movement considered Dogma as essential to religion; whereas Arnold prided himself on being an advocate of the "anti-dogmatic principle," and was ready to concede any and all demands in the matter of doctrine, provided that the number of professing Anglicans could be increased. Finally, the Anglico-Radicals held that the idea of a priesthood is contrary to the proper conception of Christian equality, and that the sacramental theory is a superstition; some of these gentry, like Hampden, declared that the doctrine of the Incarnation is a mere theological opinion, not at all essential to the "simple religion of Christ" (2); and others, like Arnold, contended that the

(1) "Froude never would have been the man he was but for his daily and hourly intercourse with Keble; and Froude brought to bear upon Newman's mind, at a critical period of its development, Keble's ideas and feelings about religion and the Church, Keble's reality of thought and purpose, Keble's transparent and saintly simplicity. Froude brought Keble and Newman to understand one another, when the elder man was shy and suspicious of the younger, and the younger, though full of veneration for the elder, was hardly yet in full sympathy with what was most characteristic and most cherished in the elder's religious convictions. Keble attracted and moulded Froude; he impressed Froude with his strong churchmanship, his severity and reality of life, his poetry and high standard of scholarly excellence. Froude learned from him to be anti-Erastian, anti-Methodistical, anti-sentimental, and as strong in his hatred of the world, as contemptuous of popular approval, as any Methodist. Yet all this might merely have made a strong impression, or formed one more marked school of doctrine, without the fierce energy which received it and which it inspired. But Froude, in accepting Keble's ideas, resolved to make them active, public, aggressive; and he found in Newman a colleague whose bold originality responded to his own. Together they worked as tutors; together they worked when their tutorships came to an end; together they worked when thrown into companionship in their Mediterranean voyage in the Winter of 1832 and the Spring of 1833. They came back, full of aspirations and anxieties which spurred them on. . . . Others besides Keble and Froude and Newman were seriously considering what could best be done to arrest the current which was running strong against the Church, and discussing schemes of resistance and defence. Others were stirring up themselves and their brethren to meet the new emergencies, to respond to the new call. Some of these were in communication with the Oriel men, and ultimately took part with them in organizing vigorous measures. But it was not till Mr. Newman made up his mind to force on the public mind, in a way which could not be evaded, the great article of the Creed—"I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church"—that the movement began. CHURCH; *loc. cit.*, ch. 3.

(2) Cited by Newman, *Apologia*, p. 49.—In his *Observations on Religious Dissent*,

doctrine of a visible Church cannot consistently be held by an English churchman. The difference between the position occupied by the Arnoldians and that defended by Keble, Hurrell Froude, Newman, and their friends, was well accentuated when Newman, commenting on the pamphlet on *Religious Dissent* which Hampden had sent to him, replied: "I dare not trust myself to put on paper my feelings about the principles contained in it, tending as they do, in my opinion, altogether to make shipwreck of Christian faith"; and when Arnold affected to despise the Movement as "a dress, a ritual, a name, a ceremony, a technical phraseology—the superstition of a priesthood without its power, the form of episcopal government without its substance, a system imperfect and paralyzed, not independent, not sovereign, afraid to cast off the subjection against which it is perpetually murmuring—objects so pitiful, that if gained ever so completely, they would make no man the wiser, or the better; they would lead to no good, intellectual, moral, or spiritual." However, widely as the two schools differed, each predicted with admirable accuracy the fate of the other. The Anglico-Radicals, with Arnold as their spokesman, prophesied in 1836 that the Movement would end in Popery; and the school of Keble and Newman declared that the Liberals would finally become free-thinkers. The conversions of 1845 evinced the admirable foresight of Arnold; and to-day his name is associated, well remarks Wilfrid Ward, with a belief concerning the Supreme Being which differs little from the Agnosticism of Herbert Spencer. And, nevertheless, neither of the parties even dreamed of its probable destiny; had that destiny been apprehended, such was the temper of the minds of all, that they would have put an immediate end to their respective enterprises. For the leaders of both phalanxes were then devotedly attached to the English Establishment, and they were equally ambitious of serving its best interests; they

(p. 20), Hampden asks a Unitarian "whether it is not *theological dogmatism*, and not *religious belief*, properly so called, which constitutes the principle of his dissent; and he says that he cannot deny to Unitarians the name of Christians. He also asserts that "theological opinion, as necessarily mixed up with speculative knowledge, ought not to be the bond of union of any Christian society, or a mark of discrimination between Christian and Christian."

differed merely as to the means—"the Newmanites proposed to inoculate the Church with a little Popery, and the Arnoldites to inoculate it with a little Liberalism, as the best safeguard against these diseases in their malignant form" (1).

In Cardinal Newman's *Apologia* we read: "On January 14, 1833, Mr. Keble preached the assize sermon in the University Pulpit. It was published under the title of *National Apostasy*. I have ever considered and kept the day as the start of the religious movement of 1833." In this memorable sermon Keble assumed that the administration of the day, flushed with triumph because of the passage of the Reform Bill, was about to invade the rights, and to alter the constitution, of the Church of England. He said that churchmen had hitherto taken for granted that England was "a nation which had for centuries acknowledged, as an essential part of its theory of government, that, *as a Christian nation*, she is also a part of Christ's Church, and bound, in all her legislation and policy, by the fundamental laws of that Church." When "a Government and people, so constituted, threw off the restraint which in many respects such a principle would impose upon them, nay, disavowed the principle itself," they were guilty of a "direct disavowal of the sovereignty of God. If it be true anywhere that such enactments are forced on the legislature by public opinion, is *Apostasy* too hard a word to describe the temper of such a nation?" The sermon was a call to face an immediate and pressing danger; to consider how it was to be met by churchmen; and the effect was described as like that of a thunderbolt upon men sunk in lethargy. But the first step taken for the purpose of rendering the Movement a living force was put forth on July 25, when there met in the parsonage of Hugh James Rose at Hadleigh, in Suffolk, a few of those spirits concerning whom Thomas Mozley wrote: "There had never been seen at Oxford, indeed seldom anywhere, so large and noble a sacrifice of the most precious gifts and powers to a sacred cause." In later days, when the resultant controversies had embittered the minds of the

(1) William George Ward and the Oxford Movement, by Wilfrid Ward. London, 1889.

more ultra of the English Protestants, it became the fashion to term this meeting at Hadleigh a "conspiracy"; even Hurrell Froude so designated it, and Percival wrote a narrative of it, in order to show that it was no more of a conspiracy than would be any meeting having for an object something not approved by outsiders. Froude was the sole representative of the Oriel men at Hadleigh. Both Keble and Newman were absent; but during the four days that the sessions lasted, they kept up a close correspondence with the debaters. All of the participants afterward recorded the state of mind under which they labored. William Palmer (1) says: "We felt ourselves assailed by enemies from without and foes within. Our prelates were threatened and insulted by Ministers of State. In Ireland ten bishoprics were suppressed. We were advised to feel thankful that a more sweeping measure had not been adopted. What was to come next? ... Was the same principle of concession to popular clamor to be exemplified in the dismemberment of the English Church? ... We were overwhelmed with pamphlets on Church Reform. Lord Henley, brother-in-law

(1) William Palmer is best known to the average reader by the endeavors which he made, during his Protestant days, to effect a union between the Anglican and the Russian "Orthodox" Churches—an attempt which resulted only in his being told by the Greco-Slavonic heretics that he should be reconciled with his own patriarch, the Pope of Rome, ere he extended the olive-branch to the separatist patriarchates of the Orient. Dean Church makes these comments on the calibre of Palmer: "Another coadjutor, whose part at the time also seemed rather that of a chief, was Mr. William Palmer, of Worcester College. He had been educated at Trinity College, Dublin, but he had transferred his home to Oxford, both in the University and the city. He was a man of exact and scholastic mind, well equipped at all points in controversial theology, strong in clear theories and precise definitions, familiar with objections current in the schools and with the answers to them, and well versed in all the questions, arguments, and authorities belonging to the great debate with Rome. He had definite and well-arranged ideas about the nature and office of the Church; and, from his study of the Roman controversy, he had at command the distinctions necessary to discriminate between things which popular views confused, and to protect the doctrines characteristic of the Church from being identified with Romanism. Especially he had given great attention to the public devotional language and forms of the Church, and had produced by far the best book in the English language on the history and significance of the offices of the English Church—the *Origines Liturgicæ*, published at the University Press in 1832. It was a book to give a man authority with divines and scholars; and among those with whom at this time he acted, no one had so compact and defensible a theory, even if it was somewhat rigid and technical, of the peculiar constitution of the English Church as Mr. Palmer. With the deepest belief in this theory, he saw great dangers threatening, partly from general ignorance and looseness of thought, partly from antagonistic ideas and principles only too distinct and too popular; and he threw all his learning and zeal on the side of those who, like himself, were alive to those dangers, and were prepared for a great effort to counteract them." Palmer became a Catholic in 1856.

of Sir Robert Peel; Dr. Burton, and others of name and influence, led the way. Dr. Arnold of Rugby ventured to propose *that all sects should be united by Act of Parliament with the Church of England*. Reports, apparently well founded, were prevalent that some of the prelates were favorable to alterations in the Liturgy. Pamphlets were in wide circulation recommending the abolition of the Creeds (at least in public worship), especially urging the expulsion of the Athanasian Creed; the removal of all mention of the Blessed Trinity; of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration; of the practice of absolution. We knew not to what quarter to look for support. A prelacy threatened and apparently intimidated; a government making its power subservient to agitators who avowedly sought the destruction of the Church. . . . And, worst of all, *no principle in the public mind to which we could appeal*; an utter ignorance of all rational grounds of attachment to the Church; an oblivion of its spiritual character as an institution not of man but of God; the grossest Erastianism most widely prevalent, especially amongst all classes of politicians. There was in all this enough to appal the stoutest heart; and those who can recall the feeling of those days will at once remember the deep depression into which the Church had fallen, and the gloomy forebodings universally prevalent." But hearken to Newman as he, while penning his *Apologia*, recalls his reflections of those days: "The Whigs had come into power; Lord Grey had told the bishops to 'set their houses in order,' and some of the prelates had been insulted and threatened in the streets of London. The vital question was: How were we to keep the Church from being Liberalized? There was so much apathy on the subject in some quarters, such imbecile alarm in others; the true principles of churchmanship seemed so radically decayed, and there was such distraction in the councils of the clergy. The bishop of London of the day, an active and open-hearted man, had been for years engaged in diluting the high orthodoxy of the Church by the introduction of the Evangelical body into places of influence and trust. He had deeply offended men who agreed with myself by an off-hand saying (as it was reported) to

the effect that belief in the Apostolical Succession had gone out with the Non-jurors. . . . I felt affection for my own Church, but not tenderness; I felt dismay at her prospects, anger and scorn at her do-nothing perplexity. I thought that if Liberalism once got a footing within her, it was sure of victory in the event. I saw that Reformation principles were powerless to rescue her. As to leaving her, the thought never crossed my imagination: still I ever kept before me that there was something greater than the Established Church, and that that was the Church Catholic and Apostolic, set up from the beginning, of which she was but the local presence and organ. She was nothing, unless she was this. She must be dealt with strongly, or she would be lost. There was need of a second Reformation." After much discussion, the conferees at Hadleigh adopted a "formulary" which began by saying: "Events have occurred within the last few years calculated to inspire the true members and friends of the Church with the deepest uneasiness." The danger manacing the Church of England did not threaten it merely as an Establishment; "every one who has become acquainted with the literature of the day, must have observed the sedulous attempts made in various quarters to reconcile members of the Church to alterations in its doctrines and discipline. Projects of change, which include the annihilation of our Creeds and the removal of doctrinal statements incidentally contained in our worship, have been boldly and assiduously put forth. Our services have been subjected to licentious criticism, with the view of superseding some of them and of entirely remodelling others. The very elementary principles of our ritual and discipline have been rudely questioned; our apostolical polity has been ridiculed and denied." In the autumn of 1833 strenuous efforts were made for the formation of one general or several particular Associations which would try to obviate the dangers signalled at Hadleigh; but since "jealousy was entertained of it in high quarters," while Froude objected to any association less wide than the Church itself, and Newman detested the idea of committees and meetings in London, the plan proved abortive. Instead of an Association, an

"Address to His Grace of Canterbury" was proposed; such a document was prepared by Palmer, and through his exertions the signatures of nearly 7,000 ministers were obtained. From the presentation of this Address, which, in spite of all its antecedent acclamations, contained only some vague expressions about the "consecration of the State," and some praises of the practical benefits of the Establishment, Percival, writing in 1842, dated "the commencement of the turn of the tide which had threatened to overwhelm our Church and our religion" (1). The Address certainly gave much courage to the more conservative clergy of the Establishment; for, observes Church, it showed that "they were stronger and more resolute than their enemies thought." But Newman was not satisfied with either Addresses or Associations; he wanted "plain speaking," a thing which was not to be found in any joint productions which were revised or sanctioned by "judicious" or "safe" advisers. Newman felt that each man in the movement should use the pen, and that, although working with the others for one supreme end, each man should write and speak for himself. It was because of this suggestion of Newman that there then eventuated what Thomas Mozley termed "that portentous birth of time, the *Tracts for the Times*."

When these *Tracts* began to appear in quick succession during the autumn of 1833, men soon realized that the contents were of sterner stuff than those of the insipid leaflets with which the word "tract" had hitherto been associated; as Church remarks, "the pertinacity of good ladies who pressed (the ordinary tracts) on strangers, and who extolled their efficacy as if it was that of a quack medicine, had lowered the general respect for them." Newman had "out of his own head begun the *Tracts*"; no wonder, then, that men recognized them as clear and stirring appeals to reason, as not at all verbose, and as utterly void of any futile attempts at rhetoric. Newman himself describes the mood in which he penned the initial *Tract*. He says that he was in the "exultation of health restored and home regained"; he felt, he says, an "exuberant and joyous energy which he

(1) Collection of Papers, p. 32.

never had before or since"; his health and strength "had come back to him with such a rebound" that some of his friends did not know him. "I had the consciousness that I was employed in that work which I had been dreaming about, and which I felt to be so momentous and inspiring. I had a supreme confidence in our cause; we were upholding that primitive Christianity which was delivered for all time by the early teachers of the Church, and which was registered and attested in the Anglican formularies and by the Anglican divines. That ancient religion had well-nigh faded out of the land through the political changes of the last one hundred and fifty years, and it must be restored. It would be, in fact, a second Reformation—a better Reformation, for it would return, not to the sixteenth century, but to the seventeenth. No time was to be lost, for the Whigs had come to do their worst, and the rescue might come too late. Bishoprics were already in course of suppression; Church property was in course of confiscation; sees would be soon receiving unsuitable occupants. We knew enough to begin preaching, and there was no one else to preach" (1). Newman addressed the first *Tract* to "his fellow laborers in the ministry"; and it was an earnest exhortation to his Anglican brethren to be equal to the responsibilities of that priesthood which, as yet, he believed them to possess (2). When the first forty-six

(1) *Remains of Hurrell Froude*; Vol. i., p. 265.

(2) We subjoin some passages of this interesting document: "Christ has not left His Church without claim of its own upon the attention of men. Surely not. Hard Master He cannot be, to bid us oppose the world, yet give us no credentials for so doing. There are some who rest their divine mission on their own unsupported assertion; others, who rest it upon their popularity; others, on their success; and others, who rest it upon their temporal distinctions. This last case has, perhaps, been too much our own; I fear we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built—OUR APOSTOLICAL DESCENT. We have been born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. The Lord Jesus Christ gave His Spirit to His Apostles; they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them; and these again on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops, who have appointed us as their assistants, and in some sense representatives. . . . And if we trace back the power of ordination from hand to hand, of course we shall come to the Apostles at last. We know we do, as a plain historical fact; and therefore all we, who have been ordained clergy, in the very form of our ordination acknowledged the doctrine of the APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION. And for the same reason, we must necessarily consider none to be *really* ordained who have not *thus* been ordained. For if ordination is a divine ordinance, it must be necessary; and if it is not a divine ordinance, how dare we use it? Therefore, all who use it, all of us, must consider it necessary. As well might we pretend the Sacraments are not necessary to salvation, while we make use of the offices in the Liturgy; for when God appoints means of grace, they are *the* means. I do not see how any one can escape from this plain view of

Tracts were collected in a volume toward the end of 1834, a preface explained their object. "The following *Tracts* were published," it said, "with the object of contributing something toward the practical revival of doctrines which, although held by the great divines of our Church, at present have become obsolete with the majority of her members, and are withdrawn from public view even by the more learned and orthodox few who still adhere to them. The Apostolic Succession, the Holy Catholic Church, were principles of action in the minds of our predecessors of the seventeenth century; but, in proportion as the maintenance of the Church has been secured by law, her ministers have been under the temptation of leaning on an arm of flesh instead of her own divinely-provided discipline, a temptation increased by political events and arrangements which need not here be more than alluded to. A lamentable increase of sectarianism has followed; being occasioned (in addition to other more obvious causes), first, by the cold aspect which the new Church

the subject, except (as I have already hinted) by declaring that the words do not mean all that they say. But only reflect what a most unseemly time for random words is that in which ministers are set apart for their office. Do we not adopt a Liturgy *in order to* hinder inconsiderate idle language, and shall we, in the most sacred of all services, write down, subscribe, and use again and again, forms of speech which have not been weighed, and cannot be taken strictly? Therefore, my dear brethren, act up to your professions. Let it not be said that you have neglected a gift; for if you have the Spirit of the Apostles on you, surely this *is* a great gift. 'Stir up the gift of God which is in you.' Make much of it. Show your value of it. Keep it before your minds as an honorable badge, far higher than that secular respectability, or cultivation, or polish, or learning, or rank, which gives you a hearing with the many. Tell *them* of your gift. The times will soon drive you to do this, if you mean to be still anything. But wait not for the times. Do not be compelled, by the world's forsaking you, to recur as if unwillingly to the high source of your authority. Speak out now, before you are forced, both as glorying in your privilege and to insure your rightful honor from your people. A notion has gone abroad that they can take away your power. They think they have given and can take it away. They think it lies in the Church property, and they know that they have politically the power to confiscate that property. They have been deluded into a notion that present palpable usefulness, producible results, acceptableness to your flocks—that these and such like are the tests of your divine commission. Enlighten them in this matter. Exalt our holy fathers the bishops, as the representatives of the Apostles, and the Angels of the Churches; and magnify your office, as being ordained by them to take part in their ministry. But, if you will not adopt my view of the subject, which I offer to you, not doubtingly, yet (I hope) respectfully, at all events, CHOOSE YOUR SIDE. To remain neuter much longer will be itself to take a part. Choose your side; since side you shortly must, with one or other party, even though you do nothing. Fear to be of those whose line is decided for them by chance circumstances, and who may perchance find themselves with the enemies of Christ, while they think but to remove themselves from worldly politics. Such abstinence is impossible in troublous times. 'He that is not with Me is against Me; and he that gathereth not with Me scattereth abroad.'"

doctrines have presented to the religious sensibilities of the mind, next to their meagreness in suggesting motives to restrain it from seeking out a more influential discipline. Doubtless obedience to the law of the land, and the careful maintenance of 'decency and order' (the topics in usage among us), are plain duties of the Gospel, and a reasonable ground for keeping in communion with the Established Church; yet, if Providence has graciously provided for our weakness more interesting and constraining motives, it is a sin thanklessly to neglect them; just as it would be a mistake to rest the duties of temperance or justice on the mere law of natural religion, when they are mercifully sanctioned in the Gospel by the more winning authority of our Saviour, Christ. Experience has shown the inefficacy of the mere injunctions of Church order, however scripturally enforced, in restraining from schism the awakened and anxious sinner; who goes to a dissenting preacher 'because' (as he expresses it) 'he gets good from him'; and though he does not stand excused in God's sight for yielding to the temptation, surely the ministers of the Church are not blameless if, by keeping back the more gracious and consoling truths provided for the little ones of Christ, they indirectly lead them into it. Had he been taught as a child, that the Sacraments, not preaching, are the sources of Divine Grace; that the Apostolical ministry had a virtue in it which went out over the whole Church, when sought by the prayer of faith; that fellowship with it was a gift and privilege as well as a duty, we could not have had so many wanderers from our fold, nor so many cold hearts within it. This instance may suggest many others of the superior *influence* of an apostolical over a mere secular method of teaching. The awakened mind knows its wants, but cannot provide for them; and in its hunger will feed upon ashes, if it cannot obtain the pure milk of the word. Methodism and Popery are, in different ways, the refuge of those whom the Church stints of the gifts of grace; they are the foster-mothers of abandoned children. ... The multitude of men cannot teach or guide themselves; and an injunction given to them to depend on their private judgment, cruel in itself, is doubly

hurtful, as throwing them on such teachers as speak daringly and promise largely, and not only aid but supersede individual exertion. These remarks may serve as a clue, for those who care to pursue it, to the views which have led to the publication of the following *Tracts*. ... There are zealous sons and servants of the English branch (of the Church of Christ) who see with sorrow that she is defrauded of her full usefulness by particular theories and principles of the present age, which interfere with the execution of one portion of her commission ; and while they consider that the revival of this portion of truth is especially adapted to break up existing parties in the Church, and to form instead a bond of union among all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, they believe that nothing but these neglected doctrines, faithfully preached, will repress that extension of Popery, for which the ever-multiplying divisions of the religious world are too clearly preparing the way."

Newman admits, in his *Apologia*, that the Tractarian enterprise had not afforded him ultimate rest when, in 1836, he delivered his celebrated series of sermons in St. Mary's, the University church ; therefore it was natural that those discourses should have been more or less tentative in character. Descanting to his Protestant auditors on *The Prophetic Office of the Church, Viewed Relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism*, he urged Anglicanism to doff its Protestant characteristics, and to enter on a "middle path—*via media*" between Protestantism and Popery ; but he avowed that "it still remained to be tried whether the *via media* was capable of being professed, acted on, and maintained on a large sphere of action, or whether it was a mere modification or transition stage of either Romanism or popular Protestantism." Men like Dean Church, who had studied the Movement in all its phases and in all its participating personages, declared that these sermons alone gave to it an extension of life, and that without them it would never have acquired the influence which it soon exercised. "Even people who heard them continually," says the dean, "and who felt them to be different from any other sermons, hardly estimated their real power, or knew at the time the influence

which the sermons were having upon them. Plain, direct, unornamented, clothed in English that was only pure and lucid, free from any faults of taste, strong in their flexibility and perfect command both of language and thought, they were the expression of a piercing and large insight into character and conscience and motives, of a sympathy at once most tender and most stern with the tempted and the wavering, of an absolute and burning faith in God and His counsels, in His love, in His judgments, in the awful glory of His generosity and His magnificence. They made men think of the things which the preacher spoke of, and not of the sermon or the preacher. While men were reading and talking about the *Tracts*, they were hearing the sermons; and in the sermons they heard the living meaning, and reason, and bearing of the *Tracts*, their ethical affinities, their moral standard. The sermons created a moral atmosphere, in which men judged the questions in debate. It was no dry theological correctness and completeness which were sought for. No love of privilege, no formal hierarchical claims, urged on the writers. What they thought in danger, what they aspired to revive and save, was the very life of religion, the truth and substance of all that makes it the hope of human society." None of the adventitious arts of the orator aided Newman. Justin McCarthy says: "In all the arts that make a great preacher or orator, Cardinal Newman was deficient. His manner was constrained and ungraceful, and even awkward; his voice was thin and weak, his bearing was not at first impressive in any way—a gaunt, emaciated figure, a sharp eagle face, and a cold meditative eye, rather repelled than attracted those who saw him for the first time" (1). And, nevertheless, the late Pro-

(1) Sir F. Doyle, in his *Reminiscences*, differs from Justin McCarthy in his estimate of Newman's manner and appearance: "When I knew him at Oxford, these somewhat disparaging remarks would not have been applicable. His manner, it is true, may have been self-repressed, constrained it was not. His bearing was neither awkward nor ungraceful; it was simply quiet and calm, because under strict control; but beneath that calmness, intense feeling, I think, was obvious to those who had any instinct of sympathy with him. But if Mr. McCarthy's acquaintance with him only began when he took office in an Irish Catholic University, I can quite understand that (flexibility not being one of his special gifts) he may have failed now and again to bring himself into perfect harmony with an Irish audience. He was probably too much of a typical Englishman for his place; nevertheless, Mr. McCarthy, though he does not seem to have admired him in the pulpit, is fully sensible of his intellectual powers and general eminence. Dr. Pusey, who used every now and then

fessor Shairpe of St. Andrews, who believed that "if Newman had preached one of his St. Mary's sermons before a Scotch town congregation, they would have thought the preacher a 'silly body,' " thus described the impression produced on himself by those discourses: "As he spoke, how the old truth became new; how it came home with a meaning never felt before! He laid his finger how gently, yet how powerfully, on some inner place in the hearer's heart, and told him things about himself he had never known till then. Subtlest truths, which it would have taken philosophers pages of circumlocution and big words to state, were dropped out by the way in a sentence or two of the most transparent Saxon. What delicacy of style, yet what strength! how simple, yet how suggestive! how homely, yet how refined! how penetrating, yet how tender-hearted! If now and then there was a forlorn undertone which at the time seemed inexplicable, you might be perplexed at the drift of what he said, but you felt all the more drawn to the speaker. . . . After hearing these sermons you might come away, still not believing the tenets peculiar to the High Church system; but you would be harder than most men, if you did not feel more than ever ashamed of coarseness, selfishness, worldliness,—if you did not feel the things of faith brought closer to the soul" (1).

It is needless to state that the Newmanites, or Tractarians, as they came to be styled (2), made many very virulent enemies; even persons of presumed refinement frequently refused to them the ordinary courtesies of society. Their supposed Romanism angered the Evangelicals; their asceticism tortured the smug parsons of the Establishment; their constant presentation of "mere dogma" irritated the Liberals.

to take Newman's duties at St. Mary's, was to me a much less interesting person. [A learned man, no doubt, but dull and tedious as a preacher.] Certainly, in spite of the name *Puseyism* having been given to the Oxford attempt at a new Catholic departure, he was not the Columbus of that voyage of discovery undertaken to find a safer haven for the Church of England. I may, however, be more or less unjust to him, as I owe him a sort of grudge. His discourses were not only less attractive than those of Dr. Newman, but always much longer, and the result of this was that the learned Canon of Christ Church generally made me late for dinner at my College, a calamity never inflicted on his All Souls' hearers by the terser and swifter fellow of Oriel whom he was replacing."

(1) *John Keble*; by J. C. Shairpe, Professor of Humanity, St. Andrews; p. 12—17 London, 1866.

(2) Wholly thought to improve the nickname into "Tractites."

Dr. Arnold termed them "Oxford malignants"; and Whately, the Protestant incumbent of Dublin, styled them "secret infidels," comparing them to the "Children of the Mist," to the "Veiled Prophets," and even to the Indian Thugs (1). This antagonism on the part of the immense majority of the English Protestants was accentuated in 1838, when the Movement received an accession of many able men who cherished decidedly Roman proclivities. As Newman afterward wrote (2), "a new school of thought was rising, as is usual in doctrinal inquiries, and was sweeping the original party of the Movement aside." The most noteworthy of the new Tractarians were Oakley, Faber, Dalgairns, John Brande Morris, and Seager. Newman says that Oakley was the possessor "of elegant genius, of classical mind, and of rare talent in literary composition"; and his standing at Oxford was deservedly high. Church says that Seager and Morris were "men of wide and abstruse learning, quaint and eccentric scholars in habit and look, students of the ancient type, who even fifty years ago seemed out of date in their generation." The dean knew Faber to be "a man with a high gift of imagination, remarkable powers of assimilating knowledge, and a great richness and novelty and elegance of thought, which, with much melody of voice, made him ultimately a very attractive preacher." Speaking of Dalgairns, the same authority quotes the remark made by "a competent judge" concerning a paper by the young student which had been submitted to him: "That man has an eye for theology." In his Oxford days, says Church, "there was in Dalgairns a bright and frank briskness, a mixture of modesty and arch daring, which gave him an almost boyish appearance; but beneath this boyish appearance there was a subtle

(1) 'Dr. Wilson was mightily pleased with my calling the traditionals the 'Children of the Mist.' The title of 'Veiled Prophets' he thought too severe" (1838, *Life*, ed. 1875, p. 167. "As for the suspicion of secret infidelity, I have said no more than I sincerely feel," *ib.* p. 181. "It would be a curious thing if you (the Provost of Oriel) were to bring into your Bampton Lectures a mention of the Thugs. . . . Observe their submissive piety, their faith in long-preserved tradition, their regular succession of ordinations to their offices, their faith in the sacramental virtue of the consecrated governor; in short, compare our religion with the Thuggery, putting out of account all those considerations which the traditionists deprecate the discussion of, and where is the difference?" (1840) *ib.* p. 194.

(2) *Apologia*, p. 163.

and powerful intellect, alive to the problems of religious philosophy, and impatient of any but the most thorough solutions of them ; while, on the other hand, the religious affections were part of his nature, and mind and will and heart yielded an unreserved and absolute obedience to the leading and guidance of faith. In his later days, with his mind at ease, Father Dalgairns threw himself into the great battle with unbelief ; and few men have commanded more the respect of opponents not much given to think well of the arguments for religion, by the freshness and the solidity of his reasoning. At this time, enthusiastic in temper, and acute and exacting as a thinker, he found the Church Movement just, as it were, on the turn of the wave. He was attracted to it at first by its reaction against what was unreal and shallow, by its affinities with what was deep in idea and earnest in life ; then, and finally, he was repelled from it, by its want of completeness, by its English acquiescence in compromise, by its hesitations and clinging to insular associations and sympathies, which had little interest for him."

Another person, who was at this time even more prominent in the advanced portion of the Movement party, was W. G. Ward, Fellow of Balliol. Mr. Ward, continues the dean of St. Paul's, had distinguished himself greatly at the Oxford Union as a vigorous speaker, at first on the Tory side ; "he came afterward under the influence of Arthur Stanley, then fresh from Rugby, and naturally learned to admire Dr. Arnold ; but Dr. Arnold's religious vagaries did not satisfy him ; the Movement, with its boldness and originality of idea and ethical character, had laid strong hold on him, and he passed into one of the most thorough-going adherents of Mr. Newman. There was something to smile at in his person, and in some of his ways—his unbusiness-like habits, his joyousness of manner, his racy stories ; but few more powerful intellects passed through Oxford in his time, and he has justified his University reputation by his distinction since, both as a Roman Catholic theologian and professor, and as a profound metaphysical thinker, the antagonist on their own ground of J. Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer." The new recruits of Tractarianism were far more un-Anglican

than were the original leaders of the Movement: Newman, Pusey, and Keble, who had persuaded themselves that the Establishment was the lineal descendant of the ancient British Church. Certainly, the study of the Fathers and of the early English saints, prosecuted especially by Pusey, had induced in the minds of the would-be Catholicizers of Anglicanism many suspiciously Roman opinions. But, as Newman afterward wrote: "Judge of their dismay, when, according to the Arabian tale, on their striking their anchors into the supposed soil, lighting their fires on it, and fixing in it the poles of their tents, suddenly their island began to move, to heave, to splash, to frisk to and fro, to dive, and at last to swim away, spouting out inhospitable jets of water upon the credulous mariners who had made it their home. . . . They saw distinctly, in the reasonings of the Fathers, the justification of what they had been accustomed to consider the corruption of Rome. . . . Time went on; and there was no mistaking or denying the misfortune which was impending over them. They had reared a goodly house, but their foundations were falling in. The soil and the masonry were both bad. The Fathers *would* protect Romanists. The Anglican divines *would* misquote the Fathers, and shrink from the very doctors to whom they appealed. The bishops of the seventeenth century were shy of the bishops of the fourth" (1). Nevertheless, the logical consequences of this discovery were long resisted by the still persisting Protestant prejudices of the original Tractarians; Pusey and Keble resisted until they doffed their mortality. In 1839, when the second part of Hurrell Froude's *Remains* was published, it became evident that Romanizing tendencies were indeed swaying the Movement. In the *Preface* of that interesting work, it was stated that the editors, by publishing the sentiments of Hurrell Froude so unreservedly, "indicated their own general acquiescence in the opinion that the persons chiefly instrumental in the Reformation were not as a party to be trusted on ecclesiastical questions, nor yet to be imitated in the practical handling of the unspeakably awful matters with which they were concerned." And concerning

(1) *Anglican Difficulties*, p. 121.

the differences between the English Reformers and the Fathers of the Church, the reader was told: "You must choose between the two lines; they are not only diverging, but contrary." Men were asked to note the difference between the practical Christian ideal of the Fathers and that presented by the Calvinist-Zwinglian school of Cranmer, etc. "Compare the sayings and manner of the two schools on the subjects of fasting, celibacy, religious vows, voluntary retirement and contemplation, the memory of the saints, rites and ceremonies, recommended by antiquity." It is not strange, therefore, that there soon loomed up before Newman "a vista, the end of which he could not see"; that for a moment he even entertained the thought that "the Church of Rome will be found right, after all." In the summer of 1839 he studied the subject of the Monophysite heretics; and having realized that the Monophysites had been in a position similar to that of the Anglicans of his day, and that the Church had stamped them as heretics, he felt that his fundamental idea of the *via media*, the defence of his companions and himself against the charge of schism by an appeal to antiquity, was perhaps untenable. He mentioned his perturbation to Henry Wilberforce, speaking also of the possibility of his joining the Roman Church; whereupon Wilberforce, "upon whom such a fear came like a thunder-stroke, expressed his hope that Mr. Newman might die, rather than take such a step" (1). St. Augustine's words with reference to the Donatists, "*securus judicat orbis terrarum*," had shown to Newman that in the first centuries of Christianity "they decided ecclesiastical questions by a simpler rule than that of antiquity; nay, St. Augustine was one of the prime oracles of antiquity; here, then, was antiquity deciding against itself." Wilberforce says that Newman never again "settled down exactly into his old position; before August, 1839, he had always both spoken and written of the Roman Church in the strong language of condemnation which he had learned from the great Anglican writers, of whom it must be said that however Catholic on any other subject, the very mention of the Pope acted as a

(1) Thus Wilberforce in the *Dublin Review*, April, 1869, p. 327.

chemical test to precipitate in a moment their latent Protestantism. He no longer maintained the *via media*, or attacked Rome as schismatical. His new position was that 'Rome is the Church, and we are the Church'; and 'there is no need to inquire which of the two has deflected most from the Apostolic standard.' This is the view he puts forward in the article on *The Catholicity of the English Church*, which appeared in Jan., 1840, and was the first result of his restored tranquillity of mind."

While the Anglican impassiveness of the University of Oxford was being stirred into sensibility by so many of the most gifted of her sons, and while the very foundations of the Establishment were being undermined by engineers who as yet wore its uniform, what was the attitude of the University authorities, and of the Anglican wearers of mitres? All that the dean of St. Paul's advances by way of explanation of the course adopted, in this emergency, by the Heads of Houses in Oxford, may be summarized in one of his sentences: "There was always a stick ready to beat the offenders; everything could be called Popish; but for the most part they looked on with smiles, with jokes, sometimes with *scolding*." Caring more for their *otium cum dignitate* than for discussions which might generate strife, the Heads of Houses were satisfied with discountenancing the thing which they heard mentioned as Tractarianism, or as Newmanism, or as Puseyism. And at length, says Church, "they found themselves going along with the outside current of uninstructed and ignoble prejudice, in a settled and pronounced dislike, which took for granted that all was wrong in the Movement, which admitted any ill-natured surmise and foolish misrepresentation, and really allowed itself to acquiesce in the belief that men so well known in Oxford, once so admired and honored, had sunk down to deliberate corrupters of the truth, and palterers with their own intellects and consciences. It came in a few years to be understood on both sides, that the authorities were in direct antagonism to the Movement; and though their efforts in opposition to it were feeble and petty, it went on under the dead weight of official University disapproval. It would have been a great thing

for the English Church—though it is hard to see how, things being as they were, it would have come about—if the Movement had gone on, at least with the friendly interest, if not with the support, of the University rulers. Instead of that, after the first two or three years there was one long and bitter fight in Oxford, with the anger on one side created by the belief of vague but growing dangers, and a sense of incapacity in resisting them, and with deep resentment at injustice and stupidity on the other." As for the bishops of the Establishment, nearly all of whom had been appointed by the crown for political or social reasons, Archbishop Howley, Phillpotts of Exeter, Kaye of Lincoln, and Marsh of Peterborough, alone could be termed theologians. Ryder of Lichfield, and the two Sumners of Winchester and Chester, were Evangelicals. Blomfield of London was the most appreciative of the dangers which menaced Anglicanism; but he was never sure of his mind, and he realized that if the question of Tractarianism ever came before him, his theological abilities would be found unable to solve it. The position of these men, whom the Newmanites still regarded as shepherds of Israel, was delicate indeed; the Tractarians exalted their office as no conservative Anglican ever ventured to exalt it, while any favor shown to those magnifiers of the episcopate would be resented by the then powerful Evangelical party. It seemed, therefore, to the bishops, just as to the authorities of Oxford, that a policy of *laissez aller* was the prudent one. But in the spring of 1841, the appearance of the memorable *Tract No. 90* aroused the Heads of Houses in Oxford from their lethargy, and convinced the prelates that temporization would no longer suffice.

Newman's principal motive in writing *Tract No. 90* is given in the following passage of a letter which he sent to Dr. Jelf, then canon of Christ Church, on March 16, 1841: "There is at this moment a great progress of the religious mind of our Church to something deeper and truer than satisfied the last century. I have always contended, and will contend, that it is not satisfactorily accounted for by any particular movements of individuals on a particular spot. The poets and philosophers of the age have borne witness to it

many years. Those great names in our literature, Sir Walter Scott, Mr. Wordsworth, Mr. Coleridge, though in different ways and with essential differences one from another, and perhaps from any Church system, bear witness to it. The system of Mr. Irving is another witness to it. The age is moving towards something, and most unhappily the one religious communion among us which has of late years been practically in possession of that something is the Church of Rome. She alone, amid all the errors and evils of her practical system, has given free scope to the feelings of awe, mystery, tenderness, reverence, devotedness, and other feelings which may be especially called Catholic. The question, then, is whether we shall give them up to the Roman Church or claim them for ourselves, as we well may, by reverting to that older system which has of late years indeed been superseded, but which has been and is quite congenial (to say the least), I should rather say proper and natural, or even necessary, to our Church. But if we do give them up, then we must give up the men who cherish them; we must consent either to give up the men or to admit their principles. . . . The Tract is grounded on the belief that the *Articles* need not be so closed as the received method of teaching closes them, and ought not to be for the sake of many persons. If we will close them, we run the risk of subjecting persons whom we should least like to lose to the temptation of joining the Church of Rome." Some of the more advanced Tractarians had agreed with their opponents that the *Thirty-nine Articles* opposed absolutely the doctrines which Newman defended on the authority of certain Anglican theologians, but which were, according to both parties, distinctively Roman; and Newman had undertaken to demonstrate, by a rigorous examination of the language of the *Articles*, that the famous exposition of English Protestantism was reconcilable with the Catholic tenets. "It is often urged," declares No. 90, "and sometimes felt and granted, that there are in the *Articles* propositions or terms inconsistent with the Catholic faith; or, at least, if persons do not go so far as to feel the objection as of force, they are perplexed how best to answer it, or how most simply to explain the passages on

which it is made to rest. The following *Tract* is drawn up with the view of showing how groundless the objection is, and further, of approximating toward the argumentative answer to it, of which most men have an implicit apprehension, though they may have nothing more. That there are real difficulties to a Catholic Christian in the ecclesiastical position of our Church at this day, no one can deny; but the statements of the *Articles* are not in the number, and it may be right at the present moment to insist upon this." The enterprise which Newman had undertaken, an endeavor to show that the *Thirty-nine Articles* might be interpreted in a Catholic sense, was worthy of his powerful intellect, if its magnitude alone was considered; but the arguments adduced by him merely demonstrated that he still clung desperately to his hope—it must have ceased long ago to be a conviction—that the English Establishment was a "branch" of the Universal Church. An almost general panic resulted in Oxford when the contents of No. 90 had been digested; loud and perhaps sincere denunciations of the author's orthodoxy, of his false reasonings, and of his moral principles, resounded through the ancient halls. The *Tract* had been published on 27th February. On the 8th of March four senior tutors, one of whom was Mr. H. B. Wilson, of St. John's, and another Mr. Tait, of Balliol, addressed the editor of the *Tract*, charging No. 90 with suggesting and opening a way, by which men might, at least in the case of Roman views, violate their solemn engagements to their University. On the 15th of March, the Board of Heads of Houses, refusing to wait for Mr. Newman's defense, which was known to be coming, and which bears date 13th March, published their judgment. They declared that in No. 90 "modes of interpretation were suggested, and have since been advocated in other publications purporting to be written by members of the University, by which subscription to the *Articles* might be reconciled with the adoption of Roman Catholic error." And they announced their resolution, "That modes of interpretation, such as are suggested in the said *Tract*, evading rather than explaining the sense of the *Thirty-nine Articles*, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of er-

rors which they are designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned statutes" (1).

The fall of 1841 witnessed one of the facts which helped to destroy Newman's belief in the Catholicity of the Establishment; "it was," he afterward said, "one of the blows which broke me" (2). The Prussian sovereign had conceived the idea of an inter-communion between his newly-manufactured State Church and the Church of England. As a first step toward a closer alliance between the two bodies, it was proposed to institute a Protestant bishopric at Jerusalem, the prelate to be nominated alternately by England and Prussia, to be consecrated by English bishops, and to exercise jurisdiction over the English and German Protestants in Palestine. When the project was submitted to Archbishop Howley of Canterbury and Bishop Blomfield of London, they immediately approved it, to the dismay of those who asserted the Apostolicity and Catholicity of the Establishment (3). Newman saw in this proposed close communion with Lutherans and Calvinists a patent contradiction of all the arguments which he had so laboriously framed for proof of the historical and constitutional Catholicity of his beloved Church. He sent a vehement protest to the archbishop. For three or four more years Newman continued to recognize the claims of the Establishment, imperfect and faulty though he felt it to be; he still deemed it possible to restore to it the vitality which he fancied that it had once possessed. But in January, 1843, he published a retraction of the severe language which he had hitherto used in regard to the Papacy; and in the following September, he tendered his resignation of St. Mary's, and announced that he would soon resign his fellowship. He had finally realized that he could no longer hold any office in the Church of England, or again be her champion; now there remained for him, he considered, only the duty of dis-

(1) That is, the statutes of the University, cited in the preamble to the resolution.

(2) *Apologia*, pp. 243, 253.

(3) Cardinal Wiseman, writing to Phillipps on Dec. 8, 1842, says that the Austrian Minister to England told him that the design was "concocted by correspondence directly between the king of Prussia and Dr. Howley."

covering whether it was or not a delusion which was urging him to enter into the Roman communion. That this consummation was by no means improbable, he informed his sisters and his more intimate friends. The cruel struggle between Newman's dearest affections and his growing convictions, says Church, had begun, and it long continued, with the belief that though England was wrong, Rome was not right. He thought, continues the dean, "that though the Roman argument seemed more and more unanswerable, there were insuperable difficulties of certain fact which made the Roman conclusion incredible; that there was so much good and truth in England, with all its defects and faults, which was unaccountable and unintelligible on the Roman hypothesis; that the real upshot was that the whole state of things in Christendom was abnormal; that to English churchmen the English Church had immediate and direct claims which nothing but the most irresistible counter-claims could overcome or neutralize—the claims of a shipwrecked body cut off from country and home, yet as a shipwrecked body still organized, and with much saved from the wreck, and not to be deserted, as long as it held together, in an uncertain attempt to rejoin its lost unity. Resignation, retirement, silence, lay communion, the hope of ultimate, though perhaps long deferred reunion—these were his first thoughts. Misgivings could not be helped, would not be denied, but need not be paraded, were to be kept at arm's length as long as possible. This is the picture presented in the autobiography of these painful and dreary years; and there is every evidence that it is a faithful one."

Some months before Newman resigned from St. Mary's, and retired permanently to Littlemore, there had occurred a definite separation of the more moderate Tractarians, represented by Dr. Pusey, and the more advanced ones, such as Ward and Oakley, who used the columns of the *British Critic* for an advocacy of principles which the Establishment, with all of its phenomenal elasticity, could not be expected to tolerate. Ward and Oakley openly denied that the Church of England possessed any of the "notes" of a Church; with every successive article in the *Critic* they ac-

cepted more of Roman doctrine; and they did not hesitate to say that the Roman Pontiff is the divinely-appointed Primate of Christendom. When it was urged that with such opinions they could not be justified in remaining Anglicans, they replied that Providence had placed them in the Establishment; that the admirable elasticity of Anglicanism allowed its professors to hold any Roman doctrine; and that it was better to not make an open profession of Catholicism, until a large number of Anglicans would have been convinced of their duty to accompany them (1). Newman seems to have smiled on this comfortable theory when it was first broached; for in a letter to Hope Scott, Sept., 1843, he speaks of "those who feel they can with a safe conscience remain with us while they are allowed to testify in behalf of Catholicism, and to promote its interests; *i. e.*, as if by such acts they were putting our Church, or at least a portion of it in which they are included, in the position of catechumens. They think they may stay while they are moving themselves and others, nay, say the whole Church, toward Rome. ... Is this not an intelligible ground? I should like your opinion of it." It must be noted, however, that when Ward carried his theory to its logical development, holding that "the whole cycle of Roman doctrine, confirmed by the Pope," might be consistent with membership in the Establishment, Newman wrote to Hope Scott: "You are quite right in saying that I do not take Ward and Oakley's grounds that all Roman doctrine may be held in our Church, and that as Roman, I have always and everywhere resisted it." At this period Ward had become the *enfant terrible* of the Tractarian party. Unlike all the Pusseyites, who were staunch worshippers of the dissimulating weakling whom they designated as "the martyr-king," he stoutly contended that the execution of Charles I. was the only defensible course in the circumstances. At this closing period of the Movement, he proclaimed as hair-splitting and unreal the theory that the Establishment was a part of the Catholic Church. He would not recognize in himself or in his ministerial brethren any sacerdotal character or

(1) WILFRID WARD: *loc. cit.*, p. 213.

power. When some Puseyite innocent, in order to play in the emasculated travesty which his party dignified with the name of Auricular Confession, would ask Ward to act as "ghostly father," he was indeed not repelled, but when he had finished his communication, he received no "absolution"; the sturdily honest Ward would then simply kneel by his side, and beg God to forgive both of them. One day Macmullen, one of the Tractarians who afterward did receive the priesthood, told Ward to bear in mind that, according to the principles of the Movement, he was really a priest of God; whereupon he replied: "If that is the case, the whole thing is infernal humbug." In 1843, realizing the need of reconciling his frequent admiring references to Rome with the objects of the Movement, Ward wrote in the *British Critic*: "It may be worth while to remind our readers that we are defending a class of doctrines which on the whole have the distinct sanction, both of our Church's formularies and of our 'standard divines,' and yet are wholly alien to the very fundamental principles of our present practical system. The very word '*sacerdos*,' which Mr. Bernard and Archbishop Whately, whom he quotes, regard as the symbol and spring of a Christian corruption, is sanctioned in the Latin version of our *Articles*, which all the world knows to be of equal authority with the English. . . . The *Athanasian Creed* speaks of something, which it calls 'the Catholic faith,' as so authoritative, that its denial incurs an anathema; a sanction with which our Church has not invested the very fundamental basis of a 'scriptural religion,' not even such doctrines as the canonicity and inspiration of Scripture itself, essential and Catholic though these doctrines be. And in their general view of the Church's office our 'great divines,' it is well known, have displayed the same spirit. As to ceremonial religion, in particular, who can possibly go beyond Archbishop Laud in his attachment to it? And as to the Eucharistic Sacrifice, let any one impartially peruse No. 81 of the *Tracts for the Times*. On the other hand, in our existing practice (though it is hardly worth while to set about illustrating what is so very plain) unlimited private judgment on the text of Scripture is openly claimed, and

without rebuke, by our people. Again, we have in Ireland, *e. g.*, abandoned the very word 'priest' to the Roman Catholics; an ordinary layman would be hardly more astonished at being told that his clergyman was in communion with the Pope, than that in the Eucharist the said clergyman offered a 'sacrifice' (*Tract* 81, p. 256), 'a propitiatory oblation' (JOHNSON, p. 314), 'a complete sacrifice' (BRETT, p. 395) for the people; and certainly anything more utterly irreconcilable with the whole idea of the relative sacredness of holy things and places, or of a symbolized and sacramental religion, than the popular mode of behaving in churches, or the ordinary form of Sunday service, it is difficult for the most active imagination to conceive. Now, this whole view, thus distinctly recognized by our Church in theory, thus wholly abandoned in practice, has been preserved abroad in practice as well as in theory. We are absolutely driven, then, were we ever so averse, to consider Rome in its degree our model; for we are met *in limine* by objections derived from the witnessed effect of these doctrines in Roman Catholic countries. The English theoretical system agrees with Rome in these matters; the English practical system differs from her; in entering a protest, then, against our practical system in defence of our theoretical, we have necessarily the appearance of appealing to Rome against England. . . . The truth is, that we have been so long accustomed to a vague, shadowy, indefinite creed—to a creed which we dare not contemplate steadily lest it fade from our sight in the contemplation—which we dare not approach closely lest it melt away, as it were, from our very breath—that we cannot be brought into the presence of a real orthodox Catholic, 'knowing what he believes' and saying it, without feeling ourselves in a strangely uncomfortable position: we have been so long accustomed to theological gloom and twilight, that the first intrusion of the light of day pains and distresses us. The pain and distress, then, must with such persons come first; but the sun brings with it real light and warmth notwithstanding; and they, too, will in time learn and appropriate their share in its happy influences; they, too, will in time exult that after the long night the day has

begun to dawn on them ; that they have been rescued from the oppressive, arrogant, and insulting dominion of Protestant superstition, and brought safely into the fulness and freshness of Gospel truth." It is no wonder that the consequence of these and similar articles in the *British Critic* was the discontinuance of that Review, in deference to the anti-Roman sentiments of men like Pusey, and like the William Palmer of that day. Palmer now wrote a pamphlet giving "a narrative of the events connected with the publication of the *Tracts for the Times*, with reflections on existing tendencies to Romanism," and complaining of the excesses of Ward, Oakley, and others of the "extreme party." This narrative was the cause of Ward's book on *The Ideal of a Christian Church Considered in Comparison with Existing Practices*, a work which, in the words of Dean Stanley, gave the signal for the "closing scene of the conflict of the first Oxford Movement" (1).

While Ward was writing the *Ideal*, Newman had said to Dalgairns : "The great thing we have to look for now is Ward's *magnum opus*" ; therefore when the book appeared, Dalgairns hastened to Littlemore, and asked for the great leader's opinion on it. Newman was reading it at the moment, and he replied : "It won't do" ; and he especially indicated his rejection of Ward's belief that Anglicans were free to regard the Church of Rome as their authorized teach-

(1) Its dedication was as follows : "To all members of the English Church who have her welfare deeply at heart, these pages, which have been prompted by an earnest desire to bear part, if it might be allowed, in the great work of restoring unity of doctrine and action within her pale, are respectfully and affectionately inscribed." In the Preface, the author writes : "The one object which has been nearest my heart throughout has been the attempting to lay down a sufficient basis on which all who profess what are called 'High Church' sentiments might be able to co-operate without compromise on any side." This basis is the principle—which he maintains that Catholic asceticism has ever presupposed—"that careful and individual moral discipline is the only possible basis on which Christian Faith and Practice can be reared." If it be allowed that the existing English Church entirely neglects, as Mr. Ward maintains, the duty of such moral discipline, then he concludes "that to remedy these defects is an object of so much magnitude as to offer the fullest scope for all our energies;—that to act heartily and unsuspectingly on our points of agreement is the sure way of arriving at agreement on matters which are now points of difference." At the same time he adds, "I have felt it a positive duty in no way to conceal my own deeply and deliberately entertained opinions on the ultimate result which would ensue from all wisely directed endeavors to reform and purify our Church," that result being a nearer and nearer approximation to the principles and doctrines current in the Church of Rome, and finally to repentance for the schism of the sixteenth century, and the wish to acknowledge once more the primacy of the See of Peter, and its divine commission as guardian of Catholic truth.

er. The feeling of the Puseyite Tractarians, and of nearly all the High Church Anglicans, in regard to the *Ideal*, was expressed by Gresley, prebendary of Lichfield, when he wrote : " Most heartily do I wish that Mr. Ward was anywhere else, rather than at the University of Oxford at the present time, or that he had never been so ill-advised as to publish his unhappy book, or indeed anything else. With good and upright intentions, Mr. Ward's writings have been singularly infelicitous. The Church was going on very well when Mr. Ward unhappily became connected with the *British Critic* ; since which time all has gone wrong. The peculiar mischief in Mr. Ward's writings is that he puts forth the most important and valuable truths which, if discreetly stated, might be of the greatest value to the Church ; but coupling them with such extravagant statements, such apparent arrogance and scorn of those who differ from him, such misstatements of other persons' views, and such an obvious leaning, or rather identification of himself with the Church of Rome, that an insuperable prejudice is raised against the very improvements he advocates. Never was there such a mixture of opposites. It may be questioned whether Mr. Ward's Romanizing tendencies might not have been passed over unheeded, but for the vehement manner in which he denounces the unholiness, and imbecility, and latitudinarianism, and various evil attributes, which, whether rightly or not, he thinks he perceives in the present system of our Church. It is on account of this, that the anger of many persons is concentrated upon him. He has himself contrived the conductor which is to bring all the electric fluid on his own head." It soon transpired that the Oxford authorities had determined to make an example of Ward. Six passages from the *Ideal* were said to be inconsistent with the *Thirty-nine Articles*, and therefore with the good faith of Ward, who had subscribed them ; and the Heads of Houses had decided that in a Convocation to be held on Feb. 13, 1845, a resolution to that effect should be passed, and that a second resolution should deprive the culprit of his degrees, while a third should declare that in future " the *Articles* must be accepted, not according to the subtle explanations of the nineteenth century,

but according to the rigid definitions of the sixteenth. It laid down that whenever subscribed at the University of Oxford, they must be accepted in that sense in which they had been originally uttered, and in which the University imposed them" (1). This determination of the dons caused great excitement in all circles of thought; for although few, even among the advanced Tractarians, accepted all of Ward's conclusions, it was seen that the proposed course was equivalent, on the part of the University, to an ostracization of fully one-half of its most promising sons. The sense of the University of that moment was "Low Church"; but, asks Wilfrid Ward, was this sense identical with that of the framers of the *Articles*, as it professed to be? Keble wrote against a condemnation of Ward, although he did not approve the *Ideal*. Pusey preserved absolute silence. Tait, afterward incumbent of Canterbury, approved the personal condemnation of the criminated passages of the *Ideal*; but he wrote to the vice-chancellor that the proposed test established a principle which would bear hard not only on Ward and the Newmanites, but also on many whose place in the Establishment was regarded as secure—a position in which Ward had already intrenched himself, when he said: "My subscription is as honest as that of others." Newman took no part in the struggle. Archdeacon Wilberforce wrote against Ward, and for the test. Gladstone, although he wrote strongly in an attempted refutation of the *Ideal*, refused to countenance the test. Writing to Wilberforce on Dec. 29, 1844, he said: "With respect to the new test I have not heard the argument for it, and have some difficulty in conceiving what it can be. In the first place, I apprehend much is to be said on the naked question of legality; but that I pass by. On general grounds I see very many objections. Firstly, the recurrence to the sense of first promulgation is no guarantee against Wardism, because it is part of Ward's theory that he is acting wholly within the theory of the promulgators. Secondly, the sense of first promulgation is a matter only to be known by much historical study; and so far as I can get at it, I am disposed to believe it was a sense

(1) Dean Stanley, in the *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1881, p. 320.

very liberal towards the Church of Rome. This appears to me to stand on the face of the *Articles* much more than any other sense. But whether that be so or not, I do not think you should call on men to affirm virtually propositions of history, unless they are known either by study or notoriety. And in this case few could have adequately studied, and I am not aware that any sense (*quoad* these points) is notorious. Thirdly, I find, however, much greater difficulty still in conjecturing what is meant by the present sense of the University. I think there is no University sense sufficiently definite to be made the subject of a test. But even if this position be waived, where is this definite sense to be found? And is it fixed, or does it vary from year to year?" The result of this agitation was the abandonment of the test; but when the Oxford Convocation met on Feb. 13, the passages from the *Ideal* were condemned by a vote of 777 to 391; and Ward was deprived of his degrees by a vote of 569 to 511. Among the voices which voted *non placet*, that of Mr. Gladstone was very vehement; indeed, the great commoner voted in favor of Ward on both propositions. At the close of the proceedings Ward called on Pusey, and in a jocose manner he commented on the anomalous position which he now perforce occupied in the University; he was a Fellow of Balliol, but since his degree had been cancelled, he was practically an undergraduate. "They can't expect me to wear an undergraduate's cap and gown," he remarked; "I suppose I must wear my beaver." Then a grave voice from the end of the room reached his ear: "The situation seems to me, Mr. Ward, to be one of the utmost gravity. It is indeed a serious crisis. Let us not at such a time give way to a spirit of levity or hilarity." The speaker was Archdeacon Manning, who had voted for Ward, and who now met him for the first time. The conversation that ensued would indicate that Manning at least did not then regard the *Ideal* as too Catholic in tone; for when Ward repeated his opinion, expressed in his work, that the doctrines of Luther were worse than atheism, the archdeacon replied: "The most Lutheran book I have ever read was called *The Ideal of a Christian Church*" (1).

(1) There was much in the Oxford proceedings against Ward that was calculated to

A strong effort to procure the condemnation of *Tract No. 90* in this Convocation had been made by the foes of Newman; a requisition to the Board, issued in the names of Dr. Fausset and Dr. Ellerton, received nearly 500 signatures. But many leading minds, Gladstone among them, convinced the proctors that they ought to exercise their right of Veto on the project; and when, after the degradation of Ward, the vice-chancellor put the question, the proctors stopped the proceedings (1).

The Movement was now on the verge of collapse. Dean Stanley was wont to ascribe that consummation to the scandal which, according to him, had been operated among the

amuse. Shortly after the appearance of the *Ideal*, he was deprived of his tutorship of mathematics in Balliol, and just before the Feast of Sts. Simon and Jude he was forbidden to act any longer as deputy-chaplain for Oakley. His son tells us that when that day arrived, in the ordinary course of things, he was to read the Epistle at the Communion service on one side of the Communion table, while Dr. Jenkyns, as senior ecclesiastic, read the Gospel at the other side. Mr. Ward himself expected some sort of protest from the Master, and he was not disappointed. A scene long remembered by the undergraduates who were present followed. Directly the Master saw Mr. Ward advancing to the Epistle side of the table, he shot forth from his place and rushed to the Gospel side, and just as Mr. Ward was beginning, commenced in his loudest tones: — "The Epistle is taken from the first chapter of St. Jude." Mr. Ward made no further attempt to continue, and the Master, now thoroughly aroused, read *at him* across the Communion table. The words of the Epistle were singularly appropriate to the situation, and the Master, with ominous pauses and looks at the irreverent Puseyite, who had sown sedition in the Church and blasphemed the Heads of Houses, read *at him* slowly and emphatically: "For there are certain men erept in unawares" (pause, and look at Mr. Ward) "who were before of old ordained unto this condemnation" (pause, and look), "ungodly men" (pause, and look);—and a little later, still more slowly and bitterly he read, "they speak evil of dignities!"

(1) "On this part of the question, those who have ever been honored by Mr. Newman's friendship must feel it dangerous to allow themselves thus to speak. And yet they must speak; for no one else can appreciate it as truly as they do. When they see the person whom they had been accustomed to revere as few men are revered, whose labors, whose greatness, whose tenderness, whose singleness and holiness of purpose, they have been permitted to know intimately—not allowed even the poor privilege of satisfying, by silence and retirement—by the relinquishment of preferment, position, and influence—the persevering hostility of persons whom they cannot help comparing with him—not permitted even to submit in peace to those irregular censures, to which he seems to have been even morbidly alive, but dragged forth to suffer an oblique and tardy condemnation; called again to account for matters now long ago accounted for; on which a judgment has been pronounced, which, whatever others may think of it, he at least has accepted as conclusive—when they contrast his merits, his submission, his treatment, which they see and know, with the merits, the bearing, the fortunes of those who are doggedly pursuing him, it does become very difficult to speak without sullyng what it is a kind of pleasure to feel is *his* cause by using hard words, or betraying it by not using them. It is too difficult to speak, as ought to be spoken, of this ungenerous and gratuitous afterthought—too difficult to keep clear of what, at least, will be *thought* exaggeration; too difficult to do justice to what they feel to be undoubtedly true; and I will not attempt to say more than enough to mark an opinion which ought to be plainly avowed, as to the nature of this procedure."—*Short Appeal to Members of Convocation on the Proposed Censure of No. 90*. By Frederic Rogers, Fellow of Oriel (Dated Feb. 8, 1845).

more devout of the Tractarians by the marriage of Ward (1). No such absurd reason could have caused dejection in the minds of the men who had rallied around the standard of John Henry Newman. There were several events which may have hastened the demise of Tractarianism; for instance, the decision of the Ecclesiastical Courts in regard to the Stone Altar case, the Margaret Street proceedings, etc. (2). But the prime cause was undoubtedly the declared intention of Newman, the very soul of the Movement, to become a Catholic. After the degradation of Ward, says the dean of St. Paul's, "there was a widespread feeling of insecurity. Friends did not know of friends, how their minds were working, how they might go. Anxious letters passed, the writers not daring to say too much, or reveal too much alarm. And yet there was still some hope that at least with the great leader matters were not desperate. To his own

(1) "Ward had first taken deacon's orders with no belief in their sacramental character. But even after his final ordination as a Newmanite, the anomalous state of the English Church seemed to him to throw such doubt on the Episcopal Succession, that he had never believed in the validity of his own orders. His views on clerical celibacy were therefore no bar to his marriage. Still, when it came to the alternative of breaking off a friendship which had been so much to him, and taking a step which must necessarily, in the excited state of feeling on every point in Catholic doctrine, be a shock to his supporters, he hesitated; and it was only the decided counsel of the men to whom he ever looked for advice in matters of duty, which determined him to act as he acted. Newman held that it was his vocation, as he felt it to be for his happiness, that the friendship should be allowed to become what it had fast been becoming. Miss Frances Mary Wingfield was the youngest daughter of the Rev. John Wingfield, D. D., one of the pluralists of bygone days, who held, among other preferments, a canonry of York, a probendal stall at Worcester, and another living at Bromsgrove. She had long been a zealous Puseyite, and had followed Mr. Ward's career with all the sympathy which was natural in a disciple of Oakley. They were engaged to be married in the winter of 1844, on the eve of the events described in the last chapter. It was thought advisable, considering the exasperated state of public feeling, that the engagement should not be publicly known until after the proceedings of 13th February. It was not a time at which the public mind would be disposed to take a fair view of the subject; and the broad fact that the English clergyman who advocated clerical celibacy was himself about to marry, would be a more effective weapon in the hands of his opponents than the more complicated and personal considerations by which individual duty is decided, could be for his friends. In calmer times the case might have been otherwise. John Wesley advocated clerical celibacy, and yet thought that his own circumstances and character warranted him in marrying. And though he had not even the plea which Mr. Ward had, that he did not regard his orders as assured, or his vocation to be that of a priest, we do not hear of his marriage being criticised. But December, 1844, was a moment of intense excitement and consequent unfairness on all sides in the English Church. The party could not risk the possible consequences of disclosure, and the engagement was not divulged until the great day of Mr. Ward's trial before the University was past. It was a nine days' wonder, and a year or two later, when Mr. Ward had become a Catholic layman, probably very few disapproved of it."—WILFRID WARD; *ubi supra*, ch. 14.

(2) Wilfrid Ward describes both matters.

friends he gave warning ; he had already done so in a way to leave little to expect but at last to lose him ; he spoke of resigning his fellowship in October, though he wished to defer this till the following June ; but nothing final had been said publicly. Even at the last it was only anticipated by some that he would retire into lay communion. But that silence was awful and ominous. . . . The defeated party, though defeated signally and conspicuously in the sight of the Church and the country, had in it too large a proportion of the serious and able men of the University, with too clear and high a purpose, and too distinct a sense of the strength and reality of their ground, to be in as disadvantageous a condition as from a distance might be imagined. A closer view would have discovered how much sympathy there was for their objects and for their main principles in many who greatly disapproved of much in the recent course and tendency of the Movement. It might have been seen how the unwise measures of the Heads had awakened convictions among many who were not naturally on their side, that it was necessary both on the ground of justice and policy to arrest all extreme measures, and to give a breathing time to the minority. Confidence in their prospects as a party might have been impaired in the Tractarians ; but confidence in their principles, confidence that they had rightly interpreted the spirit, the claims, and the duties of the English Church, confidence that devotion to its cause was the call of God, whatever might happen to their own fortunes, this confidence was unshaken by the catastrophe of February." But in September, 1845, Ward and his wife were received into the Catholic Church by the Jesuit, Father Brownbill ; and on Oct. 8, Newman made his abjuration of Protestantism in the hands of the Passionist, Father Dominic. Immediately after his reception of conditional baptism, Newman went to his desk, on which rested the manuscript of his not yet completed *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, and wrote by way of an Appendix to the work the words which Hutton well describes as destined to be remembered as long as the English language endures : "Such were the thoughts concerning the 'blessed vision of peace,' of one whose long

continued petition had been that the Most Merciful would not despise the work of his own hands nor leave him to himself, while yet his eyes were dim and his breast laden, and he could but employ Reason in the Things of Faith. And now, dear reader, time is short and eternity long. Put not from you what you have here found; reject it not as mere matter of present controversy. Set not out to reject it, and looking about for the best way of doing so; seduce not yourself with the imagination that it comes of disgust, or disappointment, or restlessness, or wounded feeling, or undue sensibility, or other weakness. Wrap not yourself round in the associations of years past, nor determine that to be the truth which you wish to be so, nor make an idol of cherished anticipations. Time is short, eternity is long. ‘*Nunc dimittis servum Tuum, Domine, secundum verbum Tuum in pace. Quia viderunt oculi mei salutare Tuum*’ ” (1). Numerous in-

(1) “It has been said that at that time the adequate and complete formula of the faith of many men, eminent in judgment and will, was these words—*Credo in Newmanum*. A word from him, even less than that, a passing shade of expression, a gesture, a silent pause, were obeyed or listened to, as the commands of a king or the decrees of an infallible Pontiff. Rarely has a man in this or any other age enjoyed more fully the intoxicating joys of an intellectual and moral dictatorship. What is pathetic in his case is, that during almost all this time the object of this adoration, the idol of this worship, was a prey to the poignant anguish of doubt. He saw an abyss open beside him, and, more unfortunate than Pascal, it was he who brought to it all those who confided in him. . . . Very soon he felt that he had not the right to limit his affirmations to what was useful to his cause. It would have been very convenient, but not sufficiently honest, to cut off from his theories all that went beyond the current conception of Anglicanism, to prune away all that threatened the claims or showed the contradictions of the Church of England. Accepting, invoking a part of the formula of Vincent de Lerins, he could not conscientiously reject and condemn the remainder. Did not his doctrine of the rule of Christian antiquity, of conformity to the primitive Church, logically imply Catholicism? How could he assert with the same breath that the Church was by divine right the depository and interpreter of revealed truth, and that she was the mistress of errors and sponsor of popular superstitions? With what right could he proclaim the infallible authority of the Church of the first three centuries, of the great Œcumenical Councils, only to recognize the great defection of the Church in the Middle Ages, the straying from the right path of the Council of Trent? The terror with which Newman saw the uprising of these questions was sincere. If his mind began to throw off the yoke of his Protestant prejudices, his heart and imagination were still enslaved by them. . . . It seemed to Newman that he was doomed to strike a deadly blow at his mother, the Church (of England), whether he forsook her to kneel before her proud enemy, or whether he tore away from her with his own hands the crown that he had just placed upon her head. This inner strife was already far advanced when, as a climax, there came a whole series of external facts, of undeniable, practical realities, which showed him the fictitious and imaginary elements of his fundamental affirmations. It was no longer a question of knowing theoretically whether a Church possessing, or claiming a part of the supernatural attributes of the ideal Church, has the logical right to repudiate the others. . . . Newman had to own that Anglicanism did not possess the distinctive signs of the Church of God. How could such fictions as the following be maintained, when

deed were the conversions which were encouraged by the example of Newman; and the disappointed Pusey could find consolation only by flattering himself with the fancy that their change of faith had worked harm in the characters of his olden friends: "All who have left us have deteriorated so much—all, that is, with two exceptions. One exception is Newman, whose nature is so beautiful, so perfect, that nothing, not even going over to Rome, could change him. The other exception is Ward. Ward had got so bad already, that with him further deterioration was impossible."

In 1850 there originated in England another Romeward movement, one which owed its existence to an official act of the crown, in its capacity of Supreme Head of the Church of England. This governmental action consecrated, with the highest sanction known to Anglicanism, the Erastianism or State supremacy in religious matters which Dr. Arnold upheld, and which the Newmanites had tried to overthrow. Dr. Philpotts, the Anglican incumbent of Exeter, was asked to confer canonical institution to the vicarage of Brampford Speke on a minister named G. C. Gorham, a man who had publicly rejected the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. The prelate refused to grant the institution, and his view was upheld by the Court of Arches, the ecclesiastical court

every fact gave the lie to them?—fictions, such as an inspired witness to revelation, an inviolable depository of dogma, a faithful administrator of the Sacraments, an episcopate in direct line of Apostolic Succession—how could they be maintained when the Church of England suffered and accepted the appointment of a heretic, Hampden, as Regius Professor of Theology; when she bestirred herself only to condemn Baptismal Regeneration, too strictly taught by Pusey, or the too Catholic system of interpretation of Tract 90, or the impetuous Word and his *Ideal Church*; when the Episcopacy gave over to the civil power the keys of the citadel, flinging energy only to fire upon its own troops, and to show severity against the too zealous faithful? From that time, Newman himself tells us he was on his death-bed. For five years longer the death struggle went on. . . . In order to justify in his own eyes this obstinate resistance, he took refuge in the most desperate resolutions, the subtlest and even the most sophistical expedients. At one time he found some relief in the mystical theory of the Babylonian Captivity. In his eyes the Establishment was sick, a slave to civil power, a prey to error; it was her children's duty all the same to live and die in her bosom, that is to say, deprived of the graces granted to more favored communions, but with the bitter satisfaction of being obedient to the end, faithful in spite of all. This ingenious expedient ceased to satisfy him the day when he perceived that by this subterfuge he merely came back to Protestant Individualism and to the suppression of the Church as a means of grace. In the main, his decision was taken when he clearly saw that he was held back, less by the scruples of his conscience, the doubts of his reason, or the affections of his heart, than by the apprehension of a party leader, the annoyances of the humiliated teacher, the point of honor of the general obliged to go over to the enemy."—PRESSENSÉ; Manning—I. *His Protestant Years*; II. *His Catholic Years*. In the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 1 and 15, 1896.

of the archbishop of Canterbury. Then Mr. Gorham quite naturally appealed to Her Majesty. The cause was tried by Her Gracious Majesty's Privy Council; and to the decision of this secular tribunal the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the Establishment, like good and submissive subjects in all matters religious and political, reverently bowed. The Royal Privy Council declared, on March 8, that Gorham's opinion in the matter of Baptism could be legitimately held by a minister of the Anglican Church. This direct domination of the State in matters of faith, this imposition of a State Creed in defiance of the declarations of the representative churchmen of the Establishment, showed all but the innocently ignorant or the wilfully blind that the depositary of Anglican doctrine, so far as the Church of England could be said to have any definite body of doctrine, was a lay tribunal which might be composed of Christians, Jews, and Agnostics, in any or no proportion. The decision should have surprised no person who was at all conversant with the history of England; for it was merely consonant with the attitude of the English sovereigns ever since Queen Bess thrust her Act of Uniformity into the faces of her prelates in the Convocation of 1559. Nevertheless, the surviving Tractarians, styled Puseyites since the conversion of Newman, were startled; probably because they had fancied that the functions of their lay Pope had fallen into desuetude. On March 12 fourteen of the more prominent ones met at the residence of Mr. Hope (afterward Hope Scott of Abbotsford) to discuss the feasibility of some action in the emergency. The meeting resulted merely in the passage of a series of resolutions condemning the enterprise of the Privy Council. On March 17, Wiseman, then still vicar-apostolic of the London District, referred to the Gorham case in a sermon which he delivered in St. George's cathedral. He showed how the archbishops of Canterbury, in Catholic times, had "suffered exile, and even death when necessary, rather than submit to the usurpation and claims of the State in regard to the Church." What remedy was there, he asked, when the secular power was even *requested* to determine matters of faith? "Is there, then, no appeal?"

Has there never been any appeal beyond this [appeal to Ecclesiastical Courts and the Privy Council]? I have shown you, my brethren, that there were, in ancient times, appeals to another power, to a spiritual and superior power, acknowledged by the whole Church. To that they [the Anglicans] cannot appeal; and there has been the great error, that they have cut themselves so completely off from that authority, and that tribunal, to which alone an appeal in matters of faith would lie, that it is necessary for them to treat this appeal as final, because it leaves them no other direction in which to escape. Yes, my brethren, in former times, if a matter like this had risen in one Church, it would not have been left to her, with her own limited resources, to fight the battle. . . . But how is it that England, or rather, we will say, that which calls itself her Church, should be now so cut off from the sympathies of the rest of the world? Will she dare to appeal to the Universal Church in which, so many of her writers declare, lies the ultimate appeal in matters of faith? Yes, I admit their words. It is to the Universal Church that the only final appeal can come; whether that Universal Church be represented by her head, or whether she be represented by a General Council, or whether she be represented by all the Churches of the Catholic unity, separated, indeed, in place, but yet speaking with one assent. To that authority, however represented, I own that the appeal must lie. Then, let this Church, let this powerful Church, as no doubt in many ways she is, raise her voice and call upon the Catholic Church throughout the world, to come and bear part with her, and sustain her, in this her intended struggle. Or let her ask all others to join their suffrages to the truth of the doctrine which it is said has been now, for the first time, impugned. Why does she not do so? Or if she does, will they respond? Is there, then, no longer any internal union, any bond of love and of charity, that binds her to the rest of the Christian world, so that, upon her cry of distress, it will rise to succor her, and, if it may not help, at least to console her and encourage her? Will Gaul send a Saint Germanus or a Saint Lupus once more, as she did when the Pelagian heresy was threatening

the faith of this island, to come and instruct men in the truth, and to confute the propagators of that heresy?" Reflections such as these were probably dominant in the mind of Gladstone, when he rose from a sick bed to tell Manning: "The English Church is lost, if she does not save herself by an act of courage." Certainly the Anglo-Catholic reaction, as the men of the Movement complacently styled their idea, could no longer continue to tacitly ignore the royal ecclesiastical supremacy; to prate about a rule of faith as determined by the voice of the Universal Church or by the decrees of ancient Œcumenical Councils. In the name of the queen, the Supreme Head of the Church of England, a lay tribunal appointed by her had decided that it was allowable for a "priest" of the Establishment to deny a Sacrament; and as though the subserviency of the State "bishops" needed to be emphasized, three of those gentlemen had exercised a purely *consultative* vote when the decision was being debated. The "act of courage" suggested by Gladstone was attempted when Manning, Robert Wilberforce, Pusey, Mill (professor of Hebrew at Cambridge), Henry Wilberforce, Keble, and Hope, protested against the royal definition of doctrine; but when the moment of subscription arrived, the future "Grand Old Man" declared that he could not sign, because of his oath as a Privy Councillor (1). On March 19 Manning presided over a meeting of the clergy of his archdeaconry, and drew up a declaration against the royal supremacy, which was afterward signed by about 1,800 ministers, although very few afterward showed that they had the courage of their convictions. Then, feeling that Anglicanism was "a mere ruin," Manning remained in retirement until December, waking, each morning, as he wrote to his fellow-sufferer, Robert Wilberforce, with "his heart almost broke"; he was as though "torn to pieces between truth and affection." Frequently he said: "If I remain an Anglican, I shall end by being a mere mystic. Nothing, in any case, will make

(1) Philpotts of Exeter had said: "We have three men on whom we can rely—Gladstone in the State; Hope (Sir Walter Scott's grandson by marriage) at the bar; and Manning in the Church." He judged rightly, only in regard to Gladstone.

me return to English Protestantism, or to any other." If he still entertained any hope that the chief pastors of the Establishment would yet act in some manner which would show that their organization was really a Church, he was disillusionized when those "bishops," four alone excepted, imitated Sumner, the incumbent of Canterbury, in a refusal to countenance a project to transfer ecclesiastical jurisdiction from the Privy Council to the episcopal body; and when the Anglican primate announced that he would never question the sentence of "a regular tribunal," and that furthermore he saw no illegality in the canonical institution of a minister who did not believe in Baptismal Regeneration. On Nov. 17, Manning exercised his archidiaconal functions for the last time; he presided at a meeting of the ministers of Chichester which had been convoked in order to protest against the action of Pope Pius IX. in the restoration of the English hierarchy which had been suppressed by Elizabeth. He announced to his brethren that he had resolved to enter the Catholic Church; and on April 6, 1851, he and Mr. Hope abjured, confessed, made their Profession of Faith, and received conditional baptism and absolution at the hands of Father Brown-Hill. Then Manning could write: "I feel that I have no other desire than to persevere in what God has given me for the sake of His Son. What a blessed ending! As the soul says to Dante—*E de martirio venni a questa pace!*" (1).

Nearly all Anglican polemics have endeavored to minimize the importance of the Oxford Movement. The members of the so-called High Church party see in it a rebuke to their own want of logic; and the Liberals seem to ignore its very essence. We have heard Dr. Arnold describing it as "a dress, a ritual, a name, a ceremony, objects so pitiful that if gained ever so completely, they would make no man the wiser or the better"; and in later days Dean Stanley affect-

(1) A few months afterward, the London *Times* exultantly announced that Manning had discovered the folly of his hallucinations, and had returned to the forgiving bosom of his true mother, abandoning the deceits of "the Italian mission." The enterprising editor received the following assurance: "I have found in the Catholic Church all that I sought; more even than I should have been capable of imagining, so long as I remained outside of her."

ed to be surprised when he "looked back upon the trivial elements which produced so much excitement. . . . The Apostolical Succession, the revival of obsolete rubrics, together with one or two Patristic tendencies, such as the doctrine of reserve and of mysticism, were the staple of their teaching" (1). The Protestant progeny of the Movement, those self-styled "Anglo-Catholics" who claim to be one with the Church of Sts. Gregory and Augustine, who insist upon a Real Presence in what they style a Mass in their temples, should feel uncomfortable when a dignitary of the Establishment is allowed to hold that the Apostolic Succession is a mere triviality, and that their presumed Sacrifice of the Altar is simply a revival of an obsolete rubric; but had the dean of Westminster held other views, he would have been a Newmanite in his younger days, and being a good logician, he would probably never have attained his deanery. Mark Pattison is so anxious to escape that necessity of communicating with Rome which Newman's logic found to be of the very essence of Catholicity, that he falls back on the ultra-Protestant theory of an invisible Church. After feigning to have discovered that Newman's great gifts were expended on what was a very "narrow basis of philosophical culture," and after declaring that "all the grand development of human reason was a sealed book to him," Pattison extols that "unity of all thought, which far transcends the *mere mechanical association* of unthinking members of the Catholic Church; a great spiritual unity by the side of which *all sects and denominations shrink into vanity*" (2). Professor Jowett, at present Master of Balliol, says that "the leaders of the Movement, though not deficient in the wisdom of the serpent, had no true knowledge of the world; they had never

(1) Thus in the *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1881.

(2) Pattison's *Memoirs*, p. 210. Pattison died rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. The Protestant Pressensé speaks of him as "an embittered or rather a withered soul, less so through the disappointments and delays of his University ambitions, than by his great spiritual mishap. His life's chance lost by missing the coach when he was going to abjure Protestantism with his master, he fell into systematic doubt, into the mischievous erudition of a Bayle, the haughty and superfine criticism of a Renan. As a result, the chief work of that long life of studious leisure was the volume of *Memoirs* where he has drawn the darkest, the most melancholy, the most painful picture of a wasted intellect, of a barren heart voluntarily shrivelled and yet forever inconsolable for an ideal, half-seen, half-possessioned, and then forever lost." *Loc. cit.*, pt. 1.

applied the lessons of ecclesiastical history to their own times. They did not consider that the string, if overstrained, would break, or that their own type of character was suited to a very few; it never occurred to them that the Movement which they had created would inevitably be followed by a reaction. Good and simple-minded and accomplished men as they were, and quite free from any taint of personal ambition, they do not seem to have understood that *the power of the priest and of the confessional would no longer be endured in England*; that we had put away casuistry, and were *determined to place religion on a moral and historical basis*" (1). Dean Church is personally favorable toward the Tractarians who "went over to Rome"; but the tone of his entire work is evinced when he implies that the Movement was superfluous and not worth the troubles which it generated: "The English Church was after all as well worth living in and fighting for as any other; it was not only in England that light and dark, in teaching and in life, were largely intermingled, and the mixture had to be largely allowed for. We had our Sparta, a noble, if a rough and an incomplete one; patiently to do our best, for it was better than leaving it to its fate, in obedience to signs and reasonings which the heat of strife might well make delusive" (2). An excellent soporific indeed for an Anglican who desires merely to sleep comfortably, and when awakened, to turn over, and sleep again. A younger brother of Hurrell Froude, that James Anthony Froude who in certain circles is regarded as a historian, blames the Movement for the shipwreck of faith in Christianity which he and a few others afterward suffered; he would have us believe that "but for the Oxford Movement scepticism might have continued a harmless speculation of a few philosophers." And, nevertheless, this same James Anthony Froude justifies, in his *Nemesis of Faith* which was written after his break with Newman, the anti-Erastian action of the Tractarians, when he thus describes the Establishment:

(1) *Recollections of W. G. Ward* furnished by Prof. Jowett to Wilfrid Ward for the latter's work on his father. See *Appendix D* of Wilfrid Ward's book.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, p. 401.

"A foolish Church, chattering, parrot-like, old notes, of which it had forgot the meaning; a clergy who not only thought not at all, but whose heavy ignorance, from long unreality, clung about them like a garment, and who mistook their fool's cap and bells for a crown of wisdom, and the music of the spheres; selfishness alike recognized practically as the rule of conduct, and faith in God, in man, in virtue, exchanged for faith in the belly, in fortunes, carriages, lazy sofas, and cushioned pews; Bentham politics, and Paley religion; all the thought deserving to be called thought, the flowing tide of Germany, and the philosophy of Hume and Gibbon; all the spiritual feeling, the light froth of the Wesleyans and Evangelicals; and the only real stern life to be found anywhere, in a strong resolved and haughty democratic independence, heaving and rolling underneath the chaff-spread surface. How was it like to fare with the clergy gentlemen, and the Church turned respectable in the struggle, with enemies like these? Erastianism, pluralities, prebendal stalls, and pony-gigging parsons,—what work were they like to make against the proud, rugged, intellectual republicanism, with a fire sword between its lips, bidding cant and lies be still, and philosophy, with Niebuhr criticism for a reaping sickle, mowing down their darling story-books? High time it was to move indeed. High time for the Church warriors to look about them, to burnish up their armor, to seize what ground was yet remaining, what time to train for the battle. . . . The question with the *Tract* writers was, whether with the help of the old framework they could un-Protestantize its working character, and reinspire it with so much of the old life as should enable it to do the same work in England which the Roman Church produced abroad. . . . To wean the Church from its Erastianism into militancy, where it might at least command respect for its sincerity. . . . Slowly then to draw the people out of the whirl of business to thought upon themselves—from self-assertion, from the clamoring for their rights and the craving for independence, to alms-giving, to endurance of wrong, to the confessional—from doing to praying—from early hours in the office or in the field, to Matins and daily service; this was

the purpose of the Tract Movement. God knows, if Christianity be true, a purpose needful enough to get fulfilled" (1).

Finally, there are many Anglicans who contend that Newman and his followers needed not to abandon their mother, the Established Church of England, in order to find that Catholicity which they sought. Had they possessed a little patience, they would have heard a grand acclamation of Catholic doctrine from Anglican pulpits; they would have seen "Mass" celebrated in many Anglican temples; they would have heard all the distinctively Catholic doctrines proclaimed in many Anglican pulpits. This insistence is perhaps plausible; but it would not have affected the resolution of any one of the converts of 1845, or of those of later date. The Newmanites had aimed at a Catholicization of the Church of England as a Church; they had not aimed at an acceptance of Catholic doctrine and practices by certain individual Anglicans, here and there, as the result of the mere private judgment of those individuals. It is true that in our day we have heard the doctrines of the Real Presence of our Lord in the Eucharist admitted by many Anglicans; and it is true that what they term a "Mass" is publicly performed by the spiritual progeny of those who, in attestation of their "Evangelical" Protestantism, abolished the Altars of Sacrifice, placing the consecrated slabs in the pavement of the desecrated churches, so that the English people, like the Dutch Protestant performers of the *Ye Fumi* in Japan, might furnish the world with an object-lesson of their hatred of all the "idoltrous abominations" of Catholicism. But if Newman and his companions could have foreseen such and similar changes, they would have recognized them not as a

(1) Pressensé speaks of James Anthony Froude as of one of "those who suffered shipwreck through Anglo-Catholicism; unfortunate men who fell under the influence of Newman just enough to repudiate the comfortable compromises, the easy terms of the official and established religion, and not enough to throw themselves and take a firm position upon the rock of dogmatism, the faith of authority. They caught the mystic fever only to awake shivering and depressed after the fits, and this passing attack of Catholicism allowed them to fall back into disheartened scepticism or militant Agnosticism. . . . James Anthony Froude had grown up at the feet of Newman, and was for long the most fervent and docile of disciples; but the Nemesis of Faith carried him far from that sheltered port into a stormy sea. Finally, a contrary current swept him into the arms of Carlyle, the apostle of Agnostic Stoicism. Healed, but feeling ever after the traces of his old wounds, he made his life-work, his *History of England in the Sixteenth Century*, a gigantic diatribe against Catholicism."

Catholicization of the Establishment, but as the results of mere individual fancy ; for in the parish-church next to the one in which the "Mass" was celebrated, and Confession was advised, the Mass, Confession, etc., were to be denounced as idolatrous deceits of the Scarlet Woman. Not until the Newmanites were convinced that the spasmodic and, comparatively speaking, seldom heard profession of Catholic doctrine was the official teaching of the Church of England, would they have hesitated perchance as to their duty to prostrate themselves before the Chair of Peter ; and such hesitation would have ceased, when they reflected that no mere declaration of a belief in the Real Presence will suffice to produce that Real Presence, and that Absolution from sin can be granted only by a validly-ordained and jurisdiction-possessing priest of the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CARBONARI. MAZZINI AND "YOUNG ITALY."

One of the necessary consequences of the triumph of the French Revolution in Italy was the development of Freemasonry in regions which hitherto had known the pest almost only by name ; and when Napoleon had arrived at the height of his power, the Italian Lodges became his principal support in the peninsula. The very names of the Lodges indicated the subserviency of the Italian portion of the sect to the rule of the foreigner ; thus in Milan, in 1805, the five Lodges were styled : "The Royal Napoleon," "The Royal Joseph," "The Eugene (Beauharnais)," "The Concord," and "The Happy Union." In the narrative of *The First Labors of the Grand Orient in Italy*, published at that time, we read of the exuberant joy which animated the brethren when Napoleon gave to them a grand-master in the person of his stepson, and when he raised his most devoted Italian friends to the most influential positions in the sect. In the *Catechism of the Three Degrees*, issued in 1808, and in the *General Constitution of the Grand Orient*, which appeared in

1809, the flatteries showered on the demi-god are couched in absurd Gallicisms which indicate that the Italian sectaries were willing to abandon even their language, had such been the will of their protector—and manipulator. Every session of a Lodge was opened and closed with cries of “Vive l’Empereur!” In 1812, the Grand Orient of Paris had jurisdiction over 1,089 dependent Lodges in Italy; and it received from them annually two millions of francs for the French grand-master, Joseph Bonaparte, and a hundred thousand for Joseph’s vicar, Cambacérès. With this powerful weapon in his hands, it is not wonderful that Napoleon experienced no revolt on the part of his Italian provinces, even when he left the bones of thousands of Italy’s sons on the steppes of Russia. The time came, however, when the sectaries were forced to retire from the public gaze; with the fall of Napoleon came the restoration of the olden dynasties of Italy; and thereafter the work of the Lodges was necessarily conducted in pristine secrecy, chiefly by means of Carbonarism, into which Italian Masonry was, for the greater part, speedily transformed. The origin of the *Carboneria* is very obscure. Some investigators have fancied that they can trace it, at least as a secret society of some sort, back to the times of the Guelphs and Ghibellines; but it was only about the year 1815 that it came out of the darkness of tradition, and appeared as a concrete fact—an embodiment of the spirit of hatred toward Christianity, with an organization as a society, possessing statutes, and avowing a definite object. The original members of this redoubtable organization were said to have held their nocturnal meetings in the silence of the woods, in the huts of charcoal-burners, *carbonari*: hence their name, and hence much of their symbolic terminology. Thus, their Lodge was termed a *Vendita* (among the French, a *Vente*) as though it was a “market” for the sale of charcoal. The place of meeting was styled a *Baracca* (in France, a *Hutte*); the country around the adepts was a “forest”; the delivery of the land from “tyranny” or from “superstition” was designated as “driving the wolves from the forest”; the rallying-cry was: “Vengeance for the sheep devoured by

the wolf!" There were four kinds of *Vendite*: particular, central, high (the *Alta Vendita*), and above all, the Supreme *Vendita*. Each particular *Vendita* was composed of twenty "Good Cousins"; and the different *Vendite* were unknown to each other, all communications being conducted by delegates from the *Alta Vendita*. No communications were ever written; they were delivered *viva voce*, by means of certain conventional phrases which were frequently changed. As a sign for recognition, there was always presented one-half of a card which had been cut in a peculiar fashion, the other half having been left with the *Vendita* receiving the communication. Since the principal field for the operations of Carbonarism was to be Italy, the founders of modern Carbonarism readily appreciated the necessity of surrounding the first steps of their neophytes with an apparently Catholic paraphernalia, ere they could hope to drag the deluded souls into the depths of Masonic Pantheism and moral Anarchy. Imitating the French Jacobins, who had styled Jesus Christ "the first of the *sans-culottes*," the Carbonari termed Our Lord "the first of the Good Cousins," and they vouchsafed to acclaim Him as "The Grand Architect of the Universe." The aspirants to the degrees of Apprentice and Master must have been pleased with the frequent mention of the names of the Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Joseph, and of the Apostles; and they did not feel like strangers in a new world when they heard much talk about Baptism, Original Sin, and the Capital Sins. They could not realize that they were bidding farewell to Christian hope, when they were continually reminded of the Cross of Christ, of the Crown of Thorns, and of the Scourging at the Pillar; when they heard the watchwords of the *Rose-Cross*—Faith, Hope, and Charity; when they were told to recite the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria*; when they were asked to join in toasts to Christ, "the envoy of the Creator," and to St. Theobald (1). But when the new Carbonaro came to study

(1) If the aspirant was at all versed in hagiology, which is not probable, he must have wondered as to the identity of this St. Theobald. The Knights Templars "would have told him that Theobald was of their own canonization; that he was the restorer of the grand order which had been destroyed by Clement V.; that he was the first grand-master after Molay." So says Clavel, one of the officers of the Grand Orient of France, in his *Pictorial History of Freemasonry*, p. 215.

the "Catechism of the Master," he saw matters in a different light: "*Question*: Who were the first Good Cousins? *Answer*: The Twelve Apostles, who, when about to separate, arranged certain signs by which the faithful might recognize one another. *Q.*: What is the meaning of the first sign, called the Sign of the Ladder? *A.*: The Stole. (Here the candidate learned that every Good Cousin is a priest, a successor of the Apostles.) *Q.*: What is the meaning of the Stole? *A.*: The faith of our holy religion (Carbonarism), and the sign adopted by the Apostles for mutual recognition. *Q.*: What is the meaning of the second sign, that which is called the Sign of the Cincture? *A.*: It means that we must curb our passions, and submit our wills (to the grand-master, the *grand' eletto*). *Q.*: What is the meaning of the Maniple, the third sign? *A.*: Martyrdom; that is, that we must have our hands cut off, sooner than violate our oaths. *Q.*: What do the Sun, Moon, and Stars mean? *A.*: The first father, the Holy Virgin, and the sons of light, that is, the Good Cousins" (1). In the ceremony for the reception of the mastership, everything corresponds to the Masonic *Rose-Cross*. The recipient in each case figures as the suffering Christ; with Christ he replies that he is the Son of God; and after having carried his cross to a miniature Calvary, he is not crucified, but is admitted to the degree of Master. The ceremonies and language used at the collation of the third and last degree in the hierarchy of the Carbonari, that of *grand' eletto*, *grand' élu*, would seem to have been copied from the ritual devised by Weisshaupt for his Illuminati (2). This degree, says Saint-Edme, is never conferred without the greatest precautions, and most secretly; the recipient must be known for wisdom, an indomitable zeal, well tried courage, and an unlimited devotion to the success of the order. "And, above all," adds the expert, "the candidate must be known as a true friend of liberty, and as ready to war against the tyrannical governments which are the abhorred

(1) SAINT-EDME; *Constitutions and Organization of the Carbonari; or, Exact Documents Concerning the Existence, Origin, and Object of that Secret Society*. Paris, 1821. In his Introduction, Saint-Edme says: "Mason and Carbonaro, I have been able to study the relations which subsist between these two societies; and I have found the same statutes, the same usages, above all, in the last degree of the Carbonari."

(2) See our Vol. IV., p. 427.

masters of ancient and beautiful Ausonia (especially the Pope)." The following dialogue between the Venerable Grand-Master Grand-Elect and his two "Illuminators" needs no comment. *Ven. G. M.* : "Good Cousin, first Illuminator, what is the hour?" *1st Ill.* : "Respectable Grand-Elect, the tocsin sounds on all sides, and it is heard even in the depths of our grotto; I think that it is the signal for all free men to awake, and that it is midnight." *V. G. M.* : "Good Cousin, second Illuminator, at what hour ought our secret labors begin?" *2d Ill.* : "At midnight, Respectable Grand-Elect, when the popular masses, directed by our faithful ones, the Good Cousins-Directors, are assembled, organized, and marching against tyranny, ready to strike grand blows." *V. G. M.* : "Good Cousins, Flame-Bearers, and guardians of the security of our refuge, are you certain that no profane person has crept in among us, and that all the Carbonari here present in this *Vendita* are really Grand-Masters Grand-Elect?" *A Fl. B.* : "Yes, Venerable Grand-Elect; the guards have performed their duty; and there is here neither any profane one, nor any subaltern Carbonaro." *V. G. M.* : "Since everything is well arranged, my Good Cousins, I invite you to assist me in beginning our nocturnal labors, by joining in the toasts which I now propose. 1st. To the Creator of the Universe! 2d. To Christ, His envoy on earth for the propagation of philosophy, liberty, and equality! 3d. To His Apostles and preachers! 4th. To St. Theobald, the founder of the Carbonari! 5th. To the eternal destruction of all tyrannies! 6th. To the foundation of a wise and endless liberty on the eternal ruins of the enemies of the peoples! And now, Good Cousin, our orator, Star of our nocturnal assemblies, you may speak." *Star* : "In the beginning, at that time which is termed the Golden Age, our meetings were useless, my Good Cousins. Then, all men, obeying the simple laws of nature, were virtuous and energetic, their virtues having no other object than beneficence. Then the earth had no special masters; and it furnished in abundance all that was necessary for its cultivators. . . . At first, men covered themselves with leaves; but when they became corrupted, they began to clothe themselves

with the skins of animals, having made war on those innocent creatures, arrogating to themselves a right of life and death over them. This first forgetfulness of the rights of *Humanity* soon destroyed the primitive peace and the universal fraternity. . . . The most able among men seized power ; and it was recognized by the unenlightened mediocrities, who hoped to be properly ruled. . . . Soon these rulers gave out the idea that their authority came from Heaven, and that it was hereditary and omnipotent. . . . When the peoples assembled and tried to destroy tyranny, a handful of audacious bandits, styling themselves sacred, impeccable, and inviolable, treated as rebels the veritable sovereigns of the State, the totality of the individuals who composed the nation. . . . Such, my Good Cousins, is the frightful fate of our beautiful Ausonia, the mother of the fine arts, the country of the most illustrious heroes, and once the mistress of three-fourths of the earth. . . . It was in order to free Italy, that our predecessors, the first Good Cousins, formed this respectable *Carbonara*. . . . We have all taken, on the Sign of the Redemption by the Saviour of the world, a sacred oath to restore his Holy Philosophy. The time has arrived, my Good Cousins ; the tocsin for the general insurrection has sounded ; the armed peoples are on the march ; at the rising of the sun, the tyrants will have lived, and liberty will triumph " (1). John de Witt, one of the best authorities of our day in the matter of secret societies, tells us that the real object of the order is revealed to very few of the adepts ; that such is the case in all Masonic organizations, we have shown in our general dissertation on Freemasonry (2). But the testimony of one who had been a most advanced Carbonaro is of value. "How mistaken is he," exclaims De Witt, "who thinks that in the first three degrees he will learn the veritable spirit and the tendencies of the Carbonari ! In the first three degrees there is still a question of Christianity, and of the Church. . . . The initiated imagine, because of this formula, that in the object of the association there is something noble ; that the members are seeking a purer morality, a stronger piety, and the independence and

(1) SAINT-EDME ; *Ubi supra*, p. 94-103.

(2) Vol. IV., p. 431.

unity of their country. . . . But everything changes with the reception of the other degrees. Already in the fourth, that of the "Apostles," the adept has promised to subvert all monarchies, especially the thrones occupied by the Bourbon family ("*Lilia pedibus destrue!*"). But in the seventh degree, which very few attain, the revelation is extended; and finally the veil is withdrawn entirely when one becomes a Supreme Patriarch. Then it is perceived that the great end of the Carbonari is the same as that pursued by the Illuminati. This seventh degree, P. ∴ S. ∴ P, *Princeps Summus Patriarcha*, makes a man prince and bishop at once; thus coinciding with the *Homo-Rex*, "Man-King," of the Illuminati. The initiated swears to effect the ruin of every religion, and of every positive government, whether that government be despotic or democratic. . . . For the execution of their designs, every means is permissible—poison, perjury, everything is at their service. . . . The Supreme Patriarch laughs at the zeal of the masses of the Carbonari who sacrifice themselves for the liberty and independence of Italy. Neither one nor the other is his object; they are only means" (1).

John De Witt, the Swedish author of this appreciation of the definitive object of the Carbonari, had been a Supreme Patriarch in the order, and had been also a Master-Mason in nearly every one of the rites. According to his researches, the modern organization of the Carbonari, whether or not the order had existed during many centuries in Italy, was derived from France. And Cantù, who belonged "to the generation which either took part in Carbonarism, or was a martyr to it," says that the sect, instead of being of Italian origin, "was rather transplanted from foreign lands into the forests of Calabria, in order to check the boundless ambition of the *Napoleonidi*; and that Murat, urged by his Minister, Maghella, made use of it for the furtherance of his desire to become an independent king of all Italy" (2). After stating that "the Carbonari draw their veritable origin from Free-

(1) *Fragments Drawn from the History of My Life and of My Epoch*, p. 21. Leipzig, 1831.

(2) *Here ties of Italy*, Discourse lvi. Turin, 1866.

masonry," De Witt says: "When Napoleon mounted the throne, he ruined Masonry by favoring it, it being an association very dangerous for him. It thus lost its independence, and became a mere tool of the police, serving only as a means to penetrate into the sentiments of the adepts. Then a new affiliation, in the very bosom of Masonry, was formed by such of the brethren as still yearned for the defunct Republic. Besançon was the headquarters of these *Maçons Charbonniers*, or Good Cousins, and *Maçons Philadelphes*. Colonel Oudet was their chief, and most of them were military men. They propagated the order in Piedmont, and the other Northern countries of Italy; not until several years afterward did they extend it to the southern part of the peninsula, where, favored by the ex-government (Murat's), it spread with rapidity. In 1809 the first *Vendita* was established at Capua. . . . After the occupation of Naples by the Austrians, the *Alta Vendita* dissolved, not because it feared discovery, for there was no danger, but because of a wish to put limits to the influence of the subordinate *Vendite*. In the summer of 1821, the eleven chiefs met in Capua; and they resolved to send two brothers to the *Grand Firmament* (Grand Orient of France), to confer as to the advisability of transferring the seat of the directory of the Carbonari. They inclined to the belief that the seat should be in Paris, since that capital, of all others, has the most frequent communications with the rest of Europe, is inhabited by the most influential members of society, and is the richest in financial resources. . . . The *Grand Firmament* decreed that the association of the *Adelphes* and *Philadelphes* (1) is incorporated with the order; and that each *Adelphe* or *Philadelph* should receive, at his admission, the three symbolic degrees, if he were not already a Mason. . . . Everything was prepared for the fusion of the *Alta Vendita* with the *Grand Firmament*. The two deputies entrusted with this duty were the Sicilian, the Duca di Garatula, and the Neapolitan, Carlo Chiricone Klerckon, son of the Duca Framarino, prefect of the king's palace. The latter was accredited also to

(1) So the first Good Cousins had been termed before they went from Franche-Comté to Italy.

Germany and Switzerland. When he arrived at Geneva, whither I had come from France, he handed me letters from one of my intimate friends who had been agent in Naples for the malcontents of Poland . . . Klerekon informed me of the object of his mission ; and he urged me strongly to accept the office of inspector-general of the Carbonari in Switzerland and in Germany, handing to me the appointment which he had brought from Naples" (1). Even if other proofs were wanting, this narrative of De Witt would silence those aristocratic and self-fanciedly "conservative" Masons who affect to believe that the Carbonari, more logical (and perhaps more sincere) than themselves, have no connection with Masonry. Achille de Vaulabelle, a Masonic historian much quoted by his own, gives some interesting details of the development of Carbonarism in France. Just as in Italy, it had a *Haute-Vente* and subordinate associations ; and in order to prevent a governmental interference with one *Vente* from affecting another, the punishment of death was decreed for any *Charbonnier* who would try to penetrate into any *Vente* other than his own. The French *Charbonnerie* was well organized in the army ; but there it consisted of legions, cohorts, centuries, and *manipules*. The order had also a parliamentary Committee, to which Lafayette, also a member of the *Haute-Vente*, belonged. "The progress of the *Charbonnerie* in France," says Vaulabelle, "was irresistible ; in the latter days of 1821, everything was ready for an insurrection at Rochelle, Poitiers, Niort, Colmar, Neuf-Brisach,

(1) The *Memoirs* of De Witt shed much light on the corruption with which the pest of Masonry had infected the highest governmental regions in the early part of this century. Having been arrested by the Austrian police in Milan, he found that his prison was made a veritable *salon* by the Field-Marshal Bubna, the Austrian commander-in-chief in Upper Italy. When transferred to Bayreuth, he was treated like a prince by Walden, the president of the Regency. He experienced the same courtesies from Schuckmann, the Minister of Police in Berlin, when he was imprisoned in that city. He tells how he, the known inspector-general of the German and Swiss Carbonari, was intimate with Decazes, the Paris chief of police ; with the famous Major Favier, the aide-de-camp of Marshal Marmont ; with the apostate Gregoire, whose house was the rendezvous for the German Carbonari. At page 24 of his *Memoirs*, he says : "The Freemasons cast their gentle influence through the walls of my prisons ; and often when I expected to meet an accusing judge, I discovered a protecting friend." Whenever he was about to be tried, some Masonic officer of the tribunals would tell him beforehand what evidence the government possessed. At Berlin, he writes, "by an express order of M. Schneckmann I was allowed to copy a report which the French police had sent to Prince Metternich, and which he, because of its importance, had sent to the different governments."

Nantes, Belfort, Bordeaux, and Toulouse. *Ventes* had been founded in very many regiments ; and every change of garrison had been means for a propaganda of Carbonarism" (1). In the *Popular Conferences* which Eugene Spuller, afterward Minister of Public Instruction, published in 1873, he says : " The Carbonari found it necessary to admit many men of reputation who could exercise an efficacious influence on public opinion, and who would be named on occasion, so as to cover the acts of the association with their authority. The organizers remained in the shade, so as to be able to handle more freely the elements at their disposal. . . It had been said that each member of the association was to have a musket and twenty-five cartridges. When the Ordonnances of July appeared in the *Moniteur*, Paris was ready, and France was behind Paris ; the royalty was lost." The progress of Carbonarism in Spain is sufficiently indicated by a communication from the Spanish Grand Orient which was published in the *Monde Maçonnique* for Aug., 1875: " After 1817, and for six years (and ever since, we may add), the history of Spain is a history of Masonry. Riego, leader of the insurrection of 1820, was made grand-master in 1821. Then came, after 1823, our *persecutions*, during which the *sacred fire* was preserved, thanks to the Duke de San Lorenzo, to many of the higher nobility, and even to the Infant, Don Francis, in 1828." The advance made by Carbonarism in the Two Sicilies is indicated by the Neapolitan historian, Coletta, when he says that the affiliated in 1820 numbered 642,000 ; and a document now preserved in the Aulic Chancellery of Vienna (2), makes the number still larger : " In the kingdom of the Two Sicilies there are more than 800,000 Carbonari ; it would be folly to ask for their destruction."

When we reflect on the main intention of the Carbonari, we are scarcely prepared to learn that several of the ostensibly Catholic monarchs, and very many of their immediate relatives, were enrolled in the *Vendite*. It seems to be merely natural that nearly all the Protestant sovereigns of the nineteenth century should have been adepts of Free-

(1) *History of the Two Restorations*, Vol. v., p. 148.

(2) Cited by La Farina, in his *History of Italy*.

masonry ; and that Alexander I., the Head of the " Orthodox " Russian Church, should have followed the Will o' the Wisp, revealed by the rays of the Dark Lantern, until the approach of death warned him to rely on the light furnished by the Catholic Church (1). But that Catholic princes should have joined an organization which openly avowed an undying hatred for both Altar and Throne, can be explained by the supposition that they hoped to use that organization for their own ambitious purposes—in other words, that they hoped to be able to serve God and Satan at the same time. And indeed, when Christina of Spain, the sister of the thoroughly Catholic Ferdinand II. of the Two Sicilies, threw herself into the arms of the Carbonari, it was in order to deprive Don Carlos, the legitimate king of Spain, of his throne, in favor of her daughter, who thereby became Queen Isabella II. (2). When the Portuguese and Brazilian Don Pedro I. performed the same political and religious somersault, it was in order to give to his daughter, Dona Maria, the crown which belonged to his brother, Don Miguel (3). When the Count of Aquila, brother of Ferdinand II., betrayed his nephew and king, Francis II. of the Two Sicilies, it was with the hope that the revolutionary turmoil might eventuate in his own coronation. To the same facility in religious legerdemain must be ascribed the Carbonarism of Charles Albert, king of Sardinia (4), during his early years, and his more or less open relations with the sect during his entire reign. In the autumn of 1845, Massimo d'Azeglio travelled through the peninsula, endeavoring to effect an alliance between the Mazzinian republicans and the monarchist partisans of Charles Albert, in the interest of Italian

(1) For the reasons for our belief that Alexander I. died with the wish to enter the communion of the Catholic Church, if time were granted to him, see this Volume, p. 93, in Note.

(2) See this Volume, p. 259.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 264.

(4) In 1872 there appeared in Florence a curious book entitled *Count Cibrario and His Times*, in which, among many interesting revelations, there was one to the effect that Charles Albert never formally became a Carbonaro, but merely made the sect an ally to effect the military revolution of 1821. But it is certain that the entire reign of Charles Albert was Carbonaristic. It matters little whether or not he ever took the oaths of the sect, if his every royal act was in accordance with its dictates. We note that his abettors in 1821 were all members of the *Alta Vendita*; namely, the Duc d'Alberg, the French ambassador and a nephew of Talleyrand; Count Bardaxi, the Spanish ambassador; and Count Scialb Sdory, the envoy from Bavaria.

unity. In the *Recollections* of his life which were published in 1867, D'Azeglio tells us that in order to induce the Carbonari to place confidence in Charles Albert, he was wont to use this argument: "Let us treat this matter calmly. Probably you will tell me that if we were to ask Charles Albert to do something which would be contrary to his interests, you would not be able to rely on the traitor who abandoned the Carbonari in 1821. Well, now we desire to obtain from him something that is profitable to him, although indeed it is more profitable to us. We ask him to allow us to make him greater and more powerful. You cannot rely on the word of a robber, even though he were to promise ten times to become an honest man; but certainly it would be unreasonable to believe that he would not keep his promise, if you were to ask him to commit a robbery." In the *Memoirs* of her husband, Mme. Rattazzi says that the *missi dominici* of the Piedmontese propaganda at this period were "all aristocratic and gold-laced conspirators, but conspirators according to the Italian heart. . . . The constitutional monarchy of Charles Albert was being grafted on the stunted republic of Mazzini." In the *Memoirs* of Cretineau-Joly, published by Maynard in 1875, we are treated to a description of an interview which the historian of the Society of Jesus and of the Vendée had in 1846 with Charles Albert; and the writer shows satisfactorily that the unfortunate monarch had been a Carbonaro, and that he had the grace to be ashamed of the fact (1). When Cretin-

(1) "The king was very pallid. His countenance, on which penances and mystic enthusiasm had impressed deep and premature wrinkles, affected a calm which was belied by a nervous trembling at every movement. One could perceive that with all his remorse, he was decisive neither for good nor for evil; and that in time of danger, he would never have those sudden inspirations of which Tacitus speaks—inspirations which produce crimes in some, but which excite saving expedients in others. He received me with cool and deliberate sadness. After some preliminary congratulations on my preceding works, felicitations which he had more than once given me by letter, he addressed me with visible effort: 'Monsieur Cretineau-Joly, I understand that now you are engaged on a work just as important, but much more difficult. You will have to judge of men and things very little understood. Some of those men did evil for the pleasure they derived from it; others did it, because they were drawn into it either by (diabolical) obsession or by a vague yearning for innovation. The latter were more mistaken than sinful; and you may be assured of that fact by me, for I had the misfortune of yielding to seduction in my youth.' I bowed, without uttering a word; and the king, understanding my silence and interpreting it according to his desires, asked: 'Do I utter your own thoughts, Monsieur?' I would have liked to reply in the affirmative, but I knew well that dupes among the Carbonari are the exception. . . . Then the king remarked: 'I have heard of certain documents which a certain archduke showed to you. It is whispered that the arrogant Felix de Schwartz-

eau-Joly visited Naples in 1846 by recommendation of Pius IX., in order to procure additional material for his projected work on the secret societies, and in order to verify many of the materials which he possessed already, he found the court of the young king, Ferdinand II. (the "Bomba" of Palmerston, Gladstone, and others of that ilk), a hotbed of dormant Carbonarism. Ferdinand's predecessor, Francis I., himself impregnated with the poison of the sect, had bequeathed this legacy to his noble son; and a less resolute and principled monarch would have been ruined by the incubus. The Marquis Pietra-Castella, President of the Royal Council; and the Marquis del Carretto, the Minister of Police; even these had been Carbonari, and men whispered that the durability of their conversion depended on the permanence of the king's Christianity. Even the all-powerful Mgr. Coele, a Redemptorist, and titular archbishop of Patras, and confessor to His Majesty, was then fresh from the councils of the *Alta Vendita*; and General Saluzzo, first aide-de-camp of the king, told Cretineau-Joly that probably the prelate was still a Carbonaro, for "anything that concerned the secret societies touched him closely" (1).

berg, whose insolence during his ambassadorship at Turin caused me so much suffering, has had frequent relations with you at Naples and elsewhere. They have written to me from Vienna that he has given you certain information which, in the present circumstances, it would be more than an indiscretion for you to publish. Have you really any such documents concerning me?' Like a juryman who pronounces a verdict of guilt, I replied hesitatingly that perhaps I had such papers. My words affected the king like a condemnation; he had perceived that I was not at all intimidated, but that I was not disposed to gloat over my discoveries. . . . Finally, the king said, brusquely, and as though interrupting a painful monologue: 'After all, Monsieur, it is a direct outrage that you are meditating against me, and an outrage that is undeserved, since it is based on fraud.' I had observed each gesture of the unhappy prince; and in his haggard eyes, his brow corrugated more by remorse than by repentance, I had studied the anguish of his soul. I was giving way to a pity which might have led me to grant some concessions, when his last words restored my equilibrium. At once I cried: 'Sire, I am not in the habit of relying on fraud. My work will have but one fault; the unique fault of being true. Perhaps it will contain a judgment on your Majesty which will be counterbalanced by the honor of no victory, or by the pity for no defeat.'

(1) Cretineau-Joly was unable to see Ferdinand II.; Mgr. Coele so engineered, that an audience was not granted. When the historian returned to Rome, Dec. 21, 1847, he was informed by Pius IX. that fatherly charity and princely duty urged the Pontiff to prevent the publication of the revelations then in the possession of the Frenchman. In fact, Charles Albert had written to the Pontiff, begging him to use his influence in checking the "indiscreet" enterprise of the historian. But in 1849, while Pius IX. was at Gaeta, Cardinal Fornari, the nuncio in Paris, asked Cretineau-Joly to complete and publish the much-debated book; and Cardinal Antonelli wrote in the same sense from Gaeta. Again the Pope interfered; for His Holiness wished not to expose to the world the history of

We have noticed how the Carbonari, realizing that their principal work was to be effected among a people whose traditions, aspirations, and manners of thought, had hitherto been Catholic to a greater extent than were the dominant sentiments of any other people on earth, surrounded the sessions of their *Vendite* with the atmosphere of a bastard Christianity, in order to render less perceptible the transition of their adepts to practical Paganism. Similar cunning actuated the Roman *Alta Vendita* in 1819, when it issued an *Instruction*, the diabolic calculations of which have probably never been excelled in all the annals of human perversity. The idea of transforming Catholicism, by means of a corruption of its very heart, has never seemed extravagant to men like Frederick II. of Prussia, the two Napoleons, Louis Philippe, "Father" Infantin, Cavour, and Bismarck; such men could close their eyes to the directing presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church, and therefore they could hope to "transform" an institution which is sustained by an immaterial force which is impregnable to human audacity. Forty years before the aristocrats of the *Alta Vendita* urged their scheme on their followers, Weisshaupt, the German founder of Illuminism, had traced a plan for the same conspiracy; but it lacked the diabolic intelligence, the audacious defiance of an invincible logic, which characterized the Italian conception: "Among the anxieties now agitating the most vigorous intellects of Italy, there is one which, above all, must not be forgotten. At all times the Papacy has exercised a decisive influence on the affairs of Italy. Through the voices, pens, hearts, and arms of its innumerable bishops, priests, friars, monks, nuns, and of a laity of every degree in society, the Papacy has always had at its disposal many per-

many men of high position, whom he believed to be converted from their iniquities. Finally, the *History of the Sonderbund and the Roman Church in the Face of the Revolution* appeared, containing most of the documents which had excited so much dread; but respect for very many noble and some royal families led to the suppression of several names which had figured in the *Alta Vendita*. "Now, at length," says the Abbé Maynard, "we know all—even those who were hidden under the revolutionary pseudonyms of 'Nubins,' 'Picolo-Tigre,' etc., whose identity could not have been manifested in charity at that time." See *Cretineau-Joly: His Political, Religious, and Literary Life*, by the Abbé Maynard, p. 336-371. Paris, 1875.—DESCHAMPS; *The Secret Societies and Society; or, A Philosophy of Contemporary History*, bk. III., ch. 7, § 4. Sixth Edition. Paris, 1883.

sons who were prepared for martyrdom ; wherever the Papacy casts a glance, it sees friends who impoverish themselves, and who die for its sake. Some Popes have appreciated this immense power ; but they profited by it only in a measure. We are concerned to-day, not with any restoration of that power which is now shorn of its prestige ; *our final aim is that of Voltaire, and that of the French Revolution—the annihilation of Catholicism, and that of the Christian idea, which, if allowed to survive amid the ruins of Rome, would perpetuate Catholicism.* In order to attain this happy end, without such disasters as have postponed success during the past centuries, we must pay no attention to the nebulous Germans, the vain Frenchmen, and the phlegmatic Englishmen, who fancy that they can kill Catholicism either with an obscene song, or with an illogical conclusion, or with an uncouth sarcasm. Catholicism has a tenacity of life which resists all such attacks ; it has encountered enemies much more terrible and much more implacable, and it has enjoyed the pleasure of sprinkling holy water on their graves. Let us therefore leave to our brethren on the other side of the Alps the sterile extravagancies of their anti-Catholic zeal ; let us permit them to ridicule our Madonnas, and our external devotions, which will be, after all, our passports while we are perfecting our conspiracy. . . . Italy cannot breathe without permission from the supreme shepherd. With him she has the hundred arms of Briareus ; without him, she is reduced to deplorable impotency, and is a victim of intestine divisions and hostilities, from the Alps to the furthest Apennines. . . . The Pope will never come to the secret societies ; let the societies take the first step toward the Church. This cannot be effected in one day, nor in one year ; perhaps many years will be requisite, perhaps a century ; but in our ranks a soldier dies, and the battle goes on. . . . What we must have is a Pope according to our desires. . . . When we obtain such a one, we shall assail the Church more successfully than we could assail her with all the pamphlets written by our brethren in France and England. We shall attain this end ; but how and when ? We know not ; but since nothing should prevent our keeping in the right path, we now give to you

certain counsels which must be communicated to the brethren, but without it appearing that they are orders of the *Vendita*. We can do nothing with the elder cardinals, or with the prelates of the school of Consalvi, who are men of strong character; but we draw from our manufactories of popularity and impopularity, weapons which will render useless or ridiculous the power which is in their hands. With one word cunningly concocted, then uttered in some appropriate circle whence it will travel into the taverns and the streets, we can annihilate a man. If a prelate is sent from Rome into the provinces as an official, discover immediately his character, his antecedents, his qualities, and his defects. Is he one of our avowed enemies, an Albani, a Pallotta, a Bernetti, a Della Genga, a Rivarola? Then entangle him in your nets; create for him a frightful reputation for cruelty and bloodthirstiness. . . . Crush the enemy, whoever he may be; crush him with calumnies! Crush him, above all, in the egg; seduce the young, and draw them into the secret societies! In order to proceed with measured but sure steps, two things are of supreme necessity. Appear to be doves, while you are cunning as serpents; and never communicate the secret to your parents, to your children, to your wives, and least of all, to your confessors. *Whoever violates the secret, signs his death-warrant.* . . . Never use impious or impure language to the young; in order to insinuate yourselves into domestic circles, you must seem to be grave and moral. Having gained reputation in the Colleges and Universities, make the young men desirous of your conversation. Talk to them about the olden splendors of Papal Rome. Then, since every Italian heart cherishes a remembrance of the Roman Republic, confuse together these two recollections; warm the hearts of your hearers, now swelled with patriotic enthusiasm; lend them poems which are redolent of nationality. Thus you will bring them, little by little, to the necessary pitch. . . . The revolution now being projected by certain madmen will fail; men and things are not ripe for it, and they will not be ripe for some time. But we can draw from the confusion a cord which can be made to vibrate in the hearts of the younger clergy; namely, a hatred for the foreigner. Render

the German hateful and ridiculous. Talk much about Papal supremacy, and excite remembrances of the wars between the Church and the Empire; remind men of the Guelphs and Ghibellines; and thus you will acquire a reputation as fervent Catholics, and you will become intimate with the younger clergy, and you may penetrate into the monasteries. These young priests will one day be men of position; they will govern, administrate, judge, and even elect a Pontiff. This Pontiff, like his fellows, will be penetrated by Italian and humanitarian ideas. If you wish to revolutionize Italy, seek for such a Pope. *If you wish to found the Kingdom of the Elect on the throne of the Whore of Babylon, cause the clergy to march under your banner, while they fancy that they are marching under that of the Holy Keys.* If you wish to destroy the last vestiges of tyranny, throw out your nets, like Simon Bar Jona, but not like him, into the sea. Throw them into the depths of the sacristies, the seminaries, and the convents; and if you are not too precipitate, your haul of fish will be more miraculous than that of Peter. With the tiara and the cope you will fish up a revolution which will suffice to set fire to the four corners of the earth" (1). Perhaps this circular will explain, in accordance with the proverb that a wish is often father to the thought, the frenzied joy of the sectaries on the accession of Pius IX.; the dictators of the *Alta Vendita* may have thought that the true liberalism which had ever inspired the mind and heart of Giovanni Mastai-Ferretti was the counterfeit which they dangled before their yearning dupes. These gentry had no reason to believe that Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti had imbibed the poison of the *Vendite*; but intelligent though they undoubtedly were, beyond the ordinary capacity of men, they tried to deceive themselves into a belief that at length a Roman Pontiff had shown himself willing, not to be merely personally immoral (such a thing would be no absolute historical absurdity), but to make, in his pontifical capacity, shipwreck of the first principles of morality and justice. The very

(1) This Instruction was found among the papers of the *Alta Vendita* which fell into the hands of the government of Gregory XVI. in 1846, and of which we have already spoken. It may be found in full in Cretineau-Joly's *Roman Church in Face of the Revolution*, Vol. ii., p. 85.

fact that the leaders of the Carbonari and other Masonic sects held such views, should have shown their true character to the multitude who believed that some of them, at least, were the good Catholics that they brazenly affected to be. The plan for a corruption of Catholicism by the election of a Carbonaro to the Chair of Peter, a plan devised by the Roman *Alla Vendita*, an inner circle which enjoyed an uncontested supremacy over not only all the Carbonari, but also over all the Masonic Lodges of France and of Germany, would have had, from a human point of view, every prospect of success, had not one very human fact ruined the enterprise. Freemasonry, despite the assertion of some authoritative Masons that the order is governed by one chief termed "the Patriarch," was not then, and never has been, thoroughly united. In this disunion we may discern the hand of God thwarting the schemes of the most diabolic of all the sects which have ever striven to banish the very name of Christ from the earth; for if Masonry ever does attain to perfect unity, the Christians of that day may cease to speculate as to when Antichrist is to manifest himself among men. The real "abomination of desolation" will then be at hand. And now a word concerning this unity.

With regard to a unity of direction over all the notable secret societies, Masonry included, in the civilized and semi-civilized world, there is a diversity of opinion among Masons, just as among the profane. Certainly the national Grand Orients call themselves independent of each other, and often "excommunicate" each other. But on the other hand, in the sixteenth century, there was certainly one Patriarch for all the Masonic sects, although his existence was known to very few of the adepts; this is shown by the famous Charter of Cologne (1535) now preserved in the archives of the mother-lodge at Amsterdam. In the eighteenth century, the Order of the Temple, so called, was an inner order which directed the workings of all Masons, without any suspicion of its influence on the part of the great majority of the adepts. It was by means of this inner order that Illuminism came to dominate all the Lodges of all the Rites of Masonry at the close of the eighteenth century.

At this time the High Scotch Grades were sanctuaries for this inner order, and hence they have ever since been recognized by the Masonic Powers, in spite of the protests of many Masons of the symbolic degrees, and in spite of temporary schisms. But these High Degrees, says Jannet, have lost their significance in our days ; and it is not in their Chapters that we can find the supreme direction of Universal Masonry. That this direction continued in the early nineteenth century, is evident from the sudden abandonment of Napoleon by Masonry in 1808. Amant Neuf, in his fine work on *Freemasonry*, cites a discourse of one of the so-called Templars, M. d'Asveld, who claimed in 1832 that at the time of the Restoration his order was the directing force in Masonry and its affiliations. But the correspondence of the Roman *Alta Vendita* which we have already adduced, shows that at that time the redoubtable aristocratic renegades were dominant over at least French and German Masonry, as well as that of Italy. The *Alta Vendita* succeeded in dominating even Mazzini, until the time when that energetic individual ridded himself of its members by those summary methods which were habitual to him. A discourse by Malapert before the Lodge *Alsace-Lorraine*, and published in the Masonic *Chaîne d'Union* for 1874 (p. 88), shows that about 1840 the Lodges of the world began to receive their signals from St. Petersburg and Berlin ; "then they were plunged into the currents of Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism." Eckert, a Saxon lawyer who devoted his life to an unmasking of the secret societies, and whose work is a veritable mine of precious documents concerning them, came to the conclusion that the "inner order" has always existed as the directive force of "external Masonry." The work of Eckert was published at Leipsic in 1857 ; and his French translator, Gyr, thus summarizes his investigations : "Masonry, being a universal association, is governed by one head, who is called a patriarch. The title of grand-master of the order is not the exclusive privilege of one family or one nation. Scotland, England, France, and Germany, have all given supreme heads to the order. It would seem that to-day Lord Palmerston is the patriarch.

By the side of the patriarch are two committees, one legislative, the other executive ; and these committees, composed of delegates from the Grand Orient, alone know the patriarch, and have dealings with him. All modern revolutions prove that the order has two distinct divisions ; one pacific, the other warlike. The former uses only intellectual means ; that is, speech and writing. It leads to suicide or mutual destruction the authorities or other persons whom it has destined to ruin. It obtains for the good of the order all the influential positions in the State, in the Protestant churches, and in the Universities. It seduces the masses, and rules public opinion, by means of the press and through associations. . . . Its directory is called a Grand Orient ; and its Lodges are closed, when the combatting division pushes into the streets the masses whom it has brought into the order. When the pacific division has done its work, so that a violent attack has a chance of success ; when passions are sufficiently inflamed, when a government is sufficiently weakened, and when the great offices are filled by traitors ; then the belligerent division receives orders to exercise its activity. The directory of the combatting division is called the *Firmament* ; and from the moment that the reins have been placed in its hands, the pacific division no longer holds any Lodges. These tactics are in keeping with the cunning of the order ; by closing the Lodges, the order is saved from any accusation of being concerned in the revolt." Henry Misley, the friend of Espartero, Kosuth, Cavour, Victor Emmanuel, and above all, of Palmerston, wrote to Deschamps in 1855 : "I know the world a little ; and I know that as regards the great future that is preparing, only four or five hold the cards. Many more think that they hold them ; but they are deceived" (1). The authority of Misley, admitting the existence of a directive centre as successor to the olden supreme patriarch of Masonry, is certainly great ; but we have seen in our day, that despite the ties which bound them together, Mazzini and the *Alta Vendita* could not agree ; nor could Louis

(1) For knowledge of the part played by Misley among the Carbonari, see Louis Blanc's *History of Ten Years*, and Frost's *Secret Societies*, (London, 1876).

Napoleon and Mazzini, Bismarck and Carl Marx. These are but instances of the antagonism of different factions of the sect among themselves; and they seem to indicate that there is no one directing power over all the ramifications of Masonry.

The members of the *Alta Vendita*, all of them "conservative" Masons, would have been well content to confine their efforts to a destruction of Catholicism; aristocrats as they nearly all were, they had no sympathy with the republican tendencies of the "mere people"; capitalists as they were, they were well satisfied with social conditions which did not interfere with the "sacred rights of property." But among the rank and file of the Carbonari were thousands who yearned for more than a destruction of the Church; who expected that the social, political, and financial equality of men would be made realities by the organization which had seduced them from the Church. This equality was to be attained, they fancied, by the Universal Republic; therefore it was evident, to any observant person, that the power of the *Alta Vendita* would be grievously shaken, when the banner of a "Young Europe" would be raised by a man who would know how to attract the restless elements of the *Carboneria*. That man appeared after the repression of the revolt of the Romagna in 1831. Giuseppe Mazzini, born in Genoa in 1808, was a conspirator by nature, and a man of extraordinary ability; else at the age of twenty-three he could not have formed an organization which robbed the *Alta Vendita* of its primacy in iniquity. Mazzini wanted none but young men in the society which he appropriately styled "Young Italy"; and he possessed many qualities which attracted the young to him, and made of them his devoted slaves. They were fascinated by his cosmopolitan ideas, and by his language, which was like that of one of the prophets of Israel. Elder men, the men of the people, adored him because of his evident disinterestedness, a quality which was painfully absent among all the professional patriots of the day. He welcomed sectaries of every stamp, men who had been accustomed to execrate each other; all that was necessary was that they should sink their dif-

ferences as members of his grand "educational association." He wanted no invisible directors for either Young Italy, or Young Germany, or Young France; he discarded all the Masonic paraphernalia of symbols and of masculine millinery, as degrading to a cause which demanded virility in its defenders. He even dared to assert that instead of so much talk about the "rights" of man, something should be said about his "duties." Progress was the aim of Mazzini; and he proposed to attain his great end simply for the people, and by means of the people, in spite of the aristocrats of the *Alta Vendita*, and of the other Masonic centres. It was whispered that he had been disappointed, because the *Alta Vendita* had refused to admit him within its charmed circle; but his entire career shows that when he sought to enter among the wire-pullers of Masonry, it was not for personal aggrandizement, but for the purpose of directing the forces of the tremendous engine in what he deemed the way of perfection for Humanity. However, the programme of Mazzini showed that his soul was still saturated with the poison in which Masonry had steeped it during his early years. He proclaimed that "The Italian people are called to destroy Catholicism in the name of the Continuous Revelation" (1). "God is God, and Humanity is His prophet. God is incarnated successively in Humanity. Humanity is religion. We believe in Humanity, the sole interpreter of the Law of God on the earth" (2). "Christ was holy, and His voice was acclaimed as divine" (3). "Catholicism is dead; although it has been preserved for some time for the admiration of antiquarians" (4). Mazzini was no Rationalist, for frequently he admitted the supernatural; neither had he any sympathy for Protestantism, for he declared that while Catholicism eventuates in despotism, Protestantism ultimately induces anarchy (5). Of course, he favored the projects of Protestant "missionaries" in Italy; and during his short tenure of power in Rome in 1849, he held frequent

(1) Thus in his *Revolutionary Initiative of the Peoples*.

(2) *Proclamation to the Italians in 1853*.

(3) *Political Prose Writings*, p. 221. Florence, 1880.

(4) *Preface to a Work by Didier*.

(5) *Political Prose Writings*, p. 39.

conferences with such gentry. But they were merely so many torches with which he proposed to fire the edifice of Catholicism, so that there would be room for "not a Church, but a people of believers, an assemblage of virtuous men, the Universal Religion of Humanity" (1). Two years had not elapsed since Mazzini had begun the publication of his Journal, *Young Italy*, when it became evident that Italy was reposing on a volcano. The base of operations for Mazzini was furnished, of course, by the Masonic Lodges; but his association was scarcely a secret society. The decisions of its leader were formed and delivered amid the mystery which is inseparable from all things Masonic; but the objects of "Young Italy," and the means proposed for their attainment, were audaciously published throughout Christendom. From the articles for the organization of "Young Italy," we select the following as indicating its essence: I. "This Society is instituted for the indispensable destruction of all the governments of the peninsula, and in order to form one republican State in their place." II. "Having experienced the horrible evils of absolute power, and the still greater evils of constitutional monarchies, we must labor to found a One and Indivisible Republic." XXX. "They who do not obey the orders of the society, or who reveal its secrets, will be inexorably poniarded. Traitors will receive the same punishment." XXXI. "The secret tribunal will pronounce the sentence, and it will designate one or two of the affiliated to execute the same." XXXII. "Whoever refuses to execute a sentence of the tribunal, will be regarded as a traitor, and will be killed on the spot." XXXIII. "If the guilty party should escape, he will be pursued inexorably, and will be struck by an invisible hand, even though he were on the bosom of his mother, or in the tabernacle of Christ." XXXIV. "Each secret tribunal will be competent, not only to judge inculpatated adepts, but also to sentence to death every person stricken by its anathema." Innumerable were the political assassinations which followed the organization of "Young Italy," and of its sister societies, "Young Germany," and

(1) *Manifesto of the National Committee.* London, 1851.

"Young Switzerland," of which Mazzini was also the leading spirit. Among the most noteworthy of these murders were those of the director of police in Modena; of the prefect of police in Naples; of the papal legate in Ravenna; of the student, Lessing, in Zurich, for having penetrated into certain of Mazzini's secrets; of the generals, Latour, Auerswald, Lemberg, and Lignowski; of Count Rossi, of whose sacrifice we shall treat in the following dissertation; and of the Swiss patriot, Joseph Len. To this list we might add, without much exaggeration, the names of all the victims of Swiss Protestant fanaticism who fell in the war of the *Sunderbund*; since it was the spirit of Mazzini that dictated that war, and since the radical army of General Dufour was composed largely of adepts of the "Young Europe." Mazzini was the head of this "Young Europe," says Eckert, "and of the fighting forces of Masonry; and we read in the *Latomia* that the Minister, Nothomb, who had left the *Masons*, declared then to Verhaegen, in the National Palace itself, that Masonry had then become in Belgium a powerful and dangerous weapon in the hands of certain men; that the Swiss insurrection had a base of operations in the machinations of the Belgian Lodges; and that Defacqz, the grand-master of those Lodges, had made his journey into Switzerland in 1844, only for the purpose of preparing the troubles (of the *Sunderbund*)" (1).

During many years, in spite of the fears and jealousy felt in his regard by the great Masonic powers, namely, Palmerston, Cavour, and Napoleon III., the creator of "Young Italy" was nearly predominant in European politics. Notwithstanding all the resources of all the Cabinet Ministers in Europe, he was better informed concerning the desires and capabilities of the various governments than any diplomat in the service. Every page in his correspondence shows a marvellous knowledge, which can be explained only by the supposition that at least one of his agents was always present at every important governmental council in Europe. Even in 1867, when the power of Mazzini was diminishing, it was to him that Bismarck was obliged to have recourse,

(1) *Freemasonry*, Vol. ii., p. 218.

in order to obtain written proof of the existence of a secret treaty between Napoleon III. and Victor Emmanuel (1). But the day came when the prince of sectaries perforce complained that while 150,000 francs would enable him to revolutionize Italy, he could not obtain the petty sum (2). Palmerston, Victor Emmanuel, and Napoleon III., although dissentient frequently among themselves, were ever ready to counteract the plans of one who menaced all alike. Again, the most active members of the "Young Europe," men like Rattazzi (men who then became Mazzini's pet hatred), La Farina, Klapka, Turr, Kossuth, had tired of his intellectual and moral supremacy, and had thrown off his yoke; while the majority of the Italian Masonic Lodges had rallied around Cavour, as soon as he had originated the "Italian Question" at the Congress of Paris, and had thus prepared the way for the events of 1859-'60 (3). In this emergency, especially since he found it almost impossible to organize in Italy a branch of that "Universal Republican Alliance" which he had founded in the United States in 1865, Mazzini resolved to turn to the Masonic Lodges which, perhaps, he had too much despised. He induced his most trusted agents, Moriundo, Villa, and Diamilla-Muller, to return to the Masonic fold, with the ultimate object of procuring the subjugation of all the Italian Lodges to the Grand Orient of Palermo, in which the Mazzinian influence was unshaken. Whether his plot would have succeeded, is problematical. In 1870, Victor Emmanuel deprived Mazzini of a powerful weapon, when he made Rome the capital of Italy; and "the old conspirator" died at Pisa on March 11, 1872.

(1) DESCHAMPS; *Ubi supra*, bk. iii., ch. 7, § 12.

(2) Letter of April 1, 1867, among the many curious documents published by Mazzini's intimate, Diamilla-Muller, in his *Secret Italian Politics*. Turin, 1880.

(3) The *Memoirs of Rattazzi*, written by his widow (*née* Wyse-Bonaparte), are filled with indications of the antagonism which had subsisted between Cavour, as the representative of the olden policy of the Carbonari, and the author of "Young Italy."

CHAPTER XV.

THE PONTIFICATE OF PIUS IX.

Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti, the second son of Count Girolamo Mastai-Ferretti by his wife, Caterina Sollazzi, was born in Sinigaglia, in the States of the Church, on May 13, 1792. During his infant years, the horrors of the first French Revolution, a large portion of which Italy had been made to share, tinged all the information concerning the outer world which penetrated into the pious retirement of his family; and in his seventh year, the future Vicar of Christ on earth learned that his sovereign, the more than octogenarian Pius VI., had been imprisoned by the acclaimers of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. When he began to communicate with the outer world, he was frequently told that the last Pope-King had reigned in Rome; aye, that never again would emancipated humanity be influenced by the ravings of an Old Man of the Vatican. He soon witnessed a demonstration of the short-sightedness of the foes of the Papacy; Pius VI. indeed died in his prison, but for a moment Providence interfered with the triumphs of the revolutionary forces, and during the lull a new Pontiff ascended to the Chair of Peter. Under the influences of these lessons, the young Mastai began his classical studies when he was twelve years of age, under the guidance of the Fathers of the Pious Schools in their College of Volterra, in Tuscany. Again a few years, and he heard that once more the temporal sovereignty of the Pope had vanished forever and ever, and that also the spiritual dominion of the Holy See was certainly a thing of the past; Pius. VII. was a prisoner of the all-powerful and glorious Napoleon, and the pastors of the Catholic Church could hold no communication with their Supreme Pontiff. But a few more years passed, and the venerable Pope-King returned to his capital and to his liberty. When this happy event occurred, Giovanni Maria Mastai had completed the course of the College of Volterra; and as the restored Pontiff passed through Sinigaglia on his way

to the Eternal City, he gave his special blessing to the youth whose experience in the Popedom was to be so like his own. Certain writers have recorded that at this time the future Pius IX. had adopted the military profession; but their assertion is refuted by their hopeless disagreement as to the service into which he is supposed to have entered. Some say that in his nineteenth year Mastai was enrolled in the *garde d'honneur* of Napoleon; but that idea can scarcely be credited by one who remembers that Giovanni dearly loved his two uncles who had suffered from Napoleon, because of their fidelity to Pius VII. Andrew Mastai, bishop of Pesaro, had been dragged from his palace at night, and had been immured for years in the citadel of Mantua; and another uncle, a canon of St. Peter's in Rome, had escaped the same fate by taking the road to exile. Other writers, forgetting that his sympathies were always anti-Austrian, say that Giovanni entered the Austrian army; while others contend that he became one of the Noble Guards of Pius VII. The last assertion may be specious; but it is contradicted by a fact which militates also against the others. The young Mastai was notoriously an epileptic; and such persons are never admitted into the military profession. Mastai had conceived the desire, however, of serving under the banner of the Church; but at her altars, not in the ranks of the armed defenders of the Pontiff. The best physicians had pronounced his case a hopeless one, and they anticipated for him an early death; but he was confident of a cure as a consequence of his devotion of his life to the glory of God, and accordingly he proceeded to Rome, and began his ecclesiastical studies. The year 1819 found the levite prepared for the sanctuary in all that pertains to qualifications of piety and of science; but his malady still afflicted him, and he was admitted to the priesthood only on condition that he should be assisted by another priest, whenever he celebrated Mass. Shortly after his ordination, he threw himself at the feet of Pius VII., beseeching His Holiness to relieve him from the rather inconvenient obligation. The saintly Pontiff, who had often admired the dispositions of the young man, and who was perhaps enlightened from on high as to the

destiny of the suppliant, raised him, and taking him by the hands, said: "We grant you this favor, and principally because we are confident that your cruel malady will never afflict you again." The prediction was realized.

The first four years of the priesthood of the Abbate Mastai were spent in the chaplaincy of the asylum of *Tata Giovanni*, one of the many noble works of charity with which Rome, when it was papal, used to abound. The scion of a refined aristocracy lived entirely among these children who had been gathered from the streets or from the haunts of vice; he trained them to be honest workmen and edifying Christians; all of his private revenue was given to the establishment; and to the last day of his life he always took a special interest in all the workmen who had graduated from the scene of his first priestly labors. But the time came soon when the zeal of this young priest was to be known no longer to God alone. In 1823, the Holy See appointed Mgr. Muzi nuncio to Chili, for the purpose of arranging many ecclesiastical troubles which had been occasioned by the revolutions of the day; and the chaplain of *Tata Giovanni* was ordered to accompany the prelate as auditor. The Countess Mastai readily appreciated the honor which had been conferred on her son; but she remembered his former ill health, and dreaded to part with him for so long a time. She besought the secretary of state to appoint another auditor; but His Eminence was obliged to inform her that when he had laid the matter before the Pope, the reply had been: "Tell the countess that her son is about to cross the ocean in the service of the Church, and that he will return safe and sound." During the two years of his stay in America, the auditor visited nearly all the missions in Chili, Peru, and Columbia, undergoing all the hardships which were the concomitants of travel in those regions in that day (1).

(1) On his way to Chili, Mastai learned something of what it is to be a prisoner. On the sad Sept. 20, 1870, when the diplomatic body were assembled around him in anticipation of further outrages on the part of the Sardinian troops who had just forced the Porta Pia, Pius IX. remarked: "I remember that when I went to Chili, France and Spain were at war in the matter of the restoration of Ferdinand VII. My ship paused at Palma, in the Balearic Islands; and the Spanish authorities detained her on the pretext that no one could go to Chili, without the permission of the Cortes. As for myself, I was simply thrust into prison; and then I understood the necessity of the independence of the Pope.

Returning to Rome in 1825, he was made a canon of the church of Santa Maria in Via Lata, was elevated to the prelatore, and received the presidency of the great Ospizio di San Michele, that grand school of trades and of art which, when the Pope ruled in Rome, was unique in Christendom as a blessing to the poor. Mastai showed in this new charge so much administrative ability, that the new Pontiff, Leo XII., appointed him archbishop of Spoleto in 1827. It was during his occupancy of the see of Spoleto that the future Pontiff came into personal contact with the revolutionists who were to be the bane of his pontificate. The insurrection of 1832 had been nearly suppressed by the Austro-Pontifical troops, when four thousand of the insurgents, pursued by an Austrian division, appeared before Spoleto, which was without means of defense. The archbishop went forth to meet the excited and half-starved fugitives, and by a judicious mixture of charity and firmness he prevailed on them to lay their arms at his feet. In order to relieve their immediate necessities, he tendered several thousand scudi to their leader, one Sercognani ; but the prudent rebels declared that they preferred that the prelate himself should distribute the money. Meanwhile, the Austrians were approaching, and the archbishop hastened to save his proteges from capture by insisting to the victorious general that he had given his episcopal word that they should all be allowed to return to their homes. In the latter part of 1832, Mgr. Mastai was transferred to the diocese of Imola, which, although not an archbishopric, was a much more important see than Spoleto, and had nearly always been assigned to a cardinal. The biographers of Pius IX. find in his episcopate of Imola abundant material wherewith to illustrate the apostolic charity of his heart ; they tell us that the annals of Imola record his embellishment of the churches, his care that want of patrimony should not prevent a worthy aspirant from entrance into the diocesan seminary, his fatherly protection

The folks on the ship were allowed to send me every day a ration of food ; but I could receive no letters, no journals, etc. On that occasion I learned some prison tricks. We used to hide notes in the bread ; and thus I heard about the victory of the Duc d'Angouleme at the Trocadero. After that affair, the Spanish insurgents had other things to think about, and they allowed us to depart."

of the sick or superannuated clergy, his zeal for the primary education of the poor, his endowment of hospitals, and his shelter of the unfortunates who desired to imitate the repentance of Mary Magdalen. With the remnant of his patrimony which had not been exhausted in aiding the Roman hospitals of *Tata Giovanni* and San Michele, he endowed a house for the Sisters of the Good Shepherd whom he brought from Angers in France to care for "his poor lost lambs who were trying to find the fold"; and when the nuns arrived, and it was found that the establishment was not yet ready, he received them in his palace, and waited on them at table. Traits such as these caused Pope Gregory XVI. to ignore his own lament that "in the Mastai household even the cat was a Liberal"; and on Dec. 14, 1840, the archbishop-bishop of Imola was enrolled in the Sacred College.

On June 14, 1846, fifty-four cardinals entered into Conclave in order to elect a successor to Gregory XVI.; and after forty-eight hours of consideration, Giovanni Mastai-Ferretti donned the tiara as Pope Pius IX., entering on one of the most eventful of pontificates, one which was also unique in its duration, since his thirty-two years in the Chair of Peter exceeded by seven those passed by the Prince of the Apostles in the bishopric of Rome, and since no other Pope had "seen the years of Peter." No Pope of modern times has evoked such sentiments, when first bending under the weight of the triple crown, as the accession of Pius IX. evoked, not only in Italy, but throughout Europe; and no ruler, ecclesiastical or secular, in any age or in any land, has ever realized more acutely the utter contemptibility of such manifestations. To say that Pius IX. was a popular idol throughout Italy during the first few months of his reign, and that the enthusiasm of his subjects was a frenzy, would be a phlegmatic indication of the state of men's minds when they proclaimed him "the expected of the nations," "the liberator of the peoples," and when they applauded as divinely oracular the most trivial word that dropped perchance from his lips. The manifestations of joy which in those days continually reached the ears of the Pontiff in his palace, and which even interfered with his progress when he appeared in the city, were certainly to-

kens of a national and Catholic appreciation ; but they were also the work of the secret societies, which had determined to soporize the Pope, if possible, with the incense of flattery in order to obtain concessions which would be afterward used against his throne. Such had been the Masonic procedure in the case of Louis XVI., and it had succeeded ; such had been the Masonic design in regard to the king of Naples, Ferdinand II., and although in this case it had failed as yet, there were still hopes of its ultimate triumph. A month after his election, Pius IX. accorded an amnesty to all political offenders, excepting only priests, and men who had been military or civil officers of the government ; and it was well understood that even these would be pardoned, if they applied for the grace. In the following month, the Pontiff instituted a Council of State (*Consulta di Stato*), the members of which were to be elected by the communes, and were to consider the needs of the country, but were to have no initiative in the making of laws. Day after day great crowds assembled on Monte Cavallo, shouting their thanks to the Pope for what promised to be a forerunner of that written constitution which the Liberals declared to be the source of every political good. Very soon, however, it became evident that the sentiments of devotion to the Pope-King were weakening ; and that the great majority of the shouters were obedient to leaders whose identity was unknown by the government. In fact, these assemblages had been organized in accordance with the orders of Mazzini, to make the mob cognizant of its power (1) ; and already Lord Minto, the " officious " agent of Lord Palmerston, of that English statesman who was in many respects the practical head of the Masonic propaganda throughout Europe, was preparing that mob to work the will of the sect in the Eternal City. This Minto, so dear to

(1) In his latest manifesto to the " Friends of Italy," dated Nov., 1846, Mazzini had thus prescribed : " Avail yourselves of the least concession, in order to assemble the masses, even though it be only to acknowledge it. Festivals, songs, meetings, various relations among men of all kinds of opinion, all suffice to excite thought, to make the people realize their strength, and to make them ask for more. The difficulty is not in convincing people ; that can be done with a few big words, such as ' liberty, rights of man, progress, equality, fraternity, despotism, privileges, tyranny, slavery,' etc. The thing is to gather the people together. The day when this occurs will be the dawn of a new era." LUBIENSKI ; *Wars and Revolutions of Italy*. Paris, 1852.

the votaries of the Dark Lantern in those days, had been received with undisguised enthusiasm by the Masous of that Rome with which, according to a fundamental law of Protestant England, he could have no "official" relations. He had been acclaimed by all of those "clubs" which were really so many *Vendite* of the Carbonari, and which embraced many corrupted members of the Roman aristocracy, as well as many from the inferior strata of society, who all—nobles and plebeians—proclaimed their modern "liberalism" by crimes and sacrileges which attested their Satanic origin. This Minto, presumedlly an English "gentleman," hobnobbed with the scum of the Roman slums, receiving with *bonhomie* the most prominent leaders of the curbstome democracy, and composing verses in their honor; and instead of expelling him from Rome, Pius IX. merely smiled when "the people" forgot the road to the Quirinal, and passed the evenings serenading the envoy of the "Grand Orient of the Orients" (1). But the Pontiff continued in the path of what he deemed to be rational reform. Was he encouraged when Thiers, from the height of the French tribune, cried out to him: "*Courage, Saint-Père!*"? Probably no more than when, a few days before that hypocritical demonstration, Cicervacchio, the tavern-keeper and demagogue, had jumped on his carriage wheel, and thrusting his impu-

(1) Lest the reader may think that we ascribe to "Old Pam" too preponderating a role in the revolutionary movements of his day, we adduce the testimony of Mme. Rattazzi (*née* Princess Wyse-Bonaparte), who, in her *Memoirs* of her too celebrated second husband, makes of the English statesman a prime initiator of the Italian and other Masonic revolutions of the Continent; although, indeed, because of certain family pique against Louis Napoleon, she rather minimizes the intervention of her imperial cousin in order to magnify that of Palmerston. The testimony of this experienced woman is the more valuable, inasmuch as it is really that of Rattazzi himself. We hear Palmerston *execrating* the Pontiff and all the princes of the House of Bourbon (p. 99, 200). His correspondence continually mentions the oaths of a *Knight Kadosch*, and he is fond of quoting the Masonic war-cry of that day, *Lilia pedibus destrue* (See our Vol. iv., p. 425). In 1852, Cavour, just become prime-minister of Piedmont, "was assured of the loyal assistance of Palmerston" in preventing Austria from repressing Mazzinian demonstrations in her dominions (p. 311). In 1856, toward the end of the Congress of Paris, at which Cavour had so impudently attacked the Papal government and that of Ferdinand II., Napoleon III. advised the Piedmontese to consult Palmerston as the sovereign arbiter in such matters (p. 326). In 1858 when the Neapolitan government had captured the *Cagliari*, an English ship which had brought the piratical expedition of Pisacane to its shores, the impudent protests of Cavour "were supported by Lord Palmerston" (p. 335). In 1860, the so-called "heroic" landing of Garibaldi's Thousand at Marsala, of which we shall soon speak, was protected by a British fleet, and by Palmerston's orders (p. 457).

dent face through the window, had shouted : “ *Coraggio, Santo Padre!* ” The reforms which he successively promulgated, the formation of a National Guard and a limited liberty of the press, were granted because he believed them reasonable and just ; if he hesitated to grant a Constitution, it was both because he distrusted the parliamentary system as a producer of national happiness, and because he could not perceive its compatibility with the pontifical independence. But on Jan. 29, 1848, a Constitution was promulgated at Naples ; on Feb. 4, at Turin ; and on Feb. 17, at Florence. Then Pius IX. resolved to humor his people with the fancied panacea, and he signed the document on March 14. There were to be two legislative bodies : the *Alto Consiglio*, or Upper House, composed of members named for life by the Pope ; and a Chamber of deputies, the members of which were to be elected by such of the people as paid taxes to the amount of 64 *lire*, or who were communal employees, or who had taken some University degree. Political censorship of the press was abolished ; but the ecclesiastical censorship, in the interests of morality, was retained. But the Masonic powers had never intended to be satisfied with any Constitution which recognized the Roman Pontiff as a temporal sovereign. In the Consistory of April 29, 1848, Pius IX. was forced to protest against the endeavors of the sectaries to compel him to acts which his pontifical conscience could not sanction : “ Now that many demand that we join the other princes and the peoples of Italy in a war against Austria, we have deemed it our duty to protest formally and loudly in this solemn assembly against a design which is so foreign to our thoughts, seeing that we, although unworthy, hold on earth the place of Him who is the Author of peace, the Friend of charity ; and considering that, faithful to the divine obligations of our supreme apostolate, we embrace all countries and all nations in the same sentiments of paternal love. . . . And here we cannot avoid repelling, before all the nations of the earth, the perfidious suggestion that the Roman Pontiff should preside over the formation of a new republic, to be constituted out of all the states of Italy.” This Allocution appeared to the Masonic conspirators to furnish

an excellent pretext for a sedition. Cicervacchio brought forth his dregs of the populace, and the Civic Guard closed the gates of the city. The "clubs," or *Vendite*, as we have termed them, resounded with the eloquence of Count Terenzio Mamiani, Florentino, Galetti, Sterbini, and of the apostate monk, Gavazzi, all insisting that the Pope should be forced to retract his Allocution, and to enter on a war, in which not one of the orators intended to participate. Pius IX. endeavored to avert the storm by asking Mamiani to form and head a new ministry. There was a vein of true nobility in Mamiani; for of all the Roman opponents of the Papal government, he alone had refused, at the time of the amnesty, to give his word of honor that he would conspire no more. Perhaps it was this trait that led Pius IX. to trust him to some extent. At the opening of the new parliament, for members of which, strange to say, few besides Carbonari had voted, Mamiani pronounced a discourse in which he said that "the Pope would thereafter pray, bless, and pardon; that the most important affairs of state would be left to the discretion of the Chambers." But in his reply to the address of the Houses, the Pontiff energetically declared that he would not confine himself to blessing and forgiving; that he would exercise his "full liberty of action." A few days afterward, the Chambers declared themselves in permanent session, and sent two deputies to the Pope, with a demand for an immediate declaration of war against Austria. The Pontiff again refused to commit what he regarded as an unjustifiable act; but it was well known that could he have thrown the Germans out of Italy by the adoption of any means not incompatible with his pontifical duty, he would have repeated the cry of Julius II., "*fuori i barbari!*" with his whole soul. On May 3, the very day when Mamiani had composed his ministry, Pius IX. had given to the world a testimony to his desire that Italy should be freed from the incubus of foreign rule. He wrote to the Austrian emperor as follows: "Whenever war ensanguines Christian soil, the Holy See is heard entreating for peace; and in our Allocution of April 29 of last year, when we said that our paternal heart abhorred a declaration of war, we expressed our ardent desire of being

able to contribute to peace. Therefore, let Your Majesty not be displeased, if we address ourselves to your piety, exhorting you, with an affection really paternal, to withdraw from a war which will only entail a series of calamities, without reconquering for the empire the hearts of the Lombards and Venetians. Let the generous German (*sic*) people not be displeased if we ask them to crush sentiments of hatred, and to welcome relations of friendly neighborhood instead of a domination without grandeur, one which can have no happy consequences, since it relies on force alone. *We trust that your nation, so properly proud of its own independence, will not deem it honorable to make bloody attacks on Italian nationality.* Let both nationalities be recognized nobly as sisters; for they are two daughters equally dear to our heart, and we would rejoice if we could see them contented with their respective natural frontiers, living in peace, and meriting the divine blessing by acts worthy of themselves. We pray the Author of all intelligence and of all good to enlighten Your Majesty with His holy counsels." The revolutionists chose to ignore this proof that Pius IX. had not forgotten that he was an Italian; that he favored heartily all legitimate Italian aspirations. When it was made known that he had again refused to join his army to that of the Sardinian monarch, then suffering from its first defeats by Radetzky, the windows of many cardinals were broken, and the streets resounded with cries of: "Death to the priests! Down with the Pope!"—an excellent demonstration, of course, of the advantages of "A Free Church in A Free State." Being now a "Constitutional monarch," Pius IX. could only prorogue the Chambers, and look around for a new premier. He fixed his choice on Count Pellegrino Rossi, a statesman of ability who had been a Carbonaro, and had been proscribed as such. Rossi was a native of Carrara; and in 1815 he had attached himself to the fortunes of Murat, when that Napoleonic monarch had invaded the Roman States. In 1830 he had been naturalized a Frenchman; he became an intimate of Guizot, and Louis Philippe made him a peer of France, and his ambassador to the Holy See. Although now disgusted with Carbonarism, Rossi was still an enthusiastic

advocate of Italian national independence, and one of his sons was then fighting the Austrians in Lombardy. He doubted his own fitness for the emergency ; but, persuaded by the arguments of the Duc d' Harcourt, who soon became the ambassador of France in Rome, and especially by the encouragement given by the French Franciscan, Vaures, he said to the latter: "*In verbo tuo laxabo rete*—At thy word I will let down the net."

During the two ensuing months, Rossi displayed superhuman activity in the noble cause to which, as he avowed, he had dedicated his life. His chief aim was to actuate the fundamental idea of Cantù and the other Neo-Guelphs which had been rejected by Gregory XVI., but was not repugnant to Pius IX.—a confederation of all the Italian states, which would have had all the advantages of a unitarian arrangement, and would have engendered none of the terrible evils of centralization. Negotiations were begun at Naples, Turin, and Florence ; but the ambition of Piedmont had already ex-cogitated the idea of a Piedmontese Italy, and not daring to reject the Neo-Guelphic plan in principle, the cabinet of Charles Albert tried to destroy it by insisting that the Neapolitan kingdom, the most powerful of the Italian states, should be excluded from the Confederation. However, in spite of the machinations of the Piedmontese statesmen, the best minds in Italy were confident that the diplomatic ability of Rossi, and the force of his arguments, would yet triumph. Such success was not desirable by the Brethren of the Three Points ; but their dissatisfaction with Rossi became rage when they saw that under his administration the lovers of order in the Papal States were breathing freely, and when they heard him proclaim that "the Papacy is the sole grandeur remaining in Italy," and that "in order to repress the factions, he would himself take up arms, and the Pope would not be reached, unless by passing over the body of Rossi." Then began a series of virulent articles by Sterbini in his *Contemporaneo*, all tending to show that the good of Italy demanded the "removal" of the traitor to Carbonarism ; and Mazzini, the veritable Old Man of the Mountain of his time, declared in a public letter that "said death was nec-

essary." While the Masonic press was preparing the minds of men to acclaim with joy the determined catastrophe, the ultimate plan was being laid in one of those *Scientific Congresses* so abundant in the Italy of the nineteenth century, and which were generally devoted to political conspiracy, rather than to intellectual matters (1). The Scientific Congress of 1848 met in Turin; and among its Roman delegates were Mamiani, Sterbini, and Charles Lucien Bonaparte—a very different man from his father, that Lucien whom Pius VII. made Prince of Canino, and who braved his imperial brother's anger, rather than fail in his Christian duty. After the close of this Congress, says Labiinski, certain of its members met in a house in Florence or in Leghorn, and there, in accordance with the jurisprudence of the Carbonari, sentenced Rossi to death. The executioner was chosen by lot from among twelve or fifteen members of Mazzini's "Young Italy," who met in the Teatro Capranica. On the eve of the appointed day, these wretches obtained from the hospital of San Giacomo the corpse of a man whose height

(1) In appearance, nothing could have been more innocent than these reunions. Their sessions always opened with a solemn Mass. In the ninth Congress, held at Venice, in 1847, Prince Charles Lucien Bonaparte, alluding to Italian politics, said: "Now we have finished our Novena; next year we will celebrate the Feast." After the unification of Italy, the promoters of these Congresses openly boasted of the part which the associations had taken in the revolutions of the century. At the Congress held in Rome in 1873, the mayor, Luigi Panciani, grand-master of the Grand Orient of Italy, and an ex-Garibaldian, said in his opening discourse: "The resurrection of Italy is in great part due to you. Our movement began with the Scientific Congress which was held at Pisa in 1839. The days of Milan in 1848 corresponded to the Congress of Venice in 1847; as did also that heroic movement of 1848-'49, which may be termed the aurora of the Italian resurrection. . . . The Italian government congratulates itself because of your work, and hopes to have your aid in governing the country." Count Solaro della Margherita, the sole Christian prime-minister of Piedmont in our day, and the redoubtable adversary of the policy of Cavour, in his memorandum of 1852 (cited by Menacaci, in his *Memoirs for the History of the Italian Revolution*, Rome, 1879) says: "The first Congress of Italian Scientists met at Pisa in 1839; and there it was that the web was woven, the threads of which had been prepared long before. Charles Lucien Bonaparte was the chief workman, working with an object of his own, and not perceiving that he was a mere instrument of the sectaries. . . . They spoke of science and art in public; but the coryphees of the various liberal factions of the peninsula had their private reunions, in which they talked of very different things. . . . *O cæci reges qui rem non cernitis istam*, could have been pronounced after one read the pamphlet which was published at Lugano, revealing the entire tendency of these Congresses. . . . When the Congress was about to assemble at Turin, I could not avoid telling the king what was no longer a mystery. They told him just as they told King Ferdinand of Naples and the grand-duke of Tuscany, that he was to be the champion of Italy. The king smiled at my communication, and *tolerated* it. I think that his conscience was somewhat troubled under my look, but he did not draw back. He might have deprived me of my portfolio, but he did not; as for changing my views, he did not try to do so."—See also the already cited work of Mme. Rattazzi, Vol. i., pp. 191, 225.

had about equalled that of the doomed statesman ; and having conveyed it to the theatre, they there subjected the chosen one to a trial of his skill. The corpse was propped against the wall, and the blow was given so scientifically, that there was a general exclamation : “ Bravo ! The rehearsal was fine ; the piece must succeed.” In the early morning of Nov. 15, 1848, Rossi received many warnings, notably one from the Duchess di Rignano ; but he calmly replied that the cause of the Pope was that of God. Then he proceeded to the Palazzo della Cancelleria, for the opening of the Chambers. Just as he began to ascend the grand staircase, his neck was pierced by a poniard which cut the carotid artery. The murderer cried : “ *È fatto*—it is done ” ; and the crowd of Masonic adepts, who had purposely occupied the locality in anticipation of the glorious enterprise, shouted : “ *Bravo ! Well struck !* ” The attendant ranks opened, and the assassin, Sante-Costantini, disappeared. The news was quickly conveyed to the Chambers ; and Sturbinetti, the president of the Deputies, calmly ejaculated : “ The House will proceed to the order of the day.” Then the Duc d’Harcourt, the French ambassador, turning to the other members of the diplomatic body, cried : “ What infamy ! Gentlemen, let us leave this hall ! We must not, by our presence, appear to be accomplices in this proceeding ! ” It is needless to say that the diplomatic tribune was vacated immediately. Meanwhile the votaries of the Dark Lantern were promenading through the streets from which cowardly terror had banished all honest men ; the ribald tongues of the “ Friends of Liberty ” loudly proclaimed the apotheosis of their modern Brutus ; and in default of the body of the victim, which they had intended to parade in triumph through the city, but which had been hidden in the vault of a church by Father Vaures, they carried the bloody dagger, ornamented with flowers, and fastened to the Italian Tricolor. Then the instrument of Masonic vengeance was ceremoniously deposited in a place of honor in the Cafè of the Fine Arts, in order that all “ true Italians ” might venerate it, to the accompaniment of the refrain which was said to have been composed by Sterbini, “ *Benedetta la mano che Rossi pugnalò*—Blessed

be the hand that stabbed Rossi!" And when night had fallen, the diabolic horde proceeded in procession to the house of mourning, and raised the weapon before a window of the room where the widow and her children were weeping (1).

It was already evident that the Head of the Church was no longer a free agent in his capital; but this fact was accentuated during the next few days, when the Pontiff was besieged in the Quirinal, forced to replace his faithful Swiss Guard with a detachment of that Civic Guard which was a mere creature of the Lodges, and compelled to accept a ministry which did not even disguise its hostility to the Papacy. During this crisis, the representatives of foreign states, with two exceptions, were in almost constant attendance on the sorely-beset Pontiff, in order to afford him at least the moral support of their governments. The exceptions were the ambassador of His Sardinian Majesty, and Lord Minto, pretendedly the "official" agent of England, but really the servant of Palmerston, in his capacity of Orient of the Orient; and their time was spent in the various revolutionary clubs, arranging for the final consummation so ardently desired by Masonry. When Pius IX. had accepted the ministry composed of Sterbini, Galetti, Lunati, and others of whom he had never heard, he said to the diplomatic body: "Gentleman, I am a prisoner. You may inform Europe that henceforth I shall take no part in the government of the Roman States. I cannot allow a misuse to be made of my name, and I have given orders that in all administrative measures the ordinary forms of language are not to be observed." But the Masonic ministers refused to omit the name of Pius IX. from their administrative decrees; and it continually appeared that the Pope was sanctioning the most infamous measures. This fact, joined to the evident danger menacing the Holy Father and his entire court at the hands of the assassins of Rossi, compelled the papal counsellors to advise an abandonment of

(1) LUBIENSKI; *Ubi supra*, ch. 12 and 13.—DESCHAMPS; *Secret Societies and Society*; or, *the Philosophy of Contemporary History*, bk. ii., ch. 9. Paris, 1882.—D'ARLINCOURT; *Red Italy*. Paris, 1855.—BALEYDIER; *History of the Revolution in Rome*. Paris, 1850.

Rome. The Pontiff hesitated to take so momentous a step ; but during the evening of November 22, he received what seemed to be an indication of the will of Heaven that he should seek a temporary refuge in a foreign land. Mgr. Chartronsse, bishop of Valence in France, had sent to him a small package, accompanied by the following letter : " Most Holy Father, the great Pontiff, Pius VI., during his exile in France, and especially while at Valence where he died, and where his heart and bowels are now preserved, always either carried the Holy Eucharist on his bosom, or had it carried on the breast of one of the domestic prelates who were in his company. In the Most August Sacrament he found a guide for his actions, strength to bear his sufferings, a consolation in his griefs, until the time should arrive when it would be his Viaticum for eternity. I am the undoubted possessor of the little pyx which served the holy Pontiff in this religious and touching manner ; and I now present it to Your Holiness. Heir of the throne, the name, the virtues, the courage, and almost the tribulations of the grand Pius VI., you will probably appreciate this interesting relic, which, I dare to hope, will now have a different destiny. But who knows the designs of Providence in regard to Your Holiness ? ... I leave the pyx in the same little silken bag which contained it when in the possession of Pius VI. ; it is absolutely as it was when hanging from the neck of that immortal Pontiff. Prostrate at the feet of Your Holiness, I ask for your Apostolic benediction." Pius IX. kissed the precious memorial of the "*Peregrinus Apostolicus*," as the sixth Pius is styled in the prophecy attributed to St. Malachy ; he placed in it the Sacred Host, and hung it around his neck ; and was ready for the exile on which he had finally determined (1). But how was he to

(1) In his Allocution of Dec. 25, 1874, Pius IX. thus explained this resolution : " At its commencement, the revolution was apparently timid, obsequious, and flattering. It was even hypocritical, and deceived many men of good faith : it mingled with them even at the foot of the altar, where some nourished themselves with the Bread of Life, and others ate and drank for their own condemnation. The revolutionists demanded and obtained all that it was permissible to accord them. After each concession, they applauded loudly ; then they raised new pretensions, even demanding an aggressive and battle-fighting Pontiff. But the Pope, who wished not to be, and could not become a fighter, was obliged to leave Rome ; the resolution was forced on him by horrible threats, the execution of which was being prepared."

evade the vigilance of his guards? Thanks to the skill and prudence of the French ambassador, and to the devotedness of a French lady (*née* Giraud), the wife of the Bavarian ambassador, he escaped from the Quirinal during the night of the 24th, gained the Neapolitan frontier, and was received most filially by Ferdinand II. (1). During the eighteen months of the Pontiff's residence in his dominions, King Ferdinand showed himself to be as considerate and magnificent a host as so resolutely Christian a monarch would naturally be; in fact, he showed that he merited the hatred with which Masonry pursued him during his entire reign, and which it afterward visited successfully on his less resolute son (2).

On April 18, 1849, Cardinal Antonelli, in the name of Pius IX., called on the Catholic powers to restore him to his dominions; and in response to this appeal, plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, Portugal, Naples, Austria, and Bavaria met at Gaeta for a furtherance of the necessary concert. Austria, probably with an eye on the ever-coveted Legations, would gladly have worked alone for the desired end, and there were not wanting among the papal counsellors men who advised an entire ignoring of the French Second Republic. But the Pontiff's thoroughly Italian aversion for Austria, and his predilection for France as the Eldest Daughter of the Church, led him to decide that the more responsible and more honorable task of subduing his capital should be

(1) SAINT-ALBIN; *History of Pius IX. and His Pontificate*. Paris, 1870.—VILLEFRANCHE; *Pius IX., His Life and His Century*. Paris, 1878.

(2) Two days after his arrival in Gaeta, our Pontiff, surrounded by all the royal family and all the foreign ambassadors, proceeded to the Chapel of the Trinity, and there, before the Blessed Sacrament, he prayed aloud: "Omnipotent God, my August Father and Master! behold at Thy feet Thy unworthy Vicar, who beseeches Thee to bless him, and to direct his steps. O my God! sanctify his intentions, rectify his actions, and govern him so that on these shores or on any others where he may be forced to seek a refuge, he may always be an instrument of Thy glory, and of the glory of Thy persecuted Church! If, in order to appease Thy too just anger, his life would be to Thee an agreeable holocaust, take it; he offers it to Thee. Take it; it was given to him by Thee. But, O my God! let Thy glory triumph! Let Thy Church triumph! Confirm the good, support the weak, arouse from their terrible slumber those who sleep in sin! Bless, O Lord, the sovereign who is here prostrate before Thee! Bless his companion, bless his family! Bless all his subjects, and bless his faithful army! Bless all the cardinals, bishops, and clergy of this kingdom, that they may accomplish, by the sweet ways of Thy holy law, the sanctification of this people! With this hope, we trust not only to escape here below the snares of the impious, but also to place our feet, one day, on the shores of eternal security: *Ut hic in æternum, Te auxiliante, salvi et liberi esse mereamur.*"

assigned to the government of the latter country, while Ferdinand of Naples should enter the Papal States from the southern side, and Austria should attend to the Romagna. Meanwhile, the promoters of the presumed Italian Millennium were holding their Satanic revels in the capital of Christendom under the guidance of a Triumvirate composed of Mazzini, Carlo Armellini, and a lawyer named Saffi. Of course, the indefatigable Mazzini was the soul of this executive, and to him must be ascribed the guilt of all the sacrileges and other horrors which signalized the regime of the short-lived Roman Republic of '48. It is true that the churches were not pillaged, the confessionals burnt in the Piazza del Popolo, the houses of the cardinals and the best citizens sacked, eighteen priests massacred by Zambianchi, until the Nicene adventurer, Garibaldi, on March 27, brought into Rome his horde of Piedmontese and Lombards, Frenchmen, Germans, Hungarians, and renegade Poles, heroes of all the revolutions which had been the curse of Europe during the previous year; but at any moment Mazzini could have silenced the blasphemous tongue of Garibaldi, and could have paralyzed his murderous arm. The Saturnalia of hell terminated only on July 3, when the French troops under General Oudinot carried Rome by assault, and at the same time Mazzini fled from the responsibility which he had incurred, while Garibaldi led his surviving cut-throats, ostensibly to the succor of the heroically struggling Venetians, but in reality to an opportunity for disbandment. A few words concerning the origin of this French intervention in favor of the dispossessed Pontiff, and concerning the part played in it by Louis Napoleon, will interest the reader. In spite of the Masonic elements which were then in possession of the reins of her government, the heart of France had been moved by the insults offered to the Pontiff in his own capital by the sectaries; and immediately there was instituted that grand work of the "Peter's Pence," which afterward spread throughout Christendom. Very soon it became evident that all remembrance of the *Gesta Dei per Francos* was not dead in the land of St. Louis; and the two candidates for the presidency, Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon, vied with each other

in an endeavor to secure the Catholic vote, even to the point of an apparent rupture with the Masonic powers. General Cavaignac, then head of the executive power, sent to Rome; not a Masonic adept, but a practical Catholic, M. de Corcelles, charged with the duty of informing His Holiness that a French brigade was at his disposal, "to restore to him his personal liberty, if that had been taken from him." Bastide, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, endeavored to save the Masonic position by an assurance that French interference would go no further than to guarantee the "personal safety of the Pope"; but the immense majority of the French applauded the noble Montalembert when he declared in the Assembly, three days after the departure of Corcelles, that is, on Nov. 30, 1848, that "the person of the Pope is infinitely dear and infinitely sacred to Frenchmen, but his authority is much dearer and much more sacred." Then Cavaignac sent to the Pope, who had arrived in Gaeta ten days previously, the following letter: "Most Holy Father, the French nation, profoundly grieved by the afflictions of Your Holiness during the last few days, has been also deeply touched by the paternal confidence with which Your Holiness has asked of it a hospitality which it will be glad to accord, and which will be worthy of Your Holiness and of itself. I write, therefore, in order that no fear may interfere with the resolution taken by Your Holiness. Our Republic, the existence of which is consecrated by the reflecting and sovereign will of the French nation, will behold with pride Your Holiness giving to it by your presence a religious consecration; and it will receive you with the respect which befits so grand and generous a nation." In order to neutralize the effect of this letter among the Catholics, Louis Napoleon sent, on Dec. 9, the eve of the presidential election, a letter to the papal nuncio in Paris, outbidding Cavaignac for the Catholic vote: "Monseigneur, I cannot allow you to credit the reports now current, which represent me as an accomplice of the Prince of Canino in his present conduct at Rome. For a long time I have held no relations whatever with the eldest son of Lucien Bonaparte; and with all my soul I deplore the fact that he does not realize that the maintenance

of the temporal sovereignty of the venerable Head of the Church is intimately connected with the welfare of Catholicism, just as it is with the liberty and independence of Italy." This letter effected more for the election of Louis Napoleon than all the rhapsodies of Victor Hugo, the songs of Beranger, the descriptions of Thiers, or even the Napoleonic legend, still so vivid. But when the prince-president attained to the first object of his ambition, it was found that only one of the new ministers, M. de Falloux, really desired the restoration of the Pope to his temporal throne; and the most powerful of the democratic orators, Victor Hugo, Ledru-Rollin, and Jules Favre, were virulently hostile to such a measure. But M. de Falloux was energetic; and he was aided in the Chambers by the eloquence of Montalembert, and throughout France by a unity in the Catholic party—a unity which France was too soon to lose. The Roman expedition was undertaken, but that no credit for it was due to Louis Napoleon is certain.

The first measure taken by the victorious Oudinot was the very proper one of sending the keys of the Eternal City to the Pope-King. His messenger was Colonel Niel (afterward Marshal), then chief-of-staff to General Vaillant. The words of acknowledgment pronounced by Pius IX. on this occasion show the absurdity of the complaint soon afterward made by the prince-president in his famous letter to Edgard Ney (1), to the effect that no praise of the French

(1) This letter to Colonel Edgard Ney, one of his officers of ordonnance, was asserted by Louis Napoleon to have been private; but its immediate insertion in the *Moniteur*, and the immediate mission of the recipient to Rome, showed that it was intended to be a political manifesto. The document reads as follows: "My dear Ney, the French Republic did not send an army to Rome in order to strangle Italian liberty, but in order to regulate it by preserving it from its own excesses, and in order to give it a solid foundation by restoring to his throne the Pontiff who was the first (Italian sovereign) to inaugurate useful reforms. I am pained on seeing that the benevolent intentions of His Holiness, and our own acts, are still sterile, because of passion and hostile influences; they are proposing tyranny and proscription as conditions of the Pope's return to Rome. Tell General Rostolan (the French commander in Rome) for me that he must not allow an act to be committed under the shadow of the Tricolor which might give a false complexion to our intervention. I thus summarize the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope: General amnesty, secularization of the administration, the Code Napoleon, and a liberal government. I was wounded personally, when I read the proclamation issued by the three cardinals, and saw that no mention was made of France, or of the sufferings of our brave soldiers. Every insult given to our flag or to our uniform goes straight to my heart, and I ask you to make it known that if France does not sell her services, she at least demands

soldiers had been uttered by the three cardinals whom the Pope had sent to Rome as his representatives. "Colonel," exclaimed His Holiness, "on other occasions I have declared that I could always rely on France. She had promised me nothing; but I felt that at the proper time she would give to the Church her treasures, her blood, and what is perhaps more difficult for her valorous sons, that restrained ardor, the persevering patience, to which I owe that Rome, the well-beloved and well-tried city of the world toward which I ever turned my thoughts during my exile, has been preserved intact. Tell the commanding general and all the generals under his orders; tell all their officers and all their soldiers; that my gratitude to them is unlimited. My prayers for the prosperity of your country will now be more fervent than they ever were. As to my love for the French, I cannot promise that it will be increased; that is an impossibility." For a time Louis Napoleon insisted on certain conditions being fulfilled, ere he would allow the Pontiff to return to Rome; a general amnesty was to be proclaimed, the administration was to be "secularized," the Code Napoleon was to be introduced, and the government was to be "liberalized." Pius IX. replied that he would retire to Austria, or even to America, "the way to which country he knew well," ere he would return to his States, hampered by conditions imposed by a third party; but of his own accord he did what he had intended always to do—he issued an amnesty, and by a *Motu proprio* of Sept. 14, 1849, he announced to his subjects that it was his intention to grant to the provinces and communes liberties which, as the event proved, were greater than those enjoyed in republican France. As for the proposed "liberalization" of his government, Pius IX. knew

that her sacrifices be recognized. When our armies made the tour of Europe, they left everywhere, as a trace of their passage, the germs of liberty and the destruction of feudal abuses; so let it not be said that in 1848 a French army has produced other results. Tell the general to thank the army in my name for its noble conduct. I have learned with grief that the army has not been treated, even physically, as it ought to have been treated; nothing leading to the comfort of our troops must be neglected." The most eloquent proof of the wanton absurdity of this sop to the Carbonari, this encouragement to defeated but still presumptuous Piedmont, was the refusal of General Rostolan to publish it in the Roman journals. The general even requested Ney to leave Rome immediately; and when Louis Napoleon himself formally "invited" him to publish the mendacious document, Rostolan replied with his resignation.

full well that such a process would infallibly lead to chronic revolution. As to the introduction of the Code Napoleon, was it reasonable to ask the Father of Christendom to accept in principle the destruction of a legislation over which the ideas of God and of religion presided? And as to the "secularization" of the government, the Pope could reply by adducing the figures presented by M. de Corcelles, showing that while there were 6,836 lay functionaries in the civil administration of the papal dominions, there were only 289 ecclesiastics, of whom 179 were chaplains of prisons and similar institutions, and ten were attached to the offices of the cardinal-vicar of Rome. However, toward the end of March, 1850, the prince-president informed His Holiness that there were no obstacles to his return to his capital; and no conditions were mentioned. Louis Napoleon contented himself with prohibiting the soldiers of the expeditionary army from wearing the commemorative medals which the Pontiff had given to them. On April 12, Rome welcomed the Pope-King with every appearance of sincere gratification.

Continuing our succinct, although, as far as essentials are concerned, complete narrative of the political events of the pontificate of Pius IX., we come to a consideration of the causes which led to another destruction of the temporal dominion of the Holy See—a destruction which some persons regard as definitive. When the Congress of Paris, convened in 1856 to arrange terms of peace after the conclusion of the Crimean War, had determined the labors for which alone it had ostensibly met, Count Benso di Cavour brought on the table a subject, the introduction of which evinced the reason for which alone the little Sub-Alpine kingdom had been allowed to join the Anglo-French alliance in the war just concluded. Cavour, the most unprincipled as he was the ablest statesman of modern Europe, had furnished to the allies a *corps d'armée* which was not at all needed, and which contributed nothing or very little to the result of a war in which Piedmont had no interest; but he had gained his object—a voice in the determining councils of Europe, which he was to use for the advancement of a cause which Piedmont had made her own, and to which he had dedicated his life.

Sure of the support of Lord Clarendon, the English plenipotentiary, and nearly sure of that of Walewski, the French representative, he asked the members of the Congress to consider the condition of affairs in the States of the Church; and then the schemer perorated in this fashion: "The States of the Church have never known any prosperity, unless when they formed a part of the French Empire or of the Kingdom of Italy. . . . In our day, the emperor, Napoleon III., with that steady and accurate power of vision which characterizes him, understood and indicated the solution of the problem in his letter to Colonel Ney: secularization, and the Code Napoleon; but it is evident that the court of Rome will resist that combination until the last moment, and with every possible means. Of course, Rome may apparently yield so far as to adopt certain civil and political reforms, intending to render them illusory in practice; but she knows very well that secularization and the Code Napoleon, once introduced into the edifice of the temporal power, would undermine its foundations, and cause it to tumble, since they would deprive it of its principal supports, clerical privileges and the Canon Law. . . . The clerical organization opposes insurmountable obstacles to every kind of innovation." This tirade was greeted by Walewski and by Clarendon with terms which manifested no hesitation, on the part of their governments, to further the thinly-veiled designs of Piedmont. Among the members of the Congress was one from Prussia, although that enterprising country had taken no part either in the Crimean War or in the intervention which had terminated it. Probably the permission accorded to Prussia was due to "that steady and accurate power of vision which characterized Napoleon III."; but, of course, Prussia could not have foreseen the profit which would accrue to her from the alliance of Napoleon III. and the Italian Revolution, else her representative, Otho von Manteuffel, would not have remarked that Cavour's incriminations appeared very like an endorsement of European revolution. The France of the *sans culottes*, and all materialistic France, encouraged the emperor to "make Italy"; but, as Villefranche says: "Catholic France asked whether the ruler whom it had accepted,

and who had hitherto appeared to serve it well, was about to betray it in favor of a return to the conspiratory habits of his youth." However, these fears were allayed in some measure by a report of the French ambassador at Rome to the Minister of Foreign Affairs—a document which clearly refuted the calumnies of Cavour against the papal administration. This diplomat, Alphonse Gerard de Rayneval, knew Rome intimately; he had been secretary of the embassy under Louis Philippe, and had been ambassador also under the Second Republic. But his report did not accord with the designs of the conspirators; hence the imperial government did not give to it the official publicity of an insertion in the *Moniteur*, nor did the Judæo-Masonic-Revolutionary press even mention its existence. Frenchmen learned its contents only from the columns of the London *Daily News*. The capital importance of this official report compels us to quote it at some length: "I do not deny that there is a certain uneasiness among the Roman populations; but this is not to be attributed to any fault in the pontifical government. The cause is much less simple, and it pertains to a very different order of ideas. It is found above all in the fact that the present role of Italy in the world does not correspond to the national souvenirs, or to the visions and aspirations of the Italians. . . . The Italians have penetration, intelligence, a vivid perception of everything; but these precious gifts are counterbalanced by a want of energy, of strength of soul, and of any true civic courage. Continually suspicious of one another, they live isolated; they have no commercial or manufacturing associations, no mutual political understanding; and solid national armies are impossible among them. On parade the ranks of an army are full; but when danger arrives, the leaders are accused of treason, and the soldiers distrust each other. This default of equilibrium between the intelligence and the character of the Italians furnishes the key of their entire history, and of all their political infirmities. . . . Pius IX. showed great ardor for reforms; and we know what catastrophe followed. . . . I have often asked bitter foes of the pontifical government how many priests they thought to be employed in the administration;

and they replied : 'Three thousand, or thereabout.' And they refused to believe me when, with documents in hand, I showed that these ecclesiastics did not number two hundred, and that the half of those were not in Holy Orders. . . . The Church understood that the sacred functions of a priest might often be incompatible with governmental administrative duties ; and therefore she opened the door to the lay element by instituting the *prelatura*. . . . All the Roman prelates are not obliged to enter into Holy Orders ; most of them do not. Thus Mgr. Matteucci, the Minister of Police ; Mgr. Mertel, Minister of the Interior ; Mgr. Berardi, Sub-Secretary of State ; and many others, who are free to marry to-morrow, if they so wish, constitute a religious caste, sacrificing their own interests to those of the State. . . . A curious fact presents itself for our consideration. From those provinces which are governed by laymen, there come many deputations, asking that they be governed by ecclesiastical delegates. . . . The people accuse the lay delegates of subordinating the public interests to those of their families . . . I have studied the Roman codes of procedure and of commerce ; they are beyond criticism ; the hypothecary code has been examined by French jurisconsults, and they have cited it as a model. The municipal organization is so broad, that to-day it seems necessary to enlarge, not the municipal power, but the governmental supervision. . . . We know what revolutions cost. The Roman Republic provided for its expenses by creating paper-money, which soon depreciated considerably. The pontifical government did not hesitate to recognize those notes, and to withdraw them from circulation by buying them. The sum was considerable, seven millions of scudi ; that is, more than the annual revenue of the State. . . . In spite of the debts bequeathed by the revolution ; in spite of the extraordinary expenses entailed by the reorganization of the army ; in spite of the large disbursements for public works ; the budget, which, at the restoration of Pius IX., showed a great deficit, has gradually approached the equilibrium. . . . The taxes are always less than the average taxes in other European countries. A Roman pays to the State 22 francs ; a Frenchman 45. . . . This continual talk about

abuses in the papal government is composed of phrases which are regarded as so much Gospel truth. But where are these abuses? Men complain because travellers are asked for *pourboires* at the custom-houses. Of course that is blamable; but would a secularization of the government cure the country of a vice which is deeply seated in the nature of the people? . . . At any rate, whenever a man becomes rich here, he is always a layman. . . . To conclude, we are forced to admit, after examination, that the pontifical government has not failed in its duty; that it has marched regularly in the way of reform, and that it has made great progress." When Catholics perused this report of a French ambassador, one who enjoyed the confidence of the emperor, and who was in a position to be able to speak *ab experto* concerning the truth of Cavour's allegations against the pontifical government, they felt that there was now no danger that France would be forced to play the game of the Carbonari; and certain procedures of the emperor at this period confirmed their feeling of security. Napoleon III. besought Pius IX. "to deign to hold at the baptismal font the heir just given to him by Providence"; and the Pontiff sent Cardinal Patrizzi as legate *a latere* to represent him in the ceremony. His Holiness sent, at the same time, the "Golden Rose" to the empress. Then followed the re-institution of the Chapter of Saint-Denis at the express request of the emperor. But the new-born security of the French Catholics was short-lived. On Jan. 14, 1858, Count Felice Orsini, emulating the act of Pianori in 1855, and that of other Italians in 1853, tried to assassinate Napoleon III.; but the emperor escaped, while eight others were killed, and one hundred and forty-eight were wounded. This Orsini was a son of one of Louis Napoleon's companions in the insurrection of the Romagna in 1831; he had been condemned for high treason by the government of Gregory XVI. in 1845, had been amnestied by Pius IX., and had been a member of the Roman Constituent Assembly of 1849. At the trial of Orsini and his associates, his lawyer, Jules Favre, read a "political testament" which the assassin had written in his prison—a document which had probably been inspired by the brilliant

Masonic jurisconsult himself, and in which it was calmly avowed that the attempt had been undertaken with the object of reminding the emperor of his olden agreement with the Carbonari to procure the independence of Italy; that, furthermore, he, Orsini, was only one of hundreds who had sworn to effect the deed which he had failed to accomplish. "Let Your Majesty remember," concluded the daring enthusiast, "that so long as Italy is not independent, the tranquillity of Europe and that of Your Majesty are chimeras" (1). Orsini was guillotined, shouting under the axe: "*Viva l'Italia!*" and from that moment the policy of Napoleon III. was avowedly Masonic.

On January 1, 1859, on the occasion of the usual reception of the ambassadors at the Tuileries, the emperor astonished the Austrian envoy with the significant words: "I regret that my relations with your government are not as cordial as they have been." A few months afterward the lightning-like

(1) On March 13, 1861, Emile Keller, member of the Corps Legislatif from the Haut-Rhin, openly stigmatized the War of '59 as a mere compliance with the last will of Orsini. The imperial government, of course, moved heaven and earth to prevent the re-election of Keller; but no sane and ordinarily impartial publicist of the day took him to task. The circumstances connected with the Napoleonic change of policy were too well known. For the benefit of the reader, however, we reproduce a resumé of those circumstances as given in 1874 by the *Giornale di Firenze*. "At the moment of the attempt on his life, the emperor showed a coolness which was truly admirable. Just as at the time of the attempts at the Hippodrome and at the Opera Comique in 1853, and of that of Pianori in 1855, he at first scorned the implacable persecution of the Italian sect, of which he was a member, but which he had deserted in order to devote himself to the prosperity of France, and to the consolidation of his dynasty. But after reflection, Napoleon III. was seized by that anxiety which often possesses souls which are the most thoroughly balanced. The prince-imperial was a babe. What would be the fate of the empire, and of that child, if the sect, which had decreed the death of Napoleon, succeeded in its design? Amid his terrible perplexities, the emperor bethought himself of the advice once given to him by his mother, Queen Hortense: 'If you ever find yourself in extreme peril, and need good counsel, betake yourself to the lawyer, X. . . He will surely save you.' This lawyer, whose name I do not wish to mention here, was a Roman exile whom Napoleon himself had known during the insurrection of the Romagna. He was then living near Paris in that mysterious condition which is neither wealth nor poverty, but which Masonry assures to its leaders. Napoleon ordered M. . . to bring X. . . to the Tuileries; and the meeting took place on the following morning. When X. . . entered the imperial cabinet, Napoleon arose, seized the visitor's hands, and exclaimed: 'They want to kill me; what have I done?' X. . . replied: 'You have forgotten that you are an Italian, and that you are bound by oath to assure the independence and the grandeur of our country.' Napoleon declared that his love for Italy was still vivid in his heart; but that as the Emperor of the French, he owed himself also and above all to the grandeur of France. The lawyer insisted that nothing prevented His Majesty from devoting himself to France; but that he might and should work for Italy. If he did not, the secret societies had resolved to suppress every obstacle which impeded the delivery of Italy from the yoke of Austria, and which stood in the way of Italian unity. 'What do they want me to do?' asked Napoleon. The lawyer promised to consult his

campaign of Magenta and Solferino gave Lombardy to France, with the understanding that the conquest should be handed over to Piedmont. Then came the revolt of the Romagna against the Pope-King, already prepared by Pepoli and other agents of Cavour. On May 3, 1859, before his departure for the Italian campaign, the French emperor had issued a proclamation in which he declared that he would "respect the territories and the rights of neutral powers"; and he had added: "We do not go into Italy in order to foment disorder, or to subvert the authority of the Holy Father whom we have restored to his throne. We go in order to relieve the Pope from that foreign oppression which weighs on the entire peninsula." In the preliminaries of peace signed at Villafranca on July 11, he had agreed with the Austrian sovereign to respect the integrity of the papal dominions, and to further the formation of an Italian Confederation, under the honorary presidency of the Pontiff. But in spite of these assurances, he made no sign of opposition when, under the pretext of obeying the will of the populations, Piedmont annexed not only Modena and Par-

friends, and to announce the decision in a few days. When the reply was given, the emperor found that three things were required: I. The pardon of Orsini. II. The proclamation of the independence of Italy. III. A declaration of war between France and Austria. A delay of fifteen months was accorded to Napoleon, that he might prepare events; and during that time he was to enjoy perfect security. Every one knows the documents which appeared from this time, showing the sudden change of imperial policy, and its conformity to that indicated in the letter to Edgard Ney. The emperor tried earnestly to comply with the first demand of the sect. He caused the empress to implore for the pardon of Orsini; he consulted his Ministers and the diplomatic body; and he found resistance in only one person—one whose profession would have inclined him to clemency, but who believed that the emperor had no right to impede the course of justice. This person was Cardinal Morlot, who said: 'Sire, your Majesty can do much in France, but you cannot do that. By a wonderful favor of Providence, your life has just been spared; but around you French blood was shed, and that crime must be expiated. If it is not expiated, every idea of justice will disappear; and *justitia regnorum fundamentum*.' Napoleon understood; he went to see Orsini. What was the nature of this interview between the two adepts of the Lodge of Cesena? Perhaps all will never be known; but we do know that at this meeting Napoleon renewed the obligations which he had assumed in his youth, and which he had confirmed in the hands of the lawyer, X. . . And in the arms of him whom he could not save, he swore to be the executor of the criminal's Last Will and Testament. The expression is correct; Napoleon was the testamentary executive of Orsini. It was agreed that Orsini should write a letter announcing the programme for Italian unity, and that Napoleon should give the document to the public. Then occurred one of the greatest scandals of our time; this testamentary letter was read before the judges of Orsini, and it was published in the *Moniteur*. Martyr for the Italian idea, Orsini perished, knowing for a certainty that Italy would be free, and that the Pope would be uncrowned."

ma, but also the Papal Legations. As we learn from a despatch of M. de Thouvenel, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs (dated Feb. 12, 1860), Napoleon even wrote to Pius IX., three days after the preliminaries of Villafranca, the following letter: "In this new condition of things, Your Holiness can exercise the greatest influence, and you can cause the cessation of every source of trouble for the future. Consent, therefore, or rather by your own *Motu proprio* grant to the Legations a separate administration under a lay government nominated by yourself, but surrounded by an elective council. Let this province pay a fixed revenue to the Holy See, and Your Holiness will assure the tranquillity of your States, and you will be able to dispense with the service of foreign troops. I beseech Your Holiness to listen to the voice of one who is a devoted son of the Church, but who understands the needs of our epoch." On Dec. 31, the emperor wrote to His Holiness another letter in which he presumed to say that the Holy See should consent to the loss of the Legations, "in order to preserve the rest of its temporal dominion." The Pontiff replied: "I do not ignore the difficulty of the position in which Your Majesty is involved; but you might escape from this position by some decisive measure. However, it is precisely because Your Majesty is in this position that I am counselled to cede the revolted provinces, with the hope of retaining the others. Such a project presents insurmountable difficulties. Consider my situation, my sacred character, and the rights of the Holy See—rights which are not those of a dynasty, but of all Catholics. . . . I cannot cede what is not mine; and again, if I were to cede the Legations, I would encourage the Revolution to play the same game in the provinces which remain to me. . . . You say that the Powers will guarantee to me the debris of the pontifical royalty. Perhaps they will; but in case of fresh revolts, which are very probable, since they are being continually excited by outside parties, do you believe that the Powers will then help me in an efficacious manner? . . . Your Majesty says that the repose of Europe depends on my ceding those Legations which have caused so much embarrassment to the pontifical

government during the last fifty years. Now, since I have already promised to talk candidly to Your Majesty, let me ask you to enumerate the revolutions which have occurred in France during the last seventy years. Then let me ask Your Majesty whether any parties will dare to inform the grand French nation that the quietude of Europe demands that its empire be curtailed. You perceive that your argument proves too much; therefore you will permit me to reject it. And allow me to remind Your Majesty that you know very well how the rebellion in Bologna, Ravenna, and other cities was effected; that you know whose money and other means did the work. Among these populations nearly every citizen was stupefied by a rebellion which he had not expected (1). . . . *Sire, I entreat you, in the name of the Church, and also in the name of your own interests, to act*

(1) The manner in which the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, and the papal province of the Romagna, were annexed to Piedmont in accordance with the presumed "will of their peoples," is graphically described by Carletti, in his *Revelations of an Agent of the Count de Cavour*, published after Carletti's death by Stefano di San Pol, the editor of the *Contemporaneo* of Florence. Carletti had been one of Cavour's most trusted agents; and when San Pol presented the *Revelations* to the king in his *Forty Truths Told to the Court of Turin*, he said to His Majesty: "Sire, it is not I that speak here. Like an honest citizen I unveil for you what Carletti unveiled for Italy and Europe. The book has been printed abroad, and it has been reproduced in Naples, Rome, Bologna, and Florence; and it has never been contradicted." We pass over Carletti's interesting account of the proceedings in the duchies, and make some extracts from his narrative of the annexation of the Romagna: "When Farini (the representative of Victor Emmanuel in the ex-duchies) annexed the Romagna to his government, which then took the name of the Province of Emilia, Pepoli and Montanari ridded themselves of Cipriani, whom they themselves had called to the government. The father of this Cipriani had failed in business in Balegna (in Corsica), his brother had failed in Leghorn, and he himself had bankrupted in America; such was the man who had been called to rule the Romagna instead of the legate of the Pope. The object of these successive annexations of Parma and the Romagna to the government of Farini has never been clearly explained. The French government affected repugnance toward permitting the annexation of the Romagna to Piedmont, but it would not oppose the annexation of the Emilia—a question of words. And as to the annexation to Piedmont of all the Romagnese provinces under the name of the Emilia, all that I have said in regard to the elections to the local parliaments in the duchies can be applied exactly to this second appeal to Universal Suffrage. More than four-fifths of the tax-payers of the Emilia abstained from voting. This fact is so notorious throughout Central Italy, that I would not mention it, were it not for the sake of my readers beyond the Alps. All the manifestations of approval which preceded or accompanied the voting were organized by us. All those placards about which the Piedmontese journals made such noise, those placards bearing the inscriptions, 'Viva l'indipendenza d'Italia!' and 'We want Victor Emmanuel for our legitimate king,' were brought to us already printed from Turin, and we ourselves placed them in all the balconies and at all the windows; and in spite of the freedom of suffrage, no person would have dared to remove them. In order to effect the illuminations, we stimulated the zeal of the inhabitants as they did in Paris in 1848, but with this difference. In Paris the inciters were drawn from the native mob; but we employed Piedmontese and other foreigners who obeyed our

in such a manner that my apprehensions in your regard may not be justified. Certain *Memoirs*, which are termed secret, inform me that the emperor, Napoleon I., left to his family certain useful counsels which are worthy of a Christian philosopher who found consolation in adversity only in religion." The letter of Napoleon to the Pontiff drew from Cavour the following remarks in the Chamber of Deputies at Turin on May 26, 1860: "The letter of Napoleon III. to the Pope, proclaiming that the papal reign in the Romagna is ended, will be memorable in the history of Italy. I think that by this letter the emperor has acquired a title to our gratitude, not inferior to that which he merited when he defeated the Austrians on the heights of Solferino. Certainly by this letter Napoleon has put an end to priestly domination, a thing which has been more injurious to us, perhaps, than the rule of Austria. It has been said that I attach too much

countersigns. Woe to the windows of those who did not correspond quickly enough to our imperative cries of 'Lights, lights!'; the archbishop of Naples knows something about this. After the vote for annexation, I went to Turin with Farini, who received the Ministry of the Interior. On the day after our arrival, I was sent to Rome, with the mission to incite to action the Revolutionary Committee of that city; by my advice a demonstration was prepared for March 19, St. Joseph's Day. We knew well that we had no chance of success, even though the French were to look on with folded arms; but we hoped to intimidate the Pope by deceiving him as to our real strength, and thus to induce him to leave Rome. Had he done so, the French army would have departed, and our success would have been assured. But the court of Rome resisted, and we were made ridiculous. However, in spite of this set-back, my enterprise was not altogether a failure. I had brought from Turin two very adroit agents, Biambilla and Bondinelli, whom I succeeded in getting into the pontifical army; and by means of a cryptographic system they kept me well posted. Shortly afterward I got a number of Piedmontese *carabinieri* into the army which General La Moricière was then organizing; and they aided us greatly at Castelfidardo." The schemes of the conspirators in order to prepare "popular receptions" for Victor Emmanuel, when he visited his new provinces, make interesting reading; we cite only one: "At Bologna, the archbishop, Mgr. Viale-Prela, obstinately refused to chant the *Te Deum* which we demanded, and in order to prevent any of his moderate canons from obeying us, he adopted the energetic measure of suspending them all *a divinis*. Then we procured the services of three army chaplains, and of twelve students; and having taken the episcopal insignia from the sacristy of the cathedral, we placed them at the head of our procession, and went to receive the king." After the king's trip to Parma, where he was saluted with cries of 'Bread!' Carletti went to Ancona, in order to introduce more traitors into the papal garrison. "Our agents had been instructed on three principal points: They were to bribe soldiers to desert during time of peace, and for this purpose they had full access to the cash-boxes of the Piedmontese consulate. In case of battle, the bribed soldiers were to raise the cry '*saute qui peut*,' or to kill their officers during the action. We know how well these instructions were carried out at Castelfidardo. . . . General de Pimodan was assassinated at the moment when he was about to throw himself, at the head of a few braves, against a Piedmontese column; that Biambilla, whom I had engaged in Rome, shot him in the back. Biambilla was made a sergeant as soon as he arrived in the Piedmontese camp, and now he is in garrison at Milan. He had merely obeyed orders."

importance to this letter ; but I reply that it is not a simple letter, but rather a proclamation of a grand principle, for in it a great sovereign of a grand Catholic nation declares that the temporal power of the Pope is not sacred, and such a fact is just as important for the Italian question as was the battle of Solferino. The question of the temporal power of the Pope is not only an Italian question, but a European question, a universal question, and *I do not know that, without this declaration by Napoleon, any one would have dared to assume the responsibility of annexing the Romagna.* Hence, no one can say that our cession of Savoy and Nice has been without compensation." On March 26, 1860, Pius IX. issued his Bull of Excommunication against all the participators in the robbery of which the Holy See had just been the victim : " We declare that all those who have taken part in the rebellion, usurpation, occupation, and criminal invasion of the aforesaid provinces of our States ; together with all their abettors, counsellors, and adherents ; have incurred the Greater Excommunication, and the other ecclesiastical censures inflicted by the holy Canons and by the Apostolic Constitutions, notably by the Council of Trent. And in so far as it may be necessary, we again excommunicate and anathematize them."

In May, 1860, the revolutionary press of Europe, and its servile copyists in the United States, announced to their credulous readers what they unblushingly termed the "reckless daring" of Garibaldi, the blasphemous pet of the Lodges, in his landing at defenceless Marsala. The miserable adventurer had been convoyed by a British fleet into the harbor ; Her Majesty's admiral had forbidden the Neapolitan men-of-war from interfering with the expedition ; in fact, as Garibaldi afterward admitted, in an address to the mayor of Southampton on April 4, 1864, and in his speech at the Crystal Palace on May 16, " Had it not been for the help of England, it would have been impossible for us, in 1860, to do what we did in the two Sicilies ; without the aid of Admiral Mondy, I could never have traversed the Straits of Messina ; and without the assistance of Lord Palmerston, Naples would still be subject to the Bourbons " (1). After

(1) See also Mme. Rattazzi's *Rattazzi and His Times*, p. 473. — Menecacci's *Memoirs for*

this "daring" exploit of the now apotheosized filibuster, the "Liberal" world gloated over his march through Sicily with an army composed of liberated convicts and of every other scum, while nearly every Neapolitan general either treacherously turned aside, or openly joined the deluded and deluding rabble. Then occurred that massacre of the royalist prisoners at Milazzo, which was ordered "for the sake of example." Then came the proclamation of an Agrarian Law, and the division of communal lands among those who "were combatting against the olden tyranny." Then the prisons at Castellamare were opened, and 1,500 robbers and murderers were dismissed "on their word of honor." Then the Masonic world was edified by the decree which pronounced "sacred" the memory of the assassin, Agesilao Milano. Then we heard of the "generalship" of the red-shirted intellectual nullity, as he crossed to the mainland, and effected his march on Naples, the road having been cleared by the machinations of the champion-traitor of this century, Liborio Romano, whom Francis II. had foolishly entrusted with full powers, but whom the wise and energetic Ferdinand II. would have sent to the galleys. Then the admirers of opera-bouffe in real life smiled; but the serious-minded were sickened when Naples beheld the embrace of Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi—the recreant *Re Galantuomo* prostituting the hitherto unsullied Cross of Savoy to the caress of red-handed sacrilege. Then came the wholesale shooting of royalist prisoners and Bourbon "suspects" without trial, by General Cialdini—a proceeding which even the arch-revolutionist, Nicotera, pronounced in the Italian parliament to be "worthy of Tamerlane, Genghis-Khan, and Attila." Events like these prepared the mind of an observer ere he witnessed the Saturnalia of immorality which now spread through the Two Sicilies. One of the most hideous traits of this revolution, remarked Lord Malmesbury in the British House of Lords, was the public exhibition and sale of the most abominable books and pictures, expressly invented for the corruption of the youth of both sexes. The atheistic journals rivalled each

other in the publication of such sacrilegious novels as *The Carpenter of Nazareth*. Books of the most disgusting nature were openly hawked in the streets, and their subjects, said Lord Malmesbury, "were generally the Pope, the members of the House of Bourbon, and even the gentle Sisters of Charity. That such indecency was possible, I could not have believed, if I myself had not beheld it." The Socialist apostle, Proudhon, writing in the *Courier* of Lyons, on July 31, 1862, said: "During the last four years, the Italians have gathered nought but ruin from the unitarian policy preconised by Mazzini, and carried out by Cavour. In his entire life, Mazzini knew how to effect only two things; to draw money from the rich, and blood from the people. And he never restored either. Truly, the Italians are patient." While Naples was receiving its first share of the demoralization with which the Revolution had already endowed Northern Italy, her king, Francis II., the son of Ferdinand II. by Maria-Cristina of Savoy (1), was combatting for his crown and Neapolitan independence on his northern frontier.

(1) On January 16, 1836, the canon of Castel Sant' Elmo announced to the expectant Neapolitans that a prince-royal, heir to the throne of the Two Sicilies, had just taken his first glimpse of earth. Maria-Cristina of Savoy, one of the most lovable and admirable princesses of a royal house which, until our day, was ever pre-eminently distinguished for the virtue as well as for the valor of its scions, had realized the hopes of her venerating subjects; and her consort, King Ferdinand II., one of the worthiest and therefore one of the most calumniated of modern sovereigns, thanked God for the prospective continuance of the Neapolitan line of the House of Bourbon. Three years previously Maria-Cristina, daughter of King Victor Emmanuel I. of Sardinia, had come to Naples with the reputation of a saint; and from that day all her actions—political, social, and domestic—had made men declare that St. Elizabeth of Hungary had reappeared on earth. It was a day of rejoicing in Naples; but soon the kingdom was astounded and prostrated by a request of the monarch that public prayers should be offered for the preservation of the life of his young wife. As Maria-Cristina had predicted to her sisters several months before her confinement, and when she was in the best of health, God had called her to Himself. In all her sufferings she evinced a supernatural calm; and the king, although nearly crazed with grief, remarked to the assembled clergy and princes: "You perceive, gentlemen, that as one lives so one dies." Feeling the approach of death, Maria-Cristina turned to her relatives and servants, and said: "I beg the forgiveness of each of you for any fault I may have committed in your regard, and I entreat you all to pray for my soul." Then she asked for her babe, and the little prince was placed in her arms. For several minutes she embraced him in silence; then, blessing him, she removed from her neck a medal of Our Lady of Sorrows which she had worn since her infancy, and placing it on the heart of the child, she gave him to the king. While the Litany was being recited she made every response; and when it was finished she exclaimed, in distinct accents: "My God, I have believed in Thee, hoped in Thee, and loved Thee with all my heart!" With this final manifestation of faith, hope, and charity, the soul of Maria-Cristina appeared at the throne of her Creator. During her life Maria-Cristina had been regarded as a saint; and after her death the people declared that the general veneration for her memory was confirmed by many miracles and graces obtained

Endowed with the intelligence, if not with the energy of his father, Francis II. had much of the exquisite goodness of heart which had distinguished his mother. A few months previous to his demise, Ferdinand II. had witnessed the marriage of his heir with Maria-Sofia, a daughter of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria; and the warm welcome accorded by the Neapolitans to the radiantly beautiful girl of eighteen had led the sturdy monarch to hope that the storms of his own reign would not be repeated. But the medal of the Seven Dolors of Mary, placed on the breast of her child by the saintly Maria-Cristina, had been providentially significant. The position of the young monarch was a difficult one; and, unfortunately, he began his reign by an act of imprudence. His first royal act was the proclamation of a full amnesty for all political offences; and thus he filled his kingdom with conspirators whom a wiser policy would have kept where they could effect but little harm, for they were utterly incapable of gratitude. But this mistake could have been remedied, had not the young monarch confided the administration of his government to a "liberal" ministry. Shortly after Francis II. had retired to Gaeta, in accordance with the counsels of the infamous Liborio Romano, the regular army of Sardinia invaded the States of the Church. Besides the garrison of Gaeta, Francis could then dispose of a few thousands of the olden Neapolitan army, who had spurned the bribes of the Cabinet of Turin, and thrown themselves into Capua. He attacked and defeated the Garibaldians on the Volturno, and would have followed up his advantage, had not his generals advised a few days of recuperation in Capua. The king returned to Gaeta, and in the following week the Capuan army capitulated to His Majesty of Sardinia. Then began the siege of Gaeta, during which the young queen, Maria-Sofia, remained at her husband's side; for of her it was to be said, "She fought as long as there was one unbroke-

by those who invoked her intercession. The Holy See, ever slow in taking any positive steps in the matter of canonization, allowed twenty-three years to elapse before it officially noticed the popular clamor for ecclesiastical cognizance of the heroic virtues of the queen. Finally, on the 9th of July, 1859, Pope Pius IX. confirmed the decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites which permitted the formal introduction of the cause of her beatification; and therefore Catholics are allowed to speak of her as Venerable, while they await the day when they may address her as Blessed.

en sword among her friends." On the 22d of January, 1861, Victor Emmanuel II. began the bombardment of the last stronghold of his royal cousin ; but the day of treason had passed, and around Francis II. there were now none but enthusiastic defenders of a legitimate monarchy. During the twenty-three days of murderous combat which now ensued, the young king and queen were almost constantly exposed to fire ; and when not on the bastions, blackened with powder and treading in blood, they were performing works of heavenly charity at the ambulances or in the hospitals. The horrors of the siege were augmented by an outbreak of typhus ; and all the wounded succumbed to the epidemic. It was while aiding the Sisters of Charity to alleviate suffering and to encourage the dying that Queen Maria-Sofia received the title of Angel of Gaeta, by which all true legitimists still designate her. On February 13, when the ramparts of Gaeta were in ruins, every one of its guns dismantled, and the ammunition and food exhausted, King Francis II. capitulated. On the 14th he departed for Rome, the ever-open refuge of misfortune. From the day of his entrance into the calm of Papal Rome, Francis gave himself to an imitation of the virtues of the holy mother who had probably foreseen that his crown was to be, in its own small and mundane fashion, one of thorns. The last years of the life of Francis II. were passed in France and in the Tyrol ; and it may be said that wherever they resided, the poor alone knew that the Hero and Angel of Gaeta still lived. Many a time both expressed resignation with their lot, because of the difficulty experienced by the Catholic sovereigns of our day in reigning according to the laws of God and of His Church. They fully realized that all earthly dynasties and all political schemes are perishable things. In a few years, at most, the edifice reared in Italy upon a foundation of fraud and sacrilege will be a ruin ; and ruins themselves perish in time. But even ruins, says some poet, leave souvenirs behind them—the remembrance of the shames of which they have been the theatre ; and historians will find in the records of the nineteenth century few events so shameful as that of the dethronement of Francis II.

The annexation of the Romagna to Piedmont was soon followed by another outrage on the papal dominion. Toward the end of 1859, M. de La Guéronnière, under the inspiration of Napoleon III., had written the pamphlet, entitled *The Pope and the Congress*, a work which all the semi-official journals of France proclaimed as representing the views of the emperor on the Roman question, although it repeated all the old calumnies against the papal government, and declared that Italy should be allowed to construct her national edifice, and that the Pontiff should retain no domain but that of the Vatican and its gardens. On Sept. 4 of the following year, the emperor proceeded to Chambéry, in Savoy, in order to receive the felicitations of the new subjects whom Cavour had just given as a compensation for the letter of Napoleon III. in regard to the Pope, as we have heard the Minister declaring in the parliament at Turin. At Chambéry he received Cialdini and Farini, who brought to him greetings from their sovereign. What happened during this momentous interview? All that we know is that immediately after his return to his army, Cialdini invaded the pontifical territory without any declaration of war; attacked the little papal army which La Moricière, the conqueror of Abd-el-Kader, had recently organized to defend the Roman States against the Garibaldians, then concentrated on the Neapolitan frontier; and after defeating La Moricière's force of 5,600 with one of more than 45,000, he took possession of the Marches and Umbria. M. de Becdelièvre, colonel of the pontifical Zouaves, narrates that during his residence in Recanati, after the capitulation of Loreto, he asked the Piedmontese general, Cugia, whether he did not think that France would put a stop to the enterprise of Victor Emmanuel; whether the general had not read the dispatch of the Duc de Grammont to the French consul in Ancona, stating that the emperor would oppose with force any Piedmontese invasion of Roman territory. Then, adds Becdelièvre, Cugia laughed, and replied: "Last Friday, our commander-in-chief, Cialdini, lunched at Chambéry, and when he asked for instructions as to what he should do, he was told: 'Enter, and act quickly!'" As you see, we are acting

quickly." All the journals of that day published a letter from Quatrebarbes, the papal governor of Ancona, in which that gallant officer told how, on Sept. 11, M. de Courcy, the French consul at that port, ran into his residence with a telegram signed by the Duc de Grammont, the French ambassador to the Holy See. This dispatch said: "The emperor will not tolerate the culpable invasion of the Papal States by the Piedmontese government. He has written from Marseilles to the king of Sardinia, declaring that he will resist such invasion. Orders have been given for the embarkment of fresh troops at Toulon, and they will arrive at Civita Vecchia without delay." And La Moricière, in his report concerning the operations of his troops, addressed to the papal Pro-Minister of War, says that this dispatch was transmitted directly to him from Rome, and that it ended with the injunction to the French consul: "You will regulate your conduct accordingly." We may imagine, therefore, the astonishment of La Moricière, when he was informed by the Piedmontese general, Fanti, that the troops of Victor Emmanuel would enter Umbria, if the pontifical forces opposed "the national movement" in any way. The papal commander replied: "There we have the old fable of the wolf and the lamb; it would have been more frank to declare war on us at once. But victory is not always on the side of the strongest battalions; we must rely on the assistance of God!" The Battle of Castelfidardo was fought on Sept. 18, 1860. Despite the immense numerical superiority of the Piedmontese forces, and despite the cowardly or perhaps treacherous flight of the Swiss regiments of the Line, the cause of the Pope-King was defended with calm and holy ardor by the majority of the little army of the Cross, especially by the heroic Franco-Belge Zouaves, and by about a hundred Irishmen. La Moricière succeeded in cutting his way to Ancona with about five hundred men. As he neared the Adriatic port, heavy cannonading told him that the siege had begun. Until Sept. 30, he resisted with patient heroism the attacks of Cialdini by land, and of Admiral Persano by sea; then finding that less than twelve hundred men remained for the defence, he raised the white flag. In the let-

ter which La Moricière received from Pius IX. shortly after the capitulation of Ancona, the Pontiff expressed this historical judgment: "The enemies of truth and of justice may distort narratives of events at their pleasure; but all honest men will laud as triumphant for the Church the spectacle witnessed recently in the Papal States—a little army organized in a few months by your zeal and intelligence, an army which was more than sufficient to suppress the Revolution, if that Revolution had not been protected by forces incomparably greater than our own, and had not been aided by all the means that can be suggested by fraud and mendacity." The crime of Castelfidardo, the prime cause of which was Napoleon III., and which eventuated in the annexation of the Marches and of Umbria by Piedmont, was thus stigmatized by Mgr. Pie (afterward Cardinal), bishop of Poitiers: "Pilate could have saved Christ; and without Pilate, Christ could not have been put to death. The signal could be given by him alone; *Nobis non licet interficere*, said the Jews. Wash your hands, O Pilate! Declare yourself innocent of the death of Christ! Then our sole reply will be in those words which we recite every day, and which our furthest posterity will also recite: 'I believe in Jesus Christ, the only Son of God the Father, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, was born of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and suffered and died *under Pontius Pilate*.'"

On March 27, 1861, the Piedmontese parliament proclaimed Rome the capital of Italy, "one and indivisible"; and at the same time Victor Emmanuel began to style himself King of Italy. Of course, England and the United States recognized the new kingdom immediately; Russia and Prussia waited for a year; Spain and Bavaria delayed until 1865; Austria was not convinced of the sanctity of "accomplished facts," until after her disaster at Sadowa in 1866. To all those who urged Pius IX. "to be reconciled with Italy," the Pontiff replied in his Allocution of March 18: "The Holy See is always consistent with itself. It never ceases to be the promoter and the support of civilization; the monuments of history prove this. . . . But is that a true civilization which despoils and enchains the Church; which despises treaties,

and recognizes no right in weakness? . . . It is certain that the Popes will never come to an agreement with that species of civilization. What is there in common, asks the Apostle, between Christ and Belial? . . . Let no one hope that we shall ever extend our hand to the usurpers of our provinces, until they will have undone the usurpation. . . . To advance such a proposition is to suppose that this Holy See, which has ever been the rampart of justice and of truth, can sanction as a principle that a robber may possess in peace his stolen goods, and also that the successful issue of an injustice converts it into a just thing. . . . When we are asked to perform unjust things, *præstare non possumus*." Three months after the delivery of this Allocution, that is, on June 6, 1861, when he had all but attained the height of his ambition, the power of presiding over an Italian parliament in Italy's "natural capital," Cavour was stricken by death. He was only fifty years of age; but, as the infamous Saint-Simonian, *Enfantin*, said at the time, "The life of Cavour had been firmly incarnated in the world. It is quite evident that if that blade no longer survives in his usual apoplectical condition, he still lives in the political world, into which he poured, drop by drop, his entire personality" (1). Hence the death of the great architect did not interfere with the progress of the work which he had initiated. Certainly the demise of him who had been, in spite of Palmerston's Grand

(1) Cavour was no priest-eater, like Garibaldi and most of the followers of the Dark Lantern. He was at heart always a Catholic. He was a sectary; but he had become one, hoping to use the power of Masonry for his own ends. He was a Statolater; and therefore he was ever ready to sacrifice the Church when the ecclesiastical came into collision with the civil power. But he always intended to make his peace with Mother Church, when he would find it convenient to do so, or when death would seem to be at hand. It is certain that frequently Cavour relieved, out of his own pocket, the necessities of poor priests who were victims of his State policy; and on one of these occasions he said to one of his colleagues: "If those gentlemen of the Left but saw us engaged in such good work!" Seven years before his death, while Turin was being desolated by an epidemic, he took precautions lest he might die without the aid of a priest; making arrangements with Fra Giacomo, of the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, who was the confidant of his charities. While he was engaged in this business with the priest, Rattazzi entered the room. Cavour accompanied Fra Giacomo politely to the door, and remarked to Rattazzi: "We have arranged matters, lest anything happen to me." The fatal illness of Cavour lasted for six days, and it is certain that he received the Last Sacraments from Fra Giacomo. There is no reason for a supposition that the friar did not know his duty, or, that knowing it, he sacrilegiously neglected to perform it; therefore, we may hope for the best, and suppose that his penitent complied with the conditions which were the *sine qua non* for absolution.

Orient of the Orient, the real, though secret director of all the Masonic organizations in Italy, produced for a time many rivalries in the general-staff of the order—rivalries which were well known to the “profane” world (1). But these competitions did not dampen the ardor of the rank and file of the Brethren of the Three Points in the supreme effort of their order to “crush the infamous one.” On Sept. 15, 1864, the Cabinets of the Tuileries and Turin agreed, firstly, that Victor Emmanuel should make no further attacks on the States of the Church, and that his government should assume the debts of the provinces which it had stolen from the Holy See; secondly, that Napoleon III. should withdraw the French army of occupation from Rome within two years; and thirdly, that Victor Emmanuel should make Florence his capital within six months. As was observed by Pepoli, one of the signers of this convention, “the treaty injured in no way the national programme of Italy; it simply broke the tie which united France to the ‘enemies’ of Italy.” After the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, the catastrophe of which may well be ascribed to the blindness of Napoleon III., and which entailed a United Germany as a menace to France similar to that already nearly constituted by United Italy, Venice was handed over to France; and

(1) Until 1859 the Italian Lodges had depended from one or another foreign Grand Orient. Thus, those of Genoa and Leghorn depended from the Mother-Lodge of the Supreme Council of Paris. But in 1859 an independent Lodge, the *Ausonia*, was founded at Turin; and soon this *Ausonia* became the Mother-Lodge of Italy. On the death of Cavour, the grand-mastership was tendered to Nigra, then the Piedmontese chargé d'affaires at Paris; but since all the Lodges had not voted, Nigra declined the position. A grand “Convent” of Italian Masonry was then held on Dec. 26; and in this assembly twenty-nine deputies representing the following Lodges: *Fabio Massimo* of Rome, *Iside* and *Pompeia* of Alexandria, in Egypt, *Argilano* of Ascoli, *Severa* of Bologna, *Vittoria* of Cagliari, *Eliopolis* of Cairo, *Concordia* of Florence, *Rigenerazione* of Genoa, Four Lodges of Leghorn, *Lume* and *Verità* of Messina, *Fraternità* of Mondovì, *Valle di Potenza* of Macerata, *Insubria* of Milan, *Azione e Fede* of Pisa, *Utica* of Tunis, and the Turinese Lodges of *Ausonia*, *Progresso*, and *Cavour*. This “convent” decreed that thereafter God should be styled the Great Architect of the Universe; that all religions should be free; that every Mason should be bound to absolute obedience; that every Mason should preserve silence, not only concerning all that was effected in a Lodge, but also concerning the names of its members or its frequenters; that whenever a Masonic funeral was celebrated in public, the eulogist should use no Masonic language; and that the Masonic insignia should not be worn at the funeral of a deceased brother. On the last day of the “convent,” Jan. 1, 1862, on the motion of the Lodge *Garibaldi* of Leghorn, the title of First Mason of Italy was conferred on Garibaldi; and it was decreed that a medal of gold, inscribed “The First Constituent Assembly of Italy” on one side, and with “To Joseph Garibaldi, the First Mason of Italy” on the other, should be given to the Masonic demi-god. Nigra was then

that power duly transferred the quondam Queen of the Adriatic to the House of Savoy. The time had now arrived for the fulfilment of the Napoleonic promise to remove the protection of the French flag from the pontifical capital. On Dec. 6, 1866, our Pontiff received the officers of the Army of Occupation in a farewell audience, pronouncing a touching discourse, from which we quote the following passages : " When your banner left France, eighteen years ago, in order to defend the rights of the Holy See, it was accompanied by the acclamations of all Christendom. To-day it returns to France. I hope that it will be received with the same acclamations, but I doubt it ; for it is quite evident that my enemies will not cease to attack me, when that flag ceases to cover me. We must not deceive ourselves ; the Revolution will come here ; so it has proclaimed, and so it still proclaims. . . . Six years ago, when I was talking to a representative of France, he asked me whether I wished to send any message to the emperor. I replied : ' When St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, a city now French, saw the barbarians at the gates of that city, he prayed to God that he might die before they entered, so terrified was he at the prospect of the miseries which their advent would entail. Tell this to the emperor ; he will understand.' Then the ambassador said

again elected to the grand-mastership ; and again he declined, whereupon Cordova was elected. But the Scotch Rite, which had its Grand Orient at Palermo, rebelled, nominating Garibaldi in a circular addressed to all the Lodges, saying : " Let it be known to all the Masons of all lands, to all who are engaged in the construction of the Temple of Humanity, that we have named as Grand-Commander, Grand-Master of the Masonic Order in Italy, General Joseph Garibaldi, the man whom the Great Architect of the Universe created for the deliverance of the oppressed peoples, and for the emancipation of all the now downtrodden nationalities." There was no difference between the claims of Cordova and those of Garibaldi to the honors of Masonry, unless the greater blatantry of the latter constituted such claims ; hence in the following year Cordova was induced to resign, and the " convent " of Florence chose the loudest talker in Italy to be grand-master. At this time, Masonry in Italy, not counting the *Vendite* of the Carbonari, numbered sixty-seven Lodges. The Constitution of Italian Masonry was now solemnly sanctioned. Art. IV. declared that " Masonry finds its God in the Principle of the Natural and Moral Order, under the symbol of the Grand Architect of the Universe." Art. V. enningly announced : " Masonry inculcates no special profession of religious belief ; and it excludes only those beliefs which interfere with the beliefs of others." Art. VIII., however, manifested the veritable quintessence of Masonic doctrine : " As the definitive object of its labors, Masonry proposes to unite all free men into one great family, which ought and will succeed all churches, things based on blind faith and theocratic authority, superstitions which are intolerant of each other ; and thus *Masonry will establish the veritable and sole Church of Humanity.*" For more particulars concerning the " Convent " of Florence, see the *Unità Cattolica*, July 21 and 22, 1864, and the *Civiltà Cattolica*, Sept. 3, 1864.

to me : ' Holy Father, rest assured that the barbarians will not enter here.' That ambassador was not a prophet. But depart, my dear sons, with my blessing. If you see the emperor, tell him that I pray for him every day. They say that his health is poor ; I pray for his health. They say that his soul is not tranquil ; I pray for his soul. The French nation is Christian ; its head should also be Christian. . . . Depart, my sons ! I give you my blessing, hoping that it will accompany you during the entire voyage of your lives. Do not think that you leave me here alone ! The good God remains to me ; and in Him I have placed my confidence." To take the place of the official army of France, many of her bravest and noblest sons had already come to the capital of Christendom ; most of them were relics of the glorious army of La Moricière. That Christian hero had died in 1865 ; but Charette remained, and the traditions of the French Zouaves survived. Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Spain, and Ireland also contributed their quotas ; and a new force was soon ready for the defence of the Patrimony of St. Peter. In addition to these French and other braves whom history will ever describe as the Pontifical Zouaves, there came to the aid of the Pope-King a legion of Frenchmen, mostly volunteers from the French army, whom Napoleon III. had allowed to enlist under the banner of the Keys of Peter. This body of trained troops was called the Legion of Antibes, because it had been enrolled at that place. With these few but devoted soldiers of the Cross, the pontifical government was prepared to combat the hordes which Garibaldi, without any pretense of secrecy, recruited in 1867 for a final onslaught on the remnant of the Pope's temporal domain. But the open aid given to the filibuster by the Italian government, even to the extent of causing Cialdini to cross the papal frontier with a division of the regular army, so enraged the Catholics of France, that the emperor was forced to despatch a division of his troops to the scene of imminent conflict. The share which 2,000 of these troops took in deciding the battle of Mentana, in which 3,000 of the pontificals engaged 12,000 Garibaldians on Nov. 3, 1867, was never condoned to Napoleon III. by the Revolution.

"Assuredly," wrote the Duc de Gramont to Banneville on July 31, 1870, "it is not for reasons of strategetic necessity that we evacuate the Roman States; but the political necessity is evident. We must conciliate the Italian Cabinet." When Napoleon III., on July 26, 1870, sent the order for the departure of the single French brigade which then helped to garrison the remnant of the Patrimony of Peter, there was no thought in France of that small number of soldiers being needed in the German War, into which the emperor had so unpreparedly entered. A desire to conciliate the revolutionary tiger that ruled Italy far more than her king ruled her, was the sole object of the blinded emperor in leaving the Pope-King to his fate. Part of the French brigade embarked at Civita Vecchia on Aug. 4; and on that day the French met their first serious reverse in the war—10,000, surprised at Wissembourg, were crushed by 40,000 Germans, after a heroic struggle. The remainder of the brigade sailed on the 6th; and on that day, the unequal combat at Froschwiller resulted in another disaster for France. On Aug. 20, Prince Napoleon departed for Florence, bearing instructions, "authorizing Italy to go ahead" (1). Even now Victor Emmanuel hesitated to take the shameful step; but the Masonic Lodges frightened him with the threat that they would take the matter into their own hands. Mazzini, having been allowed to return to Italy from his long exile, even started a republican insurrection in Sicily (2). Then orders were given to General Cadorna to advance on the Eternal City. On Sept. 2, Napoleon III. capitulated at Sedan, and two days afterward he ceased to reign; ten years had elapsed, to a day, since he had told the Piedmontese to proceed with their work, "but quickly" (3).

(1) See the article by Prince Napoleon, published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, March, 1878. Also, the reply of the Duc de Gramont, in the *Revue de France*, April 15, 1878.

(2) FROST; *The Secret Societies of the European Revolution*, Vol. II., p. 170. London, 1876.

(3) "It has been well said that by making Italy, Napoleon III. unmade France; Sadowa and Sedan existed in germ in Solferino and Castelfidardo. In fact, without Solferino, and especially without Castelfidardo, Piedmont would not have been sufficiently strong to tender a useful alliance to Prussia against Austria; and in any case, France would have abstained from favoring that alliance, from rewarding it with the gift of Venice, from leaving her Rhenish frontier ungarrisoned during the war, and from adhering to the Treaty of

On Sept. 8, Victor Emmanuel wrote to the Pontiff a letter in which he affected to believe that His Holiness would regard the approaching violence as proceeding from an ardent love for his sacred person; that the Pope would perceive that the bombardment of Rome and the consequent killings would be effected simply in order to prevent injury to property and a shedding of blood; that the revolutionary despoilers were actuated by mere zeal for justice; and, finally, that the Roman Pontiff was about to be imprisoned, in order that he might enjoy perfect freedom. This extraordinary document was conveyed to Rome by Ponza di San Martino. When the envoy waited on Cardinal Antonelli, and requested an audience with His Holiness, the secretary received him with an habitual courtesy, but declined to touch on the object for which the audience was asked. "As to your purpose," said His Eminence, "you will permit me to be silent in regard to it. I know all that you would say;

Prague. It was Napoleon III., much more than Bismarck, who constructed, hit by bit, Prussian greatness and German unity, inasmuch as the prevention of them depended entirely on him, and inasmuch as he was an accomplice in producing both, when he obeyed the Italian revolutionists, and gratified the French liberals, their allies. On the other hand, the gift of Savoy and Nice from Cavour led him to anticipate an analogous generosity from Bismarck in the shape of the gift of the left bank of the Rhine. He announced this in his famous discourse at Auxerre. The Prussian Minister, whose far too much lauded ability was at least half composed of the inability of the Cabinet of the Tuileries, was impudent enough to publish a portion of the diplomatic correspondence on this subject; and the Italian Minister (La Marmora) added *A Little More Light*, much more than was desired by the men at Berlin." Here we note that in the parliamentary session of Jan. 16, 1874, Bismarck tried to destroy the effect produced by La Marmora's *Little More Light*; but he succeeded only in showing how completely subject to the will of Napoleon III. the Prussian annexations had been, when they were first initiated. "After the battle of Sadowa," said Bismarck, "Napoleon informed us, by a telegram, of the possibility of his interference, and of the appearance of France on the theatre of war. At that time he had few troops ready for mobilization; but the addition of a few French regiments would have been sufficient to give an excellent army to the Southern Germans, who had good material, but no organization. We would have been obliged to cover Berlin, and therefore to renounce all success against Austria." Villefranche, the author whose reflections we have just interrupted, continues: "Bismarck caused Napoleon III. to hope, at first for some indefinite territorial compensations, then for Mayence and Rhenish Bavaria, then for only Landau, a possession of Belgium, which was, he said, 'a nest of demagogues which ought to be destroyed.'... Thenceforth it was evident that Napoleon III. would be forced to turn his cannon against the edifice which his intrigues had helped to construct. But history does not explain, and it appears to be inexplicable by a human mind, how it was that from the day when the shock was seen to be inevitable, the French emperor was so careless in the way of preparation. He had three years during which to arrange his forces, to enlarge his army, to equip his fortresses, to make alliances; he could have had other advantages, had he wished, for it was he that declared the war. But when the war began, he had nothing ready, absolutely nothing. In this blindness of the emperor from the time of the Italian War down to that of the final catastrophe, there was something *proven* denial." VILLEFRANCHE; *Ubi supra*, ch. 19.

and you know all that I could reply. At present, brute force, not logic, is in power." When the Pontiff had read the royal missive, he quietly remarked: "They speak of guarantees. Who will guarantee these guarantees? Your king cannot guarantee them. Your king is no longer king; he is dependent on his parliament, and that parliament depends on the secret societies." Then the ambassador begged the Pope to judge of the king by his good intentions, and to remember, above all, that Victor Emmanuel was merely the executor of the will of twenty-four millions of Italians. "You lie, Signore," cried Pius IX.; "you calumniate Italy! Twenty-three millions of the Italians are devoted to me, and ask for only one thing—that the Revolution leave them and the Pope in quiet. There may be a million whom you have poisoned with false doctrine and with shameful greed; and those are the friends of your king, and the abettors of his ambition. Go, sir! You shall receive my reply to-morrow. Now my grief and indignation will not allow me to write." On Sept. 11, the envoy received the pontifical answer, which was couched in these terms: "Sire, I have received the letter which Your Majesty sent by the hand of Count Ponza di San Martino. That letter is unworthy of an affectionate son who glories in professing the Catholic faith, and who finds his honor in a royal loyalty. I enter into none of the details of the letter; since I wish not to renew the grief which its first perusal excited in my heart. I bless God, who has permitted Your Majesty to embitter the last years of my life. I cannot accede to the demands contained in your letter, nor can I conform to the principles advanced in it. I call on God, and I place in His hands my cause, which is His own. I pray that He may accord abundant grace to Your Majesty; that He may deliver you from every danger; and that He may extend to you the mercies which you need." The Piedmontese monarch did not wait for this answer; on Sept. 11, the day when it was handed to his envoy, 60,000 of his soldiers, under the command of Cadorna, crossed the papal frontier. On Sept. 20, a breach in the Porta Pia was effected; and then, by order of the Pope, who had made a show of resist-

ance, only in order to show that he succumbed to violence, the little papal army capitulated. On Oct. 2, a royal decree announced: "I. Rome and the Roman provinces form an integral part of the Kingdom of Italy. II. The supreme Pontiff retains the dignity, the inviolability, and all the prerogatives of a sovereign. III. A special law will determine the means most proper for securing, even by territorial franchises, the independence of the Supreme Pontiff, and the free exercise of the spiritual authority of the Holy See." The experience of the next few years was to show the insincerity of the second and third articles; and the first proof of their nugatoriness was given in the following November, when all the journals daring to publish a Pontifical *Encyclical* were seized. The text of this document had been sent to a printer in Geneva, in order to circumvent the Italian police; and the Catholic world was thus enabled to learn the sentiments of the Holy See with regard to its present situation and future prospects. In this *Encyclical*, dated Nov. 1, 1870, Pius IX. recapitulated the outrages visited by the Revolution and the secret societies on the Holy See during the previous eleven years, and it concluded with the following protestation: "We declare again with all possible solemnity that our intention and will is to retain in their integrity, intact and inviolable, all the domains and rights of the Holy See, and to transmit them to our successors. We declare that every usurpation of these rights, whether recent or old, is unjust, violent, and null; and that all the acts of the rebels or of the invaders, whether accomplished or to be accomplished in confirmation of the usurpation, are by us now condemned, annulled, quashed, and abrogated. We also declare, and we protest before God and the Catholic world, that we are now undergoing a captivity of such a nature that it is impossible for us to exercise our pastoral authority with security, facility, and liberty. . . . Since our warnings, demands, and protests have been fruitless, we now, by the authority of God Almighty, of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own, declare to you, Venerable Brothers, and through you to the Universal Church, that the invaders of any one of our domains, be their dignity what it may, and

even though special mention ought to be made concerning them ; and also all their abettors, counsellors, helpers, and adherents, as well as all others who have committed these things themselves or have procured their actuation ; have all incurred, according to the form and tenor of our Apostolic Letters of March 26, 1860, the Greater Excommunication, and the other ecclesiastical censures inflicted by the Holy Canons, by the Apostolic Constitutions, and by the decrees of General Councils, notably by that of Trent." On March 13, 1871, the government of Victor Emmanuel promulgated the famous " Law of Guarantees," to which it directed the attention of the Catholic world as to a proof of its kind consideration for the security and comfort of the Roman Pontiff. This law recognized the person of the Pontiff as inviolable, and as enjoying the right of receiving all the honors of a sovereign ; it also assured to him an annual " dotation " of 3,225,000 *lire* (\$645,000), together with the use of the Vatican and Lateran palaces, and of the villa of Castel Gandolfo, near Albano. No sensible person failed to perceive that the " Law of Guarantees " was a one-sided contract ; that the Holy See took no part in its preparation or acceptance, and that therefore it was not binding on the Pontiff. We cannot suppose that the framers of this law imagined, for a moment, that Pius IX. or any one of his successors would accept its provisions ; the Italian intellect is too lucid to have fallen into so egregious an error. Certainly the Pontiff saw that in Article IX. he was " assured " of perfect liberty in all the functions of his *spiritual* ministry ; but who was to assign the limits of that *spiritual* ministry ? Very soon after the promulgation of this law, the German ally of the Italian government, arrogant almost unto madness because of his unique victory over France, imprisoned bishops as guilty of treason against the German state, because they had presumed to censure certain of their rebellious priests. Nothing could prevent the Piedmontese robbers from similar action, even in the case of the Bishop of Bishops. In Article XVIII., all ecclesiastical property was confiscated, under the pretense that it was to be re-organized, and *administered* by the State, the new step-mother of souls. This article alone

would have entailed the papal condemnation of the law. No wonder, therefore, that when the first installment of the hypocritically-assigned revenue was laid before Pius IX., he spurned it, saying: "Certainly I need money; and my children, throughout the world, are now bleeding themselves, so to speak, to supply the needs which you have created. But I cannot avoid the knowledge that it is a part of my stolen property that you now tender me as a present. I shall never accept such monies, unless they are handed to me in the form of restitution; I shall never sign my name to a receipt, when the signature would be an acquiescence in theft." And to this day the prisoner of the Vatican has been beholden for his support, and for the needs of his pontifical administration, solely to the "Peter's Pence," the charity of his faithful children.

During the pontificate of Pius IX. the zeal of polemics was continually occupied with several questions which our limits require that we barely indicate. There are some features of this reign, however, which demand from us more than a passing allusion. One of these points is the conduct of our Pontiff in resisting by force of arms the usurpation of his States by the Sub-Alpine kingdom; but elsewhere we have remarked that history tells us that the world, of whose spirit the carping critics of Pius IX. are redolent, has ever admired every temporal monarch who drew his sword in support of his crown. Why should we admit that, alone among all sovereigns, the Pope-King should answer the filibuster and the crowned usurper with a benediction? Referring the reader to what we have said already on this matter (1), we shall pay some attention to the clamors concerning the blessings of a Free Church in a Free State—clamors with which our ears have been dinned, during the last forty years, and which are still intermittently emitted by not only the open foes of the Papacy, but even by some who imagine that they are staunch defenders of Catholicism. This formula, A Free Church in A Free State, a texture of words so pre-eminently elastic that it lends itself readily to purposes of deception, is generally ascribed to Count Cavour;

(1) See our chapter on *The Battle of Civitella*, in Vol. II., p. 139.

and it indicates the quintessence of the prescription devised by the school of Cavour, Palmerston, and Napoleon III., as a cure for the chief evils in modern Christendom. It is certain that the Sardinian statesman never claimed the now famous saying as a creation of his scheming brain; nay, he admitted in open parliament that, "in a lucid interval, an illustrious writer" had first used the phrase in convincing Europe how liberty had contributed much toward an awakening of the religious spirit (1). Let us pardon Cavour for the insinuation that the lucidity of Montalembert was only intermittently manifested. It is true that the great French publicist invented the formula; although the sentiment which it served to illustrate was not quite so radical as one would be led to suppose by the Cavourian dexterously twisted quotation of his words. In fact, Montalembert complained that "a highly-placed delinquent had stolen the phrase from his writings" (2). Very soon the Catholic polemic failed to recognize the verbal scintillation which he had emitted in thorough good faith, with no suspicion of its possible acceptance in a sense very different from that which he attached to it. The *Italianissimo* minister completely travestied the phrase; and its new significance did not appear remarkably clear to his own colleagues. A member of his cabinet declared: "I have heard this formula enunciated by many, and I have given not a little study to it; but as yet I have not been able to apprehend its meaning" (3). In the virginal sense of the words, the falsely-styled Cavourian formula is entirely Catholic in sentiment, and it is also thoroughly American. But if understood in accordance with the interpretation given to them by the Italian unitarians, these words present a significance very un-Catholic and un-American. The original sentiment is about as much like the travestied, as the average American republican is like the average Italian liberal. Indeed, were the formula really indicative of a state of affairs in which the Church is allowed to exercise her moral and social activity without any guardianship on the part of the State, the Catholics of Italy would willingly adopt it as their own motto.

(1) *Official Acts of 1860*, p. 594.(2) Thus in the *Correspondant* for August, 1863.(3) *Official Acts of 1862*, p. 4,678.

They, like all other Catholics, would gladly see the relations between Rome and their bishops unimpeded by any need of a royal *exequatur*, and unprotected by Concordats, which but too frequently require too many concessions on the part of the Holy See. However, it was not intended to bring about such a condition of things, when sky-reaching acclamations hailed the newly-born "freedom" of the Spouse of Christ in every State which was invaded by that revolution which entered on its fateful march after the War of 1859. One of the first measures enacted by the Piedmontese "liberators" was the abrogation of the Concordat which each invaded State had made with the Roman Pontiff; and this outrage was perpetrated in the face of the fact that the public law of the Sardinian kingdom avowed the sacred and binding force of such agreements (1). The property of the Church was immediately sequestered, although the Piedmontese *Statuto* of Charles Albert proclaims the inviolability of all property, of whatever nature; and although the mania to appropriate ecclesiastical revenues was never actuated, in one solitary instance, in the case of Protestants or of Jews. In each of the usurped territories, a new and iniquitous oath was required of the bishops; and when it was indignantly rejected with an almost absolute unanimity, the prison cell or exile became the lot of the recusants. Thus the cardinal-archbishop of Naples was twice exiled; and the same fate befell the cardinal-archbishop of Pisa. Cardinal Baluffi, archbishop of Imola, was dragged before the tribunals. Cardinal de Angelis, archbishop of Fermo, was placed in the midst of a troop of carbineers, taken to Turin, and there incarcerated for six years. Proceedings were also instituted against the cardinal-archbishop of Benevento, the cardinal-bishop of Camerino, and other prelates. Nearly all the bishops of the usurped kingdom of the Two Sicilies were banished; and the few who remained were subjected to dangers and insults

(1) King Charles Emmanuel III., in a letter to Pope Clement XI., dated October 14, 1742, admits that Concordats "are sacred things, according to the law of nations, and that therefore they must not be violated." But even though these instruments were merely temporary conventions, and of only one-sided obligatory force, their title to respect by the Sardinian Government would be guaranteed by the Civil Code, paragraph 1,325 of which enacts that "agreements legally made have the force of law for those who make them, and they can be revoked only by mutual consent."

which might have been expected from the olden Huns, rather than from the sons of that Italy of which St. Ambrose once wrote that there were no unfaithful Christians within her limits. The bishop of Faenza was condemned to three years of imprisonment and a fine of 6,000 lire; the bishop of Spoleto was confined without a trial. The vicar-capitular of Bologna was jailed for three years, and fined 2,000 lire; and similar cases were innumerable in other parts of the olden States of the Church. Very many dioceses remained widowed of their pastors, because the elections were not recognized as legal by the advocates of a Free Church in a Free State. All episcopal pastoral letters were subjected to the "preventive censure" of these gentry. Every ecclesiastical seminary was placed under governmental surveillance; only a governmental programme of studies could be followed; and theology alone could be taught,—the royal inspectors being, of course, the judges of what constitutes theology. The civil authorities alone could decide as to the time, length, and components of a religious procession or of any other religious function; as to the proper method of ringing the bells of churches, or as to what images and pictures were to be exposed in the temples of God. Very frequently, under the pretext that there were too many sacred edifices, churches were turned into prisons, barracks, stables, theatres, and sometimes they were put to worse uses. The priest who refused Communion to any patriotic citizen of this pious State; who denied Christian burial to one who died blaspheming the Saviour; who would not allow a professed and braggart atheist to be a sponsor at a baptism; was prosecuted as "a disturber of consciences," in accordance with the circular of the Minister Gioja, dated May 13, 1851 (1). On January 16, 1863, all royal procurators-general were ordered to prosecute such bishops as had the audacity to refuse faculties to priests who had signed the Passaglia address (2). Bishops were compelled to illumin-

(1) On February 28, 1863, a similar ordinance decreed that no one should pay attention to the pontifical prescriptions for the ensuing Lent; but should judge, each for himself, as to what he would eat or drink. On March 24 appeared a regulation concerning the *Oremus* in the Mass.

(2) In 1861 there appeared a work entitled, *A Letter to Catholic Bishops on the Cause of*

ate their cathedrals and residences, as well as all edifices over which they exercised control, whenever the government deemed the occasion a fitting one ; but they could never do the same thing of their own volition. When a deputation of insurgents from the Romagna waited upon Victor Emmanuel, then at Milan, on September 22, 1859, to ask him to annex their country to Piedmont, the Milanese governor, Vigliani, ordered the vicar-capitular to illuminate all the ecclesiastical edifices, reminding the vicar that the Government would not be responsible for the consequences of the fury of the mob, if the command were not obeyed. On another occasion the vicar-capitular of Bologna promulgated a decision of the Holy See concerning absolution from certain censures, and he was imprisoned for years. A priest of Gaeta suffered the same penalty, because his manner of blessing did not please the mayor. Most of these condemnations, however—and they are but a small proportion of the number on record,—had at least a shadow of excuse, inasmuch as a violation of what was styled a law had been committed ; but there were many instances of persecution for purely imaginary violations of provisions which even the elastic code of the sectaries never contemplated. Thus on June 3, 1862, the Supreme Administrative Council of Naples condemned all the canons of the Cathedral Chapter, because of their “ hostile attitude.” And when, in 1864, the zealous Catholics of Italy formed the “ Association for the Defence of the Catholic Religion ”—every member of which gave his name to the Government, and which was so thoroughly non-political that it kept aloof even from elections,—from one end of the kingdom to the other there arose an outcry

Italy, by a Catholic Priest, from the pen of Don Carlo Passaglia, an ex-Jesuit, and generally reputed a brilliant theologian. In this work Passaglia contended that every State, to merit the name and condition of such, should be able to subsist without recourse to foreign arms against its own citizens. And, applying this principle to the Roman States, the author held that their inhabitants had a perfect right to co-operate in the formation of an Italian kingdom. Let the Pope, therefore, he concluded, obviate imminent disaster to the Church by a voluntary renunciation of his earthly principality. In conformity with these ideas, a petition to the Pontiff was circulated among the clergy of Italy ; and it was signed by hundreds of priests, many of whom were undoubtedly in good faith, and were only desirous of concord in their distracted land. It is remarkable, however, that not one bishop signed the petition. An experience of the real meaning of the *Italianissimo* theory of a Free Church in a Free State soon led the signers to a retraction.

against the "Austro-Bourbon Clerical Conspiracy," which was styled by the royal advocates of the day "a vast net of plotters against the governmental conduct of ecclesiastical affairs,—a conspiracy which aims at the disturbance of consciences, and which excites the fanaticism of the people, under the pretext of wakening them out of the lethargy of religious indifferentism." Then was passed the famous Crispi Law against suspects, on May 17, 1866; and no less than 6,825 members of the Association were summoned before the tribunals. Of these, 4,171 were thrust into the ordinary prisons, there to be kept, without trial, until the "liberal" fever had somewhat abated (1). These facts, and hundreds of similar ones which our limited space will not permit us to adduce, were the work of the most strenuous advocates of a Free Church in a Free State; therefore they sanction that interpretation of the deceitful formula which implies, aye, proclaims, that every shadow of liberty must be an unattainable good for the Church and for churchmen. An ostracization of an entire class of citizens, which must ever prove a prolific source of irritation, is one of the means whereby harmony is to be promoted in Italy; in plain language, the nation is to consist of conquerors and conquered. And, nevertheless, the Italian Church asks for very little. Her clergy put forth no exorbitant claims; they realize that the days of a dominant and privileged hierarchy have vanished, perhaps never to return,—whether for the good of

(1) In August, 1866, Cantù wrote: "This law of passion and of war against the Church has been enacted in spite of the lessons of the past, and of the interrogations of a future to which we are bequeathing so many disappointments, errors, and sorrows. . . . If the powers of Europe uphold the Pontiff, if he is a force with whom the other forces must account, it is because the people are very far from having abandoned him. In other cases, dynasties disappear before the plots of a minister or of a conspirator. Before the power of gold and the gleam of a Red Shirt" (the historian alludes to the dethronement of Francis II. of the Two Sicilies), "armies disband and employees perjure themselves. But it is not so here. However, if God wills that there shall no longer be a people to rule whom a priest without sword surlices,—a priest who proclaims peace and wants no war, a capital where every language has colleges, representatives, and tribunals; which is the common refuge of the persecuted, and the school of artists and of the erudite: where are kept the archives of that civilization which went out from it unto the entire modern world: where there is a quiet which is repugnant to, and a silence which mortifies the convulsive unrest of other peoples; if, in fine, we are to behold a verification of the prophecy that the demon will yet conquer the saints (*А поелъ*, xli., 7); then there will certainly be danger for Catholics, but none for Catholicism; since the timid will hear the words: 'Ye of little faith, why do ye doubt?' " *Heretics of Italy*, Discourse iv. Turin, 1866.

the country, time will tell. All that they ask from the men now at the helm of State is equality with their lay-countrymen—the right to observe the canons of the Church. They insist that the Church be regarded as a distinct moral entity, with a right to make and to obey its own laws. Dante re-proved ancient Rome for confusing the two powers of Church and State—*i due reggimenti*. Papal Rome teaches that Church and State are distinct, though not separate. For her there are no National Churches, mere slaves to the policies of a day. She wants neither a Church in a State nor a State in a Church ; and it must also be noted that she does not wish for a State without the Church. Her ideal—aye, more than a ideal, for she has actuated it in her day—is a State in harmony with the Church, each being free in the field of action which alone it should properly occupy. That is, the State should be the guardian of *civil* liberty—a thing which is subject to human devices and fluctuations ; and the Church should guard *moral* liberty, which is subject only to the divine law. The conflict between Church and State is perennial. Nero and others of that ilk, Julian, many even of the Holy Roman Emperors, Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, the modern Terrorists,—all entered upon it heart and soul, and they failed. We may safely say, therefore, that a little bunch of verbal firecrackers will not end the long struggle.

Pius IX. has been styled the Pope of the Immaculate Conception. The general sentiment of Catholic theologians has always favored the doctrine that the Mother of God was preserved, at the first instant of her conception by St. Anne, from the stain of Original Sin ; and this sentiment was based, firstly, upon the sayings of the principal Fathers of the Church ; secondly, upon the precaution of the Tridentine synodals in declaring that they did not intend to include Mary in their assertions that original sin is the portion of the children of Adam ; and thirdly, on the decrees of many Pontiffs, approving the Feast and Office of the Immaculate Conception, and forbidding the teaching of the contrary opinion. Until our own day, this truth was a matter of general Catholic *belief*, though not one of *faith*. Before Pius IX. fled to

Gaeta, he had appointed a commission of Consultors, to consider whether the pious belief in the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin could be defined as a matter of faith. At Gaeta, under the date of Feb. 2, 1849, he addressed an Encyclical to the entire hierarchy, asking their opinion; and of the 750 recipients, more than 600 replied in the affirmative. If we consider that there must have been some cases of death or illness, or of lost letters, it is evident that these replies indicate the mind of the Universal Teaching Church on this matter (1). In 1852, our Pontiff named a special commission, consisting of Card. Fornari, Mgr. Caterini (afterward cardinal), the Canon Audisio; F. Spada, a Dominican; the Jesuits, Passaglia, Schrader, and Perrone; and F. Tonini, a Conventual Franciscan; to consider the question. The reply was that a Definition was both possible and opportune. Then two extraordinary commissions were appointed; one composed of nineteen cardinals, and the other of Mgrs. Barnabò and Capalti (afterward cardinals); the Oratorian Theiner; the Jesuits, Perrone and Passaglia; and the Dominicans, Spada and Ferrari. Of these commissioners, only one pronounced the Definition inopportune. On Nov. 20, 1854, a number of bishops who had arrived in Rome for the expected solemnity, met in the Ducal Hall of the Vatican, under the presidency of Cardinals Brunelli, Caterini, and Santucci; where they were informed by Brunelli that His Holiness desired to know their opinions concerning the draft of the Bull which he was about to issue. The Pontiff, said His Eminence, did not find said draft entirely conformable to his own ideas; but he had no intention to unite the bishops in Council, *nor did he propose to authorize any discussion, on their part, as to the propriety or the opportuneness of the imminent decree.* Accordingly, 120 bishops deliberated, during four days, as to the form of the Bull; and finally, the Pontiff announced to the Sacred College that the long-desired promulgation would be effected on Dec. 8.

(1) By order of the Pontiff, all these replies were published in ten quarto volumes, entitled *Opinions Concerning the Dogmatic Definition of the Immaculate Conception of the B. V. Mary; Addressed to His Holiness, Pope Pius IX., in Reply to his Encyclical Dated at Gaeta on Feb. 2, 1849.* Rome, 1851-'54. A copy of this interesting collection was presented to each bishop who attended at the solemn definition of the dogma.

On the appointed day, Pius IX. pontificated in St. Peter's ; and after the Gospel, Cardinal Macchi besought His Holiness, in the name of the Universal Church, to issue his Dogmatic Decree. Then the immense congregation of more than 50,000 persons knelt as the Supreme Pontiff intoned the first words of the *Veni, Creator Spiritus* ; and all joined with him in the whole of the grand invocatory chant. Then Pius IX. arose, and standing before his pontifical throne with that majesty which seems to necessarily surround every Pope in the exercise of his functions as Vicar of Christ, but which was perfectly natural to Pio Nono, he pronounced in those clear, melodious, and sonorous tones which must ever ring in the ears of all who ever heard them, the long-expected and infallible declaration that it is a matter of Catholic faith that : " The Blessed Virgin Mary, from the first moment of her Conception, by a particular grace and privilege of Almighty God, and through the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the human race, was preserved and exempted from every stain of Original Sin." It had been reserved, in the inscrutable decrees of Divine Providence, to the most materialistic of centuries to hear a decision for which the Ages of Faith had yearned in vain (1). By this decree, issued sixteen years before the

(1) At the very head of the immense list of works which form the literature of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, place should be assigned to the monumental collection in 320 volumes, due to the indefatigable and discriminating labors of the Abbé Sire of the diocese of Puy, in France. Here we find, in reference to the dogma, all the apposite *Acts* of the Holy See ; the chief episcopal lucubrations ; all the great theological treatises ; the reports of the papal commissions ; the principal works on the subject published, since the Definition, in Italy, France, Spain, the English-speaking lands, Belgium, Germany, and Sweden ; a great number of sermons in every cultured language, preached in the years 1854-'60 ; articles from Reviews and journals in every civilized country, '54-'60 ; the chief works written against the dogma ; narratives of the festivities in its honor from the rising to the setting of the sun ; dissertations, descriptions of columns, statues, medals, etc., perpetuating the remembrance of the Definition. Twenty of these volumes are devoted to translations of the entire Dogmatic Bull *Ineffabilis Deus* into 1. Castilian, Greek, Albanian, Roumanian, Italian, Portuguese, Maltese, Romance, French. II. Venetian, Tyrolese, Lombard, Piedmontese, Genoese, Sardinian, Romagnuola, Neapolitan, Calabrese, Sicilian. III. Basque, Hable, Gallego, Catalan, Valencian, Majorcan, Aljanida, Gitano. IV. Flemish, Alsatian, Breton, Limousin, Auvergnat, Languedoc, Provencal, Corsican, Nizzard, Navarrese. V. English, Irish, Picard, Norman, Champenois, Lorrainese, Burgundian, Franche-Comtoise, Morvane, Bourbonnaise, Lyonnaise, Dauphinoise, Savoyard, Poitevin, Agenoise, Gascon, Bearnaise. VI. Hindustanee, Mahratta, Congouny, Mallyatam, Bengalese, Toutongou, Burman, Siamese, Laosian, Cambogian, Carian, Malay, Baonnars. VII. Aunamite, Thibetan, Tartar, Chinese, Japanese. VIII. Arabic, Coptic, Kabyle, Berber, Abyssinian, Gallas, and many languages of American Indians, of Oceanica, Africa,

Vatican Council proclaimed the dogma of Papal Infallibility, Pope Pius IX. practically declared that dogma. It is vain to assert that the Pontiff did not proclaim, *by himself*, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary; that he had obtained the judgment of the episcopate. Those episcopal judgments were like so many documents in a civil process; and assuredly such documents are not a judicial sentence—a decree pronounced by the judge alone. The attending bishops had been formally enjoined to attempt no judgment on the dogmatic question, which, said Card. Brunelli, was reserved to the Pontiff. A distinguished French prelate, Mgr. de Ségur, informs us that during an audience with Pius IX. a few days after the Definition, he spoke with His Holiness on the matter of Papal Infallibility, and that the Pontiff observed: “I think that I have already defined that truth equivalently by my decree of Dec. 8” (1).

One of the most important Acts of this pontificate was the issue of the Encyclical *Quanta Cura*, a document which was as much discussed and distorted, even by many who had never read it, as the later decree on Papal Infallibility. In this letter, dated Dec. 8, 1864, Pius IX. showed how his immediate predecessors, and he also, had condemned the many monstrous errors which produce such havoc in the Church and society of the nineteenth century; and then he asked the attention of the world to an accompanying *Syllabus* or collection of eighty errors which he had previously reprobated in various Encyclicals and Allocutions—errors which affect the Church and her rights; the State and the limits of its jurisdiction; the family; Faith and Reason; in fine, all that is nearest and dearest to humanity. The *Syllabus* was divided into ten chapters, of which each contained several propositions, with references to their previous condemnations. We shall furnish the reader with a synopsis of the different heads of reprobated doctrine. I. Pantheism, Naturalism, and Absolute Rationalism; *i. e.*, the denial

Polynesia, and Australasia. Truly does this admirable work realize Mary's own prophecy, “All generations shall call me Blessed.”

(1) *The Dogma of Infallibility*, pt. 1, no. 12. Paris, 1881.

of the divine personality and providence, of revelation, and of miracles (1). II. Moderate Rationalism, which puts theology and philosophy on the same plane; and holds that reason can arrive, by its own strength, to a knowledge of all dogma, and that philosophy should submit to no authority (2). III. Indifferentism and Latitudinarianism, which hold that all religions alike conduce to salvation (3). IV. Socialism, Communism, and Secret Societies (4). V. The affirmation that the Church depends, in all things, from the civil power; that Popes and Councils have encroached on the rights of civil rulers, and that they have erred in faith and discipline. The assertion that the Church has no temporal authority, direct or indirect; that she has no right to any sort of immunities or to manage her own theological teachings. The assertion that the Supreme Pontificate can be transferred from the Roman to any other episcopal See; and that National Churches are to be instituted (5). VI. The interference of the State in sacred things; as in its abuse of the royal *Exequatur*, its annulment of Concordats, its seizure of Seminaries, its preventing bishops from communicating with the Apostolic See, its wish for an entire separation of Church and State (6). VII. The ethical error that morality is independent of religious sanction, and of all divine or ecclesiastical authority. The idea that force makes right; that "accomplished facts" constitute public law; that non-intervention is a sacred duty; that patriotism justifies every iniquity (7). VIII. Civil marriage, with the understanding that the religious ceremony is a mere accessory (8). IX. The errors concerning the temporal dominion of the Supreme Pontiff over the Roman States; and especial-

(1) Al. *Maxima quidem*, June 9, '62. Enc. *Qui pluribus*, Nov. 9, '46. Enc. *Singulari quidem*, Mch. 17, '56.

(2) Epist. *Gravissimas*, to the Abp. of Freisingen, Dec. 11, '62. Epist. *Tuas libenter*, to same, Dec. 31, '63. To this system pertains, in great part, that of Gunther, condemned in letter to the Abp. of Cologne in '47.

(3) Lett. Apost. *Multiplies inter*, June 10, '51. Alloc. *Maxima quidem*, June 9, '62. Alloc. *Ubi primum*, Dec. 17, '47. Enc. *Quanto conficiamur*, Aug. 17, '63.

(4) Alloc. *Quibus quantisque*, Apr. 20, '49. Enc. *Nosceitis*, Dec. 8, '49.

(5) Alloc. *Multis gravibusque*, Dec. 17, '60.

(6) Lett. Ap. *Ad Apost.*, Aug. 22, '51. Alloc. *In Consistoriali*, Nov. 1, '51.

(7) Alloc. *Jamdudum cernimus*, Mch. 18, '61. *Quisquis cestrum*, Oct. 4, '47.

(8) Letter to the King of Sardinia, Sept. 9, '52.

ly the assertion that its abolition would benefit the Church. X. Falsely-styled "Liberalism"; and especially the assertion that the Church should compromise with it. The reader will perceive that Pius IX. condemns, in this *Syllabus*, the intellectual heresy of our day, Pantheism or Rationalism; the social heresy, Statolatry; and the religious heresy, the separation of civil culture from revelation. Perhaps it was natural that this document should have been qualified by one of the most distinguished of the *Italianissimi* as "The most insensate work ever produced by human pen" (1). Certainly, it is not surprising that the adepts of the Square and Triangle greeted it with the same manifestations of blind and impotent hate that the Jansenists of the seventeenth century showed, when they were pressed by the Bull *Unigenitus*. The "Liberals" had obscured the most elementary notions of morality and of right; Pius IX. presented them to the peoples in their divine lucidity, and consecrated anew the rights of man, of the family, and of the State. Such a document was to be expected from the Vicar of Christ; but let us not, therefore, minimize the courage of the act. The worldly-wise would have been pleased, had the Pontiff made concessions to the spirit of the age, or at least had he been reticent as to its errors; by the latter course, he might have gained friends to strengthen his tenure of the third diadem in his triple crown. But Pio Nono was Pope, as well as king; and it was his mission to unmask error and to stigmatize injustice. Again, by the Encyclical *Quanta Cura* our Pontiff gave a practical illustration of his Apostolic vigilance and authority to that portion of the world which was daily straining its eyes to catch a glimpse of the final crumbling of the papal edifice. In the literary laboratories of the Masonic Lodges the *Syllabus* was subjected to strange processes of mental alchemy; a feigned translation was concocted, in the preparation of which the literal sense was ignored, and the implied was diametrically contradicted; dictionaries having been scorned, rules of grammar inverted, and logic thrown to the winds. The most respectable of

(1) The deputy Mancini, in the parliamentary session of July 11, '67. See *Official Acts*, p. 1,298.

the anti-papal journals of the day (1) presented to its credulous readers, in its ostensible version, sixty flagrant perversions of what the Pontiff had really said ; and then, throughout the world, men were asked to believe that Pius IX. had definitively separated the Papacy and civilization. He was said to have condemned railroads, telegraphs, photography, etc., as engines of Satan. His Encyclical was styled "an expression of the irremediable decadence of a senile institution"; and he was said to have uttered "the last cry of a dying ambition which had always been foreign to the spirit of Christianity" (2). However, the senility of the Papacy was not observable when, three years after the publication of the criminated document, there thronged around their venerable Pontiff, on June 21, 1867, from all parts of the world, 512 bishops, more than 20,000 priests, and over 140,000 laymen, to celebrate the twenty-first anniversary of his coronation. Still less was that senility perceived, when the successor of Peter announced that he would soon convoke another General Council ; that to those who claimed Rome as a capital for Italy, he would reply by opening it as a capital for Christendom ; that there the representatives and organs of the human conscience would deliberate upon the future of humanity. The Apostolic voice which had spoken in the famed Encyclical had not been raised in vain ; for before they departed to their various dioceses, these 512 bishops said to the Vicar of Christ : "Convinced that Peter has spoken by the mouth of Pius, we receive and publish all that you have said, confirmed, and published for the maintenance of the integrity of the divine deposit of faith ; and our voices and minds are unanimous (*uno ore atque animo*) in rejecting everything which you have declared to be contrary to revealed truth, detrimental to salvation, or injurious to society."

There was developed in Masonic circles a kind of mild in-

(1) The *Journal des Debats*, on Jan. 1, 1865.

(2) See *Le Temps*, Jan. 6, 7, 10, 1865 ; the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Jan. 1. The London *Times* was equally ignorant and diabolically mendacious ; and almost the entire American press, especially the Protestant "religious," joined in the insane chorus. It is to be noted that the Napoleonic government of France, while giving the utmost liberty to its Masonic brethren of the press in their mendacious enterprise of falsification of the *Syllabus*, prohibited the publication of its true text by the French bishops.

sanity in 1865, when Pius IX. formally renewed the decrees of his predecessors, condemning the notorious perverter of social and religious order (1). Some of the more frenzied sectaries devised a scheme whereby it would be made to appear that while Pope Pius IX. might condemn Freemasonry, Giovanni Mastai-Ferretti was in heart a devoted adept of Square and Triangle; that he had been initiated into the sacred mysteries of the Dark Lantern "*while visiting the United States of America.*" The Masonic organ of Sicily, *L'Umanitario*, published a letter from "the Freemasons of Messina to the Very Rev. Mario Aglotti, Vicar-Capitular of the Diocese," greatly lauding the virtues of the Abbate Mastai of 1823, and showing how his piety led him to the true cult of the Great Architect of the Universe: "Under the pontificate of *Gregory XVI.*, Mastai-Ferretti was charged with a mission to America. . . . Having accomplished his mission, and having visited the episcopal dioceses, *he rested in Pennsylvania, in the city of Philadelphia.* His piety, his principles of rectitude, the Christian charity which adorned his heart, and the liberalism which permeated his character, procured for him many estimable and useful friends in that city; and since Masonry holds to her bosom the most intelligent, the most moral, and the most upright men of America, Ferretti found that very many of his new friends belonged to the Masonic Alliance. He often expressed a desire to enter the order; and after a time, he was initiated, and he promised solemnly to respect, love, and protect his brother Masons, and to aid them all in their needs. After

(1) This condemnation had been occasioned by an injudicious proceeding (to speak mildly) on the part of Mgr. Darboy, the over-conciliatory archbishop of Paris. The prelate, in accordance with his resolve to humor Napoleon III. in every possible way, almost to the point where schism would loom up before him, officiated at the funeral of Marshal Magnan in 1865. Magnan had been the grand-master of the order in France; and the brethren attended his obsequies officially, clothed in their regalia. As in duty bound, Pius IX. rebuked the archbishop; and the prelate replied that neither he nor his clergy had seen the Masonic insignia in the church. The Pontiff answered: "You knew very well that the deceased, during his life, had the misfortune to fill the proscribed office of Grand Orient, as it is called; and you must have easily foreseen that the members of the sect would attend the funeral, and that they would parade their regalia. For that reason you should have abstained from causing such grief to all true Catholics by your presence at the function." After this unfortunate act of so eminent a prelate, Pius IX. felt that he ought to show the world that the Holy See was not yet disposed to compromise with the Brethren of the Three Points; hence his denunciation of the sectaries in the Consistory of Sept. 25, 1865.

this oath, he was admitted to the first degree. Listen to the exact text of the words which the same Mastai-Ferretti pronounced in a loud voice in the Lodge: 'Indeed it is from you, illustrious men, that to-day I receive the light of truth. Until now, I was in the densest darkness. I am fully convinced that Masonry is one of the most beautiful associations in the world, and I am fortunate to belong to it.' He was very assiduous in his attendance at all the meetings; and he was most zealous in promoting the prosperity of the Alliance, and in propagating its salutary maxims. Admitted successively to the Companionship and the Mastership, and more than ever convinced of the sublime object of Masonry, Mastai pronounced, in another meeting, these words: 'I shall be a warm defender of this sublime order, whose mission is to moralize the universe, and to raise and defend abandoned humanity.' Our brothers in Philadelphia preserve very many documents and autographs of Mastai-Ferretti as a precious treasure; and they show them, as proof of his initiation, to all the foreign brothers who arrive in that city. Many travellers have seen them frequently." Great was the excitement among the more ignorant of the "profane," and great was the exultation among the adepts, when the Lodges of Messina communicated this presumed discovery. All the Masonic, Protestant, and Jewish journals of Europe and America gloated over the delectating morsel, in spite of the fact that, as the Catholic press showed, the mendacious story of the *Umanitario* refuted itself. In the first place, the Abbate Mastai-Ferretti was not sent to America by Gregory XVI., but by Pius VII. In the second place, he did not visit the United States. Notwithstanding these two flagrant and fundamental errors which were indicated by the Catholic journals of the time, the chief Masonic periodical of France, the *Monde Maçonnique*, ridiculed "the unwary zeal of the religious journals," although it admitted that it might be well to "ask the Lodge in Philadelphia to transmit an authentic and certified copy of the record of initiation, so that the doubts of certain minds might be dissipated, and the religious journals be thus reduced to silence" (1). But five

(1) Thus in the issue of Aug., 1838, p. 226.

months afterward, the same *Monde Maçonnique* admitted that "unfortunately Masonry still has in its bosom certain advocates of pious frauds, the monopoly of which ought to be left to the devotees of La Salette and to the subscribers of *L'Univers*." And then it proceeded to conclude that "if the present Pope was made a Mason in any place, it was certainly not in Philadelphia"; since the editors had written for information to the Masonic authorities in Philadelphia, and had received from Richard Vaux, grand-master of the G. O. of Pennsylvania, a letter enclosing a report made on the matter at issue by John Thomson, the grand-secretary of the same G. O. The letter of Mr. Thomson, dated Nov. 30, 1868, had certified that the name of John Mary Mastai-Ferretti was not on the registers of any one of the Lodges in the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania; and that the name approaching nearest to that of the said Mastai, on the registers, was that of one Martin Ferrety, who was received in 1819, in the Lodge No. 157, at Havana in Cuba (1).

The pontificate of Pius IX. was signalized by several severe persecutions of the Church in other countries than Italy. We have already dwelt at length on the afflictions of Catholic Poland at the hands of "Orthodox" Russia; and we shall devote special dissertations to the German enterprise which was undertaken "in the name of civilization," and to the onslaughts of Masonry against Catholic liberty in Latin America. The Swiss imitation of the Bismarckian defense of "civilization" will be described when we treat of the "Old Catholics." Let us now cast a glance on the end of the mortal careers of the principal personages of the drama, the chief scenes of which we have beheld. We have touched on the death of the great *deus ex machina*, Cavour; and we have found reason to hope that, whatever his life was, his end was not that of the reprobate. Louis Napoleon died at Chisellhurst, in England, fortified by the Sacraments of the Church which he had injured, but never despised, on January 9, 1873. The triumph of Victor Emmanuel was of brief duration; he played the king in the capital of the

(1) *Monde Maçonnique*, Jan., 1869, p. 534.

Popes for but little more than seven years. The atmosphere of the Quirinal agreed with the *Re Galantuomo* in neither a moral nor a hygienic sense ; he seldom entered the palace, and still less frequently did he sleep in it ; nearly all his time was spent at Mandria, in the society of his morganatic wife, the Countess di Mirafiori, whom he had married in 1868. In December, 1877, the health of Pius IX. showed unmistakable signs of his approaching dissolution ; the Masonic journals declared that he was already dead, and that "the Jesuits and the cardinals were concealing the fact." Even the Italian government, despite its spies in the Vatican, credited the report of the demise ; and on December 31, Victor Emmanuel signed a regulation for the expected funeral. The court was to put on full mourning ; and the necessary gowns, etc., were ordered for the princess-royal (now Queen Margherita) and her ladies. On January 3, 1878, the king, being on the point of returning to Mandria, sent his friend and almoner, Mgr. Anzino, to the Vatican with instructions to inquire, in the name of "Victor Emmanuel," into the state of the Pope's health. Anzino was admitted to the pontifical presence, and when he stated the object of his visit, His Holiness looked steadily on him for a moment, and then said : "Tell Victor Emmanuel that I thank him for his interest ; but tell him also that he must think of his soul, for his hour has come. Let him think of his soul !" Victor Emmanuel was much affected by this message ; he deferred his journey ; and on the following morning he was found to be laboring under an attack of pleuritic fever. As soon as he realized his danger, he ordered Anzino to inform the Pontiff (1). The chief pastor

(1) From the day of his accession to the Sardinian throne, Victor Emmanuel had ever manifested remorse for his own vices and for his criminal weakness in yielding to the demands of the Freemasons. Strange to say, unlike his father, who became a Carbonaro in his youth, Victor Emmanuel never became a Mason ; although he was always willing to co-operate with them for the aggrandizement of the House of Savoy. He was a strange compound of religious sentimentality, debauchery, and dashing bravery. After his marriage to Rosina Mirafiori, however, his religious inclinations became somewhat more pronounced ; it was said that the pair recited the Rosary together every day. One day he said to Cavour : "I am willing to go with you as far as the gates of hell ; but I warn you that when we arrive there, you will enter alone." VILLEFRANCHE ; *Ubi supra*, p. 533.—MONTREVEL ; in the *Biographies of the Nineteenth Century*. Paris (Bloud et Barral), 1886.

of souls immediately gave to Mgr. Marinelli, his sacristan all the faculties necessary in the case, and despatched him to the Quirinal. The demons in human form who guarded the anti-chambers of the royal suite, consistent followers of the Dark Lantern, showed their devotion to freedom of conscience by refusing to allow the bearer of pardon to enter the room of the dying man. Meanwhile, Victor Emmanuel, who had no idea of being, said Louis Veuillot, "one of those madmen who buy with a final crime the glory of being enemies of God for all eternity" (1), was calling for Mgr. Anzino. The papal sacristan succeeded in communicating with the almoner, and delegated to him the faculties which he had received from His Holiness. According to all the Italian journals of the day, the king received the Last Sacraments, and charged Anzino to bear to the Pope his dying request for pardon. But many years had not passed, when it became the prevalent belief that Victor Emmanuel had lost consciousness, ere his almoner arrived at his bedside. While his former enemy was dying, the Pontiff was continually praying for him; and several times he cried: "Oh! If the good Princess Clotilda were with her father!" But the poor man did not gaze from his pillow of death on the sweet face of the holy daughter whom reasons of State had sacrificed to the wretched Prince Napoleon, the bastard Bonaparte who had been the bane of his cousin's life. During his dying moments, the monarch often asked for "The Children! The Children!" but the future king, Humbert, had ordered inexorably that the Countess Mirafiori and his half-brothers should not be admitted to the Quirinal.

Around the deathbed of Pius IX. we discern no shadow of doubt as to his future before God, or in the minds of men; his death, like his life, was a cheerful sacrifice to the will of God. Violent attacks of rheumatism had afflicted him during several months preceding the demise of Victor Emmanuel, and when the children of the Revolution bore the corpse of the finally disillusionized monarch in solemn procession through the streets of Rome, the forgiving Pontiff caused his easy-chair to be rolled to a window overlooking the

(1) In the *Univers*, Jan. 11, 1878.

scene, and when his gaze fell on the bedizzened token of human nothingness, he raised his trembling hands in a last prayer for his despoiler. February brought great improvement in the health of His Holiness ; and on Feb. 2, he was borne to the Hall of the Throne, in order to receive, from delegates gathered from every corner of the earth, congratulations on the recurrence of the seventy-fifth anniversary of his First Communion. The discourse which he then delivered, the 375th since his imprisonment in the Vatican, was his last ; and it was pronounced in the clear and resonant tone which had ever been one of his greatest charms. After the ceremony, he remarked that although all said that he had gained in health, he himself perceived no advance ; and indeed, on the early morning of the 7th, it became evident that Pio Nono would soon receive the reward of the good and faithful steward. At half-past eight, he requested his faithful and loving sacristan to administer to him the Holy Viaticum ; and during the ceremony, as well as during the following Extreme Unction, he himself recited the liturgical prayers. By this time all the cardinals then in Rome had arrived, and the dying Pontiff seemed to recognize them all ; he reached under his pillow, brought forth a little crucifix, and with it he blessed all who were in the room. At one o'clock, the death-agony began ; and during the recitation of the Prayers for the Dying, His Holiness pronounced the responses, although with some difficulty. When the Act of Contrition had been recited, he exclaimed, as though addressing God : "With Thy help ; with Thy help !" and then he cried : "We will enter into the house of the Lord." When the reader pronounced the words : "*Proficiscere, anima Christiana—*Depart, Christian soul !" the Pontiff echoed : "Yes : let us depart !" Shortly afterward, he expressed by signs that it grieved him to be unable to speak ; whereupon Cardinal Bilio asked him to at least bless the Sacred College. Then Pius IX. raised his right arm, and looking calmly around him, he gave his last benediction on earth. With the first sounds of the bells calling the faithful to the evening *Ave Maria*, the "Pope of the Immaculate Conception" went to his eternal reward. He had lived eighty-five years, and

had reigned longer by six years than St. Peter had reigned in Rome; but he should have survived at least for four, and perhaps for sixteen more months (chroniclers dispute concerning the length of Peter's pontificate in Antioch), ere he would have nullified the ancient saying that "no Pontiff would ever see the years of Peter."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN (NINETEENTH GENERAL).

The Nineteenth General Council of the Church was convoked by Pope Pius IX. in his Apostolic Letter, *Jam vos omnes*, dated Sept. 8, 1868. We extract the following passages from this document: "In order that the government of the Church might be properly sustained, and in order that the entire Christian body might ever persevere in the same faith, doctrine, charity, and communion, our Lord Jesus Christ, in the first place, promised that He would be with His Church until the end of time; and in the second place, He chose, from among all, Peter alone, constituting him Prince of the Apostles, His Vicar on earth, and the head, the foundation, and the centre of the Church; so that, enjoying the prerogative of rank and honor, the fulness of authority, and sovereign power and jurisdiction, he should feed both the sheep and the lambs, confirm his brethren, govern the entire Church, and be 'the guardian of the gates of Heaven, and the judge as to what should be bound or be loosed, his sentence having full force, even in Heaven' (1). ... It is known by all that the Roman Pontiffs have always, and with incessant care, defended the deposit of faith, the discipline of the clergy, the training of that clergy in holiness and learning, the sanctity and dignity of marriage; that they have constantly developed, more and more, the Christian education of the young of both sexes; that they have fostered in the peoples religion, piety, and good morals; and that they have ever contributed, by every means, to the tranquillity, order, and prosperity of civil society it-

(1) ST. LEO II.; *Sermon* 2.

self. . . . For a long time the world has known what a terrible tempest has afflicted the Church, and what immense evils civil society also is suffering. . . . In such a concurrence of calamities, the weight of which oppresses our heart, our divinely-given pastoral ministry imposes upon us the duty of resolutely bringing our whole strength into action, in order to repair the damage done to the Church, to procure the well-being of the entire flock of the Lord, and in order to repair the devastating onslaughts of those who labor, with unanimous accord, to destroy the Church herself in her very foundations, if such an object could be effected. . . . Therefore, having both day and night, in the humility of our heart, addressed our prayers to God, the Father of light, we have deemed it absolutely necessary to convoke this Council. For these reasons, relying upon the authority of God Himself, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and upon that of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, an authority which we also exercise on earth ; we indicate, by the advice and with the assent of our brothers, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church ; we announce, decree, and convoke by these Letters, a Holy Œcumenical Council, to be held in the coming year, 1869, in our illustrious city of Rome, in the Basilica of the Vatican." The Eighth of December, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, was designated for the opening of the Council.

Among all the governments of earth, that of "Holy Russia" alone placed any obstacles in the way of the bishops who joyfully hastened to obey the call of the venerable Father of the Faithful ; the "Orthodox" autocrat forbade all the Catholic prelates of his empire to pay any attention to the Bull of Convocation. The so-called Catholic powers, however, had been studiously ignored by Pius IX. in the language of this Bull ; for the first time in ecclesiastical annals an Œcumenical Council was projected without any request, on the part of the Holy See, for the co-operation of the secular powers of Christendom. When Pope Paul III. convoked the Council of Trent, he expressly requested the co-operation of the secular governments ; especially of those

of France and the Holy Roman Empire. Pius IX. manifested a remarkable reserve in regard to the hostile or indifferent sovereigns of his day; allowing them to see plainly that he asked nothing from them but freedom for the synodals. A new era has commenced. Church and State are now separate; and both recognize the fact. Guizot would term the Church of to-day, "laïc"; Cavour would term her, "free." Both terms, said Louis Veuillot, are "hypocrisies in language," implying the admission that the State now has no religion, and wants none—another and more formidable hypocrisy, to cover a denial of God. So far as civic support goes, the Church is now a soul without a body; and in all matters of religion, the State is now a body without a soul. Why, then, should Pius IX. have asked the so-called Catholic powers to send their "orators" to the Vatican Council? What part could they have taken in a programme of debates on matters spiritual and moral? Nowadays governments have no right to speak to their subjects upon eternal salvation; they know no such thing. The so-called Catholic sovereigns of to-day are not, as their predecessors once were, "secular vicars" of the Vicar of Christ, "external bishops" of the Church. In fine, the present condition of the Church in so-called Catholic countries was well compared by Louis Veuillot to the condition of a wife who has been repudiated unjustly by her husband. She is an innocent sufferer. She demands all that her marriage contract guaranteed to her—her wasted dowry, her civil rights, and her maternal privileges. But she asks for no divorce; nay, she insists that a divorce should not and cannot be pronounced, since the interests of her children forbid such a procedure (1). Meanwhile, the Church waits patiently for justice; she can afford to wait, for she is really the spouse of Him who is patient, because He is eternal.

The Pontiff also invited the bishops of the separated Churches of the East to attend the Council: "We conjure and beseech you, with all the ardor that we are capable of feeling, to come to this general assembly of the bishops of

(1) *The Univers*, July 13, 1868.—*The Monitor*, Aug. 8, 1868.

the West and of the entire world, just as your forefathers entered into the Second Council of Lyons, and into the Council of Florence ; so that you may renew the olden ties of charity, and restore that peace of the early ages which time has destroyed, thus consummating a union which is so dear to our heart." But the heretics of "Orthodox" Russia dared not disobey their imperial master. As for those of the once venerable Constantinopolitan patriarchate, several bishops indeed manifested a velleity to accept the pontifical invitation ; but when they learned that their patriarch had refused to receive the papal letter, they relapsed into their oriental lethargy. The patriarch of the Monophysite Armenians replied that he would attend the Council ; but the promise was not fulfilled. Pius IX. would gladly have extended to the dignitaries of the innumerable sects of Protestantism the cordial invitation which he sent to the oriental separatists ; but unfortunately the spiritual progeny of Luther, Cranmer, and Calvin, possessed no ecclesiastical status, whereas the prelates of the oriental separated Churches, although they were heretical as well as schismatical, were validly consecrated bishops. Therefore the Pontiff could do no more than urge all sincere Protestants to examine well into the reasons which impelled them to remain outside of the Catholic Church. A certain minister asked the archbishop of Westminster whether the Pope's general exhortation to Protestants implied that "dissident Christians" would be allowed to defend their theories in the Council. With an excess of good nature, Archbishop Manning submitted to the Holy See a matter concerning which there could be no question whatever ; and the Pope replied on Sept. 4, 1869 : "If the questioner were familiar with the faith of Catholics concerning the teaching authority given by the Divine Saviour to His Church, and consequently with the doctrine concerning the infallibility of the Church in matters of faith and morals, he would perceive that the Church cannot permit any discussion of errors which she has already carefully examined and condemned" (1).

(1) When treating of the Council of Trent, in our Vol. iv., p. 524, we refuted the claim of condemned heretics to be heard in a General Council.

The language and attitude of the Pontiff as he convoked the Nineteenth General Council; the promptitude with which the bishops of the Universal Church prepared to obey the summons of the "Servant of the Servants of God"; and the prayerful confidence with which the Catholic laity awaited the issue of the august assembly; certainly indicated no death agony on the part of the Queen who was enthroned on the Seven Hills. The vitality of the Papacy was so evident at this moment, that it elicited recognition from all the hostile intellects which were not irremediably diseased. On July 10, 1868, Emile Ollivier was constrained to avow in the Napoleonic Corps Legislatif: "This convocation of a General Council for 1869 is a grand spectacle, a new event. There is in it a courage, and there is also a grandeur, both of which compel my respect and my admiration; for I love a power which is strong, which has confidence in itself, and which manifests energetically and fearlessly the faith which animates it." Such a development of force in an institution which they had fondly fancied, or had feigned to fancy, to be decrepit and probably moribund, enraged the sectaries even to the verge of insanity. On the Good Friday previous to the opening of the Council, Masonic banquets were held in various cities of Europe for the express purpose of manifesting a diabolic hatred of the God-Man. To the accompaniment of blasphemies which are not to be transcribed, "sausages were flung at the head of Christ, and the representation of Calvary was smeared with scraps of pork" (1).

(1) RIVAUD; *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. III., p. 605. Paris, 1883.—Speaking of Prince Napoleon (Jerome's bastard), who was a prominent figure at the Good Friday banquet in Paris, *Le Pays* well said: "Catholic France, military France, the France that prays, the France that fights, spurns such men." This Plon-Plon, the sole one of his name whose courage was ever doubted; this demagogue, whose training had been entirely that of German and Swiss Rationalism; had openly avowed his anti-Catholic principles in 1865, when, in his speech at the inauguration of the Napoleon monument in Ajaccio, he said: "Hitherto there has been entirely too much hesitation and prudence: France should have allied herself with Prussia and Italy a year ago, and openly. The hour has arrived when the flag of the Revolution, that of the Empire, must be widely unfurled. What is the programme of the Revolution? In the first place, it is war on Catholicism, a war which must be prosecuted unto the end. Secondly, it is the perfection of the grand national unities on the ruins of the factitious states, and of the treaties which founded those states. Thirdly, it is the triumph of democracy, founded on universal suffrage, but which must perforce be guided, for a century to come, by the strong hands of Cæsars. Finally, it is Imperial France, at the head of European affairs; it is a war, a long war, as a condition and instrument of this policy. There you have the flag and the programme. The first obstacle to be con-

These ebullitions of Satanic hatred for the Spouse of Christ, excited by her supernatural vigor as indicated by the approaching General Council, might have been regarded as spasmodic and isolated cases, having no bearing on the disposition of Masonry in general toward that toleration of Catholicism which Catholics demanded, and which Liberalism pretended to accord. But the sectaries had resolved to make a demonstration so striking, that no doubt as to the sentiments of the Lodges should be possible. Certain Fathers of the Church have termed Satan the *Simius Dei*; they thought that just as the monkey delights in imitating the manners and actions of man, so the foul fiend, for his own fell purposes, travesties the works of the Lord of the Universe. Of course every heresy is, to some extent, a *Simius Dei*; but amid all of its puerilities Masonry has ever shown that its simian instincts are more inveterate than those of any other sect. It was in accordance with these propensities, therefore, that the Brethren of the Three Points convoked a Grand Council of their order, which was to be opened in Naples on Dec. 8, 1869, at the very moment when the bishops of Christendom would begin their labors for the glory of God under the encouraging smile of His Immaculate Mother. There was an appropriateness in the contrast between the two assemblies which probably escaped the notice of the Masonic energumens; the Anti-Council of Naples was merely an episode in that war between Mary and Satan which began in Eden when God announced to the serpent: "I will put enmities between thee and the woman." While more than seven hundred successors of the Apostles were kneeling with the Vicar of Christ, beseeching the Holy Spirit to direct the labors for which they had met, more than seven hundred votaries of the Dark Lantern, delegates from nearly all the Grand Lodges of Europe, Asia, Africa, the United States of America, Mexico, and Brazil, were inaugurating

quered is Austria, the most powerful support of the Catholic power in the world. Austria is the refuge of Catholicism and feudalism; therefore she must be crushed. The work was begun in 1859; it must be finished to-day. Imperial France must remain the enemy of Austria; she must be the friend and support of Prussia, the country of the grand Luther. . . . France must defend Italy, the centre of the Revolution in the world. The mission of Italy is to destroy Catholicism in Rome, just as it is the mission of Prussia to destroy Catholicism in Vienna. We must be allies to both Prussia and Italy."

their Saturnalia of rebellion against God and His Christ with blasphemies which caused even the most indifferent of the Neapolitans to shudder. Much against its will, the government of the Piedmontese usurper recognized that a continuance of the Satanic conventicle would precipitate a popular revolution in defence of the outraged honor of Jesus and Mary; and the police were ordered to disperse the violators of religious liberty and of common decency, and to prevent their future reunion. However, the object of the Anti-Council had been gained; the world, the flesh, and the devil had sent to the four quarters of the globe their protest against the submission of man to his Creator. The programme of the adepts had been arranged in advance; and before the enforced dissolution of their Anti-Council, they had adopted certain declarations which were sent immediately to all the official organs of Masonry in the world. One of these precious lucubrations reads as follows: "The undersigned delegates of the various nations of the civilized world, assembled in Naples as members of the Anti-Council, enact the following principles: They proclaim the liberty of Reason against Religious Authority, the independence of man against the despotism of Church and State, free education against teaching by the clergy; and they acknowledge no other foundation for human belief than science. They proclaim that man is free; and they insist on the abolition of all official Churches. Woman ought to be freed from the chains with which the Church and Law prevent her full development. Morality ought to be entirely independent of all religious interference." Another declaration is even more explicit in its declaration of war to the knife against Catholicism; and the reader will note how Catholicism seems to be regarded by these representatives of Masonry as the sole champion of the Divine Majesty on earth. "*Freethinkers recognize and proclaim freedom of conscience and of investigation. They regard science as the ancient basis of every belief; and therefore they reject all dogmas which are founded on any revelation whatsoever. They demand education through all its degrees—an education which shall be gratuitous, obligatory, exclusively laic, and material.*

ist. As for all that pertains to philosophical or religious questions, freethinkers regard the idea of God as the source and support of every despotism and of every iniquity. They regard the Catholic religion as the most complete and the most terrible personification (*sic*) of this idea of God; and they regard the Catholic dogmas as the very negation of society. *Therefore the freethinkers take upon themselves the obligation of laboring for the prompt and radical abolition of Catholicism, for its annihilation, by any and all means, even by revolutionary force*" (1). The two italicized passages of this declaration, when joined together, form the essence of the Masonic programme in every land where the sect has attained to political domination (2).

The number of the participants in the Vatican Council varied at different times. In 1869, the Rev. Apostolic Chamber issued an official list of those who, by right or by privilege, could sit in the assembly. These were: Cardinals, 55; Patriarchs, 11; Primates, 7; Archbishops, 159; Bishops, 755; Abbots *nullius*, 6; Mitred Abbots, 22; Generals and Vicars-General of Religious Orders, 29; being a total of 1,044. The same Chamber afterward gave a list of the synodals who attended on Dec. 20, 1869: Cardinals, 48; Patriarchs, 10; Primates, 4; Archbishops, 120; Bishops, 513; Abbots *nullius*, 6; Mitred Abbots, 13; Generals and Vicars-General of Orders, 29; a total of 743. But since the abbots and other representatives of Religious Orders have merely a consultative voice in a General Council, the number of synodals with deliberative voices present on Dec. 20, was 695. The principal item in the enumeration of these synodals is that of those who voted in the sessions of April 24 and July 18, 1870. On the former occasion, 667 were present; on the latter, 535. This difference of figures was due to the abstention of

(1) DESCHAMPS; *The Secret Societies and Society*, bk. 1, ch. 2, 10.—RIVAUX; *Loc. cit.*—*Pastoral of Mgr. Martin, Bishop of Natchitoches, Louisiana*, 1873.

(2) The latter declaration was probably prepared by Louis Andrieux, who was prefect of police in Paris from 1877 to 1881, and who distinguished himself in the enforcement of the anti-clerical laws of his day. He had represented the Lodges of Lyons in the Anti-Council. Shortly before the meeting, the Masonic journal, *L'Excommunié*, under date of Nov. 27, 1869, had said: "The candidate of *L'Excommunié*, the lawyer, Louis Andrieux, has been elected unanimously to be our delegate at the Council of Naples. The freethinking programme prepared by Citizen Andrieux shows that we will be represented in all the extent and energy of our convictions."

the opposing minority—a fact which will be explained in its proper place.

Immediately upon the meeting of the synodals, Pope Pius IX., by virtue of his Apostolic authority, furnished a regulation for the proceedings. The following passage from *The Right and Method of Proposing* (subjects for consideration), taken from the decree for the opening of the Council, explains this regulation: "Although the right and duty of proposing the subjects for treatment in the Holy Œcumenical Council, and the right of asking the opinion of the Fathers thereon, belong only to us and this Apostolic See; nevertheless, we do not confine ourselves to a wish that such Fathers as may have something of general interest to propose, should mention it with the utmost freedom. We even request them to exercise an initiative. But since it is certain that this privilege, if not exercised with proper regard to time and manner, might considerably jeopardize the order so necessary in synodal deliberations, we decree that propositions shall be offered in the following manner: I. They shall be reduced to writing, and submitted privately to a special Congregation to be instituted by us, and composed of certain of our brothers, Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and of certain reverend Fathers of the Council. II. The propositions must refer to the general weal of Christendom, and not to affairs of any particular diocese. III. They must be accompanied by reasons which show their utility and opportuneness. IV. They must contain nothing opposed to the constant sentiment of the Church, or contrary to her inviolable traditions. Finally, the special Congregation, after the reception of the propositions, will carefully examine them, and then refer them, together with its opinion as to their admissibility, to us, that we ourselves may decide whether they may be presented to the Council." The prelates composing this important Commission were: Cardinals Patrizzi, Di Pietro, De Angelis, Riario-Sforza, Corsi, Rauscher, Bonnechose, Cullen, Barili, Moreno, Monaco La Valletta, and Antonelli; the Bishops: Jussef, Patriarch of Antioch; Valerga, Patriarch of Jerusalem; Guibert, of Tours; Riccardi di Netro, of Turin; Barrio y Fernandez,

of Valencia; Valdieso, of Santiago in Chili; Spalding, of Baltimore; Apuzzo, of Sorrento; Franchi, of Thessalonica; Gianelli, of Sardes; Manning, of Westminster; Deschamps, of Malines; Martin, of Paderborn; Celesia, of Patti. Besides this Commission, others were appointed as Judges of Excuses; Judges of Complaints and Dissensions; a General Congregation for Matters of Faith; one for Discipline; one for Affairs of Religious Orders; one for the Oriental Rites. The principal officers of the Council were: Guardians: The Roman Princes, Giovanni Colonna and Domenico Orsini, Princes-Assistant at the Pontifical Throne; a Secretary, Joseph, Bishop of St. Poelten; a Sub-Secretary, Mgr. Louis Jacobini; two Assistant Secretaries, Camillo Santori and Angelo Jacobini; two Promoters, Giovanni de Dominicis-Tosti and Filippo Ralli.

At the opening of the Council of Trent, Pope Paul III. made no such regulation as the one just described as made by Pius IX. for the guidance of the Vatican synodals; and in the former assembly, the question of the initiative of propositions or *postulata* caused a stormy dispute. The debate began under Paul III., subsided under Julius II., reopened under Pius IV., on occasion of the phrase *proponentibus legatis*, and terminated only in 1563, when Pius IV., in a letter to his legates, announced that the synodals could regard the clause as they pleased. The Council suppressed the phrase, but with the qualification, "saving always the authority of the Apostolic See"; and thus, in some sort, the members shared the initiative with the papal representatives. Now, in the Vatican Council such a struggle could scarcely have taken place; for from the very first day, the synodals yielded, excepting a minority which made some complaints, but whose firmness in its dogmatic notions was not, despite appearances, even as imposing as its modest numbers. These prelates contented themselves with a mild protest, and accepted the commissions appointed by the Pontiff; taking care, when the time arrived for a vote on the crucial matter, to shirk the combat, two of them only excepted, who distinguished themselves by their negative vote.

In the third session of the Council, the Pontiff published

his Dogmatic Constitution *Dei Filius*, which was divided into four Chapters, treating of God, Creator of all things ; of Revelation ; of Faith ; and of Faith and Reason. This Constitution has been rightly termed the most rationalistic document, using the adjective in its favorable sense, ever issued by Pope or Council. We give the Canons which accompanied the Constitution. First come the CANONS ON GOD, CREATOR OF ALL THINGS: I. "If any one denies the existence of God, Creator and Master of everything, visible and invisible, let him be anathema." II. "If any one shamelessly teaches that nothing but matter exists, etc." III. "If any one says that the substance and essence of God and of all things are one and the same, etc." IV. "If any one says that finite things, whether corporal or spiritual, or at least the spiritual things, are emanations of the divine substance ; or if any one says that the divine essence becomes all things by the evolution of itself ; or if any one says that God is the universal and indefinite Being who, *sese determinando*, constitutes the universality of things, distinct in genus, in species, and in individuals ; etc." V. "If any one does not admit that the world, and all things in it, whether spiritual or material, were produced, as to all their substance, by God from nothing ; or if any one says that God created, not by His will, exempt from all necessity, but just as necessarily as He loves Himself ; or if any one says that the world was not made for the glory of God ; etc." Then are read the CANONS ON REVELATION: I. "If any one says that the one and true God, our Creator and Master, cannot be known with certainty by the natural light of human reason (1), by means of created things ; let him be anathema." II. "If any one says that man cannot be, or ought not be instructed by divine revelation, concerning God and the worship due to Him ; etc." III. "If any one says that man cannot be divinely brought to a knowledge and perfection which are above his nature, but that man can and ought to arrive, by himself, at the acquisition of all truth, and attain to the possession of every good by a continual progress ; etc." IV. "If any one does not re-

(1) This condemnation would affect Huet, Kant, Bautain, Lamennais, and the Traditionalists, if they were living.

ceive the books of Scripture in all their integrity and every portion of them—*cum omnibus suis partibus*, according to their enumeration by the Council of Trent; or if he denies their divine inspiration; etc.” Then we meet the CANONS OF FAITH: I. “If any one says that human reason is independent, and that therefore God cannot command it to yield to faith; let him be anathema.” II. “If any one says that divine faith is not different from a natural knowledge of God and of morals, and that therefore it is not necessary, for divine faith, that the revealed truth be believed because of the authority of God revealing it; etc.” III. “If any one says that divine revelation cannot become credible through external signs, and that, consequently, men can be led to faith only by the interior experience of each one, or by private inspiration; etc.” IV. “If any one says that there can be no miracles, and that therefore all the narratives of miracles, even those in Holy Scripture, are to be classed among myths; or that miracles can never be known with certainty, and that the divine knowledge of the Christian religion cannot be satisfactorily proved by them; etc.” V. “If any one says that assent to the Christian faith is not free, but that it is necessarily produced by arguments of human reason; or that the grace of God is only necessary for living faith, which operates by charity; etc.” VI. “If any one says that the faithful and those who have not received the faith are in the same situation, and that therefore Catholics may reasonably doubt concerning the faith that they have received through the magistracy of the Church; that they should withhold their assent, until the credibility of faith is scientifically demonstrated to them; etc.” Finally, we have the CANONS ON FAITH AND REASON: I. “If any one says that there is no real mystery, properly so called, in divine revelation, and that every dogma of faith can be demonstrated and comprehended by a reason which has been trained rightly, according to natural principles; let him be anathema.” II. “If any one says that the teachings of human sciences should be received, even when those teachings are contrary to revealed doctrine; and that the Church has no right to proscribe such teachings; etc.” III. “If any one says that the progress of sci-

ence may sometimes rightly entail an interpretation of Catholic dogma in a sense different from that understood by the Church, etc." After these Canons had been read, the Pontiff said: "The Decrees and Canons contained in this Constitution have received the assent of all the synodals, without exception; and with the approbation of the Holy Council, we define them all as they were read, and we confirm them by our Apostolic authority." In reading this Constitution *Dei Filius*, the student will remember that there had been, before the Vatican Council, four systems in regard to the radical *criterium* of human certitude: I. The system of exclusive supernaturalism, defended principally by P. D. Huet, bishop of Avranches (d. 1721), and which accorded no value to reason, but recognized supernatural revelation as the sole criterion of certitude (1). II. The system of the *sensus communis*, advocated by Lamennais, and which found the sole criterion in the assent of the human race. III. The system of the Traditionalists, which was a blending of the two just mentioned, and recognized the intervention of human traditions as the sole certain means whereby the primitive revelation—itsself the origin of all human knowledge—was transmitted. IV. The system of Descartes, which recalls the teachings of Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, the Angelic Doctor, Malebranche, Fenélon, Bossuet, and many other luminaries. According to this system reason is indeed the prime motive of human certitude; demonstrating, as it does, the existence of God by means of its own, revealed to it by its consciousness. The reality of the primary cause being demonstrated, reason apprehends the existence of other motives of certitude, *e. g.*, supernatural revelation, and the general traditions of humanity. The definitions in the Constitution *Dei Filius* seem to endorse the Cartesian system.

We now approach that definition which will render the name of the Council of the Vatican familiar to Catholics unto

(1) A summary of Huet's system of general logic is contained in his sentence: "Philosophy can lead reason merely to a realization of its own weakness; and this experience causes it to wish for a guide who will lead it to truth. This guide is God; and faith consists in an entire reliance on the divine direction." *Huetism* must not be confounded with what is styled *Modern Huetism*, which derives its name from Francis Huet, who died in 1869, and who had successively evolved from Rigorism to Jansenistic Gallileanism, then to Richerism, and after the *Syllabus*, to Rationalism.

the end of time. We have said that with the exception of that of "Orthodox" Russia, none of the secular governments of Christendom prevented the bishops in their respective jurisdictions from obeying the summons of the Sovereign Pontiff; but it must not be forgotten that several of these governments, and notably those of nearly all the German states, had endeavored by every means short of open persecution to prevent the meeting of the Council. To some extent in France, and to a very great extent in Germany, there had existed among Catholics a school more or less hostile to the Holy See, ever since Gregory XVI. had condemned the writings of certain French publicists, and since Pius IX. had reprobated the attempt of certain German professors to withdraw all worldly affairs from the influence of Divine Revelation. These gentry became phenomenally active when, on the occasion of the Eighteenth Centenary of the Martyrdom of St. Peter, Pius IX. announced his intention of convoking an Œcumenical Council to the more than five hundred bishops then assembled in Rome (1). It was generally understood that the promulgation of the dogma of Papal Infallibility would be the chief object of the synodals; and immediately there descended on Europe a shower

(1) "If we look upon the Centenary only as a demonstration of moral power and of the superiority of the moral over the material order of the world, it has a deep significance. Pius the Ninth was at that moment in the crisis to which the Italian revolution of so many years had been advancing. All protection of the Catholic powers of the world, of whom France had been till then the mandatory, had been withdrawn. He knew that the Revolution would come to Rome again with more formidable power than in 1848. '*Verrà fin qui*,' as he said in his farewell to the generals of the French army. In the face of all menace, and with the certainty of the coming revolution, Pius the Ninth had the year before convened the Catholic episcopate to meet in Rome in 1867. No event, excepting the Council of the Vatican, has, in our age, manifested so visibly to the intellect, and so palpably even to the sense of men, the unity, universality, unanimity, and authority of the only Church which alone can endure St. Augustine's two tests, *cathedra Petri* and *diffusa per orbem*—union with the See of Peter, and expansion throughout the world. The Centenary was a Confession of faith, without an accent of controversy. Even those who were not of the unity of the Church recognized it as such. Whosoever believed in Christianity, and desired the spread of our Lord's kingdom upon earth, could not fail to see in that great gathering the wide foundations laid by the apostolic mission. Even they who reject certain Catholic doctrines, hold the Creed of the Apostles, which has been guarded by the Catholic Church. Even they who rest their faith on scriptures alone, still more they who rest it upon fathers and councils, know that the custody of all these is in the Church which assembled on that day round the centre of its unity. The world-wide Church is the great witness upon whose road testimony all Christians must ultimately rest. Take the Catholic and Roman Church out of the world, and where is Christendom?"—MANNING; *The True Story of the Vatican Council*, ch. 2. London, 1877.

of pamphlets which pretended to show that the proposed dogma was absurd in theology, contradicted by history, detrimental to the State, and destructive of human liberty. The pamphlets which appeared in France excited very little attention among the French Catholics, although in other countries the enemies of the Holy See flattered themselves that such publications showed that Gallicanism was still a living force. But in Germany there were very many Catholics whose defective logic rendered them easy victims of the sophisms and barefaced assertions with which diatribes like *Janus* attempted to vilify the See of Rome. *Janus* was the work of several persons ; but the directing hand in its production, and the one that wielded the pen when the most crucial matters were under treatment, was that of Döllinger, provost of the Chapter of Munich, a man of incontestable erudition, but one whose claims to ecstatic admiration were not always recognized outside of the German school which seemed to hold that ecclesiastical history had been *terra incognita* until the Bavarian canon revealed it to a thunderstruck world. Rome had not deemed it necessary to avail herself of the extravagantly lauded attainments of Dr. Döllinger when she was preparing for the Council, nor had she thought that the labors of the Conciliary consultors would be materially lessened by his presence among those coadjutors. Therefore it was that *Janus* was precipitated upon the world, and that, when the Church showed no signs of disturbance because of its appearance, the mask was dropped from the double face of the god, and he proposed some *Considerations for the Council*, in which he avowed himself a schismatic by the open denial that the Roman Church had any authority over the other Churches, and by the all but open declaration that he would not submit to any decisions of the imminent assembly which would not accord with his notions. It is not improbable that Döllinger was the author of the address which, under the date of April 9, 1869, and signed by Hohenlohe, the Bavarian prime-minister, was sent to all the governments of Europe, requesting those admirable judges in matters of religion to co-operate in preventing a definition of Papal Infallibility. "The sole dogmatic question which the *Jesuits*

are now agitating in Italy and Germany," remarked Hohenlohe, "and which Rome wishes the Council to decide, is that of the infallibility of the Pope. . . . I did think that one of the great powers ought to be the first to move in so grave a matter ; but since nothing has been yet projected, I have deemed it well to ask for an understanding which will protect the interests of all of us." Two months afterward, Hohenlohe again approached the more important cabinets ; and on this occasion he was supported by the Masonic government of Spain, which dared to flaunt in the face of the Pontiff the banner of Aranda, Pombal, and Choiseuil, declaring that France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Bavaria were ready to resist all ultramontane projects. Of course the Piedmontese usurpers of the pontifical sovereignty joined the anti-Catholic concert ; the cabinet of the Quirinal addressed a diplomatic note to each one of the powers, requesting it to join in a general resolve to prevent the meeting of the prelates of Christendom. In its despatch to the French government, the cabinet of Victor Emmanuel was joined by that of Bavaria ; the fantastic King Louis having descended from the nebulous regions of his predilection, in order to endorse the wish of Hohenlohe that Napoleon III. should remove the French brigade from the Eternal City, "in order to insure the freedom of the Council." Men like Döllinger and Hohenlohe should have foreseen that such proceedings, accompanied by every possible effort to decry beforehand the authority of the Church in General Council assembled, would inevitably defeat the intention of their authors. As Manning observes, "The effect of this deliberate, wide-spread, and elaborate attempt to hinder the definition of the infallibility of the head of the Church, by controlling the Council and obstructing its freedom, was as might be expected. It insured the proposing and passing of the definition. It was seen at once that not only the truth of a doctrine, but the independence of the Church, was at stake. If the Council should hesitate or give way before an opposition of newspapers and of governments, its office as Witness and Teacher of Revelation would be shaken throughout the world. The means taken to prevent

the definition made the definition inevitable by proving its necessity. It was no longer a desire or conviction of individuals, but a sense of duty in the great majority of the bishops. . . . Pius the Ninth had neither desire nor need to propose the defining of his infallibility. Like all his predecessors, he was conscious of the plenitude of his primacy. He had exercised it in the full assurance that the faith of Christendom responded to his unerring authority; he felt no need of any definition. It was not the head of the Church nor the Church at large that needed this definition. The bishops in 1854, 1862, and 1867 had amply declared it. It was the small number of disputants who doubted, and the still smaller number who denied that the head of the Church can neither err in faith and morals, nor lead into error the Church of which he is the supreme teacher, that needed an authoritative declaration of the truth" (1).

The reader who has accompanied us attentively through the course of this work, will find no difficulty in replying to such historical objections as may be made against the dogma of Papal Infallibility. As to objections of another nature, such as that this dogma makes a demi-god of the Pontiff; that it makes a peccable man infallible; that it reduces the authority of the bishops; that it attacks the rights of civil governments; we must reply that all these objections had as much force before the promulgation of the dogma as they now possess. The infallibility of the Pope is sim-

(1) Among the "Inopportunist" bishops who were insulted, during the Council, by the eulogies of such papers as the *London Times* and the *Augsbourg Gazette*, as though their opposition to the definition stamped them as more than half-Protestants, one of the most distinguished was Mgr. Ketteler of Mayence. The protest which this prelate felt bound to emit against the praise of men whose principles he despised, is worthy of attention, especially because of its judgment on Döllinger. "There was a time when I was a grateful disciple of the Provost Döllinger, and when I respected him sincerely. During several years I attended all his lectures at Munich. I was then of one mind with him on almost all the great questions of ecclesiastical history. At a later period, in 1848, we were associated together as deputies in the German Parliament of Frankfort. Even at that date, when all the great questions of our time were so frequently agitated, I think that I coincided with him in his political views. I recognize with grief that there is now a complete opposition between the opinions of the Provost Döllinger and my own as to the substance of the question which actually occupies our attention. The Provost Döllinger has been publicly pointed out as having co-operated with the author of that libel which appeared under the name of *Janus*, and which is directed against the Church; and we have no evidence that he has hitherto thought fit to declare, as an obedient son of the Catholic Church, that he does not share the opinions which animate that work. The book of *Janus* is not only directed against the infallibility of the Pope, but even against his primacy, against that great and

ply the infallibility of the Church more precisely accentuated. There are no *new truths* in the Church; the Roman Pontiff was as infallible before July 18, 1870, as he is now; he has been infallible since our Lord conferred the prerogative on St. Peter; the Vatican Council merely sanctioned a dogmatic fact which certain parties contested. And this truth was accepted as such at once by the minority which had abstained from voting; even by the two who acquired a little notoriety by their *non-placet*. All who withheld their *placet* as bishops, immediately pronounced their *credo* as obedient children of the Holy See. It is not our intention, nor is it within our province as a historian, to enter on a theological defence of the dogma of Papal Infallibility; but we may be allowed to adduce the reasons which determined four hundred and fifty of the Fathers of the Vatican Council to send to the Commission on Postulates a petition that the doctrine of the infallibility of Christ's vicar should be discussed in the Council: "The Sacred Scriptures plainly teach the primacy of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, over the whole Church of Christ, and therefore also his primacy of supreme teaching authority. The universal and constant tradition of the Church, as seen both in facts and in the teaching of the Fathers, as well as in the manner of acting and speaking adopted by many Councils, some of which were Œcumenical, teaches us that the judgments of the Roman Pontiff in matters of faith and

divine institution in the Church to which we owe so manifestly, by means of her unity, the victories of the Church over all her adversaries in all ages. *Janus* is, moreover, a tissue of numberless falsifications of the facts of history, to which perhaps nothing but the *Provincial Letters* of Pascal can be compared for violation of truth. And not only has the Provost Döllinger failed up to the present time to disavow his co-operation with the author of *Janus*, but he is himself notoriously the anonymous author of the writing entitled *Considerations Presented to the Bishops of the Council on the Question of the Infallibility of the Pope*—a writing which is indeed much more moderate than *Janus*, but which is nevertheless so perfectly similar to it in general tone of thought, and betrays aim so exactly identical, that the world has justly inferred a most intimate connection between the authors of *Janus* and of the *Considerations*. . . . As to what concerns myself, and the notion that I may be one of those who agree with Dr. Döllinger as to the substance of the questions most earnestly debated at this moment, I formally declare that nothing can be less true. I am in agreement only with the Döllinger whose lessons formally filled his disciples with love and enthusiasm for the Church and the Apostolic See; I have *nothing in common* with the Döllinger whom the enemies of the Church and of the Apostolic See now load with praises.—† WILLIAM EMMANUEL, BARON VON KETTELER, Bishop of Mayence. Rome, February 8, 1870."—From the *Vatican* of February 25, 1870.

morals are irreformable. In the *Profession of Faith* which the Second Council of Lyons emitted with the consent of both Greeks and Latins, we read : ‘ When controversies in matters of faith arise, they must be settled by the decision of the Roman Pontiff.’ Moreover, in the Œcumenical Council of Florence, it was defined that ‘ the Roman Pontiff is Christ’s true vicar, the head of the whole Church, and father and teacher of all Christians ’ ; and that ‘ to him, in Blessed Peter, was given by Jesus Christ the plenitude of power to rule and govern the Universal Church.’ And sound reason teaches us that no one can remain in communion of faith with the Catholic Church who is not of one mind with its head, since the Church cannot be separated from its head even in thought. Yet some have been found, and are even now to be found, who, boasting of the name of Catholic, and using that name to the ruin of those weak in faith, are bold enough to teach that sufficient submission is yielded to the authority of the Roman Pontiff, if we receive his decrees in matters of faith and morals with an obsequious silence, as it is termed, without yielding internal assent, or at most with a provisional assent, until the approval or disapproval of the Church has been made known. Anyone can see that by this perverse doctrine the authority of the Roman Pontiff is overturned, all unity of faith dissolved, a wide field opened to errors, and time afforded for spreading them far and wide. Wherefore the bishops, the guardians and protectors of Catholic truth, have endeavored, especially in our day, to defend in their synodal decrees, and by their united testimony, the supreme authority of the Apostolic See. But the more clearly Catholic truth has been declared, the more vehemently has it been attacked both in books and in newspapers, for the purpose of exciting Catholics against sound doctrine, and preventing the Council of the Vatican from defining it. Therefore, although many might have doubted the opportuneness of declaring this doctrine in the present Œcumenical Council, it would seem now to be absolutely necessary to define it. For Catholic doctrine is now once more assailed by those same arguments which men, condemned by their own conscience,

used against it in old times; arguments which, if carried to their ultimate consequences, would bring to the ground the very primacy of the Roman Pontiff and the infallibility of the Church itself; and to which, also, is frequently added the most violent abuse of the Apostolic See. Nay, more; the most bitter assailants of Catholic doctrine, though calling themselves Catholics, are not ashamed to assert that the Synod of Florence, which so clearly declares the supreme authority of the Roman Pontiff, was not Œcumenical. If, then, the Council of the Vatican, being thus challenged, were to be silent, and omit to give testimony to the Catholic doctrine on this point, then Catholics would, in fact, begin to doubt the true doctrine, and the lovers of novelty would triumphantly assert that the Council had been silenced by the arguments brought forward by them. They would, moreover, abuse this silence on every occasion, and openly deny the obedience due to the judgments and decrees of the Apostolic See in matters of faith and morals, under pretext that the judgment of the Roman Pontiff is fallible on such points. Wherefore the public good of Christianity seems to require that the Holy Council of the Vatican, professing once again, and explaining more fully, the Florentine decree, should define clearly, and in words that can admit of no doubt, that the authority of the Roman Pontiff is supreme, and therefore exempt from error, when in matters of faith and morals he decrees and ordains what is to be believed and held by all the faithful of Christ, and what to be rejected and condemned by them. There are, indeed, some who think that this Catholic truth should not be defined, lest schismatics and heretics should be driven still further from the Church. But, above all other considerations, Catholics have a right to be taught by the Œcumenical Council what they are to believe in so weighty a matter, and one which has been of late so iniquitously attacked, lest this pernicious error should in the end infect simple minds and the masses of people unawares. Hence it was that the Fathers of Lyons and of Trent deemed themselves bound to establish the doctrine of the truth, notwithstanding the offence that might be taken by schismatics and heretics.

For if these seek the truth in sincerity, they will not be repelled. On the contrary, they will be drawn toward us, when they see on what foundations the unity and strength of the Catholic Church chiefly repose. But should any leave the Church in consequence of the true doctrine being defined by the Œcumenical Council, these will be few in number, and such as have already suffered shipwreck in the faith; such as are only seeking a pretext to abandon, by an overt act, that Church which, as they plainly show, they have already deserted in heart. These are they who have never shrunk from disturbing our Catholic people; and from the snares of such men the Council of the Vatican ought to protect the faithful children of the Church. For all true Catholics, taught and accustomed to render the fullest obedience both of thought and word to the Apostolic decrees of the Roman Pontiff, will receive with joyful and devoted heart the definition of the Council of the Vatican concerning his supreme and infallible authority."

These reasons for the opportuneness of the definition produced a deep impression on the minds of many of those prelates who were really sincere in their opposition; but outside of the Council, nearly the entire school of Dollinger continued to hug the delusion that beyond the sphere of "German science" there were no Catholics who were not unmitigated dunces (1). In France and in England, an agitation continued also among those nondescripts who termed themselves "Liberal Catholics," persons whose "Liberalism" did not forbid an association with Gallicanism, the child of Cæsarean despotism; in fact, just as in the seventeenth century certain men were Gallicans merely because they were unreasonably royalists, so in our day others were Gallicans because they were "Liberals"—an astounding union, but as real as strange. These modern Gallicans

(1) Manning cites a passage from the *Augsburg Gazette*, in which the following piece of bombast occurs: "If *German science* had not saved its position, and been able to establish a firm opposition in the Council, even in contradiction to its own will, and kept it alive, and if our Lord God had not also set stupidity and ignorance on the side of the Roman Court and of the majority, the governments would have been put to shame in the sight of the whole world. Prince Hohenlohe is the only statesman possessed of a deep insight into this question, and by degrees he has come to be regarded as belonging to the minority."—*Friedrich's Diary*, p. 202.

forgot that, as we have shown in previous dissertations, their pet theory was the product of the despotism of Philip the Fair; that Louis XIV. imposed it on France by force; that Napoleon revived it as a promoter of his ambition; and that every species of tyranny, whether of the throne or of the mob, has always regarded it as one of its best weapons. The most energetic of the champions of dying Gallicanism was Mgr. Maret, titular bishop of Sura; but probably the most influential among all the writers of this school was the learned and pious Oratorian, the Abbé Gratry, who essayed to combat the infallibilists with historical weapons, but only to be defeated by such scholars as Dom Guéranger, the abbot of Solesmes, and Amédée de Margerie. The enemies of the Holy See were elated when Gratry assumed the championship of the Gallican thesis; but they were undeceived as soon as the Conciliar decision was rendered. The biographer of the zealous Oratorian (1) transcribes the following letter, which may be regarded as representing the views of all those "inopportunists" whom the Judæo-Protestant press of that day so grievously misrepresented. "When the era of polemics was opened in the Church, I fought according to my conscience and my right. You approved my course, and I was gratified by the approval. Therefore, now that the decision has been rendered, I am sure that you approve of my submission. What course would be pursued to-day by St. Francis de Sales, by St. Vincent de Paul, or by Fénelon and Bossuet? You know, and we all know, that none of them would think for an instant of separating from the Church. You know very well that I would never entertain such a thought; and if I did harbor it, you and all of my comrades, without exception, would try to prevent its actuation. Now, without entering into a theological discussion, allow me to make one remark, as it were, incidentally. I fought against the idea of an *inspired* infallibility, and the decree of the Council has rejected that idea. I combatted a *personal* infallibility, and the decree establishes an *official* infallibility. I feared an infallibility which would be *scien-*

(1) *Father Gratry, His Last Days, and His Spiritual Testament*; by Father Adolph Perraud, afterward Bishop of Autun, and Member of the French Academy. Paris, 1872.

tific, political, and governmental : but the decree inculcates a *doctrinal infallibility* ; and *in matters of faith and morals*. And I do not wish to deny that I may have committed errors in my polemics. Undoubtedly I have erred in this matter, just as in others ; but when I have realized my fault, I have retracted, and I have not felt at all humiliated by the action." Such also were the sentiments of Mgr. Dupanloup, the recognized leader of the "inopportunist," when, as he was about to depart for Rome, he said to his flock : "Summoned by the Supreme Head of the Church, I now go to the Council. I go as a judge and witness of the faith. With the aid of Our Lord, I shall be a free, attentive, and firm judge,—one without any human respect ; and I shall be a vigilant and faithful witness. And when the Council shall have terminated, no matter whether its decisions prove conformable or not to my wishes, I shall return to you submissive to all the decrees, submissive without any effort, submissive with tongue and with heart, and as docile as the humblest sheep of my flock" (1).

(1) Justice to the "inopportunist" demands attention to the reasons which led them to believe that, considering the circumstances of the time, it was not expedient to define Papal Infallibility as an article of faith : I. No necessity or urgent reason exists for such a definition, because the whole episcopate and the whole priesthood of the Church, and the whole body of the faithful, few excepted, have always received, and at this present time receive, with veneration and docility, the doctrinal decisions of the Pontiffs, and recently those of Pius the Ninth. II. For the determination of all controversies, and for the solution of all doubts, the decree of the Council of Florence respecting the supreme authority of the Roman Pontiff as universal doctor, together with the creed enjoined by Pius the Fourth, after the Council of Trent, is sufficient. III. In order to decide and to determine with exactness the question of the infallibility, it would not be enough simply to declare the Pope to be infallible. It would also be necessary to declare, and that by a decree, the form and the mode in which the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff is to be exercised and known ; which would be a difficult question, and would involve the authority of the Holy See in many new and grave complications. IV. The making of such a definition would be exposed to this grave difficulty. Suppose the bishops not to be unanimous, what course should then be taken ? Suppose, again, that they were unanimous in declaring the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff to be a revealed doctrine, would they not, in the very act of defining the dogma, seem to profess that there is no authority in defining the faith inherent in the Episcopate ? V. Such a definition would not only be of doubtful utility. It would probably hinder the hope of reuniting the Eastern Churches to the Holy See, for the Greeks and Orientals recoil from every new word. It is well known what serious and endless controversies the single phrase *Filioque* has stirred up. For which reason, in the Profession of Faith enjoined by Gregory the Thirteenth for the Greeks, and by Urban the Eighth and Benedict the Fourteenth for the other Orientals, the very words of the Florentine decree, without any change or addition, were retained. VI. Such a definition might retard also the return, which we so much desire, of Protestants to the unity of the Church, inasmuch as the new dogma would excite and increase in large numbers a prejudice against the Catholic Church, and especially against the Roman Pontiff, thereby rendering it more difficult for them to understand and to embrace the faith, by raising a suspicion

On May 13, 1870, Mgr. Pie, bishop of Poitiers, presented to the Council, in the name of the Commission On Faith, a report on the *Schema de Primatu et Infallibilitate Summi Pontificis*. There was more than poetic justice in this spectacle of the successor of St. Hilary, a prelate whose invincible faith and heroic struggles were well worthy of comparison with those of the great Doctor, addressing to the Council the first solemn and official words in favor of the infalli-

that the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility is a novelty unknown in earlier ages. VII. This question might possibly raise divergencies among the bishops, who are now of one mind and heart in their reverence and obedience to the Holy See; a result which would be most disastrous. VIII. The deflating of the Pope's infallibility might also cause doubts, or, what is worse, dissensions among Catholics who are otherwise sound, and willingly submissive, from conviction, to the authority of the Church; and that because certain historical facts and documents are not as yet sufficiently explained, so that in many countries the minds of men are not yet prepared for such a definition. IX. Such a new decree would be no remedy for the perversity of the few persons who reject the decisions of the Supreme Pontiff, and appeal from them to a General Council, as to a higher judge of controversies, forasmuch as their error comes not from the intellect, but from perversity of will. There is a difference also between a definition of the infallibility of the Pope and that of any other Christian doctrine. In the latter case, the authority of the Church may be sufficient to overcome any doubt. In the former it is the authority itself, the principle of all certainty in faith, which is in question. Would it not, therefore, be more prudent to spare the weakness of those who are not yet able to bear this definition? X. It may be feared also, lest, by a perversion of the true sense of such a decree, some may be induced to despise the authority given by Our Lord to bishops, especially in the condemnation of rash and pernicious opinions in philosophy and theology. XI. Again, it may be feared lest bishops, whom for some years the Holy See has been calling into activity, by discouraging them from sending to Rome in the first instance all doubts about books and matters of which it is their office to judge, might by such a definition be rendered more slack and backward in exercising their episcopal office of judges of doctrine. XII. Probably it would soon follow from such a definition, by reason of the nature of man, that not only matters of doctrine on which the supreme decision of the Church is desired, but other kinds of business also, would be sent to Rome for decision, so that everything would crowd in upon the centre of unity. And great as are the experience, prudence, and authority of the Roman Congregations, such a course would not be for the prosperity of the Universal Church; for the Church, as the Holy Ghost teaches, is a body; but the health of a body depends on the force and motion of all and each of the members. "If all were one member, where were the body?" (1 Cor. xii. 19). Nobody doubts that the chief member of the body is the head, and that in it, as in its centre and seat, the vital force and guidance reside; and yet not one will say that the soul resides in the head alone, which is rather diffused as its form throughout the members of the whole body. Commenting on these arguments of the "inopportunist," Manning thus summarizes them: "Let that suffice which has been already declared and has been believed by all—namely, that the Church, whether congregated in Council or dispersed throughout the world, is always infallible, and the Supreme Pontiff, according to the words of the Council of Florence, is 'the teacher of the whole Church and of all Christians.' But as to the mysterious gift of infallibility, which by God is bestowed upon the Episcopate united to the Pope, and at the same time is bestowed in a special manner on the Supreme Pontiff, it may be left as it is. The Church, as all Catholics believe, whether in an Œcumenical Council, or, by the Pope alone, without a Council, guards and explains the truths of revelation. It is not expedient or opportune to make further declarations, unless a proved necessity demand it, which necessity at present does not appear to exist."

bility of the Roman Pontiff, and thus confirming to Catholic France the pre-eminently filial position in regard to the Holy See, which had been hers until a comparatively modern governmental France obscured her Christian glory (1). Many discussions ensued; and finally, in the Fourth Public Session of the Council, held on July 18, the question of Papal Infallibility was settled for all time. Three days before this consummation, it had transpired in Rome that Napoleon III. had declared war against Prussia; and the infallibilist prelates had besought the Pontiff to press the synodals to bring their labors to a conclusion. On the 15th, Mgr. Simor, primate of Hungary, accompanied by the archbishops of Paris, Milan, and Munich, and by the bishops of Dijon and Mayence, had urged Pius IX. to defer, or at least to modify the definition; but they had been told that circumstances forbade procrastination, and that the Council would permit no modifications in the decree which it had resolved to pronounce (2). On the 17th, fifty-five of the bishops, those who formed the anti-infallibilist minority, had announced their intention of abstaining from attendance at the crucial session; but four prelates, who had hitherto acted with the dissidents, the archbishops of Rheims, Avignon, and Sens, and the bishop of Viviers, had joined the majority. The ceremony of the definition was grand, but simple, as befitted the subject, and the place where the decision was promulgated. At eight o'clock on the morning of July 18, 1870, the synodals, to the number of 535, vested in their pontifical habiliments, took their accustomed places in the Conciliar Hall, that is, in the transept at the right of the Tomb of the Apostles in the Vatican Basilica. The Mass of the Holy Ghost was then celebrated; and as it finished, His Holiness and his court entered the assembly. All the shepherds of Israel then knelt; and the Supreme Pontiff recited the prayer *Adsumus, Domine, Sancte Spiritus*, after which came a series of hymns, litanies, and prayers, which lasted nearly an hour. During the Litany of the Saints, when the invocation *Ut*

(1) See our Vo'. iv., p. 229 *et seqq.*

(2) Letter of Cardinal Donnet to M. Alazarde, author of the *Life of Mgr. Delalle, Bishop of Rodez*.

Domnum Apostolicum et omnes ecclesiasticos ordines in sancta religione conservare digneris had been chanted, the Pontiff arose, and with the mitre on his head, and holding in his left hand the cross instead of a crozier (1), he blessed the synodals six times as he chanted: “*Ut hanc sanctam Synodum, et omnes gradus ecclesiasticos, benedicere digneris! Ut hanc sanctam Synodum, et omnes gradus ecclesiasticos, benedicere et regere digneris! Ut hanc sanctam Synodum, et omnes gradus ecclesiasticos benedicere, regere, et conservare digneris!*” and all the Fathers, in unison with the immense concourse of the faithful, took up the refrain: “*Te rogamus, audi nos!*” When the Litany had been finished, Cardinal Capalti sang the Gospel according to St. Matthew, XVI., 13, *et seqq.* Then the Pope handed to Mgr. Valengiani, bishop of Fabriano, the text of the Dogmatic Constitution *De Ecclesia Christi*, the fourth chapter of which contained the decree on the pontifical infallibility; and ascending to the pulpit, the prelate read the document to the synodals, concluding with the formal question: “Most Reverend Fathers, do the decrees and canons contained in this Constitution please you?” Then each synodal was called by name, in accordance with his hierarchical dignity and his place in order of seniority, to pronounce his *placet* or *non placet*; the “scrutators” carefully recording each vote. When all had voted, the Secretary and the Prothonotaries of the Council approached the pontifical throne, and kneeling, announced to His Holiness that 535 Fathers had voted; 533 having declared *placet*, and only 2 *non placet*. The two prelates who distinguished themselves by their negative pronouncements, and whom Providence probably permitted to so act in order that it might be seen that the synodals enjoyed perfect freedom, were Louis Riccio, bishop of Casazzo in the late Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and Edward Fitzgerald, bishop of Little Rock in the United States of America. When the result of the voting had been communicated to the Pontiff, he arose, and confirmed the decrees by his Apostolic authority.

(1) The Roman Pontiff alone, among all bishops, uses no crozier. It is said that this custom originated in the first centuries of the Church, in order to perpetuate the tradition, according to which St. Peter gave his crozier to St. Martial, that by its touch a companion of the latter might be restored to life.

The text of the Fourth Chapter of the First Constitution on the Church of Christ, which is a kind of introduction to the decree on the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, is as follows : “ Moreover, that the supreme power of teaching is also included in the Apostolic Primacy, which the Roman Pontiff, as the successor of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, possesses over the whole Church, this Holy See has always held, the perpetual practice of the Church confirms, and Œcumenical Councils also have declared, especially those in which the East with the West met in the union of faith and charity. For the Fathers of the Fourth Council of Constantinople, following in the footsteps of their predecessors, gave forth this solemn profession : ‘ The first condition of salvation is to keep the rule of the true faith. And because the sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ cannot be passed by, Who said : Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church (1). These things which have been said are proved by events, because in the Apostolic See the Catholic Religion has always been kept undefiled and her holy doctrine proclaimed. Desiring, therefore, not to be in the least degree separated from the faith and doctrine of that See, we hope that we may deserve to be in the one communion, which the Apostolic See preaches, in which is the entire and true solidity of the Christian religion’ (2). And, with the approval of the Second Council of Lyons, the Greeks professed that the Holy Roman Church enjoys supreme and full Primacy and pre-eminence over the whole Catholic Church, which it truly and humbly acknowledges that it has received with the plenitude of power from our Lord Himself in the Person of blessed Peter, Prince or Head of the Apostles, whose successor the Roman Pontiff is ; and as the Apostolic See is bound before all others to defend the truth of faith, so also if any questions regarding faith shall arise, they must be defined by its judgment. (3) Finally, the Council of Florence defined (4) : ‘ That the Roman Pontiff is the true Vicar of

(1) ST. MATTHEW, XVI. 18.

(2) From the Formula of S. Hormisdas, subscribed by the Fathers of the Eighth General Council (Fourth of Constantinople), A. D. 869.

(3) From the Acts of the Fourteenth General Council (Second of Lyons), A. D. 1274.

(4) From the Acts of the Seventeenth General Council of Florence, A. D. 1438.

Christ, and the Head of the whole Church, and the Father and Teacher of all Christians; and that to him in blessed Peter was delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ the full power of feeding, ruling, and governing the whole Church' (1). To satisfy this pastoral duty our predecessors ever made unwearied efforts that the salutary doctrine of Christ might be propagated among all the nations of the earth, and with equal care watched that it might be preserved genuine and pure where it had been received. Therefore the bishops of the whole world, now singly, now assembled in synod, following the long-established custom of Churches (2), and the form of the ancient rule (3), sent word to this Apostolic See of those dangers especially which sprang up in matters of faith, that there the losses of faith might be most effectually repaired, where the faith cannot fail (4). And the Roman Pontiffs, according to the exigencies of times and circumstances, sometimes assembling Œcumenical Councils, or asking for the mind of the Church scattered throughout the world, sometimes by particular Synods, sometimes using other helps which Divine Providence supplied, defined as to be held those things which with the help of God they had recognized as conformable with the Sacred Scriptures and Apostolic Traditions. For the Holy Spirit was not promised to the successors of Peter that by His revelation they might make known new doctrine, but that they might faithfully expound the revelation or deposit of faith delivered through the Apostles. And indeed all the venerable Fathers have embraced, and the holy orthodox Doctors have venerated and followed, their Apostolic doctrine; knowing most fully that this See of holy Peter remains ever free from all blemish of error, according to the promise of the Lord which was made to the Prince of His Apostles: 'I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren' (5). This gift, then, of truth and never-failing faith was conferred by heaven upon Peter and

(1) JOHN, xxi. 15-17.

(2) From a letter of St. Cyril of Alexandria to Pope St. Celestine I., A. D. 422.

(3) From a Rescript of Pope St. Innocent I. to the Council of Milevis, A. D. 402.

(4) From a letter of St. Bernard to Pope Innocent II., A. D. 1130.

(5) ST. LUKE, xxii. 32.

his successors in this Chair, that they might perform their high office for the salvation of all; that the whole flock of Christ, kept away by them from the poisonous food of error, might be nourished with the pasture of heavenly doctrine; that the occasion of schism being removed, the whole Church might be kept one, and, resting on its foundation, might stand firm against the gates of hell. But since in this very age, in which the salutary efficacy of the Apostolic office is most of all required, not a few are found who take away from its authority, we judge it altogether necessary solemnly to assert the prerogative which the only-begotten Son of God vouchsafed to join with the supreme pastoral office."

The Definition of the Pontifical Infallibility was couched in the following terms: "Therefore, faithfully adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian faith, for the glory of God our Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic religion, and the salvation of Christian people, the sacred Council approving, we teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed: that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*—that is, when in the discharge of the office of Pastor and Teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church—is, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church." It is difficult to comprehend how any statesman could have discerned any danger for the secular governments of Christendom in this Definition; how men like Gladstone, Bismarck, and Hohenlohe, could have fancied that the relations of the State with the Church would be of one kind, when a Pontifical Definition is obligatory on Catholics before the Church has assented to it, and of another kind when such a Definition needs the approval of the Church. To suppose that these statesmen were sincere in their anticipations of danger, would be to question their intellectual sanity; cer-

tainly their intelligence was not inferior to that of the Napoleonic Minister of Worship, Emile Ollivier, when he said to the bishop of Alger: "The question of papal infallibility is one of the internal affairs of the Church; it concerns her alone, and should be debated at Rome without interference." And is it not strange that none of these wise men of the world perceived that it was ridiculous for them, men who admitted neither the authority of the Roman Pontiff nor that of a General Council, to concern themselves as to whether the children of the Church recognized supreme authority in the Council rather than in the Pope, or in the Pope rather than in the Council? Were we to judge by the commentaries on the Vatican Council which Gladstone, Bismarck, Hohenlohe, and others of that ilk, emitted both before and after the assembly, we would believe that they credited the assumption which so many Protestants and infidels then cherished—that the Catholic Church had *deified* the Pope. "The Vatican Council," said the *London Times* of Feb. 17, 1877, "was so far the culminating yet utterly incomplete act in a drama elaborately arranged, step by step, to finish with the *deification* of the occupant of the See of Rome." Nor were such hysterics confined to the heterodox journalistic world; a polemical writer of some celebrity ventured to say in a work of some pretensions: "The same year which saw the overthrow of Cæsarism immediately after the plebiscite, witnessed also the Nemesis which overtook the spiritual pride of the Pontiff, now exalted to its highest pinnacle, and showed to him who arrogated to himself a *divine nature*, that God is a jealous God, Who will allow to none other the honor due to Himself" (1).

"In the Gospel of Jesus Christ," wrote Mgr. Dechamps, archbishop of Malines, "nothing is affirmed with such display of love and such wealth of expression, as the two dogmas which may be termed the heart and the head of the Church—the dogma of the Eucharist, and that of the supreme authority of Peter. It is not by veiling the first of these dogmas that the Church is to-day converting so many souls in Protestant England; on the contrary, these conver-

(1) GEFFKEN; *Church and State*, Vol. ii., p. 334.

sions are effected because the Church shows to her adversaries the heart of the God who lives in her tabernacles. And in the same manner the Church fears not to tear away the veil which unfortunate circumstances caused the Assembly of 1682 to throw over her face. The Church shows to all souls who seek God where they may find the words of eternal life in their fullness; and she makes this manifestation by the proclamation of that declaration, 'Thou art Peter, etc.,' with the same exultation with which she cites the words, 'I am the living bread which came down from heaven'" (1). Mgr. Mermillod, the illustrious victim of Swiss Protestant intolerance (raised to the Sacred College in 1891), said: "Jesus Christ has three existences,—His personal existence, which Arius contested; His sacramental existence, which Calvin denied; and that other existence, which completes the two others, and by means of which He continually lives, through His authority, in the person of His vicar. When the Council of the Vatican proclaims this third existence, it will finish the task of assuring the world of the possession of Jesus Christ" (2). But apparently these truths were not perceived by the survivors of Gallicanism and of German imperialism who proclaimed that a Definition of Papal Infallibility would disturb the peace and unity of the Church. These sincerely or affectedly timid souls had been accustomed to blame the supposed silence of Pope Honorius in the matter of Monothelitism as equivalent to formal heresy (3); and, nevertheless, they played the game of Sergius when they told Pius IX. that silence concerning papal infallibility should be the order of the day. St. Hilary would have reminded these gentry that peace and unity are certainly of inestimable value; but that "for the Church and the Gospel there is but one peace, 'that which resides in the truth which is in Jesus Christ.'" In all times we meet, observed the eloquent bishop who recently governed the see of St. Hilary, with certain insincere declaimers about peace and unity—"men who begin by separating

(1) Letter of Mgr. Dechamps, July 8, 1869, in the *Univers*, July 26, 1869.

(2) Discourse by Mgr. Mermillod in Rome, on the Octave of the Epiphany, 1869.

(3) See our dissertation on the alleged heresy of Pope Honorius, in Vol. I.

from the common teaching of the Church ; who create a system, and form a school ; and who, having begun hostilities against sacred tradition, then calmly appeal to the spirit of union in order to obtain at least a tacit recognition of their tenets. And there are always certain simple souls who, not perceiving the aggressive manœuvres of these schemers, are grieved and scandalized when the Church enters on a necessary defence " (1).

A favorite argument of the Catholic "inopportunists," before and during the Vatican Council, was based on their fear that a Definition of Papal Infallibility would render still more difficult the conversion of Protestants, schismatics, freethinkers, *et id omne genus*. Even had this fear been well-founded, it should not have prevented the promulgation of the dogma in question ; since in order to avoid an accidental evil, it is not allowable to commit an essential one. The first duty of the pastoral charge, one that is incumbent without any thought of those who are outside the fold, is to foster the faith of the children of the Church ; and the Council, inspired by the Holy Ghost (as every Catholic must believe), had deemed it necessary for the good of the Church to determine the dogma of infallibility with greater precision. And it must be remembered that, let things appear as they may, a Definition by a General Council can sin against charity no more than it can sin against truth. But is it true that the infallibility of the Pope renders the conversion of heretics, schismatics, and infidels more difficult than that conversion was in the days before the Council of the Vatican ? Certainly rationalists and freethinkers are no better disposed toward the infallibility of the Church, than toward that of the Pontiff. These self-fanciedly strong-minded persons are restrained from submission to the Church either by crass ignorance, or by their pride, or by their passions. Were there a case of dogmatic difficulty in their minds, it would not be a question of infallibility, either of Church or of Pontiff ; it would turn on the divinity of Our Lord, or on the existence of any supernatural order whatsoever. Rationalists, agnostics, etc., recognize no ecclesiastical infalli-

(1) Sermon by Mgr. Pie, delivered in Rome on the Feast of St. Hilary, 1870.

bility, because they will not admit that the Church is a divine institution ; if they regarded the Church as from God, they would concede her infallibility, and they would scarcely pause to ask whether that gift resided in the Church Universal, or in her head. But if they did inquire, probably they would prefer to find that the Roman Pontiff is the infallible teacher of things divine ; for, as the un-Catholic *Sicle* said, just before the Council : "An exactly defined position is more appreciable than a state of confusion. And is not the infallibility of the Pope already a matter of fact? And would it not be better to sanction as *de jure* that which is now *de facto*?" (1). As for the Eastern heretical Churches (whom an untheological phraseology styles "schismatical," merely because they possess a true priesthood), the Vatican Definition does not and cannot affect them. The oriental separatists hold aloof from Rome principally on account of the Catholic dogma of the Primacy of Peter ; if they could once resolve to trample on the pride with which Photius inoculated them, and to return to the Papal obedience which their ancestors acknowledged for eight centuries, they would not hesitate to proclaim the infallibility of the See of Peter. As for the effect which the doctrine of papal infallibility produces on Protestants, it is scarcely probable that if a Protestant of good faith once perceived that the Divine Saviour gave to His Church a monarchical government, he would not admit that the Pontiff is infallible as a teacher of religion. A fundamental error of all the Protestant sects is their view of the Church as a democracy ; like the oriental heretics, who see in the Church an aristocracy, Protestants reject the Catholic doctrine that the representative of Christ on earth is monarchical. Experience teaches that Protestants, once convinced of the general truth of the Catholic system, do not find the Vatican decrees an obstacle in their path to conversion.

The reader will scarcely expect us to devote time and space to a refutation of the stories of tumults, and even of violence, which the Protestant and infidel press of Europe and the United States described as having disgraced the

(1) Cited by Mgr. de Ségur, in his *Dogma of Infallibility*, p. 177. Paris, 1872.

Council of the Vatican. Only on two occasions, says Cardinal Manning, the ordinary calm and silence of the grave assembly were broken. "In its sessions no applause was ever permitted, no expressions of assent or dissent were allowed. The dead silence in which the members had to speak contrasted strangely with all other public assemblies. It was like nothing but preaching in a church. But on two occasions the speaker tried the self-control of his audience beyond its strength. Strong and loud expressions of dissent were made, and a very visible resentment, at matter not undeserving of it, was expressed. And yet nothing in the Council of the Vatican went beyond or even equalled events of the same kind in the Council of Trent. It is indeed true that one excess does not justify another; but the events prove that when men deliberate on matters of eternal import, they are more liable to be stirred by deep emotions than when they are occupied with the things of this world. When the prelates at Trent heard a speaker say that the archbishop of Salzburg claimed to confirm the elections of bishops, we read that they stirred up a mighty noise, crying: 'Out with him! 'Out with him!' Others repeated: 'Go out! Go out!' and others: 'Let him be anathema!' (1). Another turned to them, and answered: 'Be you anathema!' There may have been noise in the Council of the Vatican, but it did not reach this climax. Reference might be made to a certain debate on the 23d of March, in the year 1877, when the majesty of the Commons of England lost itself in clamor, chiefly because a majority declined to let a minority have its way. . . . It can be said with the simplest truth that not an animosity, nor an alienation, nor even a quarrel, broke the charity of the Fathers of the Council. They were opposed on a high sense of duty, and they withstood each other as men that are in earnest; if for a moment the contention was sharp among them, so it was with Paul and Barnabas; and if they parted asunder on the 18th of July, it was only for a moment, and they are now once more of one mind and of one heart in the world-wide unity of the infallible faith" (2).

(1) TREINER; *Genuine Acts of the Council of Trent*.

(2) The curious reader will find much information on this matter of discord among the

In our day the spirit of a pretended "Liberalism" has outlawed Jesus Christ, wherever it has predominated. It has banished His influence and His very name, so far as anything human or diabolic can banish them, from all national and social institutions over which it has succeeded in displaying its banner. It has overthrown the Christian basis of matrimony, and therefore has weakened the family tie; it has arrogated to its own exclusive hands the care and education of youth, and thus it has almost assured a succession of godless generations for the society of the future. The Council of the Vatican was convoked as a remedy for these and their innumerable consequent evils; its object was to unmask the enemy of Christian society, and to loosen the grasp of its Satanic hands. In proclaiming the infallibility of the Pope, this august assembly gave to the world a principle which regenerates authority; one which, in the course of time, will re-establish in society—so far as our fallen mortal condition will permit—order, peace, and unity. As Cardinal Antonelli well remarked, "the re-affirmation of the principle of authority in the Church and

synodals in the *History of the Vatican Council* by the Canon Eugene Ceeconi, afterward archbishop of Florence, a work which was written by command of Pius IX., who communicated to the author all of the original documents. There is one lucubration, however, among those which were impudently exploited by the enemies of the Holy See during the first years which followed the Council, which we cannot pass unnoticed. This diatribe was entitled *Eight Months in Rome During the Vatican Council*, and it purported to be from the pen of an eye-witness who hid his identity under the pseudonym of *Pomponio Leto*. In Italy its frequent blunders caused it to be ridiculed, even by the opponents of the Holy See; but in England, and especially in Germany, it was hailed as an unanswerable argument against the Council. Who was *Pomponio Leto*? He must be a cardinal, replied all the schismatics *in posse*. And they ascribed the pamphlet to Cardinal Vitelleschi, who could not repel the insult, since he was dead. When the principal heterodox journals of England and Germany had rung the changes on the alleged disgust of Cardinal Vitelleschi with the decrees of 1870, decrees for which His Eminence had voted, the Marquis Angelo Nobili Vitelleschi, a brother of the deceased prelate, sent the following letter for publication in England:

"Rome, January 8, 1877.

"I am grieved beyond measure that there should be in England anyone who still persists in the will to believe that the author of the book entitled '*Pomponio Leto*' was my lamented brother, Cardinal Vitelleschi. At the end of June last year, 1876, a protest was inserted in one English journal, signed by us, his brothers, in refutation of this odious calumny. I pray, however, that if thought fit, this renewed protest be inserted in some newspaper, by which I repel, on the part also of my brothers, this most false assertion. And I declare, with full certainty of my conscience, that Cardinal Salvatore Vitelleschi was not in any way the author of the said book; so that whosoever shall say the contrary falsifies shamelessly, and can only say it to outrage the Church of which my deceased brother was a member without reproach.

"(Signed) ANGELO NOBILI VITELLESCHI."

her head gives new strength and impulse to the civil power, which has the same divine origin and similar interests" (1). The Church has unhesitatingly torn off the veil which unfortunate circumstances allowed certain misguided men to throw over her, and thus to almost disguise her features; the work of the Assembly of the French Clergy in 1682 has been undone, and forever. Does the reader wonder how it came to pass that such eminent men as Bossuet denied the infallibility of the Pope? Well, few errors have not been received as truth by some eminent men. Luther and Calvin were not men of inferior mental calibre; and Saint-Cyran, Arnould, and Pascal, were pre-eminently intellectual. Gallicanism was born of the rage of Jansenists and parliaments against the Holy See. The former hated Rome because of her apostolic vigilance; and the latter hated her because she was the sovereign personification of that clerical element, of whose preponderance they were jealous. The two factions united to deceive Louis XIV., and to insinuate their spirit into that of many French bishops, and into that of the Theological Faculty of Paris. Fear of imaginary papal encroachments influenced the king; intimidations, promises of promotion, etc., affected many of the clergy. Grand as was the character of Bossuet, it was less grand than his genius. By approaching his weaker side, his tendency to what we may term monarcholatry, he was gained for the anti-papal cause; and if he did not write, he accepted the famous *Declaration of the Clergy*—a sort of Declaration of Independence, on the part of the king, against the Church; of the bishops against the Pope; and an assertion of the absolute rights of the crown over the bishops. In the conflict which followed, Louis XIV., more reasonable than his prelates, yielded, and withdrew his decree; but the bishops, led by Bossuet, persevered in their resistance. Finally, there appeared the celebrated *Defence of the Declaration*, generally (and perhaps mistakenly) attributed to Bossuet, which, according to Pope Benedict XIV., would have been put on the *Index*, had fear of schism not impelled Rome to leniency. As to the French ecclesiastics who have professed Gallican

(1) Instruction to the Papal Nuncio in France, Mch. 19, 1670.

principles in modern times, they have been actuated by national vanity, rather than impelled by distrust of the Vatican; and with very few exceptions, they have been more Roman than their theories. But Gallicanism is now a thing of the past, and it received its death-blow by an act which, according to its friends, was to endow it with renewed vigor.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE "OLD CATHOLICS" OR NEO-PROTESTANTS.

During several years previous to the convocation of the Council of the Vatican, anticipations of an imminent schism if the doctrine of Papal Infallibility were ever defined as a matter of faith, had been indicated in several countries by timid whisperings, and in Germany by open threats of rebellion. That an explosion of some kind, on the part of the religious freaks who vaunted themselves as "Liberal" Catholics, would take place on the first favorable occasion, had been made evident by the only partly-checked murmurs with which the promulgation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception was greeted in 1854; by the unfounded and perhaps affected indignation which was displayed on account of the Mortara affair in 1857 (1);

(1) The Church has always held that once that Baptism has been received by an infant, no human power, not even that of the parents, has the right to relegate the child to the condition of infidelity or of heresy. The Church has always held that when the child of a Pagan or a Jew has received Baptism, that child is to be taken from the parental custody, if such procedure is possible. However, the Church has never lost sight of those parental rights which she has always defended against the usurpations of the State. Therefore it was that from time immemorial, in the States of the Church, in order to prevent any secret baptism of Jewish infants, the Jews were forbidden to employ Christian servants; and Christians were forbidden, unless in a case of imminent danger of death, to baptize a Jewish babe. The Roman Jews, especially those of the wealthier and more cultured class, frequently violated the Papal proscription in this matter; and in 1857 the government learned that the child of a Bolognese Jew, named Mortara, when apparently in danger of death, had been baptized by a Christian servant-maid. Pius IX. enforced the law. The boy was entrusted to the Regular Clerks who have charge of the church of St. Peter "in Chains" in Rome—the *Rochettini*; and in time, having manifested an ecclesiastical vocation, he mounted to the altar. If the Protestant, Masonic, and avowedly infidel press of that day had been consistent with its own principles, it would not have howled so lugubriously over this "violation of parental rights." In no country where the foes of Catholicism have power, do they hesitate to ignore these "parental rights" in the interest of heresy and infidelity. And we would note here that while the anti-Catholic and demagogic press, especially in England and the United States, feigned much sympathy; and the fanatics of Exeter and Faneuil Halls shed oceans of crocodile tears over the

but especially by the displeasure consequent on the publication of the Bull *Quanta cura* and its accompanying *Syllabus* in 1864. And the menaces of these "Liberal" gentry were not despised by those who were the most zealous in promoting the Definition, for they knew that after the Council of Nice, which had defined the Divinity of Christ, eighty bishops separated from the communion of Rome; that after the Ephesine Council, which condemned Nestorianism, and defined the Divine Motherhood of Mary, thirty bishops rushed into the outer darkness of schism and heresy; that after the Council of Chalcedon, which defined that there are two natures in Our Lord, all the Monophysites departed from Catholic unity; and that the definitions of the Council of Trent confirmed the separation of the progeny of Luther, Cranmer, and Calvin, from the Church of God. But like the Fathers of the first three, and of all other General Councils, the Vatican Synodals did their duty; they knew that just as the Arian, Nestorian, and Monophysite heresies were not consequences, respectively, of the Councils of Nice, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, so the Council of the Vatican would not be responsible for any revolt against its God-given authority. There can be no comparison between a General Council and a human legislature which calmly ignores truth when expediency insists on such action. A General Council must proclaim the truth; as Cardinal Manning well remarked in his *True Story of the Vatican Council*, any deviation from the truth, on the part of a General Council, would be an apostasy; "even silence as to the truth would be a betrayal of it." In the olden time some thought that Pope Honorius had been silent in regard to theological truth; and for this reason he was censured in the Sixth General Council (1).

wrongs of the Mortara family; not a word was said concerning the case of the Jewish boy, Rosenthal, a case in which parental rights were more flagrantly violated than in the Mortara affair. In 1867, this boy, Rosenthal, was taken from the Catholic Polish school "des Batignolles" in Paris, in which he had been placed by his father; and he was then confined by the defenders of parental rights in a Jewish asylum, despite his own protests and those of his father, the latter being prohibited to hold any communication with his son until he arrived at his legal majority. All this procedure was effected by order of the Jewish Consistory of Paris. See the *Courrier de Lyon*, Jan., 1868.

(1) See our Vol. i., ch. 35.

During the debates of the Vatican Council, many mentally short-sighted men, self-fancied good theologians, tried to induce Pius IX. to do that which Pope Honorius was said to have done; but Pius IX. remembered that truth was not to be treated lightly, even by a Roman Pontiff. The pontifical duty toward truth, said Manning, is to guard and declare it. "For this cause the Council of Trent defined every doctrine which had been unhappily denied or distorted in controversy from the year 1517. It ranged its decrees along the whole line of the Lutheran aberration. Was the Lutheran separation the consequence of the Council of Trent? After the close of the Council of Trent, the separations which were foreseen became complete; but from that hour the Council of Trent has renewed and governed the Church. . . . The Church has been reproached as Tridentine. No greater honor could be paid to the Council of Trent. The Church is Tridentine in the sense in which it is Nicene, and in which it will henceforward bear the stamp of the Vatican Council. Every Œcumenical Council leaves its impression upon it, and all these impressions are clear and harmonious. The Church is not like a *codex rescriptus*, in which the later writings obliterate or confuse the former, but like the exquisite operations of art in which the manifold lines and colors and tints are laid on in succession, each filling up what the other begins, and combining all into one perfect whole. But it is certain that after the Councils of Nice and of Trent, the Arian and the Lutheran separations made many to fear lest evil had been done, and to doubt the prudence of the Council. . . . But we must not measure all events by ourselves, nor must we make our own times so much the centre of all things as to think what is needless to us cannot be needed by others now and hereafter. Œcumenical Councils look not at individuals only, but at the whole Church, and not at what may be needed by any one so much as what the truth demands. When the generation of to-day is past, and they who may have opposed or reluctantly acquiesced in what was not familiar to their youth are passed away, when the definitions of the Vatican shall have pervaded the living world-wide

faith of the Church like the definitions of Nice and of Trent, then it will be seen what was needed in the nineteenth century, and what the Vatican Council has accomplished. Then, in due time, it will be perceived that never was any Council so numerous, nor were ever the dissentient voices relatively so few; that never was any Council so truly Œcumenical both in its representation and in its acceptance; that never were the separations after it fewer, feebler, or more transient; and that never did the Church come out from a great conflict more confirmed in its solidity, or more tranquil in its internal peace. . . . Facts win at last. The prophecies of separations which were to follow have come to naught, and the prophets are silent in the presence of visible unity. The Church is 'unresting, un-hasting.' It hears calmly the counsels of its adversaries and the compassion of those who wish it no good; but it holds its peace. Time works for it. If science can say: '*Hominum commenta delet dies, nature judicia confirmat*,' the Church can say: '*Cælum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non præteribunt*.'"

It was not the Definition of Papal Infallibility that gave birth to the microscopic schism of the "Old Catholics," or, as they should have been styled, the "Neo-Protestants." The Definition was certainly the occasion for the manifestation of the petty monstrosity; but the parents were Prussian diplomacy and what was termed "German intelligence," the marriage of which at Munich, several months before the opening of the Council, was a conspiracy against the Church. The head of this conspiracy, if headship can be predicated of him who was but a willing instrument in the hands of Bismarck, was Döllinger, provost of the Cathedral Chapter of Munich, and for many years professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of the Bavarian capital. In days of a distant past, Döllinger had been one of that illustrious school which counted Joseph Görres among its leaders—a school which had extorted the admiration of even the Protestants of Germany, whom it kept within the bounds of decency. The provost had acquired a reputation as a professor and writer of ecclesiastical history; and Germans

regard certain passages of his works which defend the papal power which he afterward attacked, but which were written before an absurd adulation had turned his brain, as ornaments of their modern theological literature. Döllinger was seventy years of age when he conceived the idea of convoking a Congress of Catholic Theologians, which would convince all men that German theological science, and his own in particular, were truly phenomenal; and when the Holy See prohibited a continuance of such Congresses, because the provost and his adulators had seemed to forget that Christ had not confided the authoritative interpretation of His doctrine even to German professors, the entire "school of Munich" resented the prohibition as an insult to "German intelligence." Then the inflated professor began a series of public conferences on the temporal power of the Pope. The papal nuncio kindly attended at the first of these conferences; but when the prelate found that his presence was countenancing unjust criticisms of the government of the Pope-King, he left the hall. In order to defend the views he had expressed, Döllinger published a lengthy pamphlet, entitled *Church and Churches*, which did not help his ambition when the king of Bavaria named him for the see of Munich. Such was the man around whom were grouped all the elements which were hostile to the Holy See when the Council of the Vatican was convoked, and who was employed by Prussian diplomacy for its political purposes, and encouraged by Masourey for the actuation of its impious projects. Judging from a human point of view, one would have been justified in predicting a great measure of success for such a leader in the path of religious revolt. He had taught several generations of German ecclesiastics, many of whom then occupied eminent positions in the German hierarchy; and he flattered himself that so great was their admiration of his talents, so deep their affection for his person, that hundreds of them would follow when he would show the way. Then he was helped by what appeared to be a patriotic idea, a scheme which promised to work illimitable good for the German fatherland; he proclaimed the necessity, in the interests of Germany, of procuring religious

unity by removing from Catholicism everything that repelled Protestants from it, and which his judgment might regard as removable without injury to the deposit of faith. But when Döllinger raised his standard, he found that he had cherished an illusion in the matter of his personal magnetism. None of the German bishops rejected the decisions of the Vatican Council, although all of them had been strong "inopportunists"; and among the ecclesiastics of the second order, he raised for his diabolic enterprise a mere handful of recruits, very few of whom were remarkable for learning, and none of whom were noted for piety. The Prussian government had deluded itself with the fond hope that at least a portion of the German episcopate would draw so much encouragement from the Bismarckian intention to protect and reward all who would take a "patriotic" view of the dogma of Papal Infallibility, that they would shake the dust of the Vatican from their shoes, and enable the chancellor to found a National Church of Germany which would embrace Protestants and Catholics (and also Jews?). But the event proved that none of the German prelates believed in their own infallibility, as did the arrogant "German science" of the conspirators of Munich. Then a change came over the "patriotic" press of all Germany, and especially over the "reptile" press of Prussia. So long as the German bishops, in the exercise of that freedom which was allowed to all the synodals during the debates of the Vatican Council, had taken their stand with the "opposition," the official and Protestant journals had lauded their "truly German intelligence" and their sublime courage in resisting the "pressure of the court of Rome." As soon, however, as these same prelates bowed before the decision of the judges appointed by their Lord and Master, all good Germans were called to denounce their "besotted ignorance and pusillanimity." Then began that persecution which will engage our attention in the following dissertation—a persecution which the "Iron Chancellor" would never have undertaken, had not "Old Catholicism" appeared to him a powerful ally of that "historical necessity" which, according to him, was summoning Prussia to the height of power.

Frederick Fabri, one of the most fulsome of the flatterers of Bismarek, thus recognizes the intimate connection between "Old Catholicism" and "Borussianism": "That struggle (the so-called "War for Civilization") would have been difficult even for that great statesman in whose hands rests the future of more countries than Germany, if he had not been able to rely upon an ally in the religious camp. For this reason the 'Old Catholic' movement merits attention. Only by understanding that movement can we really comprehend the 'War for Civilization'; it explains how the ambition of the great statesman, who had just covered himself with glory by hitherto incredible exploits, was directed to new enterprises. The dream of many centuries, the unity of Germany, had been effected; the new empire had been constituted. Nevertheless, the best among our people deplored, as they had lamented for centuries, the religious dissensions of the Germans. Would it not be possible, after having put an end to political disorganization, to end all religious differences; to effect that long-desired separation of German Catholicism from Rome, and even to unite the discordant creeds in one National German Church?" (1).

From the day when the Prussian government took the arrogant professors of Munich under its protection in order to undermine, if possible, the authority of the Catholic Church in Germany, it manifested a paternal solicitude for the temporal welfare of the "patriotic" and "intelligent" tools of its policy. When the revolt had been proclaimed, the imperial chancellor deemed it wise to attempt a consolidation of the new heresy under the direction of a bishop who would be in reality an instrument of the German emperor. As a preliminary to this step, there was held in Munich, in 1871, a Congress of the "Old Catholics" for the purpose of discussing ways and means for procuring the formation of new parishes for their sect. Strange to say, Döllinger opposed this project; and when we read the speech which he delivered on this occasion, we feel that he was just then de-

(1) Cited by Mgr. Janiszewski, Auxillary Bishop of Posen and Gnesen, at one time Member of the Diet of Berlin, a Polish confessor of the faith in the Bismarekian persecution, in his *History of the Persecution of the Catholic Church in Prussia (1870-1879)*, p. 77. Paris, 1879.

bating as to the need of retracing his steps. "Once that you set up altar against altar; once that you oppose pastor to pastor, and commune to commune; you plunge into schism. If you tread the path which you are now laying out, you labor under a delusion when you assert that you still belong to the Catholic Church; for your acts will belie your words. You cannot claim rights which are utterly opposed to each other; but you attempt to do so, when you style yourselves members of the Catholic Church, and exercise her pastoral functions, while, at the same time, you assume the right of erecting separate parishes. If we are, and if we wish to remain members of the Catholic Church, we must recognize her actual constitution, her actual form, and to a certain extent, him who possesses the supreme authority. If we do not act thus, we become foes to a number of Catholic peoples. Our sole legal recourse must be defence. If any one does violence to our consciences, we have the absolute right to defend ourselves; but if we pass this limit, the whole world will tell us that we pretend in vain to belong to the Catholic Church. We will be told that our affirmation involves a patent contradiction; since at the same time we are founding a new Church, or, as the world styles it, a sect... I entreat you not to exhibit to the world such an inconsistency as is involved in a pretence of being Catholics, while you are founding a new sect... We ought to remain in the Church. I have passed all my life in studying the history of the Church; I know the beginning, course, and end of every sect and heresy. I know all the Churches well; not only the Catholic, but the Greek and Protestant, those of England and those of America; and I know whither division inevitably leads. Relying on this knowledge, I warn you not to form what the Catholic world styles a sect, and what will certainly be a sect." These words produced no impression in the minds of those who were already sectarians; and indeed they were soon ignored by the orator himself. In 1873 the "Old Catholics" held a Congress in Cologne, and chose Joseph Reinkens, professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of Breslau, for their bishop. This unfortunate, being unable

to find in the entire Catholic world a bishop sufficiently sacrilegious to consecrate him to the episcopacy, had recourse to the infinitesimal schismatical organization which still recalls the memory of Jansenism in Holland (1); and on Aug. 11, 1873, he was made a bishop by Heykamp, then the Jansenist bishop of Deventer. We have not been able to learn whether Heykamp assigned to his spiritual son any particular "title"; whether he regarded him as bishop of all Germany, or as merely a bishop *in partibus sacrilegorum*; but certainly the Jansenist prelate conferred no jurisdiction on Reinkens, since he himself did not even pretend to exercise any jurisdiction outside of Holland. The Roman Pontiff gave no jurisdiction to the prospective head of the "National Church of Germany." Whence, then, did the audacious leader of the "Old Catholics" derive his faculties? Undoubtedly from the man who made him a charge on the public purse, and who commissioned him as catechist-general for the German Empire. This source of jurisdiction was the recently proclaimed William I.; and by his attitude toward Reinkens he posed as the *Summus Pontifex Imperii*. "What a coincidence of facts," exclaims Mgr. Janiszewski, "deriving from the same principles, although separated by a distance of many centuries! The Roman emperors, in the days of Paganism, also held the office of supreme pontiff in religious matters. The object of the German government was evident. . . . It hoped that an episcopal authority, one able (ostensibly) to provide for all spiritual necessities, would prove to be an efficacious trap for the Catholics." And above all, Bismarck yearned for practical results. He had grown tired of the futile polemics of "German science" against the Church and the Papacy; and, as he said one day to some intimate friends: "I would cheerfully throw over all those erudite professors for one Kamienski" (2). That the unscrupulous chancellor had anticipated grand results from this creation of a phantom of a bishop for the sect at whose birth he had officiated as *ac-*

(1) See our Vol. IV., ch. 14.

(2) A subservient creature of Catharine II., who was rewarded with the see of Moscow.

coucheur, is evident from the following bombastic and inane utterances which his particular organ, the *North German Journal*, emitted shortly after the consecration: "According to the decrees of Eternal Wisdom, there must be a providential significance in the election of so grand a man to be missionary-bishop of all Germany. His consecration was performed in the ancient manner, conformably to the usages of the Church, and in the Apostolic Succession. . . . Just as the personality of Reinkens seems to indicate that he was created to be a reformer of the Catholic Church, so the time of his election and consecration was arranged by Providence in order to fructify the work of reformation, and to consummate, in his days, the religious unity of all Germany. . . . At the very moment, we may say, when the bishops of Prussia were refusing that obedience to the laws of the State to which they are bound by God and by their consciences, and when they were solemnly avowing their disobedience, Reinkens, that grand man who is so enthusiastic for all that is noble, and who is therefore devoted to the emperor and the empire, was elected and proclaimed *bishop of Germany* by a patriotic clergy and by seculars; and in the pastoral which he published immediately after his consecration, he declared that he would be a German bishop, with a German heart, and using the German language." The prognostications of this and other Bismarckian journals were falsified very speedily; and it is strange that acumen like that of the German chancellor did not perceive that an ally who cannot stand on his own feet is of little or no value. Only a semblance of life had been infused into the Neo-Protestants by the breath of a public opinion which had been created by fraud; by surrounding them with the dubious prestige of a "German intelligence" which boasted that it put the world to shame; and, finally, by rich governmental endowments and ostentatious governmental protection. The new sect began to show at once that it could not serve the cause of a German national religious unity; that it was incapable of preserving its own measure of religious truth. Not once did its members meet in synod without discarding some article of the faith which they had brought from their Mother Church, or

without abrogating some almost essential law of discipline.

On Oct. 7, 1873, Reinkens, as "a Catholic bishop in Prussia," took the oath of fidelity to the German emperor at the hands of Falk, the Prussian Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and of Public Instruction. The imperial order, recognizing Reinkens as a "Catholic bishop," was couched in the form usually adopted in the recognition of legitimate bishops; but a change was made in the words of the oath before it was submitted to the schismatic prelate. Reinkens was made to swear not only that he would be faithful to his emperor and king, but also that he would obey "conscientiously *all* the laws of the State." Such a promise, which possibly could have been made with safety by a *Catholic* bishop in ordinary circumstances, since that prelate would naturally suppose that a State calling itself Christian would not command anything contrary to the laws of God, was, on the part of a man who knew well that the Prussian government was about to promulgate its diabolic "May Laws," an admission that he was merely a slavish creature of the cabinet of Berlin. Bismarck affected to be well satisfied with the docility of Reinkens, as manifested when the poor man took this oath; but the chancellor deliberately closed his eyes to the fact that by the recognition of a schismatic prelate as a "Catholic bishop," he himself had violated the laws of Prussia. At that time the relations between the Catholic Church and the Prussian government were regulated by the Concordat which was contained in the Papal Bull *De Salute Animarum*, a Bull which, by an imperial order dated Aug. 23, 1871, had been pronounced "a statute for the Catholic Church in Prussia, obligatory on all persons whom it concerned." This "statute" established eight bishoprics in Prussia, defining the limits of each diocese, and determining the manner in which the Cathedral Chapters, in concert with the government, should elect the bishops. It was the province of the Holy See to approve or annul the elections; and only when the Pontiff had approved an election, could the government, according to the "statute," acknowledge the elect as "a Catholic bishop." But in the case of Reinkens, the government recognized as a "Catholic bishop" a

ninth prelate, for whom, according to the "statute," there was no place in the Prussian hierarchy. And the government carried its audacity so far as to acknowledge as a "Catholic bishop" a man who had not been chosen, as the law demanded, by a Cathedral Chapter, but by a body which possessed no ecclesiastical status, and was mainly composed of seculars. Finally, the chancellor contemned the "statute," when he dared to introduce to the Germans as a "Catholic bishop" a man whom the Roman Pontiff had excommunicated by name. With reason, therefore, did Malinckrodt thus reprove Falk, the agent of Bismarck, from his place in the parliament: "In the presence of the representatives of the State, and of the entire State, I accuse the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, the Minister who repeats continually that the laws of the State must be respected scrupulously, of having himself violated those laws. His crime is that of having, by an order of the cabinet dated Sept. 19, 1873, and countersigned by himself, recognized the bishop, Reinkens. I would make no objection if the Minister had recognized Reinkens as bishop of the 'Old Catholics,' or even if he had nominated ten such bishops; I would say nothing if he were to endow Reinkens with most extravagant revenues; but when he recognizes as a 'Catholic bishop' a man who has been chosen by the 'Old Catholics,' and when he thus ranks that man among the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, I declare that he violates the laws of Prussia."

From the day of its birth the new sect owed to the State the little of life which animated it; but not until July 4, 1875, did formal legislation sanction an endowment of the Neo-Protestant clergy. Bismarck had just procured the enactment of a law withdrawing from the Catholic clergy the subventions which had been secured to them by the Concordat of 1821, and which were merely a partial restitution of the property which had been stolen from the Church. The chancellor had avowed to the parliament that "he did not expect great results from the measure"—an admission which prompted the deputy of the Centre, Reichensperger, to charge the all-powerful Minister with

having effected the confiscation "simply in order to taste the sweetness of revenge." Of course the audacious deputy was called to order; but the parliament justified his remark when it endowed the "Old Catholics" from the funds just sequestered from the Catholics. The new law gave to the sectarians, besides a liberal portion of the "dotations," the use of the Catholic churches and of the sacred vessels, as well as the right to bury their dead in the Catholic cemeteries—sacred places which were interdicted to the bodies of the excommunicated. The president of each province was to divide the sacred vessels between the Catholics and their enemies. If there were two churches in the parish, the same officer was to assign one to the Catholics, and the other to the sectarians. If there was but one church, different hours for divine service were to be appointed for each party. If it should happen that "a large number" of heretics were resident in the parish, and of course the president was to be the judge as to what constituted "a large number," then the parish was to be regarded as exclusively belonging to the dissidents. In illustration of the effects of this law, we may cite the case of the parishioners of Wiesbaden. They numbered 12,000, and they had only one church. Less than 250 "Old Catholics" applied to the president of the province to do them "justice" in the matter of the use of a church which had been built by Catholics for Catholic worship. The officer declared that thenceforth the sectarians should have the use of the church and of the sacred vessels, vestments, etc., from 11 A.M. to 1 P.M. The effect of this and of all similar decisions was to exclude the faithful entirely from the House of God; for on March 12, 1873, the papal nuncio at Munich had reminded the Catholics of all Germany that interdict descended on a church, chapel, or oratory, in which an excommunicated priest would have dared to celebrate Mass. Therefore, while their churches were being desecrated by heretics, and most probably by infidels who wished to make the number of the "Old Catholics" appear respectable, the Catholics of Wiesbaden, Koenigsberg, Dortmund, Hirschberg—to mention only some of the more flagrant instances of this outrage—were crowd-

ed in improvised chapels, assisting at Masses which were being celebrated by priests who were under the ban of the law, as we shall see in the following chapter.

While Germany was the fatherland of the New Protestantism, the pitiful abortion received a warm welcome in Switzerland; and just as it had owed its promise of life to the imperial authority in Germany, so it owed to the Masonico-Radical Swiss politicians of that day an ability to pose as something more than a purely national movement—as a Church apparently able to propagate itself in accordance with the commands of Christ. From 1866 the Swiss Radicals had steadily endeavored to Germanize and un-Christianize their country, and principally by means of the schools; their Paganizing programme had been designed to banish from every school all emblems of Christianity, every prayer to the Supreme Being, and everything which might convey a religious idea to the mind of a child. The autonomy of the cantons, however, proved to be an obstacle to the realization of this plan; and the Germanizing and Paganizing scheme would have been perforce abandoned, had not the birth of “Old Catholicism” seemed to prepare the way for its success. The plan of campaign now adopted was both simple and profound. Like Bismarck, the Swiss persecutors founded their procedure on the assumption that the decrees of the Council of the Vatican had changed the nature of the Catholic Church; but more logical than the Prussian, they feigned to regard the new religionists as Catholics, and the “Romanists” as separatists. The Swiss Catholic clergy, in spite of seduction and threats, remained faithful to the Holy See; but among the 50,000 priests of France it would have been indeed strange, if thirty or forty had not been found willing to incur excommunication, in exchange for “thirty pieces of silver.” It was with these thirty or forty unfrocked monks, or *curés* who had been interdicted by their bishops, and all of whom were foreigners, that the Swiss government essayed to found a National Catholic Church for the Helvetians. The campaign opened with the secularization of several abbeys in the northern cantons; and with the transfer of the Catholic Church in Zurich to

the sectarians. Then came the exile of Mgr. Mermillod, coadjutor to the bishop of Geneva; and the "deposition" of Mgr. Lachat, bishop of Bâle. The seventy-nine pastors of the Bernese Jura having declared, in writing, that they would remain faithful to their ordinary, they were driven from their parsonages, and finally from the republic. When it was found that France did not furnish apostates enough to supply the vacant parishes among the French-speaking Swiss, the government reduced these seventy-nine parishes to twenty-eight, and fined or imprisoned all who opposed the measure (1); then the foreign "Old Catholic" intruders began a semblance of such pastoral duties as could be performed where flocks were almost entirely wanting. In order to justify its robbery and other cruel treatment of the Catholics, the Swiss government pointed to the results of a plebiscite which it had caused to be taken in order to manifest the popular will, in reference to what it styled "a new organization of the Catholic religion in the Bernese Jura." It exultantly showed that while only eighteen thousand had voted for the "Romanist" side of the question, sixty-nine thousand had voted for the governmental measures; but it neglected to state that sixty-six thousand of its supporters in the plebiscite were Protestants, who certainly had no right to vote on a question in which the Catholic faith was involved (2). The same procedures were effected in Berne, in Geneva, and in all places which, formerly either French or Savoyard, the Helvetic Confederation had received, in 1815, from that notorious trafficker in nationalities, the Congress of Vienna; and whose religious liberty, like that of the Bernese Jura, the Swiss Federal Government had

(1) By this persecution of the Catholics of the Bernese Jura, the Swiss government violated the "Act of Union" of 1815, by which it engaged to grant perfect freedom of conscience, and all that it implied, to the Catholic Bernese, then transferred by the Congress of Vienna from France to the mercies of the Swiss. Of course, at the time of this contempt of international obligations, France was in no condition to punish the culprit.

(2) "Let us suppose, for instance, that in France, in order to determine whether the Protestant churches and the inventions from the State should be given to the Protestants who are called 'Liberal,' or rather to those who are faithful to the *Confession of La Rochelle*, recourse was had to the decision of the Catholic population, and that this naturally hostile majority therefore assumed to regulate the religion of the minority, a religion which it repels and detests. That is exactly what happened in Switzerland." VILLEFRANCHE; *Pius IX. His Life, His History, and His Times*, p. 467. Paris, 1878.

solemnly guaranteed. The robbery of the church of Notre Dame in Geneva was peculiarly aggravating; for not content with assigning to the Neo-Protestants the other Catholic church of the city, the government gave to them also an edifice which had been erected by means of subscriptions from every part of the Catholic world. The exiled Swiss clergy were received most fraternally in France. At first many of them had intended to pass the term of their banishment in Alsace, so recently French politically, and ever so French in heart; but Bismarck forbade their entrance into his master's new possession, and he induced the bordering cantons of Soleure and Bâle-Campagne to watch the frontier, lest some of the unfortunates should evade his orders. However, a portion of the ancient French-Swiss frontier still subsisted; and those Swiss who lived near to it, or who could possibly reach it on Sundays, had the happiness of hearing Mass, and of receiving the Sacramental aids which they then so sorely needed. In other parts of Switzerland, especially in the rural districts, the faithful were able to hear Mass, etc., whenever one of their hunted priests was able to reach them; barns and similar buildings taking the place of their stolen churches (1). Meanwhile the intruding "Old Catholic" priests were waiting in vain for congregations in the desecrated temples of the faith which they had forsworn; frequently they could not find a boy

(1) "Very frequently the exiled priests, thoroughly disguised, would appear at night, and for a few hours, among their parishioners. They would attend the sick, hear a few confessions, and celebrate Mass in some hut or cave; then, at the dawn of day, they would disappear. . . . Still more frequently, on Sunday morning, the high-roads leading to the French frontier would be crowded with entire families—the children toddling ahead, then the mothers marching bravely, and then the fathers guarding the rear of the procession—proceeding to the French frontier. They talked in whispers; every individual showed that spirit of recollection which is natural when a religious duty is being performed. Suddenly the groups arrive at a little village over which floats the Tricolor; they are in free, Christian, hospitable France. In the church, their proscribed and exiled pastor ascends to the altar. The chants of his parishioners accompany the tears of the exile; and when he turns to speak to his people, found once more, sobs answer sobs. Finally, the poor Swiss receive the blessing of their priest, and they bid him farewell; then they retrace their steps to their native soil, feeling that they are enchained once more, and that liberty is everywhere else but in their Jura. But protestations like these displease the Bernese prefect; he orders the imprisonment of all who presume to make these pilgrimages into France. The laws of free Switzerland allow all other kinds of public manifestations—processions of Freemasons, free-thinkers, with or without music and banners—but to prison with those who dare to go to France in order to pray!" VILLEFRANCHE; *loc. cit.*, p. 469.

who was willing to serve at the Sacrifice which they sacrilegiously offered. This state of affairs lasted until 1875, when the federal government requested the cantonal government of Berne either to prosecute the Catholic clergy according to law, or to allow them to appear in public like other citizens. There was little chance of a successful prosecution where no accusation of crime could be made; therefore the banishing edict was revoked. The priests of the Jura returned to their flocks; but not until the termination of Bismarck's "War for Civilization," according to which the Swiss Radicals had modelled their own anti-Catholic campaign, were some of their churches restored to them. But the hearts of the immense majority of their people had remained faithful to their legitimate pastors; and during the years that were to elapse before religious liberty would again be known in Switzerland, the Catholic clergy ministered to their spiritual children under difficulties similar to those which had surrounded the clergy of England before the Emancipation of 1829 (1).

Few as were the recruits mustered by the Döllingerites in Germany and Switzerland, still fewer were found in France; although before the decree *Pastor aternus* was promulgated, there had occurred on the soil of the Eldest Daughter of the Church several priestly apostasies which promised, according to the hopes of the school of Munich, to be followed by very numerous imitations. The most notorious of these priestly renegades was the ex-Carmelite, once known as Father Hyacinth, who then resumed his worldly name, Charles Loyson. A brief sketch of the career of this unfortunate will not be out of place. Charles Loyson was born in Orleans in 1827; but while still a child, his family removed to Pau, over the Academy of which city his father

(1) The following notification sent to a schoolmistress in 1876, that is, a year after the exiled clergy of the Bernese Jura were allowed to return, will demonstrate the condition of outlawry under which the Catholics of Berne still labored. "Mademoiselle: It is your duty, as an employee of the State of Berne, to do all in your power toward a realization of the State's desires concerning religious worship. If your conscience will not permit you to attend the church which is recognized and approved by the government, I leave you at liberty to frequent no church whatsoever; but since I wish that no bad example be given to the children who are in your care, I forbid you to ever go to the barn in which that dismissed priest officiates. I send you this warning, so that I may not be obliged to stop your salary. *The Inspector, WÆCKL.*"

had been placed as rector, when the government instituted Departmental Academies throughout the kingdom. In Pau, therefore, under the guidance of his father, the young Loyson made his classical studies, and he gave good promise of becoming, in time, an excellent poet. When eighteen years of age, he resolved to enter the ecclesiastical state, and he was admitted to the Grand Seminary of Saint-Sulpice in Paris. Having been raised to the priesthood in 1851, he taught philosophy in the Seminary of Avignon in 1854, and dogmatic theology in that of Nantes in 1856. Then he performed parochial duty for a year in the parish of Saint-Sulpice in Paris; and in 1857 he joined the Congregation of French Dominicans which had been recently founded by Lacordaire. He remained with the Dominicans, however, only two years; and he left them without having pronounced the religious vows. Then he betook himself to the Order of Discalced Carmelites, the rule of which is more severe than those of most of the monastic organizations; and after a novitiate of two years he made his solemn religious profession, assuming the name of Hyacinth. In later years, when Father Hyacinth had thrown his monastic tunic into the mud of disobedience, of apostasy, and of impurity, men wondered whether the poor wretch had not been dominated by ambition, when he took the three monastic vows; but it should have been remembered that if the Abbé Loyson had not been sincere at the time of his farewell to Saint-Sulpice—if he had looked forward merely to renown as an orator—he would have attained his ambition more easily as a Franciscan or as a Dominican, and with much less physical mortification as a Jesuit. We must suppose, therefore, that when, after his two years of novitiate, the Carmelite, Father Hyacinth, first appeared in the rôle of a preacher of “Conferences” in the cathedral of Bordeaux during the Advent of 1863, he was animated only by a zeal for souls. The course of sermons at Bordeaux, and another delivered during the Lent of 1864 at Périgueux, led many to almost believe that a successor to Lacordaire had been granted to the Church of the latter part of the nineteenth century; and when the certainly sympathetic orator preached the Advent sermons

of 1865 in the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, few were inclined to dispute the proposition. But in the following year, 1866, the conferences of Father Hyacinth on "independent morality"; and in 1867, those on "morality in the family"; seemed to be impregnated with a spirit of at least questionable orthodoxy. Louis Veuillot, the indomitable editor of the *Univers*, and easily the prince of modern journalists, attacked the preacher with such vigor and persistency, that the case attracted the attention of the Holy See. The Carmelite was summoned to Rome in 1869; he may have succeeded in justifying himself, as his friends asserted; but his short career as a preacher had terminated. A few weeks after his return from the Eternal City, he delivered a discourse before an international society of those innocents who hope that mere human reason will abolish war at some future time; and his audacious and foolish assertions completely justified the energy which Veuillot had displayed in attacking him. Among other sophisms and absurdities, he implicitly placed Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism, on the same plane; representing them as "the three great religions of the civilized peoples." His superiors soon commanded him to change his tone, or to abstain from public speaking. Then this monk, who had calmly and deliberately taken a vow of obedience to those superiors, wrote to the general of his Order a letter dated Sept. 20, 1869, announcing that he thereby abandoned all connection with the Carmelites, although, as he protested, he still regarded himself as a Catholic. By this doffing of the cowl without canonical dispensation, the monk Hyacinth was *ipso facto* excommunicated; and the Catholic world was prepared to hear that the foolish man "protested against the sacrilegious perversion of the Gospel," of which Rome was so flagrantly guilty. Nor were Catholics surprised when they heard that the ex-monk had discovered that "if France and the other Latin nations were victims of social anarchy, the principal cause of that misfortune was—not Catholicism, of course, but the manner in which Catholicism has been, for a long time, interpreted." In Sept., 1871, Loyson (he could no longer be styled "Father Hyacinth") attended the first Congress which

the "Old Catholics" held in Munich. Naturally the "victim of Roman intolerance" was received with an exuberance of apparent affection by men whom he apostrophized as forming "a protest against that condition of antagonism and hatred which the violent and the sophistical would make the normal state of Christian peoples." Having entered this mutual admiration society, Loyson necessarily saluted Döllinger as "his master," and as "the patriarch of science and of German consciences." It had now become too apparent that the ex-Carmelite had made shipwreck of his faith; and in the latter part of 1871, his brother, the Abbé Thomas Loyson, professor of theology in the Sorbonne, openly disowned him—a proceeding which Charles hypocritically declared to be "the last drop in his chalice of woe." Perhaps it was in order to assuage this grief that in 1872 he took to himself a "wife" in the person of an American widow whom his efforts, joined to those of the famous Oratorian, Gratry, had converted to Catholicism, and to whom, in 1868, he had given her first Communion in the chapel of the Ladies of the Assumption in Auteuil (1). Shortly after the celebration of this sacrilegious union, Loyson accepted an invitation to become the pastor of the "Old Catholics" of Geneva; but to his credit be it remembered that he refused to take possession of the magnificent new church which the exiled Bishop Mermillod had built with the offerings of the Catholic world, and that he never ceased, while in Geneva, to protest against the brutality of the German and Swiss persecutors of their Catholic fellow-citizens. Loyson remained in Geneva less than two years; he found that the lay Popes of Switzerland were more tyrannical than His Holiness of Rome. On Aug. 4, 1874, he severed his connection with the Neo-Protestants by the following letter which he sent to the Swiss Federal Council: "Gentlemen; attached as I am, from the depths of my heart, to the Church in which I was baptized, and the reformation of which, not its destruction, I desire; and convinced as I am by an experience which is at last sufficient, that the Liberal Catholicism

(1) On this occasion Father Hyacinth pronounced the discourse which was published in 1872, under the title: *The Catholic Reformation*.

of Geneva is neither Liberal in politics nor Catholic in religion; I have the honor of tendering to you my resignation of the pastorate of this city." A reliable author who knew Loyson well, and whose assertions are always characterized by a judicial calm, tells us that just before this resignation of his "Old Catholic" pastorate, Loyson had made a retreat in the Grande Chartreuse, the monks being unaware of his identity; and that his exactness and recollectedness had edified the entire community (1). If this be true, and certainly there is no intrinsic reason for denying the fact, we can only suppose that had the American widow not stood in his path, Loyson would then have shown that he still believed what he had preached in Notre-Dame, immediately after the publication of the *Syllabus*: "The Church is personified in the Bishop of Bishops, the Father of Fathers, the Roman Pontiff; I submit my words, as I submit my soul, to his supreme authority. Ah! I imbibed respect and love for the Holy See with the milk I drew from my Christian mother; and with the grace of God, I shall preserve this obedience intact and triumphant even unto the tomb." From the day when he spurned the yoke of the progeny of Calvin, the ex-Carmelite acknowledged no ecclesiastical supremacy. Returning to Paris, he found that the Ministry of the Third Republic, anti-clerical though it was, would not tolerate any public Conferences on his part; it was only in 1877 that he was allowed to give a series of "private reunions" in the Circus. For a time these exhibitions "drew well"; but in 1878, Loyson announced to the world a projected resurrection of the "Gallican Church." Since no assistance for the enterprise could be obtained in France, the self-appointed "rector" of the imaginary "Church" appealed to the Protestants of England and the United States, not one in a thousand of whom had the slightest conception of the meaning of "Gallicanism." But the scheme was evidently anti-Roman; therefore there was some response to the request for contributions which was made by the Anglican incumbents of Canterbury and Lincoln, by Dean Stanley of Westminster, and by many of

(1) 7 3 NOIR: *The Adaptation of the Dictionary of Bergier to the Intellectual Movement of the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century*. Art. Loyson. Paris, 1882.

the Protestant Episcopal dignitaries in the United States. The new "Gallican Church" was inaugurated with considerable noise in a little *café-chantant* in the Rue Rochechouart; and curiosity gave to it a semblance of life for some months. In 1880 Loyson impudently demanded of the Municipal Council possession of the church of the Assumption for the purposes of his "religion"; but the Council thought that the desired building was too large for the "Gallican" congregation. During the short connection of Loyson with the "Old Catholics," he naturally followed their ritual in his religious services; thus while he still recited the Canon of the Mass in Latin, he used the vernacular for the other portions. But when he posed as a restorer of that Gallicanism which would have spurned him, he quite consistently invented a liturgy. As a foe to antiquity, he was obliged to discard every vestige of Latinity; therefore he recited even the Canon of the Mass in French. He abolished the altar, and like the Protestants with their "Lord's Supper," he used a simple table, and always faced his congregation.

If we except the names of Döllinger, Reinkens, and Loyson, those of all the luminaries of "Old Catholicism" are already forgotten. Who now attaches any significance to the names of Friedrich, Schulte, Huber, Reusch, Langen, Michaelis, Weber, and Maassen, who prognosticated such glory for the Neo-Protestantism among the Germans and Swiss; or to the names of Michaud, Junqua, and Guettée, who declared that the best part of Catholic France would follow them in revolt? As for the few thousands who assembled for a time under the standards unfurled by these designing or deluded men, most of them either returned, ere long, to the true fold of Christ, or plunged into the abyss of infidelity; the few who continued to parade themselves as Catholics of the ancient stamp were either Protestants in disguise, or Catholics whose faith had been lost, to all intents and purposes, long before the Vatican Council was held. To-day the curious traveller may come across a few bands of so-called "Old Catholics" in Germany and Switzerland. Such aggregations now and again proclaim their existence among the more ignorant of the Germans and Slavs who dwell in our Far-

West ; but a short conversation with their members will show that they are either deluded followers of some excommunicated disgrace to his cloth, or else persons who are utterly ignorant of Catholic doctrine. Nor could any other condition of affairs be possible, since the fundamental idea of "Old Catholicism" is absolutely subversive of that Catholic faith which the Neo-Protestants claim to profess. They pretend to cling to every particle of the Catholic teaching as it was before the promulgation of the Vatican decrees of 1870. And nevertheless, they deny the infallibility of the Pope—a doctrine which has been proclaimed by the entire teaching body of the Catholic Church, of that Church which they affect to recognize as infallible in matters of faith and morals.

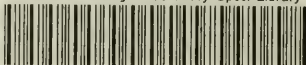
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STUDIES
IN
CHURCH HISTORY

BY
REV. REUBEN PARSONS, D. D.

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“That a theologian should be well versed in history, is shown by the fate of those who, through ignorance of history, have fallen into error. Whenever we theologians preach, argue, or explain Holy Writ, we enter the domain of history.”—

MELCHIOR CANUS, *Loc. Theol.*, B. XI., c. ii.

JOHN JOSEPH McVEY
PHILADELPHIA

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STUDIES IN CHURCH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE BISMARCKIAN SO-CALLED "WAR FOR CIVILIZATION."

After the persecution of Mgr. Dunin, archbishop of Gnesen and Posen, and of Mgr. Droste-Vischering, archbishop of Cologne (1), the Prussian government accorded a period of rest to its Catholic subjects ; and when the Constitution of 1850 had been wrung from Frederick William IV., the situation of the Catholics became at least tolerable, principally because of the creation of a "Catholic Department" in the Ministry of Worship and of Public Instruction—an institution, the benefit of which has been persistently exaggerated by German enemies of the Church, but which certainly enabled the Prussian Catholics to lay their complaints before their government. The Catholics of Prussia were grateful for this and other petty instalments of justice ; and the Catholics of other German states so far forgot the almost constant history of the northern kingdom as to believe that it could desire to treat their religion with something approaching to equity. When the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 had been declared, and the Bavarian Diet was hesitating as to the course to be pursued by the Cabinet of Munich, one of the most influential leaders of the Catholic party, Peter Reichensperger, persuaded his colleagues to vote for the Prussian alliance. No more convincing proof than this fact can be needed to demonstrate that the Catholics of Germany trusted the government of Prussia at that time. But they did not know the spirit of that government, remarks one of its victims (2), as it was

(1) See our Vol. v., p. 254 and p. 257.

(2) *History of the Persecution of the Catholic Church in Prussia (1870-1876)*, by Mgr. Janiszewski, Auxiliary Bishop of Posen and Gnesen, Formerly Member of the Diet of Berlin. Paris, 1879.

known by the Polish subjects of the Hohenzollern—by those heroic Poles, whose complaints against the government of Berlin the deluded German Catholics were then wont to deride. The Catholics of Germany seemed not to realize that their co-religionists of the Rhenish Provinces were treated with comparative gentleness, simply because of their geographical position ; because of their proximity to the French frontier. “It was a great fault on our part,” said another victim, Mgr. Ketteler, bishop of Mayence, in the preface to one of his writings, “to have believed in the stability of the Prussian Constitution, in the rights which it plainly allowed us. We were blamable for having believed that in Prussia justice could triumph over the inveterate prejudice against Catholics, and over party passion. We were deceived ; but the fault is not one which should cause us to blush.” As for William I., the Catholics had indeed felt some anxiety when he mounted the throne in 1861, and precisely because of his Masonic affiliations ; but like his chancellor, William I. was apt at dissimulation. At as late a period as 1870, just after the new German Empire had been proclaimed at Versailles, and when the dogs of persecution were about to be unleashed against his too faithful Catholic subjects, the “pious and loyal” emperor-king feigned an affectionate interest in the independence of the Holy See which no Catholic monarch of the time manifested. Replying to an address from the Knights of Malta of the Rhenish Provinces and of Westphalia, he said : “I regard the occupation of Rome by the Italians as an act of violence ; and when this war is ended, I shall not fail to take it into consideration, in concert with other sovereigns.” But the reverberations of the last cannonades of the Franco-German war had scarcely died away, when the blindly loyal Prussian Catholics found themselves denounced, threatened, and finally crushed ; and many of the priests and Sisters of Charity, who were brutally thrust out of the empire, had just been decorated by the persecutor in testimony to their heroic care for the German wounded, both Protestant and Catholic, during the recent struggle.

At that time Catholics wondered, and ever since those days they have wondered, as to the earthly reason for this

persecution. Of course, the prime motive was to be sought in the implacable hatred of the powers of hell for the Church of God; but by what arguments had Satan induced "German intelligence" to become his instrument in the attempt to render the Hohenzollern successful in a task which had been impossible to the Hohenstaufen? Some discerned the cause of the persecution in the revolutionary principles adopted by Prussia before 1866, and which were then applied—principles which logically implied the direst consequences (1). Others ascribed the madness of the "Iron Chancellor" and of his imperial tool to the arrogance which had resulted from the war in which Germany, aided by the anger of God against France, had been so unexpectedly successful—an arrogance which seemed to ask: "Who is our God?" These latter speculativists deemed it not unnatural that Prussia, born of sacrilege, should have conceived the idea that to her was reserved the "historical mission" to complete the work of Luther. However, the Prussian government itself, its official and its "officious" press, and its agents among the deputies of parliament, endeavored to justify the barbarous "War for Civilization," firstly, because the Vatican Council had defined the dogma of Papal Infallibility; secondly, because the Catholic Church had "assumed an attitude of aggression against the laws of the State"; and thirdly, because the Catholics had contributed to the formation of the parliamentary party which was styled the Centre, and which Bismarck stigmatized as a "mobilization against the State." In regard to the first excuse, first formulated by Bismarck in a despatch dated May 14, 1872, and which was acclaimed by "German intelligence" as though it believed that the Roman Pontiff was about to lead several millions of soldiers who would force all heretics and Jews to obey his behests, we need only say that less than four months before he wrote this despatch, that is, on Jan. 30, the chancellor had declared that it was the duty of the State to abstain from all interference in the dogmatic teachings of the Church. On this occasion, during a parliamentary discussion as to whether the "Lutz

(1) JANISZEWSKI; *loc. cit.*, p. 11.

Law," subjecting the pulpit to police supervision, should be applied also to primary schools, Bismarck said: "The Prussian government is very far from wishing to enter on any dogmatic disputations concerning the changes (*sic*) in the teachings of the Catholic Church; for every one of those teachings, which are received by so many German citizens, ought to be sacred for both the nation and the government." As for the second excuse, the pretense that the Church was guilty of "aggressions" on the authority of the State, the chancellor never pretended to substantiate his charge; when summoned in parliament to produce his proofs, he simply replied: "Search in your hearts, gentlemen!" and the Liberals exploded with laughter, because of what they deemed a side-splitting joke. The most bitter reproaches, on the part of the Catholic deputies, never induced the persecutor to defend his course with anything else than bare assertion; hence it was that in the session of Feb. 4, 1874, Mallinckrodt thus reproved the Minister of Public Instruction: "The deputy, Reichensperger, in his last discourse on this matter, frequently asked the Minister for proofs of his allegations, but the Minister thought proper to remain silent. As for me, I must regard this course as worthy of an intelligent man; but only in the supposition that the Minister could give no satisfactory reply. But in spite of this silence, the government, realizing that it ought to show the world that it is obliged to defend itself, and knowing that it cannot justify its conduct, continually advances, in all of its arguments for new laws, innumerable assertions which it presents as axioms. Thus to-day, in the first paragraph which treats of its motives, it tells us of 'proceedings which are hostile to the State,' of a war 'which is forced on the government,' and of 'means which the State must adopt in its own defence.' There is as much truth in all these axioms as there was in the famous announcement of the wolf to the lamb in the ancient fable." The third excuse, the pretended crime of the Catholics in helping to form the party of the Centre, a party which was composed of Protestants as well as of Catholics; every man of sense in Germany knew well that the object of the Centre was not to curtail the prerogatives of

the new empire, but solely to uphold the principles which are preservative of true liberty and real civilization, principles which Bismarck had threatened from the moment of the triumph of Germany over France. After the war with Austria in 1866, it became evident to all the conservatives of Prussia that the royal chancellor had taken Cavour for his model; and after the Franco-German war, when a false Liberalism began to dominate all Germany, the fears of the conservatives were augmented, although many still retained some confidence in that William I. who had so persistently talked about God in all his telegrams from the battle-fields of France, and in that Bismarck whose conservatism had been so absurdly extravagant since 1848. But the mask soon fell from the faces of both emperor and chancellor; and then, in the spring of 1871, a few of the principal conservatives (1) met in Berlin, and drew up the following programme of political action: "I. To defend as a fundamental principle, the federal character of the German Empire (*Justitia fundamentum regnorum*), and consequently to prevent, by every possible means, any change in the federal character of the Constitution of the empire, and to yield not one particle of the independence of the several states, unless such concession should be absolutely necessary for the integrity of the said empire. II. To uphold, as far as possible, the moral and material welfare of all classes of the population; and to endeavor to procure Constitutional guarantees for civil and religious liberty, and above all for the rights of religious associations, against the violence of the legislature. III. Guided by these principles, the party (of the Centre) will deliberate on all subjects presented in the imperial parliament; but its members will always be free to vote in a sense contrary to that of the majority." Certainly there was nothing in this programme which could justify the Bismarckian assertion that the Centre was a "mobilization against the State."

What were the true causes of the pretended "War for Civilization"? The prime author of the persecution was

(1) Savigny, Windhorst (of Meppen), Mallinckrodt, Probst, Reichensperger (Olpe), Löwenstein, and Vrajttag.

Bismarck; but it is certain that the idea of such a movement would not have been conceived even by that self-confident personage, had he not found the way for it already prepared—had he not found in nearly every German Protestant, Jewish, and infidel mind, a number of notions which had attained the dignity of axioms, and which had only waited for Prussian development in order to actuate themselves in a persecution of the Catholic Church. The first of these notions was that of the omnipotence of the State, the Caesarism of ancient Paganism, which regarded the people as existing for the State or emperor, ignoring the rational conception that the State or emperor should be for the people. “These instinctive ideas which dominated in Prussia after the Reformation,” says Janiszewski, “were soon systematized by German philosophy; Fichte effected much in this regard, but the Pantheism of Hegel, with its theory of an absolute State, perfected the system. That which the French Revolution actuated in a moment of delirium, German philosophy reduced to precision, recognizing as a supreme being a certain *absolute* which, according to the various systems, is sometimes ideal, and sometimes material. This absolute idea, this supreme *something* with various names, is by its own nature without reason and without consciousness. Thus Hartmann, one of the latest philosophers of that school, called its teaching ‘the philosophy of that which has no consciousness of itself.’ That which the Christian world has always termed ‘God’ is, according to that school, an ideal unity, a *Universal All* which has an existence only in the imagination of its adherents. This creation of the unregulated mind of man is, to speak clearly, a complete deification of man; and since, according to this system, the State is collective individualism endowed with power, it follows that the system is the deification of the State. The relation of man to the State is that of a drop to the ocean in which it is lost. . . . No wonder that with such theories for a foundation of philosophy, we hear men demanding a National Church! If God is confined within the limits of a nation, of a State, how can the Church, established for His glorification, be universal? On theories like

these rests all science in Protestant Germany, and especially in Prussia. On these principles are based history, the natural sciences, political economy, and above all, Public Law. From the chairs of the Universities these ideas spread into the *gymnasias*, where professors and students, often in good faith, advocate principles and opinions whose baneful nature they do not perceive, believing that through them they will attain the light of true civilization. This doctrine has penetrated all Prussian intelligence, especially in the bureaucracy, from the Ministers down to the ushers; and the journalists propagate it among the people, without understanding it themselves. The enlightened men of Prussia have been trained in these ideas (1). I know not whether the authors of the persecution really proposed to annihilate Christianity; but it is indubitable that, starting from such principles, and holding such opinions concerning the State, they struck at the heart of Christianity." Based as it was on the principles just described, it is not strange that "German science" should have entertained an extravagant idea of "the historical mission of Prussia," that mystical thing which was known as "Borrussianism," and which was interpreted according to his own whims by every heterodox politician, Protestant theologaster, and socialistic dreamer in Prussia, although all of these united in denying the right of existence to any school of thought which opposed their fantastic doctrinarianism. It was this "Borrussianism" that threw Austria out of Germany in 1866 (2); and under the guidance of Bismarck it became the chief instrument in the latest German persecution of the Church. And it may be well to note here that in Bismarck, the chief among the

(1) In his famous book entitled *The Reptile Fund*, Henry Wüttke, professor in the University of Leipzig, cites a remark made in the public court at Mayence, on Dec. 19, 1873, by the Imperial procurator, Schoen: "The emperor is a sacred person, whose majesty is superior to all the laws of the State."

(2) "During many years, the Prussian journals, and those which were sold to Prussia, used the phrase, 'The Mission of Prussia in Germany,' to hide the greed of conquest which tormented the Cabinet of Berlin. After the victory of Prussia (over Austria) in 1866, most of these journals went into transports of joy because Prussia had happily realized the 'unity of Germany.' But a third of the Germans had been excluded from Germany, and these gentry prated about the unity of Germany. This unity of Germany, as it really exists, means that the lesser sovereigns have become Prussian prefects." WÜTTKE; *The Reptile Fund*, French Transl., p. 158.

latest apostles of "Borrussianism," such a thing as *German* patriotism was an unknown quantity during the greater part of his active political career. After 1848, he belonged to the Prussian party which was known as the "Junkers," a party which was so exclusively Prussian, that it hated the mention of German unity, and was wont to distinguish itself by fastening the German cockades to the tails of dogs. Alluding to this "Borrussianism" of the "Junkers," Mgr. Janiszewski declared in the Diet of Berlin, and not one voice contradicted him, that Bismarck, the vaunted German patriot, had hitherto been one of those who lamented: "What a pity it is that no one has yet invented a Prussian language, so that we may not be obliged to speak in that beggarly German tongue!" (1). Unless one remembers the deep significance of this "Borrussianism," he will be unable to account for the wicked absurdities of the "War for Civilization"; with its meaning well fixed in his mind, he will be surprised by none of the extravagancies which it originated.

(1) "Bismarck was generally known as an ardent Prussian patriot, as a votary of the House of Hohenzollern; but never as a *German* patriot. He wished to see Prussia, and its reigning family, great and powerful; as for Germany, he regarded it as a neighbor which might be easily conquered, and thus become a means for the aggrandizement of Prussia. Because Bismarck, at a convenient moment, raised the standard of German nationality, are we to consider him a German patriot? Did he not act similarly in Bohemia and Hungary, during his war against Austria? His love for a nationality lasted as long as his interests demanded such affection. The *Memoires* of General La Marmora demonstrate the Prussian patriotism of Bismarck; he always placed Germany in the rear. If Germany was to have been governed by the House of Hapsburg or by that of Wittelsbach (Bavaria), would the patriotism of Bismarck have upheld German unity? Would he not rather have used every means to prevent that unity, as he did in 1848 and the ensuing years? A true patriot considers only the unity of the nation; he places provincial or dynastic interests in a secondary position. If we Poles were to-day so happy as to be able to unite the fragments of our dismembered country, would we dispute as to what family should wear the crown of Poland? Would we, merely for a matter of minor importance, repel from the unity of Poland seven or eight millions of our brethren, as Bismarck did in the affair of the Austrian-Germans? The sole object of Bismarck was to clothe all Germans in the Prussian uniform, and to put a Prussian helmet on every German head. It was no patriotic enthusiasm for Germany that impelled the chancellor to war on the Catholic Church; he was impelled by the deeply-rooted ideas of Prussia concerning its 'historical mission,' and by the Prussian greed of glory, which had been excited by its recent and unexpected successes. This intellectual and psychological disposition, raised to the superlative by success, so blinded Bismarck, that he persuaded himself that the 'historical mission' of Prussia—or, as it would be termed in Christian language, the 'providential mission'—reposed entirely on his shoulders; that he alone was called to conquer the enemy of the State-Absolute, an enemy which no power of earth had yet been able to subdue. *Quem Deus punire vult, dementat.*" JANISZEWSKI; *loc. cit.*, Ch. 2.

Besides the theory so generally received in Prussia concerning the State-Absolute, and the fantastic notion of a "historical mission" on the part of the Brandenburgers, there were other causes of the "War for Civilization." One of these was Protestant hatred of Rome; but that sentiment exterminates itself so naturally, whenever opportunity is offered, that we are absolved from any necessity of showing, at any great length, how it influenced the chancellor during the prosecution of the most tremendous of his enterprises. Of course there are not wanting publicists who would have us believe that the prime motive of Bismarck, when he entered on the "War for Civilization," was not the destruction of the Catholic Church in Germany; that his great object was the annihilation of the Centre, the parliamentary party which formed the chief obstacle to the success of his policy of centralization. And it is true that he once remarked to Ketteler, bishop of Mayence: "You and your party desire to undo the work of my policy. You compel me to war on the Church; but we shall see who will prove to be the stronger" (1). But we cannot forget that as far back as 1859, Bennigsen, one of the accomplices of Bismarck, wrote: "All goes well; now we have but one citadel to storm—that of Ultramontanism" (2). And in the supposition that the persecution of the Church was undertaken merely as a means for crushing the Centre, how can we account for the fact that six months before the formation of the Centre, that is, on Oct. 24, 1870, the crown-prince, the future Frederick III., wrote in that private diary which was afterward published by Geffken: "Bismarck tells my brother-in-law that after this war we shall enter on a campaign against Infallibility?" A few days before the crown-prince made this entry, that is, on Sept. 13, the chancellor, talking to the mayor of Reims on the influence of the Latin peoples whom he hated so virulently, exclaimed: "Once that we have settled with Catholicism, they will all disappear." But not to multiply proofs that Bismarck's persecuting spirit antedated the birth of the Centre, we note that

(1) The Paris *Univers*, Nov. 13, 1878.

(2) BAZIN; *Windthorst, His Allies, and His Adversaries*, p. 41. Paris, 1896.

the Polish Jew, Lasker, the founder of the "National Liberal" party, avowed in the Reichstag, in Nov., 1873, that he and his friends had arranged with Bismarck in 1869 for an immediate war on the Catholic Church; and that hostilities had been deferred, merely because German unity was not yet completed. These testimonies lead us to reject the belief that hatred of the Catholic Church was not the primary motive for the "War for Civilization"; but we do not deny that Bismarck regarded a religious war as a distraction for his political enemies—one that would enable him to avoid many parliamentary quarrels. And for the purpose of attracting to himself the dog of Liberalism, what bone could he throw into its gaping jaws, which would be more toothsome than Catholicism? Again, a war on the Church would afford the absolutistic chancellor an opportunity for the destruction of the comparatively liberal Prussian Constitution of 1850, which contravened his projects in many instances. And now, before we dismiss this subject of the causes of the "War for Civilization," we must not fail to notice the close alliance which then, as ever, subsisted between the Prussian government and Freemasonry. General Selazinski spoke the exact truth when, in his *Freemasonry and Christendom*, which was printed in Berlin with the authorization of the Grand Lodge of Germany, he said: "Among all the European powers which have concerned themselves with Masonry, only two have been consistent: Prussia, which has always protected our order; and the Papacy, which has ever opposed it." William I. had been an ardent Mason since 1840. On Nov. 5, 1853, while he was still heir-apparent, he officiated, in his capacity of Protector of all the German Lodges, at the initiation of his son, the future Frederick III.; and in his salutatory discourse, he said to the young adept: "Be a firm support to this order! If you are such, you will not only assure your future, but you will have the grand satisfaction of having propagated around yourself that which is beautiful and true" (1). When the "War for Civilization" had been well inaugurated, the organs of Masonry deemed

(1) The Masonic *Berliner Tageblatt* for Oct., 1882.

it wise to forego their customary policy of reticence concerning the campaigns and victories of the order; they could not restrain their joy as they pictured to themselves a speedy "destruction of *the infamous one*," and they called on the earth to witness that the adepts of the Square and Triangle had taken the chief part in the foundation of the new German Empire, and in the "glorious" war then being waged against the Papacy. Thus the *Rhenish Herald* of Oct. 25, 1873, proclaimed: "We are justified in asserting that it was the spirit of Freemasonry which, in the last arraignment of Ultramontaniam, pronounced sentence through the ever-memorable letter of His Majesty to the Pope. The ideas of the Emperor William, who, as every one knows, is a Freemason, do not date from yesterday; nor have those ideas been inspired only by his actual counselors, as certain parties would have men believe. Long ago, when the emperor was in the flower of his age, he announced those ideas in a session of our order, at a time when the world held a very different opinion in regard to him. On that occasion, he gave utterance to sentiments which befitted a prince and a man; and he has proved himself faithful to them. If he now fulfils his promises, future ages will praise him." A few days after this interesting effusion was published, the *Freemason's Journal* of Leipsic perorated as follows: "When Freemasonry is thus brought into the presence of two antagonists, that is, in presence of the emperor who, in his fraternal capacity, protects our order, and in the presence of the Pope, who curses it and would sink it into hell, it can and ought take but one side. It must range itself on the side where it is loved. . . . Together with the emperor, we are progressing toward freedom of mind without subjection, toward a pacification of society without any distinction of creeds, and toward an abolition of all egoistic prejudices. . . . That venerable hero is our Brother (William I.); he is bound to us by an indestructible chain. The ideal pursued by our order associates him with us; with us and for us, he handles the Mallet of force, the Square of wisdom, and the Compass of a common inspiration which serves to regulate, according to an ideal type, acts which are worthy

of man. . . . We are confident that all our Brethren are animated by these sentiments, and that they will not forget, in the banquets which are given on stated occasions, to kindle three fires in honor of, and for the love of, the noble old man who knows how to combat the powers of darkness which would destroy our projects."

The first information concerning the hostile intentions of the Prussian government in their regard was conveyed to the Catholics by a sequence of articles in the *Gazette of the Cross*, a journal which was practically owned by Bismarck; and very soon, that is, during the first months of 1871, all the subsidized press—those journals which now came to be known as the "reptile press"—began to ring the changes on the impudent lies of the chancellor. The world was informed that, having vanquished "her external enemies," Germany had now determined to conquer "her internal foes"; namely, the Ultramontanes who, by their acceptance of the decrees of the Vatican Council, had "caused a lamentable division in the Catholic Church, and were thus endangering the peace of the empire." It was not the intention of His Majesty, the world was assured, to disturb the "real Catholics" (so the chancellor styled the handful of Döllingerites); the enemy was that "Jesuitism" which had become insupportable, since the declaration of Papal Infallibility. The first attack on the Catholics, or on *Jesuitism*, as the lying Minister described it, was the suppression of the Catholic Department in the Ministry of Worship on July 8, 1871—a measure which was equivalent to a declaration that thereafter the government would pay no attention to any grievances which the Catholics might suffer. The next blow was directed against a dogma of Catholic faith, and against ecclesiastical jurisdiction. A priest named Wolmann, professor of religion in the Catholic College of Braunsberg, having persisted in rejecting the Vatican decrees, his ordinary, the bishop of Ermland, had excommunicated him. In spite of the protests of the parents of the students, the Minister of Worship threatened with expulsion all the lads who would not take their lessons in the Catholic faith from an excommunicated man. The third enterprise was directed against "the abuses of the pulpit." A

law was proposed in the German Reichstag by the Bavarian Minister, Lutz, an avowed patron of the "Old Catholics," according to which imprisonment for perhaps two years was to be the punishment of any priest who, in a church or elsewhere, in a sermon or in any kind of speech, should "disturb public tranquillity." This law, sacrificing to "Borussianism" the liberty and honor of all the German clergy, was rushed through the Reichstag on Nov. 28. In Feb., 1872, the same Reichstag was asked to consider a law which would deprive the clergy of their right of surveillance over primary schools; the law was passed, and the consequences were terrible. In some places, the new government inspectors forbade the children to use the "superstitious" salutation, "Praised be Jesus Christ!" universally given by German Catholics where we are satisfied with a "How d'y do?" In many districts the crucifixes and holy pictures were thrown out of the schools, and were replaced by portraits of their Sacred Majesties, the emperor and empress. In nearly all schools the little pupils were taught that the Biblical stories with which their Catholic teachers had loaded their memories, were mere fables. Some inspectors gave to young girls themes for composition, which were more "patriotic" than moral; thus, a favorite subject was: "What are the sentiments which ought to agitate the heart of a young woman, when she sees an officer of hussars?" (1). From the middle of May until the end of June, the imperial government occupied itself with measures for the expulsion of all Jesuits and their "affiliated orders" from the empire. The impudence of the design was so patent, however, that it became necessary to show that the governmental action was caused by the "pressure of public opinion." On Sept. 22, 1871, the "Old Catholics" had proclaimed, in their Congress of Munich, that the good of the State demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits. "It is notorious," said the Döllingerites in the sixth article of their programme, "that the said Society of Jesus is the cause of the dissensions at present troubling the Catholic Church. This Society uses its powerful influence in order to propagate in the hierarchy, among the clergy, and among the people, tendencies which are *contrary*

(1) JANISZEWSKI; *loc. cit.*, p. 115.

to civilization, dangerous to the State, and anti-national. It preaches a false morality, and it strives for power. Therefore we are of opinion that peace, happiness, and unity in the Church, as well as amicable relations between the Church and civil society, are impossible, if an end is not put to the baneful proceedings of this Society." It was to this declaration of a few excommunicated recalcitrants that Bismarck pointed, when he asserted that even among Catholics, "public opinion" called for the banishment of the Jesuits. That the same action was demanded by "public opinion" among Protestants, was said to be evident from the fact that a representative body of Protestants, who had met at Darmstadt eight days after the "Old Catholic" pronouncement, had adopted a resolution condemning the Jesuits in the strongest terms. In the parliamentary debates to which this "public opinion" gave rise, it was evident that the ministerial orators were attacking the Catholic Church, although the Jesuits alone were mentioned; one of these declaimers, Windthorst of Berlin (never to be confounded with his uncle, Windthorst of Meppen), in a moment of passion, exclaimed: "There is no other way. '*Ecrasez l'infâme!*'" By a vote of 181 against 63, the German parliament banished from the empire "the Society of Jesus, as well as all the orders or congregations affiliated to it." In vain the Catholics of Westphalia and of the Rhenish Provinces appealed for relief to the much-vaunted justice of the emperor; the "pious and loyal" William I. refused to receive their deputation, and on July 4, 1872, he signed the infamous decree. The reader will note that this ordinance was framed so as to affect not only the Society of Jesus, but also "all the orders or congregations affiliated to it." This provision accentuated the malice of the chancellor and his worshippers. There never have been, and are not now, any orders or congregations in "affiliation" with the Jesuits; the sole connection between the sons of Loyola and the members of any other society is that which must subsist among all the children of the Church. But Bismarck chose to affect the crass ignorance which is frequently found among Protestants, as they unwittingly compliment the celebrated Society by an application of the term "Jesuit" to every uncompromising Cath-

otic; and the event proved that when the chancellor proclaimed the same punishment for the Jesuits and their "affiliated orders or congregations," he prepared the way for the banishment, at his convenience, of any religious who might incur his displeasure.

The incidents which we have just narrated were mere preludes to the "War for Civilization," on which the German enemies of the Church had already resolved, and which was solemnly declared in May, 1873, by the promulgation of those enactments which have rendered the name of Falk infamous, but which are often designated as the "May Laws." Some time before Bismarck entered on his greatest enterprise, Friedeberg, a professor of law in the University of Leipsic, who was afterward made a privy-councillor to Falk, had published a work entitled *The German Empire and the Catholic Church*, in which he had detailed, with an effrontery which was almost Satanic, a plan for the complete extirpation of Catholicism in Germany, for the greater glory of Prussia, and of free thought. Friedeberg disagreed with the doctrinarians who thought that the power of Catholicism could be diminished by a separation of Church and State. On the contrary, said Friedeberg, such a separation would be of great profit to the Church; since in our day Catholicism is in perfect accord with the people. Were the Church of Rome, he added, as free from governmental surveillance in Prussia as she is in the United States of America, her power in Prussia would be more than doubled. Again, observed the professor, Protestantism in Prussia would suffer greatly, if Church and State were separated; indeed, without the aid of the State, Protestantism would perish in Prussia. Let the State continue, therefore, to aid its most valuable ally in its struggle with Catholicism. Finally, insisted Friedeberg, a separation of Church and State in Germany would injure the "Old Catholics," the men whom Prussia had encouraged to revolt with her promises of pecuniary and other aid. Then Friedeberg thus resumed his plan: "We have indicated our reasons for not wishing, at the present, for a separation of Church and State; and we have also pointed out the path, on which the State should enter. If, as we think, the Church

must one day be cut away from the social body, we should begin now to prepare for that operation, so that it will injure or weaken the State as little as possible. In the meantime, let us put a ligature on the artery through which runs the blood of the Church—that artery which communicates to the Church the strength and life of the State. We should isolate the ecclesiastical limb gradually, accustoming the State to do without it, so that when the amputation is finally made, the loss of the limb will not be perceived. There will not be much blood lost, and the wound will cicatrize quickly.” Such was the plan adopted by Bismarck; the Church was to be cut away from the social body; but the operation was to be performed so dexterously, that the patient should not screech too fearfully, and the State should not receive too serious a shock. Had the Catholic Church been an institution of the State, like Prussian Evangelical Protestantism, with the sovereign for its supreme pontiff, then Friedeberg, Bismarck, and Falk would have been numbered among the “great men” of the world. Very little study of the “May Laws” is required for the conclusion that they were well designed for the accomplishment of the intention of Friedeberg—“to asphyxiate the Church, and to dry up her vital source.” The first of these laws, enacted by the Diet of Berlin on May 11, 1873, concerned the education of the clergy, and the nomination to ecclesiastical offices. It ordered that no person could exercise ecclesiastical functions in Prussia, unless he was a German; unless he had been educated according to the terms of the law; and unless he was perfectly acceptable to the government. The education of all prospective priests was to be conducted by the State. The aspirant was to take his bachelor’s degree in a government *gymnasium*; during three years he was to study what the State designated as theology in a German University; and an examination by officers of the State was to finally pronounce on his fitness for the priesthood. Every ecclesiastical educational establishment was to be subject, at all hours and in every matter, to governmental surveillance. No nomination to a parish or to any care of souls could be made by a bishop without the approbation of the civil authority

The second law, enacted on May 12, concerned ecclesiastical discipline; and its spirit was that of the preceding ordinance. The Roman Pontiff could have no voice in any matter concerning discipline in any diocese or parish of Prussia; for all disciplinary ecclesiastical matters were declared to pertain exclusively to German ecclesiastical authority, exercised with the permission of the government. And the last appeal in all cases of ecclesiastical discipline was to be made to a royal tribunal, sitting in Berlin; this court was to dismiss bishops and priests, as though they were so many sub-prefects of the State. The third law, enacted on May 13, prohibited any ecclesiastical censure of any act commanded by the State. All public excommunication was absolutely forbidden. The fourth law, enacted on May 14, ordered that when any person wished to change his religion, he should signify that desire to the Minister of Public Worship, who would charge him one *mark* for a permissive license. Our limited space forbids citations from the protests issued by the Prussian bishops against these laws, or from the many eloquent speeches condemning them which were pronounced in the Prussian parliament by Mallinckrodt, Windthorst (of Meppen), and other valiant members of the Centre. The efforts of these champions were of no avail; the united forces of Protestantism, Freemasonry, "Borussianism," Judaism, and "German intelligence," had decided "to crush the infamous one," even though their weapons constituted a serious danger for public liberty. In a cynical discourse which was worthy of his school, Wierchow, one of the most prominent representatives of materialistic "German science," admitted quite cheerfully that the May Laws were "arbitrary in the extreme, and dangerous to liberty"; but, he added: "Since we need not fear that the Centre will soon attain power, and since these arbitrary laws injure the Catholic Church alone, we ought to adopt them." This admission that the May Laws would injure "the Catholic Church alone" is very significant; for the reader must know that those ordinances ostensibly affected the Protestants as well as the Catholics. Falk had announced, however, that the enactments had been made to apply to Protestants "for

the sake of symmetry"; that is, that the government wished to present the appearance of impartiality, knowing full well that the Protestants of Prussia had been accustomed so long to State-slavery, that it was a matter of small consequence to them when they were loaded with a few more chains. And two other facts must be considered. Nothing in the Falk Laws affected the conscience of a Protestant, even of a sincere one; and even though the sectarian conscience had been affected, it would have regarded as too heavy no sacrifice which might purchase the degradation of the Catholic Church. Some curious persons asked Falk why it was that the Jews were not included among those affected by his Laws; the reply was that "the government did not perceive any practical necessity" of including the children of Abraham. Had he dared, the Minister would have assigned the true reason for the Jewish exemption—the plethoric purses of the Jewish magnates, without whose aid the power even of Bismarck would have vanished into thin air.

We need not insult the intelligence of the reader by any lengthy disquisition on the absurd lie uttered by Bismarck, when he termed his war on Catholicism a "War for Civilization." Even a tyro in the study of history knows that in the combat against truth and virtue, error and sin never wage war under their own names; that from the time of Lucifer's rebellion down to the exploits of the Commune of Paris, evil has always clothed itself in the mantle of enlightenment and progress. Even "German science," in which Bismarck was an adept, is forced to admit that to the Catholic Church alone is due the fact that the modern Germans are not now barbarians; and that to the Catholic Church alone did the original Prussians—a Slavic, not a Germanic tribe—owe their liberation from the degrading idolatry to which they had been victims for centuries after the other European barbarians had become civilized under the shadow of the Cross. And truly phenomenal impudence was requisite for the assertion that a state of war existed between parties, only one of whom was armed, and with the weapons of confiscations, imprisonment, and exile, while the resistance of the other consisted only of fidelity to God's law, and of invincible patience

under persecution. Some publicists have qualified the phrase "War for Civilization" as a convenient euphemism ; but that which it meant was a downright lie. "In the entire course of this affair," observes Mgr. Janiszewski, "the government and the pseudo-liberal party cared nothing for law, truth, or justice ; they thought of nothing but the attainment of their object. The means could be of any nature, since it was the Catholic Church that was to suffer. At different periods, different passions and vices have dominated other passions and vices ; the inheritance of our time is *falsehood*. It was on falsehood that the plan of the war of Prussia against Austria (1866), and that of the war against France (1870), were based ; it was falsehood that characterized the entire conspiracy against the Church. Falsehood, systematically developed and abundantly rewarded, took possession of the press, and not a ray of truth was allowed to reach the people. The German language itself was travestied. Such words as 'culture,' 'instruction,' 'civilization,' 'liberty,' 'science,' 'Liberalism,' 'Ultramontanism,' 'progress,' and other expressions which often seduce simple minds, received, in this chaos, meanings which sound reason and logic never dreamed of attributing to them." It was but natural that such should be the course of a party which brazenly avowed that it despised mere principles. Thus that most "intelligent" Progressist, Wierchow, when told in the parliament that the May Laws violated the Prussian Constitution, brutally retorted: "I care not to bother my brains in an effort to save mere principles, since the government now abandons such things in order to act in accordance with the desires of its party." Mere truth was a matter of no value to the "man of blood and iron" who affected to scorn everything that savored of the Middle Age ; to the Minister who dared, on June 16, 1873, to inform the Reichstag that he "wished to be excused from listening to any more talk about the pretended rights of the people—mere reminiscences of days long vanished, and which merit no other designation than that of declamatory phrases."

On Jan. 19, 1874, Falk asked the Prussian Diet to pass three additional draconian enactments. It had become evident that the imprisonment or exile of all the Catholic bish-

ops would soon render the Catholic dioceses vacant in the eyes of the Prussian government; and that only the apostate, Reinkens, would be recognized by His Imperial and Royal Majesty as a Catholic bishop. It was necessary, therefore, to provide for the administration of the prospectively vacant sees. The second law was a complement of that of May 11, 1873, which prescribed the method and nature of the education of the clergy, and also regulated all appointments to the care of souls. The third law concerned the banishment of the recalcitrant clergy; and this measure was to be voted not only by the Prussian Chambers, but also by the German parliament—a proceeding which would make it a law of the German Empire. The representative of Bismarck informed the Chambers that the object of this third law was to crush the opposition of the Catholic clergy to the May Laws; to “prevent any illegal exercise of ecclesiastical functions”; that is, to prevent any bishops from performing any duties pertaining peculiarly to their office, and to prevent all priests from saying Mass, hearing confessions, or preaching, without the express permission of His Sacred Majesty’s officers. This law was passed on May 4th. Every ecclesiastic who had already been “dismissed” because of a violation of the May Laws, or who would thereafter be “dismissed,” would be punished, by “internment,” or by “externment,” or by banishment, if he dared to officiate in any manner. The “interned” were transported to some place which the police designated; frequently to some fortress, as in the case of the bishop of Paderborn, who was “interned” in the fortress of Wesel. “Externment” signified expulsion from certain provinces. Thus, the valiant Polander, Mgr. Ledochowski, archbishop of Posen and Gnesen, besides two years of imprisonment, suffered exclusion from Posen and Silesia. Banishment entailed the loss of all civic rights. Mgr. Melchers, archbishop of Cologne, was imprisoned with a horde of robbers and cut-throats for six months, and then he was exiled (1). Mgr. Eberhardt, bishop of Treves, died in

(1) When Mgr. Melchers, on his entrance into his prison, was asked to give his name and occupation, he naturally replied: “Paul Melchers, archbishop of Cologne.” The governor retorted: “You were an archbishop at one time; but the government has deprived you of that title.” Then the prelate replied: “The government cannot take from

jail. The Polish prelate, Mgr. Janiszewski, auxiliary-bishop of Posen and Gnesen, was successively fined, interned, imprisoned, and exiled. Another Pole, Mgr. Cybichowski, auxiliary of Gnesen, merely for having presumed to consecrate the Holy Oils without the permission of the government, was imprisoned for nine months, and then he was deported to Silesia. On May 20th, the parliament passed the law which Bismarck and his imperial master (or pupil) deemed capable of checking the audacity of those who regarded the "dismissed" bishops and pastors as still endowed with spiritual jurisdiction. The Cathedral Chapters were ordered, in case "dismissal" had left their dioceses without bishops, to name administrators within ten days; if the Chapters refused to name such administrators, the government would appoint commissioners who would *take the place of the bishops*. Where parishes were vacant, the parishioners were to elect their new pastors. It is interesting to note that while very many of the so-called "conservative" Protestants openly disapproved of the laws of May 4th and May 20th, 1874, they nevertheless voted for them. One of their leaders, Minnigerode, did not hesitate to avow: "In spite of grave doubts and grave scruples, I cannot allow the Prussian government to be defeated by the Ultramontanes. In spite of the perplexities of my conscience, I shall vote for the law, in order to help the government." Another prominent "conservative" Protestant, Miquel, said: "We cannot leave the Prussian government in an embarrassed condition; we are obliged to aid it." These avowals of the least rampant of the German Protestant representatives are certainly eloquent; but if there was any need of demonstrating more forcibly that in the "War for Civilization," justice counted for nothing, and that servility to the State was the dominant trait of such of the German Protestants as still retained some faith in Christianity, the following words of Wellel Vehlinsdorf should

me a power which it did not give to me; but if my title of archbishop does not satisfy you, I have another profession."—"What is it?" asked the officer. "I am good at plaiting straw," was the answer. The name of "Paul Melehers, straw-plaiter," was then entered on the register; and while he was incarcerated, the plaiting of straw was the archbishop's task. BAZIN; *loc. cit.*, p. 110.

have sufficed: "Those who voted for the May Laws must now bear the humiliating consequences. They must reconcile themselves to this double-edged sword, with which the government is armed; they must even try to sharpen it, in order to save the honor of the State. It is now too late to discuss as to what will be the denouement of this combat; but one thing remains—to uphold the government.... I feel the sorrowful conviction that, as things are now, the most direct path toward domestic peace is a determination of all parties to rally around the State, and to support it, *independently of their convictions*." Then addressing the Centre, the champion of inconsistency said: "We assure you that we have firmly resolved *never to go to Canossa* (1); and that we shall continue the battle with more energy, in order to end it more quickly."

In 1875 five new laws were enacted for the further enslavement of the Church: one regulating the administration of ecclesiastical revenues; one suppressing all the allowances made by the State to bishops; one assigning a part of the revenues of the Catholic Church to the "Old Catholics"; one against convents and religious congregations; and one suppressing the paragraphs in the Prussian Constitution which guaranteed religious liberty to Catholics. Truly, the time seemed to have arrived for the performance of the operation foreseen by Friedeberg—the "amputation of the Church from the social body." By the first law it was enacted that the revenues of each parish were to be administered by a body of laymen who were to be chosen by the parishioners. The pastor was to have no voice, either in the election of the administrators, or in their debates. In the case of Catholic parishes, the bishop was to have a nominal direction; but he was always to refer his decisions to the prefect of the province, and that officer could reverse those decisions without appeal. A radical difference was established between the Catholic method of election of administrators, and that of the Protestants. No Protestant could vote until he was twenty-four years old; a Catholic could vote when he was twenty-one. Again, care was taken

(1) For the meaning of this phrase, see our Vol. ii., p. 150.

that only the better elements in a Protestant parish should control the funds; no one could be an elector who led an irregular life, who did not fulfil his religious duties, or who gave any scandal to his fellows. The contrary provision was made for the Catholic parishes; every adult male, even the most dissolute and irreligious, providing that he bore the name of Catholic, was to be an elector. This fact alone showed that the Prussian government had determined to excite discord between the Catholic clergy and their flocks—" *Inimicus homo hoc fecit.*" When the time arrived for the signing of the second law, the one withdrawing the subventions hitherto accorded to the clergy and religious corporations by the State, the emperor hesitated; but the insistence of the chancellor prevailed. The iniquity of this enactment will be comprehended only by him who reflects that the abolished subvention had never been a donation from the State to the Church; it was simply a miserable apology for a partial restitution, by means of a petty interest (less than one per cent.), of the property which the Protestants had stolen from the Church—a method like that adopted for the same reason in France, Spain, and certain Latin-American countries where the Brethren of the Three Points have robbed the Church of all her immovable property, and of all the movable that was attainable (1). Let the reader,

(1) When Archbishop Ledochowski was notified, four months after the adoption of the May Laws, that his usual revenue from the State would not be paid to him until he had appointed to the parish of Vielen a pastor whom the government would find acceptable, the prelate sent this protest to the president of the province: "I protest against the aforesaid ordinance, for the reason that the endowment of the archbishopric of Gnesen-Posen is based on a treaty concluded with the State, and is merely a *partial compensation for the Church property which the State has appropriated.* In proof of this it may suffice to refer you to the declaration made by Ladenberg, then Minister of Public Worship, in his explanations of the Prussian Constitution of Dec. 15, 1848. All the provinces acquired by the State in later times (during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) received solemn guarantees regarding the support of their ecclesiastical establishments; as you may see in the proclamation addressed, on May 15, 1857, to the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Posen (*Collection of Laws*, p. 45). Hence it was that during the negotiations with the Apostolic See for a new arrangement of the relations between Church and State, these endowments were not regarded as favors, but as *obligatory payments of fully acknowledged debts.* It was because of this indebtedness that no State took upon itself the duty of endowing the bishoprics; and it declared that such was the Church's title, not only during the aforesaid negotiations, but afterward, at the time of the publication of the Concordat of 1821 (*Official Prussian Gazette*, Aug. 11, 1821). The State is obliged to pay this debt, and promptly; for such payment is demanded by the dictates of strict justice, and by the respect due to the State's own honor. Therefore I reserve to myself the right of taking

however, note carefully that this law, by which the German emperor sanctioned a robbery as contemptible as it was imprudent, was enforced with one exception. Any ecclesiastic who would record a written oath to the effect that he would obey *all* the laws of the State, and who would thus avow implicitly that he was ready to form part of a German National Church, was to receive the subvention hitherto accruing to the holder of his benefice. Fortunately there were very few of the German clergy, and none among the bishops, who bartered their ecclesiastical independence, and pronounced themselves willing to plunge into schism, for the sake of the mess of pottage tendered by the "loyal and pious" emperor. In Silesia especially the clergy spurned the governmental bribe; out of 1,200 priests, only five accepted it. But faithful above all others were the priests of the Polish provinces of Prussia; out of 800 clergymen in the archdiocese of Posen, only two were derelict. The third law ordained that when there were any "Old Catholics" in a parish, they should enjoy all the ecclesiastical revenues, and should have the same rights as the Catholics to the churches, sacred vessels, cemeteries, etc. If there were two churches in a parish, the omnipotent prefect was to leave one to the Catholic pastor, and give the other to the schismatics; if there was only one church, the royal officer was to determine the hours for the "Old Catholic" services. In case there should prove to be "a large number" of schismatics in a parish, the prefect was to give to them the entire control of religious matters; and of course the same prefect was to determine the meaning of "a large number." The police were instructed to enforce all decisions of the prefect without delay. The fourth law declared that "all Catholic convents and religious congregations were prohibited in all the dominions of the Prussian monarchy." Six months were accorded to all monks, friars, nuns, etc., for their dispersion; but in the case of teaching orders, the Minister of Public Worship was allowed to defer their expulsion from their institutions for four years, if he could not im-

the proper measures, at the proper time, for the recovery of the sums that are due to me, as archbishop of Gnesen-Posen."

mediately find proper substitutes for them. An exception was made for the Sisters of Charity who were engaged in the service of the sick. They were allowed to remain in their hospitals; but it was stated that at any time a simple royal decree might expel them also, and that in the meantime they were to be constantly under police surveillance—a measure which indicated that Bismarck placed these devoted religious on the same level with the women of the street. These four laws of 1875 should have contented the most ardent defenders of "German civilization"; certainly such enactments ought to have promised what Friedeberg termed "the asphyxiation of the Church." But there remained the task of crowning the edifice which "German intelligence" had so cunningly erected. The Articles XV., XVI., and XVIII. of the Prussian Constitution of 1850, which guaranteed a just autonomy to both Protestants and to Catholics, were to be suppressed. In reality, this action of the persecutors signified but little; already, at the time of the passage of the May Laws, the Articles in question had been so modified, that they were rendered absolutely nugatory (1)—so nugatory, that Prof. Gneist, one of the most fanatical admirers of Bismarck, exclaimed: "These new Laws ought to be regarded as the *Decalogue* of the Prussians." It was thought to be prudent, however, to leave to the Catholics no possibility of an interpretation of the written law of Prussia in their favor; and the conciliatory Articles disappeared from the Constitution. Religious liberty had been unknown in Prussia since the promulgation of the May Laws; and by their abolition of the Articles which proclaimed it, the members of the parliamentary majority showed that they were not yet lost to every sense of shame.

At the opening of the parliamentary session of 1874, the "pious and loyal" William I. gave utterance to this sage observation: "The May Laws have not at all paralyzed religious sentiment; therefore the resistance of the bishops is

(1) As accepted, under oath, by Frederick William III. in 1850, Article XVIII. was as follows: "The right of nomination, of presentation, of choice, and of confirmation for ecclesiastical offices, so far as they are made to belong to the State, and to be based on patronage or other legal titles, is suppressed." The tinkering of 1873 preserved these words intact; but these were added: "Nevertheless, the laws of the State regulate the course to be pursued in regard to education, the nomination to offices, and dismissal of ecclesiastics and of pastors; and they fix the limits of disciplinary authority."

unjustifiable." Reichensperger thus replied to the imperial sophist: "In order to save the honor of the government, I am willing to believe that it is convinced on this point. But such a justification of these laws is dangerous, nay, it is monstrous; for the government thereby arrogates to itself the rights of a supreme judge in matters of religion. It decides as to what constitutes a religious life, and as to what menaces that life; and by its decision it finds itself contradicted by all the bishops and by all the members of the Catholic Church. . . . Do you not perceive that Christianity is deprived of the right of existence, when the laws say that the Gospel cannot be preached without the permission of the civil authority; that no Sacraments can be administered without the consent of the president (of the province)? If the law says that no religious function can be performed without the permission of the president, I fail to understand how you can doubt that the law denies the existence of the Church, and places the secular power in her place. No Christian doubts that the Catholic Church received her mission from her Divine Founder; from Him who brought Christianity into the world without the consent, and even in spite of the prohibition of the Jewish Sanhedrin, of King Herod, and of Pilate; from Him who commanded His Apostles to preach the Gospel throughout the world, without regard to the threats of men, even amid persecutions and even unto martyrdom, and to preach it until the end of time (*Cries of "Oh! oh!" from the Left*). Reflect, gentlemen, if only for a moment, on this idea which seems so extraordinary to you. As for me, I am firmly convinced that these laws can receive the votes of only those who deny the divine mission of the Church, and of Christianity in general. They who recognize this mission must respect it, and not aid the usurpations of the secular power in preventing its accomplishment; but if the contrary be the case, let them avow openly: 'We are no longer Christians.'" The reader will not expect us to cite at length any of the powerful discourses with which the Catholic orators of the Centre defended the Catholic cause in the parliament, although some of those discourses, especially those of Mallinckrodt, some-

times remind us of those of Berryer, Montalembert, Falloux, and Dupanloup. We shall give merely an extract from one of the speeches of Mallineckrodt, and one from a discourse by Windthorst. During the discussion of the law on the banishment of the clergy, Mallineckrodt thus addressed the Reichstag: "If it is true that we betray our country because we cling firmly to the centre of Catholic unity, then it must be said that our ancestors, and yours also, denied their country, even from the days of St. Boniface. You say that the May Laws ought to be enforced, because they exist; but I insist that the May Laws ought to be abrogated, because they are useless. Which argument is the more conclusive? I hold that the existence of these laws proves nothing; their meaning should be investigated. . . . You believed that your combat would be waged merely against the bishops, and against aged and feeble men; you thought that the priests would rush, *en masse*, into your camp. Your calculations deceived you; experience has shown that the clergy are firmly united with their superiors. You thought that it was only with ecclesiastics that you would be obliged to contend; but whoever has eyes, and is willing to use them, sees that you must deal also with the laity. In our Western provinces you behold that firm determination, that attentive calm, with which, at the first sign, the masses rushed to the doors of the prisons, in order to bid farewell to their pastors, and to assure them that so long as the pastoral crozier remains in their hands, even should the time come when the machinations of our government would deprive the faithful of all pastoral succor, the bishops may count on the persevering fidelity of the Catholic people to Holy Church. Gentlemen, if you have occasion to witness these facts, I think that you will begin to understand that this matter is not a strife with particular individuals, but a combat between two fundamental principles—between the Catholic Religion and a philosophy which is without a Christian foundation. The openly avowed opposition of Prince Bismarck, so strikingly displayed during this struggle, may be very powerful; but it is merely a transient phenomenon. Undoubtedly, Bismarck is a powerful personage; but in face of this

war of principles, he is weak as a reed. If you wish, gentlemen, to attain your object by this miserable law of banishment, your calculations are false; and you simply prove that you know nothing concerning the force of Christian convictions. It is a remarkable fact that suffering engenders a desire to suffer; when we see our pastors persecuted, imprisoned, exiled, do you think that we will be wanting in the courage to share their lot? You will be obliged to employ more trenchant weapons; but reflect well as to the choice of those weapons. In the meantime, we shall meditate on the immortal motto: '*Per crucem ad lucem.*'"

On the same occasion, Windthorst thus reproved Falk and the Bismarckian majority in the parliament: "What danger menaces the State, if a priest celebrates Mass, or performs any other one of his functions—if, on the field of battle, or during an epidemic, the priest assists a dying man, consoling him, and aiding him as he passes into eternity? ... Do you wish to decree absolutely that no person can receive the Sacraments, unless he receives them in the manner which may seem proper to each and every successive Minister? We are told that the performance of religious duties is free; but I can see no liberty in the imprisonment of the clergy, when they exercise religious functions which do not concern the State. You say, gentlemen, that you desire peace; but do you conscientiously believe that peace can be obtained by the means which you propose? I can assure you that in spite of what the Minister terms the keenness of his weapons, you will not attain your object; for Catholics and believing Protestants are convinced that no sacrifice, not even that of life, is too great for the attainment of religious freedom. ... You have the power to torment us, to render our condition miserable indeed; you can wound our hearts; but you cannot take from us our faith. If you close all our churches, we will assemble in the forests, as the Catholics of France were wont to assemble, during the rule of the Jacobins." The address which closed the discussion on the part of the Catholic champions was delivered by a Polish deputy, the Abbé Respadek. Even since the treaties of 1815, in spite of those treaties, and in spite of

the words of the royal Hohenzollern, the Prussian government had ever continued that oppression of its Polish subjects which it had initiated at the time of the first partition—an oppression which could not fail to justify the old Polish proverb: "So long as the sun warms the earth, the Pole will never be a brother to the German." The world was not surprised, therefore, when it perceived that the persecution accompanying the "War for Civilization" had fallen on the Duchy of Posen with a severity much greater than that with which Bismarck afflicted the Catholics of any other province. It was the heart of a Catholic, of a priest, and of a Pole, that spoke in these words of Respadek: "Gentlemen, we have lost a very great portion of what constitutes the happiness of a nation. But three treasures have remained to us intact; a love of truth, our national honor, and our fidelity to our altars. These treasures, gentlemen, cannot be taken from us, either by the threats of the powers above us, or by the temptations of the powers beneath us. We submit humbly to the decrees of Providence; we submit to the laws of human justice; but you need not ask us to submit to a power that does not respect our consciences. If you wish to realize the truth of what I say, look at Cell No. 25 in the prison of Ostrowa (1); look at the fifty priests who are imprisoned or exiled, and the many others who are reduced to misery; and then remember well that among us there are hundreds of others who will undergo the same fate, if this persecution continues. Gentlemen, you may persecute a nation which preserves its faith; but you cannot dishonor it. You may thrust into prison a bishop who is armed only with the Gospel; you may condemn him by your laws; but you cannot conquer him."

Now for a brief account of the manner in which the May Laws were enforced. The first act of violence, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, was the closing of the seminaries, firstly, in Posen, and afterward in the diocese of Paderborn, and in others. In Posen, the Prussian government had not waited for the May Laws in order to make a radical attack on the religion of its Polish subjects. Many years previously, it had violated the treaty of partition and subsequent com-

(1) The cell occupied by Archbishop Ledochowski.

pacts by prohibiting the Polish language in the schools and in the courts of justice ; but it had allowed religious instruction to be given in their mother-tongue to little children. Shortly after the beginning of the " War for Civilization," however, it had revoked this " concession "; and when Mgr. Ledochowski, surmising that the emperor had not realized the baneful effects of the revocation, memorialized His Majesty, the " pious and loyal " William declared that the decree was of his own conception. Then the prelate caused the lambs of his flock to be assembled, outside of school hours, and in special localities, for the usual catechetical instruction ; but the police broke up the classes. Then the children were taken into the churches ; but the catechists were fined, and the parents were informed that if their children were taught the Catechism in Polish, they would be dismissed from the schools. When the May Laws had been adopted, the seminary of Posen was closed, because the archbishop would not allow the president of the province to arrange its course of studies " according to the spirit of the law," as the officer told the archbishop in his letter of Aug. 21. In the diocese of Munster, the preparatory seminary of Gaesdonk was closed ; in the diocese of Culm, that of Peplin ; and the same fate overtook all the Catholic boarding-schools in Paderborn, Treves, Munster, Breslau, Bonn, and Posen. The next victims of the May Laws were the female religious. In Posen, the religious of the Sacred Heart had been suppressed before the publication of the law against convents ; nor was the governmental action incomprehensible in this instance, since the authorities chose to consider these Sisters as " affiliated " to the terrible Jesuits. But what crime had the cloistered Carmelite nuns committed ? In spite of the universally admitted fact that these religious held no communication with the outside world, they also were exiled. At Osieczna, in Posen, the Oratorians had a " House of Retreat," whither the archbishop was wont to send those of his clergy who needed to devote some time to penance and serious meditation. The president of the province summoned Father Brezinski, the superior of this establishment, to furnish him with a copy of the rule of the house. Brezinski replied that he would consult the

archbishop; and for this "crime," he was fined 100 thalers. As there was not so much money in the house, the officers levied on four pigs; and when it was found that the animals did not belong to the culprit, his room was searched for some portable property of value, and about ten thalers' worth of clothes were confiscated for the benefit of the imperial-royal treasury. Then the priests who were in retreat, four in number, were interrogated as to the reason for their "imprisonment"; and they were told that they were free. Only one consented to depart without the permission of his ordinary. Of course a legislation so elastic as that which bore the name of Falk, one that pretended to give to a governmental agent the power to dispense ecclesiastics from a performance of the canonical penances imposed by their bishops, arrogated to itself the right of fining and imprisoning bishops *ad libitum*. Quite consistently, therefore, in Article XV. of the law of May 11, it was decreed that no ecclesiastical superior could make any appointment without the approbation of the provincial president; and that any violation of this provision should be punished by a fine of from 200 to 1,000 thalers, or by a "corresponding length of imprisonment." The Article XVIII. of the same law prohibited a bishop from allowing an ecclesiastical office to remain vacant for more than one year; this "crime" was to be punished by a fine of 1,000 thalers, and the fine could be repeated *ad infinitum*, until the vacancy was filled. In the course of a few months, the archbishop of Posen was condemned to pay fines to the amount of 30,000 thalers; and as he did not possess such a sum, his horses were seized, then his carriage, then his furniture, and when an official declaration showed that his person alone was then seizable, he was incarcerated. The lot of a priest, unless he preferred apostasy, was as painful as that of a bishop; his "punishment" was generally aggravated by the malice of the police and of his jailers. Thus, when the pastor, Grokowski, and two other priests were imprisoned, care was taken to give each one of them a Jew as his cell-mate. Seldom, indeed, were the confessors allowed to purchase, with their own money or with that which the pitying faithful sent to them, better food than that furnished

by the prison authorities, even though they were sick almost unto death; and in many instances, meat was given to them only on Friday, when, of course, they would not eat it. We have alluded already to the imprisonment of the archbishop of Cologne, and of the bishops of Paderborn, Treves, and Munster. In some places, even women and children were the victims of the May Laws. Thus, in Munster, when the ladies of the diocese sent a dutiful address to their persecuted bishop, each signer was arrested and fined. In Posen, on several occasions the police arrested children who, by command of their parents, had gone to the cathedral to be examined in religion by the archbishop. We have noted that the Prussian government called upon every Chapter to elect an administrator, in the case of a "dismissal" of the bishop. Without exception, the Chapters of all the afflicted dioceses refused to obey; and the governmental commissaries were avoided as though they were lepers. Each imprisoned prelate had appointed a delegate, who was known only by the priests; and in no case were the efforts of the government successful, although it adopted every means to discover the identity of the bishop's representative. In Posen, 40 deans were examined on this point; and when it was found that none of them would betray the secret, 36 were incarcerated. In some places, the government installed pastors of its own choice in the churches; but the people would not accept the ministrations of these unfortunates. Thus, when the imperial commissary summoned the Catholics of Vielen, in Posen, to the church, in order to announce to them that the acts performed by a priest not acceptable to the government were "null and void," out of 3,300 parishioners, only four attended, and two of these were functionaries of the State. In the parishes of Krobia and Buk, not one Catholic appeared before the commissary. In fact, there was not a parish in Prussian Poland, into which an apostate priest had been intruded by the government of the "pious and loyal" William I., which did not afford the spectacle of a shepherd without a flock. The excommunicated renegade was in possession of the parish church; but at his Mass not a person attended, and he was never asked to baptize, to offi-

ciate at a marriage, or to pray for the dead. The Catholic world, therefore, was not surprised when, on Nov. 24, 1873, the president-in-chief of Posen, by command of the Cabinet of Berlin, ordered Archbishop Ledochowski to resign his diocese. "The example of such resistance and disobedience has led his clergy to perpetrate the same crimes," declared the Prussian official; "marriages are blessed by ecclesiastics who perform the offices of the Church illegally, and the government can no longer tolerate such confusion. In the interests of public order, the government cannot allow this archbishop to occupy a position, in which he exercises an influence prejudicial to the State." The reply of Ledochowski to this impudent assumption was worthy of Poland and of the prelate (1); and we shall quote some of its more prominent passages: "From the day when the government declared war on the Catholic faith in all the regions subject to the sceptre of His Majesty, I have frequently been forced to believe that the present officers of the State have no knowledge of the holy faith which we profess, and that they are incapable of understanding the duties which that faith imposes on us. It is precisely because of this ignorance that the president-in-chief orders me, in the aforesaid proclamation, to lay aside my archiepiscopal dignity; and he threatens that if I do not comply with his order within eight days, the secular tribunal of Berlin will pronounce my deposition. My episcopal office, together with its duties and its rights, has been given to me by God, through the hands of His vicar on earth.... No secular power can abrogate my mission.... As for a voluntary resignation of my archbishopric of Gnesen-Posen, undoubtedly such a proceeding could take place in certain circumstances, if the consent of our Holy Father were accorded; but I believe that the government knows me too well to suppose that I would be guilty of such a deed in the present condition of things. I would be unworthy of the spiritual dignity which God has conferred on me, were I to abandon my flock willingly, at the very moment when it is in danger of becoming the

(1) See the article by Count Tarnowski, entitled *The Prussian Government and Archbishop Ledochowski*, in the *Polish Review* for Aug., 1874.

prey of incredulity, heresy, and schism. . . . You mention, Mr. President-in-chief, certain of the principal acts of my pastoral ministry, and you adduce them as justifying the demand you have made. I would never have dared to enumerate these proofs of my conscientiousness in the fulfilment of my episcopal obligations ; they are the fruit of the grace of God, which aids man in the accomplishment of the most difficult duties. You render the same testimony to the merits of my clergy, and of the people confided to my paternal care ; and this testimony, recorded in your official publication, will cause the entire world to honor my priests and the faithful of my two archdioceses. Only two of my priests denied the faith, and perhaps they did not know what they did ; and among the laity, are there many more who have perjured themselves before God and His Church ? . . . The president-in-chief makes a great mistake when he thinks that the invincible constancy of my clergy and people in upholding the principles of Catholic truth, and their perseverance in duty amid the horrors of persecution, are my work, the result of my influence and authority. No, sir ; they are the fruit of divine mercy and grace." On Feb. 4, 1874, Mgr. Ledochowski was confined in the prison of Ostrowa, where he was treated with the utmost rigor. On March 15, 1875, Pope Pius IX. evinced his admiration of the heroic confessor by raising him to the Sacred College. On April 15, he was dismissed from prison, but was ordered to leave the empire. He then fixed his residence in Cracow ; but the demonstrations of the Austrian Poles in his honor frightened the Cabinet of Vienna, then very anxious to please Prussia, and he was requested to leave Galicia. Proceeding to Rome, he continued to direct the affairs of his diocese ; and during several years Bismarck caused him to be condemned again and again to imprisonment *in contumaciam*. It was said that the chancellor impudently attempted to procure his extradition from the usurper in the Quirinal ; but if that move was made, Pius IX. checkmated it by lodging His Eminence in the Vatican, where he found safety until 1884, when Pope Leo XIII. prevailed upon him to resign his archdiocese, and to become the papal Secretary of Me-

morials. In 1892 he was made Prefect of the Propaganda.

The weapon on which Bismarck had chiefly relied for his combat with the Church—a weapon which, although untried, was apparently trusty—and which promised more of success than he could hope to attain by his more vulgar arms of starvation or imprisonment, was "Old Catholicism." The school of Munich, the result of the marriage of "German science" and ecclesiastical insubordination, had told him that the proclamation of the dogma of Papal Infallibility would be the signal for a revolt against Rome on the part of the majority of the German clergy; and that in all probability, his most difficult task would be the selection, from among so many available candidates, of a primate for that grandest conception of "German intelligence," a German National Church. But "Old Catholicism" disappointed the sanguine chancellor; when he examined its microscopic proportions, probably he wondered that such an abortion ever came into existence. But the war on the Catholic Church was in full career; and it was not for the chief exponent of "Borussianism" to be the first to weaken. So thought the "man of blood and iron" for several years; "*he would never go to Canossa*," although some of the best specimens of "German intelligence," men of his own party, insisted, in the sixth year of the struggle, that the true interests of the fatherland called on him to make peace with the Queen of the Seven Hills. Even the *Gazette of the Cross*, which had so complacently announced the first signs of the foolish contest, did not hesitate to say, on Aug. 11, 1878: "It is because of the 'War for Civilization' that every kind of moral and material misery is seen in every corner of the German Empire. It is only by abandoning the 'War for Civilization,' and by abandoning the ideas that caused it, that we can escape from our embarrassments. Such is our opinion; it is becoming more general every day; and where there is a will, there is a way." The *Gazette* was a Protestant journal; but at that time, nearly all the German Protestants who retained any belief in Protestantism, all who were not freethinkers, called on Bismarck, in the name of Protestantism itself, to retrace the steps he had taken in this lamentable path. The combat had caused far

more damage to Protestantism than to Catholicism. The Protestants had gladly acclaimed the law which rendered civil marriage obligatory and sufficient, because they thought that the infamous enactment would affect the Catholics more severely than it hurt themselves. But while statistics did not show any decrease of religious marriages among Catholics since the beginning of the persecution, at least half of the unions among Protestants had been conducted in Pagan fashion. In the Protestant Synod of Essen, held in 1877, Schultz, a superintendent-general, made this lamentable avowal: "In the province of Saxony, there is not a town of any considerable size, in which from forty to fifty per cent. of the marriages have not been contracted without the blessing of the (Protestant) Church. In one manufacturing city of 18,000 inhabitants, out of the 150 marriages, only 13 were blessed by the (Protestant) Church, and these would not have been so blessed, had not the parents exerted all their authority, and had not the ministers made many sacrifices to gain their point." The Protestants had also rejoiced when the Bismarckian legislation declared that Christian parents should no longer be obliged to procure the baptism of their children. In the fifth year of the persecution, the statistics showed that every child of Catholic parents had been baptized; but among the Protestants, only one in three had been baptized in Berlin and in Königsberg, and only one in five in the provinces (1). When this result of the May Laws became known, the government ordered all its military and civil officers, under pain of dismissal, to contract their marriages before some minister of religion, and to procure the baptism of their children. Does history furnish an instance of governmental self-stultification analogous to this decree of the champion of "German intelligence"? A law for the entire kingdom is promulgated; and after a long experience of its effects, Bismarck finds that it is so wicked and absurd that he must fain order all of the employees of the State, an enormous number in Germany, to ignore it. Common sense would have dictated the abrogation of the iniquitous law; but its maker could not "go to Canossa."

(1) JANISZEWSKI; *loc. cit.*, p. 417.

Meanwhile, atheism congratulated itself on its foresight in having supported the mighty chancellor; and the Catholics found consolation in the hope that "God had permitted the persecution for the decomposition of Protestantism, and in order to lead believing Protestants into the true Church" (1). Much, however, as Bismarck detested Catholicism, he did not love Protestantism sufficiently well to prevent its dissolution by following a course which, as he fancied, would prevent the consolidation of the German Empire, then so energetically pressed by Socialism. The usually perspicacious statesman did not perceive that his policy tended, by more ways than one, to the end which the Socialists had in view; that Socialism is perfectly logical, if the principles of Liberalism, as Bismarck understood it, are well founded. "Liberalism," said Mgr. Ketteler, "makes of the State a God here present; and nevertheless it talks about Religion and the Church. That is sheer nonsense. Socialism cries out: 'If the State is God, the historical development of the Christian religion is an immense fraud. I, Socialism, wish to hear no more talk about religion, Church, or worship.' Liberalism wishes to deprive marriage of its religious character; and nevertheless it tries to preserve it under the form of a civil union. Again Socialism cries out: 'If God has not regulated marriage, we want no regulations by men; our wills are our law; our passions constitute our right, and let no man interfere with them!' Liberalism says: 'The law of the State is absolute; the Church, the family, the father, have no rights other than those which the State grants to them through its legislative bodies. As for property, however, that is inviolable.' But Socialism retorts: 'Nonsense! If the State is the sole source of right and of law, it is also the source of property. We call for a revision of the laws on property and on inheritance.... Away with all your economical principles which tend to concentrate wealth in the hands of the few!'" (2). Shortly after Bismarck had entered on his disgraceful campaign, the Socialists held a Congress at Ghent. One of the leaders, Liebnrecht, made this obser-

(1) *Our Present Duties*, by Mgr. Conrad Martin, Bishop of Paderborn. Paris, 1878.

(2) *The War for Civilization*, p. 11-15.

vation: "The Ultramontanes have more influence than we have over the minds of the people; but now the parliament has delivered us from that enemy." And another leader, Bebel, declared: "The Ultramontanes are our mortal enemies." Bismarck, however, began his war on Socialism by attempting to exterminate these mortal enemies of the pest; and he ought not to have been surprised, when, having urged the Centre to vote for the law against Socialism, he heard from Windthorst: "How can we extinguish the fire, when you are continually nourishing it?"

From what we have said concerning the May Laws, the reader will readily understand that any concession on the part of the Holy See was impossible; and that since the German chancellor refused to abandon any of his arrogant and absurd pretensions, the "War for Civilization" seemed destined to last until the disintegrating forces of Socialism would have destroyed the power which knew not how to avail itself of its sole means of salvation. But an unexpected circumstance showed both parties to the struggle that peace might not be far distant. On May 13, 1878, a Socialistic workman, one Hœdel or Lehmann, attempted the life of William I. The aim of the miscreant was not true; but the shock produced a deep impression on the mind of the monarch, and he remarked to the author of the May Laws that probably the contemplated crime was due to the fact that the people had been robbed of their religion. A few weeks afterward, on June 2, another Socialist, a certain Dr. Nobiling, made a second attack on the emperor-king, wounding him seriously in the face and arm, and forcing him to relinquish the reins of government, for a time, to the crown-prince. This second danger augmented the imperial disgust with the "War for Civilization"; and the feeling became predominant, when, on the occasion of the inauguration of the *Germania* monument at Niederwald on the Rhine, it was discovered that a mine had been prepared for the destruction of the entire imperial family. If we add to these facts the revelation made at the recent elections, that Berlin alone counted 56,133 resolute partisans of Liebknecht and Bebel, we will comprehend the significance of the many invitations

which Bismarck extended to Mgr. Masella, the papal nuncio at Munich, to visit Berlin. The Holy See was certainly gratified by this advance on the part of him who had said that he "would never go to Canossa"; but the dignity of the nuncio forbade a journey to the Prussian capital under the circumstances then subsisting (1). The chancellor then suggested Kissingen, a neutral place, for the desired interview; he was accustomed to repair thither annually for the sake of the waters, and the prelate might like to try the "cure," and at the same time to have a little talk about matters which interested both Rome and Germany. The nuncio found it convenient to visit Kissingen, and several interviews were held by the two diplomats. But saving the fact that the ice was broken, nothing came of these meetings; for while Bismarck offered to send an ambassador to the Vatican, he insisted on a recognition of the May Laws by the Pontiff. Shortly after this tentative attempt at reconciliation, negotiations were resumed at Vienna, between Mgr. Jacobini, papal nuncio at the Austrian court, and Count Hübner, acting for the chancellor. Mgr. Jacobini was one of the most conciliatory of men; and Hübner became convinced that if the prelate and his master were to meet, the latter would obtain his desires. Gastein, in the duchy of Salzbouurg, was selected for another trial of Bismarckian cajolery or intimidation; but the conciliatory Jacobini informed the chancellor that the Holy See would never recognize the May Laws. Not until 1880 did Bismarck resume his approach toward Canossa. Then he introduced in the Landtag his first modification of the May Laws. While retaining the power of maintaining or abolishing, at its own good pleasure, the royal commissaries whom it had charged with the duty of administering the temporalities of dioceses, the government renounced its usurpation of the right to depose ecclesiastics; and in 1881 it recognized, without forcing them to take the obnoxious oath of absolutely universal obedience, vicars-general for the dioceses of Paderborn, Osnabruck, and Breslau. Bismarck even recognized the

(1) Justin McCarthy, in his *Life of Leo XIII.*, appreciates the reason for which Mgr. Masella declined to go to Berlin: "It was quite clear to a man of Pope Leo's experience and observation that if he were to send his Munich nuncio to Berlin, the news would go all over the world that the Holy See was suing for peace with Prussia."

Pope's appointment of Mgr. Kopp to the see of Fulda, and that of Mgr. Korum to the see of Treves. However, the new bishops, disposed as they were to yield to the chancellor in all reasonable matters, found themselves so trammelled, that Windthorst styled them "bishops *in vinculis*." Such was the condition of ecclesiastical affairs when Windthorst forced the hand of the government by his proposition to grant freedom to the Catholic clergy "in everything concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass and the administration of the Sacraments." This instalment of justice having been rejected by two thirds of the deputies, and the same fate having befallen a proposition to restore their olden "dotations" to the clergy, Bennigsen, the leader of the National Liberals, declared that all such projects were very inopportune, since "Rome was then very nearly vanquished. Let us have but one or two years of patience, and we will gather the fruits of our excellent policy, for we will have conquered the Pope." But the elections of 1882 showed that the Liberal leader had erred; the Centrists gained several seats, and Rome manifested no signs of yielding to the governmental pretensions. Another step toward Canossa was taken on May 31, 1883, when it was decreed that a deposed bishop might be "pardoned" by the emperor, and might then resume the administration of his diocese; that the Minister of Worship might dispense candidates for ecclesiastical offices from "legal formalities"; that ecclesiastical students should not be obliged to undergo those State examinations which had been proclaimed as the best guarantees against superstition and fanaticism. This enactment was certainly a great relief to the harried clergy; but not one of the deposed bishops was "pardoned" by William I., until after the visit of the crown-prince (the future Frederick III.) to Leo XIII., when that "favor" was accorded only to the bishops of Limbourg and Munster. It is evident that Bismarck, realizing that the more severe features of his "War for Civilization" should disappear, still trusted to be able to save the principles for which he had contended; those principles would be abandoned, only when the May Laws would be abrogated. This truth was so evident to Wind-

thorst, the leader of the Centre, that when Mgr. Galimberti, then nuncio at Vienna, advised him to use his influence with his party in favor of a less vigorous opposition to the chancellor, His Little Excellency, as the Catholics affectionately termed their chief champion, replied : " I shall accede to your request most willingly ; but not before the May Laws have been formally withdrawn. They do indeed swear to us that these laws will no longer be applied ; but while that assurance may suffice for to-day, who will answer for the morrow ? The freedom of us Catholics is a right. Can we abandon it to the caprice of a Minister ? " And here let it be noted that this refusal of the Centre to hearken to the recommendation of Mgr. Galimberti, who was known to have merely echoed the views of Pope Leo XIII., was an excellent refutation of that falsehood which the school of Bismarck had so assiduously circulated in justification of its persecution of the Catholics ; namely, that the Roman Pontiff held in his hands the political opinions and the votes of the German Catholics. And the firmness of Windthorst was rewarded when, by suggesting the pontifical arbitration in the affair of the Caroline Islands, the chancellor showed that he was willing to advance a little further on the road to Canossa. The proceedings connected with this arbitration afforded to Bismarck an opportunity of treating directly with the Holy See ; and the first consequence of the *rapprochement* was the governmental consent to the filling of the then vacant sees of Cologne and Fribourg. It was then that Cardinal Ledochowski, yielding to the wishes of the Pontiff, resigned a diocese to which he could scarcely hope to return ; and the provost of Königsberg, Dinder, was made archbishop of Posen. Then Mgr. Kopp, bishop of Fulda, was called to a seat in the Upper House of Prussia ; and although the traditions of the German Church seemed to forbid such a course, the prelate thought that circumstances dictated his acceptance of the position (1). Bismarck had confidence in

(1) A seat in the Upper House had been offered, at various times during this century, to several bishops ; but it had always been declined. Frederick William IV., the brother of the emperor William I., and the most just of all the Hohenzollern, would gladly have seated several bishops among his legislating nobles ; and he approached Mgr. Geissel, then archbishop of Cologne, in the matter. The prelate replied : " So long as the bishops can sit in

Mgr. Kopp ; but his object in ranging him among the peers was to obtain a means of treating with the Centre without any intervention of his own personality. On May 21, 1886, another modification to the May Laws was decreed. The State renounced its examination of clerical students, re-establishing the theological schools as they had been before 1873, but requiring their superiors to furnish to the Minister of Public Worship their statutes and the names of their professors. The Pope was recognized as the superior judge in ecclesiastical affairs ; and the royal court which had sat in Berlin since 1873, for the purpose of deciding those affairs, was suppressed, thus exhibiting no longer the anomaly of a Protestant tribunal fining or imprisoning Catholic priests who had refused absolution to persons who were unworthy, or who had celebrated Mass or attended the dying without governmental permission. Finally, the elections of Feb., 1887, having convinced Bismarck that the power of the Centre was growing instead of diminishing, he determined to make such further modifications of the obnoxious laws as he deemed apt to conciliate a party, whose aid he sadly needed. These modifications were presented in five Articles ; and when they were examined by Windthorst in the name of the Centre, the perspicacious leader decided as follows : The first Article ought to be rejected, he contended, because although it allowed the existence of diocesan seminaries, it gave to the State a very badly defined right of surveillance over the teaching in those institutions—an indefiniteness which bade fair to invite trouble of various kinds. The second Article, treating of the right of Veto, should be partly amended, said Windthorst, and partly rejected ; it was condemnable as an entirety. The third Article, acknowledging the disciplinary authority of the Church, was welcomed by the great Centrist. The fourth Article, recognizing the right of the Church to inflict canonical punishment on her subjects when they violated her laws, was of course approved. The fifth Article, which permitted the return of certain religious orders or congregations, and excluded others, was

sternly criticized. The eminent juriconsult said : " Among the demands which Catholics will never cease to make, is that for the freedom of the religious orders and congregations. We shall say nothing here concerning the Society of Jesus, and the orders which are alleged to be affiliated to it ; their return must be considered by the Reichstag, for it was a law of the empire that crushed them. But we must declare at once that there are two objections to the law which is now proposed. The first objection arises from the fact that permission to return is granted solely to the orders or congregations which are either devoted to the care of souls, or are given to offices of charity, or lead a contemplative life." Then the government is reminded of the moral, economical, and material losses which have been entailed upon the Catholic populations by the expulsion of the teaching orders. The second objection to Article V. is derived from the state of utter dependency on the government in which the restored orders will be, if the law is passed. Windthorst concluded his report with this declaration : " It is indubitable that this project cannot be regarded as a final revision of the existing politico-ecclesiastical legislation ; and until such revision is effected, it will be futile to talk about a durable peace between the Church and the State." The arguments of its leader convinced the entire Centre ; but it soon transpired that Pope Leo had written to the archbishop of Cologne, manifesting a willingness to be content, *for the present*, with the governmental concessions. Then the Centre yielded ; not deeming it good policy to be more exigent than the Roman Pontiff in matters concerning which he was certainly the better judge. The new law was enacted ; and thenceforth the State exercised its " right " of Veto on the appointment of a pastor, only so far as the *title* of pastor was involved. The government merely insisted that the bishops should appoint to pastorships no priests who already labored under civil condemnation. The ordinaries were to be no longer obliged to fill vacancies within a stated period of time ; and if a pastor were condemned to prison, the pastorship was not to be regarded as *ipso facto* vacant, as the May Laws had prescribed. Disciplinary measures were no longer to be notified to the

governors of the provinces. The Law of May 20, 1874, concerning the administration of vacant dioceses, was cancelled. Toleration was to be extended to religious orders which were devoted to the contemplative life, to exercises of Christian charity, or to the education of young girls. With these final modifications, the "War for Civilization" practically terminated; as its instigator and conductor avowed, nothing of his scheme remained, save "ruins and rubbish." Bismarck had arrived at Canossa.

CHAPTER II.

FREEMASONRY IN LATIN AMERICA.—GARCIA MORENO, "THE MODERN ST. LOUIS." *

The first Masonic Lodge in Spain was established in 1726; the first Lodge in Madrid was opened in 1731. Not having been condemned by the Church until 1738, the Brethren of the Three Points enjoyed twelve years of perfect freedom for the diffusion of their poison, ere its deadly nature was perceived by the Spaniards. Lodges were soon founded in all the principal cities; and when, in 1756, the government of Ferdinand VI. awoke to a sense of its duty in reference to the sectaries, they had multiplied to such an extent, and their nefarious doctrines had been so widely spread, that very little good was produced by that celebrated prohibitory edict which Masonic apologists affect to stigmatize as "the greatest and most cruel persecution of their order." When Charles III. left Naples in order to mount the Spanish throne in 1759, many of his courtiers were adepts of the Square and Compass; for the Neapolitan court had been a hot-bed of Masonry for many years. With the advent of these Italian brethren, the most prominent of whom was the Marquis of Squillace, the Lodge of Madrid found its power greatly increased; and from that day the influence of the sectaries on the policy of the Spanish government has been almost permanent. Much of this success was originally due to the fact that in those days the Spanish Lodges, like those

* This chapter appeared in the *Amer. Cath. Quarterly Review*, Vol. xxiii.

of the Two Sicilies, depended from the Grand Lodge of London, and to the analogous fact that the English cabinet encouraged the propagation of Masonry in both Spain and Portugal for its own political and commercial interests. Keene, the English ambassador at Madrid, devoted most of his energy and time to the Masonic propaganda; and when Charles IV. ascended the throne, nearly all the commerce of Spain was in English hands. Under Charles IV., many of the highest functionaries of the kingdom and not a few ecclesiastics were votaries of the Dark Lantern. Even the Inquisition was invaded by the sectaries. Llorente, the secretary of the dread tribunal, was one of the most active Masons of his day; and to his perversion is due that shallow diatribe which the average Protestant regards as a "History" of the institution which is his most persistent nightmare (1). The power of the sectaries had become so great in 1800, that Urquijo, the Prime Minister of Charles IV. and a Mason of high degree, thought that the time had come when Spain might definitely cease to have any relations with Rome, and he issued a series of edicts tending to that end. Fortunately the king hearkened to the representations of Pius VII., and revoked the schismatical decrees; but the Masonic influence was not easily thwarted. Urquijo and his brethren devised a plan for the un-Christianization of their country; he proposed to import several hundred thousands of Russian and other Jews into Spain, and to give such pecuniary aid and political encouragement that in time they might dominate the Christian element in the kingdom (2). The French invasion prevented the actuation of this design; and it was already forgotten when, in 1869, after the enforced abdication of Isabella II., the eminent Mason, Zorilla, endeavored to actuate a similar plan. Zorilla proposed to the government of the temporary Regency (Marshal Serrano) that an invitation to settle in Spain should be extended to many thousands of English Protestants. "These immigrants," he insisted, "*must all be English Protestants*"; and unpatriotically ignoring the fact that modern Spain had owed to Irish Catholic immigrants much of the

(1) For an account of Llorente and his book, see our Vol. II., p. 402.

(2) LA FUENTE; *Ecclesiastical History of Spain*, Vol. iv., p. 114. Madrid, 1873.

military power that she still possessed, he added : "Spain (*i. e.*, Spanish Freemasonry) *has no use for Irish Catholics.*" In 1880, another luminary of Freemasonry, Sagasta, then Grand Master of the Grand Orient of Spain, and unfortunately Prime Minister of Alfonso XII., affected feelings of commiseration for the Russian Jews, against whom the Slavs, maddened by the poverty to which Hebraic usury had reduced them, had risen in wicked riot. The tender-hearted statesman urged Alfonso XII. to pay the travelling expenses of 80,000 of the Russian and Polish Jews if they would settle in Spain, and to give to each head of a family or adult unmarried man a share of the public lands, all necessary implements, etc., and a guarantee of support until they were able to sustain themselves—that is, until the greater part of the lands of their Christian neighbors would have fallen into their clutches (1). Alfonso XII. declined to promote the Masonico-Jewish project ; but, nevertheless, the brethren anticipated much power for their order during the reign of the weak son of Isabella II. In the *Bulletin of the Symbolic Scotch Grand Lodge*, Jan., 1882, we read : "In Spain cruel trials have frequently been the portion of Freemasonry; tolerated and proscribed alternately, the lot of the Spanish brethren has never been an enviable one. We were a little anxious as to the course that Alfonso XII. would pursue in our regard ; but we are satisfied, since his promises to enforce *liberty of conscience* have been fulfilled. The advent of the illustrious Grand Master, Praxedes Mateo Sagasta, to the Prime Ministership, assures to Freemasonry the power of exercising its *mission of benevolence*, and of diffusing its *enlightenment.*" Sagasta had just given a proof of his desire to "enlighten" the Spaniards by an endeavor to make civil marriage the law of the land, and by a declaration that "if that law entailed a rupture with Rome, the government of Alfonso XII. would draw inspiration from the conduct of Charles III., and would give an example of firmness against the *obstinacy* of the Church" (2). Sagasta's project for the

(1) DESCHAMPS ; *Secret Societies and Society*, Bk. iii., ch. 6, § 1. Sixth edition. Paris, 1882.

(2) *Association Catholique*, Jan. 15, 1882.

demoralization of Spanish society was perforce postponed to a more propitious moment ; for the resistance of the Catholic deputies was then seconded by the fear, on the part of the government, of a Carlist rising in defence of legitimacy.

In just proportion with the increase of Masonic influence in Spain, the educational establishments of the kingdom had become corrupted. In many of the ecclesiastical institutions, during the reign of Charles III. (1746-1788), heretical doctrines were openly taught. Estalla, rector of the Seminary of Salamanca, and an avowed Freemason, taught a "natural religion," and therefore atheism, to the future religious teachers of the people ; and the authorities of the seminaries of Osma, Cordova, and Murcia soon imitated his audacity. In the time of Charles IV. (1788-1808), and for many years afterward, the once glorious Chapter of St. Isidore paraded its "enlightenment." In accordance with the system of Aranda (1), it endeavored, nearly a century before Bismarck's similar enterprise in our day, to relegate to the regions of the past all doctrines which it chose to consider as "Jesuitical," and it did not hesitate to inoculate its students with the poison of Locke and d'Alembert. Incredulism and immorality, therefore, were not then the foreign exotics which they had hitherto been ; although, just as in the Spain of to-day, the immense majority of the people remained true to their faith, and the nation was then, as now, the most moral of all the nations of continental Europe. The Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella and of Philip II. was a thing of the past ; the Spain of Aranda, Urtijo, Campomanes, Jovellanos, and others of that ilk—all graduates of Masonry—was preparing the catastrophe for the Spain which we know, the Spain of Espartero, Prim, O'Donnell, Castelar, Zorilla, Sagasta, and other Masonic pygmies, who fancied, each in his turn, that the mantle of Cardinal Ximenes had fallen on his shoulders (2).

(1) See our Vol. iv., p. 468.

(2) The reader who desires to learn how the ecclesiastical authorities in Spain were prevented, during the latter part of the eighteenth century and during the first years of the nineteenth, from displaying the energy which was necessary for a successful combat with Freemasonry, will do well if he studies the work by Henry Bruck, Professor in the Seminary of Mayence, entitled, *The Secret Societies in Spain*. Mayence, 1881.

A natural consequence of the spread of Freemasonry in Spain was its introduction into the Spanish-American colonies. According to the *Monde Maçonnique* (1), an organ of the Dark Lantern which has every facility for the acquisition of information concerning this and similar matters, there were, at the outbreak of the revolution against the mother-country, ninety-nine Lodges in Peru alone. That these and other Lodges were the instigators of the insurrections of 1815-1830, and that they simply obeyed the orders given by the heads of European Masonry, when they so acted, was deliberately stated by the Protestant diplomat, Count Haugwitz, in the memorial which he presented to the European sovereigns who formed the Congress of Verona in 1822; and as his assertion was not contradicted by the Masonic half of the assembly, it may be regarded as strictly true (2). Nearly

(1) In the issue for March, 1875.

(2) Some passages from this memorial by Haugwitz, who was the Prussian Prime Minister of that day, ought to interest the reader. "Now that I am at the end of my career (he was then seventy years old, and had been in the Prussian cabinet nearly forty years), I think that it is my duty to draw your attention to the aims of those secret societies whose poison threatens humanity to-day more than ever. Their history is so intimately intertwined with my own that I cannot refrain from giving some details. . . . I had scarcely attained my majority when I found myself occupying a distinguished place in the highest grades of Masonry. Before I could even know myself, before I could understand the situation into which I had rashly plunged myself, I found myself entrusted with the chief direction of a part of Prussian, Polish, and Russian Masonry. As far as its secret labors were concerned, Masonry was then divided into two sections. The first affected to aim at a discovery of the philosopher's stone; its religion was Deism, or rather Atheism; its directive centre, under Dr. Zinndorf, was in Berlin. The second section, the apparent head of which was Prince F. of Brunswick, was very different. In open antagonism with each other, these two parties united in order to obtain the domination of the world, to subjugate every throne—such was their object. It would be superfluous to tell you how, in the satisfaction of my ardent curiosity, I mastered the secret of each of these sects; the truth is that the secret is no mystery for me. And that secret disgusts me. It was in 1777 that I assumed the direction of some of the Prussian Lodges; it was three or four years before the convent of Wilhelmshad, and the invasion of the Lodges by Illuminism. My sphere of action embraced the brethren scattered through Poland and Russia. Had I not seen the fact with my own eyes, I would not believe it possible that governments could close their eyes to such a disorder as a state within a state. . . . Our object, like that of the olden Templars, was to dominate over thrones and sovereigns. . . . There appeared a book entitled *Errors and Truths*. This work produced a sensation, and it impressed me deeply. . . . At once I thought I would now learn what was hidden under the emblems of the Order; but according as I penetrated further into the dark cavern, deeper grew my conviction that there was something very different in the last recesses. The light came when I found that Saint-Martin, the author of this work, was really one of the copyphes of the Chapter of Zion. . . . Then I acquired the firm conviction that the drama which began in 1789, the French Revolution, the regicide with all its horrors, had not only been long prepared, but that it was the result of our association, of our oaths, etc. . . . Those who know me can judge of the effect which these discoveries produced on me. . . . My first care was to communicate my discoveries to King William III. Both of us were convinced that all of the Ma-

all of the Spanish commanders-in-chief in America during the years 1815-1830 were Freemasons; hence the numerous understandings with the rebel leaders, and hence, notably, the capitulation of the Spanish army at Ayacucho, in Peru, in 1824 (1). When the Spanish-American colonies had become independent states, then the halcyon days of Spanish-American Masonry, if we are to judge from a Masonic point of view, entered on their course. "Then," says the *Monde Maçon-nique*, "a love of enlightenment and of liberty arose at once, together with independence, as though from a propitious soil." The entire political history of most of the Spanish-American republics, and much of that history in the others, shows that while the soil may have been "propitious," its Masonic cultivators produced no other crops than chronic revolutions and all their attendant miseries. As for the "love of enlightenment" which the Lodges claim to have manifested in every land of Latin-America during the periods when the civil power has been in their hands, it cannot be denied that if Satanic hatred of Catholicism and of its works be a test of "enlightenment," then, indeed, the Dark Lantern is more luminous than the sun of justice and of truth. It may be observed, however, than in Spanish and Portuguese-America, just as in other Christian lands, "love of enlightenment" has not been the impelling motive of Freemasonry in its war to the knife against the Church. In the eyes of Freemasonry, the crying sin of the Church is not that she is ignorant rather than enlightened, despotic rather than liberal; her unpardonable fault is that she is the Church of Jesus Christ. As

scenic grades, from the lowest to the highest, were destructive of all religious principles, conducive to the execution of the most criminal designs, and that the lowest grades were used as mere mantles to cover the iniquities of the highest. This conviction, shared with me by the king, caused me to renounce Masonry absolutely; but the king deemed it prudent to abstain from an open rupture with the Order." When Haugwitz's memorial had been well discussed by the sovereigns assembled in Verona, the Prussian king alone refused to take measures against Freemasonry; and from that day the Lodges regarded Prussia as the sole continental State willing to accomplish their work, *fas aut nefas*. The emperors of Austria and Russia determined to act as energetically as their Masonic surroundings would permit. Alexander I., the Russian czar, had hitherto protected Masonry, but now he proscribed it; in 1816 he had expelled the Jesuits from his empire, but in 1824, as we have seen, he sent General Michand to Rome to prepare the way for the return of Russia into the Catholic fold. He died mysteriously as soon as the errand of Michand was made known. Was that death the work of Masonry?

(1) See the cited work by Bruck for several Spanish authorities for this assertion.

M. de Champagny well said : " There has ever been, from the beginning of the world, but one single war between the Church, whether patriarchal, Mosaic, or Christian, and that Proteus which was styled Paganism in ancient times, which appeared as Mohammedanism in the sixth century, which was disguised as Protestantism in the sixteenth century, which masqueraded as Incredulism in the eighteenth, and which now combats as the Revolution " (1); and Freemasonry is the personification of each one of these pests. The Satanic sympathies of Freemasonry, whatever may be the individual sentiments of some of its adepts, are especially evinced in Latin-America ; for not one of the Masonic " Powers " in those regions interrupted its relations with the Grand Orient of France, when that great and shining exemplar of all the Masonic virtues erased from its Constitution the name of God and all mention of the immortality of the human soul (2).

Elsewhere we have alluded to the peculiar tactics adopted by Freemasonry in its war against Christianity in Portugal (3) ; to the deliberate attempt to corrupt the entire Portuguese clergy—an enterprise the plan of which had been sketched originally by Weisshaupt as calculated to subjugate the German priesthood, and which was recommended afterward by the Roman *Alta Vendita*, as promising to place a Carbonaro on the throne of Peter (4). This Satanic method of warfare had attained a measure of success in Germany and in Tuscany in the last years of the eighteenth century ; and, as we have seen, it did not fail entirely when it was waged in Portugal in later days. With light hearts, therefore, the Brethren of the Three Points undertook in Brazil the most important campaign which they have ever conducted in Latin America. Their first victory entailed the capture of no less a personage than Dom Pedro, the son and heir of John VI. In 1814 John VI. returned to Portugal, whence the Napoleonic invasion had driven him ; but Dom Pedro remained in Brazil and became a Mason. It is not improbable that it was the advice of his fellow-sectaries that induced Pedro to prefer an independent sceptre of

(1) *The Power of Words*, p. 31. Paris, 1880.

(2) See our Vol. IV., p. 436.

(3) *Ibid.*, Vol. V., p. 267.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 493.

Brazil to a double crown of Brazil and Portugal (1). In a letter written to his father on July 15, 1822, he advised the old monarch to imitate him, since, as he argued, "the Portuguese were very foolish when they felt such horror for so philanthropic an institution" (2). In 1826 Dom Pedro was made Grand Master of Brazilian Masonry, and during his entire reign he endeavored to establish the order firmly in his dominions. No open attack, however, was made on Catholicism during this reign, and the same prudence was observed during the greater part of the reign of Dom Pedro II. (1831-1889). But during all these years the Freemasons were insinuating themselves not only into all the religious confraternities which abound in Brazil as well as in Portugal, but also into the priesthood, and even into the episcopacy. For many years before the persecution which we are about to narrate, it was with the greatest difficulty that any person could be admitted into the Confraternity of Mt. Carmel, or into the Third Order of St. Francis, unless he was previously enrolled in some Masonic Lodge (3); and we can perceive the significance of this alarming fact if we remember that as in Portugal, so in Brazil, few persons of any respectability did not belong to one of these or similar confraternities, so great and manifold were the religious and social advantages reaped by their members (4). Certainly it seems strange that the adepts of Square and Triangle waited until 1872 to doff the mask which had hitherto hidden their hideousness (5). Perhaps they had not been sure of the ap-

(1) CLAVEL; *Pictorial History of Freemasonry*, Pt. ii., ch. 3.

(2) This letter is given in its entirety by Menecacci, in his *Documents for the History of the Italian Revolution*, Vol. ii., p. 67.

(3) DESCHAMPS; *loc. cit.*, Bk. iii., ch. 35, § 1.

(4) The riots which occurred in Porto, in Portugal, in 1862, and in which the war-cry was, "Down with the Sisters of Charity!" were instigated by the Third Order of St. Francis. These wonderful disciples of the Seraph of Assisi, in the letter of dismissal from their hospital which they sent to the Daughters of St. Vincent, protested that "their determination was caused by no unfavorable opinion of the Sisters." Such a remark was superfluous. They were Freemasons, and that fact explained their action.

(5) In May, 1872, the *Bulletin of the United Grand Orient of Brazil* thus manifested the designs of the order: "We are fighting to fulfill the grand humanitarian and social mission which has been reserved for our order in the universal country which is afflicted by errors a thousand years old. . . . Our reason, our intelligence, tell us that we are progressing toward perfectibility, and the chief point is to regulate our march so as to arrive at the goal more surely. . . . Hidden behind the screen of so called religious beliefs, the Black Men (the priests) propagate the fatal principle of obligatory ignorance, in

probation of the emperor, Dom Pedro II., a sovereign who would have liked to serve God without displeasing the devil ; but it is certain that just before the persecution, when Dom Pedro was about to return from his travels in North America and Europe, it was common talk in Brazil that the stay of His Majesty in Italy and in the United States had rendered him bitter against the Holy See, and that the Brazilian Church might expect trouble. Villefranche narrates that one morning in 1872, at about seven o'clock, just as Pius IX. had finished his Mass, word was brought to His Holiness that the emperor of Brazil, who was then visiting Victor Emmanuel, desired an audience. In spite of the early hour, the Pontiff consented to receive Dom Pedro. When the Brazilian had made his obeisance, the Pope said : " Well, what can I do for Your Majesty ? " Dom Pedro replied : " I beg Your Holiness not to call me ' Your Majesty ' ; at present I am the Count d' Alcantara. "—" Very well, " said the Pope, " what can I do for the Count d' Alcantara ? "—" I have come, " replied Dom Pedro, " to ask permission to bring *the King of Italy* to Your Holiness. " Villefranche says that Pius IX. arose, and with his eyes flashing, he cried : " There is no use in proposing such a thing to me. When *the King of Piedmont* restores to me my states, I may consent to receive him, but not until then shall I do so. " The same interview is narrated somewhat differently by the Brazilian authority on whose report of the Masonic persecution Deschamps relies as being of such unimpeachable value that " it would be rash not to accord it full confidence. " According to this authority, when Dom Pedro had made his impudent request, the Pontiff calmly said : " My little Count, you understand nothing about these things ; so don't talk about them. " The pontifical retort, says the Brazilian friend of Deschamps, cut Dom Pedro to the quick, and he determined to punish Pius IX. " One thing is certain, " adds this authority ; " before the emperor's return from Europe, it was circulated everywhere in Brazil that His Majesty had

order to perpetuate their sacerdotal authority. . . . The people will now tear off the bandages of slavery which the oppressors of the human conscience have placed over their eyes. . . . The advantages of *modern civilization* will now take the place of the routine of centuries "

become ill-disposed toward the Church ; that he was greatly excited against her, and that she might expect much misfortune. These rumors, I repeat, were heard everywhere before the return of the emperor, and events justified them."

Whether or not this rumor was well-founded, the spring of 1872 was signalized by a declaration of open war, on the part of Freemasonry, against the Church of the immense majority of the Brazilians. At that time Brazilian Masonry was divided into two factions, each having its own Grand Lodge—the one being of monarchical spirit, and the other being essentially radical and revolutionary. The Grand Master of the first faction was Rio Branco, the President of the Cabinet. On March 3d the Rio Branco Masons gave a banquet to their leader, in order to congratulate him on some measures which he had induced the Parliament to vote ; and one of the features of the celebration was a discourse *by a priest*. The speech was reproduced by the most important journal of the empire, the *Commercio*, and the full name, position, titles, etc., of the orator were carefully detailed. The audacious ecclesiastic was immediately suspended by his bishop ; and then, from every corner of Brazil, were heard the howls of "the friends of Brazilian liberty." Herod and Pilate shook hands ; on April 16th the "Conservative" Grand Orient (the *Lavra Dio*) invited the Radical Grand Orient (the *Benedictinos*, so called from the place of its meeting) to sink all political differences in order to wage a more successful war against the "Black Men." That this union might be the more impressive, both Orients announced in the newspapers that on a certain day the Brethren would have a solemn Mass of Requiem offered for one of their number who had just died "impenitent and unabsolved." The defiance of episcopal authority was unmistakable ; but unfortunately the bishop of Rio Janeiro neglected his duty, and the Mass was celebrated with all the pomp of Masonry. Having thus vindicated their claims to popular respect in the capital, the sectaries turned their attention to the provinces. Mgr. Vital Gonçalves de Oliveira, a prelate of sweet character and of great tact, had just been installed in his diocese of Olinda, when the journals announced, on June 27th, and in the name of the united Grand

Orients, that on the Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul a Mass of thanksgiving would be celebrated in the Church of St. Peter, in commemoration of the foundation of the Lodge of Olinda. In spite of his gentleness, Oliveira was of stamina very different from that of the bishop of Rio ; therefore, he immediately wrote to each pastor in his diocese a reminder that no priest could officiate or assist at a function which was avowedly Masonic. The clergy refused to do the bidding of the Orient ; but the Brethren were not discouraged. On July 3d the newspapers told the public that a Mass of Requiem would be offered in the Cathedral for the repose of the soul of a recently deceased Brother, and that the Lodge of Olinda would attend with all its insignia. Again the clergy did their duty ; and then the Masonic journals called on the people to protest against the wickedness of the priests "who would not pray for the dead." The bishop of Olinda was asked to refute the following argument : "Why does the bishop so limit Freemasonry as to prevent it from appearing officially at the religious functions in his churches ? Masonry is a holy institution ; the proof of this assertion lies in the fact that there are many Masons among his clergy, even in his Chapter, and also in the confraternities. The Freemasons are excellent Catholics ; for the same hands which carry the mallet in the Lodges carry the sacred banners and images in religious processions." On December 28th Mgr. Oliveira sent a circular to all his clergy, calling on them to procure either an abjuration from all the Masonic members of the confraternities, or a resignation of their membership (1). It was found that in some of the confraternities there were no Freemasons ; but there were too many of the societies which proved that the sectaries had not belied them, and these were disciplined by the interdiction of their spe-

(1) The reader must know that in this term "confraternities" were included in Brazil as in Portugal, not only organizations like those to which that name is given in other countries, but also those bodies which had been instituted by Pombal for the administration of the business affairs of the parishes, but principally in order to attenuate the authority of the bishops. These parochial "confraternities" were very different from our Boards of Trustees, or the French *Conseils de Fabrique*, or the Italian *Fabrique* ; they not only handled the parochial funds, but they arranged all festive celebrations, and invited whom they pleased to assist at them. They wore special costumes, and attended all marriages, funerals, and very many civil functions.

cial chapels. As was to be expected, and as the Masons had hoped, the censured confraternities continued to hold their accustomed services in their interdicted chapels, one of their number presiding when no priest could be induced to officiate. They also continued to attend, in their special regalia, at all the parochial services in their churches. In the diocese of Para everything happened as in that of Olinda ; and the parish clergy of each diocese were notified by the rebels that if the confraternities were not allowed to appear in church and to receive the Blessed Sacrament " in their Masonic capacity," the said confraternities would remove the sacred vestments from the churches, and would take possession of the keys of the Tabernacles. The threat was fulfilled ; and whenever a priest was summoned to give the Holy Viaticum to the dying, he was obliged to humiliate himself before the president of his Masonic confraternity, unless time allowed him to go to the Tabernacle in the episcopal residence, or to that in one of the convents. In none of the parishes of Olinda and Para was Mass now offered ; and the interdicted confraternities confiscated to secular purposes (or to their individual pockets) the funds which had been placed in their care for the celebration of Masses for the Dead, or for other pious intentions. These diabolic outrages could not continue in a Catholic community without much risk of life and limb on the part of the perpetrators ; the people are not always as patient as their spiritual advisers. It became necessary, therefore, for the " Masonic Catholics " to invoke the aid of the civil authority against the Canons of the Church. They appealed to the Parliament, not having reflected that the deputies of the people might sustain the authority of the bishops ; but their mistake was perceived by the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, a notorious Freemason, and he advised them to appeal to his tribunal. The advice was followed ; and with Masonry as a judge in a case to which it was a party, the issue was not doubtful. On June 12, 1873, an imperial decree ordered the bishops to withdraw the interdict which they had pronounced against the confraternities ; the government alleging that the Papal condemnation of Freemasonry was of no value, since it had never received the royal *exequatur*,

or, in plain language, since His Brazilian Majesty had not accorded to it his gracious approbation. By a strange coincidence, at the very moment that the decree of Dom Pedro II. was placed in the hands of Mgr. Oliveira, he received also the Papal Brief, *Quonquam dolores*, in which, under date of May 29th, Pius IX. approved all that he and the bishop of Para had done in the matter of the Freemasons, and ordered him to communicate this approbation to the entire Brazilian hierarchy. The bishop of Olinda, therefore, wrote to the emperor: "Sire, I hold now in one hand your order to raise the interdict which I have inflicted, and in the other hand I hold a Brief in which His Holiness commends all that I have done in that matter. Your Majesty shall judge whether I am free to obey your commands." Oliveira immediately published the Papal Brief throughout his diocese, and the government summoned him to answer for the "crime" of publishing a document from Rome without the royal permission. But when it was learned that all the bishops in the empire had been equally guilty, the trial was postponed indefinitely, and other and more radical measures were taken against the principal offender. On January 2, 1874, an imperial commissary presented himself at the residence of the intrepid prelate in Pernambuco. When informed that the officer was charged with the unpleasant task of arresting him, Oliveira replied that he would yield only to force. Then the commissary laid his hand on the bishop's arm—the conventional sign that force was being used—and the prisoner asked to be allowed to retire to his private rooms for a few moments. Permission having been accorded, Oliveira withdrew. When seated in his chamber, he rapidly wrote a protest against the governmental proceedings. Then he put on all his pontifical robes, and went to his private chapel. After a moment of prayer, he opened the door, and asked the waiting commissary: "*Quem queritis?*" Then he read his protest, and followed the officer to the man-of-war which was to convey him to Rio. Having arrived in the capital, he was confined in the arsenal for three days, and then he was visited by certain officers, who asked him what he had to say in answer to the charges which they read to him. No answer could be made; for, as a Catholic

bishop, Oliveira could not admit the competency of a secular tribunal in religious matters. But he asked for paper, wrote a few words, and sealed the document. When the judges who were to try his case assembled, they were very anxious to learn the nature of his pleading; but when the important paper was opened, it was found to contain: "*Jesus autem tacebat.*" On February 21 the daring criminal was condemned to four years of hard labor in a fortress; but Dom Pedro deigned to alleviate the sentence by exempting his victim from the hard labor. Immediately after the disposal of the case of the bishop of Olinda, that of Mgr. Macedo, the bishop of Para, received the same treatment, and ended in the same manner. After two years of imprisonment, both prelates were graciously "pardoned" by the emperor. But the bishop of Para was destined to undergo many more painful experiences at the hands of the Masonic apostles of "enlightenment and liberty." The most notable of these sufferings was that which was entailed by his condemnation of the Confraternity of Our Lady of Nazareth; an institute which, founded in 1842 for noble purposes of mutual edification, had latterly fallen almost entirely into the clutches of Masonry. In October, 1877, this association was celebrating one of its feasts with a grand procession, when suddenly the spectators were shocked by the sight of pictures of entirely naked women, and of other representations even more obscene, amid the images of Jesus, Mary, and the saints (1). The episcopal condemnation of this sacrilege, accentuated by an interdict of the chapel of the culpable confraternity, entailed legal proceedings which lasted for more than two years, and finally the Masons gained their cause; for the president of the province, Goma y Abreu, was an adept. On the night of the day when it had been decided that the sacrilegious organization should retain possession of its chapel, the brethren passed in procession before the palace of the bishop, insulting him with hootings and groans. The religious images were carried, as usual, in this procession; but the character of the participants was shown by the fact that nearly all wore their hats and had cigars in their mouths; and in order that the victory

(1) Thus the *Paris Univers* of November 10, 1879, quoting the *Diario de Belem*.

might be more clearly understood as one of Masonry, the rooms of the Lodge of Para were grandly illuminated during the festivities, and the brethren furnished the populace with an expensive exhibition of fireworks, the chief features of which were Masonic emblems (1). But in spite of the apparent triumph of the Lodges over the bishops of Olinda and Para, the more perspicacious of the brethren could not fail to perceive that their outrageous violations of law and justice, to say nothing of their open scorn of all that most Brazilians held as dearer than life, were drawing to the clergy the sympathies of all honest men, and were tightening the bond of unity between the hierarchy and the priests. Therefore it was decided in the superior councils of the Dark Lantern that there should be a cessation of the high-handed proceedings of the previous seven years ; that there should be a recourse to the more prudent wiles of European Masonry ; that, in fine, the order should endeavor to gain possession of the family, and to control the education of the young. This resolution was foreshadowed in the address which Saldanha Marinho, the Prime Minister, delivered on the occasion of his installation as Grand Master of the United Grand Orients of Brazil : " I now assume, before you and before Brazil, the onerous duty of defending zealously those grand social ideas, the realization of which is the aim of every free people. . . . I have always opposed the logic of truth to the subtleties of *Jesuitism* ; the serenity of my conscience to the sophisms of hypocrisy ; the rights of free reason to the excesses of fanaticism ; the spread of healthy teaching to the propagation of error and obscurantism. . . . Strong though he may be in the possession of truth, no one man can succeed in this propaganda of generous ideas ; and here is revealed the power of our order. You have already demonstrated your good will and your zeal by a generous supply of the resources which are necessary for the success of the mission which I have undertaken ; and, thanks to that aid, during the last seven years I have sent into the farthest corners of the empire, and even into foreign lands, the echo of our complaints and aspirations, and our demand for the restoration of rights which have been

(1) *The Univers* of December 31, 1879, quoting the *Boa Nova de Para*.

suffocated by the armies of fanaticism and superstition. . . . The task which we have proposed to ourselves, and not merely in the name of Masonry, but for its sake, since the upholding of these principles involves the very existence of the order, is to procure the institution of *civil marriages*, so as to free our fellow-citizens from the tyranny of an exclusive and intolerant Church; and, secondly, to obtain the secularization of all cemeteries, thereby protecting the mortal remains of the dead from the insults of a religious sect which pretends to extend its power into the domain of the Infinite" (1). But Saldanha Marinho relinquished his portfolio in 1880; and the new cabinet, beyond an enforcement of the principle of governmental supervision of education, evinced no desire to aid the Masonic propaganda. So "clerical," in fact, did the new administration show itself, that it even ventured to allow the Capuchins to undertake the evangelization of such of the Brazilian tribes as were still Pagan. The bishops were allowed comparative freedom in the exercise of their pastoral duties; and large numbers of the deluded sectaries, who had learned from the recent persecution that Masonry was not an inoffensive and merely benevolent association, made their formal abjurations. The advent of the Republic, proclaimed in 1889, gave great encouragement to the Brethren of the Three Points, and the laws were all revised in a Masonic sense; but hitherto the fervent Catholicism of the nation has prevented any open and extraordinary persecution of the Church.

While the "Liberator," Simon Bolivar, was fighting for the independence of Columbia (2), the civil administration of the country was in the hands of the vice-president, General Santander, a democrat like the president, but a man of pronouncedly Masonic heart. Bolivar would have willingly allowed the Church to live at peace in a free state; but Santander could perceive no happiness in a state which did not hold the Church in slavery. By means of a Lodge which he founded in Bogota, entitled a "Society for Enlightenment,"

(1) *Journal of Belgian Masonry*, Dec. 8, 1879.

(2) Such was the name given in 1810 to the republic formed by the confederation of Venezuela, New Granada and Equador.

and of which he caused himself to be elected "Venerable," he spread the poison of a bastard Liberalism among the people, inoculating them with the notion that they would never be really free, until Columbia possessed a truly Liberal Constitution, and that such a panacea would never be obtained unless they ceased to elect to the Congress men who were "reactionaries, fanatics, and secret partisans of the Spanish Government." In 1821 an imposing majority of Freemasons greeted General Santander when he met the new Congress in Cucuta. The first act of the precious body was to abolish the article of the Constitution which declared that the Catholic religion was that of the State; and the pretext was the non-necessity of such a declaration in a Catholic republic. When the leader of the minority, Dr. Banos, announced that his party could not vote for an enactment which was "radically vicious," he was instantly expelled from the Congress. Of course the Congress voted for the abolition of the Inquisition, which had been dead, to all intents and purposes, for many years; and it also decreed that the right of censorship should be vested in the government alone—a power which Santander immediately exercised by authorizing the publication of the works of Voltaire, Helvetius, Diderot, Bentham, as well as of many immoral pamphlets. The Congress also prepared the way for a schism, that favorite engine of Satan when heresy is not immediately possible. The Holy See had allowed the Spanish sovereigns to exercise a *jus patronatus* in the nomination of bishops and in the administration of the ecclesiastical revenues, and the Congress pretended to have inherited this right from the defunct government. Then, in order to banish the last effects of "centuries of intellectual slavery," the Congress imposed a new plan of studies on the universities, and even on the ecclesiastical seminaries. One of the obligatory text-books was the work of the materialist and atheist, Bentham; and when a certain eminent professor, Dr. Margallo, stigmatized this author as impious, he was thrown into prison. Restrepo, the historiographer of Columbia and a friend of Santander, is constrained to say of this republican tyranny: "This congressional legislation made a *tabula rasa* of the customs, as well as of the religious convictions, of the

nation ; in a word, it was a complete anomaly in face of the sentiments of the people. Therefore the simple announcement of another session of this Congress caused as much consternation as though an earthquake or a hurricane had been predicted. In fact, such Congresses, being composed almost exclusively of lawyers and of lads who were crammed full of French theories (those of 1789), had but one object—to impregnate Columbia with the doctrines of Voltaire and Rousseau ” (1). Had the Masonico-Liberal administration given to the people some material compensation for the impieties with which it deluged the land, the spirit of the world might have triumphed in Columbia ; but brigandage, devastation, military executions for pretended royalism, and rapine of every kind, became the order of the day. This condition of affairs caused every lover of order and of common decency to call on Bolivar, the man who had liberated them from the “ yoke of the Spaniards,” to free them from the more intolerable yoke of Masonic Liberalism ; some begged him to restore the Spanish domination ; others, and the most respectable of all, suggested that he might don a crown as “ Emperor of the Andes.” These clamors reached Bolivar immediately after his great victory of Potosi, obtained on April 1, 1825, and by which he had liberated Peru. He prepared immediately to proceed to Columbia, and in the meantime he forwarded a proclamation announcing his journey : “ The noise of your discords has reached me, even in Peru, and I return to you with an olive-branch in my hand. If your disorders do not cease, anarchy and consequent death will triumph over the ruins of Columbia.” During the ensuing three years the efforts of the Liberator to endow his compatriots with peace and prosperity were continually thwarted by the Santanderist Masons ; the Lodges had resolved to rule or to bury Bolivar and Columbia in the same tomb. But a crisis arrived on Sept. 25, 1828, when, at the hour of midnight, a band of these partisans of liberty and enlightenment assailed the presidential palace, and with daggers in hand, forced their way to the bedroom of Bolivar, crying for his death. The attempt

(1) *History of Columbia*, cited by Berthe in his *Garcia Moreno, President of Ecuador: Avenger of Christian Right, and its Martyr*. Paris, 1887.

failed ; the president had escaped by a secret passage. The leading assassins were shot ; and Santander, convicted of complicity, was banished. Then the Liberator issued the following decree : " Considering, firstly, that the State would be soon brought to ruin if impunity were accorded to criminals and rebels, I resume the dictatorial power with which the people invested me. Considering, secondly, that *Secret Societies have the planning of political revolutions for their principal object, and that their baneful character is sufficiently manifested by the mystery with which they surround themselves, I order the suppression of all such societies, and the closing of their Lodges.*" Then, exhorting the clergy to inculcate unceasingly the principles of Christian morality, he continued : " It is because the country has abandoned correct principles that a spirit of madness has taken possession of it. In order to neutralize the wicked theories which have utterly demoralized the people, let the clergy preach obedience and respect to all." Finally, being persuaded that the youth of Columbia were being poisoned by the doctrines then in vogue in the universities, he decreed that the entire curriculum should be revised in a Christian sense, and that a profound study of religion should be introduced, " so that the young men of the nation might have weapons wherewith to combat impiety and their own passions." Nothing but sad experience and the ascendancy of truth could have wrung these admissions from Bolivar ; for during his early years he had advocated the principles of 1789 almost to the point of deifying the Revolution. The adepts of Square and Triangle never forgave the Liberator for his declaration of these Christian sentiments ; and, had they not expected much from the day when his partisans would be obliged to appeal again to the polls for the approbation of the electors, he would have paid for his temerity with his life. In the meantime the people were made to believe that every vote cast for a partisan of the dictator would be a vote for a Columbian monarchy, and when the elections had been held it was found that the Masonic candidates had triumphed in nearly every instance.

On January 13, 1830, the new Congress assembled ; and in spite of the entreaties of his friends, and although the

diplomatic corps promised its unanimous support if he would retain his dictatorship, the Liberator resigned his office, never, as he protested, to assume it again. "And now," he wrote to the Congress, "*let my last official act be to recommend Congress to protect continually our holy religion, the fruitful source of the blessings of heaven; and to entreat Congress to restore its sacred and imprescriptible rights to public instruction, which has been made a cancer for Columbia. . . . Fellow-citizens, I must say, and with the blush of shame on my brow, that while we have won our independence, it has been won at the expense of every other blessing. . . .* For twenty years I have served you as soldier and as magistrate. During that long period we have freed our country, procured liberty for three republics, repressed many civil wars, and four times I have resigned to the people the supreme power which they confided to me. To-day I fear that I may be an obstacle to your happiness, and therefore I resign, for the last time, the magistracy with which you have honored me. The most unworthy suspicions have been expressed in my regard, and I have been unable to defend myself. A crown has been offered to me frequently by men who are now ambitious of supreme power, but I always refused that crown with the indignation of a sincere republican. I swear that a desire for a throne has never stained my soul. Columbians, I conjure you to heed my last entreaty. Be united, and do not become the assassins of your country!" On May 8th Bolivar departed from Carthagena, with the intention of sailing for Europe. While waiting for the ship which he was not destined to board, he heard of the dismemberment of the Columbia which he had founded. Venezuela had become independent under the presidency of General Paez. The three departments of Equador, namely, Quito, Cuenca and Guayaquil, had become autonomous under the rule of General Flores. His dearest friend, Marshal Soucre, the victor of Ayacucho, had been assassinated by his rivals—a crime which caused the Liberator to say: "It is the blood of Abel that has been shed." He heard also that the students in Bogota—lads who were pupils of Masonic instructors—were amusing themselves by

making a target of his portrait. Perhaps he was not surprised when General Urdaneta, having made a kind of *coup d'état* in order to save the remnants of Columbia, sent to him a deputation, entreating him to resume the dictatorship. His reply was: "A gate of bronze separates me from power—legality. I cannot assume an authority with which another has been invested." His friends begged him to think of his dying country; but he replied: "*There is no hope for my country. Such is my conviction, and my despair.*" The moral agony which such reflections entailed on Bolivar brought him to the tomb. Having been taken to the city of Santamarta, where his friends thought that he might obtain sufficient strength to enable him to prosecute his European trip, the bishop told him that he was at the point of death. He received the Last Sacraments with edifying fervor, and died in his forty-eighth year on December 17, 1830, a victim of Masonic treachery and of Masonic essential lack of patriotism.

The Republic of Equador, born of the dismemberment of that ephemeral creation of Bolivar, the Republic of Columbia, was subjected for many years to the pretendedly "Conservative Liberalism" which found its fit exponents in men like Flores, Rocafuerte, and Roca. This Liberalism exhibited the sovereignty of the people as its essential principle; but its Conservatism consisted in preserving itself in power, even in spite of the will of the nation. The hybrid did not trouble itself to persecute the Church, so long as the Church showed herself willing to serve as its obsequious servant. Under the rule of Urbina and Robles hypocritical Conservatism disappeared, and unblushing Radicalism seemed destined to consummate a ruin which was already more than half completed. But a new era dawned for Equador in 1861, when Garcia Moreno was elected to the too frequently prostituted presidential office. In his first message to the Congress the new president asked that body to adopt a Constitution which would be Catholic in every sense of the term—one which would furnish "the sole means of regenerating the country by an energetic repression of crime, by giving a solid education to youth, and by protecting the

holy religion of our ancestors, so that by the aid of that religion we may procure a realization of reforms which neither government nor laws can effect by their own unaided efforts." The draft of a Constitution which Moreno submitted began with the declaration that the Holy Catholic and Roman Religion was the sole Religion of the State. But the Freemasons, who, in spite of the generally Catholic result of the recent elections, had obtained a few seats in the Congress, could not miss this opportunity of protesting against "a retrograde legislation." One of the sectaries, a priest, declaimed a discourse of Mirabeau in theatrical style, concluding with the sage observation that "since God is as visible as the sun, it would be an injurious, superfluity to recognize Him officially." Such reasoning did not convince the deputies; the entire Constitution was adopted, and Moreno found himself free to endow Equador with the blessings of a truly liberal and Christian government. Our limits do not permit any detailed narrative of all that was effected for his country by this "modern St. Louis." The loud-mouthed praters about popular enlightenment should have admired him; for when they murdered him, the free schools of the republic numbered 500, with 32,000 pupils, whereas under the Masonic government there had been only 200 schools, with 8,000 pupils. The spirit which animated Garcia Moreno is indicated in the message which he had prepared for the Congress as he was about to enter on his third term of office, when the Masonic assassins sent him to his reward in heaven: "Only a few years have elapsed since Equador repeated every day the lament which the Liberator, Bolivar, expressed in his last message to the Congress of 1830: 'I must say, and with the blush of shame on my brow, that while we have won our independence, it has been won at the expense of every other blessing.' But since that time, having placed our trust in God, and having abandoned the course of impiety and apostasy which entices the world in this epoch of blindness, we have reorganized ourselves into a thoroughly Catholic nation, and therefore each day has beheld an increase of happiness and prosperity in our beloved country. Once Equador was a body from which life

was departing; it was being already devoured, just as a corpse is devoured by a multitude of those hideous insects which the license of putrefaction allows to develop in the darkness of the grave. But to-day, obeying the Sovereign Voice which commanded Lazarus to issue from his tomb, Equador returns to new life, although she still retains the winding-sheet of death, that is, some remnants of the misery and corruption in which she was once wrapped. In order to justify my words, I need only render an account of our progress during the last two years, referring you to the special reports of each ministerial department for documents and details; and, in order that you may perceive the extent of our progress during this period of regeneration, I shall compare the present conditions with those which once obtained. And I shall institute this comparison, not for our self-glorification, but in order to glorify Him to whom we owe everything, and whom we adore as our Redeemer, Father, Protector, God. . . . To the perfect liberty which the Church now enjoys among us, and to the apostolic zeal of our virtuous pastors, we owe a reformation of the clergy, an improvement in morals, and so great a diminution in the number of crimes, that in our population of more than a million there are not enough of criminals to fill our penitentiary. To the Church we owe those religious organizations which constantly produce such happy results in the education of the young, and in the care of the sick and the poor. . . . If I have committed any errors, I ask your pardon a thousand times; but I am sure that my will has not been at fault. But if, on the contrary, you find that I have succeeded in my endeavors, attribute all the merit, firstly, to God and the Immaculate Dispenser of the inexhaustible treasures of God's mercies; and, secondly, to yourselves, to the people, to the army, and to all the members of the administration who have seconded my efforts so admirably."

A strange document, truly, in the closing years of the nineteenth century—a document which could never have emanated from a Cavour or a Bismarck, a Gambetta or a Thiers, a Metternich or a Von Beust, a Palmerston or a Gladstone. But all the messages of Garcia Moreno to the

Equadorian Congress had sounded the same notes, and all of his governmental acts had accorded with his professions. When Victor Emmanuel completed his series of sacrilegious robberies by the seizure of the Papal capital in 1870, Garcia Moreno was the sole potentate in Christendom who protested against the iniquity. Immediately after the news of the crime had reached Quito, the president of Equador dictated to his foreign secretary the following protest, which was sent at once, according to constitutional formality, to the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs : "The undersigned, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Equador, has the honor of addressing the following protest to His Excellency, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of King Victor Emmanuel, because of the melancholy events which occurred last September in the capital of the Catholic world. Since the very existence of Catholicism has been menaced in the person of its august head, the representative of Catholic unity, who has been despoiled of that temporal dominion which is the necessary guarantee of his independence in the exercise of his divine mission, Your Excellency will admit that every Catholic, and with much more reason every government which rules over a considerable number of Catholics, not only has the right, but is also bound to protest against this hideous and sacrilegious crime. However, before raising its voice, the Government of Equador waited for protests on the part of the more powerful states of Europe against the unjust and violent seizure of Rome ; and it waited for what would have been much more gratifying—that His Majesty, King Victor Emmanuel, would voluntarily do homage to the sacred character of the noble Pontiff who governs the Church by restoring its stolen territories to the Holy See. But the Equadorian Government waited in vain ; the monarchs of the old continent remain mute, and Rome continues to suffer under the oppression of Victor Emmanuel. For this reason the Government of Equador, in spite of its feebleness, and in spite of the enormous distance which separates it from the Old World, now fulfils its duty by protesting before God and before men, and especially in the name of the Catholic people of Equador, against the wicked invasion of Rome and the subjugation of

the Roman Pontiff—deeds which have been perpetrated in violation of repeated promises, and which are now disguised by derisory guarantees of independence which do not hide the ignominious servitude of the Church. The Equadorian Government protests, finally, against the consequences which the Holy See and the Church will suffer because of this shameful abuse of power. While addressing this protest to you by formal order of His Excellency, the President of this Republic, the undersigned still trusts that King Victor Emmanuel will repair the injuries which he has inflicted in a moment of madness, before his throne is reduced to ashes by the avenging fire of the Revolution” (1).

Not content with this personal protest, Garcia Moreno urged all the governments of South America to follow his example; but, as he afterwards said: “I had little hope that our sister republics would respond to the invitation; I merely wished to fulfil my duty as a Catholic by giving the greatest possible publicity to our own protest. Columbia replied in moderate terms, but negatively; Costa Rica answered negatively, and in an insolent manner; Bolivia informed me very courteously that she would consider the matter carefully; Chili and Peru did not condescend to acknowledge the receipt of my communication. But, after all, what does it matter? *God has no need for us in order to accomplish His designs, and He will accomplish them in spite of hell, and in spite of the emissaries of hell, the Freemasons, who are more or less masters in every land of South America, saving our own*” (2). The Brethren of the Three Points were not then masters in Equador, but their perennial efforts to obtain the supremacy were redoubled when Garcia Moreno so nobly stigmatized the chief masterpiece of their craft in the nineteenth century.

In 1873 the sectaries were spurred to a definitive enterprise by a realization that Equador was indeed lost to them unless “the modern St. Louis” was deprived of power. Garcia Moreno, a president of an American republic, and in this enlightened nineteenth century, had proposed to an American Congress that the land which it represented should be solemnly consecrated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus; and

(1) *El Nacional*, of Quito, January 18, 1871.

(2) BERTHE; *loc. cit.*, Vol. ii., ch. 2.

the Congress had passed the resolution without discussion, and unanimously. In the beginning of April, 1873, the bishops of Equador met in the Third Plenary Council of Quito, and Moreno informed them of his desire that they would do their part toward consecrating the republic to the Sacred Heart. On April 13th the synodals decreed that "the greatest happiness of a people being the preservation of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith, and since that preservation depends on the mercy of God, the nation should humbly seek the Heart of Jesus in order to obtain that blessing. Therefore the Council of Quito solemnly offers and consecrates the republic to the Sacred Heart, supplicating that Heart to be the protector, guide, and defender of this country, so that it may never wander from the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith, and that all the inhabitants of Equador, conforming their lives to that faith, may find in it their happiness in time and in eternity." As soon as this decree was conveyed to the president he laid it before the Congress, and that body immediately decreed: "Considering that the Third Plenary Council of Quito has by a special decree consecrated the republic to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, placing us all under the protection of that Heart, it befits the representatives of the nation to associate themselves with an act which is so conformable to their eminently Catholic sentiments. Considering that this act, so efficacious for the preservation of our faith, is also the best means of assuring the prosperity and progress of the State, the Congress decrees that the republic, consecrated forever to the Heart of Jesus, adopts that Heart as its Patron and Protector. The Feast of the Sacred Heart shall be hereafter a civil holiday of the first class, and shall be celebrated in every cathedral in the most solemn manner possible. Furthermore, in order to excite the zeal and piety of the faithful, there shall be erected in every cathedral an altar dedicated to the Sacred Heart, in front of which there shall be placed, at the expense of the State, a slab commemorative of the present decree." As we have said, this decree was passed unanimously. On the day appointed for the public ceremony of the consecration, while the function was being per-

formed in each of the five other cathedrals of the republic, the president and Congress proceeded in grand state to the cathedral of Quito. After the archbishop had promulgated the decree in the name of the Church, Garcia Moreno repeated it in the name of the Republic of Equador. Has any ruler of modern times thus brought before the minds of his people the days of Charlemagne and of St. Louis? The "apostle of ignorance and of superstition" was sentenced to death in the secret councils of the Dark Lantern; but, as usual in the execution of Masonic sentences of the highly placed, the "removal" was to be made to appear as the natural result of the *crimes* of the victim. Incendiary pamphlets were scattered broadcast throughout Equador, all exhibiting Moreno as a fit subject for popular execration. Thus, the infamous Moncayo described him as a cruel hypocrite: "He avows himself a partisan of the *Syllabus*, in order to commit crimes at his convenience. Communicating and shooting; proscribing, scourging, and confiscating,—such are the offerings which please the God of the Jesuits." From Lima there came a pretended "History of Equador," in which the following Masonic instigation to murder was read: "In that nation which has exterminated so many tyrants there is still energy enough to deliver it from this most detestable despotism. Let the ferocious terrorist and his accomplices tremble before the justice of the sovereign people! The young, the crowds, need no general to lead them to the combat. When suffering attains to a certain degree of intensity, a martyr arises to lay the oppressor low." In a diatribe entitled, "A Perpetual Dictatorship," the impious Montalvo accused Moreno of having driven many women of the street to suicide, because they preferred death to a residence in the asylum of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. The consecration to the Sacred Heart, said Montalvo, had turned Equador into a convent of idiots, with a permanent scaffold on the premises (1). From time to time the Masonic journals

(1) The charges of Montalvo were so absurdly calumnious that Charles Weile, who had been consul of the United States in Quito, was constrained to write to the *San Francisco Chronicle*: "These accusations cause a smile of pity and contempt on the part of all who have known Garcia Moreno. Having resided in Equador very many years, and being perfectly acquainted with all that has recently occurred there, I know well what I say;

throughout South America published accounts of Moreno's assassination, undoubtedly with the idea of impressing upon the popular mind the necessity of such a catastrophe. Thus, on October 26, 1873, twenty-two months before the real murder, a despatch from Guayaquil informed Peru that Moreno had just "fallen under the dagger of his aide-de-camp, Colonel Salazar, who had been helped by a crowd of persons who were hostile to the Jesuits. Twenty-three Jesuits perished with the president, and the people would have killed the Papal nuncio as well, had he not succeeded in escaping to the mountains." Moreno was frequently warned from reliable sources that the Lodges had decreed his death, and that he should never go abroad without an escort. He always replied that if the Masons had decreed his assassination, no human means would prolong his life; that, however, he was in the hands of God. In reply to one of these warnings, he said: "I have already learned from Germany that the German Lodges have instructed those of America to move heaven and earth to overthrow the government of Equador. Probably Grand Master X. is concerned in this instruction; but if God extends His mercy to us, what have we to fear, even though our power is equal to zero, when compared with the power of that clay-footed Colossus?"

In July, 1875, Moreno wrote the following letter to Pope Pius IX.: "Most Holy Father, I implore your blessing, having been chosen again, without any merit on my part, to rule this Catholic republic during the coming six years. The new presidential term does not commence until August 30th, when I take the oath to the Constitution, and then I shall dutifully inform Your Holiness officially of the fact; but I wish to obtain your blessing before that day, so that I may have the strength and the light which I need so much in order to be unto the end a faithful son of our Redeemer, and a loyal and obedient servant of His infallible Vicar. Now that the Masonic Lodges of the neighboring countries, instigated by Germany (1), are vomiting against me all sorts of atrocious

and I do not exaggerate when I declare that to me Garcia Moreno appears to be the most illustrious man that South America ever produced."

(1) During the infamous Bismarckian "War for Civilization," it was the general belief among the Catholics of South America that the German chancellor was the prime mover of

insults and horrible calumnies ; now, also, that the Lodges are secretly arranging for my assassination ; I have more need than ever of the Divine protection, so that I may live and die in defence of our holy religion, and for the dear republic which I am called once more to rule. What happiness can be mine, Most Holy Father, so great as that of being hated and calumniated for the sake of our Divine Redeemer ? And how great a happiness your blessing will be to me if it procures for me from heaven the privilege of shedding my blood for the God who shed His own for us on the cross !” On the evening of August 5th a priest demanded audience with the president, stating that his business could not be deferred. When in the presence of Moreno, he said : “ You have been warned that the Freemasons have decreed your death, but you have not been told when the sentence will be executed. I come to tell you that your days are numbered ; that the conspirators have resolved to murder you as soon as opportunity offers. Probably the deed will be committed to-morrow ; therefore, take your measures accordingly.” Moreno quietly answered : “ I have received many similar warnings ; and, after mature reflection, I have come to the conclusion that there is but one measure for me to take, and that this measure is to keep myself in a state wherein I shall be fit to meet my God.” Then he proceeded with his work, which was the preparation of the message, some passages of which we have given. At six o’clock on the following morning, August 6th, the Feast of the Transfiguration of Our Lord, Moreno assisted at Mass, according to his daily habit, in the Church of St. Dominic (1) ; and he received Holy Communion, undoubtedly fully prepared to recognize the Holy Eucharist as, in all probability, the Viaticum for his momentous journey. Having returned to his residence, he spent some time with his family, and then gave some finishing touches to his message. Shortly after midday he left

all the Masonic manoeuvres in their regions ; that he took this means of adding to the embarrassments of the Holy See, while he was endeavoring to constitute a German National Church. Certainly the word of the well-informed and calmly judicious García Moreno gives more than plausibility to the belief.

(1) Moreno never missed his daily Mass ; and every day he read a chapter of the New Testament and one of the *Imitation*. Every evening he recited the Rosary, generally with his family.

his palace, followed at a little distance by an aide-de-camp, his intention being to read his message to the Congress. On the way he entered the cathedral, and prayed before the Blessed Sacrament for nearly an hour. Leaving the house of God, he turned his steps toward the Government House, on the opposite side of the Great Square; but he had walked only a few yards when seven assassins rushed on him. One of the murderers cried: "Die, strangler of liberty!" and as the martyr of liberty fell, pierced by six bullets and by fourteen dagger-strokes, he cried in clear voice: "I die, but God does not die—*Pero Dios no se muere*" (1). From among the innumerable panegyrics on Garcia Moreno we select the following tribute from the pen of Louis Veuillot: "Garcia Moreno was superior to vulgarity, indifference, and forgetfulness; he would have been above hatred, if God could permit that virtue should not entail hatred. It may be said of Moreno, that he was the most *antique* of all moderns; he was a man who did honor to humanity. It was not sufficient for him to be one of Plutarch's characters; he entertained an idea of grandeur which was vaster and more just than that of Plutarch. Alone, unknown, but sustained by faith and his great heart, he effected all that Plutarch describes his worthiest heroes as having effected; and he did all this in accordance with his natural character, and by a careful observance of a rule which he had planned for himself. But he did more; continually aiming higher, he dared to attempt a task that our epoch deems impossible. In the government of Equador he was a man of Jesus Christ. Let us salute

(1) The crime of 1875 was not the first that Masonry perpetrated against the life of Moreno. Shortly after the final catastrophe, the Roman *Civiltà Cattolica*, the calmest and most unsensational periodical in Europe, narrated how, in the fall of 1869, a certain Equadorian scientist received satisfactory proof that the Lodges had even at that time resolved to murder the great president. This gentleman had studied in various European universities; among others, in that of Berlin. When about to return home, where a professorship in the University of Quito awaited him, he called on one of his Berlinese professors in order to bid him farewell. The young man had won the admiration and affection of the German, who was highly placed in the councils of the Dark Lantern. When the old Freemason learned that his friend was about to accept a professorship to which he had been appointed by Garcia Moreno, whom the youth greatly admired, he remarked that there was no sense in accepting favors from a man who would be dead before the ambitious lad arrived in Equador. The words produced no deep impression in the mind of the hearer; but when he arrived in Guayaquil he learned that the president had just escaped assassination, and that very foolishly the chief criminal, Cornejo, had been punished merely by banishment for eight years.

this noble figure, the most beautiful of modern times ; it is worthy of history. A man of Jesus Christ ; that is, a man of God, in public life ! And he was, as the phrase runs, a man of his time ; he studied the sciences of his time, he appreciated its habits, he understood its customs and laws ; but, nevertheless, he was never aught else than an exact follower of the Gospel, a faithful servant of God ; and he made his people, who had been Christian indeed, but were being devoured by Socialism, a people faithful in the service of God. It was a little republic of South America that showed this wonder to the world. Moreno was a Christian, and one of a stamp not at all affected by our modern rulers ; he was one of those leaders of whom the nations have lost all remembrance ; he was a dispenser of justice, such as the seditious and the conspirators of our day seldom meet. In Moreno there was something of Medicis, and something of Ximenes. He was Medicis, less the trickery of that prince ; he was Ximenes, less the cardinalitial scarlet. Of both Medicis and Ximenes he had the genius, the magnificence, and the love of country. What is wanting in the glory of Garcia Moreno ? Nothing. He furnished a unique example to the world amid which he lived ; he was an honor to his country ; and perhaps his death was the greatest service that he rendered to his people. He showed the human race what valor and faith can effect when they are united to enlightened patriotism" (1). On Sept. 20, 1875, Pope Pius IX., in one of those eloquent Allocutions in which the Captive of the Vatican was wont to unmask the designs of the persecutors of the Church, described the work of Masonry in France, Germany, and Switzerland ; and then turning his discourse to South America, he said : "Amid all these governments thus delivered to the delirium of impiety, Equador has been miraculously distinguished for its spirit of justice, and for the indomitable faith of its president. But alas ! even in Equador there are not wanting some impious men who consider it an insult to their pretended modern civilization that there should be found a government which, while devoting itself to the material welfare of

(1) In the *Univers*, September 27, 1875.

its people, endeavors at the same time to assure the moral and spiritual progress of that people. These valiant men decided to murder their illustrious president; and he succumbed to the steel of the assassins, a victim of his faith, and of his Christian love for his country."

Freemasonry did not attain to power immediately after it had murdered Garcia Moreno; Borrero, the successor of the martyr, was a Liberal, but nevertheless a good Catholic. But in 1877 a creature of the Lodges, a drunken soldier named Vintimilla, was raised to a dictatorship, and a carnival of Masonry was initiated. A decree for the secularization of education, that is, for an atheistic training of the young, was issued immediately; and when the pastors, with the bishop of Riobamba at their head, protested against the iniquity, another decree pronounced the penalty of banishment against "ecclesiastics who alarmed consciences." Mgr. Chica, the archbishop of Quito, announced to the government: "Come what may, I shall continue to resist the propagation of error. Such is my duty, and with the grace of God I shall be faithful to it." Fifteen days after this protest, on Good Friday, March 30th, the archbishop officiated at the Mass of the Pre-sanctified in the cathedral. He had scarcely taken the wine of ablution when he was attacked by horrible convulsions, and died within an hour. The autopsy showed that twelve grains of strychnine had been given to the prelate. Of course, the assassins were never punished. The remains of the archbishop had scarcely been placed in the tomb, when Vintimilla ordered all the pastors in the republic to celebrate, on April 19th, Masses of Requiem for the souls of "all the *martyrs of holy Liberalism* who had fallen since March 19, 1869"—this date being that of a famous insurrection against Moreno. To this decree the bishops opposed an order forbidding "a scandal to the Catholic people"; and as nearly all the Ecuadorians applauded the action of the prelates, the dictator perforce contented himself with an oath of revenge. In quick succession came a revocation of the Concordat which had guaranteed the liberty of the Catholic religion, a suppression of all the ecclesiastical salaries, and the exile of many pastors. The bishop of Guayaquil died with all the symptoms of

poisoning, and the bishop of Riobamba escaped assassination by fleeing to the mountains. The people of Equador were on the verge of revolution, when Vintimilla resolved to change his policy. The exiled priests were recalled, and the bishops were made to understand that the government desired peace. This "treachery" on the part of their creature enraged the Masons; the Catholics could not rely on the sincerity of their recent enemy; and in 1883 a revolution, in which both Liberals and Conservatives took part, overthrew Vintimilla. From that time until the Masonic eruption under Alfaro, the sequels of which still persevere in the form of nearly every conceivable kind of persecution of the Church, the Brethren of the Three Points allowed Equador to rest in comparative peace.

The sad distinction of having succumbed, perhaps pusillanimously, to Masonic machinations more frequently than the other South American Republics, belongs to Brazil and Equador. But in all the other states the Church has found, at least in our day, much reason for sorrow. In Argentina the Government asked the Holy See, in 1875, to send some missionaries and some female religious who would labor in the outlying regions of the republic, where there was a dearth of spiritual and civilizing agencies. Pius IX. immediately arranged with the superiors of the Congregation of St. Francis de Sales, the now wide-spread society which had been founded in Turin by Don Bosco, for the departure of ten Salesians for the promising field; and he ordered twelve Sisters of the Congregation of Our Lady *della Misericordia*, the mother-establishment of which is in Savona, to set out for the same destination. In the audience of farewell which His Holiness accorded to the little band, he necessarily reflected on the iniquities recently perpetrated by Masonry in countries which were sisters to Argentina, and in order to encourage the new apostles, he said: "This time I am not sending lambs to a pack of wolves. You are going to a country where the authorities are favorable to you, and God will fructify your labors." But scarcely had the Salesians and their auxiliaries landed in Argentina, when they learned that the Masons, enraged because of a

failure to induce the Congress to enter on a course of Satanic enterprise in regard to Catholicism, had incited the populace of Buenos Ayres to an anti-Jesuitical riot, massacred several of the Jesuit professors who were instructing the Argentine youth in the sciences apparently dear to the Masonic heart, and levelled the college to the ground. Nor did Chili—hitherto, perhaps, the most pronouncedly Catholic state in Latin America—escape the contagion. In 1875 the Grand Lodge of Chili, ruled by English and German merchants and speculators, drew up a plan for the “complete secularization”—that is, for the atheization—of the social institutions of the republic. This scheme, entitled a “Plan of Work for the Grand Lodge of Chili,” was published by that excellent Masonic authority to which we are indebted for so much of our knowledge concerning the enterprises of the Brethren, namely, the *Moude Maçonnique*, in its issue of January, 1876. In the third Article of this plan it is ordered that: “The Section for Instruction shall attend to: 1st, the foundation of secular schools; 2d, to the furnishing of aid to every society (especially the Protestant *colporteurs*) which gives gratuitous instruction to the poor (that is, which tries to deprive the poor of their faith); 3d, to contribute to the prosperity of all the scientific, literary, and artistic institutions in the country (provided that there were any which were not Catholic); 4th, to give popular conferences for the spread of such knowledge as tends to facilitate the progress of humanity.” The Section for Benevolence was to occupy itself: “1st, with the foundation of hospitals (as though Chili needed hospitals); 2d, with aiding directly or indirectly all such institutions *when they do not pursue egoistic and sectarian objects* (that is, when they are not Catholic).” . . . The Section for Propaganda was to: “1st, defend and make known the veritable sentiments of Freemasonry (then why not abolish “the secret” ?); 2d, to try to introduce into all public institutions the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity; and especially to labor for a separation of Church and state, *for the establishment of Civil Marriage* (1), for the abolition of all privileges, for the

(1) Civil marriage, with its necessary consequence of divorce *ad libitum* and the ulti-

secularization of all charities (so as to provide fat salaries for the distributors, attendants, etc.); 3d, for the help of all victims of *religious intolerance*." In spite of the efforts of the English and German residents in Chili, this Masonic programme failed; but in 1881 the Masonic *Chaine d'Union* (p. 437) encouraged the Brethren with this information: "Brother Jose Vergara, Minister of the Interior, has been chosen Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Chili. We cannot doubt that, under the direction of this eminent Brother, the Chilian Lodges will recover all their activity, which is now so repressed by the clerical party. *In Chili it is really the English and German Lodges that do the work.*" Nevertheless, hitherto the sterling Catholicism of the Chilian people has refused to accept the enlightenment which emanates from the rays of the Dark Lantern.

Venezuela has held its own fairly well in face of Masonic aggression, although during the three presidential terms of Guzman Blanco (1873-1887) the Brethren continually flat-

mate destruction of the very idea of the family, is ever one of the dearest objects to the Masonic heart. Voltaire, Helvetius, d'Alembert, Rouillé d'Orfeuil and all *ejusdem furfuris* insisted upon the destruction of every trace of a sacramental idea in matrimony, and the Constituent Assembly of 1790 actuated this theory when it proclaimed the equality of bastards and legitimate children. In this Assembly Cambacérès, the future arch-chancellor of Napoleon and future Grand Master of French Masonry, declared: "There is a law which is superior to all others, and that law—the law of nature—tells us that illegitimate children have all the rights which some would take from them.... All children, without any distinction, have the right of succession to those who have given existence to them. The differences heretofore subsisting between these classes of children are merely effects of pride and superstition, and they are ignominious and contrary to justice." During the rule of the Paris Commune of 1871, as we learn from Maxime du Camp, in his *Convulsions of Paris*, the Central Council applauded the Citizen Gratien when, at a reunion in the Hotel de Ville, he thus perorated: "If we wish to give to all an equal and a revolutionary education, we must destroy the family. The child is not a property of a father and mother; the child belongs to the State." Ragon whose *Interpretative Course* was approved by the Grand Orient of France in 1840 as "the work of a profoundly instructed brother," says: "The indissolubility of marriage is contrary to the laws of nature and of reason.... Its corrective is divorce; divorce is now among our customs, waiting for the day when it will be found among our laws." Louis Napoleon, in his *Napoleonic Ideas*, when recounting the mistakes of the French governments that preceded his own, numbered as one of those errors their failure to admit the right of divorce in their jurisprudence. Since such are the sentiments of Masonry in regard to marriage and the family, we were not surprised when we read in the *Official Municipal Bulletin of Paris* of September, 1882, that on the preceding August 12th, at a distribution of prizes to the schools of the Fourteenth Arrondissement, Brother Schmidt, an assistant to the mayor, told the young girls that it was the duty of French mothers "to make their children hate that religious cosmopolitanism which debases our earthly country beneath a hypothetical religion which is hidden somewhere in the vault of heaven," and that children should be taught to despise "that humility which impels a man to kneel before another who is no more infallible than himself."

tered themselves that Venezuelan Catholicism was moribund, thanks to the poison which the Liberalism of Blanco, the "Protector of the Masonic Order in the Republic," allowed them to administer to the people. Under date of March 29, 1874, the Grand Lodge of Venezuela sent "to all the Lodges in its jurisdiction" a circular, the barefaced mendacity of which has rarely been excelled in any of the documents which, after the dagger, have ever been the chosen weapons of South American Masonry in its campaigns of "popular instruction." We shall quote a few gems from this official pronouncement. "Having been called to regenerate Venezuela, and being filled with faith in the principles of Masonry, Brother Guzman Blanco has resolved to take the Masonry of Venezuela as his co-operatrix, and he presents himself as its declared and decided protector. . . . The Grand Lodge regards as enemies of Masonry all who make war on Masonic associations; all who do not respect the dignity of the country; all who try to suffocate the reason of man; all who try to dominate by means of ignorance; *all who foment fanaticism and superstition.* . . . Masonry holds that truth rests on science, and on science alone; Masonry repels absolutely all fanaticism and superstition, warring on them inexorably by means of instruction. . . . He is not a true Freemason who does not support the government which represents the people of Venezuela in the combat *against the pretensions of the Vatican to a sovereignty on Venetian soil—a sovereignty which would be superior to that of the Venezuelans themselves.* The question is as to whether Venezuela is bound to receive the inspirations of the Vatican—of that power which recently *ordered its representative in Paris to see that in all the churches of France prayers were addressed to the Supreme Being for the ruin of the Republic and the restoration of the Monarchy;* of that power which has always insisted on ignorance as the principal support of the Holy See and of all thrones. . . . *You perceive how detrimental to all its servants this influence of the Vatican must be, since it leads them to the most criminal perjury. . . . The great majority of Freemasons are faithful Christians, fulfilling all the duties which the Church imposes on them, although they do not re-*

nounce the exercise of their reason, since that reason is sacred to them, being an emanation from the Supreme Being. . . . *During many centuries the Church of Rome prevented the diffusion of knowledge, and punished as heretics all who penetrated the secrets of nature, and revealed those secrets to other men. During many centuries the Church of Rome denounced the education of the masses as prejudicial to both ecclesiastical and civil tyranny; and the Holy See appealed to all sovereigns, in the name of their own existence, to combat liberal principles. . . . Against this injustice Masonry has fought from the first days of its existence, and the hour has now struck for all our Brethren to work for the manifestation of truth in its entirety.*" With the President of the Republic (we should say, its *dictator*) as the gracious Protector of Venezuelan Masonry, it is not strange that the Venezuelan people were afflicted, during the entire period of their suffering under the incubus of Guzman Blanco, with laws which "manifested (Masonic travesty of) truth in its entirety"; and that the usual Masonic persecution of the clergy became the order of the day. Only one of the Venezuelan bishops was derelict. Mgr. Guebara, archbishop of Caracas, having refused to swear fidelity to the Masonico-Febronian enactments, was exiled, and his see was offered to the bishop of Guayana, an aged, weak, but ambitious prelate, who signified his willingness to commit spiritual bigamy. Pope Pius IX., under date of July 8, 1874, wrote to the unfortunate man a strong but fatherly reproof, dwelling on the wickedness of the new laws to which the bishop of Guayana had sworn fidelity, and stigmatizing the hypocrisy with which the weakling had assured the Holy See that "he would have liked to refuse the archiepiscopal dignity on account of his age and feebleness."—"One fact modifies our grief," said the Pontiff; "you have not yet consummated the proposed usurpation; you have caused a great scandal, but you have not yet become formally an intruder. You remind us that you are an old man. Think, therefore, of the judgment which you must soon undergo. What will you reply to Jesus Christ, when He demands an account of your stewardship and upbraids you for having rended His seamless garment? . . . Dignities, wealth,

the favor of the powerful, form a vain paraphernalia which will soon be taken from you ; reflect on the punishment that awaits you, if you persist in preparing the way for schism and apostasy. . . . Hasten, venerable brother, by a public and immediate retraction of your wicked oath, to remove the stumbling-block of scandal which you have placed in the path of the faithful ; hasten to redeem your lamentable weakness by an apostolic firmness of soul and by an intrepid defense of the rights of the Church."

Peru has suffered much anxiety because of the intrigues of Masonry, supported by the funds at the disposal of the so-called "missionary" bodies which are so plentifully endowed by gullible Protestants in the United States ; but of open persecution Peru has experienced but little. During the first years of the pontificate of Pius IX., the Masons endeavored to incite a war with the Holy See on the subject of episcopal and parochial appointments ; but in 1874 the Pontiff checkmated the Brethren by according to the presidents of Peru the right of patronage which his predecessors had granted, in the olden time, to the kings of Spain : "Pius, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, for the imperishable remembrance of this matter : Among the singular favors which God has conferred on the Peruvian nation, none is so striking as the gift of Catholic truth which the Peruvians have carefully preserved from the day when they first received it from the preachers of the Gospel, and which they have cultivated so well that from among them have risen several heroes whom the Church has regarded as worthy of the honors of her altars. . . . To this zeal in preserving Catholic unity have been added many other acts performed by the governmental authority. Thus the endowments of dioceses already existing have been liberally augmented, and those of new dioceses have been readily accorded ; aid has been given to the seminaries, and to the colleges which missionaries have founded for the propagation of the faith ; similar generosity has been exhibited in providing for the diffusion of sound doctrine by the endowment of parishes among those (savages) who have been converted to the faith ; and finally, considerable sums have been expended in the

restoration and ornamentation of old churches, and in the erection of new ones. . . . Wherefore, wishing to condescend to the prayers which the Peruvian government has addressed to us through its representative, and following the example of our predecessors who have ever granted special favors to those who have deserved well of Christendom, we have resolved, after consultation with certain cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, to concede by our Apostolic authority that hereafter the President of the Republic of Peru, and his successors, shall enjoy that right of patronage which, by the favor of the Apostolic See, the kings of Spain enjoyed in Peru before that country was separated from the rule of the Spanish crown. . . . The President of the Republic of Peru, and his successors, shall enjoy the right of presenting to the Apostolic See, whenever an archiepiscopal or episcopal see is vacant, the names of certain fit and worthy ecclesiastics ; so that, according to the regulations prescribed by the Holy Canons, the canonical institution may be effected. . . . Nevertheless, the candidates thus presented shall enjoy no right of episcopal administration, until they shall have received the Apostolic Letters conferring their institution. . . . The said President shall also enjoy the right of presentation to canonicates *de officio*, and to parishes, providing that the canonical regulations concerning *concursus* and examination shall have been observed. . . . Finally, the Presidents of Peru shall receive, in all the churches of the Republic, the same honors which were formerly accorded to the kings of Spain, because of the right of patronage which was granted by this Holy See." Hitherto the exercise of this right of patronage seems to have prevented any extraordinary manifestations, on the part of the Peruvian government, of greed for ecclesiastical property, or of jealousy of ecclesiastical privileges.

At the present moment, no country of Latin America is so subjected to the nefarious influences of Masonry as is our neighbor, the Republic of Mexico. In 1867, the *Freemason's Journal* of Leipsic published a correspondence from this sectary-ridden land, which ascribed to the votaries of the Dark Lantern the "credit" of all the revolutions which have

cursed the country ever since the "yoke" of Spain was discarded (1). In fact, the Masonic writer gave a mere paraphrase of the report "On the Form of Government which Mexico Ought to Adopt," which was accepted by the Assembly of Notables which undertook, in 1863, to give to their country some semblance of a stable and Christian government (2). Whatever may be our opinion concerning French intervention in the affairs of Mexico, or concerning the weak scion of the Hapsburgs who vacillated between the conservatives and the "liberals" until resolution was of no use, who condescended to humor Masonry by signing a Concordat which the Holy See was obliged to condemn,—it is certain that the Assembly of Notables represented all that was respectable in Mexico, both for morality and for education. The solemn utterances of such a body, spoken in the face of expectant America and Europe, are worthy of attention. Alluding to the separation from the mother country, the notables insisted that "if, at that time, Mexico had not forgotten her ancient institutions, undoubtedly she would have reached the height of prosperity; but she knew not how to profit by her emancipation, and she abused her independence." The Federal Constitution, "an imperfect imitation of that of the United States," contended the notables, "proved to be the ruin of Mexico"; but the evil was increased and confirmed "by the establishment of Masonic Lodges"—those of the Scotch Rite and of the Rite of York. "These secret societies, by their conspiracies, and by means of poison and the dagger, decided the destiny of the country, and played with the lives of the citizens." It was because of the inspiration of the Lodges, declared the notables, that in 1828 the city of Mexico beheld the governmental authorities supervising the pillage of the Grand Bazaar, sanctioning attacks against private property. "From the Lodges came the iniquitous laws of banishment decreed against all persons of Spanish birth"; laws which affected so many innocent persons, which destroyed commerce by banishing capital, and which ended in the public sale of exemptions from the

(1) This correspondence was reproduced in *Le Monde* of July 14, 1867.

(2) This report was published in the *Paris Moniteur* of Sept. 13, 1863.

decree of exile. "The highest positions in the republic are frequently occupied by common highwaymen. The public treasury is constantly depleted. The property of the Church is wickedly confiscated, and with no profit to the country." With the fall of Maximilian came dark days indeed for the Catholics of Mexico; but not until November 24, 1874, was the "Separation of Church and State" effected in a manner which was calculated to satisfy Masonry while it waits for the moment when it will be able, as it fondly trusts, to sweep from Mexican soil the last trace of Catholicism. By the new law, which has hitherto been inexorably enforced, no officer of the government (civil or military), no body of troops, no corporation of any kind, can assist officially at any religious service. No holidays, save the purely civil, are recognized by the State; but "Sunday may be observed as a day of rest from labor." All religious instruction and all acts of religious worship are prohibited in every establishment of the State. "No act of worship or of a religious nature can be performed outside of the churches, under pain of a fine of from 10 to 200 piastres, or of imprisonment for from two to fifteen days. A fine of from 100 to 200 piastres is incurred by an ecclesiastic every time that he appears in public (outside a church) in an ecclesiastical dress, or with any insignia of his office. All services in the churches are to be constantly under the eyes of the police." No religious institution can acquire real estate or capital which is derived from real estate. By the nineteenth article of this law even the Sisters of Charity were attacked; they were forbidden to wear any distinctive costume, or to live in community (1).

(1) In Feb., 1899, we learned that the Congress of the United States of Columbia had recently so far abjured connection with Masonry as to officially proclaim the Supreme Sovereignty of Our Lord Jesus Christ. May the spirit of Garcia Moreno continue to animate the lawgivers of the land in which Bolivar could discern no germ of political salvation! The decree of the Columbian Congress reads as follows: "Article 1. The Republic of Columbia, at the termination of the century in which it achieved its national freedom and sovereignty, but fulfils its duty in recognizing in an explicit manner the divine and social authority of Jesus Christ and in rendering thanks to Him for the benefits it has received from His hands; and by means of the medium of this law so attests. Article 2. In testimony of this acknowledgment, a monument shall be erected in the Cathedral of Bogota with ecclesiastical permission." By way of counterbalance to the consolation experienced because of this decree, we read in the *Chicago Record* of Aug. 8, 1899, the following illustration of the monumental ignorance of our Protestant countrymen concerning affairs in Latin America. Mr. Curtis, a staff correspondent of the *Record*, thus speaks

CHAPTER III.

THE CLERICAL VICTIMS OF THE COMMUNE OF 1871.

When the last act of the Franco-German war of 1870-71 had closed, and Paris, conquered by famine, had agreed on an armistice with the Teuton on Jan. 29, 1871, a National Assembly, elected on Feb. 8, entrusted the executive power to Thiers, with the understanding that peace was to be secured. When the harsh conditions had been accepted by the Assembly, and the Germans had retired to the districts which they were to occupy until France would have paid the last sou of the five milliards of francs by way of indemnity, the new government fixed its seat at Versailles, in order to be free from the danger of a *coup de main* on the part of the revolutionists, native and foreign, with whom the capital was thronged. The wonted buoyancy and energy of the French soon renewed the march of commercial and industrial activity, and the outer world was congratulating the sorely-tried nation on its new lease of prosperity, when it was afflicted by an insurrection which reminded humanity of the horrors with which, in 1793, the first acclaimers of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, signalized their accession to power. The government had made the grievous mistake of not disarming the National Guard; and the dominant revolutionary element in that body waited for an occasion to challenge the comparatively conservative power of Versailles. This occasion was furnished when Thiers ordered the removal of certain cannons to the arsenals. The mob arose; some of the troops fraternized with the new *sans-culottes*; Generals Lecomte and Thomas were murdered;

of ex-President Camaano, of Equador: "He was a devout adherent of the Church and a believer in the ancient policy. When he came to Washington in 1889 as a delegate to the international American conference, he brought with him a written Indulgence from the Archbishop of Quito for all the sins he might commit for twelve years. This extraordinary advantage over the rest of mankind was given as a reward for his devotion to the Church, and was much envied by the delegates from other countries."

and Thiers, not wishing to deluge the streets of Paris with fraternal blood, withdrew all the troops to Versailles, saving only those in garrison at Mt. Valerian. Then came the proclamation of the Commune, effected by men who were the dregs, not only of France, but of Italy, Germany, Russia, and America; as even the arch-revolutionist, Jules Favre, complained to the representatives of the European powers: "All the wretches of Europe were gathered in Paris; the capital was the rendezvous for every wickedness on earth" (1). This Commune of Paris was to be the model for all France; the new republic was to consist of a federation of 40,000 communes; but how different they were to be from those mediæval Italian republics which first rendered that form of government historical! A mockery of an election was held; and the destinies of the secular capital of civilization were entrusted to such apostles of anarchy as Delescluze, Felix Pyat, Raoul Rigault, Vermorel, Ferré, Courbet, etc.,—men whose hatred of society was as intense as their contempt for religion. The army at the disposal of the Commune numbered 150,000, all well provided with munitions of every sort, including artillery; and at the very birth of the movement, it had obtained possession of all the forts on the left bank of the Seine, excepting Mt. Valerien, thus fitting itself with strength to withstand a long siege. The greater part of the generals of the Commune were foreigners—men to whom the designation of filibusters would have been a fulsome flattery; more than twenty thousand of the same ilk were in the ranks; the distinguishing features of all were irreligion, immorality, pillage, and diabolical cruelty. When a number of citizens attempted to make a demonstration in favor of order on the Place Vendome, the troops of the Commune dispersed them with fusilades. The Sisters of Charity and Christian Brothers were expelled from their schools, and persons without any conception of morality were appointed to teach the rising generation; of course the crucifix was torn from the wall of every school-room, and every mention of the name of God was prohibited. Both public and private property were pillaged, and every form of

(1) Circular to the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers; June 6, 1871.

disorder made the once beautiful capital a hell on earth. Finally, hoping to thus escape from the vengeance of at least human law, the Communist leaders ordered the seizure of the archbishop of Paris, a number of clergymen, and several eminent seculars, who were to be held as security for the absolute pardon of such of themselves as would fall into the power of the government of Versailles. On May 21, after two months of regular siege, the national troops, commanded by Marshal MacMahon, who had recovered from the wound received at Sedan, entered Paris by the gate of Anteuil; and then ensued a frightful street battle during eight days and eight nights,—no parallel to which can be found in modern history. Already the madmen of the Commune had pulled down the great column of Napoleon in the Place Vendôme, heedless of the fact that the Germans outside the city must have rejoiced at the disappearance of a monument which commemorated so many of their crushing defeats at the hands of the French; and now the hellhounds determined to destroy Paris itself. While the national troops were fighting their way, inch by inch, into the heart of the city, organized hordes fired the Tuileries, the palace of the Ministry of Finance, that of the Legion of Honor, the Cour des Comptes, the Palace of Justice, the Hotel de Ville, many magazines, and entire blocks of residences. Many churches, notably Notre-Dame and the Sainte-Chapelle, and very many celebrated monuments, had been specially marked for visitation by the *pétroleurs* and *pétroleuses* of every age (for even little children were pressed into this service); but fortunately the rapidity of the Versaillais advance prevented the actualization of the design. Shortly before the advent of the Commune, one of its coryphees, that Cluseret who afterward tried to belittle the courage and talent of the American generals under whom he was supposed to have learned something of the art of war, had written to his friend, Varlin, of the Department of Finance in the Commune: “I do not know whether we shall ever possess Paris; but if we do have it, we must blow it up.” Providence had decreed that utter malediction should not be the lot of the city that it had chastised; and the homeward route was now taken by the 500,000

citizens who had fled from the pestilential breath of the children of the "International." To say nothing of the loss of life which the short reign of the Commune cost the city of Paris, the pecuniary damage which it entailed on the citizens was thirty times greater than that which had accrued from their resistance to the Germans; for the indemnities paid by the municipality for losses under the Commune amounted to nearly seventy-five millions of francs, while the losses caused by the German guns were covered by a little over two millions (1). It is not our purpose to detail the horrors of the Commune; the student will expect from us no more than a succinct narrative of the murder of Mgr. Darboy and of the other priests who merited from heaven the same blessing. Having given that narrative, we shall show that Freemasonry is pre-eminently responsible for what was one of the most salient crimes of the nineteenth century.

"What can you do to me? Take my furniture? It is not mine; it belongs to the State. Take my books? Well, they are mine, and they are my dearest possessions; but I can do without them, and they will scarcely profit you greatly. Take my life? If you kill me, you will not destroy the principle which I represent; you will simply strengthen it." Such were the intrepid words which Pierre-Georges Darboy, archbishop of Paris, addressed to the revolutionary mob which invaded his residence after the catastrophe of Sedan; and content with the manifestation of their insolence, the future Communists retired from the episcopal presence. And when the insurrection of March 18, 1871, had raised the Jacobins to power, and a band of pillagers and cutthroats, fresh from the sacking of the School of the General Staff, forced an entrance into his palace, the prelate calmly asked: "What do you desire, my friends? My head? Here it is." Again the partisans of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity retired; but in a few days all Paris knew that the Commune had decreed the imprisonment of its archbishop. On April 4, the Tuesday of Holy Week, the prelate presided at the weekly meeting of his council; and when the business had been transacted, he remarked: "Whenever, after our sessions,

(1) See the Report of the Prefect of Police, in the *Ami du Peuple*, May 25, 1872.

we have been about to separate, gentlemen, I have always said : ' We shall meet next week, if we are still here below.' To-day I may repeat the proviso with more earnestness than I have heretofore felt." The words were scarcely uttered, when two officers of the Commune appeared in the room, and one, a captain named Révol, shouted to the archbishop : " Follow us ; you must answer for a volley of musketry that has just been fired on one of our patrols from the house of the Jesuits." Accompanied by his vicar-general, the Abbé Legarde, the destined martyr was conducted to the Prefecture of Police, where, as His Grace afterward narrated in his prison, the following " interrogatory " was held. " For more than eighteen hundred years," growled Raoul Rigault, the procurator of the Commune, " you people have been crushing freedom of thought in the name of Jesus Christ. Now the turn of free thought has come." Then the archbishop learned that he was charged with having " monopolized " the property of the people. " What property ? " asked the prélate. " The churches, man ! " replied the procurator ; " the ornaments, the vases, and all that." Then Rigault made out the form of commitment, designating the prisoner as " ex-archbishop of Paris." Mgr. Darboy refused to recognize the qualification by appending, as was customary, his signature to the document. " You can no more unmake an archbishop," he insisted, " than you can make one. Even though I were in Pekin, I would still be archbishop of Paris ; therefore forty Communes can never make me sign that paper." Then the prefect erased the obnoxious term, and substituted " Mr. Darboy, who styles himself archbishop of Paris." On the night of Holy Thursday our prélate was transferred to the prison of Mazas, where he was destined to remain for forty-six days. A few days after the arrest, Dr. Demarquay, a surgeon whose devotion to the soldiers had won for him such love as the Communists were capable of cherishing, appealed to Rigault for the freedom of the archbishop ; but the savage replied : " Impossible, citizen-doctor ! The *criterium* of our revolution is ' Death to the priests ! ' " And when the surgeon persisted, Rigault cried : " Enough ! I know you to be an excellent physician ;

but if you continue to interest yourself in these rascals, I shall have you shot" (1).

Visiting his archbishop one day at Mazas, the Abbé Bayle remarked that if His Grace was put to death by the Commune; he would be regarded as a martyr; that the Church had proclaimed St. Thomas of Canterbury a martyr, and there was as much of politics in the case of the English prelate as in that of His Grace of Paris. "One thing is certain," replied Mgr. Darboy; "If I am condemned, it will not be as an individual, but as archbishop of Paris." But the Commune pretended that our prelate, and also all the other "hostages" who were arrested at the same time, were to be executed in retaliation for alleged massacres of Communist prisoners taken by the national forces. This calumny was repeated by the Judæo-Masonic press of all Europe; and re-echoed by nearly all the secular and Protestant journals of America, ever ready to palliate, if not to justify, the crimes of the priest-eaters. When our archbishop was informed of this atrocious invention of the Commune, he wrote a letter to Thiers, protesting against the execution of Communist prisoners, if such execution had occurred. The Commune allowed the letter to be carried to its destination by one of the priestly hostages, the Abbé Bertaux, *curé* of Saint-Pierre de Montmartre, on condition that the messenger would return to his cell and to his probable death. Bertaux was faithful to his promise (2), and brought the reply of Thiers, which declared most solemnly that the accusation of the Commune was "absolutely false" (3). Of course the *Official*

(1) LAMAZOU; *The Place Vendôme and La Roquette*. Paris, 1880.

(2) The Abbé Bertaux owed his escape from death at the hands of the Commune to the efforts of Mlle. le Marasquier, a simple but valiant dressmaker whom the abbé had educated. Alone and with no other protection than that of heaven, she ventured to appeal to Rigault; and either by her eloquence, or by her modest assurance, or by force of her beauty, she obtained the freedom of her friend. Shortly afterward, however, the abbé died from the effects of his imprisonment. RAVAILHE; *A Week of the Commune of Paris*. Paris, 1880.

(3) We subjoin this correspondence. The letter of Mgr. Darboy, dated at Mazas, April 8, is as follows: "Mr. President, yesterday, after an interrogatory in this my prison at Mazas, my questioners assured me that in the recent combats the national troops had committed acts of barbarity on the National Guards (the Communist forces); that wounded men were killed, and prisoners massacred. And when I hesitated to credit these assertions, I was told that they were based on official information. Therefore I wish, Mr. President, to draw your attention to a matter of grave moment which perhaps is unknown to you, and to beg you to see what can be done in such la-

Journal of the Commune published neither the letter of Mgr. Darboy, nor that of Thiers—an abstention which may have been an excuse for the silence of the sympathizing journals of foreign lands. On April 18, Mr. Washburne, Minister of the United States of America to France, received the following note from Archbishop Chigi, the papal nuncio, who, like all the other ambassadors and ministers to France, Mr. Washburne alone excepted, then resided at Versailles, the seat of the legitimate government of the republic (1): “My dear colleague, allow me to ask you in confidence to receive kindly the four canons, ecclesiastics of the metropolitan church of Paris, who will call upon you in order to entreat you to protect their archbishop who is now imprisoned by the insurgents of Paris. Permit me to join my prayer to that of these good priests, and to assure you of my gratitude for all that you may feel yourself able to attempt for the preservation of the life of Mgr. Darboy.” Mr. Washburne accordingly waited on Cluseret, then Minister of War for the Commune. In his recital of his experiences during the Commune, Mr. Washburne tells us that Cluseret expressed his sympathy for the archbishop (?); but at the same time, said the Communist, so great was the exasperation of the Parisians at that time, that no one would

mentable circumstances. . . . No one can find fault with me for interceding with those who can moderate or terminate the present contest. Humanity, religion, both counsel and command my interference; but I can interfere only by supplication, and I do address you with confidence. My prayer goes forth from a heart which has pitied many miseries during the last few months; it goes forth from a French heart which bleeds on account of my suffering country; it goes forth from a priestly and episcopal heart which is ready for every sacrifice, even for that of life, in favor of those whom God has given to me as compatriots and diocesans. I conjure you, Mr. President, to use all your influence to terminate our civil war; and at any rate, to moderate its features to the utmost of your power.” The reply of Thiers, dated at Versailles, April 14, is as follows: “My Lord, I have received the letter which you sent me by the hands of the *curé* of Montmartre; and I hasten to reply with that sincerity which I shall ever practice. The assertions mentioned by you are absolutely false; and I am astonished that so enlightened a prelate as yourself, My Lord, could have given any credence to them even for one instant. Our army has never committed, and never will commit, the hideous crimes which are imputed to it by men who either are conscious calumniators, or are blinded by the atmosphere of mendacity surrounding them. . . . I repel these calumnies, My Lord; I declare that our soldiers have killed no prisoners. . . . Receive, My Lord, the expression of my respect, and of my grief because of your being a victim of that system of hostages which is borrowed from the Terror.” GUILLERMIN; *Life of Mgr. Darboy, Put to Death in Hatred of the Faith*. Paris, 1888.

(1) Mr. Washburne had transferred his legation to Versailles, placing it in charge of Mr. Hoffman, his secretary. His reason for remaining in Paris was found in the many American interests then in the capital.

dare to propose the liberation of the prelate. The American protested against "the barbarity of imprisoning a man like the archbishop who was accused of no crime, and of allowing no friend to go near him." Then Mr. Washburne demanded permission to visit the prelate, to inquire into his needs, and to provide for them. The result of this action of Mr. Washburne was a permission accorded by Rigault for the Minister "to communicate with Citizen Darboy, archbishop of Paris." This privilege was accorded in the morning of April 23, and Mr. Washburne immediately repaired to Mazas. He found the prelate unshaved, haggard from sickness, but cheerful and prepared for the imminent catastrophe. Not a word of bitterness did the archbishop utter against his persecutors; on the contrary, writes the Minister, he implied that they were not as bad as some painted them. He said that he awaited patiently "the logic of events." Mr. Washburne observes that his visit was the first that Mgr. Darboy had been allowed to receive since his incarceration. When the Minister had departed, the archbishop wrote a letter which he enclosed in another to Mr. Washburne, thanking him for his visit, and requesting him "to send the accompanying missive to its destination by means of his secretary, who was going to Versailles. The address of the person to whom it is written will be furnished by His Excellency the apostolic nuncio, or by the bishop of Versailles. If the indicated person has already left Versailles for Paris, the secretary of the American Minister will please destroy the letter, or bring it back to me when he returns to Paris." This important letter was meant for the Abbé Lagarde, vicar-general of the archbishop; and it was connected with a matter which sheds much light on the identity of those who, after the Masonic conspirators of Paris, were responsible for the murder of the hostages. It ordered the vicar-general to return immediately to Mazas, "no matter what was the state of the negotiations with which he had been charged"; and it complained that "ten days were more than sufficient to enable the government (of Thiers) to decide whether it would agree to the proposed exchange. The delay, added the prelate, "compromised him

seriously, and might entail fatal consequences." The reader must know that on March 19, the ideal coryphee of the Commune, the infamous Blanqui, had fallen into the hands of the Versaillais ; and that a month afterward the Communist leaders had offered to exchange him for the archbishop and four other hostages (1). Thiers had submitted the Blanqui matter to his ministers, and the offer of exchange had been rejected. Writing to Mr. Washburne on May 12, the nuncio says that Thiers "had declared that although he would like to see the archbishop and the Abbé Deguerri (the *curé* of the Madeleine) restored to liberty, he could not assume the responsibility of exchange. He added that Blanqui was to be judged again, and that if a sentence of death was passed, the president might commute it ; but that it was beyond his power to grant the liberty of the prisoner, especially before the trial. This reply to Mgr. Darboy was reduced to writing three weeks ago, and the Abbé Lagarde was requested to carry it to His Grace, sealed as it was ; but the vicar-general positively refused to carry it in that condition, saying that he could not bear a sealed reply to a letter which he had brought unsealed. Therefore the reply of M. Thiers is still in the office of the Minister of Worship ; they will not send it by any other than the Abbé Lagarde, and he will not take charge of it. M. Thiers assures me that there is no danger to the lives of the archbishop and the other ecclesiastics ; but I do not share his confidence on that point." On May 10, not knowing the state of the negotiations with Thiers in reference to an exchange, Mr. Washburne suggested to the archbishop that he should write to the presi-

(1) On this occasion Mgr. Darboy wrote to Thiers the following letter : " Mr. President, I have the honor to lay before you a communication which I received last evening, and I ask you to accord it the immediate attention which your humanity and wisdom will deem appropriate. A man of great influence, one who is bound by political ties and by an ancient friendship to M. Blanqui, is endeavoring to effect his liberation. For this purpose he has submitted to the commissioners the following arrangement. If M. Blanqui is freed, liberty will be accorded to the archbishop of Paris, to his sister, to the president Bonjean, to the *curé* of the Madeleine, and to the Abbé Lagarde, vicar-general of Paris, the bearer of this letter. The proposition has been accepted (by the Commune), and I have been asked to recommend its acceptance by you. Although my interests are involved in the matter, I venture to submit it to your favorable consideration. Now that there exist too many causes of dissension among us, and since there is presented an occasion for a compromise which regards persons and not principles, would it not be well to thus contribute to peace ? "

dent an argument for the compromise. The prelate accordingly drew up a "Memorandum" based on the dictates of prudence and of common sense, from which we extract the following passage: "The present question is not one between the government and the Commune; it is between the government and the above-mentioned persons (the intermediaries). These latter have agreed that freedom shall be granted to the archbishop, and to four or five other prisoners—to be designated by M. Thiers—if the release of M. Blanqui is assured; and this assurance is to be guaranteed by the Minister of the United States, authorized thereunto by M. Thiers. In regard to the liberation of M. Blanqui, would it not be feasible, instead of ordering it officially, to furnish him with the means of escaping, it being, of course, understood that he will not be again molested, unless he should commit some new crime. By such a procedure the government would avoid official relations with the Commune." Through the intermediary of the American Minister, this "Memorandum," and accompanying letters from the archbishop and the Abbé Deguerry, were received by Archbishop Chigi, and by him were delivered to Thiers; but they effected no change in the mind of the president, and the nuncio so informed Mr. Washburne, conveying to him at the same time, conformably to the orders of Cardinal Antonelli, "the heartfelt thanks of the Holy Father for all that he had done, and all that he had wished to effect, in favor of the unjustly afflicted archbishop." On May 19, Mr. Washburne again visited the illustrious victim, and informed him of the failure of the negotiations. He found the prelate suffering from an attack of pleurisy; but good humor and resignation still neutralized the poverty of the miserable cell.

Various judgments have been emitted by competent and unbiassed minds in regard to the conduct of Thiers in this matter. It seems certain that Mgr. Darboy himself charged the president, rather than the Commune, with the guilt of his murder. An officer of the Commune who assisted at the execution, if we are to believe the Abbé Moreau (1), told the Abbé Crozes that at the very moment of the

(1) MOREAU; *Recollections of the Little and the Great Roquette*. Paris, 1882.

catastrophe, the archbishop remarked to M. Bonjean, pointing to the Communist soldiers: "Those men are not the most guilty; Thiers is the culprit." General Ambert afterward wrote: "The first duty of the government was to protect the lives of the priests. It should have accepted all the exchanges proposed. We were assured that we would have the last word, and we needed to fear no consequences. Under various pretexts the clergy were abandoned to the Commune" (1). Maxime du Camp says: "All was in vain; there was an obstinacy which the event showed to be culpable. The head of the government insisted that he could not parley with the insurgents, and that besides, the lives of the hostages were in no danger—an opinion which was not shared by either Mgr. Chigi or Mr. Washburne. The dismissal of Blanqui would have added no new perils to the situation; he would have been merely one fool the more in the Hotel de Ville which was already a madhouse" (2). And Emile Ollivier opined: "The release of Blanqui would not have augmented the forces of the insurrection. There was no question of a negotiation between a regular government and a horde of bandits—a thing which could not be considered; Mr. Washburne would simply have taken Blanqui into his carriage, and would have returned with the archbishop. Thiers, with an inexplicable hardness of heart, refused to allow this arrangement; in spite of all the representations of Mgr. Chigi and of Mr. Washburne, he affected to believe that Mgr. Darboy was in no danger" (3).

"Do not reject the Cross!" Archbishop Darboy had written in one of his admirable works: "It is the mystery of salvation. If you have not the courage to seek it, at least accept it when it is sent to you. You will find happiness in it. By sheer force of gazing on it, you will understand it; if you carry it, you will love it; and loving it, you will find Jesus Christ. To find Jesus Christ is to find a joy which neutralizes every sorrow; a consolation which assuages every pain; a treasure which recompenses for all misery; a

(1) *Heroism in Soutane*. Paris, 1876.

(2) *The Convulsions of Paris*. Paris, 1882.

(3) *The Church and the State at the Vatican Council*. Paris, 1878.

source of bliss which destroys all capability of suffering" (1). And when, on the evening of May 22, the prelate and the other hostages had been transferred to the prison of La Roquette, he drew a representation of the cross and the other instruments of the Passion on the door of his cell, inscribing underneath: "*Robur mentis viri salus*—Jesus crucified; behold the 'strength of the soul, the salvation of man'" (2). On May 23 and 24, His Grace enjoyed, for the first time since his arrest, the company of his priestly companions; and when the physician of the prison proposed to effect his removal to the infirmary, adding that perhaps he would then be in less danger, he begged to be left with his brethren. On May 24, Father Olivaint carried the Blessed Eucharist to the archbishop, and the other priests communicated each other. As only a very few of the Sacred Particles could be smuggled into the prison, the lay hostages perforce contented themselves with Spiritual Communion (3). Meanwhile, the mob of Paris, furious because of the continued triumphs of the National army, were clamoring for vengeance on the hostages. The leaders of the Commune had abandoned the Hotel de Ville, and such of them as did not flee from the city—Delescluze, Rancvier, Ferre, etc.—readily gave the order for the massacre of six of the condemned. At half-past seven in the evening, the noise of a platoon grounding arms was heard at the door of La Roquette; and a rough voice exclaimed: "Attention, citizens! Let each one of you answer to his name! Citizen Darboy!" The archbishop calmly replied: "Present"; his door was unlocked, and he confronted

(1) *Reflections on the Imitation of Christ*, Bk. iii., ch. 56. Paris, 1852.

(2) DU CAMP; *loc. cit.*, i., p. 321.

(3) From the first day of their arrest the hostages had been forbidden to hold any religious exercises; but while this prohibition debarred the priests from a celebration of the Mass, it did not prevent several of them from confessing. At length the devotion of a pious heroine, Mlle. Delmas, directress of the Home for Abandoned Children, procured for the destined martyrs the Bread of the Soul. Having heard of their need, Mlle. Delmas obtained permission to augment their starvation rations by a gift of some fresh rolls; and in one of these a priest found a paper, on which was written: "Courage! To-morrow you will receive the Supreme Consolation. You will receive a pitcher of cream, and at the bottom of the pitcher you will find what you desire." On May 15, the pious ingenuity of the maiden succeeded for the first time. She had unfolded her design to a priest, and had received from him a tin box, hermetically sealed, and containing several consecrated Hosts; and she consigned the precious gift, hidden in the cream, to the hands of Father Ducoudray, who had been summoned to receive the refreshments.

his assassins. Then the same scene was enacted successively at the cells of President Bonjean, the Abbé Deguerry, the Jesuits Clere and Ducoudray, and the Abbé Allard. When all the victims were assembled, the archbishop prayed on his knees for a moment, and then gave his blessing to his companions. The order to march was given; and amid the howlings and blasphemies of a mob which the Communist guards did not pretend to repress, the road to the place of execution was traversed. At one moment of the journey, Mgr. Darboy, whose sickness had rendered him very weak, began to walk rather slowly; and one of the guards clubbed him with the butt-end of his musket so severely, that only the arm of M. Bonjean saved him from falling to the ground. Finally the fatal spot was reached; and while the priests were giving the last absolution to each other, the guards hurried them into line. There was one volley from a platoon; then some isolated shots; and the sacrifice was consummated—another instance of the degree of blind ferocity to which men may degrade themselves, when they bid farewell to every sentiment of religion. Mgr. Darboy was assassinated in the name of liberty; and on his way to death, among the insults which were hurled at him, he heard insensate invocations of that frequently prostituted blessing. Well did he reply: “Do not profane that word! We are the friends of liberty; we who die for the faith and for liberty.” From among the many orations which this sad but glorious event occasioned in Christendom, we submit to the reader the following reflections by Mgr. (afterward Cardinal) Pie, bishop of Poitiers: “When popular fury fell, in other times, on men of the sanctuary, a pretext for that fury might have been found in the fact that those men were involved in the social dissensions of their day. For instance, when, in the Middle Age, Gualderic, bishop of Laon, was murdered by rebels to the cry of ‘The Commune!’ an explanation—not an excuse—for the crime was found in the extreme ardor displayed by the prelate in his personal resistance to the citizens. But in this case, the victims were of such a character that in the person of each one of them, just as in the person of their Divine Master, were accom-

plished the words of Scripture : ‘ *Odio me habuerunt gratis.*’ Those humble religious, those charitable priests, had not appeared on the battle-field or on the theatre of civil discord, unless in order to succor the wounded and assuage the suffering of all alike ; the praise of their devotedness was on every tongue. The archbishop never pronounced other than words of moderation and of paternal indulgence in regard to those of his children who wandered ; he ever insisted that they were more unfortunate than culpable. . . . But wherever human perversity intrudes itself, we can discern the economy of the divine intentions. It was necessary that all this carnage should be raised to the height of a sacrifice ; and in order to have a sacrifice, a priest, a sacrificer, is necessary. Listen to the beautiful words of St. Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, as he speaks of the martyrdom of his predecessor, St. Pothinus : ‘ Divine Providence has ordained that in the great sacrifices of our country, a pontiff shall never be wanting.’ Modern nations are daughters of Calvary ; they can be redeemed again only by the merits of a redeeming blood. Recently there was a question of the fate of France ; it was necessary, therefore, that the other victims of the fold should be joined by him who offered daily the sacrifice of the Body of the Saviour, and that having been dragged before profane tribunals, he should offer a new sacrifice to Christ in his own person. . . . And since all were murdered in hatred of God and of Christian truth, as the accusers and assassins declared without equivocation ; and since the victims offered the homage of their lives to God and Jesus Christ ; all arose with the same palm in their hands, and with the same crown on their brows.”

The next clerical victims of the Commune were the Dominicans of Arcueil. For several years the College of Albert-le-Grand, conducted by the Teaching Third Order of St. Dominic which had been founded by Father François-Eugene Captier at the instigation of Lacordaire, had enjoyed a reputation inferior to that of no French institution of secondary education. Three hundred students were being trained in the ways of science and religion ; in the paths of good citizenship for France, and in those which lead to man’s

eternal happiness; when the war with Germany caused Father Captier, then the prior of Arcueil, to dismiss his students, and to offer his college as a military hospital to the government. Three of his Dominican professors joined the armies in the field as nurses, while the others remained at Arcueil as aggregates to the General Society for Aid to the Wounded. During the siege of Paris, these Dominicans of Arcueil received and nursed over twelve hundred of their wounded countrymen, rivalling even the Brothers of the Christian Schools, whose heroism and patience amid the woes of the capital excited the admiration of infidel as well as Christian. Studies were resumed at Arcueil when the German war had terminated; but the advent of the Commune again suspended the courses, and once more the zeal of the Dominicans was directed to a mitigation of the evils of war. The insurrection had entered on its third month of rapine and slaughter, when a battalion of Communists fixed its quarters in the chateau of the Marquis de la Place, adjoining the College of Albert-le-Grand. On May 17, the chateau, which had been transformed into a hell of bacchanalia rather than into a barrack, burst into flames; and the colonel, one Serisier, a drunken journeyman-currer, proclaimed that the fire must have been caused by Versaillais agents, and that none other than the Dominicans of the college could have been those agents. On May 19, two battalions surrounded the college; and Serisier, accompanied by a Prussian named Thaller and two other Communist officers, forced their way to the presence of Father Captier, announcing the arrest of the entire community. Summoning to his side all of his fellow-Dominicans, the auxiliary professors, the Sisters of St. Martha who had charge of the domestic arrangements of the institution, the lay servants, and the few students who had chosen to remain in the college to aid in caring for the Communist wounded, the prior thus addressed these last: "My sons, you perceive what awaits you. You will be interrogated; but you will certainly reply with the same sincerity that you would use toward your parents. Remember what your parents recommended to you when they confided you to our care; and whatever may

happen, remember that you must become men who can live and die like Frenchmen and Christians. Farewell! May the blessing of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, descend upon you, and remain with you forever, forever!" The prisoners were soon ordered to set forth; the Sisters and other women were packed into the carriages and wagons belonging to the college, and were taken to the prison of Saint-Lazare; they were ordered to say nothing on the journey, to make not even a sign to the spectators of their misery, under pain of being immediately shot. The priests, lay professors, and male servants, were marched to the fort of Bicêtre between two detachments of soldiers; then they were searched and interrogated amid derisive and revoltingly obscene outbursts on the part of the "apostles of humanity"; and at length they were confined in a casemate, where they remained for six days without beds and with very little bread and water, and subjected to the continuous insults of human demons who succeeded each other at the window. During the night of May 24, the garrison of Bicêtre spiked the guns of the fort, and retired, having perceived that the Nationals were advancing steadily in their direction. The hope that this movement excited in the minds of the prisoners was soon dissipated; for early in the morning of the 25th, a Communist officer ordered them to join a column which was about to retire to Paris. When they arrived at the Gobelins, they were kept for an hour in a courtyard in which shells from the Nationals were frequently dropping; but as the Gobelins proved untenable, they were conducted by their retreating guardians to the disciplinary prison in the Avenue d'Italie. Here they met again their original jailer, the ferocious Serisier, who started them on the road to a neighboring barricade, with a determination to force them to fight for the Commune. Rifles were tendered to them; but Father Cotrault cried: "We cannot bear arms, for not only are we priests, but we are neutrals, because of our status as hospitalers." The blasphemies of Serisier were checked by an advance of the Nationals on the barricade; the order to retreat to the next barricade was given, and the Dominicans were sent back to

the prison in the Avenue d'Italie. All Paris knew at this time that in a few hours the reign of the Commune would terminate ; but Father Captier and his companions felt that they would stand before their Eternal Judge before the happy moment arrived. Therefore they confessed to each other, and serenely waited for death. At four o'clock in the afternoon, a cry arose outside the prison that the regular army was in sight ; and the voice of Serisier was heard crying for "volunteers to smash the skulls of those priests." A row of murderers, male and female, was immediately formed on each side of the avenue ; and Bobèche, a thief whom the Commune had made chief-keeper of the prison, was told to send the victims into the street. The order was given, and crying to his brethren "*Allons, mes amis, pour le bon Dieu!*" Father Captier moved to the door. But Father Cotrault had already gone forth, and had fallen under the fusilade, ere his superior succumbed. Three other Dominicans, Fathers Bourard, Delhorme, and Chatagneret, met successively the same fate ; and they were followed on the road to heaven by six secular employees of their college. By some means several of the servants succeeded in escaping into the neighboring houses (1). "Why was it," demands Pellissier, "that cruel hands dragged a religious from his modest refuge? How was it that men could interrupt the work of a humble educator of youth, whose presence in the little village of Arcueil was an honor and a benefit to all of its inhabitants? What was there in the austerity of religious life to provoke envy and rage? Had the Dominicans ever insulted the miseries of the people by their luxury or pomposness? Did poverty, sickness, the miseries caused by war, ever encounter more ready and pre-severing sympathy than that displayed by these friars? To all these questions drunken and ferocious assassins could make no answer ; and therefore they retorted with outrage, blows, and death. But to all these questions reason and morality give a reply which we must record and remember. The

(1) LECUYER ; *The Martyrs of Arcueil*. Paris, 1871.—PERRAUD : *Funeral Oration on Father Captier*. Paris, 1882.—PELLISSIER ; *The Glories of Christian France*. Paris, 1893.—D'ARSAC ; *History of the Commune of 1871*. Paris, 1885.

spirit of the Revolution is the spirit of evil ; it has a horror of good in all its forms. Order is a good ; religious education is a good ; charity and prayer are good. Whenever the spirit of the Revolution does not encounter the material obstacle of armed force, it must destroy and murder ; it changes its name without changing its nature, now calling itself Jacobinism and then the Commune ; it excited a thirst for blood equally in the Cabochians of the fourteenth century, in the knitting-women of the guillotine, and in the *pétroleuses* of 1871. It profits us nothing to close our eyes so that we may not see ; we can only fall the sooner under the blows of the spirit of the Revolution, the devourer of men, and the destroyer of states. Tigers are not tamed ; they are entrapped and caged. Let us do even better. Since God has made man a curable being, let us not wait until rage has attained its culminating point ; let us devote ourselves to the child who may become an honest man ; education, Christian education by means of the priest, is the infallible remedy for the evils from which we suffer—from which perhaps France will die ” (1).

We have already seen how two Jesuits, Fathers Ducoudray and Clerc, received their palm at the time when Archbishop Darboy was similarly rewarded ; now we shall speak of the murder of three other sons of St. Ignatius, Fathers Olivaint, Caubert, and De Bengy, who, together with eight secular priests and forty-one laymen, were immolated by the Commune on the day following that on which the Dominicans of Arcueil suffered (2). “ Shall I term him a martyr ? An entire panegyric is found in that appellation.” Such was the climax, borrowed from St. Ambrose of Milan, of an historical article on the Jesuit, Andrew Bobola, written by Father Olivaint in 1854 ; and only a few years were to pass, ere the panegyrist furnished to Catholics a reason for the same question in regard to himself. On April 4th, Father Oli-

(1) *Ubi supra*, p. 383.

(2) For details of this act of the tragedy, see the *Acts of the Captivity and Death of Fathers P. Olivaint, L. Ducoudray, J. Caubert, A. Clerc, and A. De Bengy, of the Society of Jesus*. By Armand de Ponlevoy, of the Same Society. Paris, 1894. Sixth Edition.—*Peter Olivaint, of the Society of Jesus, His Life, Works, and Martyrdom*. By Mme. M. M. Chatillon. Paris, 1876.—*Peter Olivaint, Priest of the Society of Jesus*. By Charles Clair, of the Same Society. Paris, 1878.

vain, superior of the Jesuit house in the Rue de Sèvres, was semi-officially warned by a member of the Commune to whom he had done some pecuniary favors, that his institution would soon be visited by officers of the insurgent government, who would search the establishment for hidden arms and ammunition. He immediately ordered the removal of the two Sacred Particles still remaining in the tabernacle, all the other Hosts having been consumed that morning in anticipation of the Communist inroad; and the two Particles thus reserved were placed, with accompanying lights, one each in the cells of Fathers Olivaint and Lefebvre, to satisfy the devotion of the community, and perhaps to serve as Viaticum for some of the members. As the community was about to partake of the evening Lenten "collation," there appeared at the portal a commission from the Commune, with orders for a search of the house. Rushing to their cells, Fathers Olivaint and Lefebvre immediately concealed their Viaticum on their bosoms, and then faced the investigators. Of course the search was futile; but the Communist delegate shouted: "We are cheated; but we understand these Jesuitical tricks. Therefore, you, M. the superior, and you, M. the procurator, are arrested by order of the Commune. I give you only time enough to take from your rooms what is necessary." Father Lefebvre wished to accompany his brethren, Olivaint and Caubert, to the Conciergerie; but the delegate ordered him to remain in guard of the house "in the name of the Commune." While confined in the Conciergerie, Olivaint and Caubert were allowed no communication with each other; but they had the great consolation of receiving the Holy Communion on April 13th, owing to an enterprise like that which we have already described as being accomplished afterward at Mazas. On April 14, Olivaint and Caubert were transferred to Mazas, where they were subjected to the strict cellular system, with the sole alleviation of being allowed, after May 5th, to read the Journals which were authorized by the Commune. On May 22, our two Jesuits were sent to La Roquette, and two days afterward they congratulated Mgr. Darboy as he walked forth to martyrdom. On May 26th, together with Father de Bengy, a

Jesuit whom they had found in La Roquette on their arrival, eight secular priests (1), and forty-one laymen, they were led to the street. Surrounded by *gens d'armes*, the procession was ordered to march to Belleville, and it obeyed with alacrity until it arrived at the Rue de Puebla. Here there were assembled hundreds of armed ruffians, female as well as male, most of the latter either fresh from the galleys or deserters from the National army, and all drunk unto madness. With cries of "Give us those *calotins*!" (2), this horde joined the guards of the Commune, and to the accompaniment of blasphemies which have seldom been heard outside of hell, the victims arrived at the Mairie of the twentieth *arrondissement*. Here a halt was ordered for twenty minutes, "so that the clericals might make their wills," as Gabriel Ranvier, one of the leaders of the mob, told his followers, to their inexpressible glee. The twenty minutes having elapsed, the Communist guards and the furious mob arranged a kind of triumphal march, and pushed the *calotins* along the Rue de Paris; a female creature, dressed as a vivandière, now headed the procession with drawn sword, trumpets sounded the charge, and young men played with their rifles after the fashion of a theatrical drum-major. Nearly all the laymen among the doomed were soldiers of the National army; and to a man, they conducted themselves in a dignified manner, being cool and collected as though they were under the eyes of their own officers, and all listening eagerly to the encouragement which their priestly companions tendered to them unto the last. At the intersection of the Rue de Paris with the Rue Haxo, the energumens began to slap the faces of their victims, and even to spit on them, and to crush their features with stones. Suddenly a butcher, Victor Bénot, colonel of the guards of Bergeret, the chief incendiary of the Tuileries, shouted: "Kill!" and the massacre began. The first man to fall was an old priest who flung himself in front of a soldier, in order to intercept a

(1) Radigue, Tuiller, Rouchouse, and Tardieu, of the Congregation of Picpus; Planchat, chaplain of the *Œuvre du Patronage*; Sabatier, Vicar of Notre-Dame de Lorrette; the Abbé Seigneret of Saint-Sulpice, and the Abbé Benoist.

(2) Alluding to the skullcap (*calotte*) which is sometimes worn by tonsured persons, when they preserve the tonsure, and fear to catch cold.

bayonet-thrust that was aimed at the youth. Most of the military victims obeyed, when they received the order to jump over a low wall, so that the Communists might have the excitement of shooting them in the act; but the priests calmly refused, as one of them protested, "to play the mountebank while dying, although they were ready to die for their faith." The massacre lasted a full hour. On the following day, the Commune was definitively vanquished.

Had the Catholics of France been in the least remiss in an exhibition of patriotism during the German invasion, the senseless rage of the Commune against the clergy would have been less inexplicable; but nothing was more certain, as Jules Simon was constrained to admit, "than the devotedness and self-abnegation manifested by the clergy during the recent trials of France." Guérault, the editor of the anti-clerical journal, *L'Opinion Nationale*, did not hesitate to avow: "Whatever may be our philosophical and religious opinions, it is but just to admit that in the present crisis the Catholic clergy have shown themselves national and patriotic. Those *curés* of Brittany who accompanied and encouraged their parishioners on the field of battle, those chaplains who succored the wounded under the fire of the enemy; were good Frenchmen, worthy citizens. Certainly this is not the time for us to outrage their dearest sentiments." Even the Voltairian *Constitutionnel* drew this parallel between the faithful and the disciples of the Sage of Ferney: "In the front ranks of the army, at the advanced posts, in the very face of the cannons, whose bravery was the most marked? Who marched to the assault of Villejuif, at Châtillon, at Bourg, at Montretout? Who consoled France for the disasters of the Army of the Loire? It was the brave men of Brittany, the Vendéans, the Poitevins, the peasants of Perigord and the Gironde, the Pontifical Zouaves—sons of our old French families, men nourished in the respect for God and for Christianity. Priests and Sisters of Charity were mentioned in the orders of the day; and the troops were told to look upon Charette, Cathelineau, Dampierre, Saillard, etc., as examples of courage. Let Materialism show its heroes!" And even Renan thus

eulogized his Catholic adversaries: "The Legitimist and Clerical party has given us a good example. It could have felt little sympathy for the government which was born of the revolution of the Fourth of September; but nevertheless, it rushed bravely to arms, and it served that government because of its essential object, national defense. All the factions of the republican party have not shown the same spirit of abnegation." The authority of Bismarck in the premises may be questionable; but since he was then preparing his "War for Civilization," the pretext for which he exhibited in the alleged impossibility of true patriotism in a Catholic breast, we may adduce this observation: "The republican party is the least patriotic of all the parties in France. Influenced by the International, the idiots proclaim the world as their country. During the siege of Paris, the ferocious republicans of Belleville, of Montmartre, and of Ménilmontant, were a real type of cowardice. In the whole war, not one notable republican was hit by our bullets. If men like Flourens and Delescluze were killed, it was while fighting against their fellow-countrymen. On the contrary, men like De Luynes, Chevreuse, Dampierre, the Pontifical Zouaves, the *mobiles* of Brittany, resisted us heroically" (1). In fact, as M. Saint-Genest remarked: "Under the sway of Gambetta, all parties fought except the friends of Gambetta; every party fought to the bitter end, except that party which had invented the phrase '*guerre à outrance*!'" (2). Since we have touched on this contrast between the patriotic acts of the Catholic party in France and the inane mouthings of the so-called republicans, it may be well to note that these latter gentry prevented the success of each sortie which the besieged army of Paris made against the Germans; for less than a half of that army was at the disposal of General Trochu, it being necessary to retain more than half of it to hold the traitors in check (3). Nor can we forget that when Thiers, on Oct. 31, thought that he was about to save the integrity of French territory,

(1) *Letter to a Baron*, Nov. 16th, 1871.

(2) In the *Figaro*. Paris, July 3d, 1875.

(3) *Constitutionnel—Journal des Débats*, Nov. 13th, 1870.—*Courrier de Lyon*, Dec. 5th, 1870, and March 19th, 1871.

Bismarck, having in mind the demagogic rumblings in Paris, sarcastically asked him: "In the name of what government do you speak—in the name of that of to-day, or of the one of to-morrow?" Finally, General Trochu declared to all France: "It is a matter of public notoriety that the Germans had accepted the conditions of the Government for the National Defense in reference to the armistice proposed by the neutral powers, when the fatal and abject events of Oct. 31 restored hope to the Prussian policy, and thus compromised a situation which was honorable and worthy" (1).

Now for a brief account of the connection of Freemasonry with the Commune. In the *Inquiry into the Acts of the Government Established for the National Defense* (Gambetta's), which was undertaken by a parliamentary commission, and the results of which were published to the world, we read (Vol. iv., p. 538) the following testimony of M. Bourgoïn: "It appears to me that three elements impeded the national defense from the very beginning, and finally prepared the events of March 18 (the explosion of the Commune). These three elements were *the Masonic Lodges of Paris*: the Socialists known as Positivists; and the International.... The Freemasons introduced themselves into all the commissions, even among the delegates of the butchers; they perorated in the Lodges, they paraded at funerals, they sat in the municipal and governmental commissions. Every thought of national defense was laid aside." But in spite of the Masonic activity, the elections of February 8, 1871, resulted in the assemblage in Bordeaux of a large majority of Christian and royalist deputies—a fact which indicated the probability of a restoration of the legitimate monarchy in the person of Henry V., the single-minded prince whose royalty was obscured under the title of Comte de Chambord. This probability was a menace to all the conquests of the Revolution; and all of its coryphees, no matter of what faction, from the Jacobin masters of Paris to Thiers and Bismarck, conspired to avert it. The explosion of March 18, says Deschamps, "was undoubtedly the work of the Jacobins and Socialists;

(1) *Proclamation of General Trochu*, Nov. 14th, 1870.

but it received the immediate support of all the Masons of Paris and of the provinces, who designed to profit by this movement in order to deprive the National Assembly of its power, or at least to obtain, as a kind of compromise, a definitive proclamation of the Republic" (2). On April 26, when the Commune was in full blast, a large assembly of Masons was held at the Châtelet; and having chosen the famous Floquet as "orator," they voted this resolution: "Having exhausted every means of conciliation with the government of Versailles, the Masonic Order has determined to plant its banner on the ramparts of Paris; and if one ball touches that banner, the Masonic brethren will march with one accord against the common enemy." Then the assembly proceeded to the street, where it was joined by ten thousand other Masons, all wearing the regalia of the order; and marching to the Hotel de Ville, they there saluted, by the mouth of their "orator," Thirifocque, the government of the insurrection in these words: "The Commune is the grandest revolution that the world has ever witnessed; it is the New Temple of Solomon, the defence of which is the duty of Freemasonry." Then the citizen Lefrançais, a member of the Commune, harangued the brethren, stating that for many years his heart had been thoroughly Masonic, since he was a member of the Scotch Lodge No. 133, one of the most republican Lodges in the order; for a long time he had known that the object of the order was identical with that of the Commune." Then a delegation of the members of the Commune solemnly accompanied the triumphant adepts to the "temple" in the Rue Cadet. On May 5, after Thiers had received the Masonic delegates, and had refused to recognize the government of the Commune, the "Confederation of the Freemasons of Paris" addressed the following manifesto to the brethren: "Brothers in Masonry! Now we can resolve on nothing else than to fight, and to cover the cause of right with our sacred ægis. Arm yourselves for defence! Save Paris, France, and humanity! Paris, ever at the head of human progress, in this its supreme

(1) *The Secret Societies and Society; or, the Philosophy of Contemporary History*, Vol. ii., p. 421. Avignon, 1882.

crisis calls on all the Masons throughout the world in these words: 'Aid me, ye sons of the widow!' This appeal will be heeded by every Freemason; all will unite in common action, protesting against the civil war which has been instigated by the supporters of monarchy. . . . Masons! You have deserved well of the Universal Country; you have assured the happiness of the peoples in all future time. Live the Republic! Live the Communes of France federated with that of Paris!" It is true that a few members of the Grand Orient emitted an equivocal and faint-hearted protest against the overt acts of the Lodges of Paris, alleging the brazen and ridiculous lie that Masonry never interfered in politics; but the perfunctory utterance was evidently made by way of precaution against the consequences of failure, and its effect on the brethren is well evinced by a note in the *Official Journal of the Commune*, published during the first days of May, stating that "The Freemasons intend to see that the decrees of the Commune are strictly obeyed; a bureau has been established in each *mairie*." In fact, just as in the days of the Terror, all the Lodges of Paris were transformed into so many Jacobin Clubs and Committees of Public Safety. And when the National army had entered Paris, and the Commune had resolved to leave to France only the ruins of her capital, there appeared the following exhortation, addressed on May 22, in the name of the Grand Orient, to all the adepts: "Freemasons of all the rites and of every grade! The Commune, the defender of your sacred principles, called you to her aid; you obeyed the summons, and your venerated standards have been torn by the bullets and shells of their enemies; you replied heroically. Continue with the aid of all our brethren and of all of our apprentices; the instructions, which you have received in our venerated Lodges, dictate to each one of you the sacred duties which he must fulfil. Happy are they who die gloriously in this holy struggle." Finally, for many years after the fall of the Commune, the Masonic powers in other countries openly manifested their sympathies with the defeated Communists of France. Thus, we read in that superexcellent Masonic authority, the *Chaine d'Union* (May, 1872) that on the preced-

ing April 17, the Grand Lodge of London gave a banquet in honor of the fallen Commune, at which attended the famous Bradlaugh among other notable English brethren, and La Cecilia among several distinguished Italian adepts (1). When many of the captured Communists, condemned to deportation by the national government, arrived in New Caledonia, they found consolation in the Masonic Lodge *L'Union Calédonienne*, which had been founded in the time of the empire by the governor, Guillaïn. It was through means of this Lodge, tolerated, asserts Deschamps, by secret instruction from Thiers, that Rochefort made his escape. The inquiry into the evasion, made by Admiral Ribourt, proved that the necessary funds had been furnished by the Lodges to one of the brethren who was an employee in the administration of the colony. Concluding these reflections, we would observe that uncertainty still reigns concerning the extent of the sympathies and relations of Bismarck with the Commune; but it is certain that the leaders of the Commune made many offers of service to the enemy of France, if he would engage to support their desperate cause. The following remark of Cluseret to Hatzfeld, an agent of the German chancellor, found in the relation which the Communist general himself published, is certainly suggestive: "Let us put aside *the affair of the archbishop*, and speak only of the interests which your government has in common with the Commune of Paris. If the government of Versailles triumphs, there will be a desperate effort to re-establish the monarchy; and no monarchy could even attempt to maintain itself in France, without promising revenge on you" (2).

(1) Under date of June 11, 1871, the London Correspondent of the *Moniteur Universel* spoke of the sympathy entertained for the defeated Communists by a very large portion of the English people; and he added: "One would have a very incorrect idea of the propaganda of the International, were he to suppose that it succeeds only in the lower strata of English society. In many literary circles the doctrines of the Commune find defenders, and especially among the adepts of Positivism."

(2) Cited by the *Gazette de France*, May 30, 1873.

CHAPTER IV.

THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC AS A PERSECUTOR OF THE CHURCH.

"The republican form of government is that which divides us the least," said Thiers in the first days of 1871. A bitter enemy of the legitimate royalty, and therefore unwilling to play the game of a Monck; an inveterate skeptic, and therefore unable to pose as a Washington; entertaining a velleity in favor of the younger and traitorous branch of the Bourbons—the so-called House of Orleans—because its cause was that of an alliance between the Revolution and a veneer of respectability; the ex-Orleanist Minister should rather have avowed that he advocated the republican system, because it alone then furnished him an opportunity of becoming the head of the State. During the entire political career of this chameleon-like statesman, if the grandeur and prosperity of France ever engaged his attention, it was after a merely secondary fashion; power for himself, to be attained by any and every means—no matter how iniquitous and disgraceful, was the sole end of his policy. With reason did Lamartine thus apostrophize him: "In you there is no principle; but there is a passion—the passion to govern, to govern alone, to govern always, to govern with and against all, to govern at any price." It was this unscrupulous lust of power (it was too ignoble to merit the name of ambition) that led Thiers to associate himself with men whom he had hitherto termed "furious madmen"—men whose alliance, as he said, could be nothing else than "a cheating game on both sides; a game in which each player was a liar in the mind of his neighbor; a compromise which rendered all engaged in it unworthy of public respect." No wonder, therefore, that when, on May 24, 1873, Thiers tendered his resignation of the presidency to the National Assembly, hoping that it would not be accepted, this truly able man, after forty years of governmental experience which could not endow him with the

faculty of organization, was relegated to private life (1). When the reins of power were assumed by Marshal MacMahon, eleven hours after the resignation of Thiers, the lovers of law and order conceived great hopes for France; and the ever-sanguine partisans of Legitimacy fancied that Henry V. would soon mount the throne of his ancestors. The trust of the Legitimists seemed well-founded indeed, when, on Aug. 5, the Comte de Paris, head of the hitherto rebellious Orleans branch of the Bourbons, repaired to Frohsdorff, the residence of the Comte de Chambord, and formally acknowledged that prince as King of France and Navarre, thus tendering an *amende* for the treachery of Philippe Egalité, and for the usurpation of Louis Philippe. It is generally supposed that the failure of these royalist anticipations was due to the too straightforward letter, in which the Comte de Chambord declared that he would never ascend the throne as "King of the Revolution"; that he would decline a sceptre which would be a symbol of principles which he detested. It is certain that this letter caused a division in the royalist ranks; that the so-called "Liberal" Catholics could not bring themselves to place principle above fancied utility. But it is more than probable that the failure of the royalist restoration was chiefly due to the machinations of Bismarck and of the Masonic Order (2). The administration of Pres-

(1) Thiers died suddenly, while seated at dinner with his wife, on Sept. 3, 1877. Whether he had ever made his First Communion, is doubtful. Certainly during the greater part of his life he was an avowed Deist, somewhat after the fashion of Voltaire. However, in his later years he frequently insisted on his Catholicism; and at the beginning of his last will and testament these words were written: "I am a Catholic, and wish to die a Catholic." Therefore, when Mme. Thiers requested that a Christian funeral should be accorded to her husband, no objection was made by the authorities of the Church. VILLEFRANCHE; *Adolphe Thiers, in the Illustrious Persons of the Nineteenth Century*. Paris, 1882.

(2) The publication of the Arnim documents showed that Bismarck regarded it as the interest of Germany to prevent a coronation of Henry V. as king of France; that the astute and phenomenally unprincipled chancellor felt that with the restoration of her legitimate monarchy France would recover her ancient glory. In the despatches revealed by the Arnim affair, we read that "Germany need fear nothing from either the Republic or the Empire"; that "it is to the interest of Germany that France remain weak and without allies"; that "the Republic, and if not the Republic, the Empire, will furnish the least probability of a resurrection for France"; that "a monarchical France would be a danger for Germany." Dr. Busch tells us that Bismarck exclaimed to him one day at table: "No Bourbons or Orleans in France!" The action of Freemasonry in this matter of Henry V., is scarcely regarded by the Masonic powers as a secret. The Masonic Journal *La Révolution Française*, May 12, 1879, says that when there was a probability of the acclamation of Henry V., "Gambetta prepared and organized throughout all France, and even in the army, an in-

ident MacMahon, although supported by a Conservative majority in the Senate, was in continual warfare with the Radical majority in the Chamber of Deputies which followed the lead of Gambetta. And this Radical majority of the lower house was persistently encouraged by all the "officious" journals of Germany, and by the entire Masonic press of the world. In 1877, when monarchical hopes were again reviving, the subsidized Bismarckian journals continually insisted that France, not yet recovered from her wounds of 1870-71, would feel the effects of another German invasion, if the imminent election should be favorable to the marshal's policy; and all these articles were carefully detailed to the voters by the sectarian agents. Ten days after the triumph of the Radicals at the polls, that is, on Oct. 24, 1877, the Supreme Council of the Scotch Rite of Masons gave a grand banquet to all the brethren who had been sent by their respective Lodges, in every land, to congratulate the adepts of France. Brother Jules Simon offered a toast "to the triumphant Republic advancing in the future

sururrection, in comparison with which that of March 18 would have been mere child's play." It was proved, before the tribunals of Autun and Dijon, that during the monarchical agitation of 1873 the Masons of Saône-et-Loire planned to kidnap the Marchioness de MacMahon, a relative of the marshal-president, and to hold her as a hostage for the permanence of his republicanism. The chief of this conspiracy was Boyssset, Venerable of the Lodge in Chalons, and a deputy in the National Assembly. This latter fact prevented his trial. In the *Echo de Saône-et-Loire*, Oct. 15, 1874, we read that two of the conspirators the brothers Bontemps, who were leaders in the International, were willing to promote the advent of a spurious monarchy, rather than the legitimate one of the elder Bourbons; and that accordingly they tendered their services and that of their fellow-sectarians to the Orleans princes. The Masonic *Chaine d'Union*, Jan., 1874, cites the *Monthly Bulletin of Italian Masonry*, issued by the Italian Grand Orient, as having recently said, when treating of a probable restoration: "We can perceive that it is of the utmost importance that all the Masonic societies be subjected to a uniform impulse and discipline, so that they may act more efficaciously in the interests of right and of liberty." The same Masonic *Chaine d'Union*, to which we are deeply grateful for so much of our information concerning its supporters, gives us in its issue of July, 1882, a discourse pronounced in the Lodge *Free Thought* of Aurillac on March 4, from which we cull these morsels: "You know that it is to the grand Revolution of 1789 that we owe the political reforms which have changed the face of not only Europe, but of the entire universe (*sic*). But who prepared, who directed; in a word, who made that Revolution? You, gentlemen, you—Freemasonry, the daughter of the Reformation. . . . And after the Revolution and the Empire, Freemasonry continued the work of the liberation of the peoples. Persecuted by the Restoration, it was not unconcerned with the Revolution of 1830. Then it fought Louis Philippe, who was to be, as Lafayette said, the best of republicans, but who was merely the king of the upper *bourgeoisie*. . . . Finally, on May 16 (1877), I see you again at work. When treason had raised to power the enemies of the Republic, you rushed into the breach, and you fought the foe foot by foot, forcing him finally to a capitulation in which you buried all hopes of a monarchical restoration."

without impediment." Brother Van Humbeck, Grand-Master of the Belgian Masonry, and Minister of Public Instruction in his then sorely-tried country, "congratulated France on the point at which she had arrived" (1). And what was this point? In October, 1872, a year before there was any talk of a monarchical restoration, there had been held in Locarno a "convent" of the representatives of Continental Masonry. The Orient of Rome was represented by Filippo Cordova; that of Naples by Franchi; that of Palermo by La Vaccara; that of Florence by Andrea Giovanelli; that of Turin by Alberto Mario; and that of Genoa by Quadrio. The Lodges of France were represented by Felix Pyat; those of Hungary by Kossuth; those of Switzerland by Klapka; and those of Prussia by General Etzel. The questions for consideration were proposed by the Prussian, who presided at the sessions: 1. Would democracy be benefited by a war between the France of Thiers and Italy? 2. How could a provisional government, under the dictatorship of Gambetta, be established in France? 3. What new religion ought to be substituted for Catholicism? (2). It is evident, therefore, that five years before the electoral condemnation of the policy of MacMahon, Freemasonry had decreed the eventual supremacy of its protegee and tool, Gambetta; and certainly the phrase "provisional government under the dictatorship of Gambetta" fitted well the course of that disciplined parliamentary majority which neutralized such good intentions as President MacMahon may have entertained. After a multitude of concessions to the Masonico-Radical spirit of the deputies, MacMahon finally refused to accept a measure which would have disorganized the army; and when his determination was met with the cry "submit or resign," he chose the latter course on Jan. 30, 1879. With the advent of Grévy as President, the French Republic entered on a new phase of existence; the comparatively conservative cabinet of MacMahon was dismissed, and in the new one the Ministry of Public Instruction was assigned to Jules Ferry. On March 15, Ferry laid before the deputies two bills which

(1) *Chaine d'Union*, Nov., 1878.

(2) *L'Unités*, Nov. 12, 1872.—PACHTLER; *War Against Throne and Altar*, p. 158.

were aimed at an entire destruction of that Freedom of Education, for which the Catholics of France had so persistently fought, as will be remembered by the reader who has accompanied us in our studies on Lacordaire, Ozanam, and Montalembert. One of these bills modified the composition and the duties of the Superior Council for Public Instruction, and of the Academic Councils, inasmuch as it conferred on the State all authority in the matter of teaching. The other bill, which directly concerned freedom in the matter of imparting secondary and superior instruction, accorded to the State an exclusive right to examine candidates for academic degrees ; it deprived all private institutions of the title and privileges of a University ; and by one of its articles, the celebrated Article VII., it pretended to take the right of teaching from every religious congregation which was not "authorized" by the government.

The Ferry Laws, as history will term these tyrannous measures which signalized the accession of Grévy to the French presidency, were merely the result of the work undertaken by the *Ligue de l'Enseignement* or Educational Association which had been founded in 1866 by Jules Macé, with the active support of Robert, director-general under Duruy, then the imperial Minister of Public Instruction. The object of this league was to render all instruction gratuitous, obligatory, and above all, secular ; the modicum of freedom of instruction then subsisting, a privilege which the laws of 1833 and 1850 had allowed the Catholic institutions to exercise in their brave endeavors to compete with a governmental University which enjoyed a revenue of fifty-eight millions of francs, was to be entirely abrogated. This association numbered among its active members not only nearly all the professors of the University, but also a majority of the imperial prefects, procurators, and other functionaries. Macé proclaimed that his league "would reduce to practice the principles proclaimed in the Lodges" ; and it is interesting to note that three years afterward, in the Masonic Congress of Metz, it was this same Macé who moved that the name of God should be expunged from the statutes of Masonry—a project which was finally actuated by the Grand

Convent held in Paris on September 14, 1877, after consultation with all the Lodges in the obedience of the French Grand Orient (1). Shortly after the birth of the league, the *Monde Maçonnique* (April, 1867) said: "We are happy to be able to announce that the league founded by Brother Jean Macé, and also the project of a statue to Brother Voltaire, have excited the sympathies of all our Lodges. Certainly no two subscriptions could be more in agreement than that in favor of Voltaire, which means the destruction of prejudice and superstition, and that for the league, which means a new society founded only on science and instruction. All the brethren understand this." And in his circular of July 4, 1870, the Grand-Master Babaud-Larivière said: "We are all of one mind in regard to the principle of gratuitous, obligatory, and lay instruction." On September 24, 1878, at the banquet given by the Grand Orient on the occasion of the Universal Exposition, the Adjunct-Grand-Master of the Belgian Grand Orient, Bourland, thus perorated amid universal applause: "The obstacle to the intellectual development of France, that which is killing her, that which is killing us, that which is killing the entire world, is ignorance and fanaticism—the idea that the world should belong to him who is most daring in weakening the intellectual faculties, in brutalizing man. Let us arise against this pretension! Rome, together with Ultramontanism, ignorance, and all else that comes from Rome, must perish, because of a development of an education *which will lead to morality*" (2). In order to obtain funds for their campaign against all religious teaching in schools, the Masons organized the *Œuvre du Son des Écoles* or School-Penny Collection throughout the republic; and in order to inspire the people with an enthusiasm which would result in contributions, every kind of festivity was brought into requisition. Thus at the grand festival given by the Lodges of Bordeaux in the public gardens on June 24, 1879, as we learn from the *Monde Maçonnique*, "Just as the last banners of the processions (of Corpus

(1) The statutes of the Grand Orient of France had hitherto given as the basis of Masonry "the existence of God, the study of morality, and the practice of all virtues." The new statute assigned: "Absolute freedom of conscience and human solidarity."

(2) *Monde Maçonnique*, November, 1878, p. 346.

Christi) were re-entering their respective sacristies," the ceremonies of irreligion were begun; and in the evening the adepts exhibited a piece of fire-works "which presented 'The Works of Masonry' as its title, and reminded the 17,000 spectators of the object being pursued by the Order." Quite properly, therefore, had Macé said in a general meeting of his league on January 18, 1879: "The destiny of our association is so intimately united with that of the republic, that the sole imminence of that senatorial majority, which was to consecrate republican institutions definitively, suffices to precipitate the movement which is directed principally by us." The movement was precipitated on March 7 by the proposition of the laws prepared by Jules Ferry, a Masonic luminary whose brutal materialism had been manifested two years previously when the Lodge *Clémentine Amitié* of Paris gave a banquet in honor of the anniversary of the reception of Littré and Wyrnboff into its bosom: "The Masonic fraternity is something superior to all dogmas, to all metaphysical conceptions, and not only to all religions, but to all philosophies. I mean that sociability is sufficient unto itself; that social morality has its guarantees and its roots in the human conscience; that it can live by itself; that at length it can throw away its theological crutches, and march untrammelled to the conquest of the world. You are the most precious instruments for the cultivation of the social sentiment, for the development of social and *lay* morality. . . . It is of the essence of Masonry to free man from the fear of death. To this so-ancient fear, to this slavery which it is so hard to crush, you oppose the strengthening and consoling sentiment of the continuity and perfectibility of the human species. . . . When one is animated by this conviction, one has conquered for himself every liberty" (1). Scarcely had Ferry presented his bills in the Chamber, when Masonic

(1) *Chaîne d'Union*, 1877, p. 181.—These remarks of Ferry remind us of the Italian sectarian utterances of Brother Mauro Macchi, deputy in the Italian Parliament and a member of the Supreme Council of the Italian adepts, when he wrote to the *Masonic Review* in February, 1874: "The key-stone of the system which opposes Masonry has always been and is the ascetic and transcendental sentiment which turns the attention of men beyond this life, and induces them to consider themselves as mere travellers on earth, urging them to sacrifice everything for a happiness that will begin in the graveyard. Until this system is destroyed by the mallet of Masonry, society will be mainly composed of poor weaklings who think of nothing but happiness in a future life."

Conferences were convened throughout the republic for the purpose of creating or augmenting a popular yearning for the blessings of irreligious education. At the Conference held in Marseilles on April 5, Brother Gambini, Venerable of the Lodge *La Parfaite Sincérité*, drew the attention of his frenzied brethren to : " Brother Jules Ferry, Minister of Public Instruction, endeavoring to render education *essentially laic*, although he is surrounded by nameless intrigues and assaults on the part of the clerical hordes. . . . But if Brother Jules Ferry is accomplishing a work which is essentially Masonic, it is the duty of us Masons to aid him in the fulfilment of his mission. Let him know that he is sustained by an army in reserve which, although it is calm because it is conscious of its power, is ready nevertheless to defend his work with its life " (1). During the summer of 1879, Ferry made a tour through the south of France, in order to enable the Brethren of the Three Points to incite popular demonstrations which might neutralize the opposition of all that was sensible and religious to his projects. Having read the many addresses which were ostentatiously presented to him by the Lodges, we quote as representative of them all, some passages from that of the Lodges of Toulouse : " The Masons of Toulouse extend to you a welcome, and tender the sentiments of respect which they feel for a Minister who sustains, with persistent courage, so difficult a combat against the eternal enemies of civil society. Democratic France, laboring France is with you ; and Freemasonry cannot forget that the Minister of Public Instruction is one of her most distinguished sons. Freemasonry will assist you, dear brother, with all the means in her power ; for she well understands that . . . it is necessary that French youth be delivered from the schemes of the Jesuits. . . . Inform the government, dear brother, that especially in this matter, the Masonry of Toulouse is on its side."

The introduction of the second of the Ferry Laws, that which practically suppressed the free Faculties and Universities created in virtue of the law of 1875, excited sentiments of horror and indignation among the Catholics of France.

(1) *Chaine d'Union*, May, 1879.

When it was discussed, during June and part of July, eloquent voices pleaded for freedom of teaching and of the religious orders ; but hatred of religion led the deputies to pass Article VII. by a vote of 330 out of 515, and to pass the law as an entirety by a vote of 362 out of 521. In the Senate, however, the propriety and justice of Article VII. were fiercely contested ; and the Catholic cause was reinforced by the very unclerical Jules Simon and Laboulaye. The senatorial vote could not be taken before March 9, 1880 ; and then the iniquitous article was defeated by a majority of 19, the rest of the law being accepted. The deputies adopted the amendment of the Senate. The law concerning the Superior Council and the Academic Councils had been slightly modified, and then passed in February. The rejection of Article VII., as the reader may easily have foreseen, had not been regarded by the Masons and other radicals with equanimity. Determined to withdraw the youth of France from "the clutches of the Jesuits and other teaching orders," they resuscitated the memory of several laws which had fallen into desuetude—laws which were even contrary to the so much vaunted principles of 1789, and which had been abolished by non-use and by a law of 1850. On March 29, 1880, there appeared decrees of the president, based on laws of 1790 and 1792, on the Napoleonic Concordat, and on the Organic Articles which Napoleon had added to that Concordat. These decrees accorded to that "non-authorized" association which "was styled 'of Jesus'" a delay of three months, within which term it was to withdraw from all establishments that it occupied on French territory. A similar delay of three months was granted to all other "un-authorized" organizations, during which said bodies "might apply to the government for an approbation of their statutes and rules, and for a legal recognition of their establishments which then existed *de facto*." The execution of these decrees began on June 30, the officers having received instructions to finish their work before November. However, several of the affected colleges continued to exist, despite these enactments, owing to the zeal of wealthy Catholics who bought the confiscated properties, and installed therein professors

who were not *congréganistes* or members of any order, but who were devoted to the sacred cause of religious education. By the procedure of March 29, 1880, the French Republic declared open war on the Catholic Church ; and why should it not have so done, when the Lodges pronounced the incompatibility of Catholicism and Republicanism? On May 9, Courdavaux, professor in the Faculty of Letters at Douay, gave a Conference on the Sacred Scriptures (!) before the Lodge *L'Étoile du Nord* of Lille, in which he said : " The distinction between Catholicism and Clericalism is purely official, a subtlety necessary for the exigencies of the platform ; but here in the Lodge, we may proclaim the truth that Catholicism and Clericalism are one and the same thing. And let us add this conclusion. No man can be both Catholic and Republican ; it is impossible " (1). It is refreshing to note the attempted justification of the cabinet to which he belonged, made by Cazot, then Minister of Justice. In an address to the Lodge *L'Écho du Grand-Orient* of Nîmes, Cazot said : " According to a phrase that is familiar to you, we have entered on an era of difficulties. It is not yet closed. We have many combats before us ; for instance, the magistracy is to be reformed, so that it may be neither servile nor factious. The law must be respected by all, and especially by those who, under the vain pretext of defending a religious liberty whose founders and apostles we are, and of which they are the worst enemies, pretend to obey only a foreign sovereignty, refusing to bow before the sovereignty of their country " (2). We must not forget, however, that for a moment after the first enforcements of the decrees against the " un-authorized " teaching orders, there seemed to be promised an escape from the storm. The superiors of the afflicted communities had sent to the government a declaration couched in very moderate terms, and approved by the French episcopate ; and Grévy, supported by Freycinet, then Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Council, had shown a disposition " to be contented with that

(1) The *Chaîne d'Union* of June, 1880, published this Conference as worthy of the highest praise.

(2) *Chaîne d'Union*, 1880, p. 237.

Declaration. The debates on this subject occupied the cabinet on Sept. 16, 17, and 18 ; and precisely on those days the Grand-Orient was in solemn session. The consequence of this coincidence was narrated by the *Moniteur Universel* on Sept. 22 : " One of the Masons of the ' Convent ' (of the Grand-Orient) was told last Saturday about the negotiations which M. de Freycinet had held with the Vatican concerning the Declaration of the congregations. He replied : ' If the president of the Council has negotiated with the Pope, he will leave the cabinet.' And on the next day, as the Mason had prophesied, M. de Freycinet was forced to resign his portfolio." On Sept. 23, a new cabinet was formed, and Jules Ferry was constituted its head. The war against everything religious continued. The hospitals were deprived of the services of the Sisters of Charity ; a law establishing divorce was introduced in the Chamber ; cemeteries were secularized ; military chaplaincies were abolished ; it was proposed to subject seminarians to military service ; public religious processions were prohibited ; new laws were enacted for the purpose of concentrating more thoroughly in the State all instruction of youth. The enforcement of the Ferry Laws, primarily directed against the Jesuits, but applied also to the other orders whose members devoted themselves to teaching the young, was an occasion for the most revolting abuses of the governmental authority ; in many instances, even the honor of the army was compromised by its use in the siege of convents and monasteries. Under the influence of the emotions excited by these scandals, many French Catholics were then disposed to find fault with Pope Leo XIII. on account of his silence in the premises ; many blamed the Pontiff for his sympathy with, if not his instigation of the conciliatory Declaration emitted by the superiors of the persecuted communities. But let us remember that from the very beginning of the anti-Catholic campaign undertaken by the Third Republic, the Holy See had realized that the circumstances were such as called for a persistent exercise of the patient prudence which is the most salient characteristic of the Papal Court. Let us remember, with one of the most judicious of the critics of the pontificate of Leo

XIII. (1), that His Holiness had deemed it wise to abstain from any demonstration which might have compromised the interests of the Church in France, by throwing obstacles in the way of the relatively conciliatory advances which Freycinet seemed to be ready to make. "But the Pontiff had emitted his complaints and protests in a diplomatic manner; and he was about to repeat them in a more solemn style, when there appeared the semi-official proposition in regard to the Declaration (of the religious superiors). As for that document, there was no reason for disapproving it; not only did it contain nothing contrary to principle, but it gave rise to a hope that the persecution would terminate. When these anticipations failed of realization, and when the Pontiff perceived that reticence was no longer a duty, he issued his eloquent letter to Cardinal Guibert, dated Oct. 22, 1880." In this letter, Leo XIII. gave great praise to the conduct of the French Catholics, both clerical and lay, and he lauded the heroism of the hundreds of French magistrates who had abandoned their positions, rather than execute the decrees of the persecutors. In reference to the Declaration of the superiors, he reminded the superfluously zealous among the Catholics that it ought to be sufficient for them to know that "the Declaration had been prepared by the authority, by the instigation, or at least by the permission of their bishops." Then the Pontiff recalled for the benefit of the zealots the principles on which the permissibility of the Declaration was based; that is, the well-understood fact that the Church is opposed to no form of government—that the Church seeks only the good of religion in all of her relations with the civil power. "No one can deny," added the Pope, "that in all things which are not unjust, the powers that exist are to be obeyed, so that there may result a preservation of that order which is the source of public security." The Pontiff was careful to observe, however, that from what he had presented as the duty of Catholics toward the republican government of France, "it did not follow that in obeying the existing powers, they should necessarily

(1) T'SERCLAES; *Pope Leo XIII., His Life, His Religious, Political, and Social Acts*. Paris, 1894.

approve whatever might be wrong in the constitution or administration of the government."

On March 28, 1882, there was promulgated a law concerning primary instruction which rendered that instruction obligatory in the case of all children who were between six and thirteen years of age; but the instruction was not necessarily to be received in the institutions of the State—a privilege which favored, of course, only those Catholics whose pecuniary condition enabled them to patronize the private schools, which received no subsidies from the government. During the discussion of this law in the Senate, Jules Simon, ultra-radical though he was, was sufficiently generous to venture to move an amendment to the effect that the children of the State schools should be taught "their duties to God and their country"; but the president of the commission charged with the examination of the law, one Schœlcher, cried: "I cannot accept that amendment, since I am an atheist." The Catholics of the smaller towns and villages frequently succeeded in partially obviating the curse of the prohibition of religious instruction in their public schools; the Municipal Councils enjoyed the right of naming the members of the School Commissions, and they often named ecclesiastics as such members. The cabinet of Freycinet was replaced during seven months by that which was organized by Duclerc; and Duvaux, its Minister of Public Instruction, was apparently content with what his predecessors had effected to the detriment of the Church. But on Feb. 21, 1883, President Grévy assigned to Ferry the task of forming a new Ministry, and of course the champion priest-eater hastened to resume his favorite occupation (1).

(1) As a Minister of Public Instruction, Ferry possessed strange notions concerning the moral needs of the daughters of France. Whereas most of the giants of his school ever desired that their wives and daughters should be religious women, Ferry took care, when re-organizing the Normal School for Girls at Versailles, to not only appoint as its president a Protestant (the widow Jules Favre), but also to establish as its professor of Moral Science a notorious infidel, Joseph Fabre. In his *Elements of Philosophy* this trainer of future wives and mothers wrote: "Morality can and ought to be taught independently of God (p. 258). . . . The contrary doctrine would justify the poisoning of Socrates; it would renew the great scandal of the cross of Jesus; it would exalt Nero and Domitian; it would rekindle the pyre of Giordano Bruno; it would repeat the horrors of St. Bartholomew's Day (p. 260). . . . The pretended demonstrations of the existence of a God are insufficient" (p. 357).

Throughout France, innumerable pastors were deprived of their "salaries," merely because some informers, perhaps notorious liars, had denounced them as violators of unjust laws. The cross was torn from the gates of the cemeteries in Paris, and in many of the other large cities. Since the Masonic designs were often thwarted by the "undue" moderation of some magistrates in applying or interpreting the persecuting enactments, Ferry engineered through the Chamber a law which suspended for three months the irremovability of the judges; and immediately their office was taken from all the magistrates whose integrity and independence gave umbrage to the Lodges. More than six hundred magistrates were thus dismissed. During 1884 the ecclesiastical budget, never too large, since it was equal to about the half of one per cent. on the value of the property stolen from the Church, was greatly diminished; the Chapter of Saint-Denis was suppressed; and the allowances of the archbishop of Paris and of many other prelates were reduced to derisory amounts. The year 1885 witnessed no new persecutions, other than the withdrawal of "salaries" from some hundreds of pastors who were accused of influencing their voting parishioners at the previous elections. In 1886, however, the work of the Educational League was completed. We have seen that the Ferry Laws of 1879 banished all members of religious organizations from the teaching staff of the secondary and superior schools; it remained for Paul Bert to deliver what was perhaps the most effective of all blows against Catholicism in France, by means of an elaborate bill which completely laicized primary education. Bert had always frankly avowed his object. During the discussion on the Ferry projects in 1879, he had been appointed to draw up a report for a commission which rejoiced in such members as the Masonic luminaries, Louis Blanc, Lockroy, Lacroix, Constans, Spuller, Floquet, and Duvaux. In this report he had said: "Instruction must be laic, *exclusively laic*: no teacher can be taken from among the members of any religious association, whether that association be authorized or not. . . . The commissioners have not wished to trouble themselves, as legislators, with the eternal dis-

putes of metaphysicians (on such subjects as God, the immortality of the soul, etc.). . . . We have concerned ourselves principally with the discipline of intelligence, being sure that when natural science has taught the child how to observe, when physical science has taught him how to prove, when mathematical science has taught him how to draw consequences, we shall have formed a mind which will be free from prejudices, and one not easily seduced by sorceries and superstitions. By the study of natural phenomena, the child will be superior to foolish terrors, and to unworthy credulities (such as belief in future punishment) . . . he will never hope for a sudden miracle to cure the evils of society, any more than he would ask it to cure his physical troubles. The saviours will never seduce him " (1). When Bert's bill on primary education had been presented to the deputies, such orators as the Count de Mun, Lamarzelle, and Bishop Freppel, combatted it most vigorously, and as a last resort endeavored to draw some of its poison by apposite amendments ; but the Chamber passed the measure as the Lodges had drafted it. The Senate modified it but slightly ; and when the law was promulgated on Oct. 30, 1886, it was found that all members of a religious community were to disappear from the primary schools, as they already had been expelled from the others ; and that thereafter no religious could teach in a public school. Such was the remedy which Bert and his brethren prescribed for a society which was afflicted with the disease of Catholicism. Article VII. had failed ; but the Bertian substitute was a preventative, said its author, " against the phylloxera of modern society." Therefore it was that at a banquet of the General Council of Yonne, he offered the toast : " I drink to the inventor who gave us the sulphate of carbon to banish the phylloxera of the vine ; and I also drink to the framer of that Article VII. which would banish the phylloxera of Catholicism."

Having given a succinct account of the chief causes

(1) In this report Bert proposed that the following provision should be enacted by the Assembly : " The municipalities shall become owners of all legacies or donations which shall have been made to schools or asylums on condition that they should be directed by religious."

which have contributed to render the name of the Third French Republic so distressing to the ears of all faithful children of the Spouse of Christ, we shall devote a special chapter to one of the most lamentable features in the anti-Catholic legislation of that government—that which instituted compulsory military service on the part of the clergy. Now we would ask the attention of the student to the Encyclical *Nobilissima Gallorum Gens* which Pope Leo XIII. issued in June, 1884—a document which portrays the history of the relations during the previous few years between the Apostolic See and France; which recapitulates in a most solemn manner the evils inflicted on the Church by those who guide the destinies of the Eldest Daughter of the Church; and which finally indicates the causes of those evils, and assigns their remedies. Naturally the Pontiff begins by reminding the world of the Christian glories which have pre-eminently distinguished France; of the praises which, more than any other nation, France has received from the Sovereign Pontiffs; of the gifts which France has received from God in the natural order; and then His Holiness laments that “sometimes France has forgotten herself, and has neglected the duties which God imposed on her.” However, the Pontiff consolingly remarks, “France has never given herself entirely to such madness, nor has she forgotten herself for a long time.” But now, we are reminded, in the entire extent of Christendom there circulates the poison of wicked doctrine—a doctrine which aims at the complete destruction of every Christian institution; and in France the evil presents itself in the guise of a heterodox philosophy which has given birth to a spirit of immoderate liberty, and in the form of a secret society which has sworn the death of Catholicism. The Pope insists that “no State can be prosperous, if virtue and religion are languishing”; for without the idea of God, authority and law lose their force, governments become tyrannies, the governed become rebels—such are the consequences of a forgetfulness of God. Again, unless society has recourse to God, its Protector, it cannot hope for His blessing. History demonstrates this fact, and most especially is the fact

shown by the history of France during the last hundred years. Then the Father of Christendom shows how for the family, the basis of society, it is necessary that a Christian education be given to the child; and how it has been on account of this necessity that the Church has always condemned the theory of a "neutral" education. Uninfluenced by a belief in a God who is Creator, Rewarder, and Punisher, the young will never bend beneath a rule that commands even a decent life; habituated to a refusal of nothing to their passions, the young will easily be a source of trouble to the State. Confining his reflections thenceforward more especially to the needs of the State, the Pontiff reminds us that among men there are two societies which are thoroughly independent, each in its own sphere. These societies are the temporal and the spiritual; but we must not forget that there are certain "mixed matters" in which each of these societies naturally has an interest, and concerning a regulation of which they must both come to an agreement. This need was understood in France by the civil authorities, after the subsidence of the revolutionary turmoils in the beginning of the nineteenth century; and therefore the two powers, spiritual and temporal, agreed on that Concordat, in which Pope Pius VII. showed so much condescension in favor of the French government. The results were happy, both for the Church in a revival of the Christian traditions, and for the State in the receipt of a promise of tranquillity. Such a result, remarks His Holiness, is much to be desired in these days of revolutionary enterprise; now, more than at any other time, the State ought to ask for the beneficent intervention of the Church. Nevertheless, the Head of the Church is compelled to admit that the acts of the French government are now of such a nature that they indicate an imminent rupture of the Concordat; and he calls attention to his letters to Cardinal Guibert in reference to the persecution of the religious orders, as well as to his letter to President Grévy on the general hostility of the republic to the Church. Then the Pope praises the courage of the French bishops in the present circumstances, and he especially commends their efforts for the establishment of

Catholic schools, despite the enormous revenues of the governmental establishments, against which they must contend. He repels as a calumny the Masonic assertion that in these efforts lies a proof that the bishops are enemies of France ; he insists that in defending the interests of souls, the prelates are simply performing their duty. And the Pontiff grows warm in his commendations of the zealous and charitable French priesthood, as well as in his acknowledgment of the heroic courage of so many of the French laity. On June 27, Leo XIII. addressed a Brief to the bishop of Perpignan, accentuating the counsels given in this Encyclical, and especially deploring the political divisions among the French laymen—divisions which prevented their presenting a united front at the polls, and thus crushing the Masonic hydra which was strangling France. The so-much-needed union, says the Pontiff, will easily be consummated, if Frenchmen will take their motives from the Encyclicals issued by Pius IX. and by himself, but especially from the *Syllabus* promulgated by his predecessor. "Let Frenchmen do away with disputes, the objects of which are merely private interests—interests which are of secondary importance, when compared with matters which belong to a more elevated order." We shall find occasion to give some attention to these counsels of Leo XIII. to the French laity, when we come to treat of the general trend of his pontificate.

It has been well said that the history of the modern Revolution is but one enormous lie, and one perpetual hypocrisy ; and certainly the record of the dissension between the Church and the Third French Republic does not indicate that the latter institution is an exception. Mendacity and hypocrisy were needed indeed for the assertion that the persecuting decrees of Ferry, Bert, and Co. were merely actuations of "existing laws." All that was most honest among the liberals of France manifested its disgust toward this hypocrisy. Laboulaye cried : "They exhume the edicts of the olden kings, the decrees of the Reign of Terror, those of the Cæsars, etc. . . . All is acceptable to the democrats, when they desire to strangle liberty, or to hunt the Jesuits. As for those ordinances which recognized liberty of con-

science, religious liberty, freedom of teaching, the right of association, all these do not exist for our democrats. "All for them; nothing for any others," but especially "nothing for religion!"—That is their watchword." And the injustice of such procedures caused Jules Simon to say, concerning the majority of his brethren: "To-day the republicans imitate the adversaries whom they once combatted; it seems to me that when they attain to power, they have learned only how to proscribe. . . . Do not make us say that you do not love liberty, whenever it troubles you. You do not love liberty, unless you are willing that your adversaries should have it. If you love liberty only for yourselves, you do not love it, you do not even know what it means; you are unworthy of understanding it" (1). It was an easy task for two veritable luminaries of French jurisprudence, M. Rousse of Paris and M. de Demolombe of Caen, to demonstrate in two masterly juridical *Consultations* on the decrees of March 29, 1880, that the plea of those decrees being founded on "existing laws" was a cowardly hypocrisy; and their declaration was endorsed by more than two thousand lawyers, among whom were all of the most illustrious and most disinterested members of the French bar and magistracy (2). Certainly the Masonic conspirators against the Church could not have trusted greatly in any "existing laws," when they devised their new Article VII.; and it was only when the Senate had rejected that article as too despotic, that men were informed of these "existing laws"—ordinances which "existed" with so little of vitality, that in order to give any force to them, two new decrees were made as substitutes for the condemned Article VII. In their search after "existing laws" which might crush the "clericals," the democratic despots raked among the rubbish of that past which they continually cursed. They seized on all the arbitrary decrees and violent measures of the two Napoleons,

(1) It was this plea for true liberty that caused the most distinguished and most learned man in the republican party to become an object of detestation to his olden comrades. Smarting under their ingratitude, Jules Simon said: "It is we who defend the republic—we who are trying to preserve it from the stain of despotism; and it is precisely because of that effort that we are, I will not say discussed, but reviled and outraged."

(2) RIVARX; *Course of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. III., p. 671. Paris, 1883.

and hailed them as proper chastisements for the slaves of Rome ; thus, as some one wrote at the time, presenting the picture of " Democracy licking the mud from the boots of the Empire." They even stirred up the debris of the royalist Restoration which they anathematized more bitterly than they cursed the two Empires ; hoping to find their hatred justified by the acts of a government which they proclaimed as " clerical." They found a number of ordinances which were hostile to freedom of education, and which the Universitarian monopoly and the threats of revolutionary liberalism had extorted from two feeble monarchs ; and with these testimonies they essayed to convince the world that even the government of the Restoration, " clerical " though it was, had for its own safety been compelled to restrain the Jesuits and their similars (1). Their task was easy when they peered into the pile of documents bequeathed to France by the men who had travestied the Principles of 1789 ; here they were rewarded by the discovery of laws which were not only sanguinary, but more despotic and irreligious than any which Satan had ever breathed into the mind of man. Certainly these records, stained with the blood which, as Taine observed, " is the soul of the Revolution," ought to have satisfied the seekers of " existing laws " ; but they must needs recur to the philosophistic, Masonic, and Jansenistic parliaments of the eighteenth century. " These democrats," reflects Paul Féval, " experience no shame in donning the old ducal wig of Choiseul, the favorite and accomplice of the Pompadour. They loudly applaud the judicial crimes of those parliaments now styled by history ' the parliaments of Choiseul-Pompadour ' ; and they are happy in being able to imitate, and to resuscitate those despots of the robe." When a similar enterprise, but one projected on a much smaller scale, was essayed in 1825, it was no more moderate anti-clerical than Pierre Leroux, who said : " That man does not understand liberty who demands an execution of the

(1) " In this case the lie is so barefaced that it might be considered a wicked pleasantry, a revolutionary *gaminerie*. For the revolution was wont to amuse itself with its victims. We all know the little chant sung by the cannibals in the Café de Foy at the Palais Royal, while they squeezed the blood from the heart of Berthier, and then drank it : ' There can be no feast, if the heart is absent.' " RIVAUX ; *loc. cit.*, p. 677.

olden parliamentary decrees against the Jesuits ; I shall say more—he himself is guilty of Jesuitism.” Of course, having whetted their appetites with the morsels dragged from the graves of the Second Empire, the Restoration, Napoleon I., the Revolution, and Louis XV., the democrats of the Third Republic hastened to regale themselves with the drippings from the caldron of Gallicanism, as it was prepared during the reign of Louis XIV. Undoubtedly these gentry had no more accurate idea of the meaning of Gallicanism than that which is entertained by the average Protestant ; but they knew that Gallicanism had been used by the great Louis XIV. as an engine of war against some temporal claims of Rome, and therefore they determined to imitate the prince whom they especially abhorred. Then we heard of dragoons being directed against harmless old men of prayer and against convents, the sole defense of which was the crucifix ; then we read of the siege of the Abbey of Frigolet, so bravely conducted by a republican general. The prospect of such scenes caused that serious republican, Dufaure, to declare in full Senate : “ In the programme openly displayed by an eminent republican deputy, a distinguished orator of the Chamber, I find that there are projected against the Catholics all of the measures indicated in those edicts of Louis XIV. which accompanied or followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.” Commenting on this appropriation of weapons from a Gallicanism which his comrades did not understand, Jules Simon said : “ The Most Christian monarch had at least an excuse in his faith ; but you, you who represent free thought, and who therefore do not claim to be the sole depositaries of absolute truth, you cannot pretend to share in a doctrinal unity. It will be said of you that you use repression for the sake of negation.” But Paul Bert, the champion of the Third Republic in its deliberate contempt of logic, did not quail before this arraignment by Jules Simon. With phenomenal cynicism he accepted the allegation : “ Yes ; *we are the negation*. Protestantism, Jansenism, all other heresies, are merely partial negations, half-measures of days long vanished. We are a negation which is total and radical.” And then, as though

he had heard St. Augustine's cry : " Catholicism is integral truth," that is, a real and total *affirmation*, Bert added : " The question between us (the Church and the Third Republic) is one of life and death." No wonder that Gambetta felt that he was justified in proclaiming : " Clericalism is our enemy.

CHAPTER V.

A FIGHTING CLERGY AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL CANONS.

In 1889 the Third French Republic resolved to drive the clergy into the army, its ostensible purpose being an enforcement of an equality of all the citizens before the law, but its real intention being to weaken that " clericalism " which Gambetta, its most brilliant champion, had designated as " the enemy," to be combatted with tooth and nail. Then a novel lesson in ecclesiastical jurisprudence was given to the Catholic world by the Chamber of Deputies. Hitherto it had been generally understood that the Church, so "*abhorret a sanguine*"—is so averse to the shedding of human blood," that she does not allow her priests, or even her simple clerics, to enter the military service, unless as chaplains or nurses, or in similar guise. The name of the new professor of Canon Law was Hanotaux. According to this parliamentary canonist, neither ecclesiastical tradition nor the Canons are opposed to the enrolment of priests and seminarians in the fighting ranks of the army. Does not the great Jansenist leader, Saint-Cyran, so insist ? Is not the Abbé Hous-say, the editor of that one-time famous *Tribune of the Clergy* which was so Catholic that the French bishops were constrained to condemn it, of the same mind ? With these " authorities," then, to support his audacity, our deputy proclaimed to his amazed but admiring colleagues that the Catholic episcopate and priesthood stultified themselves when they branded the infamous project as destructive of clerical discipline, as scandalous and sacrilegious, and as expressly condemned by the Canons. In order to arm ourselves against the presumed effective engines with which the

confident deputy was equipped by Saint-Cyran and others of that ilk, we shall open the immense arsenal of controversial weapons furnished by the *Collection of Canons*. But first we must anticipate the thought of the reader, who probably has been recalling to mind some of the instances of clerical, aye, of even episcopal fighting with the sword of the flesh in the halcyon days of old. In the first place, these instances are by no means as plentiful as is frequently supposed; and even though they all, and a hundred times their number, were capable of verification by the light of history, they would stand forth, not as being in accord with law and custom, but rather as abnormal examples born of peculiar circumstances. From the very beginning of the early Middle Age, the piety of the great and wealthy had endowed the churches and monasteries with lands; the interest of sovereigns had prompted them to give the rank of temporal lords to men upon whose fidelity they could depend. Therefore nearly every bishop and abbot was a feudal dignitary, and subject, as such, to the same obligations, either personally or by substitute, as the secular noble; giving, of course, before he received his investiture, *hominium* or homage to his suzerain. Undoubtedly there were many inconveniences in the system, and also many abuses which gave rise, in the eleventh century, to the vexatious question of Investitures; but it was considered, in the beginning, that the inconveniences were more than counterbalanced by the elevation of the prelates to a position among the temporal rulers of the earth. And in nearly every case the obligation of a military service was discharged by a lay substitute, styled, for that purpose, the prelate's "man." Again, very many abbeyes were frequently usurped by laymen, who assumed the title of abbots, and personally fulfilled an abbot's temporal duties. In such cases it should not be surprising to find a record stating that such and such an abbot fought in such and such a campaign. And even in the case of some abbots who were canonically elected, we read that sometimes they were impelled, by the exigencies of the feudal system, to provide themselves with military protectors, if they wished to escape spoliation. Recourse, therefore, was had to some powerful

secular lord, who would lead the vassals of the abbey in war, receiving, in reward, some of the abbatial territories in fief, and bearing as his standard the abbatial insignia (1). In these instances we also encounter allegations of military experience on the part of abbots. Certainly the appearance of clerics in the military ranks must have been quite exceptional, even in the early Middle Age, since the olden annals inform us that veneration for the sacred character of the priesthood caused the soldiers to flee in terror from a field which had been stained by such a sacrilege as the killing of a minister of God. We read in the *Capitularies* of Charlemagne a prohibition of soldiering on the part of clerics, and the emperor seems to have thought that priestly combatants were not a source of strength to an army: "Those nations and princes have never been victorious in the long run, who have allowed priests to fight in their armies. Certain rulers in Gaul, Spain, and Lombardy, have thought that they could grant such permission; but the audacious sacrilege brought about their defeat and the loss of their patrimonies. I would rather be victorious at the head of a few professional warriors, than be forced to retreat with a large number of unpermissible soldiers."

But let us consult the Canons of the Church, if we desire to penetrate her mind on this subject. In the year 453, the Council of Arles declared that clerics who entered upon military service were properly deprived of their benefices, that is, in popular parlance, they were suspended. Pope Innocent I. ordered the fathers of the Council of Toledo, in 406, to refuse Holy Orders to all who had served in the army; and he wrote to the same effect to Victricius, bishop of Rouen. In 538, the Council of Orleans excommunicated clerics who, having doffed the military insignia, resumed them. In 743, a German Council, held at Ratisbon, forbade "the servants of God" to march against the enemy, unless as celebrants of the Divine Mysteries, and it allowed each prince to have in his train, for that purpose, two bishops and a certain number of chaplains. We find St. Boniface and Archbishop Egbert of York prohibiting, in 747, the English

(1) BOUTARIC, *Military Institutions of France*. Paris, 1863.

clergy to bear arms. The *Capitularies* of 789 insist that clerics carry no weapons; even the army chaplains are bound by this regulation; the parish-priests will send "their men" to the king's aid, well equipped, but they themselves must be content with praying for the national welfare. In 816 the Council of Aix pronounced military dignities incompatible with the ecclesiastical state. A Council of Meaux deposed, in 845, every priest who accepted military employment. Archbishop Herard of Tours decreed deposition and imprisonment against any clergyman taking part in an armed sedition. When Charles the Bald and Louis of Germany excused themselves to Pope Nicholas I., for not sending their prelates to a Council, alleging in extenuation of their remissness that said prelates were then engaged in operations against pirates, the Pontiff replied: "The duty of the soldiers of Christ is to serve Christ; let the soldiers of the world serve the world." Several English Councils depose an ecclesiastic who has killed a person; and he must fast for ten years, five of which are to be on bread and water. Excommunication is pronounced against clerics who bear arms, by Councils at Rheims in 1049, at Rome in 1078, and at London in 1175 and 1268. The prelates of Hungary, assembled at Buda in 1279, forbid all fighting to priests, unless in defense of their churches or country; and even in those cases, they must not attack, and they must never combat in person. Finally, the General Council of Trent (1545-63) confirmed all these prohibitory enactments, taking care, also, not to recognize in ecclesiastics the right, which many canonists have claimed for them, to repel force by force.

No Catholic can be at a loss to understand the aversion entertained by the Church at the prospect of her priests shedding human blood, for he realizes how pure should be the hands, how gentle the disposition of him who handles the Body of Christ. And so possessed is the Church by this idea, that she turns aside her ministers from everything that may tend toward a deadening of their sensibilities. Thus she interdicts their presence at duels, and even at capital executions, unless, in the latter case, they attend in the capacity of strengtheners and consolers of the condemned in

their dread emergency. Neither can they assist at surgical operations, if curiosity is the impelling motive. They are not even allowed to hunt; but the reader need not take scandal if he meets, some day, his pastor enjoying a bit of recreation with the aid of a fowling piece, or mayhap evidencing, in a practical way, some little sympathy with the joys of the gentle Isaac Walton. When the fathers of certain Councils prohibited hunting to the clergy, saying that "Esau was addicted to it because he was a sinner," probably, in their own minds, they added the qualifying clause, "saving all due respect to St. Hubert," whom our reader knows as a famous sportsman. Indeed, some decrees expressly state, and all canonists so interpret the law, that only hunting *cum strepitu* is forbidden to ecclesiastics, that is, the species of dangerous and noisy diversion which goes by the name of "the chase."

But some innocent may wonder how we are to account, if the Church is so determined in this matter, for those Military Religious Orders, such as the Templars, the Hospitallers, the Knights of Calatrava, etc., which the Church herself founded, in the ages of faith, for the defense of Christendom against the ferocious and uncivilizing hordes of Islam. Such an objection would betray a knowledge of history such as is derived from the theatre or the novel, rather than from proper and reliable sources. In his entrancing novel, *The Tullisman*, Scott evokes from his imagination the figure of a soldier-priest, a grand-master of the Templars; and represents him as entering upon an administration of the Sacraments, when fresh from the battle-field. This is but one among a hundred instances of gross ignorance of Catholic laws and customs, evinced by our charming Wizard of Fiction. The Military Religious Orders were certainly religious organizations in the strict sense of the term, their members being bound by the solemn monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. But their fighting members, the chevaliers, were not priests. A man could be a Templar or a Knight of St. John, or such like, just as to-day he can be a Benedictine, a Dominican, a Jesuit, or some other kind of religious, without entering the priesthood. Each of these

religious military associations was composed of three classes of brethren: the knights, who performed military duty; the chaplains, who ministered to the spiritual needs of the community; and the squires, pages, grooms, and menials, who followed the chevaliers to the field, if so commanded (1). The Military Religious Orders, therefore, furnish no argument for those who contend that the Church could consistently allow her priests to enter the fighting ranks of an army. But do not the bellicose Pontiffs, such as St. Leo IX., and Julius II., and the many scarlet-hatted commanders, such as Vitelleschi, Albornoz, and D'Aubusson, militate against our position? Not at all. St. Leo did not himself draw the material sword when he fought the battle of Civitella in defense of his people, and of the patrimony of the Church, but remained in prayer on an eminence overlooking the field (2). As to Julius II. and such of the cardinalitial commanders as were in Holy Orders (for many of these latter, though cardinals, were laymen), we do not read that they themselves personally entered the melee; and this absence of testimony in favor of the contrary supposition is a sufficient justification of our position.

There is a poetico-religious aspect in which one may profitably view the picture furnished us by the anti-clericals now dominant in the government of France, of a forced association of priest and soldier in barrack and field. There is a kind of natural grandeur in the idea, but which the Masonic lodges, of course, did not perceive when they conceived what is one of the most grotesque efforts of modern statecraft. Both priest and soldier are the most magnificent ideals which can be offered to the admiration of men; there is a strange identity of sublimity between these principles apparently so contrary; with both priest and soldier the greatest glory is attained by sacrifice. The soldier devotes his life to his country; the priest dedicates his to the good of souls. Each is the protector of civilization. The soldier is the apostle of the God of battles; the priest is the apostle of the God of

(1) *Lives of the Grand-Masters of the Holy Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, written by the Knight-Commander, Brother Jerome Marulli. Naples, 1626.—See also the *History of the Templars*, by Dupuy. Paris, 1630.

(2) See our Vol. II., ch. 10.

peace. But we are wandering; the idea of a Christian soldier has invaded our imagination, and alas! not every French barrack can produce a Drouot. And it is not a Christian soldier that the Third Republic, perhaps in punishment for its other crimes, is ambitious of forming. It pretends that the new law will render priestly vocations more sincere; but we do not know that the French Chamber is such an adept in things of the sanctuary, that it can truthfully exclaim, "*experto crede*," especially since it assigns as a reason for its confidence the belief that the ecclesiastical ranks will now lose definitively the many (?) who would have become priests, merely to escape the conscription. And on the other hand, this fancied judge of priestly character flatters itself that many of the clerical recruits will become hardened by their military experience, and will therefore adopt what it styles "republicanism" for a religion. Let us hope that the sanguine expectations of a sagacious Catholic publicist (1) may be realized, and that though some of the clerical conscripts may become "hardened" even unto roughness, "they will not adopt the principles of Masonry, but will be hardened in their faith and their apostolate." How easy it would have been, had the anti-clericals been animated by a mere modicum of sincerity in what does duty for the heart in their breasts, to have utilized the pretendedly-needed services of the few ecclesiastical recruits in a sphere which they would have willingly entered, and for which the military history of France has shown that they are pre-eminently fitted! And for a time it did appear that the hospital and ambulance service was to be again benefited by their well-proven and admitted devotion; but at last the Senate (what a grand name for such little men!) determined that the clerics should be soldiers, and the priest-eaters were satisfied.

(1) D'ARGILL; *The Centenary of 1789*. Paris, 1890.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PONTIFICATE OF LEO XIII.

On Feb. 18, 1878, ten days after the demise of Pope Pius IX., sixty-one cardinals entered into Conclave (1). One of the first acts of Their Eminences was to forward to each member of the diplomatic corps accredited to the Vatican a protest against the Sardinian usurpation of the Pontifical States, and against all of the necessarily consequent measures which were injurious to the Church. The ensuing election was effected with unusual celerity, being consummated on the third ballot. It was thought by many that this haste was due to the determination of the cardinals to avoid any interference on the part of the German and Italian governments, as well as to a wish to establish a precedent which would eventuate in a disappearance of the "Right of Veto" on the nomination of some particular candidate, allowed by the Holy See to certain Catholic powers. It is certain that Bismarck had conducted, during several years, diplomatic intrigues which were expected by him to result in a subordination of the freedom of the electors to his wishes (2). Nor were these intentions of the German chancellor restricted to the confines of his own bosom, and to a participation on the part of his agents; many were the anonymous pamphlets which then appeared in Berlin, Munich, and Prague, advocating a German and Italian interference in the next Conclave as a matter of right, and most of these works bore intrinsic evidence of an inspiration from the cabinet of Ber-

(1) We give the names of the electors, arranged according to their nationality: *Italians*: Amat, Di Pietro, Sacconi, Guidi, Bilio, Morichini, Pecci, Asquini, Carafa di Traetto, Antonucci, Panebianco, De Luca, Buonaparte, Ferrieri, Berardi, Monaco la Valetta, Chigi, Franchi, Oreglia di Santo Stefano, Martinelli, Antici-Mattei, Giannelli, Simeoni, Bartolini, d'Avanzo, Apuzzo, Canossa, Serafini, Parocchi, Moretti, Mertel, Caterini, Consolini, Borromeo, Randi, Pacca, Nina, Sbaretta, Pellegrini. *Frenchmen*: Donnet, Regnier, Pitra, Bonnehose, Guibert, Caverot, Falioux du Condray. *Spaniards*: Moreno, Benavides, Garcia Gil, Paya y Rico. *Portuguese*: Moraes Cardoso. *Austrians*: Schwarzenberg, Sismor, Mihalowitz, Kutschker. *Pole*: Ledochowski. *Germans*: Hohenlohe, Franzellin. *Belgian*: Dechamps. *Englishmen*: Howard, Manning.

(2) LUCIUS LECTOR; *The Conclave: Its Origin, History, and Organization*, ch. 13. Paris, 1894.

lin (1). The Bismarckian schemes had not been ignored by the semi-official journals and periodicals of the Vatican ; in the *Osservatore Romano* of June 29, 1872, we read : " We do not know how much truth there may be in the rumors to the effect that the Holy See has announced to the privileged governments that it will no longer tolerate the "Veto " which, through sheer condescension, it has hitherto permitted those powers to enjoy. If the reports are well-founded, the Church has simply taken measures of precaution against the snares prepared by certain of her enemies. At the time when the Holy See conceded a limited kind of 'Veto' to France, Spain, and Austria (2), the governments of those countries were essentially Catholic ; and then heresy and indifferentism were not regarded by those cabinets as worthy of an equal footing with Catholicism. Can we suppose that the Church will ever entrust her interests, even indirectly, to men like Thiers, Andrassy, Zorilla, or to some more wretched miscreant (a Bismarck, for instance) ? Because of this impossibility the Holy See repulsed the efforts of certain sovereigns who wished to take part in the Council of the Vatican."

(1) In 1888, as if in anticipation of the Conclave which will elect a successor to Leo XIII., certain German pamphleteers re-opened the agitation, originally excited by their party, concerning the " Right of Veto." In a series of documents which he transcribed from the Archives of the Vatican and of Vienna, Dr. Wähmund endeavored to find a basis for an opinion to the effect that time had given to the exercise of the " Right of Veto " the prerogatives of a veritable " right founded on custom." Such a pretension found many valiant adversaries ; even in Germany, erudites like Lingens and Sigmüller showed that the general spirit of Canon Law opposes the exercise of the " Veto " in question, even when that privilege is a prerogative of truly Catholic princes.

(2) Certain authors have claimed the right of the " Veto " for Naples and for Portugal. They have asserted that King John V. of Portugal (1706-1750) obtained it in a Papal Bull ; but no edition of the *Bullarium* contains the document. The claim of the Neapolitan monarch is advocated by the Germans, Philipps (*Church Law*, Vol. v., p. 868), and Schulte (*System of Canon Law*, p. 199) ; but their theory is demolished by the testimony of King Ferdinand I. In the instructions given to Cardinal Ruffo, when that prelate was about to depart for the Conclave of 1823, the monarch wrote : " Since the *express* right of exclusion does not belong to the crown of the Two Sicilies, that right being reserved to the courts of France, Spain, and Austria, we trust in your dexterity to use every means which your talents may suggest, so that you may be able to exercise a *tacit* exclusive, by means of your adherents and friends " (CIPOLLETTA ; *Political Memoirs*, p. 138). Probably the reason for the advocacy of the Neapolitan claims by certain German authors, some of whom style themselves Catholics, lies in the fact that His Majesty of Sardinia claims the succession of the Neapolitan Bourbons, and would therefore have a right to an " exclusive," in the event of the Neapolitan claim being supported. It is amusing to hear the German Sigmüller proclaiming that the right of King Humbert, as well as that of the German emperor, to the " exclusive," is an " open question " (*Papal Elections*, p. 42).

Certain German publicists have insisted that the "Right of Veto" is part of the "Right of Regalia" which, as they claim, is inherent in every civil sovereignty (1); and they contend that sovereigns have a special right to this "Veto," because of the dangers that the election of a hostile Pope might entail upon their peoples. Thus, for instance, Ley, in *The Exclusive which the Emperor Exercises*, published in Barthel's *Legal Works* (2); and Hammer, in his *Right of a Catholic Prince in Sacred Matters*, in Schmidt's *Treasury* (3). These sentiments are mere echoes of Puffendorfian theories, theories which persistently ignore the value of positive stipulations; and they were revived in a pamphlet published in Munich in 1872, entitled *The Rights of Rulers in the Conclave*. This pamphlet was generally ascribed to the pen of Count Greppi, the Italian representative at the Bavarian court. Bismarck had just begun his "War for Civilization"; and as was afterward revealed by the Arnim affair, had formed the design of hurling the forces of Caesar against the Papacy. All the German governmental journals acclaimed the just-mentioned pamphlet; for the death of Pius IX. seemed then to be imminent. It was the appearance of this incendiary lucubration that impelled Windhorst to pronounce, on June 14, 1872, these words in the German parliament: "It is now a question of life or death. They are trying to organize a National Church, to separate us Catholics from the Holy See, and in the next Conclave, to destroy or to travesty the Papacy." Of course, in combatting the Cæsarian pretensions, some Catholic authors have been carried away by enthusiasm, and have been guilty of gross exaggeration. This fault was especially noticeable in France, during and after the days of the greatest of Bismarck's enterprises; but the reaction against the ideas of the "War for Civilization" produced even among Italian Catholic publicists a few who were like the Frenchmen who "were more Catholic than the Pope." This small but enthusiastic school discerned in the "Right of Veto" only a usurpation of the right of the Church—an abuse which the Church tolerated, just as the individual often submits to

(1) See our Vol. iv., p. 211.

(2) Bamberg, 1771.

(3) Heidelberg, 1774.

the tyranny of superior force. Such is not the doctrine of the traditional Roman school. This school denies that any sovereigns possess, in the matter of this "Veto," any right, properly so-called; but it admits that there was good reason wherefore the Church allowed the "Veto" to be introduced and exercised by certain princes. This school admits the right of a sovereign, one who is a true son of the Church, to present to the Conclave, if he has received the permission, a "friendly remonstrance" against the election of a cardinal who, in the prince's judgment, might jeopardize the good relations between that prince and the Holy See. As the idea is expressed by Moroni, who is a good representative of Roman ideas, whatever one may think of the *Historical Dictionary* which was composed when historical criticism was not the science which it is now, the privileged sovereign's action in the premises is a mere "tolerated custom." In fine, as the *Civiltà Cattolica* remarks, the exercise of the "Veto" never entailed on the cardinal-electors any obligation *in justice*; but it did entail a sort of obligation *in prudence* (1). Before we dismiss this subject of the "Right of Exclusion," we must remind the reader that said privilege is not founded in written law; no Bull, no Conciliar enactment, no pontifical document, have ever been adduced as its justification. It became a custom, probably in the latter part of the Middle Age. No work treating of its origin is of earlier date than that by Adarzo de Santander, bishop of Verona, printed in 1660; and not before the eighteenth century were any really critical investigations in the matter undertaken.

It is not improbable that the true reason for the brief duration of the Conclave of 1878, nearly the shortest in history, was not so much any anticipation of possible interference on the part of the foes of the Holy See, as it was the consequence of the fact that almost at once one of the preferred nominees seemed to nearly all the electors to be the choice of Providence. When the first ballot was taken on the morning of Feb. 19, twenty-three votes were cast for Cardinal Gioacchino Pecci, *Camerlingo* of Holy Roman

(1) Series viii., Vol. vii., 1872.

Church, while the next favorite candidate received only seven. At the second ballot, taken the same day, the votes for Cardinal Pecci amounted to thirty-eight; and on the following day, the third ballot showed that the election was consummated, Pecci having received forty-four votes, more than the necessary two-thirds. Cardinal Donnet, who sat by the side of Pecci during the voting, used to say that when the name of the cardinal-chamberlain was announced with startling repetition, the future Pontiff shed abundant tears, and his trembling hand refused to retain its grasp on his pen. The Frenchman picked up the pen, and handing it to his pallid colleague, he whispered: "Courage! This is not a question of you; the interests of the Church and the future of the world are concerned" (1). When the moment arrived for his assumption of the name by which he was thereafter to be known in the annals of the Church, the new Pontiff announced that he assumed the name of Leo XIII.

Gioacchino (Joachim) Vincenzo Raffaele, sixth child and fourth son of Count Luigi Pecci by his wife, Anna Proserpi Buzi, was born on March 2, 1810, in Carpineto, a little town in the region once inhabited by those Volscians with whom Rome was obliged to contend so persistently in her early days. The Pecci family had been distinguished in the annals of Carpineto since 1531, when Antonio Pecci immigrated thither from Siena, to which republic his ancestors had gone from Cortona about the year 1300. Genealogists who have traced the history of the Pecci, remark that in each generation the family has ever been noted for integrity, prudence, patriotism, and love of religion. The biographers of Leo XIII. dilate on the number of Pecci whose history is intertwined with that of the Siennese republic; we shall merely note that undeniable as are the civic and social glories of the Pecci, their most solid reason for complacency is found in the fact that, like so many of the olden patrician families of Papal Rome, they have contributed a notable quota to the most noble of all aristocracies, that of the saints of the Church of God. Blessed Pietro Pecci, the founder of the

(1) T'SERCLAES; *Pope Leo XIII. : His Life, and His Religious, Political, and Social Acts*, Vol. I., ch. 5.

Hermits of St. Augustine, a Spanish order by its origin, was a grandson of a Pecci who had emigrated from Siena to the Land of the Cid, and had received the religious habit in Avignon at the hands of Pope Gregory XI., who approved the Constitutions of his order. Then we meet, if we happen to visit Carpineto, the portrait of Blessed Margaret Pecci, vested with the habit of the Servites of Mary. And finally, the records of the Society of Jesus show us, among the many indubitable martyrs whom the Church has not formally recognized as saints, the name of Bernardino Pecci, who sealed with his blood the story of his labors in India for the propagation of the faith (1). On the side of his mother's family, Leo XIII. was descended from a historical personage who claimed indeed to be of illegitimate imperial stock, but who was incontestably plebeian (2). In a *Chronicle of Cori*, dedicated to the Conservators of Rome in 1631, it is recorded that "In the olden time the Prosperi were named Rienzi, because of their descent from Cola di Rienzi, the tribune of the Roman people" (3). Commenting on the genealogical tree of the Pecci, the Belgian biographer of Leo XIII., Mgr. T'Serclaes, pleasantly remarks that the drop of revolutionary blood which coursed in the veins of Leo XIII., joined to the Pontiff's descent from the Sienese republicans, might lead some Liberal to announce that it was mere "atavism" which led His Holiness to desire an amicable arrangement with the Third French Republic.

The early studies of the future Pontiff were made in the Jesuit College of Viterbo; and the correspondence of the professors with the Count and Countess Pecci shows that the boy was extraordinarily pious, as well as brilliant and solid in matters of study (4). The bishop of Viterbo, Mgr.

(1) T'SERCLAES; *loc. cit.*, Vol. i., p. 11. (2) See our Vol. II., p. 551.

(3) Angelo, son of the tribune, fled to Cori, and found in that region a family which was known as the Prosperi. *Popular Life of Leo XIII.*, published in the Roman Review, *La Palestra del Clero*.

(4) It is interesting to note that while Gioacchino was still a mere child, he manifested that love and grasp of pure Latinity which distinguished his mature years. He was twelve years of age when Father Vincent Pavani, the Jesuit provincial, visited the college of Viterbo. Gioacchino, who was then called by his second name, Vincent, addressed to the guest the following tasteful epigram:

" *Nomine Vincenti quo tu Pavane vocaris
Parvulus atque infans Peccius ispe vocor;*

Lolli, writing to the countess when Gioacchino was twelve years old, said that if God preserved the boy's health, he would be "an honor to himself, to his family, and to his country." In 1824, Gioacchino and his brother, Giuseppe, were summoned to Rome for the purpose of bidding farewell to their mother, who had gone to the Eternal City for superior medical attention. When the fond parent, vested in the habit of the Third Order of St. Francis, had gone to her reward, Giuseppe entered the Society of Jesus; and Gioacchino resumed his studies in the Roman College, which had lately re-opened its doors, and was managed by the sons of St. Ignatius. Having completed a brilliant course of rhetoric, Gioacchino began his ecclesiastical studies under the tuition of such professors as Perrone, Patrizi, Kollman, and Van Everbrœck. One of these professors, Patrizi, after fifty years of teaching, had the happiness of seeing his pupil seated on the Chair of Peter. While following the courses of the Roman College, our young Abbate resided with an uncle in the Palazzo Muti near Ara Cœli; but nothing can be more fantastical than the picture drawn by a certain biographer, when he represents the future Pope as frequenting the drawing-rooms of society while he bemoans the debasement of Italy, and is preparing to enter the priesthood merely because he is sick of the world (1). His time was devoted to study; and all his correspondence, as well as the testimony of his tutors and companions, shows that he was conservative in regard to the political affairs of his day, and that he was sincerely respectful to all legitimate authority. In 1832, the Abbate Pecci took his degree of Doctor in Sacred Theology, and entered the Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics, an institution especially created for the training of such students as aspire to the positions which are open to the Roman *prelatura* (2). As a student of this, as it may be styled, diplomatic training-

*Quas ex virtutes magnas Parare secutus
Oh! Utinam possim Peccius ipse sequi."*

(1) BOYER D'AGEN; *Leo XIII. In the Eyes of His Contemporaries*. Paris, 1892.

(2) Mgr. Giuseppe Pecci, a prelate who had enjoyed the confidence of Pius VI., was made Commissary of the Apostolic Chamber by Pius VII.; and when he was about to die, he gave all of his personal property for the foundation of a *prelatura di famiglia*, or scholasticship in the Academy for Noble Ecclesiastics, to be perpetually in the gift of the Pecci family.

school, Abbate Pecci made a further course of Civil and Canon Law at the *Sapienza* or Roman University. When he graduated from the Academy, its protector, the illustrious Cardinal Pacca, who had carefully watched the progress of the young Carpinetan, induced Pope Gregory XVI. to name him to the "domestic prelacy" in 1837, although he had not yet received Holy Orders; and at the same time he was appointed a Referendary of the *Segnatura*, and a member of the Congregation *del Buongoverno* or Commission for Good Government. In this latter capacity young Pecci was of great assistance to Cardinal Sala (1), when, immediately after his promotion, the cholera appeared in Rome, and His Eminence was placed at the head of the sanitary commission for the systemization of succor in the midst of universal panic. On Aug. 16, the Monsignore wrote to his brother, Giovanni Battista: "If I also am to be included among the victims, I bow to the decrees of the Most High, to whom I have already offered the sacrifice of my life, in expiation of my sins; but nevertheless, I am perfectly calm." When the pest had disappeared, Mgr. Pecci prepared for his ordination. On Dec. 17, he received the subdiaconate; and on Dec. 24, the diaconate, after which ceremony he wrote to his protector, Cardinal Sala, a letter from which we take the following passage: "After my fifteen days of strict retreat, the Feast of Christmas approaches; and my spiritual director allows me a moment of relaxation, in which I may think of what does not pertain entirely to the affairs of the soul. . . . I trust that my joy will continue, and that it will be increased when I receive the priesthood; but so far I am filled with fright when I consider the sublimity of that office, and when I reflect on my unworthiness. Let not Your Eminence forget to pray for me, and to ask others to do likewise. I assure you that I wish to be a *good priest*." These words edified the cardinal, but he began to fear lest the writer might form an intention of entering on the life of a religious, when he read: "I wish

(1) This cardinal was the Sala who had been the faithful companion and counsellor of Cardinal Caprara, when that diplomat was engaged in regulating the affairs of the French Church with the First Consul; and his admiration and affection for Pecci led him to proffer many wise counsels to the debutant in a career which demands even more tact than wisdom.

to serve God, and to show zeal for His glory, as that phrase was understood by St. Ignatius." His Eminence immediately replied : " You must not abandon the career on which you have entered, and in which you can render important services to the Church and to the Holy See." On Dec 31, 1837, Cardinal Odeschalehi, the cardinal-vicar of Gregory XVI., conferred the priesthood on the future Leo XIII.

Two months after his ordination, Mgr. Pecci entered upon his first essay in the government of men. Gregory XVI. must have had great confidence in the justice and energy of the young prelate, when he appointed him to the government of Benevento, one of the most difficult positions in the Papal States. This Duchy, completely surrounded by Neapolitan territory, had belonged to the Holy See since the eleventh century; and at the time of which we now write, it had become a nest of brigands and of Neapolitan smugglers, all more or less openly sustained by noble and apparently respectable persons. The new delegate arrived at his post in an almost dying condition; a pernicious fever, contracted as he was crossing the Pontine marshes, had fastened on his ever delicate constitution. But after a few weeks of struggle, he shook off the malady, and his first measures proved to the titled and untitled disturbers of the province that the knell of their insolent domination had sounded. Realizing that smuggling was the chief source of all the troubles which his predecessors had experienced, since it was the contraband trade which furnished adventurers ever ready to become either revolutionists or brigands, he visited Naples in order to concert measures with the royal government for united action against the common enemy. Ferdinand II. agreed to the demands of the delegate; and confident that the frontier would now be guarded, the prelate began military operations against brigands and contrabandists. His energy infused spirit into the hitherto pussillanimous papal troops; and one by one the strongholds of the inferior order of criminals were forced, and their defenders captured. But there remained the superior order of malefactors—the rich and noble proprietors who, in return for protection extended, had always received a lion's share of the profits

made by both brigands and contrabandists. One day the delegate received a visit from one of these rascally gentlemen, a marquis who pretended that his feudal rights had been violated by the papal military, and by the collectors of the pontifical custom-house. To the violence of the nobleman's anger, Mgr. Pecci replied with his usual equanimity that all papal subjects were equal before the law ; and when he was told that the marquis would proceed immediately to Rome, there to exert a powerful influence to procure the dismissal of one who cared so little for feudal privileges, he calmly remarked : "Remember, my lord, that you cannot reach the Vatican without passing Castel San Angelo." This allusion to the imprisonment which the report of the delegate would undoubtedly secure for him, induced the marquis to moderate his tone : but shortly afterward his castle was carried by storm, and all of his brigand-guests were captured. This fact will serve to indicate the spirit with which Mgr. Pecci administered justice during his delegation of Benevento ; and every other department of his office was supervised with the same zeal. In 1841 Gregory XVI. rewarded the young prelate with the difficult delegation of Spoleto ; but almost immediately he was transferred to that of Perugia, then one of the most important offices, from a political point of view, in the pontifical dominions. During his administration of the delegation of Perugia, Mgr. Pecci had the satisfaction of knowing that, in spite of the political agitations of the time, on more than one occasion it was remarked that the prisons contained no delinquent of any sort whatever.

During the first days of 1843, Mgr. Pecci was notified that he had been appointed to the nunciature in Belgium, and that he should prepare immediately for episcopal consecration, he having been assigned to the titular archdiocese of Damietta. He was consecrated by Cardinal Lambruschini, the secretary of state, in the basilica of St. Lawrence in *Panisperna* ; and on March 19, the Feast of St. Joseph, the patron of Belgium, he embarked at Civita Vecchia, arriving in Brussels on April 7. At the time of his appointment, Mgr. Pecci had no more knowledge of the

French language than that furnished by its analogies with its sister, the Italian tongue, and with the Latin, their common mother ; but he had begun the study of the language which he knew to be indispensable. Before the steamer which carried him to France had begun to plough the Mediterranean, and when an illness forced him to pause at Nîmes for a fortnight, he profited by the delay to take some regular lessons. Hence it was that when he arrived in the Belgian capital, he could easily make himself understood in the principal language of the country. The spirit which animated this young nuncio of thirty-three years was that which was counselled by Cardinal Lambruschini in the letter of instructions consigned before the departure of the prelate : “ By the mercy of God there is accorded in Belgium, in regard to the Catholic religion, and to the exercise of episcopal authority, a liberty which is sadly wanting in several kingdoms. It should be the strict duty of the nuncio to protect this liberty ; and in order to accomplish this end, the nuncio must manifest no indiscreet zeal, and above all, he must show no spirit of party.” Tact, not mere cunning, but a wise and Christian prudence, seems to have been the pre-eminent characteristic of Archbishop Pecci, even at this early period of his life. Archbishop Fornari, the nuncio at Paris, whose long experience had made him an excellent judge of men, was at this time a constant correspondent with the archbishop of Damietta ; and in some of his letters there are indications that on one occasion he had availed himself of his greater experience and of his recognized affection for Pecci to disapprove of certain procedures on the part of his friend. The reply of Mgr. Fornari to the explanation furnished by Mgr. Pecci, an explanation which was as moderate as it was sincere, shows how he had been impressed by the discretion of his younger colleague : “ Allow me, my lord, to assure you with all frankness, and without any offence to your modesty, that your letter is a veritable lesson to me. During several years I have been aware of your virtue, and I have ever admired it ; but this instance has really edified me. You might, for many good reasons, have told me to attend to my own affairs, and not to meddle with those of others ; but instead

of so doing, you thank me for my remarks, and with truly Christian humility, you say that my letter has gratified you. To tell the truth, I had already repented of my observations; I had realized my imprudence; and nevertheless you thank me. I am grateful to you for the manner in which you have regarded my indiscretion; and it proves that your nunciature will be entirely successful, since God exalts those who humble themselves. Pardon me, therefore, my lord, and bless the God who has given you so much virtue. And may God grant that I be not content with admiring that virtue! May I receive the strength to imitate it!" The scope of our work precludes any details of the participation of Mgr. Pecci in the politico-religious affairs of Belgium during his nunciature; we merely note that when, in 1845, the Belgian court was informed that Pope Gregory XVI. had determined to confer the bishopric of Perugia on the archbishop of Damietta, all Belgium grieved for his departure. Not satisfied with investing the prelate with the Grand Cordon of his Order, King Leopold I. handed to him a letter to the Pontiff, which is very interesting as a judgment on its subject, emitted by the deepest politician among all the rulers of his day: "I desire to recommend Archbishop Pecci to the benevolent protection of Your Holiness. For every reason he merits that consideration. Very rarely have I beheld so sincere a devotion to duty, intentions so pure, and actions so straightforward. His residence in this country has been most beneficial, because of the eminent services it has enabled him to perform for Your Holiness. I beg of Your Holiness that he may be asked to render an exact account of the impressions which the ecclesiastical affairs of Belgium have produced in his mind; for he judges wisely in all matters. Your Holiness may accord to him your entire confidence." Certainly, this testimony of Leopold I., a profound judge of men, and one who, although a Protestant, knew the Belgian Church thoroughly, is a refutation of the insinuations made, in after years, by that eminent Freemason, Frère-Orban.

Having taken leave of the Belgian court, Archbishop Pecci deemed it wise, before taking possession of his see, to widen

his experience of men and things by a short visit to England. He spent a month in London, and was received in audience by the young Queen Victoria. He then passed some weeks in Paris, and conversed with Louis Philippe; then he set out for Rome, where he was received most kindly by the lately-enthroned Pius IX. When the new Pontiff had read the letter of the Belgian monarch, he sent the following answer: "Mgr. Pecci, recently nuncio to Your Majesty, has handed to us the letter which Your Majesty addressed to our predecessor of dear and regretted memory. This beautiful testimony which Your Majesty proffers in favor of Mgr. Pecci, now bishop of Perugia, is very honorable to that prelate; and he shall certainly experience the consequences of your royal good offices, just as though he had gone through the regular course of nunciatures." On July 26, 1846, Archbishop Pecci took solemn possession of the see which he was to occupy until within a few months of the death of Pius IX., and in which he had an appropriate share of all the tribulations, as well as of all the joys, which we have described as attendant on the pontificate of the Pope of the Immaculate Conception. These thirty-two years of episcopate, occupying all of the mature manhood, and part of the old age of the future Pontiff, were a long and thorough preparation for the Supreme Pastorate of the entire Church of Christ; nor was that preparation too long for the formation of such a Pope as the world was to venerate in Leo XIII. It would be a gracious task to recapitulate all the evidences of his pastoral solicitude which Archbishop Pecci manifested during this time; but we must refer the student to the many excellent biographies of our Pontiff, notably to the one written by Mgr. T'Serclaes, for proofs that while exercising his apostolate in the beautiful city of Umbria, he constantly showed that he was animated by a heroic charity toward God and man. On Dec. 19, 1853, Mgr. Pecci was enrolled in the Sacred College; and two years afterward Mgr. de Mérode, writing to his father in Belgium, said: "I have just been in Perugia, to visit Cardinal Pecci and the two institutions managed by the Brothers (of Charity) of Malines, and the Sisters (of Notre-Dame) of

Namur, whom he has called to his diocese for that purpose. In spite of his apparent coldness (1), this good cardinal is a man of immense zeal. He has placed his seminary on the very best footing; and he is restoring his cathedral. He is re-animating all the ancient institutions, with which this city is filled." In 1849, when the hordes of Garibaldi became masters of Perugia after their repulse at Rome by the French, the Austrians under the Prince of Lichtenstein advanced to occupy the city. Of course the fearful excesses of the modern *sans-culottes* were to be stopped, but the archbishop dreaded the effects of a foreign intervention on his people; therefore he visited the Austrian camp, and prevailing on the commander to renounce his project, the pontifical authority was soon restored without effusion of blood. In 1860, when Perugia became the scene of the comedy of the "voluntary" annexation of Umbria to the dominions of the *Re Galantuomo*, a comedy which was played under the managership of the Marquis Pepoli of Bologna, the prudence of Cardinal Pecci, without any sacrifice, on his part, of the rights of truth, conciliated the respect of the agents of the usurping power. When the Piedmontese Minister, Minghetti, sent a circular, on Oct. 26, 1861, to all the bishops of the Papal States, calling on them to acknowledge the government of Victor Emmanuel, it was Cardinal Pecci who composed the address of fidelity to Pius IX., which was signed by all the bishops of Umbria. Great were the sufferings of the chief prelate of that Umbria which was so pre-eminently Catholic, as he saw the land afflicted by "the blessings of modern civilization"; as he witnessed the license of the press, the systematic corruption of youth by governmental agencies, the laicization of religious institutions, the expulsion of religious orders, the ruin of Christian families under the pretext of civil marriage, the protection given by the government to suspended priests, the interference of the government in the collation of benefices, and the enforced

(1) This qualification of "apparent coldness," applied to the cardinal by Mgr. de Merode, will be understood by all who knew the nature of the pontifical Pro-Minister of War. He was a man of intensely ardent temperament, and the prudence and sedateness of His Eminence might well have seemed "coldness" to him. See *Frederick Francis de Merode, by Mgr. Besson*, p. 121.

enrollment of ecclesiastics in the military service. Writing to his family on December 1, 1860, His Eminence said : " We are now in the midst of the fire ; and God knows when we shall escape. It would be inexact to say that my health has not been affected by the vicissitudes through which we are passing ; but the grace of God has been with me, and in all critical moments I have received strength and courage." On Sept. 21, 1877, Pius IX. appointed Cardinal Pecci *Camerlingo* of Holy Roman Church, an office which entailed the resignation of his diocese, and his residence in the Eternal City (1). To the great grief of himself and of the Perugians, the archbishop departed for Rome, where, in less than five months, he was to be acclaimed as Vicar of Christ on earth.

When Leo XIII. ascended the papal throne, it became evident immediately that his intellectual and moral personality already dominated the most virulent adversaries of the Holy See. Rattazzi, that statesman whom Thiers termed the " most clear-sighted " in the world, wrote to the *Gazzetta d' Italia* : " This Pecci is a man of undoubted calibre ; one who possesses great force of will, and who can be very severe in the exercise of his prerogatives ; and nevertheless he has the most agreeable manners in the world. While he was at Benevento, he showed great capabilities, and he proved that he was of decisive and inflexible character. On many occasions I spoke concerning him with King Leopold I., a prince whose correctness of perception surpasses that of any sovereign in Europe, and who had studied and appreciated Pecci during his nunciature in Belgium. We talked about Pecci's great prudence, and about his dignity and incorruptibility, those qualities which inspire in our governmental function-

(1) The word *Camerlingo*, according to Ducange, was once used in reference to not only papal, but also imperial treasurers. Now, however, just as during the last few centuries, the cardinal-*camerlingo* is the president of the Apostolic Chamber, and he exercises the temporal authority during the interval between the death of one Pope and the election of another. During that period, which is termed the *interpontificium*, the *camerlingo* is the first personage in the Roman Court, since all the properties of the Holy See are then administered by the Apostolic Chamber. Then the *camerlingo* coins money bearing his name and arms ; and when the Pontiff was king *de facto* as well as *de jure*, the *camerlingo* used to appear in the streets of the capital, during the *interpontificium*, attended by the Swiss guards. During the first eight days of the *interpontificium*, the *camerlingo* can issue edicts as though he were the Pope-King.

aries an insurmountable fear of his person. His devotion to the Holy See is illimitable; his inflexibility, very nearly obstinacy, leaves no room for even a suspicion of his ever harboring a weakness. There is no sense in denying that Pecci is one of those priests who must be esteemed and admired—a man of extraordinary political farsightedness, and a man whose knowledge is still greater.” In the pamphlet entitled *Pius IX. and the Next Pope*, published in 1877 by Ruggiero Bonghi, who had been Minister of Public Instruction in the Minghetti cabinet, these words of appreciation had been uttered: “Cardinal Pecci is undoubtedly one of the most striking characters in the Sacred College; probably no one of his colleagues has so much energy, and at the same time, so much moderation. He has always been brilliant in his studies, he has performed his duties well, and he is more than an ordinarily good bishop. The ideal cardinal is a sublime personage; but it may be said of Pecci that he has made a reality of the conception.” *L’Italie*, which, although printed in French, was then at least the *semi*-official organ of Italian diplomacy, thus spoke, just after the election of our Pontiff: “It must be admitted that to-day the tiara is very heavy, and that the mission of the new Pope is not an easy one. But in the judgment of all men, Leo XIII. is a man of firm will, of enlightened piety, and esteemed both for his character and for his virtues.” All of these authorities pretended to agree with the innocents who thought, just as others had thought in the case of Pius IX. during the early days of his pontificate, that the new Pope would reconcile incompatibilities, that he would proclaim his hearty acceptance of “accomplished facts”; that there would be an alliance between Christ and Belial. The sectarian leaders recognized the absurdity of such anticipations; but it suited their purpose to cultivate them among the less virile of the Catholics, and they even hoped that such a suspicion would deprive Leo XIII. of the sympathies of the more sturdy of his children. But in his first Consistorial Allocution, delivered on March 28, 1878, the Pontiff lauded the policy of his predecessor; and he proclaimed that the Head of the Church was no longer free, he having been forcibly deprived of the

temporal power which is necessary for the free exercise of his Apostolic ministry. It was in his first Encyclical, however, that Leo XIII. declared categorically that any reconciliation between Rome and the Revolution is impossible. The Encyclical *Inscrutabili* appeared on Easter Sunday, 1878; and while in it he touched on nearly all the points which formed the subjects of his posterior Encyclicals, he laid special stress on the necessity of the temporal power, declaring that he would never cease to insist on a restoration of the Holy See to that condition in which Divine Wisdom had placed it, and renewing all the condemnations pronounced by Pius IX. against the violators of the rights of the Roman Church. Great was the disappointment of the unitarians when they read this Encyclical. Even the moderate *Nazione* said: "The new Pope does not curse or even menace any one; and in this fact lies the sole difference that subsists between him and Pio Nono. As for the condemnation of all the conquests of modern intelligence, Leo XIII. is as absolute, inexorable, almost cruel, as was his predecessor. In this long document, you will not find one word, one idea, which will imply that the Church can ever become reconciled with modern civilization." The radical *Riforma* found the papal pronouncement "sweet in form, but absolute and uncompromising in substance."

Leo XIII., like his predecessor, had insisted, from the beginning of his pontificate, that the position of the Pope in Rome was "intolerable"; and on July 13, 1881, the world was furnished with an object-lesson which confirmed the assertion. With the consent of the municipal authorities of Rome, it had been decided that in the dead of night the mortal remains of Pope Pius IX., then resting temporarily in St. Peter's, should be transferred to the place designated for his ultimate sepulture by the late Pontiff himself—the Basilica of St. Lawrence, outside the walls. The government of the Quirinal, as though it wished to accentuate the declaration of Leo XIII. concerning the "intolerability" of the papal position in Rome, had refused to permit any solemn ceremonies during the transfer. By some means the intention of the Vatican authorities became public property; and there-

fore when midnight arrived, and the modest procession of a hearse and three carriages set forth from the Basilica of the Apostles, over a hundred thousand faithful Romans (so the radical journals admitted) were ready to accompany the corpse of their revered Pio Nono to its last resting-place. Along the route of the procession, hundreds of houses were suddenly illuminated; windows were thrown open, and flowers were thrown on the hearse. This posthumous triumph of the grandest victim of the Revolution, of the Pope of the Immaculate Conception, of one of the chiefs of the earthly foes of Satan, could not but enrage the powers then dominant in the City of the Popes. The men who were just then preparing to apotheosize Satan, the sectarians who were proclaiming that the Mazzinian motto *God and the People* should be changed to *God is the People* (1), had organized a band of madmen for a demonstration of hell's impotent rage against an honor paid to the Pontiff who had hailed as Immaculate the Blessed Woman who had crushed the head of the Serpent under her heel. From various quarters numbers of ruffians attacked the procession, vomiting insults too gross for repetition by us, and insisting on the throwing of the body of Pius IX. into the nearest sewer, or at least into the Tiber. The police prevented the actuation of this illustration of the deference of the unitarians for the Papacy; but they offered no interference with the insults which were hurled on the processionists until the Church of St. Lawrence was reached, nor

(1) To-day the blasphemies of Freemasonry in Italy are not directed against the temporal power of the Pope alone, nor even against the Catholic Church alone; the sectarians now openly, as they always did secretly, direct their blasphemies against God. There was much to be admired in Mazzini (See our Vol. v., ch. 14), virulent enemy of the Pope-King though he was; and he would scarcely recognize his sentiments in the ebullitions of his heir, Alberto Mario, the editor of *La Lega della Democrazia*, as this enterprising humanitarian places an accent over the *e* in the famous motto, thereby making it hail the people as God. Before Mario had made this venture, the Masonic *Proletario* had emitted, in 1879, the declaration that "God is the greatest enemy of the people, since He curses labor." After the shock occasioned by this blasphemy, the dupes of Freemasonry must have been prepared for the frenzied acclamations of the Brothers of the Three Points, as they endorsed, throughout the month of February, 1882, the infamous praise of Satan which Carducci vomited for their delectation in the Alibi Theatre of Turin: "Look on him, ye peoples, as he passes; behold Satan the Great! He moves onward on his chariot of fire, blessing as he goes. Hail, Satan! Satan, the Rebel, hail! May our sacred incense and our prayers ascend to thee! Thou hast conquered the Jehovah of the priests!" We would here observe, however, that justice to Carducci requires us to remember that a grander mind than his had already tried to rehabilitate the fell monarch of hell; in the *Journal des Debats*, April 25, 1851, Renan had essayed the task.

did they prevent the wounding of many of these by continual volleys of stones and other missiles. In the Allocution which our Pontiff delivered on August 4, he cried : " Let the Catholic world consider the measure of security which we now enjoy in the Eternal City ! Certainly it is evident that our residence in the Vatican becomes more hazardous every day." The Pontiff insisted, however, that the immense majority of the Romans, not the foreigners who had followed the Sardinian court into the capital of the Popes, had been pained by this outrage equally with himself ; he had one great consolation in " the love and the religion of the Roman people, who, solicited and even entrapped in every way, nevertheless persevered in obedience to the Church, and in a courageous fidelity to the Pontiff, omitting no occasion of testifying to the virtues which were rooted in their hearts." The true Roman people, and indeed the majority of the Italians, hastened to assure the Pontiff of the horror with which the recent outrage had filled their souls ; a protest, bearing several millions of signatures, arrived at the Vatican, and on October 16, over 20,000 pilgrims, from every part of Italy, saluted Leo XIII. in his palace-prison as " the first of Italians." " Let not one of you," the Pope replied to their address, " yield to the force of events, habituating yourselves by a culpable indifference to a state of things which neither we ourselves nor our successors shall ever accept." It was while the impressions produced by the scandal of July 13, 1881, were still fresh in his mind, that Leo XIII. composed the Encyclical *Etsi nos*, which he published on February 15, 1882. After a description of the efforts to unchristianize Italy, put forth by the sectarians by means of the suppression of religious orders, by the confiscation of ecclesiastical property, and by the secularization of matrimony and of instruction, the Pontiff reminded the Italians that it was to the Popes that they owed the fact that they had not become the prey of barbarians and of Mohammedans ; that it was to the Popes that they principally owed their pre-eminent position in the world of art ; and that it was to the Popes that they owed that peace which comes from a unity of faith. This civilizing and pacifying power the Church and the Roman

Pontiffs have never lost, and precisely because that power is a necessary effect of the Catholic doctrines. On the contrary, they who pose as enthusiastic defenders of Italy, even while they inundate her with perverse teachings, are destroyers of their country. History, and very recent history, shows the excesses to which these wicked doctrines lead. If Italy has not yet experienced these excesses so much as some other countries, it is because the true faith has so profoundly penetrated the masses of the people ; but woe to Italy, if she allows herself to be seduced ! Then, more ungrateful than other peoples, she will suffer more terrible punishments. The Pope now proceeds to indicate the remedies for the desolation which he has depicted ; and in the first place he calls on the Italians to shake off that lethargy, in which, unaccustomed to the struggles of modern times, they are habitually wrapped. They must found Catholic societies for the young, for the working classes, and for the poor. They must sustain the Catholic press, and combat all anti-Catholic journals. All good writers, of whom there is an abundance in Italy, should act in accordance with a pre-determined plan ; they should use language both calm and easily understood ; and all wealthy Catholics should encourage these writers. Finally, the Pontiff calls on the Italians to contribute largely to the support of the ecclesiastical seminaries, now so prostrate under the blows of the robbers ; and he asks them to imitate the Catholics of France, who acted so nobly when they were victims of similar injustice.

In the years 1881 and 1882, there happened two incidents which showed most eloquently the value of the assurances given to the world by the government of the Quirinal, to the effect that the spiritual authority of the Pope, and the extra-territoriality of the Vatican, were secure under its protection. On Jan. 28, 1881, the Court of Cassation confirmed a decision of the Roman tribunals, according to which the government could close, destroy, or devote to other purposes, any church in its dominions ; the cardinal-vicar of His Holiness or any diocesan prelate might protest, but the court decided that though the Italian government recognized the independence of the spiritual power, the State could

dispose of everything connected with divine worship at its pleasure. Truly an audacious proceeding; but it was no more barefaced in its audacity than the expulsion of thousands of nuns from their convents, and the confiscation of the dowries which, on the occasion of their profession, their families had given for their sustenance. A proof of the insincerity of the promise that the Vatican and its precincts should enjoy the privilege of extra-territoriality, an assurance that was given immediately after the crime of Sept., 1870, was furnished in 1882, when an engineer named Martinucci, having been dismissed from the service of His Holiness, applied to the civil tribunals of Rome for an order compelling the Pontiff to pay some alleged arrears of wages. The courts perforce denied the application; but they asserted their competence to judge in that and similar cases, thus openly nullifying the Law of Guarantees, which acknowledged the "sovereign rights" of the Pope, and denied to the royal government any right to exert power within the limits of the Vatican. Certainly Pius IX. was not unreasonable, when, on the occasion of the tender of the Guarantees for his acceptance, he replied: "Victor Emmanuel guarantees all this; but who guarantees Victor Emmanuel?"

We have alluded to the confiscation of ecclesiastical and religious property by the Italian unitarian government. That measure is so necessarily a concomitant of any Masonic advent to power in a Catholic country, and its *raison d'être* and its consequences are so well understood by the Catholic reader, that we need say no more, while treating of the pontificate of Leo XIII., than that this confiscation was nearly universal. A few religious institutions were allowed to preserve a semblance of ownership over their property; but in practice that preservation was derisory. All those favored institutions were required to convert their property into Italian governmental bonds; in other words, the government put into its coffers so much good money as its agents deemed necessary to give it, after a replenishment of their own pocket-books; and the victims received the alleged value of their property in pieces of paper which were of very problematical value at their best, and might be worth nothing

at any time. Among the institutions which were affected by this financial chicanery, was the Congregation of the Propaganda, so pre-eminently Catholic and international, and which is truly the right arm of the Holy See in all missionary countries. No other light than that which emanates from the Dark Lantern could have discerned in the Propaganda an Italian institution, one supposed to be properly subject to Italian quasi-confiscatory proceedings; three-fourths of its revenues were derived from France, and Italy furnished but a small portion of the balance. An appeal was made to the tribunals, while Leo XIII. protested, through his nuncios, to all the courts with which the Holy See preserved official relations; but the Court of Cassation, on June 29, 1884, decided in favor of the government. Of course the Pontiff had known that the appeal of the Propaganda would be useless; hence in order to protect the interests of the missions in the future, he had ordered, on March 15, that no more funds for the propagation of the faith should be sent to Rome, but that said funds should be thereafter managed by eleven procurators in Europe, three in Asia, one in Africa, seven in North and South America, and one in Oceanica.

In 1881 the directing spirits of Italian Masonry conceived the project of a Universal Masonic Congress, to be held in the Eternal City in the following year. The design was announced in Nov., 1881, by *Le Monde Maçonique*, and the *Rivista Massonica* thus explained the reason of the Congress: "The Revolution went to Rome, in order to fight the Pope, face to face; in order to bring together, under the dome of St. Peter's, the champions of human reason; in order to give gigantic proportions to Freemasonry, by assembling its members in the very heart of the capital of the world. There Freemasonry will pitilessly attack all religions which profess a belief in a God and in the immortality of the soul." The frankly logical declarations of this and similar announcements, an exhibition of a daring logic which is peculiar to the Masons of the Latin race, terrified the less logical minds of the would-be "conservative" Masons of England and Germany; those of England refused to commit themselves to an impiety which was too glaring, and

those of Germany yielded to the pressure of Bismarck, who sympathized with the fear of the Italian cabinet that the Pope might be forced to abandon Rome—a proceeding which the men of the Quirinal have always dreaded, not only because of the pecuniary loss which it would entail upon Italy, but because of the probability that it would ultimately result in a forcible restoration of the temporal power (1). The latest ambition of the sectarians was the cause of several important utterances on the part of Leo XIII. which will interest the student. On Feb. 15, 1882, in the Encyclical *Etsi nos*, the Pontiff said: “Rome, the most august of Christian cities, is opened to all the enemies of the Church; profane innovations of every kind stain her soil; here and there temples and schools are dedicated to heresy. It would even seem that during the current year Rome is to be the scene of a solemn gathering of the leaders and representatives of that sect which is the most virulent of all in its hostility to Catholicism. There is no mystery as to the reasons which have militated for the choice of Rome as the scene of this demonstration. The sectarians wish, by means of this outrageous provocation, to satiate their hatred for the Catholic Church; they intend to bring their incendiary torches nearer to the Roman Pontificate, by an attack on its place of residence. . . . More prudent than the children of light, these sectarians have already dared much; although inferior in number, they are powerful, because of their cunning and wealth, and they have succeeded in kindling among us a conflagration of miseries. Therefore let all the lovers of the Catholic name understand that the time has come for an abandonment of lethargy; let them realize that men are never more easily oppressed than at the time when they sleep in cowardly indolence.” And on Oct. 17, 1882, in his address to the Italian pilgrims, His Holiness said: “The sects, ever attentive in their warfare on the Church of Jesus

(1) In September, 1870, through the medium of Diamilla-Müller, Victor Emmanuel conducted a series of intrigues, the object of which was to prevent Pius IX. from retiring to a foreign country. These negotiations are detailed in the curious work entitled *The Secret Policy of the Italian Government*, ch. 12. Turin, 1880. As for the object of the more earnest and more logical Masons in 185.-'83, the expulsion of the Pontiff from Rome, it was plainly proclaimed by Alberto Mario, in his *Legg della Democrazia*, Oct., 1881.

Christ, and ever ready, if they could succeed, to banish Catholicism from the face of the earth, are now growing in number, power, and audacity. Their aims are directed especially against Italy, where the Catholic faith is so deeply rooted, and whence, from the seat of the Supreme Pastor, the Catholic world receives the spirit of Jesus Christ and the benefits of the Redemption. Therefore, in all the Congresses which these sects have held this year in many cities of Europe, their eyes have been directed on Catholic Italy, and they have determined to hold a Universal Congress in the centre of Catholicism, and to deliver a blow on the foundation-stone of the Christian edifice, as a haughty defiance of the Church herself. . . . Thus it is that the specious promises, made from the beginning (of the revolution) for the purpose of deceiving the simple, that the Catholic religion would be preserved intact in Italy, that the person of the Roman Pontiff would be respected, and that the exercise of the spiritual power of the Papacy would be secured—all these promises have been belied by events, and are now confronted by open hostility against the Church and her head. . . . Remember, my children, that there is in Italy and in Rome a party which threatens to invade our Apostolic palace, and to reduce us to a captivity more unendurable than exile." The Universal Congress of Freemasonry was not held in Rome; but when Francesco Crispi attained to power, the sectarians displayed an increase of energy. On Oct. 10, 1890, the Grand-Master of the United Orientals of Italian Masonry, Adriano Lemmi, sent the following instruction to all the Lodges in his jurisdiction: "The edifice which the brethren are now erecting will not be regarded as complete, until Italy makes a present to humanity, in the shape of the rubbish which will be left by the destruction of *the great enemy*. The enterprise advances rapidly. . . . The fidelity of the Brother of the Thirty-third Degree (Crispi), who is at the head of the political power, is a guarantee that the Vatican will fall, under the blows of our vivifying mallet (*sic*). But it is necessary that, at the coming elections, at least 400 of our brethren be chosen as deputies for the Legislative Chamber. . . . Our efforts will be strenuously combatted by the

leader of the priests and by his vile slaves. . . . The Grand Orient invokes the Genius of Humanity, to the end that the brethren put forth all their energies in order to separate the stones of the Vatican, and to then use them in the erection of the temple of an emancipated nation." And in the discourse which he pronounced in Bologna, during his electoral tour of 1892, the same Grand-Master explicitly avowed the Masonic guilt of all the charges which Leo XIII. made against the sect : " In order to form itself, the Italian State must combat all religions ; *it must oppose the Earthly City to the City of God.* When that State addresses the people, its word can be no other than a human word—the word of science and of right. In that State, the type of a lay State will be incarnated in the school, in the family, and in every manifestation of public life. There must be no more thought of a sacramental basis for the family ; *there is but one sacrament—love.* Once that we admit civil marriage, we necessarily open the door to divorce. *And why should we maintain a Ministry of Worship ? If any believe in a future life, let such persons provide such a Ministry for themselves !* Let such persons buy their Indulgences, when they think that they need them ! The State ought not be, and cannot be their go-between. But I hear some say that all this implies a thorough revolution in every order of the State. It does imply that revolution ; *and such is the way in which we must march.*" After such manifestations of candor, it would be unjust to accuse Masonry of hypocrisy ; and it would be equally unjust to Leo XIII. and his last ten predecessors (from Clement XII., who first condemned the sect, down to Pius IX.), to charge them with misrepresentation of the aims of the votaries of the Dark Lantern. It had been believed by many innocents, even in Italy, as well as in these United States, that in attacking Pius IX. and Leo XIII., the sectarians warred only on the sacerdotal monarchs of the Roman States ; but in his discourse at Genoa, Lemmi proclaimed exultantly that the hatred of his order was cherished in regard to the *teaching-priest*, as well as for the *priest-king* : " Yes, my dear brothers ; we must fight not only against that pretender in the Vatican who plots against the unity of our

country, but—and let us at last proclaim it before the world!—against that Pontiff who poses as the champion of the disinherited classes in order to more easily enslave them under the yoke of fanaticism. . . . Against that Pontiff we must wage unrelenting war. Nor does our order require merely aspirations from you ; it wants acts, now that it finds in front of itself an enemy who does not hide himself ; an enemy who is never idle ; an enemy who brazenly descends into the arena of civic struggle.” At Milan, the Grand-Master thus perorated : “Although the Papacy is now a mere phantom wandering among some ruins, it emits some *éclat* from the Vatican. It defies the world with its Cross, its *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas, its *Syllabus* ; and a numerous multitude prostrates itself and adores. . . . We declare war against this clerical conspiracy ; and it must be a war without mercy. All those who invoke the past are partisans of clericalism and foes of Freemasonry ” (1). To these and many similar ebullitions of the Masonico-Liberal guides of the destinies of “New Italy,” Leo XIII. responded in a letter to the Italians, dated Dec. 8, 1892 : “In a matter of such importance (resistance against the wiles of Masonry), a matter in which seduction is now so easy, the Christian must beware of the first step in the road of danger ; he must avoid the slightest danger, and eschew every occasion of fall ; he must, in fine, follow the evangelical counsels, preserving in his heart the simplicity of the dove and the wisdom of the serpent. Let the fathers and mothers of families beware of admitting into the intimacy of their firesides persons whose religious sentiments are not above suspicion. Let them inquire whether under the guise of a friend, a teacher, or a physician, there be not hidden an emissary of the sect. Alas ! into how many families the wolf has penetrated, while he wore the semblance of a lamb !” To these counsels of the Father of the Faithful, the Grand-Master replied in an instruction from Naples : “The Law of Papal Guarantees is a permanent menace for the country ; Freemasonry has continually clamored for its abolition. A law which establishes privileges, and which secures a monstrous impunity to

(1) *Unità Cattolica*, Aug. 6, 1892.

parricide, is essentially tyrannical. And parricides are never wanting. From the Vatican a vast conspiracy spreads itself throughout Europe; unions of every kind are multiplied, and thousands of fanatics acclaim the Pope-King. . . . The Quirinal and the Vatican are now face to face; now the long conflict between Pontiff and Prince is to be settled definitively; we will not leave the settlement to posterity. The rights of laymen are about to rise superior to ecclesiastical usurpations."

We should now proceed to a consideration of the relations between Pope Leo XIII. and the various peoples of Christendom; but some of those relations were of importance sufficient to demand special chapters for their treatment. Spain furnishes the sole material for our present consideration. Unlike his immediate predecessors, Leo XIII. had very little trouble with the Spanish government. With the Spanish bishops, priests, and people, since their history has been nearly always synonymous with devotion to the Holy See, he could have expected no difficulty. However, there occurred two incidents in Spain, during this pontificate, which are interesting; one because it illustrates an important point of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, and the other, because, although not very extraordinary in itself, it helped to illustrate the retreat of Bismarck on Canossa. The first incident arose from a misconception, on the part of an eminent Spanish journalist, of the prerogatives of a Papal nuncio in face of the bishops of a country, to the government of which he is accredited. Ramon Nocedal, editor of *El Siglo Futuro*, an excellent Catholic journal, was an ardent Catholic himself, but possessed of a zeal which often impelled him to indiscretions. Like all good Spaniards, he detested the Masonic regime, under which, for the punishment due to their sins, God has permitted the Iberian peninsulars to languish during the greater part of the last hundred years; therefore, when he read that Mgr. Rampolla del Tindaro, the nuncio at Madrid, had declared publicly that his relations with the Spanish cabinet were most cordial, the fiery Carlist could not contain his indignation. He did not remember that a nuncio, like all other ambassadors, could very properly say, when

speaking diplomatically, that things personally and really unpleasant were *officially* enjoyable. The *Siglo Futuro* told its readers that the relations between the Spanish Masonic government were very uncordial, and that they could be of no other nature. This manifestation of Carlistic and Catholic zeal might have been regarded as mere imprudence; but Nocedal contended that the authority of the bishops was superior to that of the nuncio in things which bear on the relations between Church and State, and that a nunciature is merely a diplomatic mission which is often a mere network of human considerations, and that the bishops were not bound to defer to the words of the Apostolic envoy. The consequence of this ebullition was a communication from Cardinal Jacobini, dated April 13, 1885, in which Mgr. Rampolla was directed to make it known that the theories of the *Siglo Futuro* were dangerous, as being redolent of that pest of Catholic Germany, Febronianism. As the cardinal-secretary wrote, the Pope is the supreme pastor of all bishops, as well as of the clergy and of the laity; therefore he has the right to interfere in diocesan affairs, when he deems it necessary to so interfere. The nuncios are delegates of the Holy See, in the form and measure assigned by the Pontiff to their respective missions; therefore it is incorrect to say that their mission is purely diplomatical. A nuncio is not subject to the bishops of the country to which he is delegated; and consequently, added the cardinal, "the bishops have no right to determine his prerogatives, and still less can they emit a judgment as to the legality of his acts. On the contrary, those acts must be respected by both the bishops and their subjects," who always have, however, the right of appeal to the Holy See in case of abuse. And the cardinal was careful to note that "when certain acts of a nuncio are known to the Holy See, and they are not condemned, they may reasonably be regarded as emanating from the Holy See itself." The relations between the Church and the State interest every Catholic in the world, and therefore they pertain to the competence of the Head of the Church, and consequently to the competence of his delegates, the nuncios; it is incorrect, therefore, concludes Jacobini, to say that in

this matter the authority of the bishops is superior to that of the nuncios. "The exact contrary is true." When this decision was received by Nocedal, he immediately and gracefully submitted; and Mgr. Rampolla publicly congratulated him, saying that "a loyal manifestation of reverence for the Holy See, far from humiliating its author, exalts him." The second incident in the Spanish affairs of this pontificate, to which we would call the attention of the student, is that of the "arbitration," or as it really was, the *mediation* exercised by Leo XIII. in the dispute between Spain and Germany concerning the Caroline Islands. The Germans, inflated by the result of their recent war with France, had taken possession of the Caroline Islands, that archipelago of the Pacific which, situated to the south-east of the Philippines, had been first visited in 1526 by the Portuguese, Diego da Rocha, and later by the Spaniards, Villalobos, Legaspi, and Querosa, finally receiving from the Spaniard, Lazeano, its present name in honor of the king of Spain, Charles II. (1661-1700). For more than a century, the Spanish government had cared so little about the Carolines, that it had ceased to appoint a governor, but no European power had ever challenged the Spanish right of sovereignty, based as it was upon the right of first occupancy by the Portuguese, and the posterior cession of the Portuguese right to the Spaniards, in accordance with the line of demarcation already drawn by Pope Alexander VI. in 1493, a decision which both parties regarded as binding in honor and in conscience. But the possibility of a Panama canal finally awakened the government of Alfonso XII. to the prospective commercial and strategic importance of the Carolines; and in Feb., 1885, the Spanish man-of-war "Velasco" anchored in the harbor of Yap in order to prepare a residence for a Spanish representative. However, the covetous eye of the German chancellor had marked the archipelago as a future basis of political and commercial enterprise; and a few months after the arrival of the "Velasco," a German gunboat steamed into the Spanish port, and in brazen defiance of the Law of Nations, the rule of the Teutons was proclaimed. The insult fired the indignation of all the inhabitants of Spain—all factional differences being

forgotten in a universal determination to vindicate the national honor. The reason for the German piracy is evident; why its author should have suddenly sought for a means of avoiding its consequences, and even of striking the flag so impudently flaunted, was and is a mystery even to the wisecracks of the European and American press. But suddenly the world was informed that the cabinet of Berlin had determined to submit its "difference with that of Madrid" to the arbitrament of the Pontiff. That at the culmination of the nineteenth century—that sacrosanct child of the Revolution, the guiding spirit of the chief Protestant power in the world should endeavor to appease international grievances by an appeal to the wisdom and justice of the Pope of Rome, was an event calculated to arouse the Brethren of the Three Points to preternatural efforts of protestation. But the fact was patent; all that the Lodges could effect by way of a minimization was the circulation of a rumor that the choice of Leo XIII. as arbitrator was due to a misunderstanding which was caused by a falsified despatch. And while the adepts were raging to no purpose, our Pontiff received, on Oct. 2, 1885, a letter from the German emperor, requesting him to arbitrate in the Hispano-German question. Leo XIII. replied that he would not undertake, in the present circumstances of Christendom, to "arbitrate" between the two powers; but that he would "mediate." His Holiness realized that the part of an arbitrator was to pronounce a judgment which would have the force of law on the disputants; whereas the office of a mediator was to propose an amicable arrangement between the parties. The two cabinets agreed with the pontifical suggestion; and the Pontiff, after an inspection of the respective briefs, and after a study of the documents in the Vatican which illustrate the history of Spain, proposed for the signature of the Spanish and German plenipotentiaries a document which recognized the ancient right of Spain over the Carolines, but assuring protection and many privileges to German subjects in those regions. The agreement was signed on Dec. 13, 1885, in the apartments of the Cardinal-Secretary of State in the Vatican; and immediately the secular press of Europe and America

true to its Masonico-Jewish inspirations, endeavored to minimize the importance of the event, now by ridicule, and then by misinterpretation. As an excellent specimen of these commentaries we reproduce that which was emitted by the effervescent Bohemian Jew and naturalized Frenchman, Heinrich Oppen, better known as Henri de Blowitz, the name which he adopted when he began to affect French society: "Bismarck suddenly found himself stuck in the mud of that pitiable affair of the Carolines; he was dumbfounded by the Spanish paroxysms, for all his calculations, all his cool combinations, were upset by the tropical explosion. Not for an instant did he dare dream of so grotesque an enormity as a war with Spain for the Carolines. And nevertheless, all Spain was on its feet, looking straight at the giant, and preparing for him his first rebuff. It was then that in the brain of this Macchiavellian pachyderm, when he could neither advance nor retreat, there was born an archaic idea which excited the surprise of the world. With truly elephantine irony, Bismarck requested Leo XIII. to arbitrate between Spain and Germany. Then there filtered outward *the atom of weakness* which fermented in the condescending mind of Leo XIII.; then the Pope, magnifying the task with which he was entrusted, began to dream of a revival of the days when the Holy See was arbiter of everything. And the increasing height of the Pontiff displayed itself solemnly over this petty question." More sensible was the judgment emitted by Professor Geffcken, who, in spite of his want of sympathy with Leo XIII., allows us to perceive the importance of the pontifical intervention, when viewed from a standpoint of the principles involved, and of the consequences that might ensue. "On the part of the chancellor, the appeal to the Pope was unfortunate, since it fortified the Ultramontane pretensions. A short time previously, Windthorst, the leader of the Centre, had declared publicly that the Pope governed the world; and Bismarck, by a recourse to the mediation of the Pontiff, really endorsed this claim. And this was the Bismarck who had said that the Pope was endangering his own salvation; the Bismarck who had treated the Pope as

merely the equal of an Armenian patriarch. The Catholic masses naturally concluded that even the great chancellor could not get along without the aid of their Holy Father; and that opinion was confirmed by the letter which Leo XIII. sent to Bismarck when he forwarded to him the decoration of the pontifical Order of Christ (1). Conceived in most flattering terms, this letter reminded the chancellor that his strength depended on the co-operation of the Catholic Church, whose influence for the maintenance of order can be fully exercised only when she is truly free. The consequence was that Germany abandoned that which she had officially claimed as hers by right; and by her acceptance of the supreme arbitration of the Pope, she established a dangerous precedent" (2).

Turning our attention now to the Far East, we find that the most notable of the "Acts" of our Pontiff in those parts was the institution of a regular ecclesiastical hierarchy for the whole of Hindustan, in place of the apostolic-vicariates which had so long been a necessary substitute for the ordinary and regularly canonical authority. In a letter addressed to all the bishops in India, dated June 24, 1893, His Holiness, after expressing his love for the vast country which was once the theatre of the heroic labors of St. Thomas the

(1) "Leo XIII., Pope, to His Serene Highness, Prince Otho von Bismarck, greeting. The recent dissension concerning the Caroline Islands having been happily terminated by the acceptance of the conditions proposed by us, we have expressed our joy to His Majesty, the German emperor; and we now wish to express the same feeling to Your Serene Highness, since it was you that suggested our mediation. We wish to acknowledge that it was, in great part, due to your zeal that the difficulties in our way were banished; for from the beginning to the end of the matter, you always seconded our efforts. Therefore we tender to you our thanks for having furnished us an occasion of laboring in the interests of peace. History indeed shows that such labor is not new to the Holy See; but a long time has passed, since such an intervention was proposed to a Roman Pontiff, although there is no kind of business more appropriate to the nature of our Pontificate. Free from all prejudice, you judged the situation rather according to truth, than according to the opinions and inclinations of others; and you did not hesitate to confide in our impartiality. By so doing, you obtained the approbation of all men who are not dominated by prejudice; above all, by the Catholics of the entire world, who are necessarily pleased with the honor done to their father. All men agree that your political sagacity has contributed to the creation of a powerful German Empire, and it is natural that the solidity and prosperity of that empire, based upon force, should be the chief object of your desires; but your perspicacity must have noticed the number of means which are at the disposal of the power confided to us, for the maintenance of political and social order, especially when that power is allowed its full liberty of action. In order that you may henceforward possess a testimony of our sentiments, we name you a Knight of the Order of Christ, and send you herewith the proper insignia."

(2) *Leo XIII. In the Eyes of Germany*, p. 47.

Apostle and of St. Francis Xavier, thus communicates the object of his Brief: "We desire, in accordance with our duty, and to the utmost of our power, to extend to this large portion of the earth the fruit of our aspirations to heaven. Therefore we have reflected on a method of reorganization of the Christian influence in the East Indies: and finally, we have decided on certain arrangements for the good of the Catholic religion. In the first place, as regards the right of patronage once enjoyed by the Portuguese in the East Indies, we have concluded a lasting arrangement with His Most Faithful Majesty of Portugal; and thus there will be an end to those dissensions which have so long existed among the Christians of Portuguese India. We had already deemed it prudent to make veritable dioceses out of those communities which had hitherto constituted vicariates-apostolic, thus subjecting those districts to the general Canon Law; and therefore it was that by our Letters-Apostolic of Dec. 1, 1886, we established in India a hierarchy consisting of eight ecclesiastical provinces, namely, those of Goa—the patriarchal see, and those of Agra, Bombay, Verapoly, Calcutta, Madras, Pondichery, and Colombo. In a word, we have endeavored to effect in India whatever we thought likely to conduce to the development of faith and piety." On several occasions during the course of our work, we have had occasion to allude to the matter of Portuguese India and the claims of the Portuguese crown; some details in regard to the dissensions, to which Leo XIII. alludes in this letter, will interest the reader. The right of patronage, conceded by the Holy See to the crown of Portugal in the sixteenth century, embraced the right of nomination to existing bishoprics; that of refusal for the creation of any new dioceses; that of presentation to all benefices; and an obligation, on the part of every missionary to Hindustan, to become a Portuguese subject if he was not such already, and not to go to his mission without the consent of the Portuguese government, and that obtained, to sail only on a Portuguese ship. Of course most of these rights, which had been conceded by Rome only on condition that Portugal would protect and

aid the Indian missions, in time became impracticable, if not oppressive ; and to add to the inconveniences, Portugal lost the greater part of her Indian territory, and did not keep her promises to the Holy See in regard to the remainder. Pope Gregory XVI. tried to remedy the evils which beset the Church in the territories over which the Portuguese, though they had lost all civil power therein, still claimed ecclesiastical influence. He instituted vicariates-apostolic, placing their incumbents under the immediate jurisdiction of the Holy See, and determining exactly the limits of each ordinary's authority. The Portuguese government, then, as we have seen, a Masonic creation, resisted these reforming measures of the Pontiff ; it was aided by its creature, the archbishop of Goa, and then began the "Schism of Goa," sustained by a number of Indo-Portuguese priests, and a fair number of seculars. When the first schismatic prelate of Goa died, his successor ordained about six hundred wretches whom he scattered among the missions, where they scandalized Catholic, heretic, and pagan alike by their immoralities. Shame induced the Portuguese to conclude a Concordat with Pius IX., embodying several remedial clauses ; but of these only one, that which recognized the jurisdiction of the Goan prelate over all the rebels to the authority of the vicars-apostolic, did not remain a dead letter. However, this Concordat terminated the schism, although it entailed the evil of a double jurisdiction, that of the vicars-apostolic over the Catholics who had remained faithful during the schism, and that of the archbishop of Goa over the reconciled schismatics. Leo XIII. determined to put an end to this anomaly, especially since the Goan priests were destitute of every priestly virtue. By order of the Pontiff, in 1884, Cardinal Jacobini informed the Portuguese government that the Holy See could no longer tolerate the condition of affairs in India ; but the Masonic reply brought no encouragement to the Pope. Finally, our Pontiff made an eloquent appeal to the king himself ; and His Faithful Majesty took the matter into his own hands, to the great disgust of his Masonic cabinet, thus enabling Leo XIII. to inform the Indian bishops that he had concluded a

favorable and "lasting arrangement with the Portuguese sovereign."

In an apposite dissertation on Christianity in Japan (1), we have seen how Leo XIII. established a regular hierarchy in that now enterprising empire; we must now allude to a negotiation which is in progress in China as we write (June, 1899), and which will probably have an important and favorable effect upon the progress of the true faith in the Middle Kingdom. In 1881 the Chinese government had caused word to reach the Holy See, not in diplomatic, but nevertheless trustworthy fashion, that it would be pleased if His Holiness would appoint a nuncio to Peking. No notice of this overture was taken; but in 1885, when the Chinese emperor had received a letter from the Pontiff, asking His Majesty to protect the Christians in his empire, the rumor of an early diplomatic relationship between the courts of the Vatican and Peking gained consistency in the latter city; and in January, 1886, Mr. Dunn, the Director of the Anglo-Chinese Customs, presented to the Holy See credentials empowering him to negotiate for the creation of the desired nunciature. It transpired afterward that behind Mr. Dunn, as he worked for the residence of a Papal nuncio in Peking, was the strength of the Triple Alliance, supported by England. This very fact, which was known by the French government, may have influenced that government to oppose the project, when the Vatican, out of deference to the susceptibilities of a nation which had been, from time immemorial, the universally acknowledged protector of all Christians in the East, asked for its views. This protectorate of all things Christian in the East has ever been one of the chief glories of France, although in our day it has been changed to a merely political and commercial interest. But whether the government of France was royal or republican, Catholic or atheist, the average Oriental felt like his ancestors of the Middle Age in regard to the ægis of France. To break up this French influence in the East was a sworn end of the alliance between Germany, Italy, and (wonderful to relate) Austria; an opportunity to destroy it

(1) V. I. v., ch. 12.

in China was furnished by the meditated appointment of a Papal nuncio to China, for with that official on the ground, the French ambassador would have no reason for interfering in Chinese Christian matters. Once that the religious hegemony of France in China would be broken, it would not be difficult to cause the weakening of French prestige to be felt in the Levant. Leo XIII. knew that the scheme was meant as a trap for France; and he was determined that the interests of France should not suffer, much as he might desire the nunciature to be a thing of fact. He assured the French government that the Holy See gladly recognized the French protectorate over the Christians in the Orient; but the head of the French cabinet of the day, Freycinet, persisted in his refusal to countenance any change in the *status quo* of the relations between the Vatican and the court of Peking. Therefore the Pontiff temporarily resigned himself to an abandonment of his design; and in the meantime the men of the Triple Alliance, sustained by England, put forth every effort to win the confidence of the Catholics throughout the world, but especially in the Holy Land and in all the Eastern Missions. Every means was adopted to "foster vocations" among the German Catholics for these missions, in order to overcome the immense preponderance (about nine-tenths) of the French element. The Propaganda was asked to believe that the German Lutherans were dying with zeal for the propagation of the Catholic faith; the Franciscans in Palestine were loaded with favors. Then came the opera bouffe "pilgrimage" of William II. to Jerusalem, during which the imperial cerebral gyrations were meant to convey the impression that French influence in the Orient had yielded place to that of a new line of Barbarossas. Then Cardinal Kopp and other clerical emissaries were sent to Rome by the imaginative Kaiser, with intent to cajole the eminently practical Leo XIII.; but, a pontifical letter to Cardinal Langenieux, sent in August, 1898, showed that the Pope appreciated the imperial policy at its true value, although that policy had been endorsed by the German Catholic party, which, without a Windthorst to guide it, had, as we have frequently noticed, succumbed

to the wiles of Berlin. Twelve years had elapsed since the first attempt of the Triple Alliance to supplant the French influence in Peking, when, aided by the fortuitous prominence which a recent massacre of two German missionaries in Shan Tung gave to German interests in those parts, the Alliance repeated its enterprise. Our Pontiff agreed to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the court of Peking; but he checkmated the Alliance, and won the sympathies of the French Republican government by his proviso that there should be in Peking not a nuncio, but an apostolic-delegate, who, with powers like those of the apostolic-delegate in Constantinople, should recognize the sole protectorate of France over the Chinese Catholics (1).

Amid the multifarious and nearly continual annoyances which are entailed upon the Holy See by its subjects of the Oriental Rites—annoyances which the authorities of the Propaganda have come to consider as mere matters of routine, so natural do they appear, there occur, now and then, some events which are not only consoling to the Father of all the Faithful, but which seem to indicate that the day

(1) At this time there was issued an imperial decree guaranteeing protection to Catholics throughout the empire. The *Missions Catholiques* of Lyons gives the full text, which consists of a preamble and five articles. The preamble runs thus: "Churches of the Catholic religion, the propagation of which has long been authorized by the imperial government, being now erected in all the provinces in China, we are desirous of seeing the people and the Christians live in peace, and in order to render the protection of the Christians easier, it has been arranged that the local authorities shall exchange visits with the missionaries, under the conditions specified below." The first three clauses of the decree are devoted to fixing the rank in which Catholic missionaries shall be held by the imperial officials. Bishops are declared equal in rank to viceroys and governors; vicars-general and archpriests to judges and treasurers, and priests to prefects. Ecclesiastics, having business with the government, can call upon officials of equal rank. The fourth and fifth clauses fix the manner in which, when matters arise which call for adjudication between the civil and the ecclesiastic authorities, action shall proceed. The government authorities are bidden to conduct all negotiations without unnecessary delay and in a conciliatory manner; and the missionaries, both bishops and priests, are commanded to "exhort the Christians to strive to do good, in order to maintain the good repute of the Catholic religion, and act so that the people may be content and grateful." Another feature of the decree is that it recognizes the Holy Father as a sovereign. It bestows upon him the designation of *Kiao-Hoang*, which means "Emperor of Religion." Mgr. Favier of Peking, who, being on the spot, is certainly qualified to speak of the importance of this decree, declares that in consequence of its promulgation, Catholic bishops "possess to-day a rank and power which they have never had up till now in China." He adds that while the edict may not exempt the Catholic missionaries wholly from persecution on the part of rebels and bandits, it assures them of the government's good will and protection, and he declares that already—the edict was issued March 15, 1899—a very large increase has taken place in the number of Chinese conversions, whole districts, in some instances, embracing the faith.

is not distant when the puerile vanity of the Christian East will have succumbed to the truth which it once so triumphantly proclaimed. One of these consolations was given to Leo XIII. by the end of what had been termed, during several years, the "New Schism of the Armenians." This "new schism" had originated at the time of the Vatican Council. In the course of our work, we have frequently observed how religious questions in the East are complicated by those on nationalities, and how careful the Catholic priest must be, lest he offend either national obstinacy or local susceptibility. Now, when the Vatican Council was being held, every effort was made by the "opposition," especially by that part of it which was represented by Strossmayer, bishop of Sirmium, to draw the Armenian synodals into its embrace. When the crisis arrived, Strossmayer and his companions submitted to the inevitable; but the more innocent Armenians—more innocent, because less educated—returned to their homes with passions excited almost to the point of schism, although they had signed the decree of Papal Infallibility. When they had arrived in their respective dioceses, they found that a large number of their compatriots had joined in rejecting the authority of Mgr. Hassoun, their legitimate patriarch (1); they endeavored to stem the tide of revolt, but under the leadership of Bahtirian, archbishop of Diarbekir, and of Gasparian, bishop of Cyprus, the "new schismatics" had gained much headway. Before long, a monk named Kiupelian became the head of the movement, assuming the title of civil head of the Armenians, and procuring illicit consecration as patriarch of Cilicia. But in the course of a few years, the poor monk experienced

(1) The origin of this revolt must be ascribed to the discontent of many Armenians, because of the bull *Reversurus* issued by Pius IX., on July 4, 1867, and regulating the method of episcopal elections among this excitable people. At first the Bull produced the desired effect; but when it was misinterpreted, trouble ensued. The Armenian religious of St. Anthony, most of whom ought to have been superior to the petty passions of their uneducated compatriots, since they had been trained either in Rome or in Venice, openly renounced their allegiance to Mgr. Hassoun; and they were imitated by the Armenian notheads of Constantinople. In vain Pius IX. tried to reduce the rebels to an observance of the dictates of common sense; encouraged by the representative of Victor Emmanuel in Constantinople, and by Bourée, the French ambassador, they refused to hear the Pontifical envoy. Consequently, on March 30, 1870, Pius IX. excommunicated them.

so much trouble with his schismatic followers, that he resolved to abandon the paths of a deceitful ambition ; and he threw himself at the feet of his patriarch, begging to be received again into the communion of the Chair of Peter. Then he addressed the Sublime Porte, as custom and even necessity demands in the Turkish Empire, renouncing all his usurped titles and privileges. On April 20, 1879, Kiupelian knelt before the throne of Leo XIII., and entreated His Holiness to restore him to the communion of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Roman Church. Then, still kneeling, he read in a clear and firm voice a recantation of all his errors ; whereupon the Pontiff, signing to him to arise, addressed him in these terms : " It is a great consolation to a father to be able to press to his heart a son whom he had deemed lost." Then the Pope congratulated the convert on his courage in abandoning the honors of earth for the cause of religious truth, and he proceeded : " While granting to you full and ample pardon, we hereby make in your regard, by our Apostolic authority, an exception to the general rules of ecclesiastical discipline, allowing you to retain the titles, insignia, and honors of the episcopal dignity which you received from bishops who had deserted the fold of Catholic unity." The closing words of the Pontifical discourse were : " The Eastern Churches are indeed dear to us. We admire their ancient glories ; and how happy we would be, if we could behold them resplendent with their olden grandeur !" As a sequel of this recantation of Mgr. Kiupelian, the Turkish sultan, Abdul-Hamid, hearkening to the representations of our Pontiff, reinstated Mgr. Hassoun in all the rights which the " new schism " had taken from him ; and the Armenian Catholics received nearly all the churches which the schismatics had invaded. In 1888, the " new schism " disappeared entirely, thanks to the exertions of Mgr. Azarian, the Armenian Catholic patriarch of Constantinople, who persuaded the two remaining bishops, as well as the priests and notable laymen among the schismatics, to recant, and who induced the sultan to withdraw the legal sanction which he had accorded to the new community. While we have our attention directed toward the Orient, it is well to

note that in 1892, the Pontifical heart of Leo XIII. was cheered by a letter from Mgr. Audon, archbishop of Ounmiah, of the Chaldean Rite, informing His Holiness that abjuration of schism and heresy had been made in the beginning of June by Mar Chimoun, the patriarch of the Nestorians—a prelate, in whose family the Nestorian Patriarchate had been perpetuated during many centuries. Mgr. Montety, the delegate-apostolic in Persia, wrote that this example of the patriarch had been followed by hundreds of conversions; and that while he was writing, Mgr. Audon, accompanied by the mitred-abbot of the monks of St. Hormisdas, was travelling through the mountains of Kurdistan, absolving entire villages, and confirming them in the faith. A Nestorian bishop had just written to the delegate, saying: “Soon we shall all be sons of one father.” The student must know that these converted Nestorians, like all their predecessors, did not enter the Latin Rite; this Rite has always been prohibited to the Orientals by the Holy See, so anxious is Rome to testify her respect for ancient and approved Liturgies, and to preserve those Liturgies as witnesses of the faith of the times in which they were composed. The Nestorian converts entered the United Chaldean Rite; and when it was observed that priestly conversions were very numerous, the authorities of the Propaganda congratulated themselves that just two years previously they had begun to print the *Chaldean Breviary*, which hitherto had existed only in manuscripts—very faulty ones also, and not easily obtainable.

Before we withdraw our attention from the Orient, we must notice an event which occurred in Bulgaria in 1896, to the great scandal of even lukewarm Catholics, to the delight of all Eastern Schismatics, and to the amusement of free-thinkers; the so-called “conversion” of the two-year-old Boris, prince-royal of Bulgaria, to the Bulgarian offshoot of the Greek Schism. In 1887, the National Assembly of Bulgaria elected as successor to Prince Alexander, who had abdicated in 1886, Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, a son of Duke Augustus of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha by the Princess Clementine, daughter of King Louis Philippe of

France. From the day of his arrival in his principality, Ferdinand realized that his continued tenure of its crown depended on the good will of the Russian autocrat. No means seemed so well adapted for the attainment of that good will as his perversion to the State-Church of Bulgaria which communicates with the "Orthodox" Russian Establishment; but it would appear that the audacity of the Coburger was not without limits. However, in the beginning of 1896, it was rumored throughout Europe that Ferdinand, a Catholic prince, had expressed a willingness to allow his elder son and heir to be confirmed and educated in the Greek Schism; and it was soon known that the child's mother, Princess Mary Louisa, daughter of the exiled Duke of Parma, had written to the Pope, asking whether she could not leave a husband who was practically a renegade, and at the same time save her son from the danger menacing him. The Pontiff's reply was that she should remain at her husband's side, and trust all to God. But suddenly Prince Ferdinand himself asked for an audience with His Holiness. Of course it was granted; and this presumably sane man, a person of education and of at least apparently Catholic convictions, brazenly requested the Head of the Catholic Church to grant him permission to hand over his two-year-old son to schismatics and heretics for a religious training. It is safe to say that no more sublime piece of effrontery was ever acted in the Vatican; and it is also safe to say that Leo XIII. replied in terms befitting his office. What the pontifical words were, Ferdinand took care not to tell; but as soon as he returned to his capital, he issued a manifesto to the Bulgarians, declaring: "In pursuance of the promise given from the throne to the representatives of the nation, I have used every possible endeavor, and have striven with all my strength, to remove the difficulties which oppose the attainment of the ardent desire of the entire nation that the heir-apparent should enter the fold of the National Church. After having fulfilled my duty in showing respect toward those with whom it rested to smooth away these difficulties, and after having seen the disappearance of my hopes without finding, where I had expected, a wise comprehension of

Bulgaria's needs, I have resolved, of my own initiative, and true to the oath given to my well-beloved people, to surmount all obstacles, *and to lay on the altar of the Fatherland the greatest and heaviest of sacrifices.* I therefore announce to all Bulgarians that, on the 14th of the present month, the Feast of the Purification, the rite of Holy Confirmation will be administered to the heir-apparent, Prince Boris, Prince of Tirnova, according to the usages of the National Orthodox Church." The manifesto was read by the Bulgarian Prime Minister to the National Assembly. The correspondent of the London *Daily News* wrote from Sofia that the manifesto came as a surprise. "It is not possible to decide whom the Prince alludes to when he says that his hope to find a wise and ready understanding for the wants of Bulgaria has not been fulfilled. This may refer either to the Pope or to the Princess; more likely to the latter, from what is reported of what happened yesterday. The Bulgarian Prime Minister, Stoiloff, had an audience of Princess Mary Louisa, to whom he expressed the devotion of the Bulgarian people, its thanks for her charitable work, and for the favorable influence she had had upon social life. He assured her that the nation fully valued the battle she was fighting with her convictions. The Princess leaves Sofia on Friday, with her younger son, and goes to Vienna. After a short stay there, she leaves for Nice, in the neighborhood of which she will remain for some time. The Prince and Princess, it is asserted, are fully convinced that it is best for the Princess to leave Sofia; everybody hopes she will some day return." With their usual want of knowledge concerning Catholic matters, most of the English, American, and German journals soon stated that the Princess had asked the Pope to annul her marriage with the Coburger, as though the scion of the Bourbons did not know that even apostasy cannot dissolve Christian matrimony. The fact is that in order to encourage the heartbroken wife and mother, Leo XIII. informed her that he would not proceed to any open and *nominatim* excommunication of her husband; but the poor woman knew too well that the wretched weakling had incurred the censures of the Church, *ipso facto*, and being

moved also by a desire to safeguard the spiritual future of her younger son, she proceeded with him to Vienna. Ferdinand had enough of decency, perhaps even of remorse, to abstain from force in order to prevent the loss of his wife and second heir; the separation has continued, and will continue until Ferdinand undoes the fell work of his puerile ambition, if indeed the schismatics allow him to undo it.

Turning our attention now to the more particularly doctrinal features of the pontificate of Leo XIII., as those features have been enunciated by his many Encyclicals, we may say that probably the first place, in order of importance, should be assigned to the Encyclical *Æterni Patris*, issued on Aug. 4, 1879, and intended to assure the triumph of Thomistic philosophy. For several years there had been, among the Catholic educators of every land, marked symptoms of a general return to the old scholastic system, as incarnated in its most illustrious representative, St. Thomas of Aquino; and with that system, to its essential concomitants, unity of philosophical conception, severity of method, and a positive yet temperate manner of discussing the relations between body and soul. During the Perugian episcopate of the future Leo XIII., there had flourished in that diocese and under the auspices of His Eminence a school of Peripateticism, at the head of which was the future cardinal, Joseph Pecci. This school of Perugia, together with Liberatore, Signoriello, and other writers of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, was the most aggressive and the most logical of all the phalanxes in the army of the latest philosophical Renaissance. Of course the Dominicans had preserved what was their real cult of the Thomistic system; and the appearance of the works of their great Zigliara showed that the Friars-Preachers were ready to make that cult a vivid and not a somnolent worship. Other countries than Italy, though in a very minor degree, had also turned to St. Thomas as the one philosophical guide for moderns. Spain furnished Gonzalez; Germany had her Kleutgen; and even France and Belgium, so devoted to Descartes, showed a few zealous Thomists. But it must be admitted that in the generality of Catholic schools, St. Thomas and Peri-

pateticism were almost unknown quantities ; and even in Rome, in the hearing of the illustrious school represented by the Jesuits of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, other Jesuits, following the lead of Tongiorgi, taught in the Roman College a system which was pregnant with concessions to others. After years of meditation, Leo XIII. raised the banner of unadulterated Thomism. The student will not expect us to adduce the reasons given by the Pontiff for his action ; suffice it to say that he declared of the Angelic Doctor : " There is no part of philosophy which he does not treat with equal intelligence and solidity. Distinguishing carefully reason and faith, and uniting them amicably together, he has so safeguarded the rights and dignity of each, that reason, raised by him to the highest summits, can mount no higher ; and as for faith, she can expect from reason no greater help than she has received from St. Thomas." In the year following the publication of the *Æterni Patris*, our Pontiff proclaimed the Angelic Doctor patron of all Catholic Universities, Colleges, and Schools. On Oct. 15, 1879, in a letter to Cardinal de Luca, Prefect of the Congregation of Studies, he announced his intention of founding in Rome an Academy which would be devoted to the defence and explanation of the Thomistic philosophy ; and he also declared his purpose of publishing a new and complete edition of the works of St. Thomas, according to the edition of St. Pius V., now become exceedingly rare. In order to encourage the students in Rome to prosecute their Thomistic indagations *con amore*, the Pontiff announced that thereafter there would be held, at stated times in his presence in the Vatican, public disputations on scholastic subjects ; and in accordance with that promise, students from all the Roman Colleges had the honor of breaking philosophical lances, from time to time, before one of the best philosophers of our day. In a Brief dated Dec. 25, 1880, and addressed to Cardinal Dechamps, archbishop of Malines, Leo XIII. expressed his desire that a chair of Thomistic philosophy should be established immediately in Louvain, in order to oppose a solid defence against the materialistic attacks which were favored by " that unbridled liberty of speaking and writing

which now reigns in Belgium, and which engenders the most detestable opinions." In Louvain, as well as in the Universities of Lille, Fribourg, and Washington, and in all the more considerable of the ecclesiastical seminaries of the Catholic world, the voice of the Pontiff was heeded, and there the doctrine of the Angel of the Schools now reigns triumphant (1).

The Encyclical *Arcanum*, which appeared on Feb. 14, 1880, has for its subject that most abused of all social institutions in our day, Marriage. After the preludes which would naturally occur in such an instruction, His Holiness says in regard to Christian Matrimony: "There cannot subsist a true and legitimate matrimonial contract, which is not, at the same time, a Sacrament; for Christ raised marriage to the dignity of a Sacrament." The Pope then proceeds to show how the materialistic theories concerning marriage are not only false, but pernicious, since they prevent the good which God had in view when He endowed matrimony with graces which would render the family happier and more virtuous. The burdens of marriage, continues His Holiness, often appear to be intolerable; and then the civil authority intervenes, granting divorce, a fruitful source of miseries, of misfortune for children, of shame for women, and of license for all. History shows, remarks the Pontiff, how well the Popes have deserved of humanity by defending the sanctity of marriage against powerful sovereigns like Henry VIII., Napoleon, etc. The Pope is careful to add that the Church does not deny that the State has the right to legislate concerning the purely civil effects of matrimony; she clearly recognizes the distinction between the two powers, civil and

(1) The following remarks of Mgr. T'Serclaes on the effect of the *Æterni Patris* are worthy of the reader's attention: "Peace is now established in Catholic schools; burning dissensions agitate minds no longer. Even heterodox philosophers applaud the intellectual activity which prompted the decree of Leo XIII., and which has affected them so adversely. Nowadays no one thinks that he can dismiss the arguments of the Scholastics with some smart saying or some jocosity concerning Aristotle. Everyone understands that in the doctrines of the Stagyrte and of St. Thomas are found the highest forms of human thought. Men now study both these authors. For very many, this study has only value as a scientific curiosity. For others, it is a kind of research for philosophical truth. For all, it constitutes an evolution of non-Catholic thought in the direction of Christian philosophy. And this is an immense result of the initiative taken by Leo XIII." *Loc. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 271.

ecclesiastical, demanding only that neither one interfere in the province of the other.

The Encyclical *Sancta Dei Civitas*, dated Dec. 3, 1880, is devoted to the obligation, on the part of the faithful, of aiding the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, founded at Lyons in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and of sustaining also the kindred works, the Society of the Holy Infancy, and that for the Schools in the East. It was upon this last work that Leo XIII. chiefly relied for the success of his many plans for the restoration of the East, the cradle of our faith, to the true fold. The Encyclical *Militans Dei Ecclesia*, issued on March 12, 1881, proclaimed a Jubilee; and called on the Universal Church for prayers on account of the present "intolerable position" of the Holy See in its ancient capital. "The Head of the Church," cries the Pontiff, "is deprived of his rights, and is embarrassed in a thousand ways in the exercise of his supreme ministry; he possesses now only a shadow of royal majesty, which has been left to him as though to deride him." Leo XIII. describes in moving terms the recent spoliations of ecclesiastical property in the Eternal City—spoliations which extended even to the property of the Propaganda, which every preceding revolution had spared. He speaks of the oppressive laws sanctioned by the intruding government, the obstacles put in the way of educating the young, the profanation of churches, the erection of Protestant temples; and he concludes that "all our courage, and all our human care, will be vain, if heaven does not send us opportune succor."

The Encyclical *Diuturnum*, published on June 29, 1881, was one of the most important documents issued in this pontificate, since it dealt with civil governmental authority. The Pontiff begins with the principle that in every society an irrepressible necessity calls for a ruling authority. No rebellion, though it were arrogance incarnate, ever succeeded in actuating the idea of no one person or authority being obeyed. Nevertheless, ever since the religious innovations of the sixteenth century, men have succeeded in lessening greatly the force and majesty of authority; in fact, since the so-called Reformation, an exaggerated liberty has gradually

come into vogue, and men have invented all sorts of systems on the origin and constitution of society. At length it happened that certain philosophists of the eighteenth century insisted that all authority comes from the people "in such fashion that the possessor of authority is only a delegate of the people, and can be deprived of his authority by the people who delegated him. Catholics think differently, and derive authority from God, who is its natural and necessary principle." The Pope does not deny that the leaders of a society may, in certain cases, be chosen by the multitude; but by this choice "the right of government is not given—authority is not conferred; it is the person who will exercise the authority that is designated." In all this teaching there is no question of political forms; the Church can approve of a republican or any other form of government, if it is just. Therefore the people have a right, provided they do not violate justice, to adopt that government which best suits their character and favorite institutions. After a refutation of the theory of a "Social Compact," Leo XIII. shows the advantages of the Catholic doctrine; and in the first place, the security enjoyed by a government whose subjects obey from conscientious motives. The sole reason for a refusal of obedience, in the case of such subjects, would be a manifest opposition between orders received and the natural law or the commands of God. "But in this case, it is the authority of the ruler that is null; it becomes null, when it violates justice." The Church has always tried to introduce her doctrine on the nature of the civil power into the practical lives of men. Therefore the early Christians obeyed the Pagan emperors who persecuted them; they refused obedience only when the divine law was involved. After the civil power had become Christian, and the Church had become the recognized moving spirit of civil society, the Church gave to the civil power a species of consecration when the Roman Pontiff instituted the Holy Roman Empire; and that institution would have proved most beneficent for both Church and State, if princes and peoples had remained faithful to the intentions of its founder, the Roman Pontiff. So long as harmony reigns between Church and State, the

Church effectually pacifies the people when they rebel against the State ; and she bears to the rulers the complaints of the people. What have the false ideas on the civil power produced ? Nothing but seditions, license, carnage ; and now all is tending toward Anarchy, Communism, or Nihilism. Governments have no power of sufficient efficiency to resist these excesses ; severe punishments avail nothing, for, as St. Thomas and experience teach, fear only causes the victim to wait for an occasion to revolt against its inspirer. Recourse must be had to a principle of obedience more elevated than fear ; and that principle is conscience, the fear of God. Leo XIII. terminates his Encyclical with an invitation to rulers to profit by the powerful assistance of the Church, and to protect the Church, were it only for the good of the State.

The Encyclical *Humanum Genus*, dated April 20, 1884, resumes the motives which have inspired the Church in her condemnation of Freemasonry. As we have already described these motives in our special dissertation on the diabolical sect (1), and as the same motives have been continually placed in evidence during the course of our work, we need not now repeat them. Leo XIII. declares that he wishes not to accuse each Mason in particular, nor even each one of the Secret Societies, of all the crimes which are committed by the societies in general. Among the adepts, there are some who ignore the veritable objects of their organizations ; and among those who well realize what those objects are, there may be some who do not approve certain consequences of their principles, while others may not dare to apply those consequences. Be this as it may, rightly contends the Pontiff, we must judge Freemasonry by its principles, rather than by a few particular facts. Then the Pope discourses on Naturalism, the principles of which Freemasonry reduces to action ; and he refers to the deliberations in the Grand Orients of our day concerning the advisability of retaining among the statutes of the order that which recognized the existence of God—deliberations which resulted in a schism among the sectarians (2). As a matter of fact, the Pope might have added, Atheism or Pantheism, on the part of a

(1) Vol. iv., ch. 18.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 426.

candidate for Masonry, is no bar to his initiation in any Lodge in the Masonic world. The Pontiff lays much stress on the efforts of Masonry to transform the civil laws, wherever it attains to power, in a Naturalistic sense; especially in the matter of divorce, and of indifferentism in the education of youth. Attention is also drawn to the Naturalistic principle, so eagerly propagated by Masonry, that all authority must be rejected which is not derived from man himself. In conclusion, Leo XIII. renews all the condemnations of Freemasonry, emitted by his predecessors.

The Encyclical *Immortale Dei*, issued on Nov. 19, 1885, may be regarded as a development of the *Diuturnum*. Leo XIII. reminds us that when Gregory XVI. and Pius IX. (the latter chiefly in his *Syllabus*) condemned certain modern governmental theories, the pontifical reprobation was not visited upon any particular form of government, considered in itself; nor was that reprobation intended for any greater or less share of the people in governmental matters—a share which is often useful, and sometimes obligatory. Nor from these condemnations by Gregory XVI. and Pius IX. should any one pretend to conclude that the Church is opposed to real liberty; nor should it be supposed that the Church condemns the *political toleration* of false religions, when such toleration is demanded by a necessity of obtaining some great good, or of avoiding some great evil. The Church approves the liberty which fosters prosperity, and which protects the State against arbitrary violence. The Church has ever encouraged the precautions taken against the tyranny of rulers; she ever protected municipal franchises, as well as all measures which secured in equal measure the honor and happiness of all citizens. Instead of being an enemy of modern inventions, the Church favors everything which tends to develop science and progress. Leo XIII. calls on Catholics to heed the judgment emitted by the Holy See in regard to those modern false liberties, the evil fruits of which are evident to every observer. Undoubtedly a government which tyrannizes over its Catholic citizens can be tolerated with difficulty; but “the principles on which that government is based may be such as admit of no rejection.” It is very

necessary, insists the Pontiff, that Catholics should share in the administration of municipalities, were it only in order to procure a Christian education for their children. His Holiness would like to see all Catholics, in the emergencies of to-day, forget intestine discords, and turn all their energies to the advancement of the Church and of true civil progress.

The Encyclical *Libertas*, published on June 20, 1888, begins appropriately with the name which produces so many throbs, sometimes exultant, more frequently despairing, in the human heart; for the document deals exhaustively with the theories of true and of false liberty, and its sole object may be said to be a proof that when the Church is charged with being the foe of liberty, "the reason of that accusation is to be found in the erroneous idea of liberty which the accuser has formed." Of all the Encyclicals of Leo XIII., this one lends itself least readily to the process of synopsis; but the Pontiff himself, at the end of the document, saves one such labor to some extent, when he specifies the various gradations of modern Liberalism. He regards as the worst kind of Liberalism that which refuses, in both public and private life, all obedience to God. Next to this species, he finds the greatest wickedness in those Liberals who would submit indeed to the Natural Law, but who repudiate Revelation, at least in the social order; and this class of Liberals, just like the first, cries loudly for an entire "separation of Church and State"—a pernicious error, in their interpretation of the phrase, since the two powers, although of different dignity and different ends, were meant by God to aid each other. These "separationists of Church and State" are of two classes. Some would have governments act as though there were no such an institution as the Church, leaving religion among such matters as are purely private. Others deny to the Church the rights belonging to a real society, allowing to her simply the right to exhort and entreat her members, recognizing in her no legislative or coercive power; and these gentry quite consistently subject the Church to the State, precisely as they subject all other societies. Besides these Liberals who are avowed "separationists of Church and State," there is a third class composed of persons

who do not approve the specious maxim, but who contend that the Church ought to be less uncompromising in her attitude toward the spirit of the day. To this class the Pontiff replies that their demand would be reasonable, if there were a question of arrangements which might be consonant with truth and justice; but that the Church, the divinely-appointed guardian of truths which are necessary for all times and circumstances, can never keep silence when error and injustice are offered for the veneration, or at least for the approval of men. "It follows from what has been said," continues the Pope, "that it is not permissible to accord freedom of the press, of thought, of teaching, and of worship, as so many rights inherent in the very nature of man; although all these liberties may be granted for just reasons, on condition that they do not degenerate into license" (1). This Encyclical was completed by another, beginning: *Sapientie Christianae*, dated on Jan. 10, 1890, and treating of the principal duties of Christians, but also manifesting the principles which have regulated the policy of Leo XIII. in the various countries of Christendom—principles which have inspired the advice which he has given so frequently to Catholics of every nationality, although at the same time he adapted them to the particular necessities of each case.

On Oct. 15, 1890, Leo XIII. addressed to the Italians an Encyclical in their own language, warning them of the dangers attending the present religious situation in their land. "If there were a question of our person alone," says the Pontiff, "if we did not see Italy menaced in her faith, and rushing to her ruin, we would bear all outrages in silence." Then he dilates on the plan of the sectarians, "not a new plan, unless it be new in its audacity, in its ferocity, and in its rapidity of execution"—the destruction

(1) The London *Saturday Review*, one of the most sterling Protestant periodicals in England, said of this Encyclical: "After a careful reading of this long document, we have not discovered one idea which all sincere Christians might not accept. . . . When we think of the vast influence of the Catholic Church, and of the obedience of its numerous hierarchy to the instructions of its supreme head, we must believe that these words of Leo XIII., so firm and so logical, will produce happy results in the multitude of the faithful. 'In a time when faith is so cruelly attacked, it is consoling to read this Encyclical, so full of dignity, and to observe that it does not contain one word of bitterness or of reproach, and that it has not a trace of fanaticism or of narrow-mindedness.'"

of the temporal power of the Pope the abolition of religious orders, the enforced conscription of ecclesiastics, the robbery of Church property, the secularization of everything ecclesiastical, the enforcement of civil marriages, and exclusively lay instruction of the young. In Italy, "all the laws which can outrage the Church, all the measures which can trammel her, are first proposed, discussed, and carried in the Masonic Lodges. To ensure the passage of such enactments, it is sufficient that they be known as injurious to the Church." The Pontiff declares that "it is necessary for the world to realize that the struggle between the Papacy and the Italian Revolution is of an essentially religious nature"; and that now it is the first duty of every Italian to defend the inestimable treasure of his faith, "no matter at what cost, and under the pain of eternal damnation." Then the Pope details the methods appropriate for the war which the Italians must wage; and perhaps the chief among their weapons, after prayer, is to be the Catholic press. As a counterpart to the present false and dangerous situation in Italy, the Pontiff draws a picture of an Italy reconciled with the Holy See. He exhibits a restoration of a spirit of duty, now unknown; a solution of social questions facilitated; "public liberty substituted for license"; civil concord re-established. As for Rome especially, "placed again under the peaceful and paternal sceptre of her Pontiff, she would be once more that which Providence and the centuries made her; that is, instead of being reduced to the rank of a capital for a particular kingdom, the prey of a dualism of two sovereign powers which is contrary to her history, she would be again the capital of the Catholic world, grand with all the majesty of religion and of the supreme priesthood, the mistress and model of civilization for all the nations."

On July 16, 1892, Leo XIII. addressed an Encyclical to the bishops of Italy, Spain, and the two Americas, in praise of the great Italian sailor and discoverer, Columbus. The people of the United States of America were then preparing for a grand World's Fair, which was to honor the fourth centennial of the discovery of the New World; and our Pontiff wished to show that the Holy See always took part in

the glorification of great and honorable enterprises. "Without doubt," said His Holiness, "the Church reserves her special honors for supernatural virtues, since they are connected with the eternal salvation of souls; but nevertheless, she does not despise the other virtues, nor does she fail to appreciate them at their worth. . . . Certainly God is admirable in his saints; but the traces of His divine strength also appear in those who have been distinguished by brilliancy of soul—in men whose elevation of mind and sparks of genius could have come only from their Creator." Then in the name of the Catholic Church, the Pope speaks of the discoverer of America as "*Columbus noster*—our Columbus"; for it was the religious motive, the Catholic faith, that inspired the grand enterprise. "Deeply engraved in his heart was the resolution to open up new lands to the Gospel"; for we know that as soon as he appeared before the Spanish sovereigns, "he assured them that they should not hesitate to patronize his ambition, since their names would be immortal, if they helped to carry the name and teachings of Jesus Christ to those distant regions." And when his prayers had been heard, "he attested that he had besought God that the Spanish sovereigns, aided by the divine grace, would persevere in their intention to send the Gospel to those new countries. Finally, Columbus declared that he intended to ask Pope Alexander VI. for some apostolic men who would preach the faith in the new regions. One can imagine the joy with which Columbus wrote to Raphael Sanchez, the first who returned from the Indies to Lisbon, that 'they should render to God never-ending thanks for His having deigned to bless their enterprise, seeing that now Jesus Christ could rejoice in heaven and on earth because of the salvation of innumerable peoples who were but recently going to perdition.'" This was the spirit, says the Pontiff, which sustained Columbus "amid the contrary opinions of the wise, the refusals of princes, the tempests of the ocean, and the continuous vigils which often menaced his life. Then there were the combats with the savages, the conspiracies of the wicked, the perfidies of the envious, the calumnies of his detractors, and finally the chains with

which the innocent man was loaded." The Pope shows Columbus as the worthy accomplisher of the divine plan: "When about to brave the ocean, he orders the adventurers to perform acts of expiation for their sins; he prays the Queen of Heaven to direct the course of the ships; and before giving the order to make sail, he invokes the august name of the Most Holy Trinity. Then, during the voyage, when the crews murmured, he knew that he was in the presence of God, and he preserved his tranquillity of spirit. His intention was manifested in the names which he gave to the newly-discovered islands; and whenever he was about to land on one for the first time, he took possession of it in the name of Jesus Christ. Wherever he landed, he immediately planted the sacred sign of the Cross; and he was the first to chant in the new territories that sweet name of the Redeemer which he had so often sung to the accompaniment of the murmuring waves during his trying voyage. Whenever he founded a Spanish colony, the first building erected was a church, in which all of the popular feasts could be celebrated with august ceremonies.'"

On Nov. 18, 1893, our Pontiff published his Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, treating of the excellence of the Sacred Scriptures, and of the Protestant and Rationalistic methods of so-called criticism in their regard. After a development of the saying of St. Jerome that an ignorance of the Scriptures is an ignorance of Jesus Christ, the Pope details the solicitude ever manifested by the Church for the explanation of Holy Writ to the people, beginning with the olden "Apologists" and the schools of Alexandria and Antioch, and ending with the Scholastics, "among whom the palm belonged to St. Thomas of Aquino," and the many Catholic scholars whose labors were facilitated by the invention of the printing-press. The Protestant idea of private interpretation is refuted by the Pontiff; but he lays greater stress on the Rationalistic theories, which, in last analysis, so many of the modern Protestant Biblicists adopt. These votaries of the "higher criticism" are more radical than were the original Protestants; and it must be admitted that they are far more logical. "They discern in the Scriptures only

fictions and human inventions; according to them, the Bible gives us pure fables or lying histories. They find no prophecies or divine oracles, but either predictions composed after the events, or simple intuitions of the human mind. In fine, they would attribute the Gospels and the Apostolic writings to authors very different from those to whom they have been assigned." The Pontiff devotes some space to practical instruction of the professors who must train ecclesiastical students in methods adapted to a refutation of this so-called system. As for the comparatively recent development of these theories, the "perverse art so injurious to religion, an art which has been dignified by the name of 'higher criticism,' and which consists in judging of the origin, integrity, and authority of each book, only by what is termed internal evidence; it is certain that in historical questions, such as that of the origin or preservation of the Scriptures, the testimony of history ought to weigh more than any other. As for the internal evidence, it possesses, as a rule, only value sufficient to warrant its use by way of confirmation." The Pontiff calls attention to the difficulties which are so often adduced from the natural sciences by so many heterodox critics. "There would never be any disagreement between the theologian and the physicist, if each would remain within his own domain, taking care to follow the advice of St. Augustine 'to affirm nothing rashly, and not to present the unknown as certainly known' (1). . . . When scientists advance certain proofs for an assertion, the interpreter of Scripture ought to be able to prove that the said assertion does not at all contradict the Bible, if the Bible is properly understood; and let the interpreter remember that very often things are advanced as certain by the scientists, only to be afterward rejected with equal certainty by their successors." Undoubtedly, admits His Holiness, it may happen that the meaning of a certain passage in the Bible seems to be doubtful. "In order to solve the difficulty, the authorized rules of interpretation will avail much; but it is absolutely forbidden to restrict inspiration to only some parts of the Scripture, or to admit that the sacred writer

(1) *In Gen., Op. Imperf., IX.*

was himself deceived. In fact, there can be no toleration for the system of those who, in order to escape these difficulties, dare to say that in the Scriptures divine inspiration affects only matters of faith and morals. These persons seem to believe that when there is a question of the genuineness of a text, we should not inquire as to what God said, but rather seek for the reason of His saying it. All the Scriptures recognized by the Church as canonical were written, in their entirety and in all their parts, under the dictation of the Holy Ghost. It follows, therefore, that either the Catholic idea of divine inspiration is perverted, or God is represented as the author of error, by those who assert that there can be anything false in the authentic texts of Holy Writ." The Pontiff warns all Biblical scholars and all physicists that God, the Author of Nature, is also the Author of our Holy Books ; and that consequently in those writings there cannot be any real contradiction of the truths of Nature. When there seems to be a contradiction, "you must try to compel its disappearance, either seeking from wise theologians the more probable sense of the passage in question, or examining more carefully the force of the arguments which militate against it. Nor should you despair, if the apparent contradiction still persists ; for since truth cannot contradict truth, you may be certain that an error has crept either into the interpretation of the sacred text, or into the contrary thesis. At any rate, let the decision be suspended ; it has often happened, as we have said, that some science would make much ado about some one of its objections against the Scriptures, only to see the objection abandoned as absurd in later times."

Now that we approach the end of our review of the pontificate of Leo XIII., the moment when the reader will expect from us a judgment as to the calibre of this "*Lumen in Cælo*" of the nineteenth century, we find that we prefer to question the gentlemen of the Liberal school concerning that judgment. Let us listen, in the first place, to that valiant Spanish republican, Castelar. Writing to Boyer d'Agen, on April 11, 1892, in reply to that editor's request for an article on this subject, to be inserted in his work on *Leo XIII. in the Eyes of His Contemporaries*, the most eloquent of all modern

Liberals emitted the following, among other noteworthy reflections: "To-day, when the Church realizes that it is her mission to furnish religion to free peoples, and when she calls the French Catholics to peace and harmony by an acceptance of the Republic, a man who has been a democrat during his entire life finds that all is now accomplished which he announced in our immortal Constituent Assembly of 1879: 'No, deputies,' said the writer of these lines in the session of May 5, 'I do not belong to the world of theology and of faith. I think I belong to the world of philosophy and of reason. Nevertheless, if it happens that I ever return to the world that I have left, I shall not embrace that Protestantism whose iciness freezes my soul, freezes my heart, freezes my conscience—that Protestant religion which is the eternal enemy of my country, of my race, of their history. Indubitably I shall return to the beautiful altar which once inspired the grandest sentiments which I have ever experienced during the entire course of my life; I shall once again kneel with both knees before that Most Holy Virgin who calmed my first passions with her tender smile; I shall once more fill my entire being with the perfume of the holy incense, with the strains of the organ, and with the pictures on the stained glass which showed me the golden wings of the angels who were the continual companions of my soul in its infancy. And at the hour of my death, deputies, I shall ask for a refuge in the arms of the Cross, in those arms which are stretched to-day over that little spot of earth which is to me the most beloved and most venerable on earth—the grave of my mother (1). . . . I must tell you, deputies,

(1) Here Castelar notes that the *Diario de Sesiones*, from which he quotes the report of his speech, observed that this passage was received by the entire Cortes with frenzied applause, so true is it that every Spaniard must be a Catholic, at least in heart. And he adds: "I note this applause, not from any puerile vanity as an orator, but because I wish to show that when I thus expressed my sentiments in regard to the Catholic religion, I struck the key-note which dominated the hearts of us democrats (of Spain), as they yearned for a reconciliation between the spirit of modern progress and their religious belief, the true source of spiritual life." Castelar was a Freemason during the whole of his political life; his death (May, 1899) was sudden; but we may well hope that at that dread moment an Act of Contrition was made by the grand genius who dared to express such sentiments as those in the text in the face of a Cortes (republican) which was nearly entirely Masonic. From the day on which Castelar stigmatized the Protestant system as "the enemy of his country and his race," and declared that he hoped to die at the feet of Mary, and "in the arms of the Cross," throughout the world the Protestant, Masonic, and Judæo-Masonic

that I felt myself impelled to return to the religion of my ancestors—a religion which I have never totally abandoned, no, never!—at the very moment when, by the providence of God, Leo XIII was raised to the pontifical throne' (1). . . . The following words, taken from a discourse which was pronounced on Oct. 2, 1880, are so applicable to the present situation, that it seems impossible that twelve years have passed since they were spoken: 'Everything leads us to suppose that the Papacy, in the person of the venerable Leo XIII, tends toward a reconciliation. Well, let us also seek for reconciliation. . . . I understand how a certain Ghibelline emperor can flatter the persistent Germanic aspirations by flaunting the pictures of Arminius and Luther in the face of Rome; but I cannot understand a similar conduct on the part of a French Republic. The sentiments now triumphant in the religious dissensions of France terrify me, because of their Jacobin character; and the Jacobin character terrifies me because another Robespierre must be inevitably the predecessor of another Napoleon. If our respect for liberty prevents our taxing interest, profit, and exchange, that same respect for liberty should prevent our imposing a tax on prayer, piety, and repentance.' I quote these olden expressions of mine in order to show the true enthusiasm and tenacity with which we desired a policy such as Leo XIII. has formulated; and in order to show our hope that the same policy will be continued in a wise successor of this Pontiff, and then be transmitted to the coming century, so that there may ensue a better condition of religious affairs than this century has

press discerned in the former idol a man of no admirable qualities whatever. Of course the *volte-face* was to be expected on the part of such gentry; but we were not prepared to read in a periodical edited by a self-avowed Catholic, a similar judgment on the repentant Freemason. In the *Cosmopolitan* for Aug., 1899, in the columns devoted to "Men and Events" which are presumably editorial, the death of the great republican received this notice: "The man who died was a pessimist, a truckler to power, a considerer of his own comfort and success. The noble manhood which had been given up to the defense of republicanism and the rights of the people died ten years before the physical Castelar expired. High ideals, noble aspirations, willingness to sacrifice life for his countrymen, had long since disappeared."

(1) Here Castelar notes how, when he was Chief of the Executive in the short-lived Spanish Republic, he tried to procure harmony with the authorities of the Church; and he recalls with satisfaction that this conduct entailed for him the loss of the presidency of the State. "And I reveal no State secret," he added, "when I declare that I gained the enmity of the French republicans on account of my severe and constant condemnation of their persecution of the clergy and of all religious ideas."

been able to produce. Human thought will never realize all the moral felicity, all the spiritual light, all the practical utility, which will accrue to the nations of Latin race from the blessing given by a Roman Pontiff who honors liberty and democracy." Such was the judgment emitted by Castelar on the pontificate of Leo XIII. When Canovas del Castillo was asked by Boyer d'Agen to commit his impressions on the subject to paper, he wrote: "If some good Catholic were to undertake to imagine a Pope who would conform to the type desired by him, and who would also be capable of fulfilling the obligations which these difficult times impose on the Supreme Pontificate, could that Catholic evoke a fitter candidate than the one whom Providence has given to the Church in the august person of Leo XIII.?" We have seen already the estimate formed by that eminent coryphee of the Italian Revolution, Rattazzi, Thiers' "most clear-sighted statesman in the world," concerning the personality of our Pontiff. Let us now hearken to a petty peroration by Crispi. On Feb. 26, 1892, this luminary of the Lodges wrote: "Until 1887, I had supposed that Leo XIII. would be reconciled with Italy. Regarding him as a superior man, I could hope that he would govern the Church with independence of spirit, pretending no longer to any civil power, and submitting to the laws of the State, in accordance with the commands of the Divine Redeemer. . . . But I became more and more convinced that the Jesuits, on whom Leo XIII. had conferred new privileges, are sufficiently strong to acquire domination over the grandest intelligences. Then I remembered a saying of an eminent statesman whom I had met in Berlin, fifteen years before. The remark was to the effect that when a man dons the tiara, be he Liberal or Reactionist, he is soon conquered by the *Curia Romana*; and if he does not yield, he will probably be conquered materially—in his person." In a note to this sage communication, Crispi gives to the ecclesiastical world the startling information that "during the first years of his pontificate, Leo XIII. presented himself as a Thomist, but thereafter he was a Jesuit—a real contradiction, and undergone simply because of his yearning for temporal power." Another

famous *Italianissimo*, Giovanni Bovio, relieves himself of his bile with this emission: "In our day a wise Pope is no more possible than a holy one would be. A timidly enterprising or a skeptically resigned-to-everything Pope might be possible; and at the very most, we might have an able Pope. Leo XIII., whose wounds are still fresh, is not resigned, and he is not sufficiently enterprising; for Italy and all Europe have entered on a new order of things, and they look upon the bawlings of the Pope as upon the squallings of a baby. Leo is astute, for the atmosphere of the Vatican, during the last six centuries, would corrupt even a St. Celestine; but can it be said that Leo is truly able? . . . What has he done? He has called to his side the worst of counsellors—the Jesuits; and exalting those whom the best Popes scarcely tolerated, he has shown that he does not know that in our day it is a waste of time to follow the policy of the Jesuits. But if we consider the advanced age of Leo, we must believe that he will never succeed in escaping from the influence of 'the black Pope'; and therefore his pontificate will leave no traces. He will leave behind him too many Encyclicals, and not one monument."

We have just heard the judgments of two classes of Liberals on Pope Leo XIII.; and certainly they differ vastly from each other, as might be expected when one class is at least honest, and the other is palpably mendacious, slimy in its hypocrisy, and beastly in its ferocity. Many large volumes would not contain all the eulogies of Leo XIII. as priest, Pontiff, and statesman, which have been pronounced during the last few years by Catholic publicists of renown; nearly all regard him as the grandest figure offered to the admiration of humanity in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It were a gracious task to endow our work with greater value by recording in it some of these tributes to a glorious pontificate; but as we have already exceeded the limit of length necessarily determined for these dissertations, we shall now adduce the judgment emitted by one of the many prominent prelates who have grasped the significance of both the Leonine personality and the Leonine pontificate—Cardinal Satolli. Undoubtedly, Cardinal Satolli is personally

devoted to Leo XIII., probably more tenderly devoted to him than any other member of the Sacred College ; but not for that reason should his testimony be charily received, for, as Justin McCarthy says when commenting on the words that we are about to quote, "we cannot take account of any great statesman's life and public career, unless we pay some attention to the opinions of his devotees. It must reckon for something that a man was able so to impress his devotees." While Cardinal Satolli was still apostolic-delegate in the United States of America, he thus summarized the purpose and results of our Pontiff's reign : "It would seem as if from the time when Leo XIII. succeeded Pius IX., he had formed a grand plan, in which he took cognizance of all the needs of humanity, and determined on the provisions he would make for those needs during the whole course of his Pontificate. We can best distinguish this design of the Pope in three particular directions. Firstly, in the Holy Father's ardent zeal for the development of studies. Secondly, in the continued interest which he has shown in social science. And thirdly, in his untiring efforts to bring peace into the Christian countries by the spread of civilization, the teaching of religion, and the promotion of concord between Church and State. With regard to studies, Pope Leo has already reared a monument of imperishable fame by the successive acts of his Pontificate. Early in his reign he turned his attention to the encouragement of the study of classical literature, of philosophy and the natural sciences, of theology and the kindred branches of sacred sciences, such as Biblical knowledge and ecclesiastical history, and of judicial sciences, especially of Roman Law and Comparative Civil Law. To accomplish his aim he founded new chairs and new institutions in Rome for these various departments of literary and encyclopædic knowledge, and called to his assistance some of the most eminent and learned professors. With regard to sociology, it is another of the Holy Father's glories that at this latter end of the nineteenth century, his Encyclicals are regarded as so many admirable parts of a grand doctrinal system, comprehensive and universal, embracing all the social sciences, beginning with the fundamental

theorems of Natural Law, and going on to the consideration of the political constitution of States, and of every economic question. The whole world knows how well the Pope's Encyclicals have carried out his plan, and how, for this reason, they have their own peculiar character, by which they are distinguished from the pontifical utterances of other Popes, even those of his immediate predecessor, Pius IX. Turning again to his policy of pacification, the ecclesiastical history of his pontificate, the civil history of Europe, the universal history of the human race, will in the future necessarily accord pages of the highest praise to Leo XIII. Germany, Belgium, France, and Spain profess their boundless gratitude for the peace-giving interventions of Leo XIII. in many grave and critical emergencies, and for acts which have been of the greatest moment to those nations. Asia also and Africa will be found joining in the chorus and lauding Leo, who has so often and so resolutely labored to re-awaken those old and fossilized portions of the earth to a new life of Christian civilization. Nor will America, throughout its length and breadth, withhold its tribute of loyal and generous esteem, veneration, and gratitude to Pope Leo for those acts of his pontificate which have at various times been promulgated, and by which he has shown his confidence and hope in the grand future of this mighty nation."

Much has been written about the personal appearance and manners of Leo XIII.; and as in the case of Pius IX., whose external and mental characteristics were so different, no man who has described them has been satisfied with the picture that he produced. Undoubtedly there is much in the atmosphere of the Vatican, in the religious and historical associations surrounding the sublimest personage on earth—be his personality what it may—that renders human language comparatively weak, when it essays a verbal narrative of the emotions experienced in an audience with a Roman Pontiff, or even during one of the sublime functions at which the Pontiff officiates, or is simply present. But laying aside all that may be derived from the poetical or from the historical, there is no doubt that the presence of Pius IX. evoked feelings of positive filial affection for him,

as well as sentiments of personal veneration, in all who conversed with him during one blessed quarter of an hour. That something akin to this feeling, as well as sentiments of unbounded admiration of his intellect, was consequent on anything like a personal relation with Leo XIII., is certain. Theobald Chartran, the eminent French artist who painted the best portrait of our Pontiff that exists, the portrait concerning the accuracy of which His Holiness wrote a very neat and complimentary distich (1), thus recorded the impressions produced in his mind by the many successive sittings, to which the only half-willing Pontiff submitted: "When I was first received in private audience by Leo XIII., a few days after his elevation to the pontifical throne, I was a pensioner of the Academy of France, and therefore very young, and quite prone to grand enthusiasms. And nevertheless, when I found myself, last summer (1891), again in the presence of this grand figure, after an interval of thirteen years, my emotions were far more agitating than they had been on the previous occasion. Since 1878, the personality of the great Pontiff has swayed the world so powerfully, although genially, that I may defy his adversaries—alas! too many—to refuse homage to his vast intelligence. But let us speak, at first, of the physical appearance of Leo XIII. His height, the supreme distinction of his entire person, his countenance at once energetic and mild, his spiritual and delicately-drawn lips, his hands so thoroughly aristocratic, his deep but melodious voice, and above all, those eyes so full of youth, life, and will; in fine, a very unique combination makes the wonderful Pontiff the most completely interesting model that an artist could desire. You will easily understand how I was moved in the presence of this venerable man whom I regard as the most ideal personage of his century, when to my description you add what others can portray with better effect—the immense influence exercised by Leo XIII. over the men of his day, and especially over those who approach him. . . . The intense admiration which I had already felt was

(1) "*Effigiem subjectam oculis, quis dicere falsam
Audeat? Huic similem vir jam pinxisset Apelles.*"

changed, now that I was admitted to an intimacy with His Holiness, to veritable worship; I was captured, as to eyes, and as to heart. To the joy of being able to study this entrancing physiognomy at my ease, was now added the still greater joy of hearing, during long hours at a time, the Pontiff's warm and vibrating tones—the joy of listening to some of his innermost thoughts, and to some of the grand projects conceived in that powerful brain. I would like to say much more, and I could do so; but I fear that I might not express my feelings well, and that I might say too much" (1). The picture drawn by Justin McCarthy is even more interesting than that presented by the French artist; for the Irish writer is not only a sincere Catholic layman like Chartran, but he is also more of the man of the world: "Pope Leo XIII. is a man of a singularly graceful and imposing presence. He is generally described as very tall, but his slender form gives him the appearance of being much taller than he really is. He is a man not much above the middle height, but very slight and stately. His face is as bloodless as that of a marble statue. He dresses in white, and the white of his robes is only of a different tone from the pallor of his face. Many a visitor to Rome has been reminded, when seeing him, of the late Cardinal Manning, whom we all knew, and whom everybody who really knew, respected, revered, and loved. Even now, despite his advanced years, the Pope moves with a quick and easy tread, which has no suggestion of creeping old age about it. His feet glide easily along the floor, and lift easily from the floor. He enters readily and simply into conversation, and has the native-born sympathy which enables him to come at once into a cordial and thorough understanding with his visitors. It can hardly be necessary to say that he is brought into constant communication with men and women from all parts of the world; and I have never heard of any one who did not go away impressed with his geniality and his graciousness. Among the many commanding figures in the Europe of our days, his is one of the most commanding. I have seen a good many great

(1) Letter to Boyer d'Agen, April 11, 1892.

men in my time. I have been acquainted with Gladstone, and I have talked with Bismarck, and with Cardinal Newman; and I can recall to memory the presence of the Emperor Nicholas of Russia, and I knew Charles Sumner, the great American orator and abolitionist, and I have often seen and heard M. Berryer, and the late Prince Consort. But no picture has impressed me more than that of Pope Leo XIII. I remember well a conversation I had with the late Cardinal Manning, many years ago, and before I had the privilege of being able to call him my friend, when he looked back upon the early days of England, and talked in his sweet regretful, and dreamy way of the time 'when saints yet trod the soil of England.' I do not expect any English Protestant to accept the views of Cardinal Manning, but an English Protestant may yet feel touched to reverence even by views which he does not accept as his own. I always think of Leo XIII. as one of those figures which must have been more often seen in the days when saints walked the earth—as, indeed, some saints do walk the earth even now."

CHAPTER VII.

POPE LEO XIII. AND THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC.

We have already shown that the Third French Republic will be described by future historians as having merited a prominent mention among the more virulent of the innumerable persecutors of the Church. Now we shall devote some space to the manner in which Leo XIII. endeavored to solve the politico-religious questions which necessarily agitated the Catholics of France, as they found themselves confronted by their naturally royalist predilections, and at the same time by an evident necessity of procuring peace for the French Church. Commenting on the position assumed by our Pontiff on the social question in general, and on the political question in France, an eminent writer whom Catholics do not claim as their own, Melchior de Vogué, thus describes

what he would regard as adventurous daring on the part of a Chief Pastor of the Roman Church: "Think of the amount of decision that he must have possessed. Think of the crushing pressure which his habitual *clientèle* must have exerted, in order to make him continue to act what seemed to be the necessary *rôle* of a Head of the Church—the part of a chaplain of a cemetery, appointed to the pious guardianship of political tombs in the shadow of the sanctuary. When he was eighty years of age, Leo XIII. issued forth from that cemetery; he threw himself into the world of the living, in order to combat adversaries who thought that their ownership of the world could not be challenged. He had appreciated the words of his Master: 'Let the dead bury their dead!'. . . Nothing will cause him to hesitate. The manifestations of his idea succeed each other with a progressive increase of vigor, and with a lucidity which, considering his great age, confound us. In his Encyclical on the condition of the working-classes, of course, he has not solved the social problem—who will solve it?—but he has explained it more precisely than it has ever been explained, and he has frankly espoused the cause of the weak. And in the same spirit, in his Encyclical to the Catholics of France, he approached the political problems with as much practical moderation as doctrinal hardihood" (1). Having made all due allowances for certain absurdities so apodictically enunciated by M. de Vogüé, we may say that his picture of Leo XIII., as the Pontiff advised the Catholics of France to "rally" around the flag of the Republic, was that which presented itself to the most judicious minds, not only of France, but of the entire Catholic world. The sole object of Leo XIII., when he counselled the French Catholics to accept the Republic, was to secure the true interests of religion; but his endeavors were more or less opposed by two very different classes of Catholics. In the first place, there were still in France many royalists of that stamp which the reader has probably regarded as peculiar to the old families of the Faubourg Saint-Germain; and these traditional servants of the monarchy of Clovis and St. Louis,

(1) Cited by T'Serclaes, *loc. cit.*, Vol. ii., p. 310.

whose religion and whose royalism seemed to be the same thing, or at least inseparably united, could not for a moment conceive the possibility of an unchristian French monarchy, or of any religious condition of affairs which would not be firmly based on royalty. To these noble relics of an age long vanished, the Pontiff said: "Preserve your admirable fidelity to the legitimate monarchy, if you will; but do not impede the paramount interests of religion by a political attitude which I believe to be destructive of those interests." Then there was another class of Catholics, whose acquaintance we made when we treated of Gallicanism, and of the relations between Louis XIV. and the Holy See—politicians who were almost as un-Catholic as the Febronians of Germany; that is, men who were impregnated with Regalism and with a Liberalism of their own manufacture; men who willingly relegated religion to a rank inferior to that in which they placed the government of their preference. To these gentry Leo XIII. said: "Remember that religion can be the obsequious servant of no human being or institution. Feign no longer to speak in her noble name. Assume not to defend her with weapons which disgrace her, only to exalt yourselves." Of course there was a third and less prominent sort of Catholics, composed of persons whose practice, if not whose theories, was a mixture of those of the other classes. Some time before our Pontiff essayed to unite these classes into a strong party for the defence of religion, the Count de Mun, then deputy for Morbihan, took the first step in that direction when he thus defined the duties of his Catholic compatriots in the circumstances of the day: "We must defend the indubitable rights of the Church, and her necessary liberties. . . we must cast into utter oblivion the wretched men who have outraged all our religious sentiments, and who have made a war on God the object of their policy. . . . No other ground, at least in my mind, is so appropriate for the union of all good citizens; no other ground offers, either a more just cause, or more legitimate weapons, or a better chance of success." And then he summoned all Catholics to "raise the banner of the Cross" (1). The impressions pro-

(1) Letter to Admiral Giquel des Touches, Sept. 6, 1885.

duced by this initiative were thus indicated by *L'Univers*: "The openly religious journals have saluted the letter with joy; the hostile ones have replied with violent attacks; certain others have organized a conspiracy of silence" (1). The *Osservatore Romano*, then a semi-official organ of the Pontiff, applauded "the courageous endeavor to procure the salvation of France by making religion the basis of the labor which will be needed in order to raise the country from the degradation to which the Revolution has reduced it." After the elections of Oct. 5, in which the Catholics gained many seats in the Legislature, Count de Mun made another appeal to his co-religionists, inviting them "to march in the advance-guard with renewed energy and unity. The Catholic party will thus be formed on the field of battle, and on the day after the fight we shall be able to organize it, and make of it a rampart for social order" (2). This hint that the Catholic party might soon be an independent organization, and not a mere auxiliary of the Conservative forces, caused several of the royalist leaders to oppose the Count de Mun as endangering their cause; but the accessions to his ranks more than counterbalanced the defections. However, the political disunion among the Catholics was increased. The Count de Mun had proclaimed that his party would agitate for freedom of worship and of Catholic teaching; and that its social programme would insist on a revision of the testamentary laws, upon a legal amelioration of the lot of the workingman, and on a revival of the olden corporations or mediæval trades-unions. "In order to carry out this programme," said the count, "we must form a compact and powerful party, which will have its authorized representatives in Parliament." Out of 77 important Catholic and Conservative journals, 35, with *L'Univers* and *La Croix* at their head, favored the Count de Mun; but 42, headed by *Le Monde*, opposed the formation of a distinct Catholic party. Most of the French bishops preserved silence in the matter; but several, among whom the most loud-spoken were Freppel of Angers, and Thibaudier of Soissons, reproved the new leader

(1) Oct. 3, 1885.

(2) Letter to the *Univers*, Oct. 11, 1885.

as though he desired "to fasten the cause of the Church to that of an earthly monarchy"—a thing which the count combatted with every force of his soul, and which Freppel and his friends, albeit quite unconsciously, were certainly promoting. Great was the surprise of both factions of the Catholic party, when, on Nov. 9, little more than a month after his announcement of his great ambition, Count de Mun sent to the press a declaration that "in order not to cause a division among the Catholics, he renounced the project of the organization which he had meditated." It was generally understood, both in Rome and in France, that the sole reason for this action was an expression of a wish, on the part of Leo XIII., that for the moment the controversy among the Catholics should cease. The Pontiff himself was considering the details of a project for political unity among all the honest men of France; and in the meantime, the good cause could only be injured by acrimonious discussions, such as too many editors and pamphleteers were fomenting. The plan which Leo XIII. was excogitating differed very notably from that of Count de Mun. In the first place, Count de Mun always avowed himself an ardent royalist; and although he desired that the Catholic party should be independent, he intended that it should be an ally of the Conservative and dynastic forces. Leo XIII., on the contrary, was to ask all honest Frenchmen to unite, without any royalist preoccupations, in an acceptance of the constituted Third Republic. Secondly, Count de Mun considered in his programme many social questions, which, however minutely and exhaustively the Pontiff may have treated them elsewhere, he did not touch in any of his appeals to the French on the matter of their political duties. The opposition experienced by Count de Mun showed Leo XIII. that the valiant successor of Montalembert had undertaken a task which was above the forces of any layman; it remained to be seen whether the Supreme Pastor could conquer the obstacles which impeded the great design. The first clear indication of the wishes of Leo XIII. in this matter was furnished by the famous toast pronounced by Cardinal Lavigerie at a banquet given to the officers of the French fleet then in the

harbor of Algiers, on Nov. 12, 1890. This toast, followed by the *Marseillaise*, played by the White Fathers, whom the cardinal had founded for the extirpation of African slavery, produced consternation in the ranks of the royalists. We subjoin some of the salient passages of this discourse: "In the presence of that past which still bleeds, and of the future which ever threatens, our great need is unity; and allow me to tell you that unity is the sincere wish of the Church, and of all her pastors in every grade of the hierarchy. Undoubtedly the Church does not ask us to renounce either the souvenirs of a glorious past, or those sentiments of fidelity and of gratitude which honor all men. But when the will of a people is clearly affirmed; when in the form of a government there is nothing—as Leo XIII. has recently proclaimed—which is opposed to the principles which alone can give life to Christian and civilized nations; when, in order to save one's country from the abyss which yawns before her, it is necessary to adhere conscientiously to her form of government; then the moment has arrived for the sacrifice of all that honor permits one to sacrifice. . . . It would be folly to hope to support the columns of an edifice, without entering into the edifice itself, were it only to prevent the would-be destroyers from completing their work of madness." Two days after he had fired his bombshell, the cardinal sent to each one of his clergy a copy of his speech; and in the accompanying letter, he alluded to certain instructions of Leo XIII. concerning the participation of Catholics in public affairs, and drew this conclusion: "It is the duty of Catholics, and conducive to their honor, not to allow the present situation of the Church in France to be prolonged; and for the fulfilment of that duty there is but one practical means; the course advised by the Sovereign Pontiff—to take part resolutely in public affairs, not as adversaries of the established government, but, on the contrary, as claimants of all the rights of citizenship in the republic which governs us. This adhesion ought to be a work of resignation, of reason, and for us Catholics, after the formal instructions which I have cited, a work of conscience." The storm excited by these words of Cardinal Lavigerie, a prelate so

universally admired and revered, impelled several French bishops to write to the Holy See, in the hope of discovering whether or not His Eminence had voiced the sentiments of the Holy Father; and when Cardinal Rampolla had sent an apposite letter to the bishop of Saint-Flour, His Eminence of Algiers forwarded to each of his clergy a circular, in which we read the following recommendations: "The Holy Father has officially undertaken the work already begun; he has entered upon it in the letter from His Eminence, Cardinal Rampolla, which I have sent to you, and in which you must have perceived three principal points, on which I myself have reflected on several occasions. The first is the reiterated affirmation that the Church is hostile to no particular form of government. The second is the advice to Catholics, considered as such, to separate their political cause and political actions from those of the old parties. The third is the advice given to Catholics to unite closely on the ground of their religious interests, simply for the vigorous defence of those interests." Shortly after the issuance of this circular, Lavigerie received from the Pope a Brief, dated Feb. 9, 1892; and it so formally approved of the cardinal's course, that His Eminence deemed it proper to communicate it also to his clergy. The Pontiff had assured the cardinal that all that His Eminence had done in the premises had corresponded perfectly with the needs of the time, and with the tokens of his devotion to the Apostolic See (1). Among the adhesions to the policy enunciated by Lavigerie, that of Mgr. Isoard is noteworthy as containing a protest against the assumption of the Radicals that Radicalism and the French Republic must necessarily be synonymous terms. "You are not the Republic," apostrophized the bishop of Annecy; "you are not France. You are not masters, and we are not subjects. We ask nothing of you; we ask not to communicate with you; we have no need of you. The constitution of every republican State gives to everyone of its citizens the right of place on its soil; and we take our place. If we did not take that place long ago,

(1) "*Studia et officia tua . . . optime congruebant rationi temporis, expectationi nostræ, et aliis quæ jam edideras testimoniis de cæregia tua erga nos voluntate.*"

it was because many Conservatives and many Catholics deemed it better to attempt the impossible task of changing the form of government." Very many of the French bishops, however, refused to follow the initiative of His Eminence of Algiers; and the bishop of Bayeux, in a pastoral to his people, thus described the variations in episcopal opinion: "These differences turn on no point of doctrine, but merely on the manner of regarding a particular political situation. All the bishops perceive the peril now menacing France; all denounce the sect which persecutes Christianity; all proclaim that the present question is more important than any merely political question. In fact, the question is: shall France remain Christian? All the bishops reject the idea that the Church is necessarily attached to any one form of government, and that she naturally anathematizes all other forms. All the bishops agree concerning the strict obligation of all Catholics to unite for the defence of their religion; but here, and here alone, there is a diversity of opinion, some of the bishops holding that without abjuring their past, and without abandoning their hopes, the Catholics may unite for the defence of religion under the direction of the bishops, subordinating their particular sympathies to the superior interests of the defence incumbent on them. Others, however, believe that these superior interests require a loyal adhesion to the present government. . . . As for myself, I think that the Church would compromise her ministry, were she to identify herself with either a monarchical or a republican policy." While the bishops and the leaders of the Catholic laity were debating, they should have remembered the adage, *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*. The Brethren of the Three Points plainly manifested their fear lest the Catholics should shake off their political lethargy, and become the determining factor in the government of the French State; for nothing is more certain than the imminent ruin of Masonic domination in that State, whenever the Catholics of France furnish a united parliamentary phalanx for the defence of civil and religious liberty. In a discourse at Vic de Bigorre, delivered on April 20, 1891, Jules Ferry said: "The evolution of the Catholic party cannot be regarded with disdain; if that evolution is

well managed, and if there is sufficient intelligence to follow it out, it may become a very redoubtable engine of war." In the Masonic "convent" of 1891, M. Thulié, President of the Council in the Grand Orient of France, perorated in this fashion: "It is certain that Clericalism is trying to plant its standard in our camp, in order to more easily throttle the Republic; but, just as we did in 1877 and 1889, we Freemasons will rise in a body, crying: 'We are here, and you shall go no further!' Brethren, I drink to the Assembly which has so well replied to the hypocritical attempts of the Clericals to invade our Republic." On the same occasion, Brother de Serres reminded the adepts of the words of the cold-blooded Brisson: "Our worst enemies are not the most Clerical of the journals, but rather such journals as *Le Temps* and the *Journal des Débats*, who have masked as republicans for a long time." Masonry, therefore, feared a coalition of the honest men of France; but, nevertheless, no less a personage than the Count d'Haussonville, head of the "royalist group," emitted at Nîmes, on Feb. 8, 1891, the following declaration: "Let us not be afraid, gentlemen, to use exact language. France desires a king; a king alone can peacefully restore France to her proper place in Europe. . . . It is to this complement of her destiny, or rather to this return of her prosperity, that France aspires; and it is because she has a confused idea that the Republic will never give this blessing to her, that she is now a prey to miserable prognostications." And on July 19, the same Catholic champion insisted that a "determined resistance" should be opposed in the electoral field to all the Catholic *republican* candidates, although, of course, the simple Catholic candidates should be sustained. In this emergency, the semi-official *Osservatore Romano* took occasion, while addressing M. de Cassagnac, the leader of the Catholic imperialists, to also rebuke the school of Count d'Haussonville: "M. de Cassagnac should remember that sincere defenders of religion ought not mix religious interests with those of their party; they should not make use of religion in order to oppose systematically the existing government. True Catholics know that in matters of this kind they owe complete sub-

mission to the Sovereign Pontiff and his representatives, especially in regard to the relations between the Church and the State—relations which, in France, are regulated by the Concordat. We trust that M. de Cassagnac will reflect on the fatal consequences of his published theories." Such advice might naturally have produced unimportant results; but greater promise of French Catholic harmony was given when the five cardinals of France, on Jan. 16, 1892, after a vivid arraignment of the Third Republic at the bar of history and of common justice (1), counselled the French Catholics "to terminate their political dissensions, and planting themselves squarely on constitutional ground, to look especially to the defence of their threatened faith. . . to accept frankly and loyally the political institutions then in vigor, while resisting, at the same time, every usurpation of the secular over the spiritual power . . . to be faithful to their electoral duties, the fulfilment of which by all honest men would secure a national representation which would legislate for the reforms so necessary for public tranquillity." Sixty-six bishops endorsed this document; but even then the desired political union of the French Catholics was not effected. The time for a Pontifical intervention had come; and on Feb. 16, 1892, Leo XIII. issued his Encyclical to the French people, a document which many have regarded as signaling an embrace of Democracy on the part of the Holy See, finally disgusted with the monarchs of the earth, but which others, and probably with

(1) The following were the complaints of the Church against the Third Republic, as enumerated by the five cardinals. The abrogation of the laws allowing public prayers and encouraging the observance of the Lord's Day. The banishment of the crucifix from the schools. The prohibition, given to the soldiers, to attend religious services in a body. The obstacles thrown in the way of the bishops, in the matter of their relations with the Holy See, and in the matter of ecclesiastical nominations. The new jurisprudence which sanctioned the "marriage" of priests. The suppression of the revenues of canons, and of very many vicars; and the progressive reduction of the entire ecclesiastical budget. The arbitrary fines which deprived the clergy of the greater part of their miserable subsidy. The ruinous civil administration of vacant dioceses. The expulsion of religious from their convents, and in the cases of exempted convents, such exceptional and tyrannous taxes as inevitably entailed the death of the communities. The banishment of religion from the programmes of the Universities. The laicization of the primary schools, including the prohibition of entrance to any priest, and the exclusion of any catechetical instruction. The suppression of all scholarships in the seminaries. The enforced enlistment of seminarians in the army. The abolition of military chaplaincies. The laws favoring divorce. The secularization of all hospitals. Innumerable difficulties thrown in the way of persons who desired to leave money for pious purposes.

better reason, have considered as destined to be a cause of an eventual return to her historic paths, on the part of France. The Encyclical began with an assurance of the continual and pre-eminent love of the Pontiffs for the people of France ; and then the Pope asserted the principle that religion must be the necessary foundation of all social stability. His Holiness then refuted the calumny that attributes to the Pontiffs "a desire to obtain a political domination over the State"—a calumny which was advanced even in the case of the Divine Founder of the Church. The struggle which the Church is now called to sustain, said the Pope, is the same as it ever has been, "and it is scarcely modified, even in form." In order to defend the cause of the Church, "close union is necessary"; and the French were informed that here His Holiness alluded to "the political differences among them concerning their proper attitude toward the existing Republic." Every form of government, insisted the Pope, is good, providing it conduces to the public weal ; but "Catholics, like all other citizens, are at full liberty to prefer one form of government to another, precisely because none of these forms are opposed to the dictates of sound reason, or to the maxims of Christian doctrine." Coming then to the domain of facts, Leo XIII. remarked that while principles never change, "they frequently assume a character of contingency, being affected by the circumstances in which they are applied"; and the French were asked to remember that "whatever may be the form of government in a nation, it cannot be considered as so definitive, that it can never be changed"; the Church alone enjoys the privilege of immutability in her constitution, whereas we know, concerning human organizations, that "time, the great transformer of all things here below, works radical changes in their institutions." When such changes have entailed anarchy or other disorder on a nation, "social necessity compels that nation to provide for itself ; and this necessity justifies the creation and existence of a new government, let its form be what you will." The civil power, considered as such, is from God (*1 Rom., XIII., 1*) ; and once established, it is permitted, and may be necessary, to accept it," and this

great duty of respect and of dependence will be obligatory, so long as the public weal demands its fulfilment, because the common good is, after God, the first and last law of society." These principles, continued the Pope, explain the wisdom of the Church, when she maintained relations with each of the many governments which have been established in France during the last hundred years; "this attitude of the Church forms the safest guide for the conduct of French Catholics in their civil relations with the Republic, the existing government of their nation. Let them banish the political dissensions now weakening them; let them use all their energies for the restoration of the moral grandeur of their country!" His Holiness assured the French that he did not forget the anti-Christian character of the Third Republic; but it was precisely because of the iniquity of their present rulers, that "putting an end to all dissensions, all honest men should unite in order to combat, by every legal and proper means, the progressive abuses of their Legislature." The Pontiff terminated his Encyclical with the wish that "his words might dissipate the prejudices of many men of good faith; and that they might facilitate a pacification which would end in a perfect union of all the French Catholics, so that they would defend successfully the cause of '*Christ who loves the French.*'" In his anxiety to seminate his ideas, if possible, at every fireside in France, Leo XIII. took the unprecedented course, on the part of a Roman Pontiff, of allowing himself to be "interviewed for publication" by an editor of the *Petit Journal*, not a Catholic paper, but the one possessing the largest circulation in the world; and by such a proceeding our Pontiff, far from demeaning himself by adopting the chief weapon of the day in order to serve humanity, acted just as St. Gregory VII., Innocent III., or Sixtus V., would have acted, had they lived in our days (1). Leo XIII. thus popularized,

(1) This interview was held shortly before the appearance of the Encyclical, and was published at the time when that document was first read in France. It may be regarded as a kind of commentary by the illustrious author himself. The editor of the *Petit Journal* guaranteed the absolute authenticity of the detailed conversation, both as to substance and as to form. It ran as follows: *Editor*: "We would be grateful, Holy Father, if you would inform us as to whether the continuous efforts of the Holy See for a settlement of our constitutional disputes have any relation with the views of Your Holiness

so to speak, the important Encyclical in places where such documents seldom or never entered. All the French bishops, either explicitly or tacitly, accepted the counsels of Leo XIII.; and when some of the recalcitrant royalists insisted that if Mgr. Freppel were still alive (he had died in 1891), he would have kept aloft the standard of the Lilies in defiance of Rome, Mgr. Sauve, one of the best theologians in France, an ardent legitimist, and an intimate friend of the late bishop of Angers, wrote a defence of the prelate, which he terminated with these words: "I have no doubt whatever that if the late Monseigneur of Angers were with us to-day, he would be in line with all the bishops of France, and that,

in regard to the external affairs of our country; whether, that is, Your Holiness wishes to assist in the work of all our patriots, the strengthening of France." *Pope*: "My desire, like the wish of the Church, is for the happiness of France. France is a nation with a vivid spirit and a generous character. If sometimes she does not follow the right road, the one most conducive to her true interests, she quickly repairs her error, when she learns the truth. I greatly desire, and I do so consistently, in spite of all opposition, that dissensions disappear in France, and that there may be among you nothing which will foster weakness. I believe that all French citizens should unite, although each may preserve his private preferences; but in the domain of action, there should be an eye only for the government which France has given to herself. The republican form of government is as legitimate as any other. I lately received the president of the Committee on Organization of the World's Fair in Chicago, who requested the co-operation of the Holy See in that great American enterprise. Now, the United States of North America are a republic, and in spite of the inconveniences inseparable from unlimited liberty, they grow greater every day, and the Catholic Church has developed there, without any contests with the State. There the Church and the State agree well, just as they should agree everywhere, neither encroaching on the rights of the other. There liberty is the foundation of the relations between the civil power and the religious conscience. Everywhere the Church asks for liberty, before anything else. Let my authoritative voice be correctly understood, so that my objects and my attitude may not be travestied. Whatever the Church enjoys in the United States, she ought to enjoy, with much more reason, in republican France. I talk in this same fashion to all Frenchmen who come to see me; I want them all to know my real sentiments. I regret that certain highly-placed personages have not yet dared to publish, as they ought to have done, the efforts which I have made for the peace and prosperity of your noble nation, the nation ever regarded by me as the Eldest Daughter of the Church. I shall persist in this course, and I shall encourage all who enter on it. It is in order to facilitate this task that the Church should attend to her veritable mission, the moralizing of souls, the indoctrinating of them with a spirit of sacrifice and of devotedness. At the same time, she interests herself in the condition of the weak; my declaration concerning the rights of the working classes ought to render more easy the internal pacification of France, by reducing to a small minority the number of those who have no other pre-occupation than to trouble minds, and to impede the union of their countrymen—a union without which France cannot accomplish her grand destinies. It is by means of the solid internal constitution which I desire for France, that in spite of her enemies, she will fully regain her olden pre-eminence. I am pleased to learn that France earnestly desires peace, in spite of her enormous military resources, and of the grand courage of her sons. If she continues unflinchingly to cherish this wisdom and this patience; if she knows how to banish the dissensions which arrest her development and paralyze her influence; if she decides to abandon entirely the works of chicanery and of persecution; she will soon re-occupy the glorious place in the world which once was her own."

docile to the voice of Leo XIII., he would exclaim: 'Rome has spoken; the cause is finished.' And I dare to assert that he would use his great influence with the Count of Paris and his partisans to determine them to follow the counsels of the Holy Father." In the commentary on the Encyclical which Mgr. Sauve published at this time, he indicated, for the benefit of all the ultra-royalists who misinterpreted the real significance of our Pontiff's advice, what was to be his own course, as an unflinching legitimist and an uncompromising Catholic. Having promised that he would not admit the intrinsic legitimacy of the Third Republic, he pledged himself "to abandon all attempts for a monarchical restoration; to undertake no royalist propaganda; to not only renounce all *illegal* acts detrimental to the existence of the Republic, but to abstain, out of religious deference to the desire of the Pope, from even any *legal* enterprises which might procure the substitution of the monarchical for the republican form of government." Such, and perhaps a smaller one, was the sacrifice which Leo XIII. demanded from the French royalists.

CHAPTER VIII.

POPE LEO XIII. AND THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT IN IRELAND.

Although the reader is probably conversant with the general features of the subject, and although he must know that Leo XIII. did not condemn the Land League and the principle of Home Rule, as was asserted by the entire Masonic press, and by all the foes of Irish liberty, we propose to consider briefly the reason for the Pontiff's intervention in the political affairs of Ireland, and the nature of that intervention. Probably the most satisfactory commentary on this intervention is that given by Justin McCarthy in his short but admirable biography of the Pontiff; and for the benefit of those who have not read that work, we subjoin some passages which will illustrate our subject (1). Our

(1) "The condition of Ireland was, indeed, beginning to command the attention of the

purpose is to bring into bolder relief certain features which Mr. McCarthy has left in shadow. The Land League, formed in 1879 for the purpose of procuring a reduction of farm-rents in Ireland, and for a facilitation of an acquirement of freeholds on the part of the tenants, had for its most practical and immediately-resulting feature the fact that when a tenant was unjustly threatened with ejectment, he was sustained by all the other members of the League. A very slight acquaintance with Irish history will prevent any sane mind from feeling surprise at the sympathy extended by the immense mass of the Irish clergy, following the initiative of the archbishop of Cashel, to the new patriotic movement. Scarcely a year, however, had elapsed since the foundation of the League, when the violence of a considerable section of the Irish press, an extravagant development of the ever-to-be-remembered system of "Boycotting," and numerous outrages on the part of a mysterious society of "Moonlighters," gave to the Parnellite engine so ultra-revolutionary an aspect,

whole civilized world; and it need hardly be said that the sympathy between the Papacy and the Irish Catholics had been close and constant for generations and for centuries. There were two great agitations going on in Ireland—one political, and one agrarian—but the two working together, and forming between them a complete national movement. The political movement was for Home Rule; the agrarian movement was, roughly speaking, for the abolition of despotic landlordism, and the creation of a peasant proprietary all over Ireland. . . . The Pope did at last intervene—not directly, and not by way of any Papal fulmination; but the Vatican decidedly issued an opinion and a warning to the Irish people on the national movement, the political and the agrarian; and the intervention was received with a chorus of applause from the landlord class, and the Conservatives and the anti-Nationalists of Ireland. The counsellors of the Pope naturally relied a good deal upon the representations and the advice of the English Catholics. Now the English Catholics belong almost always to the higher classes in social life. They belong for the most part to the landlord order, and their sympathies would naturally go with the claims of their own order. Then, again, the English Catholics, as a rule, have no sympathy with the Irish national cause—the cause of Home Rule. I do not mean to say that this is true of all the English Catholics. I know far too well for that. I know that the sympathies of men like Lord Ripon, and Lord Acton, and Lord Ashburnham, and many of the most distinguished of the English Catholic priesthood, are cordially with the principle of national self-government for Ireland. But, as a rule, neither the cause of the political reforms which Ireland claims, nor that of the agrarian reforms which Ireland has so long needed, can be said to have the sympathy of the English Catholics. Now it is in the very nature of things that a good deal of the ideas of the English Catholics must have made a way into the councils of those who advised Pope Leo. For a long time, too, the Archbishopric of Dublin had been in the hands of men like Cardinal Cullen and Cardinal MacCabe—good men, pious men, learned men; but men who shrank in alarm from any agitation that seemed likely to be troublesome, and who were apt to hear the first thunder of approaching revolution in every rising sound of popular agitation. It must be owned that Ireland was passing through something very like a national revolution. . . . No doubt some wild things were said on national platforms, and in the terrible death-struggle between the landlords

that Pope Leo XIII. deemed it wise to address a warning letter to Archbishop MacCabe of Dublin. This salutary caution, dated Jan. 3, 1881, began with the recognition of the deplorable condition of the great mass of the Irish people, a state of affairs which had endured for centuries, but which, as a rule, the Irish had borne with exemplary patience, sustained by their invincible constancy in the Faith. The Pontiff reminded the archbishop, and through him the Irish nation, that during the long course of its terrible sufferings, his predecessors had never ceased to warn it not to depart from the paths of moderation and justice, even when those sufferings appeared to justify revolution; and he besought the bishops of Ireland to restrain their flocks within the bounds of legality, since it was evident that within those bounds the Irish cause would ultimately conquer, with the least possible additional misery for the people. The Irish bishops communicated and explained the pontifical letter to their diocesans; and in a meeting held at Maynooth, they drew the attention of the people, but especially of the English Govern-

and the tenants some wild deeds were done on both sides. If the tenants had no just claim in what they demanded, then it has to be pointed out that every recent Government, Liberal or Tory, has abetted them since in their unjust demands; for every Government has yielded more and more to their claim, and has proclaimed that each subsequent concession was a concession to the cause of justice and of order. The truth had at last begun to be officially recognized, which John Stuart Mill preached in vain thirty years before, when he insisted that the Irish land-tenure system was entirely exceptional and apart, *and such as no civilized legislation, except that of England, would tolerate*. . . . There had always been an agrarian agitation in modern Ireland; but up to the formation of the Land League it was crude, unorganized, sporadic, spasmodic—each locality, each group of tenantry, acting for itself, upon its own impulse, and by its own ways. The effort and the purpose of the Land League was to consolidate all the agrarian agitation of Ireland into one system, acting under directions from headquarters. Such a movement, under the guidance of men like those who directed it, might be trusted to be a check on disorder and crime: not a stimulant to disorder and crime. But it is easy to understand that, to observers at a distance, it may have seemed at first—as it did seem indeed to some observers close at hand—the methodising and embattling of all the forces of agrarian revolution. It was in reality a strike of the tenantry against an intolerable system. To the counsellors of the Vatican it seemed, as at one time it seemed to Mr. Gladstone, a rebellion against the most sacred principles of social law. The Vatican intervened, and Mr. Gladstone also intervened. . . . To the advisers of the Pope it undoubtedly appeared that they were only uttering a much needed appeal in favor of law and order, social and moral. To the majority of the Irish Nationalists it seemed that the Vatican had come to the help of Mr. Gladstone and of the English Government in the effort to stamp out a great national and patriotic agitation. At that time Mr. Gladstone had not become fully acquainted with the realities of Ireland's condition and of Ireland's needs. *No one can doubt—no calm observer among Irish Nationalists ever doubt—the absolute good faith and sympathy of the advice which the Vatican gave to Ireland. To the authorities in the Papal Court, nothing that could happen to Ireland seemed so terrible as that Ireland should commit crime.*"

ment (which had drawn great comfort from the document), to that part of the letter which expressly avowed that the Irish grievances were *entirely legitimate*. The prelates insisted, before the world, that the land laws of Ireland created and fostered a continual danger for peace; and they declared that reformatory legislation alone would restore order. In their reply to His Holiness, they thanked the Holy See for the letter to His Grace of Dublin, and they declared that they shared the pontifical grief for the few violences which compromised the cause of a people who were clamoring for their rights. But they besought the Holy Father not to give implicit credit to the interested reports of these violences which were circulated by the organs of the oppressor. During the stress of difficulties caused by the "Act of Coercion," introduced in parliament by Gladstone, and tyrannically applied by Forster, the attitude of the Irish clergy was as moderate as the Pontiff could have desired; and His Holiness expressed his satisfaction by enrolling Archbishop MacCabe in the Sacred College on March 27, 1882. But the Land Act of 1881 had proved to be almost entirely nugatory; for in the year which followed its application, there were 17,341 evictions, and consequently a large increase of agrarian outrages. Therefore our Pontiff wrote another letter, under date of Aug. 1, 1882, in which he declared that the condition of the Irish people gave him "more anxiety than consolation," because of the continuous miseries of the island, and because of the consequent and frequent abandonment of many to the dictates of unreasoning passion, "as though it were possible for a hope of public happiness to be found in dishonor and crime." The Irish had a perfect right, said His Holiness, to struggle for their rights; "we cannot suppose that what is granted to all other peoples should be denied to the Irish; but they should remember that the useful is subject to the laws of justice, and that it is shameful to defend even the most just of causes with unjust means." It is not surprising that this pontifical letter was almost barren of results among a people who were then groaning under the goad of the Coercion Act, and who had just seen Parnell and their other chief champions shut up in Kilmainham Jail. Their zeal

in subscribing to the "Parnell Testimonial Fund," designed to defray the expenses of the defence of their leader in his forthcoming trial, did not diminish; nor would the Holy See have wished it to grow less, had the original object not soon included the provision—secret, but no less evident—of a fund wherewith to produce and sustain an open "rebellion." In consequence of this apprehension, the Cardinal-Prefect of the Propaganda addressed a circular, on May 11, 1883, to all the Irish bishops, prohibiting the priests from taking any part in the subscription; but taking care to subjoin: "It is perfectly proper for the Irish to try to better their miserable lot; it is not wrong for them to contribute money for that purpose." It was in this year 1893 that occurred the much-talked-of mission of Mr. Errington to the Vatican—a mission which was not at all "official," but which could well be termed, in diplomatic parlance, "officious," and concerning which a Roman gentleman of reliability, one who was well versed in the secular affairs of the Vatican, did not hesitate to write: "Mr. Errington, a Catholic and an Irishman, proved to be *no honor to this double qualification*. After many endeavors to negotiate in the sole interests of those who wanted the agitation to end without any cessation of Ireland's miseries—men who hoped to deprive the Irish people of that Pontifical sympathy which has always been accorded to the victims of tyranny and injustice, Errington ended by throwing off the mask in an impertinent and mocking letter, published in the *United Ireland* of Aug. 1, 1885" (1). Justin McCarthy thus comments on this Errington mission: "The mission, as it was sometimes called, of Sir George Errington, then Mr. Errington, to Rome, was a ridiculous incident in a serious story. Mr. Errington was then a member of the House of Commons, and of that group of Irish representatives whom Mr. Gladstone, with unintentional humor, once called 'the nominal Home Rulers.' He was a man of position and of education, but he certainly was not a striking political figure. He was more a Liberal than a Nationalist. He was well liked in society, but had made no mark whatever in the House of Commons. Somehow or

(1) CASOLI; *Chronicle of the Life and Pontificate of Leo XIII.*, p. 322. Rome, 1890.

other the late Lord Granville allowed himself to be persuaded for a moment that Mr. Errington had great influence with the Vatican ; and that it would be a good thing to make use of that influence in order to secure for the English Government the help of the Pope in the struggle against the Irish national agitation. The facts of the whole story never came fully out, although many attempts in and out of Parliament were made to get the full tale told. Mr. Errington undoubtedly was under the impression that he had a formal authority from Lord Granville. Lord Granville was under the impression that he had nothing of the kind. It was admitted that a letter of recommendation had been conceded to Mr. Errington, but it was denied that the letter imposed on him, or entrusted to him, any manner of diplomatic authority or function. There was a great deal of question and answer, statement and counter-statement, denial and qualification, until at last the English public began to get tired of it. Finally, a letter of Mr. Errington's, never intended for publication, found its way somehow into the newspapers, and proved that Mr. Errington himself had not taken his mission very seriously. Then the whole subject soon passed, in England at least, away from the attention of the public. In Ireland, however, the national feeling still remained for a time unsatisfied and excited. There was a good deal of anger among the Nationalists because of the manner in which Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville were supposed to have acted. It was firmly believed by many persons, for a time, that the English Government had insidiously endeavored to bring influence to bear upon the Vatican, in order that the Pope might be prevailed upon to censure the Nationalist movement in Ireland. Assuredly nothing could have been more unwise on the part of any English Government than to make such an attempt ; but Pope Leo was the last man in the world likely to allow himself to be drawn into such a piece of diplomatic artifice. Let it be added that Mr. Gladstone was the last man in the world likely to make such an attempt. I am satisfied that on the side of the Vatican, and on the side of the English Government, there was absolute good faith and high purpose. The one mistake made by

the Government was in paying any attention whatever to Mr. Errington, or in allowing him or anybody else to suppose for a moment that he had been entrusted with any diplomatic mission. There is every reason to believe that as the Pope became more closely acquainted with the realities of the Irish struggle, he came to take a more liberal view of the objects which inspired it, and of the men who guided it. The sympathies of the Pope with the Irish Nationalist cause grew and grew as that cause more and more justified itself. Only the other day, the Pope sent his blessing to Mr. Dillon, on the wedding morning of the man who had taken so prominent a part in the political and the agrarian agitation throughout Ireland." Again reminding the reader that we have not proposed to give even a sketch of this momentous period in the history of Ireland, since an abundance of trustworthy sources of information are at his command; and that our sole object is to note the relations of Leo XIII. with the Irish movements of his day; we now touch on his course in reference to the "Plan of Campaign," instituted in 1888 by Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien. This method of warfare on the tyrannous landlords of Ireland, conceived in minds which were at least sincere, seemed at first to be both pacific and invincible. All the farmers in a given estate, rich as well as poor, were to form a kind of "solidarity"; each tenant was to contribute to a common fund, to be held by a chosen commissioner, the sum of money which he could afford; this commissioner was to treat with the landlord or his agent; and if the landlord hearkened to the representations of his farmer-tenants, and agreed to a reduction of rent, such as was demanded, then he would be paid by the representative commissioner. If the landlord refused the compromise, he was to receive no rent; and if he did not capitulate, his sole alternative was the ejectment of all his tenants. And where would he find new tenants? While the landlord was considering this conundrum, the ejected tenants would be supported, at least to some extent, by the sums that they had entrusted to their commissioner. Certainly this "Plan of Campaign" was attractive; but nevertheless, the Holy

See could not approve of the universal "Boycottage" which it involved. Notwithstanding this objection, the Pontiff appointed to the see of Dublin, on July 3, 1885, Mgr. Walsh, one of the most pronounced Nationalists in Ireland; and the question of "Boycotting," so far as its morality was concerned, seemed to be in abeyance until 1887. Then the Pontiff appointed Mgr. Persico, a prelate of experience, a Capuchin who had been vicar-apostolic of Agra in India, and afterward bishop of Savannah in the United States of America to make on the spot a severe and minute investigation into the affairs of poor, long-suffering Ireland. According to the slow-and-sure fashion of the Roman *curia*, Persico worked during a year before he submitted his report; and then, on April 13, 1888, there was emitted by the Holy Office a decree which condemned the "Plan of Campaign," as well as the system of "Boycotting," as contrary to Christian morality. We give the condemnatory passage of the decree, as noted in the circular which announced it on April 20: "The following question has been submitted to the Most Eminent Lords Cardinals who, together with me (Cardinal Monaco La Valletta), form the Tribunal for Inquiry into Heretical Depravity: *In the disputes between tenants and landlords in Ireland, is it permissible to make use of the means, commonly termed 'Plan of Campaign' and 'Boycotting'?* After a long and careful consideration, Their Eminences unanimously replied: '*It is not permissible.*' This solution of the question was approved and confirmed by the Holy Father on the 18th of this month." Great indeed was the commotion excited in Ireland by this decree; and the bishops, assembled in Dublin for the purpose of allaying the excitement, could only draw attention to the fact which is elementary in the mind of every Catholic, namely, that the Roman Pontiff is supreme in all definitions on moral questions. At the same time, however, for the consolation of the complaining victims of English tyranny, the bishops asked the people to observe that the Head of their Church had assured them (the bishops) that the decree of the Holy Office "did not pretend to interfere in any manner with the Irish National Movement; that, on the contrary, said decree

was intended to remove every obstacle to the success of that Movement." The Pontiff himself hastened to reassure his faithful children in Ireland by his Encyclical *Sape nos*, issued on June 24 of the same year. His Holiness told the Irish that they ought not to need an assurance of the love of the Holy See for them ; but he deemed it necessary to remind them of their duty of obedience to the pontifical decisions in matters of morality. " Our office," he declared, " will not allow us to permit so many Catholics, whose salvation is entrusted to our care, to follow in a dangerous path which would lead to destruction, rather than to a betterment of their condition. We must consider things as they are ; and Ireland should discern in this decree our love for her. Nothing can be so fatal to any cause, be it ever so just, as to be defended by violence and injustice." Catholic to the core, the Irish, almost to a man, obeyed the voice of the Head of the Church ; and it required monumental impudence indeed for the assurance emitted by that " Austrian diplomat " whom we shall soon meet in the *Contemporary Review* as the apologist of certain German Catholic friends of the Triple Alliance, to the effect that the Irish refused to accept " the doctrine of the Vatican, based on the principle that the Holy See has the right to interfere in all kinds of political questions." The assertion that the Holy See was or is averse to Home Rule for the Irish people was well refuted by Cardinal Manning when, in his discussion with Gladstone in 1890, he showed how Leo XIII. could have obtained the re-opening of formal diplomatic relations with England, had he been willing to oppose Home Rule for the sister-kingdom—an offer which he spurned with indignation (1). And let us not forget that the system of " Boycotting " and the " Plan of Campaign," the sole features of the Irish Movement which our Pontiff opposed, " were never adopted by the National Organization, and they were rejected by Parnell, the recognized head of the National Party, and by Gladstone " (2). Would the hypercritics of the Leonine policy have wished our Pontiff to be more of a Nationalist than the Nationalists themselves ?

(1) See the *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1890, p. 745.

(2) See the *Dublin Freeman's Journal*, May 25, 1888.

CHAPTER IX.

POPE LEO XIII. AND THE ENGLISH PEOPLE. THE DECISION ON
ANGLICAN "ORDERS."

If the student has carefully assimilated what we said concerning Anglican "Orders" in our dissertation on the Protestantization of England, as well as our reflections on the Gunpowder Plot and on the Emancipation of the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, he will be equipped for an appreciation of the short disquisition now awaiting him, without any preamble on our part. Nearly all intelligent persons in Great Britain knew, in 1885, that the Pope of Rome had granted an audience to Lord Halifax, the president of the "English Church Union," and the prominent champion of what a few Anglican Ritualists somnolently acclaimed as "Corporate Reunion" with Rome. But great was the astonishment of all good Protestants, when there appeared in the English journals a letter dated at St. Peter's in Rome on April 14, 1895, and accounting for itself in these opening words: "Leo XIII., to the English people who seek the kingdom of Christ in the unity of the faith." The most important of the passages of this document read as follows: "Some time since, in an Apostolic Letter to princes and people, we spoke to the English as well as to the other nations; but we now address the English by a special communication, wishing to testify our sincere affection for their illustrious race. This desire has been nourished by the great yearning of our heart for a people whose glorious deeds in the olden time the Church has always praised. And we have often been affected by conversations with Englishmen who testified to the kindly feeling of the English people toward us personally, and to their anxiety for peace and eternal salvation through unity of faith. God is our witness how keen is our wish that some effort of ours might tend to assist and further the great work of obtaining the reunion of Christendom; and we render thanks to God who has so far prolonged our life,

that we may put forth some efforts in this direction. But since, as is but right, we place our confidence of a happy issue principally in the wonderful power of God's grace, we have, with full consideration, determined to invite all Englishmen who glory in the Christian name to this same work, and we exhort them to lift up their hearts to God with us, to fix their trust in Him, and to seek from Him the help necessary in such a matter, by assiduous diligence in holy prayer." The Pope describes the work done by St. Gregory for England, "those great and glorious events in the annals of the Church, which must surely be remembered with gratitude by the English people." The solicitude of Gregory for England was inherited by all the Pontiffs who succeeded him. Their care for England was soon rewarded, "for in no other case, perhaps, did the faith take root so quickly, or was so keen and intense a love manifested toward the See of Peter. That the English race was, in those days, wholly devoted to this centre of Christian unity, and that, in the course of ages, men of all ranks were bound to it by ties of loyalty, are facts too abundantly and plainly testified by the pages of history to admit of doubt or question.... In the storms which devastated Catholicity throughout Europe in the sixteenth century, England also received a grievous wound, for she was unhappily wrenched from communion with the Apostolic See, and thus was bereft of that holy faith in which, for long centuries, she had rejoiced in perfect liberty." The Pope speaks of the prayers offered up for the return of England to the Catholic faith. "We, indeed," he says, "long before being raised to the Supreme Pontificate, were also deeply sensible of the importance of holy prayer offered for this cause, and heartily commended it. For we gladly recall that while we acted as nuncio in Belgium, we became acquainted with an Englishman, Ignatius Spencer, himself a devout disciple of St. Paul of the Cross; he laid before us the project he had already initiated for extending a society for pious people to pray for the return of the English nation to the Church." The Pope tells of the results which followed that effort. "Very many Englishmen were led to follow the divine call, and among

them not a few men of distinguished eminence, and many, who, in doing so, had to make personal and heroic sacrifices. Looking at all this, we do not doubt that the united and humble supplications of so many to God are hastening the time of further manifestations of His merciful designs toward the English people. Our confidence is strengthened by observing the legislative and other measures, which, if they do not perhaps directly, still do indirectly help forward the end we have in view, by ameliorating the condition of the people at large by giving effect to the laws of justice and charity. We have heard with singular joy of the great attention which is being given in England to the solution of the social question, of which we have treated with much care in our Encyclicals, and of the establishment of benefit and similar societies whereby, on a legal basis, the condition of the working-classes is improved. . . . Everyone knows the power and resources of the British nation, and the civilizing influence which, with the spread of liberty, accompanies its commercial prosperity even to the most remote regions. But, worthy and noble in themselves as are all those varied manifestations of activity, our soul is raised to the origin of all power, and the perennial source of all good things. . . . The time cannot be far distant when we must appear to render an account of our stewardship to the Prince of Pastors ; and how happy, how blessed should we be if we could bring to Him some fruit, some realization of these our wishes, which He has inspired and sustained. In these days our thoughts turn with love and hope to the English people, observing, as we do, the frequent and manifest works of Divine Grace among them ; how the number of those religious and discreet men, who sincerely labor much for reunion with the Catholic Church, is increasing. . . . With loving heart we turn to you all in England, desiring to recall you to this holy unity. We beseech you, as you value your eternal salvation, to offer up humble and continuous prayer to God, who, with gentle power, impels us to the good and the right, and without ceasing to implore light to know the truth in all its fulness, and to embrace the designs of His mercy with single and entire faithfulness. . . . The time

is not far distant when thirteen centuries will have been completed since the English race welcomed those apostolic men sent, as we have said, from this very city of Rome, who, casting aside the pagan deities, dedicated the first fruits of the faith to Christ, our Lord and God. This encourages our hope. It is, indeed, an event worthy to be remembered with public thanksgiving. Would that this occasion might bring to all reflecting minds the memory of the faith then preached to your ancestors—the same which is now preached. . . . We humbly call upon St. Gregory, whom the English have ever rejoiced to greet as the apostle of their race, on St. Augustine, his disciple and his messenger, on St. Peter and St. Paul, those special patrons, and above all, on Mary, the Holy Mother of God, whom Christ Himself on the cross left to be the Mother of mankind, to whom your kingdom was dedicated by your forefathers under that glorious title, 'The Dowry of Mary.' All these with full confidence we call upon to be our pleaders before the throne of God, that renewing the glory of ancient days, He may 'fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope through the power of the Holy Ghost.'" There were few manifestations of displeasure in England, when this letter was read; its thoroughly Christian tone, its utter want of any spirit of aggressiveness, its indication that the writer hoped merely that God would warm the hearts of Englishmen to a desire for reconciliation with the Mother Church, prevented any of those ebullitions which a communication from "the Scarlet Woman" would have produced in the early days of Wiseman's episcopate (1). The letter produced even a consider-

(1) "This letter," says Justin McCarthy, "must have done good in England, if merely by showing to even the most anti-papal populations here, that the Pope after all is not anti-Christ, but only a man and a brother. From the days when Pope Pius IX. was denounced from every Protestant platform in Great Britain, and when Cardinal Wiseman, driving in his carriage to deliver a lecture in the Philharmonic Hall in Liverpool, was pelted with stones by a crowd, what a distance we have traversed! Let it be admitted that the improved tone of public feeling on both sides has been brought about in the first instance by the statesmanship, the temper, and the demeanor of Pope Leo himself. Never was there in modern history a time when the mind of Protestant Englishmen was so set against the Papacy, as the time when Pope Leo succeeded to Pope Pius IX. Never since the Reformation was there a time when the public heart of England was filled with a more general kindness and cordiality toward the head of the Roman Church than that which prevails now. The Pope has shown himself a lover of all men, and he has won in return the regard, the confidence, and the affection of all men who, whatever their creed,

able amount of charitable feeling toward the Roman Pontiff, and such a sentiment might eventuate in a more undesirable consummation; therefore it was to be answered by those who sometimes claimed to be able to speak in the name of the Royal Establishment. The incumbent of Canterbury published a "Pastoral," in which he undertook to treat of "a certain friendly advance made from a *foreign Church* to the people of England, without reference or regard to the Church of England." Having introduced the subject of union, as being desired by "almost all the Christian bodies known among us, including the Roman communion," the prelate warns Anglicans of a peril which he discerns "in any haste which would sacrifice part of our trust, and in narrowness which would limit our vision of Christendom." Then we are treated to an observation which would be worthy of a schoolboy: "The Roman Communion in which Western Christendom once found unity has not proved itself capable of retaining its hold on nations which were all its own. At this moment it invites the English people into reunion with itself, in apparent unconsciousness of the position and history of the English Church. *It parades before us modes of worship and rewards of worship the most repugnant to TEUTONIC CHRISTENDOM, and to nations which have become readers of the Bible.*" Then the prelate accurately defines the Anglican position in regard to union with Rome, and he plainly implies what any tyro in Catholic theology could tell Lord Halifax and his fellow-dreamers of "Corporate Reunion," that all conversions from English Protestantism must be individual—that a reunion *en masse* is impossible, since Rome cannot recognize the English Establishment and her American daughter as churches, as organizations possessing a priesthood and the correlatives of a priesthood. If the Holy See would only recognize the incumbent of Canterbury and his companions as Christian bishops, all might be well, says this representative Anglican: "*Recognition might have lent a meaning to the mention of reunion.* But, otherwise, what is called

are open to the claims of reason, of statesmanship, and of common philanthropy. The Pope's appeal to the English people may have greater and deeper results hereafter, but, happen what may, it has done much already to win English sympathy."

reunion would not only be our farewell to all other Christian races, all other churches, but we are to begin by forgetting our own church, by setting aside truth regained through severe sacrifice, cherished as our very life, and believed by us to be the necessary foundation of all union." Probably the general sentiment of the Anglican party, when both the papal letter and its reputed answer had been read, was voiced by the London *Daily Chronicle*, when it said that the gist of the Pontiff's appeal was simply the declaration, "You are not of my flock; God pity you!" But such an appreciation of the intention of Leo XIII. is an injustice to His Holiness. Justin McCarthy grasps the situation when he says: "The truth is, that the Pope expressed in his letter exactly what he wanted to express; his cordial affection for the English people, and his earnest wish that they might be brought back to the old Church. The season must have seemed to him appropriate to the expression of such a wish. Many great and prominent High Churchmen were avowedly looking to some sort of possible reunion between spiritual England and spiritual Rome. Many sermons had been preached from Anglican pulpits, which breathed this spirit in all sincerity. The time seemed fitting to the Pope to utter a pious wish, were it only a wish, to utter also a prayer, that such a reunion might be accomplished on the only terms which to him could make it a genuine reunion. It is hard to see how any impartial critic could say that the tenor of the Pope's letter was only, 'You are not of my flock; God pity you.' It reads to me much more like, 'Be of my flock; God bless you.' The Pope could have accomplished nothing by issuing a sort of command to the English people. He could have accomplished nothing by merely imploring them for their own sakes to become Catholics again. By merely expressing his pious hope, his pious wish, at all events he expected to touch some chord of sympathetic feeling in the mind and heart of English Protestantism, which might bring out the first impulse toward a future reconciliation."

While the English mind, or at least that of such Englishmen as take any interest in religion of any form, was being agitated by the appeal of Leo XIII. for religious unity, it

became known that the Holy See, yielding to the request of many Ritualists, and to the persistency of two French enthusiasts who hoped to thus "smooth over" the way of conversion for many English and American Protestants, had consented to examine again the "question" of the validity of Anglican "Orders." We have already treated this matter exhaustively, from a historical point of view (1); we touched only incidentally on the matter, as viewed from a theological standpoint. In the Apostolic Letter, dated Sept. 13, 1896, in which our Pontiff gives his decision, the subject is treated only with regard to the constant practice of the Church in reference to converted Anglican "bishops" and ministers, and with regard to the Anglican form of "Ordination." Why the Holy See should have contravened its custom of not reconsidering a matter which had been already decided, can be understood only in the supposition that it wished to avail itself of an opportunity to lay before Anglicans the utter futility of their claims to the Apostolic Succession. The accomplishment of this task is the object of the Apostolic Letter, only some portion of which our space will allow us to give: "For some time, and especially in these last years, there has been a controversy as to whether the Sacred Orders conferred according to the Edwardine Ordinal possessed the nature and effect of a Sacrament: those in favor of the absolute validity, or of a doubtful validity, being not only certain Anglican writers, but some few Catholics, chiefly non-English. The consideration of the excellency of the Christian priesthood moved Anglican writers in this matter, desirous as they were that their own people should not lack the twofold power over the Body of Christ. Catholic writers were impelled by a wish to smooth the way for the return of Anglicans to holy unity. Both, indeed, thought that in view of studies brought up to the level of recent research, and of some documents rescued from oblivion, it was not inopportune to re-examine the question by our authority. And we, not disregarding such desires and opinions, and above all, obeying the dictates of Apostolic charity, have considered that nothing should be left untried that might in any way tend to preserve

(1) See Vol. iii., p. 492, *et seqq.*

souls from injury or procure their advantage. It has, therefore, pleased us to graciously permit the cause to be re-examined so that through the extreme care taken in the new examination all doubt, or even shadow of doubt, should be removed for the future. To this end we commissioned a certain number of men noted for their learning and ability, whose opinions in this matter were known to be divergent, to state the grounds of their judgments in writing. We then, having summoned them to our person, directed them to interchange writings and further to investigate and discuss all that was necessary for a full knowledge of the matter. We were careful also that they should be able to re-examine all documents bearing on this question which were known to exist in the Vatican Archives, to search for new ones, and even to have at their disposal all the documents on this subject which are preserved by the Holy Office—or as it is called the *Supreme Council*—and to consider whatever had up to this time been adduced by learned men on both sides. We ordered them, when prepared in this way, to meet together in special sessions. These to the number of twelve were held under the presidency of one of the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church appointed by ourselves, and all were invited to free discussion. Finally we directed that the acts of these meetings, together with all other documents, should be submitted to our Venerable Brethren, the Cardinals of the same Council, so that when all had studied the whole subject, and discussed it in our presence, each might give his opinion.” Then the Pontiff shows how the commission inquired into the practice of the Church in the premises, as illustrated ever since the dawn of Protestantism in England; and having reviewed the evidence, His Holiness says: “*It must be clear to every one that the lately-revived controversy was settled definitively long ago by this Apostolic See (by Julius III., Paul IV., and Clement XI.); and that it is to the insufficient knowledge of these documents that we must perhaps attribute the fact that any Catholic writer should have considered it still an open question.*” Then His Holiness proceeds to an examination of the Anglican Ordinal (1); also of the

(1) “ In the examination of any rite for the effecting and administering of a Sacrament,

mind and aim of those who composed that Ordinal—a point which we have already considered when treating of the dawn of the English Reformation. Finally, the Pontiff concludes: "All these matters have been long and carefully considered by ourselves and by our Venerable Brethren, the Judges of the Supreme Council, of whom it pleased us to order a special meeting on the Feria V., the 16th day of July last, upon the solemnity of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. They, with one accord, agreed that the question laid before them had been already adjudicated, and with the full approval of the Apostolic See, and that this renewed discussion and examination of the issues had only served to bring out more clearly the wisdom and accuracy with which that decision had been made.

distinction is rightly made between the part which is ceremonial and that which is essential, usually called the matter and form. All know that the Sacraments of the New Law, as sensible and efficient signs of invisible grace, ought both to signify the grace which they effect and effect the grace which they signify. Although the signification ought to be found in the whole essential rite, that is to say, in the matter and form, it still pertains chiefly to the form, since the matter is the part which is not determined by itself but which is determined by the form, and this appears still more clearly in the Sacrament of Orders, the matter of which, in so far as we have to consider it in this case, is the imposition of hands, which indeed by itself signifies nothing definite, and is equally used for several orders, and for Confirmation, but the words which, until recently, were commonly held by Anglicans to constitute the proper form of priestly ordination—namely, "Receive the Holy Ghost," certainly do not in the least definitely express the sacred order of priesthood or its grace and power, which is chiefly the power "of consecrating and of offering the true Body and Blood of the Lord." (Council of Trent, Sess. XXIII. *De Sacr. Ord.*, Can. 1.) In that sacrifice which is no "nude commemoration of the sacrifice offered on the cross." (*Ibid.*, Sess. XXII. *De Sacrif. Missa*, Can. 3.) This form had, indeed, afterward added to it the words, "for the office and work of a priest," etc., but this rather shows that the Anglicans themselves perceived that the first form was defective and inadequate. But even if this addition could give to the form its due signification, it was introduced too late, as a century had already elapsed since the adoption of the Edwardine Ordinal, for as the Hierarchy had become extinct there remained no power of ordaining. In vain has help been recently sought for the plea of the validity of Orders from the other prayers of the same Ordinal. For, to put aside other reasons which show this to be insufficient for the purpose in the Anglican rite, let this argument suffice for all; from them has been deliberately removed whatever set forth the dignity and office of the priesthood in the Catholic rite. That form consequently ought not to be considered a prior sufficient for the Sacrament which omits what it ought essentially to signify. For in the formula, "Receive the Holy Ghost," not only were the words, "for the office and work of a bishop," added at a later period, but even these, as we shall presently state, must be understood in a sense different to that which they bear in the Catholic rite. Nor is anything gained by quoting "Almighty God," since it in like manner has been stripped of the words which denote the *Summum Sacerdotium*. It is not here relevant to examine whether the episcopate be a completion of the priesthood or an Order distinct from it, or whether when bestowed as they say *per saltum* on one who is not a priest, it has or has not its effect. But the episcopate undoubtedly by the Institution of Christ most truly belongs to the Sacrament of Orders, and constitutes the *Sacerdotium* in the highest degree—namely, that which by the teaching of the Holy Fathers and our Liturgical customs is called the "*Summum Sacerdotium Sacri Ministerii Summa*." So it comes to pass that as the Sacrament of Orders and the true *Sacerdotium* of

Nevertheless we deemed it better to defer our decision in order to afford time, both to consider whether it would be fitting or expedient that we should make a fresh authoritative declaration upon the matter, and to humbly pray for a fuller measure of Divine guidance. Then, considering that this matter of practice, although already decided, had been by certain persons, for unknown reasons, recalled into discussion and that thence it might follow that a pernicious error would be fostered in the minds of many who might suppose that they possessed the Sacrament and effects of Orders, though these are certainly wanting, it has seemed good to us in the Lord to pronounce our judgment. Wherefore, strictly

Christ were utterly eliminated from the Anglican rite, and hence the *Sacerdotium* is in no wise conferred truly and validly in the Episcopal Consecration of the same right, for the like reason, therefore, the episcopate can in no way be truly and validly conferred by it, and this the more so because among the first duties of the episcopate is that of ordaining ministers for the Holy Eucharist and sacrifice. For the full and accurate understanding of the Anglican Ordinal, besides what we have noted as to some of its parts, there is nothing more pertinent than to consider carefully the circumstances under which it was composed and publicly authorized. It would be tedious to enter into details, nor is it necessary to do so, as the history of that time is sufficiently eloquent as to the animus of the authors of the Ordinal against the Catholic Church, as to the abettors whom they associated with themselves from the heterodox seats, and as to the end they had in view. Being fully cognizant of the necessary connection between faith and worship, between the law of believing and the law of praying, under a pretext of returning to the primitive form they corrupted the liturgical order in many ways to suit the errors of the reformers. For this reason in the whole Ordinal not only is there no clear mention of the Sacrifice of Consecration of the *Sacerdotium* and of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifices, but as we have just stated, every trace of these things which had been in such praise of the Catholic rite as they had not entirely rejected, was deliberately removed and struck out. In this way the native character or spirit, as it is called, of the Ordinal clearly manifests itself. Hence if vitiated in its origin, it was wholly insufficient to confer Orders. It was impossible that in the course of time it would become sufficient, since no change had taken place. In vain those who from the time of Charles I. have attempted to hold some kind of sacrifice or of priesthood, have made some additions to the Ordinal. In vain also has been the contention of that small section of the Anglican body formed in recent times that the said Ordinal can be understood and interpreted in a sound and orthodox sense. Such efforts, we affirm, have been and are made in vain, and for the reason that any words in the Anglican Ordinal as it now is which lend themselves to ambiguity cannot be taken in the same sense as they possess in the Catholic rite. For once a new rite has been instituted in which, as we have seen, the Sacrament of Orders is adulterated or denied, and from which all idea of consecration and sacrifice has been rejected, the formula, "Receive the Holy Ghost," no longer holds good, because the spirit is infused into the soul with the grace of the Sacrament, and the words "For the office and work of a priest or bishop," and the like no longer hold good, but remain as words without the reality which Christ instituted. Several of the more shrewd Anglican interpreters of the Ordinal have perceived the force of this argument, and they openly urge it against those who take the Ordinal in a new sense, and vainly attach to the orders conferred thereby a value and efficiency they do not possess. By this same argument is refuted the contention of those who think that the prayer "Almighty God giveth of all good things," which is found at the beginning of the ritual action, might suffice as a legitimate form of Orders, even in the hypothesis that it might be held to be sufficient in a Catholic rite approved by the Church."

adhering in this matter to the decrees of the Pontiffs our predecessors, and confirming them most fully, and, as it were, renewing them by our authority, of our own motion and certain knowledge *we pronounce and declare that Ordinations carried out according to the Anglican rite have been and are absolutely null and utterly void.*" To the immense majority of Anglicans, persons who had no conception of the meaning of the term "priest," people whose "parson" was merely a talker on religion established for the sake of good order and respectability in the State, this Papal decision had no meaning. To another class of Anglicans, persons whose notion of a "priest" was that of a something more genteel than a Non-Conformist preacher, a something to be classed with a "so cute" ecclesiastical millinery, their supposedly poetical incense, and their mystifying vestments, the Papal pronouncement was merely a blow to an unintelligent pride—the Pope had dared to say that their pastor was to be revered no more than a Presbyterian or Methodist dominie (1).

(1) That Dr. Potter, the present head of the Protestant Episcopal "diocese" of Southern New York, belongs to this second class of Anglicans, would seem to be indicated not only by his recent (1899) "ordination" of the anti-Biblical Dr. Briggs, but also by the following extract from the Annual Address which he delivered, on Sept. 30, 1896, before the Diocesan Convention of the ministers of his jurisdiction, as his deliberate appreciation of the Pope's decision on the validity of Anglican Orders: "A year ago I referred in this place to the courteous communication addressed to those in another land, who are of our spiritual lineage and ancestry, by a venerable Roman ecclesiastic, of whose kindly purpose nobody, I suppose, had any smallest doubt; and I endeavored to point out how vain and illusory, from any such standpoint as he then occupied, were the hopes and aspirations which he then expressed. Since then he has made them even more so by describing all other chief pastors than those who are his own curates as '*a lawless and disorderly crew*' (in what Papal document can we find this exhibition of a very un-Roman style?), and by pronouncing all other orders than those derived from the See of Peter as invalid and worthless. It is a declaration. . . . made in large ignorance of the facts, and from a somewhat narrow and provincial vision of the situation, (but this) does not wholly take away from the value of this unshrinking frankness; while one cannot but hope that its effect upon those (the self-styled "Anglo-Catholic" party) whose *fatuous and unmanly procedure* has invited and provoked it may be deep and lasting. Anglican churchmen and American Christians of the same lineage have nothing whatever to hope from the Italian prelate who makes bold to call himself the Vicar of God. It is matter for profound thankfulness that they have not. . . . Dismissing at last that *superincumbent mass of mediæval and modern historical ignorance, historical distortion, and historical imposture which survives to-day as the Latin tradition*, and which has for centuries buried out of sight the primitive and apostolic foundations, men will return to those scriptural and universally accepted symbols to which that oldest branch of the Church Catholic—the branch which is Eastern and not Western—still adheres, and on which the best learning and the purest faith of *Anglo-Saxon Christendom* equally rest. There is much to be learned by all of us before we may hope to see the dawn of a better day for the divided ranks of Christendom. . . . but believe me, when that day dawns, it will not be in answer to any becoming from an Italian prelate—or not, at any rate, until he, or those who may come after

But to a very small class of Anglicans, those who believed in a "sacrificing priesthood," and who knew that without that priesthood no organization could be a Church, could have valid Sacraments, could be, as it were, a continuation of Christ's incarnation in regard to the individual soul, the decree of Pope Leo XIII. was a bitter disappointment. It caused them to meditate as they had never yet meditated.

CHAPTER X.

POPE LEO XIII. AND THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE. THE QUESTIONS OF MIXED AND CIVIL MARRIAGES IN HUNGARY.

Among the injustices which Pope Leo XIII. has been obliged to suffer at the hands of certain German Catholic publicists, is the charge that his hostility to the Triple Alliance has led him to sacrifice the interest of Catholicism in Germany, and especially in Austria. The Pontiff, said these gentry, could hope for no aid from the Triple Alliance in the matter of a restoration of the papal temporal power; but he could hope for aid from France, and therefore he flattered the French Republic, even to the detriment of the Church in France. Such assertions come naturally from Professor Geffcken; they do not astound us when they are proffered by the anonymous "Austrian diplomat" of the *Contemporary Review*: but they are sadly inappropriate in the pages of prominent organs of the German Centre. Certainly those editors were not of the calibre of Montalembert, who was *Catholique avant tout*, and who would never have asked the Italian Catholics to accept "accomplished facts," and to shake hands with the school of Crispi. And this politico-religious evolution was demanded in the interest of the Triple Alliance; for by it that unnatural compact would have been strengthened, since the Papacy and the Italy of the Quirinal would have kissed in a rapture of "patriotism." The *Contemporary Review* loaned its pages

him, have unlearned pretensions so unscriptural as to be grotesque, and surrendered claims which the growing enlightenment of mankind makes daily more and more pathetic and ridiculous."

to the partisans of these theories ; and the curious reader will find their mouthings refuted in the *Civiltà Cattolica* (1), if his study of the Pontificate of Pius IX. has left him still in need of such mental pabulum. Concerning the "Austrian diplomat" of the *Contemporary Review*, whose ravings were until quite recently endorsed by many German Catholic friends of the Triple Alliance, the Abbé Kannengieser, an Alsatian polemic who knows well the French, German, and Italian worlds of which he treats (2), emits some noteworthy reflections as he places the Austrian essayist on the same plane with two famous ecclesiastical rebels of our day : "Döllinger and Curci ! These celebrated men personify, to some extent, the opposition to the papal temporal power which a certain class of Catholics has manifested during the last thirty years. They were priests ; but they attacked the royalty of the Vatican with a violence, and often with a bad faith and a perfidy, which were borrowed from the worst enemies of the Church. Döllinger had begun his campaign ten years before the invasion of Rome, at first in a fashion of dissimulation, but in time and by degrees with increasing audacity in each successive book or article, until finally he indicated his disgust with not only the temporal power, but also with the spiritual authority of the Holy See, with Catholicism, and with Christianity itself. At this time Curci was one of the most intrepid defenders of the *Royal Vatican* ; but very soon he also entered on the way of apostasy. His first bombshell—it is with design that I use his favorite expression—was exploded in 1874 ; and certainly the pure gold of his early writings had changed to the vilest of metals. Curci was then already decrepit on the verge of the grave ; but he furnished to the Church the sad spectacle of an ungrateful son striking his mother. Before long, to these two names we were obliged to join that of an Austrian diplomat who, proclaiming himself a Catholic, published in a Protestant periodical of England an odious pamphlet which assailed the policy and the person of Leo XIII. This diplomat pretended to

(1) Especially in the issue of Dec. 17, 1892.

(2) *The Adversaries of the Temporal Power and the Triple Alliance*. Paris, 1892.

be a most faithful son of the Pontiff, 'his real and well-beloved superior'; but, nevertheless, he dared to issue 'the most perfidious diatribe which has been written against the Sovereign Pontiff' (1). A Catholic of this stamp is worthy of figuring in the company of Döllinger and Curci; the three publicists have a community of thought, and complete each other admirably. Their harmony is perfect. Döllinger had called for the fall of the Pope-King; Curci re-echoed the demand; and the Austrian diplomat upbraids the Pope for not accepting their invitation with gratitude. This is all pre-eminently natural; since here we find in evidence representatives of the nations composing the Triple Alliance. Curci was an Italian; the writer in the *Contemporary* was an Austrian; and Döllinger was a German. It is possible that this coincidence is merely fortuitous; if so, the journals of the Triple Alliance will inform us. Accidental though it may be, it is interesting, and it should be noted. One thing is certain. The blows struck against the papal temporal power (in our day) have not come from that impious France, before whose gaze the three allied nations so modestly veil their faces; nor from that schismatical Russia, for whom the treasury of anathemas is too small; nor from that heretical England, for whose sake, as the men of the Triple Alliance tell us, Leo XIII. sacrificed the poor Irish. The Pontiff is despoiled of his dominions, held a prisoner in the Vatican, simply because such is the good pleasure of the Triple Alliance. It is the Italy of Curci, the Germany of Döllinger, and the Austria of the diplomat of the *Contemporary Review*, that have desired and procured the loss of the papal temporal power; the governments of these three countries are the responsible causes of the 'intolerable situation' (2) in which the Vicar of Jesus Christ now finds himself." There is not a word of exaggeration in these sentiments of Abbé Kannengieser; and in complement of

(1) These two citations are words of Father Brandi, S. J., the author of the admirable refutation of the pleas of the partisans of the Triple Alliance which was published in the *Civiltà Cattolica*. To the student who has not access to this periodical, we would observe that a French version of Brandi's work, due to the pen of M. Vetter, was published by Lethielleux of Paris in 1892.

(2) Such are the words with which Leo XIII. has frequently qualified the present circumstances of the Holy See.

them we would adduce the following appreciation of the Austrian diplomat's ideas which was formed by the judicious editor of the *Civiltà Cattolica*: "According to this diplomat, the Supreme Pontiff is 'an idealist,' an egotist who thinks more of his own immediate profit than of the general good; a man who transforms ends into means. He uses his power 'in order to develop the Catholic, to the detriment of the man and of the citizen. He uses his children as so many players of the ignoble rôle of political Mamelukes, 'traitors to their party, and for reasons which are absolutely foreign to politics, and often opposed to the demands of common sense.' And then we are told that the Pope's policy 'is deficient in that power of scent which is so usual with Italian diplomatists.' This deficiency gives color 'to the accusations of the Pontiff's enemies, to the effect that he is only a politic courtier toward the powerful, despising the weak, abandoning the unfortunate.' But there is more; in the mind of this anonymous writer, 'the venerable and well-beloved superior' is a monster of iniquity. 'He favors and caresses an atheistic government (that of France), every one of whose acts are inspired by a diabolical hatred for our religion; and, what seems to be almost incredible, he systematically places at the service of that government the most noble sentiments of Catholicism, in order that France may continue to prosper, and to insult our religion.'"

The otherwise Catholic German sympathizers with this doctrine, most of whom have now seen their mistake, were very eloquent in their praises of the orthodoxy of Austria-Hungary; and undoubtedly that empire is substantially Catholic, and some of its institutions still bear the stamp of Catholicity. But unfortunately, Josephism, Freemasonry, and Judaism have too frequently and too extensively tampered with that vast governmental machine which was a work of the Age of Faith. In our day, one would remain within the limits of truth, if he asserted that the Catholic appearance of many of the Austrian institutions, and the external respect for religion in those regions, are too much like that which a shadow is to a substance; in fact, we may apply to the religious spirit of modern Austria-Hungary nearly all

that we have predicated of that same spirit in modern Portugal (1). In the Hapsburg empire, as Mgr. T'Serclæs observes, "We see in a land where the inhabitants are deeply religious, and where the legislation *appears* to be Catholic, nearly all the journals in the hands of Jews or of other enemies of the Church. We see the schools delivered to a heterodox neutrality, under the control of atheistic teachers. We see Catholic interests defended in parliament only by a petty number of champions, who are badly organized. And we see a clergy, rich indeed, but victims of an inactivity and a powerlessness which are astonishing in a land where there is so much faith" (2). Such, in brief, was the religious condition of Austria-Hungary when Leo XIII. ascended the steps of the papal throne. In 1888, he convoked a General Chapter of the Benedictines, so powerful in those regions. He commanded the monks to legislate for an exact observance of poverty by an abolition of the abuse allowing an individual Benedictine to have his own *peculium*; the "common life" was to include meals, all exercises of piety, and the recreations; the monks were to have no domestics who did not belong to the order. The Pontiff also extended his reforming hand to the Franciscans, who are very numerous in Austria-Hungary. He insisted on an exact observance of their rule of poverty; the friars resisted, and the entire Jewish press of Vienna and Buda-Pesth took up the bad cause with virulent attacks on Roman despotism. In this contest the government remained neutral; but it did not show the same spirit in the agitation concerning mixed

(1) See our Vol. v., p. 267.

(2) Speaking of the attitude of hesitancy and incoherency which seems to be common among modern Austrian Catholics, Kannengieser says: "It is well known that energy is not their dominant virtue. Subjugated at once by the Jews and the Liberals, they yield to the influence of the air that they breathe, and are swept along by the current that is created by the foes of the Church. They should have a thousand motives for an antipathy toward that official Italy which has deprived them of Lombardy and Venice, and which foments Irredentism in the southern provinces of the empire. Naturally they should sympathize with the Holy See in the conflict now being waged between the Vatican and the Quirinal. But some strange play of fortune has ranged the Austrians on the side of the Revolution, against the Papacy. Of course I do not speak of the zealous Catholics who hold Congresses, and whose number increases every day. The diplomat of the *Contemporary Review* is a striking proof of this inexplicable anomaly; and his example ought to open the eyes of even the blindest. Sympathy for revolutionary Italy is dangerous. The cause of the Papacy cannot be betrayed with impunity in favor of the persecutors of the Church: sooner or later, the felony is punished, and often by a loss of faith."

marriages, which began, or rather was revived in 1890. The reader should know that for many years a Hungarian law, sanctioned by that government which certain German Centrist critics of the Leonine policy would have us regard as "very orthodox," commanded that all the children of a mixed marriage should be educated, according to their sex, in the religion of the father or of the mother. Such a law no Catholic could observe; every Catholic knows that when the Church tolerates a mixed marriage she does so only when the heretical party has solemnly promised that all the resulting offspring shall be baptized and trained as Catholics. In the case of a Hungarian mixed marriage, before the year 1890, the law could be evaded, whenever the heretical party was conscientious; said party could simply avow that he or she wished the child to be a Catholic. But the Masonico-Jewish element, then dominant in the Hungarian governmental councils, decided that a parent should not have a voice in the religious training of his or her children, unless perchance the wish was favorable to Satanism, or to something of similar stamp. Therefore, in 1890, Czaki, the Hungarian Minister of Worship, decreed that whenever a Catholic priest baptized the offspring of a mixed marriage, he should furnish the Protestant minister of the locality a certificate of said baptism within eight days; then, in case the priest had violated the law by baptizing the daughter of a Protestant mother, or the son of a Protestant father, the government, by means of the intervention of the Protestant minister, would see that the infant received a Protestant training. Instantly there was a conflict between the Church and the State; no Catholic pastor could connive at an abandonment of a Catholic child to the miseries of heresy, and innumerable priests were "suspended" by the secular autocrat, and sent to jail for a month, the punishment to be repeated for every new offence. Strange to say, during nearly the whole of this conflict there were found many bishops who regarded, or feigned to regard as a mere "civil" act that which was demanded by the government; but the holy indignation of their priests forced these prelates to retract their assertion, and Mgr. Samassa, the archbishop of

Erlau, was sent to Rome for the purpose of laying the **mat-**ter before the Pontiff. The infamous Czaki law was condemned by His Holiness; and this condemnation furnished the German Centrist hypocritics of the Leonine policy with material for their charge that the Pope was more severe with "orthodox" Austria-Hungary, than with the infidel French Republic.

The contest in regard to mixed marriages in Hungary began with the introduction of Protestantism into the Kingdom of St. Stephen; and in accordance with the Catholic law on the subject, in every case of such a contract, the Protestant party was at first compelled to sign a promise, called *Reversalia*, whereby he or she engaged to educate all the resultant children in the Catholic faith. But in the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was born a custom, among Protestant prospective brides of Catholic husbands, of exacting from their too frequently subservient swains a document of *Reversalia* drawn up in favor of heresy. In vain Maria Theresa prohibited this practice; and when that would-be philosopher, the "sacristy-sweep" Joseph II., ascended the throne of the Holy Roman Empire, one of his first acts as King of Hungary was to publish what he styled an "Edict of Toleration," whereby he abolished the *Reversalia*, both Catholic and Protestant, and decreed that whenever a Catholic woman espoused a Protestant, only her daughters were necessarily to be raised as Catholics. Even this wicked concession did not satisfy the Protestants of Hungary. They continually distorted the edict so as to procure greater latitude for themselves; and in a decree of May 24, 1782, the imperial weakling complained of their "abominable impudence." But his disgust did not prevent Joseph II. from sanctioning, in 1790, a law which declared that sons of a Protestant father and a Catholic mother *might* be educated as Protestants—a provision which was immediately distorted by interpreting the *might* as *must*, and which was actuated in that sense wherever and whenever the Protestant element was sufficiently strong. During the years which elapsed between the death of Joseph II. (1790) and the year 1840, the Hungarian clergy were almost uni-

versally derelict in this matter; instead of insisting on the *Reversalia*, most of them asked for no promise whatever in regard to the future progeny, when they were about to officiate at a mixed marriage. But in 1840, thanks to the energy of Mgr. Scitowsky, bishop of Rosnavia (Rosenau), and of Mgr. Lajtsak, bishop of Nagy-Varad (Grosswardein), the clergy began to observe the laws of the Church. Quite naturally, the revolution of 1848 confirmed and extended all the losses which the Church had thus far suffered in Hungary. But the Catholics found no reason for complaint in the Twelve Points, voted on March 15, whereby all religions were pronounced free and equal (1); although indeed it seemed strange that the Greek Schismatics and the Protestants should be entirely autonomous in their religious affairs, while the Latin and Greek Catholics were kept in a state of dependence on the State. We have said that in 1840 the Hungarian clergy began to observe the law of the Church concerning mixed marriages; but unfortunately this beginning was neither universal nor hearty. Often the Catholic party to a mixed marriage gave to the Protestant one *Reversalia* couched in the Protestant sense, and the pastor closed his eyes to the fact; the bishops were just as conveniently blind, and naturally the priests did not feel that they should be more courageous than their prelates (2). Such a state of affairs should have satisfied the Hungarian Protestants; but in 1868, thanks to the Dualism which rendered the Austrian laws against Freemasonry inoperative in the Kingdom of Hungary (3), the

(1) In Hungary some religions are "received" or recognized by the State, while others are not "received," but tolerated. Before 1848 there were three "received" Churches; the Catholic, the Greek "Orthodox," and the Protestant. The Church of the United Greek Rite was recognized in 1848.

(2) KANNENGIESER; *Jews and Catholics in Austria-Hungary*, p. 213. Paris, 1895.

(3) The fact of these laws existing on the statute-books of Austria must not lead the student to believe that Freemasonry has been seriously and permanently hampered in that empire since the sect fell under the ban of the Church. But when the Hungarian authorities practically recognized the Masonic Order as a beneficent and civilizing agency, they lifted to the plane of respectability a sect which the weak among the good had avoided, but which the same lukewarm Christiaus might thereafter join. A brief description of the rise and progress of Masonry in Austria-Hungary will be of value to the reader. Francis I., the husband of Mary Theresa, allowed a few Masonic Lodges to be established in his dominions; and during the reign of Joseph II., in 1776, the Grand Lodge of Germany, established in Berlin, sent a delegate, Sudthausen, to affiliate these Lodges to itself. This delegate was received in audience by the philosophistic emperor, and he succeeded in

Judæo-Protestant element became so influential in the Hungarian parliament, that it was able to procure the passage of a law declaring: "All the male children of a mixed marriage must follow the religion of their father, and all the daughters the religion of their mother.... Every arrangement contrary to this law, let it be of any nature whatsoever, is null and void." Instead of protesting against this iniquitous enactment, nearly all the bishops of Hungary, whose "orthodoxy" the German critics of our Pontiff's policy so earnestly extol, followed the example of Cardinal Haynald, the intimate friend of the Minister of Worship, Baron Eötvös, in affecting to credit the assurance of that statesman that the enactment was of no practical importance, and would not be enforced. "With the exception of Cardinal Simor (archbishop of Gran) and his friends," said Kannengieser in 1895, "none of the Hungarian prelates seemed to

inspiring the concealed sovereign with an idea of rivalling Frederick II. of Prussia as a protector of a glorious and powerful order. During the next quarter of a century, Masonry developed in the Austrian empire so well, that in 1794 there were forty-five Lodges of the different rites (See the *Zirkel*, organ of the Lodge *Humanitas* in Vienna, July 1, 1874). But Joseph II. was disappointed in his proteges. The war with Turkey, which disturbed his last years, was the work of the Dark Lantern, having been excited by the Prussian adept, Herzberg in concert with the English premier, Pitt. At the same time, the leader of the Hungarian Masons, Count Forgatzek, went to Berlin in order to prepare with Herzberg a Hungarian insurrection; and he was aided by the Illuminati, then guided by Martinowicz, the provost of Edenburg (See the *Universal Biography* of Michaud, art. *Martinowicz*). In 1789, Joseph II. tried in vain to undo his foolish work by subjecting the Lodges to police surveillance. In 1794, Francis II. prohibited the order absolutely, and exacted from every public functionary an oath that he belonged to no secret society. Probably it was to this act of Francis II. that the peoples of the Austrian Empire owe, to a very great extent, their preservation of the faith to this day; certainly it was to this act that was due the origin of the Masonic watchword, "*Delenda est Austria*," the motto which was to be proclaimed when success had attended the cry, "*Lilia pedibus destrue*." This interdiction of Masonry persisted throughout the reigns of Francis II. and of Ferdinand I.; but the order subsisted by means of students, professors, merchants, and others whose travels enabled them to join foreign Lodges, especially those of Prussia and Saxony. Immediately after the revolution of 1848, a Lodge was instituted in Vienna, and was entitled *St. Joseph*; its Venerable was a professor in the Academy of Engineers, Dr. Ludwig Lewis. But the restoration of the empire brought a revival of the anti-Masonic edicts, and the brethren were obliged, for a time, to work in the dark. In 1866 came the promise of glorious days for the Brethren of the Three Points; Sadowa filled them with a joy which they cared not to conceal. Immediately they began a combat against the Church, which was frustrated only by the will of Francis Joseph (See Deschamps, *Secret Societies*, Bk. ii., ch. 11); and by means of the press of Vienna, every journal of which, with the exception of the *Vaterland*, had succumbed to their gold or promises, they began a campaign for the unification of Germany under the ægis of the Hohenzollern. In this latter task they were assisted by the gold of the Jews, natural foes of the Christian name, and therefore partisans of everything which promised to injure the Church which is the sole effective champion of that name. The ministry of the Saxon, Von Beust, suppressed the oath against secret societies which the public officials were then still obliged to

comprehend the aggressive nature of the fatal law of 1868. None suspected that it was to be the basis for an implacable war against the Catholics. For more than twenty years the Masonic Lodges, inspired by the Jews, took advantage of this law in order to harass the Church, and to inaugurate that Hungarian 'War for Civilization' which has just entered into its decisive phase. This law was a temporary weapon, used by the Masons until the day when, throwing off their hypocritical disguise, they attacked every Christian denomination with their Bill for the introduction of Civil Marriage."

The credit of this enterprise of Civil Matrimony for the Hungarians belongs to Koloman Tisza, who became Minister of the Interior in the Wentheim cabinet in 1875, and of whom the chief Protestant organ in Germany, the *Kreuzzeitung*, was to say, ere long, that he was "the great intriguer who systematically sowed the seeds of evil which have already produced such frightful crops." In order to actuate his infernal design, this "Calvinist Pope," as he was styled, relied on two allies who were worthy of him—Freemasonry

take; and although the statutes still prohibited Masonry, there was formed in Prague a "society"—it was not termed a "Lodge"—entitled *Amicitia*. The Lodge *Humanitas* of Vienna began to hold its meetings at Neudorf, in Hungary; and it was officially recognized by the Hungarian authorities in 1872. Already, in 1869, this Lodge had begun to publish its official journal, the *Zirkel* or "The Compass." Other Masonic organizations, however, did not feel the need of taking Hungary as a base of operations; at first in Vienna, and then in many other provinces, there were instituted *International Circles of Freemasons*, the organ of which was the *Allgemeine Oesterreichische Freimaurer Zeitung*. When the year 1874 arrived, the Cisleithan provinces of the empire counted ten different Masonic "societies"; and although the emperor succeeded sometimes in compelling his ministers to check the growing audacity of the brethren, we find the *Chaine d'Union*, in 1881 (p. 437), quoting the *Zirkel* of recent date to prove that Masonry was then very active in the realm of the Hapsburgs. As for Masonry in Hungary, 1848 saw a Lodge called *Kossuth* established in Pesth; and in 1861, a new Lodge was projected, but not founded, by Edward Caroli, Stephen Estherasy, Julian Teleky, Bela Bay, George Comaromy, and the two counts, Theodore and Coloman Czaky. Not until the campaign of Sadowa had been fought, however, did Masonry make much progress in the Kingdom of St. Stephen; then the constitution of the Dual Monarchy enabled the brethren to show themselves in the light of day, and very soon the sect attained to the dignity of a quasi-official position in the State. Thus in 1874 the Minister of Finance deliberately addressed the Grand Orient of Pesth, asking it to contribute to the expenses of the charitable institutions of the capital, and the *Zirkel* congratulated the brethren on the governmental recognition of the order as a social force. The policy of Hungarian Masonry needs no elucidation; the history of the last thirty years shows the significance of the following words emitted by the *Chaine d'Union* in March, 1874: "Thanks to the activity of our brethren who now occupy the highest political positions, we are confident that we shall destroy the influence of that Ultramontanism which has hitherto dominated the reigning House of Hapsburg; and success in that matter will enable us to enlighten Austria."

and the Jews. "With the aid of these two forces," says Kannengieser, "he felt sure of victory over Catholicism; it was certain that he could count on their thorough devotion. The Lodges regarded him as an excellent instrument; and the Jews seemed to recognize in him flesh of their flesh, blood of their blood. And indeed there must have coursed some Israelitic blood in the veins of this arrogant Calvinist with manners which were now falsely humble, and then rabidly impertinent. When one saw him in the tribune with his tall but bent figure, his white beard covering his breast, his emaciated countenance, his frame wrapped in dirty and threadbare garments; and when one heard him snuffing a dull and monotonous discourse; one felt that a Jew had awakened in the Magyar, after a sleep of many generations." Scarcely had Tisza entered the Wentheim cabinet, than he became President of the Council; and in this capacity he scourged Hungary for fifteen years, substituting everywhere the Judæo-Masonic for Catholic influences, and trying with diabolic persistency to un-Christianize the ancient "Marianic Kingdom." One of his most impudent essays was his Bill providing for the "Marriages of Jews with Christians"—a Bill which might have produced the desired effects, without any mention of his Jewish protectors in its title, but which intentionally blazoned the fact that at length the Israelite was, in very truth the superior of the Magyar. In the Chamber of Deputies, the members of which had been "elected" under the law of 1876, which was a mere engine for ministerial corruption, the Bill met but little opposition; but in the Upper House it was rejected. Then the Judæo-Calvinist "reformer" undertook to change radically the composition of the Upper House; he succeeded in 1883, and found himself assured of a servile majority for all of his anti-Christian projects. Little by little he now "laicized" the University of Buda-Pesth, appointing free-thinkers to all the chairs; he confided the administration of ecclesiastical property to Freemasons; and nearly all the governmental offices were filled with Protestants and Jews, preferably with the latter. In 1879 the law of 1868 on mixed marriages was reinforced with this disposition: "Whoever, in opposition to

the provisions of the law of 1868, receives into another religious denomination a minor of less than eighteen years of age, is liable to a penalty which may be imprisonment for two months, and a fine of 300 florins." Fortunately the Hungarian magistracy had not been, as yet, so far Masonicized or Judaicized as to willingly obey the behests of the triumphant sectarians ; and in the many hundreds of cases where the governmental police and the Protestant ministers dragged Catholic pastors before the tribunals to answer for the "crime" of having baptized the child of a mixed marriage, the accused were immediately dismissed. The law of 1879, contended the magistrates, did not cover the case of baptism. It spoke of a conversion, of a passage from one Christian denomination to another—a thing which does not happen in the baptism of a babe, since before his baptism an infant belongs to no Christian denomination whatsoever, being as yet a pagan. Until 1890 the Tisza cabinet did no more than fulminate menaces against the Catholic pastors ; but being determined to attain distinction in his "War for Civilization," the President of the Council finally called to his aid Count Albinus Czaky, a man whose hatred for the Catholic clergy was notorious (1). Having been appointed Minister of Worship, Czaky issued, on Feb. 26, 1890, the rescript which ordered every priest to deliver to the Protestant pastor of the locality, within eight days, a certificate of each baptism conferred by him on children of mixed marriages. The decree also enjoined that all recalcitrant priests should be taken, not before the ordinary magistrates, but before the prefect of police, who would be, of course, a creature of the cabinet of the day. The reader may imagine the consternation of such of the Catholic clergy as were determined to do their duty. If they obeyed the law, and gave to the Protestant ministers the certificates demanded, by that very fact they proclaimed, according to the law, that the children in question were Protestants ; and from the dawn of reason in those children, they would be obliged to attend Protestant schools, and to receive consequently an heretical

(1) Czaky was nominally a Catholic ; but from his mother, a Slovak Lutheran, he had imbibed a strong prejudice against the Church, and furthermore, his wife was a Calvinist.

education. By this official declaration of war against the Catholic Church, the "Calvinist Pope" had gained a great triumph; but his official participation in the ensuing combat was of short duration, for scarcely had the rescript been communicated to the bishops, when a ministerial crisis deprived him of power. Tisza had foreseen, shrewd politician as he was, that at any moment he might be relegated to private life; and it was with the design of leaving a successor who would prosecute his plans, that he had brought Czaky into the cabinet. But when the feeble Francis Joseph was requested to charge Czaky with the task of forming a new ministry, the monarch strangely dared to prefer another deputy of the Liberal majority, Count Julius Szapary, a Moderate of the school of Deak. Czaky, however, was retained in the cabinet, and the spirit of Tisza continued to predominate. Szapary was a gentleman in every proper sense of the term, a man of experience, loyal to his country and to his sovereign, and desirous of being faithful to the Church. Throughout his administration he proved that his own intentions were of the best; and it is not improbable that if the Hungarian bishops had been men of the school of Sts. Hilary and Thomas à Becket, and not of the school of Febronius, he would have dismissed the representative of the Judæo-Calvinists, and his success in regard to ecclesiastical matters would have equalled that of his civil administration (1). It cannot be supposed that the Hungarian prelates favored mixed marriages in their hearts; we must believe that some of them were actuated by a desire of pleasing the government from which they expected promotion and other honors, and that others were merely animated by a desire of avoiding every uncomfortableness. By whatever motives they were guided,

(1) During the administration, or rather dictatorship of Tisza, the Lutheran Saxons of Transylvania were the objects of an oppression, on the part of his Judæo-Calvinist functionaries, which was said to have been more unendurable than the much-decried system of Gessler in Switzerland. Pre-eminent among these functionaries was the distinguished ex-Garibaldian, Gabriel Bethlem; and when Szapary became premier, he deprived Bethlem, Desiderius Banffy, and other petty tyrants, of their offices. The Saxons, in fine, were treated so justly by Szapary, that they left the ranks of the opposition, and joined the governmental majority. Szapary was equally successful with the Serbs of Hungary, who had been oppressed by Tisza. Had time permitted, he would have gained the sympathies of the Roumanians.

when they met in conference, on April 12, 1890, in the palace of Cardinal Simor at Ofen, the primate was immediately convinced that the majority of his colleagues were supporters, if not accomplices, of the Judæo-Calvinist cabal. Simor suggested a collective protest from all the bishops to the Minister of Worship; but he found that none shared his apostolic sentiments. Would that the firmness of Cardinal Simor had been equally apostolic! His weakness induced him to consent to the miserable compromise of sending a circular to all the pastors, enjoining a submission to the ministerial rescript, until the Holy See should decide in the matter. When this circular was received by the clergy, they must have felt as though their prelates had ordered them to commit murder until the Pontiff interfered for the safety of their victims. But the pastors had been taught by a sad experience of the results of the law of 1868; and now they were almost a unit in their determination to obey the laws of the Church. More than a hundred meetings of the clergy were held throughout the kingdom, and nearly unanimous resolutions for resistance were adopted—a declaration of righteous insubordination, to which the supine or recreant bishops were obliged by mere decency to close their eyes. The primate now asked the Holy See to decide two questions which could have been properly and immediately decided by the veriest tyro in his seminary: “Could the Hungarian clergy obey the rescript of February, 1890; and could the bishops grant dispensations for mixed marriages, while that rescript remained in force?” On July 7, Cardinal Rampolla replied in the negative to both of these questions; and the prelates were told to communicate the decision to all their parochial clergy, “so that they might understand how much the law of 1868 and the rescript of 1890 were at variance with Catholic principles.” Had the cardinal-primate obeyed the order of the Holy See, it is very improbable that Czaky and his comrades would have lifted the gauntlet which he would thus have flung at their feet. Czaky gave proof of an unwillingness or unreadiness to have the issue thus neatly drawn; he rushed at once to Vienna, and prevailed on Francis Joseph to bring his imperial influence to bear on Simor, in the interests of tempor-

ization. The monarch yielded; the primate temporized; the Roman decisions were not published. Meanwhile, Czaky was engineering for a certain majority in the Chamber of Deputies; and in November his friends adopted a motion declaring the legality of the law of 1868. The House of Magnates was to act on the motion on December 18; and the primate suddenly resolved to publish the pontifical decisions in time for the members to learn their duty. He convoked the bishops for a meeting on December 16, intending to present for their signatures an already prepared collective pastoral which would dutifully promulgate the papal pronouncement; and it was understood that from his place in the House of Magnates, on the day of the discussion, His Eminence would defend the Catholic position. The meeting of the bishops was held, but no decisions were published; the Upper House discussed the Czaky measure, but the cardinal-primate remained mute. On the previous day, the imperial influence, again invoked by Czaky, had persuaded Simor to continue in what his apologists term the path of temporization, but which nearly approached the broad and headlong road of disobedience to the pontifical authority. In accordance with the attitude of their primate, Count Zichy and Bishop Schlauch, in behalf of the Catholic party—the immense majority—in the House of Magnates, declined “to discuss the religious question”; and Czaky triumphed. Four weeks afterward, the otherwise pious and zealous Cardinal Simor ceased to be tempted to temporization; and Czaky assigned the administration of the primatial office to Mgr. Samassa, archbishop of Erlau, trusting that the Holy See would confer the primacy itself on one who had been hitherto as wax in his hands. But Mgr. Samassa was to be of little service thereafter to the Judæo-Calvinist conspirators; in the first place, because the task now became repugnant to his instincts or to his conscience, and secondly, because the priests and the laity had now taken the great matter into their own hands. Throughout the kingdom the parish priests had preferred imprisonment to priestly degradation; and in the elections of 1892, the people showed that such devotion was appreciated. As for the appoint-

ment of Mgr. Samassa to the primatial see of Gran, the Holy See was superior to all the innumerable intrigues which were devised in the politico-ecclesiastical circles of Hungary in order to effect that purpose; and after ten months of consideration, the Pontiff appointed an almost unknown Benedictine monk, Nicholas Vaszary, the abbot of the monastery of Martinsberg.

On Nov. 22, 1892, the Judeo-Calvinists having resolved to free themselves from even the *laissez-faire* Catholicism of Count Szapary, a new cabinet, under the presidency of Weckerle, a creature of Tisza, undertook to govern Hungary. Weckerle was a Rationalistic Lutheran, and a German. Three of his colleagues, Szilagyi, Count Louis Tisza, and Count Bethlem, were bitter Calvinists; the others did not profess Calvinism, but they owed their political advancement to the Lodges and to Tisza. The new cabinet immediately announced its programme to the Chambers. They were to consider projects for the entire emancipation of the Jews (1), for freedom of worship, and above all, for compulsory civil marriage. The first and second articles of the programme caused no sensation; but when the third was announced, the leader of the Nationalists, Count Albert Apponyi, declared that his party would be found in opposition. Three of the most influential among the ministerial deputies, among whom was an ex-president of the Chamber, Pechy, *curator* of the Evangelicals in Hungary, announced their abandonment of the Liberal party, because they regarded civil marriage as injurious to society. But this parliamentary opposition was comparatively trivial, when the conspirators contemplated the horror excited among the populations of the kingdom by their designs against the sanctity of the marriage tie. Perhaps the Tisza clique was not surprised when the Greek Schismatics showed themselves no less hostile than the Latin and Greek Catholics to

(1) The reader must remember that France was the first country in Europe to grant civil rights to the Jews. She effected this enfranchisement by a decree of the Constituent Assembly on Sept. 27, 1791. Denmark followed in 1849; England in 1849 and 1858; Austria-Hungary in 1867; Italy in 1869 and 1870; Germany in 1869 and 1871; Switzerland in 1866 and 1874; and Bulgaria in 1878 and 1879. As yet, Russia, Spain, Portugal, and Roumania do not see their way to this enfranchisement.

its pet measure ; but even the Lutherans, especially the Saxons of Transylvania, although their deputies had joined hands with the Szapary cabinet, insisted on preserving their traditional matrimonial legislation. Of course the Catholics, against whom the design was specially aimed, were more sensitive than others to the indignity with which they were menaced ; therefore it is not strange that when the primate convoked the bishops for the consideration of a plan of action, the hitherto negligent prelates manifested a proper Catholic zeal, and condemned obligatory civil marriage as a profanation of a Sacrament. To the pastorals which the bishops now issued, to the sermons which the pastors preached, to the murmurs of the populations, Weckerle frequently replied in the parliament that he would not abandon his design ; therefore in the session of the Upper House, held on May 9, 1893, on the motion of Count Geza Szapary, the magnates adopted, by a majority of 25 votes, an order of the day which severely blamed the government. Certainly there was hope that in a kingdom where the Catholics numbered ten millions to the three millions of Protestants and Jews combined, where the sovereign and the Upper House were Catholic, the Catholic cause would triumph. But again the bishops of Hungary were derelict ; after the emission of a few pastorals, and very ordinary discourses in the Upper House by the bishops of Vessprim and Nagy-Varad, the prelates relapsed into their olden lethargic silence. Seven months after the episcopal conference which had excited so many consolatory anticipations, the editor of the *Katholikus Szemle* of Buda-Pesth wrote to the Abbé Kannengieser : “ What did we not hope for after that conference at Ofen ? We thought that on the horizon we perceived an aurora of a veritable Catholic renaissance. And to-day all that enchanting mirage has vanished, and we are sunk into the swamp up to the necks. Our bishops might have played a magnificent part ; they were sure that the priests and the people would support them. But it is not easy to break loose suddenly from a compromising past ; *Cardinal Haynala was not the sole bishop who had relations with the Freemasons*. . . . When such is the state of affairs, is it strange

that we have sunk so low ; that the enemies of the Church dare so much, since they can rely upon the connivance of the episcopate ? Whence will come our liberator ? If the ardent words of a man of God could penetrate into our episcopal chanceries, rest assured that happy days would soon dawn for the Kingdom of St. Stephen." Such was the emergency which incited Leo XIII. to write his *Encyclical Constanti Hungarorum* in 1893 ; and he took care to date it on Sept. 2, the two hundred and seventh anniversary of the deliverance of Ofen from the Turks. We give a synopsis of this important document : "With great grief we have learned that besides other laws, concerning which we have already complained to you (1), and which are very detrimental to the Catholic faith, there have been enacted and enforced among the Hungarians ordinances which have entailed grave injury on the Church and her interests ; and if we may judge by the general trend of political affairs in your empire, those enactments will soon cause much more damage than they have already inflicted. . . . In the first place, in order to obviate these perils, both clergy and laity must obey the Holy See in all things ; and in the second place, the faithful must be enjoined to avoid, as much as possible, the evil of mixed marriages, so dangerous to the faith of those contracting them." Among other practical instructions, the Pope insists on a better education of the people, in both the religious and the worldly sense ; on the holding of frequent Catholic Congresses, and on the immediate establishment of an efficacious Catholic press. "The time for serious efforts of this sort has come ; cost what it may, you must oppose writings to writings, if you desire to remedy the evils which afflict you" (2). Speaking of catechetical instruction in the schools, His Holiness insists on its being given by the pastors themselves ; "and do not think," he adds, "that your activity in the development of your schools has been so great, that it can bear no increase." Then the Pontiff turns to the point which must ever occupy a pre-

(1) In his *Encyclical* of Aug. 22, 1886.

(2) At this time, only two journals in Vienna, the *Volterland* and the *Deutsches Volksblatt*, were not either owned by Jews, or edited according to their spirit.

eminent position in a Papal Encyclical which deals with wickedness of a government, for which, in the last analysis, the people are responsible : “ The good example of a priest is weighty indeed ; therefore let each one of your clergy exhibit himself, to the eyes of his people, as an incarnation of virtue and continence. Let no priest pay more attention to civic and political matters, than is absolutely necessary. Undoubtedly, as St. Gregory the Great advises us, we ought not so occupy ourselves with the interior life, as to neglect entirely the external ; especially when there is a question of defending religion, or of furthering the general good—things which owe ught to consider, adopting for their attainment all the proper resources which may be furnished by the circumstances of time and place.” The Pope lays great stress on the folly and even wickedness of the “ political priest ” ; *and he fears that many bishops and priests, under a pretext of the prosperity of their flocks, may pay more attention to earthly than to heavenly things.* “ Well did St. Gregory the Great say : ‘ For the sake of charity, we may sometimes mingle in the affairs of the world ; but for the gratification of a taste for them, we should never approach them, lest they soil our minds, drag us down by their weight, and cause our souls to prefer them to the things of heaven ’ (1). . . . If you labor energetically with united hearts for the good of religion, God will be with you ; and we believe that you will have the support of your sovereign, the Apostolic King, who has given so many proofs of his love for your nation, from the very beginning of his reign.” In this Encyclical the Pontiff showed himself as the diplomat, no less than as the theologian and the shepherd of souls. No people in Christendom are so jealous of foreign interference as the Hungarian ; but Leo XIII. knew how to respect all legitimate susceptibilities, while scorning to repress the reproof which had been merited by the sleeping guardians of the Temple. He opened the eyes of the Hungarian bishops tenderly but determinedly ; and no unguarded point in his own lines of defence invited the attack of the Liberal forces. Henceforth the Liberal press could not

(1) 2. Reg. Past., II., ch. 7.

hope that simple minds would credit the impudent assertion that the projected ecclesiastical laws affected no dogmas of the Church ; that even the bishops regarded the prospect of those laws with a well-justified equanimity.

It could scarcely be expected that the prelates of Hungary, hitherto so persistently supine, would be suddenly transformed into so many Lions of the Tribe of Judah ; but the arousing effect of the Encyclical on many was soon visible. On Dec. 7, Mgr. Zalka, bishop of Raab, sent to each of his parish-priests the following instruction : " Write to the deputy representing your district that he must resist the ecclesiastical policy of the government. Make him understand that the new laws will entail evils much greater than those which the government hopes to avoid. We shall never abandon the principles of the Church of St. Stephen, and we shall never consent to the imposition of Protestant ecclesiastical law on more than nine millions of Catholics. Marriage is a Sacrament, and indissoluble ; the Church alone can legislate concerning invalidating impediments ; to the Church alone belongs all matrimonial jurisdiction." This document might have been imitated with great advantage to their cause by the other prelates of Hungary ; but they preferred to emit a collective pastoral, which was read in all the churches on Jan. 6, 1894, and which was, indeed, a mastrely instruction. " In presence of the danger threatening our flocks, we have assembled before the holy relics of our King, St. Stephen, in order to devise means for the dissipation of that danger. For a long time the Church has been obliged to combat a legislation which ignored the rights of parents concerning the souls of their children. In reply to our protests, there have been designed new measures destined to rivet more firmly the chains which had been placed on Catholic consciences. . . . We, the bishops of Hungary, have pushed our condescension and our conciliatory spirit to the uttermost limits ; and now we find that we can go no further in that path—that we must defend the rights of the Church. . . . It is the duty of the faithful to fight for the Church ; to shirk that obligation is a proof of cowardice. The greatest danger for the Church is in the apathy of her children ; for

such indolence forms the strength of her adversaries. Undoubtedly, the gates of hell will never prevail against the Church; but through the fault of Catholics entire nations may be lost to her. Therefore, be not ashamed of the Gospel! Arm yourselves for the liberty of your religion; manifest your faith bravely; combat perseveringly; always showing, however, moderation and respect for the civil authority. Together with your bishops and your other leaders, protest against the projected laws, and in such a fashion, that your parliamentary representatives will understand and fulfil their duty. Your combat will be defensive, not aggressive; when we demand that our religious belief be respected, we merely repel attack. It is impossible for us not to profess the ancient faith of our ancestors, not to proclaim our devotion to the Church—to that Church which, during the last ten centuries, has made Hungary, has been her benefactor, her educatrix, her mother, and whom we cannot deny without crime. We do not attack the civil power; but that power is limited by the divine laws, and we cannot allow it to pass those limits. We are not enemies of progress. The present onslaught on the Church is not progress, but a retrogression; a State cannot be built on the ruins of Christian ideas. . . . Follow the examples of your ancestors. Above all, pray that the spirit of God may inspire our legislators in this grave emergency.” In accordance with the injunctions of this pastoral, many mass-meetings of Catholics were held throughout the kingdom; so great was the throng which came from the surrounding country into Buda-Pesth for that purpose, that the capital ceased, for several days, to wear the appearance of a Jewish city. But the sectarians also held their mass-meetings; as the Protestant *Kreuzzeitung* said: “The Masonic Lodges of Pesth, *which are all directed by Jews*, have decided to agitate in favor of the new ecclesiastical laws. The expenses of the rampaigu will be defrayed partly by the government, and partly by Jewish contributions” (1). On March 4, there paraded the streets of the capital, according to the Liberal organs, 100,000 men who loudly proclaimed their devotion to the

(1) Issue of Jan. 26, 1894.

policy of the Weckerle cabinet. Sad to relate, among those who officially reviewed the motley crowd of Radicals, Socialists, Freemasons, Jews, and Calvinists, were seen a few magnates. Orczy, Theodore Andrassy, John Palfy, Stephen Esterhazy, and Karolyi were in those anti-Catholic ranks; and if the reason for so strange a fact be sought, probably the correct answer will be found in these words of Kannengieser: "If one could have read the minds of some of those Jews who passed in review before those noble lords, and if he could also have consulted the mortgage-records, he would have solved the enigma very quickly. Many of the estates of the nobles are unfortunately in the hands of the Jews (1); and it was noticed on the fourth of March that certain magnates walked arm in arm with men whom their dignified ancestors would not have recognized. Certainly, such a fall was not foreseen by the heroes who spilled their blood at Varna, at Nohacs, at St. Gothard, in order to save the Kingdom of St. Stephen from the Mohammedan yoke." Finally the Hungarian parliament proceeded to a vote on the question of obligatory civil marriage. On April 9, the Deputies passed the law by a majority of 175. On May 7 the debates began in the House of Magnates, and when the vote was taken on the 10th, it stood 139 against the law, and 118 for it. But at length a sufficient number of the magnates were induced to join the Judæo-Masonic combination; and on June 21, the conspirators gained their point by a majority of four. What had caused this change? The great German Liberal organ, the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, replies that "the Weckerle cabinet could boast of having the influence of the court on its side" (2). The *Neue Freie Presse* said that "the monarch remained absolutely neutral"; that is, he aided the anti-Catholic hosts, albeit unwillingly, as we know. Certainly it was a sad reflection for the

(1) The Jews in Hungary form scarcely five per cent. of the population; but they have succeeded in becoming owners of at least half of the soil. Out of 3,192 great proprietors, 1,031 are Jews. Of the lessees of the State lands, sixty-seven per cent. are Jews. The majority of the smaller estates are mortgaged to Jews. The worlds of finance and commerce belong to the Jews. Nearly all the journals of Buda-Pesth are owned by Jews. But they do not wish to be styled Jews; a rescript issued by Czaky ordered that they should always be termed Israelites.

(2) Issue of June 22, 1894.

Catholic friends of Francis Joseph, when they contemplated the absence of everyone of the twenty-one archdukes from Buda-Pesth while the crucial vote was being taken; and when they saw only two out of the eleven great dignitaries of the court deposit their ballots. However, the Catholics were not discouraged. The immense majority thought that the emperor would never sanction the iniquitous law; and in the meantime they resolved to encourage the imperial resistance by an energetic campaign throughout the country—a campaign in which they would have the assistance of those bishops who had responded to the call of Leo XIII. But judge of the dismay of the Catholic party, when, in the beginning of September the primate of Hungary, Cardinal Vaszary—that Benedictine monk on whom the Pontiff had so confidently relied—ordered his clergy to abstain entirely from “politics.” That this order was meant to minimize the opposition to the ministry, was the belief of both Catholics and Liberals; the latter openly congratulated His Eminence, by means of the mayor of Gran, who waited upon him at the head of a Masonic delegation, on his “loyalty and prudence.” The event proved that the primate had no intention of betraying the Catholic cause; that he had yielded to the entreaties of Francis Joseph, trusting that the sovereign would withhold his signature from the obnoxious law. The Catholics knew how to excuse their primate; but another prelate, the archbishop of Erlau, Mgr. Samassa, committed himself so overtly to the side of the Judæo-Calvinist cabinet, that he almost paralyzed the Catholic action. Addressing the “Delegations” (1) on Sept. 19, Samassa introduced the subject of the next Conclave, thus affording something like a picture of a son, while his father was still living, urging strangers to seize the estate; but such indelicacy was not surprising on the part of a prelate who had but recently figured in the Masonic funeral of Kossuth, walking behind the coffin of that Calvinist arch-revolutionist, the bosom-friend of Mazzini. “The question of the Conclave,” observed Samassa, “may soon be a present one, and we

(1) The “Delegations” are commissions composed of sixty members, that is, twenty senators and forty deputies, who meet alternately in Vienna and in Buda-Pesth, in order to discuss important matters in a “Council of the Empire.”

ought to occupy ourselves with it ; for while it is true that the Papacy is an ecclesiastical institution, it is of great importance to the State, since to-day the Supreme Pontiff is more powerful than he was when he disposed of crowns." Then the prelate, choosing to ignore the fact that the last Conclave, as well as common sense, showed that the "right of exclusion" is a thing of the past, reminded the government of its supposed duty to so arrange matters that Austro-Hungarian influence might be brought to bear in the selection of a successor to Leo XIII. Samassa then put two questions to the cabinet : "Is the Ministry determined to use all its power to the end that the Conclave may perform its duty with complete independence ; and has the government resolved to exercise its 'right of exclusion' ?" The cabinet was but too willing to reply, using Kalnoky as its mouthpiece, that it had good reason to believe that the king of Italy would respect the freedom of the next Conclave, just as he had respected that of the last one ; and that he (the Minister) did not believe that the emperor had any intention of holding his "right of exclusion" in abeyance. This "slap in the face of the Papacy, given by an archbishop," as the interpellation of Samassa was rightly termed at the time, could not have been the result of a sudden impulse ; all parties agreed in regarding it as a deliberate effort to place difficulties in the path of the Holy See. At any rate, the unity of action which was so necessary to the Catholic party, and which had already been weakened by the counsels of Cardinal Vaszary, was now nearly destroyed ; and the Weckerle cabinet was able to hope for an early actuation of its entire anti-Christian programme. In fact, on Dec. 10, the emperor-king gave his approbation to the anti-religious laws ; the Marianic Kingdom was destined to become a modern "Liberal" State. For a moment the primate and other bishops had recovered their courage, and had sent their blessings to the Congress of 10,000 Catholics which met at Szeles-Fehervax on Nov 18, and founded a new Popular Party ; but ere that party could be organized, Weckerle had forced the hand of Francis Joseph, and Hungary was endowed with the benefits of an

atheistic civilization. Weckerle now resigned his office ; but when seeking for a new Hungarian premier, Francis Joseph had eyes for none other than partisans of Weckerle, and from among these he selected Baron Banffy, a fanatical Protestant, and the supreme *curator* of the Evangelicals of Transylvania. For his Minister of Worship and of Public Instruction, the new premier chose Dr. Wlassics, a professor in the Masonicized University of Buda-Pesth, and a Radical whose policy the Liberal Hanzak thus foreshadowed : " Let us remember the speeches made by Wlassics during the debates on the politico-ecclesiastical laws. He manifested the most extreme Radicalism ; and we would not be surprised if the programme of the Banffy-Wlassics cabinet embraced a complete secularization of the Church." The bishops now published a pastoral in which they insisted that they had used every possible means to prevent the triumph of the enemies of the Church ; they drew attention to their supplications to the emperor-king, to their collective pastoral condemning civil marriage, and to the unanimity with which they had voted against the Bill in the House of Magnates. But no sooner had this pastoral been heard by the faithful, than Mgr. Bubics, bishop of Kaschan, issued a pamphlet in which he tried to explain the teachings of the collective pastoral in a sense diametrically opposed to that which the other prelates had intended ; and not to be outdone in Liberalism, Archbishop Samassa published a commentary on the teachings of Leo XIII. in which he travestied their meaning. Meanwhile, the organization of the new Popular Party was being effected under the guidance of Count Ferdinand Zichy and Count Nicholas Esterhazy ; and as its first consequences Catholic journals were founded in many cities, Catholic clubs were opened, and the existing Catholic societies were greatly developed. It soon became evident that at the next elections a large majority of foes to the new ecclesiastical laws would be sent to the parliament. Then the Judæo-Masonic machinery was set to work ; and in scores of places, when the day of election arrived, the governmental inspectors rejected Catholic votes by the hundreds (1).

(1) As an instance of this Liberal method of ascertaining the will of the people, we may

The governmental majority in the House of Deputies was thus assured; and with that moral influence as a support, Banffy made his approaches on the House of Magnates. However, the overwhelming sentiment of the country, which the efforts of the Popular Party had placed in evidence, had strengthened the determination of the majority of the Magnates to preserve the Catholic character of the Kingdom of St. Stephen; and two days before the momentous question was again debated in the Upper House, the Hungarians read an Allocution which Leo XIII. had pronounced on March 18 for their encouragement. With consummate tact, His Holiness had omitted to complain of the many tergiversations of the Hungarian bishops, and had apparently remembered only such of their actions as were praiseworthy; and he had said: "The bishops of Hungary have now employed every means to ward off the evil which menaces their Church. The priests have labored with them, and they have been helped also by the members of parliament who wish to preserve the faith of their ancestors. But unfortunately these efforts have been vain, and the enemies of the Church have triumphed. Let it be seen by those whose duty it is to see, how contrary to justice it is to advocate for Catholic matrimony a legislation which the Church has so often condemned! It is but proper for the State to regulate the effects of mar-

cite the ease of the two elections in the district of Neutra, held in March and April, 1895. Count John Zichy, the candidate of the Popular Party, had received assurances from nearly 1,500 voters that their ballots would be cast for him. When these electors, residents of the rural districts around Neutra, arrived at the walls of the city, the Liberal "clique," as the Protestant *Kreuzzeitung* termed the men in power, refused them entrance, although a violent storm (it was March 20) was raging. Surrounded by a cordon of military, the wielders of a "free ballot" were kept outside the walls from seven in the morning of the twentieth until the same hour of the next day. During this interval these "free citizens of a free State" were not allowed to betake themselves to any shelter, nor were they allowed to search for any food. When Zichy heard of this outrage, he brought to the unfortunates 1,500 large loaves of bread; but the inspector of elections, Tarnoczy, determined to use starvation as a weapon to force the Catholic voters to return to their homes, confiscated the food. When an affectation of decency finally compelled Tarnoczy to admit the drenched and shivering starvelings—not one had abandoned his intention of voting—he managed to prolong the balloting for twenty-one hours, during which many fainted, and probably would have died, had their Hungarian peasant frames not been phenomenally strong. When it was found that the entire 1,500 had voted the ticket of the Popular Party, the inspector threw out 1,226 ballots. But the fraud had been so barefaced, that the administration candidate did not dare to accept his election; and another balloting was ordered. The same result, however, was proclaimed, and the government candidate now ventured to take his seat.

riage in the civil order ; but it belongs to the Church alone to legislate concerning the marriage bond, since Christ gave to His Church the power of raising marriage to the dignity of a Sacrament." On March 23, the irreligious laws were again rejected by the Magnates ; the accepting votes being 112, and the repelling, 127. The " clerical " majority was small indeed ; and during the next few weeks it was weakened by the death of Mgr. Schopper, by the loss of his seat by the Jesuit, Esterhazy, and by the imperial nomination of a Liberal named Toths. The *coup de grace* was given to the Catholic confidence, when His Apostolic Majesty yielded to the persistence of Banffy, and imitating the trick of British monarchs in similar contingencies, created ten new peers, all of them sworn creatures of the Judæo-Calvinist cabal. By this act, Francis Joseph allowed the crown of St. Stephen to fall into the mud, over which it had been suspended from the very beginning of his reign (1) ; but calm and judicious observers have discerned a blessing for the Hungarian Church in this apparently triumphant issue of the anti-Catholic conspiracy. Cardinal Maury told the politicians of his day that it was " a dangerous thing to make martyrs " ; and already the bishops of Hungary are giving evidence of a possession of that sacred fire which recently they needed so lamentably. And the Hungarian laity have begun to realize the melancholy truth of those words which Jules Simon, the most honest of

(1) When we reflect on the innumerable instances of weakness on the part of Francis Joseph in regard to the Masonic and other irreligious enterprises which have signalized his reign, we fail to understand how he could have found sufficient stamina to enable him to refuse to return in Rome the visit which King Humbert made him in Vienna. This persistent refusal was certainly an eloquent testimony as to his personal sentiments concerning the rights of the Pope-King. It is not improbable that the influence of the empress was responsible for this admirable delicacy on the part of her husband. In spite of the vagaries—natural to a member of the Bavarian Wittelsbach family—which sometimes prompted her to actions like that of placing a wreath on the tomb of Heine, the Jewish prophet of moral filth, the Empress Elizabeth, like her sisters, the " Angel of Gaeta " and the Duchess d'Alençon, was a devout Catholic. To have visited a " King of Italy " in the Pope's palace of the Quirinal would have broken her heart. In the *Life of Francis Joseph* which Canon Wächter published in 1891, we read a letter written by Her Majesty to Queen Margaret, in which, after alluding to the punishments which have overtaken the persecutors of the Roman Pontiffs, she said : " The very thought of crossing the threshold of the Quirinal, when things are as they are, fills me with fright. I deeply regret that I cannot return the visit of my royal sister. The fault is not mine ; but of those who govern in favor of material interests which are transient and deceitful." The authenticity of this letter was denied by many of the zealous partisans of the Triple Alliance ; but who will believe that a respectable ecclesiastic would dare to publish a forged letter, under the very eyes of the aggrieved party ?

all modern Liberals, was addressing to his countrymen at the very moment when the Marianic Kingdom was being besmirched: "Repeat as often as you please that in 1880 you did not wish to enact an atheistic law; that you desired only to free the political world from clerical influence. I would like to believe you, for I war on no man. But look on that brutal fact—a boy of twenty hurling his dynamite into a crowd. You kill him; but death is not so powerful as you think. Poor sick society, that recurs to the chopping-knife for a cure! *It is to God that it must turn!*"

In his admirable papers on *The Jews in Hungary*, published in the *Correspondant* of 1883, Father Ollivier emits these reflections concerning the influence of the Jews in the Kingdom of St. Stephen: "Unfortunately for the people of the Arpads, there is such a person as the Hungarian Jew. He is of a race but poorly defined—a graft on the German and the Slav; but he is intrenching himself firmly, and the fault lies at the door of the Hungarians themselves, especially of the nobility. It is now a long time since the saying, 'In every magnate's household there is a Jewess' became current in Hungary. The traditional beauty of the daughters of Juda has worked more ravages among the Magyar nobles, during the last few centuries, than were ever effected by the sabres of the Turks. Israel was careful to use this resource against the Christians; it used the weapon without shame and without measure, and the Christians opened their doors to the Jewesses with an imprudence which has been cruelly punished in our days. The famous saying has recently been changed so as to read: 'Every magnate's household has its Jew.' In Pesth, when one lounges before the shops of the Varsi-Utesa, he gazes with stupor on the riches displayed in the windows—necklaces, brooches, cinctures, weapons, harness, all glittering with gold and precious stones, and all having their legends and historic importance. All these objects are for sale; for now they belong, by right of conquest, to Jews. In the olden time when the Magyar lost the aigrette from his helmet, or when his sword was not discerned at his side, men knew that his head-dress had fallen off or his sword been broken in some battle against the Turks,

the Germans, or the Tartars. But now the combats are fought at the gambling-tables, and the Jew is always behind the combatants. The body-stripper is on this battle-field, just as he was on the ancient ones ; but what a pity that he should be so encouraged ! In the days of old this body-stripper was compared to a vulture whom night brought to the field of carnage, and whom the army-followers beat off with sticks ; but to-day, the light of day serves the human vulture, and the follower kisses the hand which locks up the knight. Undoubtedly this is a matter of taste ; but it does not please me to see the Hungarian nobles tributary to the Jews, and preparing the subjection of the Hungarian people to the same domination." Apropos of this reflection concerning the estates of the Magyar nobles, we notice that the *Deutsche Volksblatt* of Vienna, in its issue of June 16, 1871, states that during the previous seven years the Rothschilds had become owners of the estates of more than sixty of the greater nobles of Bohemia ; that then the real estate of the Rothschilds in Bohemia was eight times more valuable than that possessed in that kingdom by the imperial Hapsburgs. The reader will note that the ownership of these estates gives right, not only to seats in the Bohemian Landtag and the Austrian Reichsrath, but also to many ecclesiastical "rights of patronage." Continuing his observations, Father Ollivier says : "The clergy resist this invasion, and it is fortunate that ecclesiastical property is inalienable, and cannot pass into the hands of the Jews. There remains therefore for the weak some guarantee of that protection which the magnates cannot afford. But let the Hungarian nobles beware ! When their last acre of land is exchanged for the last loan from the usurer—and that day does not seem distant—they will cease to be of any use to the State, and their history will terminate with a disgraceful page. Already they are not necessary ; to many they appear superfluous. Nobility has its reason of existence much more in the services that it renders, than in the benefits it has conferred ; and in the popular estimation one ceases to be noble when his name, no longer representing any grandeur, is banded in the antechamber of a courtesan, or in the cloakroom of a

gaming-house. God help the descendants of the founders of Hungary, for they know not now how to help themselves!" (1).

CHAPTER XI.

POPE LEO XIII. AND THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

In the dissertation wherein we demonstrated that Bismarck adopted all the force of his slavish bureaucracy, and all the would-be subtleties of "German science," in the interests of religious persecution, we described, at least incidentally, the relations that subsisted—such as they were—between Leo

(1) Concerning the vital question of Anti-Semitism which is now engaging the attention of the Austrian populations, even in a greater degree than it occupies the minds of Russian, German, and French publicists, much light has recently been shed by the very un-Catholic Arnold White, in his *Modern Jew* (New York, 1899). "The cause of the people's fury against the Jews in the Middle Age," notes this author, "as it has been at all times since, was the unlawful usury and the profits made from all classes of people by Jewish intrigue and cunning. Numerous grievances were at that time brought by the citizens of various towns before their government. Only in those days people were not clear about this, namely, that, in the Jews they had to deal with a foreign nation and an alien race, and therefore religion had to be used as a characteristic." What the Austrian Anti-Semites really desire is thus expressed: "They want to see the influx of Jews into various districts limited by lawful means, because they feel it to be hurtful. They seek, therefore, to obtain a revision of the laws, by which the Jews may be made to experience certain restrictions." And again—the author quotes from the Anti-Semite Catechism: "The Jews, under the mantle of religion, form in reality a political, social, and commercial company, which, guided by uniform principles, and with a secret understanding between themselves, aims at the subjugation and exploitation of non-Jewish peoples. The Jews in all countries and in all languages are in this aim at one, and work for its accomplishment unanimously. It is therefore impossible for the Jews in the country, where they happen to dwell, ever to take an honest interest in the lot of their non-Jewish compatriots. In short, a Jew can never cherish an honest patriotism: he is always, and above all, conscious of being a member of the 'chosen' Jewish nation; and if he poses as German, French, or English, it is, at most, a calculated hypocrisy. From within the pale of his peculiar community, the Jew looks out upon all Gentiles as his enemies, whom he has to combat with cunning and treachery. While conforming to his peculiar moral law, the Jew considers himself above all other codes, and holds himself prepared to transgress all laws of the land, but always in such a manner that the abuse cannot be brought home to him. The Jews consider themselves the natural aristocracy of mankind, and believe, on this ground, that they should be masters of the world." Touching the latter assertion, Major Osinan Bey reports in his book *The Conquest of the World by the Jews*, how an eminent Jew at a gathering of Jewish elders at Cracow, in the year 1840, said: "So long as we do not have the newspapers of the whole world in our hands to deceive and blind the people, our mastery remains a chimera." When, in the year 1852, the French Masonic luminary, the Jew Cremieux, issued a summons to the founding of *The Israelitish Alliance*, he wrote: "Our nationality is the religion of our fathers—we know no other. The Jewish doctrine must, one day, cover the whole earth. Success is certain. Every day will the net which Israel casts over the globe extend itself. Let us make use of all opportunities; our power is great, let us learn to employ it. What have we to fear? The

XIII. and the arrogant chancellor. Let us now observe that when our Pontiff mounted the Chair of Peter, the Bismarckian enterprise had been in full career for more than six years ; and as we have seen, the event had shown that it had become necessary for the chancellor to ignore his confident declaration that he " would never go to Canossa." The sole question then agitating the minds of both William I. and his Minister turned on the possibility of a discovery of the particular road to Canossa which would be the least humiliating to their respective susceptibilities ; and in a letter to the emperor, dated April 17, 1878, a letter which was first published by Mgr. T'Serclaes in 1894, Leo XIII. clearly and calmly indicated the ground, and the sole ground, on which the Holy See and the German Empire could arrive at an

day is not far off when the wealth of the world will belong exclusively to the Jews." Certainly the spectacle afforded by the monarchy of the Hapsburgs of to-day justifies the glee of Cremieux. Now the dual monarchy contains more Israelites than any other country in Europe, with the exception of Russia. In the territories at present included in the Austrian or Cisleithan Kingdom there were in the reign of Maria Teresa 200,000 Jews ; in 1890 there were 1,143,305. In Hungary, under Joseph II., in the last quarter of the last century, there were but 25,000 Jews ; the number has now reached 1,000,000. In the year 1890, out of 1,214,363 inhabitants in Vienna, 118,495, or about ten per cent., were Jews. Buda-Pesth contains some 150,000 ; Prague possesses more than thirty synagogues. In Galicia the Jews have not diminished in number, in spite of the fact that many annually leave the country ; on the contrary, in the last twenty years they have increased 34 per cent. In Austrian Silesia they have increased 64 per cent. In the same time ; in the Bukowina, 74 per cent. The Jews now form 11.7 per cent. of the population of Galicia, 12.8 per cent. of that of the Bukowina, and 16 per cent. of the population of Silesia. A fifth part of the land in Galicia belongs to Jews. In the Bukowina, 22 per cent. of the great landed proprietors are Israelites, and the remaining real estate is, for the most part, encumbered with debts to them. Although the Jews form hardly 5 per cent. of the total population of the Austrian or Cisleithan Kingdom, one-third of the professors are of Jewish origin. Of 280 teachers in the Vienna University, in the same year, about 30 per cent. were Jews. The Buda-Pesth Polytechnic, in the same year, had 578 scholars, of whom 201 were Jews ; the Comas Academy, 599 scholars, of whom 480 were Jews. In the *Gymnasien* (classical schools) and *Realschulen* (high schools) of Hungary, 20 per cent. of the pupils were Jews, although they constitute but 4.5 per cent. of the population. In the Austrian *Gymnasien* and *Realschulen* the Jews furnished 18.5 per cent. of the attendance. In the intermediate schools (*Mittelschulen*) only 22 per cent. of the scholars were Christians, and 77 per cent. Jews. On the other hand, of the 6,274 pupils at the technical schools in Vienna, only 110 were Jews, an indication of their aversion to handicrafts as a means of livelihood. At the end of 1887, out of 660 attorneys in Vienna, 350 were Jews. At the end of 1889, out of 999 members of the Vienna Stock Exchange, 883 were Jews. Of the Vienna houses in the old parish districts, 70 per cent. are the property of Israelites. Of military doctors in 1877, 7 per cent. were Jews ; in 1889, 23 per cent. ; whilst, of the doctors admitted to practice in 1889, 39 per cent. were of Jewish origin. Finance and commerce are, practically, in Israelite hands ; were it not for the assistance of Jewish bankers, most of the manufacturers could not carry on their business. Throughout Austria-Hungary the press is almost exclusively in the hands of Jews. " Have you any Christians on your staff ? " the editor of the great Buda-Pesth newspaper, the *Pester Lloyd*, was asked. " I think we have one," was the reply.

agreement. If the reader has been one of those indiscreet zealots who tried, at that time, to convince themselves that Leo XIII. was guilty of inordinate condescension to the cabinet of Berlin, we would submit to his consideration the following passages of the pontifical communication: "We find ourselves under the necessity of calling the attention of Your Majesty to a matter which is of pre-eminent interest to the Catholics who are subject to your sceptre. Your Majesty asks us to remember the happy past, when the good sense of the German people led to an obedience to the supreme authority of the State; and then, deploring the attitude now presented by the Catholic priesthood, Your Majesty asks for the intervention of our authority, in order that the above-mentioned blessings may again be enjoyed. Now, on our part, we ask Your Majesty to note that if there is any difference between the past and the present conduct of your Catholic subjects, the sole reason for that difference will be found in that civil legislation which has pretended to change the divine constitution of the Church, and which has forced Catholics, in spite of themselves, to consider the sad alternative of refusing obedience to the new laws of Your Majesty, or of obeying the laws of God and of His Church. Let it be ordered, without any prejudice to the sovereign authority of Your Majesty, that the Catholic priesthood and people be free to observe the laws of their Church. And since the new civil legislation in Germany has suppressed those fundamental articles which guaranteed the perfect independence of the Catholics, let Your Majesty, in his magnanimity, restore a state of things which was as conducive to the tranquillity of consciences, as it was to the true interests of the State. If this be effected, Your Majesty may rest assured that on our part nothing will be wanting for the restoration of harmony between the two supreme authorities." But this road to Canossa was no less uninviting to the cabinet of Berlin, than had been the others which the chancellor had pretended to discern as awaiting the German Minister who would extend the olive-branch to Rome; and even when Falk had been retired from office, and the more moderate Puttkamer had taken his place, the Catholics of Germany were told

that "it was their obstinacy, their pigheadedness in not respecting the laws of the State, that caused their sufferings." However, as we have seen, the German chancellor finally entered on the road to Canossa; and in 1882, the road had been so far traversed, that a Prussian Minister-Plenipotentiary was accredited to the Vatican. It is well to note that when Bismarck was interpellated in the Reichstag, as to the reason for accrediting to the Vatican a diplomatic representative from Prussia, and not from Germany, the chancellor replied that he regarded the Catholic Church as an institution of the country, that is, of Prussia; but that there might soon be a representation of Germany at the Papal court. By this avowal Bismarck admitted that he had abandoned his theory that the Church was a foreign institution; in other words, the "man of blood and iron" now condemned the principle which had actuated the "May Laws," and he was ready to go to Canossa by proxy. In 1885, Bismarck manifested a further inclination for reconciliation with the Holy See, when he agreed to the selection of Pope Leo XIII. as arbitrator in the matter of the difference between Germany and Spain concerning the Caroline Islands; but it is not impossible that the chancellor had thought that this deference would so mollify the pontifical heart, that His Holiness would endeavor to implant some ultra-imperialistic sentiments in the German clergy. However, in the letter which the Pontiff wrote to the chancellor on this occasion, it was clearly shown that diplomatic sweets do not induce the Holy See to temporize in matters involving the liberty of the Church; it became more evident than ever that if Bismarck desired peace with Rome, it would be necessary for him to break the chains which he had fastened on the German Church. This truth was accentuated when, on January 6, 1886, the Pope wrote to the Prussian bishops a letter in which he declared: "We have ever assured the government that we wish to meet all its desires, whenever those desires are compatible with the divine law and the dictates of our conscience." On all points which are essential, however, adds His Holiness, he will remain invincibly steadfast: "For although we desire peace most sincerely,

we cannot controvert the ordinances of God ; if the defence of these ordinances demands the sacrifice, we are ready, following the example of so many of our predecessors, to suffer the last extremities." This Apostolic firmness conquered ; and William I. immediately took the first decisive step in the way of conciliation. Mgr. Kopp, the bishop of Fulda (afterward archbishop of Breslau, and a cardinal), was called to the Prussian House of Lords ; and at the same time, the government abandoned its "discretionary powers." Other concessions followed successively ; and in the debates which ensued in the parliament, one is surprised on hearing the author of the "War for Civilization" perorating in favor of the first victims of that war, as he combats the opposition of Gneist, Virchow, Richter, and other priest-eaters who had so powerfully seconded his ignoble efforts. When a "scientific" demonstration of the dangers of peace with Rome was attempted by Gneist, the chancellor replied : "I regard the picture drawn by the deputy as somewhat exaggerated. He will admit with me that before 1871, the Catholics enjoyed those same rights which now we are trying to restore to them ; and nevertheless, at that time we, the Evangelicals, raised no complaints because of any derogation from our rights." When Virchow insisted that the government was imprudent in its onward march in the way of concession, Bismarck answered : "We recognize the validity of the law ; but if we wish to force its application, we will be compelled to a continual course of rigorous proceedings. We will raise the conflict to the rank of an institution. As for me, I shall no longer help in doing violence to our Catholic compatriots." On May 10, 1886, the Reichstag passed the "Fourth Law for Peace," and on the following day William I. signed the document which practically terminated the "War for Civilization." Thus it came to pass that this Bismarck, who, according to a despatch of the Prince of Reuss, then (1880) ambassador of Germany in Vienna, had declared that a revision of the May Laws was "an egregious foolishness which he had never encouraged by a single word," finally besought the Reichstag to deliver him from the last remnants of those laws. "To this pass had come the Man of Iron," remarks

Geffcken ; "the man who had declared that he would never go to Canossa. This rhodomontade, which is cut into the marble of a monument which was erected in his honor at that time, is now a piece of bitter irony. Bismarck, who knew so admirably how to practice the advice, '*fecisti, nega*' (in other words, 'lie, lie always!') afterward pretended, in order to cover his defeat, that he had never wished for more than an equitable arrangement of the relations between Church and State, and that 'other hands' meddled with his plan. It is a pity that those 'other hands' cannot be discovered ; for the chancellor was never known to be dominated by any other person whomsoever" (1).

Some of the first official acts of William II., who, after the short reign of Frederick III., had succeeded to the sceptre of his grandfather in 1888, gave promise of a due deference to a proper respect for the rights of the Holy See, as well as an indication that the new reign would not be signalized by any attempts to renew the "War for Civilization." The official announcement of the accession of William II. was received simultaneously by the courts of the Vatican and of the Quirinal : the young emperor, desirous of avoiding a question of precedence between the Roman Pontiff and the sovereign who posed as King of Italy, and wishing not to appear to definitively (so far as he could) solve that Roman Question which has not yet been solved, had ordered that Leo XIII. and Humbert should each receive the notification of the new reign at the same moment, by different and special envoys. And when he opened the Prussian *Landtag*, the new emperor-king announced : "It is with great pleasure that I perceive that our recent politico-religious legislation has modified the relations between the States and the spiritual head of the Catholic Church, in a manner that is acceptable to both parties ; and I shall exert myself to preserve religious peace in my dominions." Shortly after this declaration, it was announced that William II. was about to visit his ally, King Humbert, in the Eternal City ; and naturally the party of the Quirinal desired to interpret the event in a sense hostile to the never-dormant claims of the Pope-King—a desire

(1) *Leo XIII. in the Eyes of Germany*, Edited by Boyer d'Agén.

which was thwarted by a declaration, on the part of the coveted guest, that he would also visit Pope Leo XIII. in his palace of the Vatican. Naturally the Pontiff expressed his willingness, even his desire, to welcome a Christian sovereign to the foot of the Apostolic throne ; but by means of his secretary of state (then Cardinal Rampolla del Tindaro), he informed His German Majesty that the desired audience could be granted only on condition that there should be an exact observance of the etiquette instituted by Pius IX., and approved by himself, for the guidance of all sovereigns who would desire to visit both the Róman Pontiff and the Savoyard who was then resident in the stolen Papal palace of the Quirinal. Such was the real meaning of the warning which, though couched in the mellifluous terminology of modern diplomacy, was conveyed to William II., German Emperor. When His Majesty would wish to pay his respects to Pope Leo XIII., he should start, not from the stolen Quirinal, at the portals of which Papal palace he would have alighted, on his arrival in the capital of the Popes ; he should proceed to the residence of the Prussian ambassador to the Holy See, a locality which, like that occupied by all embassies, enjoyed the prerogatives of extra-territoriality, and from that neutral spot he should proceed to the palace-prison of the Head of the Catholic Church. Of course the arrangement was, in a sense, a diplomatic fiction ; but the deepness of its meaning was well understood by the *Italianissimi* and by the German emperor, and that potentate was so anxious for the friendship of Leo XIII., that he could not avoid a course which necessarily entailed mortification on the heir of Victor Emmanuel. Accordingly, on October 12, 1888, William II. proceeded to the Palazzo Capranica, the residence of Schloetzer, the Prussian Minister to the Vatican ; and there the emperor and his suite entered, not carriages belonging to the Savoyard of the Quirinal, but state-carriages which had been brought from Berlin for the purpose, and then he went to his interview with the Roman Pontiff. On his arrival in the court-yard of San Damaso, the emperor was received with the ceremonies usually adopted when sovereigns visit His Holiness. Having entered the palace, having

ascended the *scala regia*, and having traversed the antechambers connecting with the private apartments of the Pontiff, the emperor found Mgr. Marini ready to welcome him at the door of the room in which he was to meet the spiritual sovereign of Christendom. Marini informed the Pope that the German emperor desired an audience; and instantly His Holiness appeared on the threshold, and extending his hand to his guest, he drew him into his private chamber, where he invited him to be seated. Leo was far more at ease than the emperor; for the witnesses of the first instant of the meeting narrated that as William took the hand of the Pontiff with his own right hand, he dropped his helmet from the left. Particulars of this momentous interview are wanting, unless in the minds of those who credit the journalistic utterances of the day concerning matters which must be necessarily unknown; probably the following narrative, given by the *Civiltà Cattolica*, of all European periodicals the least addicted to exaggeration and journalistic hysterics, is the most authentic: "The Holy Father, after an exchange of the usual courtesies, opened the interview by expressing a regret that he had not been able to receive William II. under more favorable circumstances; that is, in the same manner in which Gregory XVI. had received William IV. of Prussia, and in that in which Pius IX. had welcomed the Prussian prince-royal in 1853. His Holiness deplored the situation to which he was reduced; and he observed that even the visit of His Imperial Majesty had caused the so-called Liberal press to make remarks which were most injurious to the Holy See. Replying to these observations, the emperor alluded to the great prestige enjoyed now by the Papacy in Europe; and he declared that the name of the present Pontiff is everywhere venerated. As for the criticisms of newspapers, His Majesty insisted that they were not worthy of consideration. 'Nevertheless,' replied the Pope, 'the position of the Pontiff is now such, that I cannot return Your Majesty's visit, unless I am willing to compromise the Papal dignity.' Then the Holy Father began to dilate on the increasing audacity of the anarchists, and on the absolute necessity of restraining such enemies of society; but scarcely

had he introduced this subject, when the interview was abruptly interrupted by the unannounced entrance of Prince Henry, the brother of the emperor. This painful incident quite naturally prevented His Holiness from continuing the subject which he had introduced (1); but before the audience terminated, he said a few words concerning the religious affairs of Germany." Such is probably the most authentic account of this memorable interview which is now obtainable. The extent of the emperor's responsibility for his brother's exhibition of a gross defiance of an etiquette which obtains even in the palaces of merely secular sovereigns—an etiquette which is prescribed by the most elementary principles of politeness for observance in the house of another—may never be known. For the credit of his race, it may be charitably supposed that the German emperor had not deliberately designed one of those would-be impressive *coups de théâtre* which time has shown to be so dear to his heart. We may be allowed to believe that the "incident" was simply a consequence of that megallo-cephalous condition in which so many Germans found themselves after their unprecedented triumph over France. Nor is it improbable that the disgraceful episode was merely an illustration of that German and "Anglo-Saxon" Protestant spirit—essentially boorish—concerning which the members of the pontifical household, as well as every guardian of the treasures of intellectual and artistic Rome, recite so many indignation-exciting stories. Pope Leo XIII. could not have been utterly surprised by the Hohen-

(1) It is uncertain whether the palm for boorishness in the matter of the interruption of this audience should be awarded to Prince Henry, the scion of the Hohenzollern, or to Count Herbert von Bismarck, the heir of the Man of Iron. What appears to be certain, after an analysis of all the rumors of the day, is that before leaving the Quirinal, the Germans had reflected that probably the Pope would introduce some subjects which they might prefer to ignore; that in order to save the emperor from any consequent inconvenience, it had then been arranged that Prince Henry should so time his arrival at the Vatican as to be able to enter the audience-chamber thirty minutes after the Imperial entrance. So things were carried out; but when Henry presented himself at the entrance of the Pope's private apartment, the chamberlain on duty barred his way, quietly informing him that His Holiness was engaged. The noble Hohenzollern loudly proclaimed his identity; but the chamberlain kept the wand of office stretched across the doorway. Then Herbert, the son of his father, came to the rescue of the Imperial intruder; and when the official insisted on performing his duty, the boor exclaimed: "Do you know who I am? I am Herbert von Bismarck!" The Roman replied: "Ah! that explains your conduct, but it does not excuse it." However, the chamberlain was thrust aside, and the worthy descendant of Frederick II. stalked into the pontifical presence.

zollern exhibition. One day, as he was proceeding to the palace gardens for his usual promenade, he passed through the Vatican Library. As he entered each hall, the whisper that His Holiness was present was passed around, and every student arose and genuflected. In one of the halls, a number of manuscripts, for the study of which he had obtained a special pontifical permission, was engaging the attention of the famous epigraphist, Mommsen. The Schleswicker heard the notice of the Pope's entrance, but he simply shrugged his shoulders with implied contempt; a more civilized investigator told him to arise, but the barbarian shrugged again, and settled more firmly in his seat (1). The remembrance of innumerable facts like this of Mommsen prepared our Pontiff for the otherwise astounding news that Herbert von Bismarck was retained in the society of men who claimed to be gentlemen. In the meantime, the German emperor had demonstrated his own idea of the meaning of the term "gentleman," by an exhibition of the value at which he estimated his promises. He had agreed to return from the Vatican to the Prussian embassy, thus observing the same diplomatic fiction which he had respected on his way to the Papal audience; but as soon as he arrived in the courtyard of San Damaso, he ordered his coachman to drive him direct to the Quirinal. However, when William II. returned to Berlin, he did not show that his interviews with the men of the Quirinal had rendered him more favorable to a renewal of the "War for Civilization." When the members of the *Evangelische Bund* urged him to a persecution of their Catholic compatriots, protesting that they knew well "how to distinguish between the sincere piety of many Germans and the spirit of Jesuitism which daily grows more rampant in the Roman Church"; finishing with the assertion that "the right of legitimate defence commands us to fight against Jesuitism"; he replied that while he appreciated the efforts of the League for the spread of Protestantism, "he trusted that the members, both in their writings and in their words, would never be wanting in respect for the faith of their adversaries,

(1) MASSON; *Rome During the Holy Week*. Paris, 1891.—BOYER D'AGEN; *Leo XIII. In The Eyes of His Contemporaries*, p. 186. Paris, 1892.

and that they would accord that tolerance which proceeds from respect." In 1893, William II. visited the Pontiff in his palace for the second time; and on this occasion there occurred no *contretemps* like that in which Prince Henry and the young Bismarck had distinguished themselves in 1888. The ostensible reason for this second trip to Rome was a desire to congratulate their "Italian Majesties," Humbert and Margaret of Savoy, on the anniversary of their silver wedding. Again we quote from the *Civiltà Cattolica*: "William II. departs from the Quirinal; he separates from those who term themselves masters of Rome, effacing, so to speak, every trace of his connection with them, and entering into his own territory—for as such does international law regard the locality where his envoy-extraordinary to the Holy See resides. Having arrived at the Palazzo Capranica, he sits at table with princes of the Church, some officers of the pontifical court, and the gentlemen of his own suite. The members of the *de facto* government and all their adherents are rigorously excluded, just like so many strangers. When the repast is finished, the German empress arrives accompanied by a lady of her court; she is dressed in black, with a black veil on her head (1), as etiquette prescribes. She also, in order to be received in the Apostolic palace of the Vatican, has left her hosts of the Quirinal, and has come to the Prussian legation. The carriages, the horses, the liveries, all the paraphernalia of the *cortège*, are not Italian; still less have they come from the court of the Savoyard sovereigns. It is necessary that the visit to the Holy Father be made in such fashion that it may appear clearly that the German monarch proceeds directly to the Vatican; therefore the entire equipage has come from Berlin. . . . 'A more picturesque *cortège* could not be desired,' said the *Corriere della Sera*. But whither are their Imperial Majesties proceeding with all this pomp and solemnity? What is the object of this public demonstration? All Rome can tell you. Their Imperial Majesties are going to

(1) Many English and American journals, ignorant as usual in regard to everything papal, asserted that the German empress had refused to subject herself to this etiquette. Had she been so foolish, she would not have been received in audience by the Pontiff.

the Vatican; they are about to render homage to that personage whom the dominant faction, the official press, the Ministers and the deputies, every day term 'the enemy of his country,' the 'conspirator,' the 'cancer of Italy,' the 'knife which transfixes the Italian heart.'... The emperor and empress are introduced into the presence of him who has sat in Rome during nearly nineteen centuries; of him whose kingdom, older and more glorious than any in Europe, has seen and will see the births and deaths of so many republics, kingdoms, and empires. The sovereigns bow respectfully before the grand and venerable Leo, the vigilant guardian of order and of social peace, the legitimate representative and energetic defender of the principle of authority, the Vicar of Him who is the King of Kings." After about twenty minutes of conventional conversation, the empress introduced and presented to His Holiness the ladies who had accompanied her; and then she withdrew in order to visit the palace and the Basilica of St. Peter, leaving her imperial husband to private conversation with the Pontiff. The private audience of the emperor lasted for more than an hour; and the papal attendants remarked that whereas the face of William II. had exhibited great anxiety when he entered the pontifical cabinet, it appeared radiant when he issued forth. After this audience, the German emperor went directly to the Prussian legation; and at the lunch which was served for him and several cardinals, he presented a magnificent snuff-box to Cardinal Ledochowski, the intrepid Pole who had been the chief victim of the Bismarckian "War for Civilization," saying, as he made the peace-offering: "Your Eminence, may the past be forgotten!" Cardinal Rampolla del Tindaro, the papal secretary of state, received the decoration of the Black Eagle; and as the *Berliner Tageblatt* afterward observed, since that honor was usually conferred only on monarchs, and was never given to others, unless they were Ministers whom the Prussian sovereign wished especially to distinguish, the fact was to be regarded as one of great political importance. These circumstances, reflected the Italian Liberal *Corrispondenza Verde*, "together with the conditions which the emperor

was made to accept, ere he could enter the residence of Leo XIII., lead us to suppose that the silver wedding was, in the eyes of the guest of the princes of Savoy, merely a pretext for his visit to the Leonine City." Naturally the Italian "officious" journals protested against this view of the matter; but they all admitted, with the *Nazione*, that the emperor's visit to the Vatican "was a political event of the first importance." Some agreed with the *Tribuna*, that it was "a cloud interposed between the young emperor and the Italian people"; others again echoed the complaint of the ministerial *Folchetto*, that "it was strange to see a sovereign, a guest of the king of United Italy in Italian Rome, going to salute an old man whom the (Masonic), Italian sentiment of (the new and fictitious) Rome loves not but rather regards as the incarnation of all that threatens its rights." There were certain journals, principally German, which ascribed the imperial deference to a cherished hope that His Holiness would induce the German Centre to vote for the military bill which Bismarck had introduced into the Reichstag. One of the chancellor's organs complacently remarked that if the ministerial measure were carried, it might be recorded, like all Pontifical Bulls, as "given at St. Peter's in Rome." Probably the reader remembers that in the first days of 1893, Bismarck proposed to augment the peace-effective of the German army by 83,000 men; and that the government rejected the amendment of the National-Liberals which allowed an increase of only 49,000. In this emergency, a prominent Centrist, Baron von Huene, of his own accord (Windthorst was now dead), entered into negotiations with the ministry, on the basis of an army increase of 70,000 men, to be effected in three or five years. It was generally believed that the Centre would support Huene's overture, if it were rewarded by an abolition of the law against the Jesuits; but when the decisive moment arrived, the immense majority of the Centre voted against the bill. However, twelve of the most prominent of the Catholic Centrists, probably "seduced by the new turn of the imperial policy, and by their relations with the court" (1), voted with the

(1) T'SERCLAES; *loc. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 231.

government. This secession caused but little embarrassment to the Centre ; it is worthy of mention principally because its spirit accounts for the course pursued during the ensuing few years by certain German Catholics in reference to the policy of Leo XIII. Nor was this spirit entirely wanting in Dr. Lieber, the re-organizer of the Centre, who would otherwise have been worthy of the succession to "His Little Excellency," the noble Windthorst. During the debates in the Reichstag on the Centrist motion to recall the Jesuits, Lieber repelled the charge that the *Curia Romana* pursued a course which was hostile to German interests ; but, declared this lay theologian, "if the *Curia* were to embrace the Russian and *Francophile* policy, the infallibility of the *Curia* would not prevent German Catholics from fulfilling their duties toward the German people and empire" (1). We are accustomed to the tiresome reiteration of murmurs about the *Curia Romana* in the land which produced Lutheranism, Febronianism, and Josephism ; but there are few German truly Catholic publicists who would not recognize nonsense in any talk about "the infallibility of the *Curia*." Even Paolo Sarpi, the most venomous foe of the *Curia*, never insinuated that it claimed infallibility. If the Centrist leader intended to use intelligible language, he intended to convey the idea that the infallibility, or rather the authority of the *Pope*, would never prevent German Catholics from doing their duty toward their government. Lieber may have been addressing the gallery—the gallery of ignorance, and of Protestant prejudice ; but he must have known that even the political duties of men are often embraced by that morality, of which the Church is the guardian. As for the matter of the Triple Alliance against that of France and Russia, which was the cause of aberration on the part of Lieber and many other Centrists, the fear of an active papal attachment to either was necessarily unfounded. In the words of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, "The Holy Father is superior to all the agreements and alliances of the day, just as the interests of the Church are above all the designs and desires of temporal governments. He who lowers the Papacy to the rank

(1) Cited by T'Serclaes, *ubi supra*.

of politicians, does not understand the Papacy. Leo XIII. is above both the Franco-Russian and the Triple Alliance. However great may be the love which, in spite of her rulers and politicians, he feels for Catholic France, he will never sacrifice the interest of other Catholic peoples" (1). It was because of mistaken or feigned apprehensions like those of Lieber that certain organs of the German Centre, at this time, attacked the Catholic press of Italy, because the latter did not advocate an abandonment, on the part of the Italian Catholics, of their policy of abstention in political affairs. These gentry hoped, in fine, to effect a "reconciliation" between the Vatican and the Quirinal, and thus to strengthen the Triple Alliance to the detriment of France. But these same German Catholic journals knew that the Italian Catholic press was merely obeying the injunctions of the Pontiff; and furthermore, they should have known that, as Mgr. T'Serclaes observes, "the Pope could not modify his policy in order to please the Triple Alliance; and that this Alliance, which might have been otherwise a matter of indifference to him, as are other political alliances, was necessarily to be regarded by him as hostile to the Holy See, since it contributed to the perpetuation of the existing condition of affairs in Rome, to the detriment of the pontifical independence."

The present and future condition of the Church in Bavaria furnished material for continual anxiety in the mind of Leo XIII. during the early years of his pontificate. While the people were still thoroughly Catholic, the official circles were almost entirely either Josephist or Rationalist, and the once well-promising University of Munich had for four years been a mere vehicle for the dissemination of "German science" (2). On Dec. 22, 1887, our Pontiff addressed to the Ba-

(1) Issue of Jan. 6, 1894.

(2) In 1825, King Louis I., who had just mounted the Bavarian throne, determined to reorganize the University of Landshut, which had become intellectually deficient, and a hotbed of infidelity. Following the advice of Christian scholars like Ringseis, the monarch adopted a programme of studies which excited hope for the future of their country in the minds of the Bavarian clergy, and he transferred the University from Landshut to Munich. This University then became a "mixed" establishment, having both Catholic and Protestant Faculties of Theology; but the king expressly ordained that no unchristian teaching should ever be tolerated. Besides that of Munich, there were also established the exclusively Catholic University of Wurzburg, and the exclusively Protestant one at

varian bishops a most touching expression of his solicitude in regard to their flocks, in his Encyclical *Officio sanctissimo*. Alluding, in general terms, to the attacks of the Bavarian government on the rights of God and His Church, His Holiness reminds the clergy of their duty to bear in silence all that can be suffered without prejudice to truth and virtue, taking care, however, to be prudent in their toleration of evil, and not seeming to countenance it in any way whatever. When he approaches the subject of education, the Pontiff exhorts the faithful to establish Catholic schools "wherever the public schools are neutral." He repeats his often-given warnings against Freemasonry, that sect which, of all others, is "so hostile to the Church of God, but which knows how to dissimulate, even under the appearances of piety and of charity when such a course can aid its seduction of men, and especially of youth." The Pope tells the Bavarian Catholics that he realizes full well the difficulties under which they labor; but he foresees that they will triumph over their enemies, if they will only be united, "and use those legal means which their adversaries adopt, when they wish to enact laws which are opposed to the freedom of the Church." Having forwarded this Encyclical to the Bavarian bishops, Leo XIII. requested the Baron Franckenstein, President of the Upper Chamber of Bavaria, and then leader of the Centre in the German Reichstag, to repair to Rome, in order that His Holiness might confer with him concerning the relig-

Erlangen. In choosing the professors of the University of Munich, care was taken to ignore most of the olden professors of Landshut, some of whom were pronounced infidels, while most of the others were of very inferior calibre. The selection of the new Faculties was entrusted principally to Ringseis; and among the first whom that diplomat induced to try their professorial fortunes in the Bavarian capital were the famous representatives of Catholic and Protestant philosophy, Baader and Schilling. Steps were then taken to procure the services of the great Görres, who was then residing in France, having been expelled from that Prussia which his eloquence had saved from ruin. The government of Prussia, however, feared the oratorical powers of its victim, and endeavored to induce Louis I. to turn a deaf ear to Ringseis, Clemens Brentano, and other able judges who begged for the appointment of Görres. Fortunately the cabinet of Berlin assumed a dictatorial attitude; whereupon the Bavarian sovereign defied the Prussians by inviting the patriot to his capital. With the acquisition of Görres the Catholic influence in the University of Munich predominated. The Protestants boasted indeed of men like Schelling, Raumer, Thiersch, and Oken; but Görres was a host in himself, and he was supported by Baader, Ringseis, Klee, Möhler, Moy, Philipps and the two Doellingers. father and son. From that time until the early sixties, when the unfortunate younger Doellinger began to exhibit the tendencies which were to eventuate in the catastrophe of his life, the Catholic world could find small cause of complaint in the University of Munich.

ious affairs of the Bavarian kingdom, and of the whole empire. Franckenstein availed himself of this honor; and when he reported the particulars of the conference to the Bavarian Catholic "group" in the Reichstag, that body replied, through its president, Ruppert: "This intervention of the Holy Father is an act of the greatest importance; the mere fact that the August Pontiff should place himself in relation with our group shows his esteem for it. The words of the Supreme Pontiff are concise but eloquent. By his wish for the Centre to continue its combat, His Holiness approves its course in the past, and indicates its course in the future. Union being the greatest of forces, the Pontiff exhorts the Bavarian Centre to maintain that union. By dint of perseverance, and by means of a firm support of the Holy See, our group will not fail to attain its object—the liberty of the Church, and the consolidation of Christian principles." Animated by these sentiments, the Bavarian bishops addressed to the prince-regent a respectful but firm remonstrance against the continuance of the last vestiges of the Bismarckian "War for Civilization" in Bavaria. The prince, still under the influence of his little Bismarck, Lutz, refused to receive this remonstrance officially; but the prelates gained their point by means of the post, whereupon His Highness requested them not to communicate the document to the public—a favor which they deemed it prudent to grant. Several months afterward, Lutz replied to the episcopal representations with a letter which merited the encomium of the prince-regent as being a firm defence of "the rights of the crown." These royal rights were supposed to have been vindicated by a refusal to give a Catholic character to the secondary schools of the kingdom, and to the Universities of Munich and Wurzburg; by a persistence in the banishment of the religious orders; and by a continuance of the absurd abuse of the royal *placet*, even in matters of Catholic faith. The "rights of the crown" were supposed by Lutz and his royal master to be reinforced by a new declaration that the "Old Catholic" sect formed a part of the Catholic Church; and by an insistence on the validity of the Edict of Religion of 1827, which had annulled most of

the provisions of the Concordat of 1818. Leo XIII. could not allow this ministerial pronouncement to pass unnoticed ; and on April 29, 1889, in a letter which complimented the Bavarian prelates on their energy, he declared that the Bavarian premier had advanced doctrines which were contrary to the Catholic faith. It was quite natural, therefore, that in a grand Catholic Congress held in Munich on the following Sept. 23, there should have been adopted an address, signed by 16,000 members of the assembly, praying the prince-regent to satisfy the ever legitimate demands of the Church. It is strange that the scion of the House of Wittelsbach did not deign to reply to this appeal from the most devoted friends of his family ; although shortly afterward he gave assurances of his royal protection to a Protestant "missionary" association which was named after the most bitter enemy of his dynasty, Gustavus Adolphus. However, the action of the Congress of Munich was seconded by the Catholic party in the parliament ; and after much tergiversation, Lutz so far yielded as to promise that he would ask the Federal Council to recall the Redemptorists, who had been banished because of their pretended affiliation to the terrible Jesuits. As for the royal *placet*, a presumed necessity ere any doctrinal decision of the Church could be obligatory on a good Bavarian, the premier would continue to uphold the heretical claim ; as for the status of the "Old Catholics," he would regard them as members of the Catholic Church, until the Holy See had "formally pronounced them separated from its communion"—as though the anathema of the Vatican Council had not been sufficiently formal. But the Catholic parliamentary opposition remained indomitable ; and finally the minister declared his willingness to regard the "Old Catholics" as excommunicated, not because they did not receive the dogma of Papal Infallibility—a doctrine which had not received the *placet* of His Bavarian Majesty—but "because they did not believe in the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin." The Catholic party accepted the ministerial decision, although of course it carefully noted that it rejected the ministerial reasoning ; the sectarians now lost the governmental pecuniary aid which alone gave

to them some semblance of vitality, but the principle of the royal *placet* remained intact. The prince-regent evinced his chagrin because of this partial victory of the "Ultramon-tanes" by informing the archbishop of Munich that another Congress of Munich would be regarded as a danger to public tranquillity. A few days after this petty ebullition, His Highness lost the services of Lutz. Seized by a mortal illness, this nominally Catholic minister, who had educated his children in heresy, and who had used all his power to un-Catholicize Bavaria, requested and received the Sacraments of the Church.

CHAPTER XII.

POPE LEO XIII. AND THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

If the reader has accompanied us carefully during our investigations into the vicissitudes of the Church in Russian Poland (1), he has undoubtedly arrived at the conclusion that the spirit of Russian "Orthodoxy," like that of Freemasonry, is essentially brutal, and even sanguinary, whenever there arises a question in which the interests of Catholicism are involved. And nevertheless, from the beginning of his pontificate, Leo XIII. cherished not only the hope of inducing the Cossacks of the North to grant religious freedom to its Catholic subjects, especially to that portion of Poland which it dominates, but also an idea that he might eradicate from the "Orthodox" Schismatic mind those prejudices against the Holy See which are perhaps more political than religious, and which are due—be it said with all consideration for Russian susceptibility—to a not unpardonable ignorance. Probably the confidence of the Pontiff was similar to that entertained by the perspicacious Cardinal Consalvi, when he said to Pope Leo XII.: "Our gaze must be ever fixed on the vagaries of the Russians, but reason commands us to be persistently patient in their regard. If they are ever to return to our communion, they will return of their own accord ;

(1) In our Vol. v., ch. 3.

and we may be sure that if this immense mass continues to grow, it will encounter the dangers which all political obesities eventually meet. Catholicism alone, Most Holy Father—and I say it with happy tears of gratitude to God—Catholicism alone can never be too extensive” (1). No statesman in the world appreciated true patriotism—even a sacred thing when the civil rights of a citizen are involved—more exactly than did Leo XIII.; and it was because he believed that in Christendom there can be no true patriotism which is not Christian, that he held with Tchadaieff—one of the best minds produced by modern Russia, although Nicholas I. officially pronounced him a fool—that “Christian reason cannot endure any kind of blindness, especially that of national prejudice, since this prejudice is the most inimical to unity among men” (2). Conscious of his own respect, as Pontiff and as man, for the principle of nationalities, when properly understood, Leo XIII. made in all sincerity implicit overtures for an amicable understanding with the Russian court, as soon as he mounted the pontifical throne, when he notified that accession to Alexander II. In the following year, the Encyclical *Quod apostolici*, issued against Socialism, was received probably with greater pleasure by the friends of the Russian government, than by any other class in Christendom; for the Slavic spirit, ever prone to extremes, had become permeated by the Socialistic doctrines, and had begun to actuate them with a ferocity and a resolution hitherto unknown in European revolutionary manifestations. Russian society was then trembling, down to its very foundations; the decrees of the Nihilists were executed with an infernal ability which seemed destined to triumph over both autocracy and bureaucracy. Alexander

(1) ARTAUD: *Life of Leo XII.*, Bk. 1, p. 170.

(2) Count Dimitri Tolstoy, whose bitterness against Catholicism we have already described (Vol. v., ch. 3), is an excellent illustration of the Russian “orthodox” idea of the mutual repugnance of Catholicism and the spirit of nationality. Speaking of the noblest female character produced by modern Russia, he said: “My reason is pitiless; it can never pardon Madame de Swetchine for having changed herself from a Russian into a French woman, as she herself declared. Of course we understand that the change was subject to the distrust of Catholicism for every nationality whatsoever.” See the article by Gagarin in the *Correspondant* of June 25, 1860. If Catholicism is so hostile to the principle of nationalities, why did Dimitri Tolstoy show himself so venomous toward Polish Catholicism?

II. perceived too well that he could hope for no aid from the corruption and venality of his civil administrations. Nor could he rely on any active religious propaganda on the part of his vicious and ignorant "Orthodox" clergy, as a defence against the subversive enterprises of the sectarians. Still less could he appeal to the intelligence of the educated young men of Russia, from whose ranks the Nihilists were chiefly recruited ; for each college or university was either a hot-bed of infidelity or a swamp of indifferentism. Thrice within ten months the imperial life was attacked ; and after the last attempt, Feb. 17, 1880, the czar and his advisers thought it would be well to admit once more, at least into Poland, the counsels of the Roman Pontiff. As a beginning, permission was given to Canon Satkievitch, then administrator of the diocese of Warsaw, to receive the Encyclical *Quod apostolici* ; and he was requested to send a copy to each of the Catholic pastors, with instructions to explain the document to their flocks. Not one Catholic had been convicted of Nihilism, terrible as had been the persecution in Poland, and grievous as the burdens of the Catholics still were. Why did Alexander II., of whose "Orthodox" zeal we have had abundant and sickening proof, grant this concession ? He could scarcely have supposed that the Catholics, after a patient endurance of confiscation, knout, freezings, and Siberia, would now, when persecution had become less violent, suddenly develop into incendiaries and assassins. It is more natural to suppose that the czar admitted the Papal Encyclical into his dominions trusting that its arguments might have some effect on his "Orthodox" subjects.

In his Encyclical *Grande Munus*, issued on Sept. 30, 1880, our Pontiff recalled all that his predecessors had effected for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Slavic race. He reminded men that it was through Sts. Cyril and Methodius, sent by Rome, that the Slavs had received the faith and civilization ; and he asked the "Orthodox," so attached to their special liturgy, to remember that the Holy See had expressly approved the action of those apostles, when they introduced the use of the ancient Slavic language into their

religious services. And in order to show that he cherished no idea of "Latinizing" the Catholics of the Greco-Slavonic Rite, a calumny ever studiously propagated by the Schismatic leaders (1), the Pope declared that thereafter the founders of the Greco-Slavonic Rite, the glorious Sts. Cyril and Methodius, would be honored by the celebration of their Office throughout the Catholic world. This pontifical declaration produced an excellent effect among the Slavs; and on July 5, 1881, His Holiness received a deputation of more than 1,200 persons, representing every Slavic nationality, excepting that of Muscovy, which would never, of course, be allowed to share in such a demonstration, unless, perchance, it were intended as a Pan-Slavic aspiration toward the yearning bosom of Holy Russia. In his remarks to this deputation, Leo XIII. used very guarded terms, carefully avoiding anything like an indication of rancor toward the Russian government; and although the interests of "Orthodoxy" had been seriously menaced by his recent restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in Bosnia and Herzegovina (2), and by his creation of three United-Greek vicariates-apostolic in Bulgaria, the Pontiff soon experienced the satisfaction of learning that among the more enlightened of the Russians a warm feeling in favor of Catholicism was being developed. Undoubtedly this sentiment was not shared by the official Russians, the creatures and instruments of the Holy Synod; as a Protestant journal of the day remarked, "loud lamentations were heard in St. Petersburg and Moscow, just as in Constantinople and Athens," because of the newly-enkindled energy of the United-Greek propaganda in the Slavic provinces of Austria, in Bulgaria, and in Turkey—a propaganda which Leo XIII. was about to aid by his foundation of free scholarships in the seminary of Adrianople, and by his establishment of a new seminary in Salonica. But that in unofficial Russia many

(1) For the deep significance of the terms "Latinization," "Polonization," etc., when used by "Orthodox" writers, see our Vol. II., p. 135.

(2) The cabinet of St. Petersburg regards all the missionary efforts of the Church in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Roumelia, as so many manifestations of an able policy which would make the Papacy the guide of the Slavic current which Holy Russia claims as her own appanage. The Holy Synod affects to discern in the pontifical "diplomacy" a desire to create a union of all Slavic Catholicism, under the protection of Austria, a power whose governmental policy is now no more Catholic than that which is devised in Berlin.

sincere hearts were then beginning to yearn for ecclesiastical union with Rome, was afterward admitted by one of the principal organs of the "Orthodox" Church, the *Thera*, which had the hardihood and the honesty necessary for the utterance of the following language: "The higher ranks of society in St. Petersburg, being like an immense lever in this matter, tend toward giving an impulse to an ecclesiastical union of the East with the West. In proof of this assertion, we can adduce, without fear of contradiction, the authentic testimony of very many Russians, even of one august member of the czar's own family. In fact, these same persons have begun the work of uniting the Eastern to the Roman Church. The intellectual and the social *élite* of Russia regard this event as the salvation of Russian society, the remedy for all our social evils" (1). It cannot be supposed that such journalistic gossip would have produced any effect in the pontifical mind; but the visit of the Russian chancellor, Giers, to the Vatican on Dec. 5, 1882, followed by the restoration of the venerable Mgr. Felinski to his archiepiscopal see, had encouraged Leo XIII. to hope for better days, at least in Poland. We may imagine the dismay of the Pontiff who had believed in the supposedly lenient tendencies of Alexander III., when he learned that the bishop of Wilna, guilty of having censured two of his clergy, because of their apostasy, had been suddenly summoned to the capital, and then, without any opportunity for an appeal to the czar, had been exiled to Siberia. During the next few years, the Russian government frequently manifested a velleity to discover some *modus vivendi* with its Catholic subjects; but not until 1888 were the advances serious, and then they were made through the Russian ambassador in Vienna. But no sooner did it transpire that probably the Pontiff and the czar were arriving at a solution of their difficulties, than the entire Masonic press of Europe emitted a howl of virtuous horror and outraged patriotism. Rome was about to sacrifice the religious and national interests of Poland, cried the sectarians; Rome was about to sanction the introduction of the Russian language in the Polish churches, and therefore Rome was to be the

(1) Cited by the *Moniteur de Rome*, Jan. 15, 1893.

prime Russifier of Poland. The truth of the matter was that in 1883, Giers had endeavored to procure the consent of Cardinal Jacobini for the use of Russian in the non-liturgical services of the Polish Churches, and in the teaching of the catechism ; but *the Pontiff had categorically refused* to allow a Russification which would have endangered the faith of the growing generation of Poles. And the same categorical refusal was given in 1888. Defeated on this point, the cabinet of St. Petersburg endeavored to obtain from the Pope an approbation of the Russian law which prescribes that all the children of a mixed marriage shall be educated in the schism. The refusal of this demand did not cause a break in the negotiations ; it cannot be supposed that the Russian statesmen ever dreamed that the Head of the Catholic Church would hand over the little ones of his flock to perdition. A Russian ambassador, Iswolski, was accredited to the Vatican—a terrible blow to such of the Centrists of Germany as, Catholic though they were, would have delighted in an estrangement of Russia from the Pope, simply because Russia was the secret ally of France, and because they were upholders of the Triple Alliance. The negotiations of 1888 and 1889 were, in two respects, triumphant for Leo XIII. He gained the re-opening of diplomatic relations with the czar ; and he was allowed to fill the long-vacant sees of Wilna (1), Tiraspol, Plock, Lublin, Mohilow. In these negotiations, is there anything which might justify the accusation, brought by German publicists like Professor Geffcken and the “Austrian diplomat” of the *Contemporary Review*, to the effect that by such “unworthy compromises” Leo XIII. sacrificed the true interests of Catholicism to his “dream” of a restoration of the papal temporal power ? Since Geffcken unblushingly adopts as his own the brazen lie of the “Austrian diplomat” representing Leo XIII. as addressing the czar as “Patriarch of the North,” we are not surprised, even though we are sickened, when he thus explodes : “Leo XIII. did not hesitate to sacrifice Catholic interests in Russia, that he might gratify the secret ally of the French

(1) The exiled bishop of Wilna was permitted to return from Siberia, to resign his diocese, and to leave the empire with a pension.

Republic. The attitude of all previous Popes, when brought face to face with the czars, had been firm and worthy. Thus, Gregory XVI. feared not to talk to Nicholas, the persecutor of the Church in Poland, just as Ambrose spoke to Theodosius; and the autocrat of the North listened to him in silence (1). To-day, the Church in Poland is fallen so low, that in comparison with her, the Polish Church of the days of Nicholas I. was free; now she is reduced to the level of a Department of State. Entire dioceses are suppressed; Catholics are excluded from every public employment; their churches are closed, and when they try to enter for worship, they are knouted, and then sent into exile. In a word, these Catholics are reduced to the alternative of apostasy or Siberia." We have described the condition of the Church in Poland under the sway of Nicholas I.; and the reader shall judge whether the lot of the Polish Catholics was, as the German professor audaciously asserts, less painful than that of their descendants, so cruelly "sacrificed" by Leo XIII. "German science" has seldom exhibited effrontery like this of the much-lauded ex-professor of International Law and Statecraft in the University of Strasburg, as he depicts Leo XIII. as willingly perpetuating the miseries of unfortunate Poland—as playing the game of a petty politician, and for the sake of a mere "dream." The *Civiltà Cattolica* did not think that a notice of this ebullition would compromise its dignity; and since that Roman periodical is as excellent a guide in matters of propriety, as it is in those of fact, we shall imitate its course, so far as to condense its argumentation (2). If the curious student would peruse the five large volumes which contain the authentic records of the relations between the cabinets of the Vatican and St. Petersburg, during the first fifteen years of the Leonine pontificate, he would find that each page of those records gives the lie to Professor Geffcken, and to the few German Catholics whose foolish zeal for the Triple Alliance led them to endorse his ravings. In these volumes we have all the instructions given by the Pontiff to the Polish and

(1) See our Vol. v., p. 101.

(2) In the numbers for Dec. 17, 1892, and Jan. 7, 1893

Russian bishops, and all the correspondence with the Russian government, etc. Among the results of the Leonine policy toward Russia, we find provisions made for many vacant dioceses; advantages gained for the Catholics of the Caucasus; an agreement in 1882 which was of great benefit to the Catholic seminaries in the empire, as well as to the Ecclesiastical Academy in St. Petersburg; and a formal promise, made on the part of the Russian government on Dec. 24, 1882, by Boutenieff, its *chargé d'affaires*, that the persecuting decrees of 1865 would be suppressed. In 1890, Leo XIII. addressed to the newly-appointed bishops of Poland, to those prelates who are represented by Geffcken as creatures of a cowardly and self-seeking policy on the part of the Pontiff, an exhortation to defend to their utmost the rights of the Church, to work for the prosperity of their flocks, and to promote harmony with the civil authorities *when the imperial laws were not contrary to the laws of the Church*. Certainly this record is not that of a Pontiff who, as the infamous Crispi asserted, "would have sacrificed not one, but ten Polands, in order to win the friendship of the czar" (1).

(1) Thus in an interview for the *New York Herald* cited by T'Serclaes, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 503.

One of the most salient events of Russian history during the pontificate of Leo XIII. was the oppression of the Jewish subjects of the autocrat—a persecution which was far more bitter than any which the children of Israel have suffered elsewhere in our day, but which American Protestants generally feign to ignore, since it was principally the work of that bitter foe of the Holy See, Pobiedonostzev, the procurator of the Holy Synod and practical Pope of Holy Russia. Arnold White, in his recent work on the *Modern Jew* which we have already quoted, is but too willing to discover palliatives for the Russian tyranny. He insists that not only is the confinement of the Jews in the fifteen provinces of Western Russia known as the Pale, and in the Polish provinces, an act of consummate statesmanship; but that no other policy is compatible with the development of Holy Russia on national lines. The Polish Jews are phenomenally prolific. For a hundred years they have multiplied as no people on earth have multiplied; Russian statesmen of to-day, when reflecting on this fact, are compelled to regard themselves as trustees for a peasantry numbering 100,000,000 souls who are intellectually undeveloped and as backward in civilization as were the English of the seventeenth century. The Russian peasant, especially when drunk, falls an easy prey to the astute and temperate Oriental race, which exploits his vices and plays with ease upon his superstitions and his prejudices for the purpose of gain. It must be remembered, moreover, that the peasants, although ignorant and credulous, are industrious, faithful, and devoted to the Czar. The Jews, on the other hand, are cosmopolitan; Russian neither in blood, religion, nor instinct. It is, according to Mr. White, a sober statement of fact that, if all careers in the Russian Empire were thrown open to the Jews, not a decade would pass before the whole Russian administration would be in their hands. "What Czar in his senses," asks Mr. White, "what sane Russian

CHAPTER XIII.

POPE LEO XIII. AND THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE. THE APOSTOLATE OF CARDINAL LAVIGERIE.

Among the innumerable efforts of the Roman Pontiffs to procure the utter abolition of human slavery, a prominent place will be assigned in history to the Encyclical *In plurimis*, addressed by Leo XIII. to the bishops of Brazil on May 8, 1888. Having expressed his joy because of the many emancipations with which the Brazilians had honored his sacerdotal jubilee, five months previously, the Pontiff appeals to the bishops to use every proper means to procure the abolition of slavery in their country. He goes over the ground already traversed by Gregory XVI. in the bull *In Supremo Apostolatus Fastigio* as he shows how the Church ever opposed the nefarious traffic in human beings; and then he draws attention to the lamentable fact that while there is no longer any importation of African slaves to any of the American countries, the abominable trade, with all its

Minister would permit his country to commit suicide by ceding the civil administration to a Jewish minority? England does not invest the Bengali with power in India because he passes difficult examinations with the greatest ease. Yet this is precisely what is involved in the antidotes of education so glibly described by Anglo-Saxon doctrinaires, who condemn Russia, without understanding the difficulties with which she has to deal, but who do not treat their own racial problems on abstract principles." Mr. White insists that the rich Jewish bankers who took the Russian loan are largely responsible for the fact that the Russians now deny on the one hand the existence of any serious grievances on the part of the Israelites in Russia, and assert on the other hand, that the administrative regulations which are put in force are no more than are needed to effect the separation of the Orthodox Russian from the descendants of the enemies of Christ. "If a title of the unanswered charges made against the Russian Government in respect of their anti-Semitic policy were true, the attitude of the great Jewish banking houses in their financial dealings with Russia would be incomprehensible. No one could have conceived it possible that, in 1894, not long after the time of the Guild-hall meeting and of the appearance of *Darkest Russia*, the richer Hebrew banks of the West would consent to supply the persecutor of their race with funds, partly to be employed in paying the administration that humiliates, debases, and oppresses their co-religionists." As was well remarked by M. W. Hazeltine in a review of White's work published in the *New York Sun*, the Jewish bankers, before lending money to Russia, might have imposed upon the Czar's Ministers such conditions as would secure for the Jews of the Pale some immunity from needlessly hostile treatment at the hands of the officials and adequate protection from the equally hostile peasantry. But the Russian loan was taken by Jewish capitalists, and Mr. White was told at St. Petersburg by reliable persons in the administrative sphere that no private conditions were made such as might ameliorate the lot of the wretched Jews of Russia.

horrors, still flourishes in the Dark Continent : " According to the testimony of reliable travellers in Africa, at least 400,000 persons are dragged into slavery every year, and one half of that number perish on their way to the markets." During his entire pontificate, Leo XIII. continually thought of Africa, the horrors of its slave trade, and the dangers for European civilization which are even now, perhaps, preparing in those regions. He realized well the truth of the warning pronounced by Cardinal Lavigerie in the *Gesù* at Rome, shortly before the publication of the letter to the Brazilians : " During the last hundred years there has been working in those regions (the Soudan) a social and religious transformation, to which Europe has obstinately closed her eyes, but which will very soon threaten the shores of the Mediterranean. That wave of invasion which engulfed this Rome herself and all her empire, fifteen centuries ago, will not be the last in history. If the work now begun in Africa is allowed to progress, there will be an invasion from that land no less terrible than that of the Huns, Vandals, and other barbarians. Strange phenomenon! Mohammedanism seems to be preparing in Europe and in Asia for its last sleep, while in Africa it is renewing its strength in blood. The danger is nearer than you think. Believe an old pilot, who knows the shoals and tempests of barbarism." Like the many Popes of the olden time who spent the greater part of their Pontificates in preparing those victories over Islam which were to enable Christian Europe to enjoy some more centuries of political existence, Leo XIII. would have warred on Mohammedan Africa—but with the weapons of the Gospel. Through the indomitable energy of Cardinal Lavigerie, one feature of the desired crusade was soon to be seen in full career ; the grand archbishop of Carthage was to obey, to the letter, the instructions which His Holiness gave to him on Oct. 17, 1888 : " We have given you a grand and arduous task ; you must oppose all your courage and all your energy to the reign of slavery on African soil. You have undertaken, with an ardor that manifests your greatness of soul, a work in which the salvation of men is at stake." The names of Leo XIII. and Cardinal Lavigerie

are not to be separated, when the historian glorifies the anti-slavery crusade which the latter organized ; as His Eminence wrote to the anti-slavery committees on July 22, 1890: "I have simply obeyed ; it is to the Supreme Pontiff that belongs all the honor of this campaign."

Charles Lavigerie was born at Bayonne, on October 31, 1825. As he himself expressed the idea, he was a Basque, "and therefore could be obstinate when necessary." He soon manifested an inclination for the priesthood ; and when, in his fifteenth year, his father presented him as a candidate to the bishop of Bayonne, he replied to the question as to why he wished to enter the sacerdotal state, that he wanted to be a country pastor. Admitted to the Preparatory Seminary of Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, in Paris, he had as companions Langenieux, Foulon, La Tour d'Auvergne ; and his master was Dupanloup. In 1843 he entered the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice, and was ordained in 1849 by Mgr. Sibour. In 1853 he received the doctorate in theology at the Sorbonne, and was made professor of Latin Literature at the École des Carmes. In 1854 he was appointed adjunct professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Sorbonne, and in 1857 he became titular of the same chair ; among his colleagues were Maret, Gratry, and Freppel. But the Abbé Lavigerie taught history only for a brief period ; he was soon summoned to tasks which were to constitute him a maker of history. In 1856 he was chosen director of the Work of the Eastern Schools, founded in 1855 under the auspices of such men as Lenormant, Ozanam, Montalembert, Gagarin, De Falloux, and De Broglie, for the promotion of Catholic interests in the Levant ; and his professorial duties did not prevent his devoting much time to collecting funds for this noble enterprise. When the Syrian massacres of 1859 and '60 occurred, he collected over three million francs for the sufferers, and himself departed for Syria to superintend the distribution of the offerings. At Beyrout he established an orphan asylum for four hundred girls, under the care of the Sisters of Charity ; and at Zahleh an asylum for boys, which he confided to the Jesuits. Eighteen Catholic bishops of the East afterward sent an address to the Supreme Pontiff, attributing to the

director of the Work of the Eastern Schools the greater part of the benefits which French charity had conferred upon their flocks. In 1861 the position of Auditor of the Rota for France being vacant, Pius IX. tendered it to the Abbé Lavigerie; and for a year and a half he was enabled to familiarize himself with the details of the pontifical administration, and to perfect his knowledge of Italian, which was to be, at Algiers and at Tunis, the language of many of his future diocesans. However, the director of the Work of the Eastern Schools did not forget the child of his predilection; indeed, he had accepted the auditorship only on condition that it should not interfere with his interest in Oriental Christianity, and that he should be allowed to form a branch of the Work in the Eternal City. He was constant in his endeavors to induce the Catholics of the West to imitate the solicitude of Pius IX., who had just then established a Special Congregation of the Propaganda for Oriental Affairs; appointed a consultor of this new Congregation, he organized at Civita Vecchia a committee to further the interests of the Bulgarians. In 1863 Mgr. Lavigerie was named bishop of Nancy. Pius IX. would have consecrated him, but, being prevented by sickness, he delegated the function to Cardinal Villecourt.

Mgr. Lavigerie was bishop of Nancy, when, in November, 1866, he received a letter from Marshal MacMahon, then governor-general of Algeria, begging permission to present his name to the emperor, Napoleon III., for the then vacant see of Algiers. The prelate replied: "Having reflected maturely, and having prayed for light from God as to my answer to the unexpected offer of Your Excellency, I now express myself in all frankness. I would never have voluntarily entertained the thought of quitting a diocese which I dearly love, and in which I have begun numerous works; and if Your Excellency had requested me to accept any diocese more important than that of Nancy, my reply would be a negative one. But I entered upon the episcopate as upon a work of sacrifice. You offer me a painful and laborious mission, an episcopal see in every way inferior to my present position, and which entails upon me an abandonment of all

I hold most dear ; and you think that I, better than another, can fulfil its duties. A Catholic bishop, my dear Marshal, can make but one reply to such a proposition. I accept the dolorous sacrifice ; and if the emperor appeals to my devotion, I shall not hesitate, cost me what it may." By a Bull of July 25, 1866, Pius IX. erected the diocese of Algiers into an archbishopric, giving to it as suffragans the newly created sees of Oran and Constantine. Mgr. Lavigerie entered upon his archiepiscopal duties on May 16, 1867. His experience as director of the Work of the Eastern Schools had convinced the archbishop that the absence of a Christian spirit in the administration of Algeria accounted for the slow progress of French influence in the colony. And in his eyes Algeria was merely the gate through which Divine Providence was to send the means whereby to convert and civilize two hundred millions of barbarians. In his first pastoral letter he wrote : "To render Algerian soil the cradle of a grand, generous, and Christian nation—in a word, of another France, daughter and sister of our own, happy in marching in the paths of justice and honor by the side of the mother-country ; to spread around us, with that ardent initiative which is the gift of our race and of our faith, the true light of the civilization of which the Gospel is the source and the law ; to gather Northern and Central Africa into the life of Christendom ; such, in the designs of God and in the hopes of our country and of the Church, is your providential destiny." Twenty years had not elapsed when the author of this language resuscitated the ancient see of Carthage, excited all Europe in favor of the slaves of the Dark Continent, established his apostolic missionaries around the Great Lakes, and received from the Supreme Pontiff the title of Primate of Africa.

Probably the happiest, certainly the most consoling, day of the apostolic life of Mgr. Lavigerie was that on which the Roman Pontiff revived the primatial see of St. Cyprian, and, after twelve centuries of interruption, restored the glorious tradition of the Councils of Carthage (1). But very different

(1) It is not strange that Mgr. Lavigerie should have entertained the thought of writing the history of this ancient Church. His idea was to adapt the work of Morcell, *Africa*

are the circumstances surrounding the present Church of Carthage from those which influenced its ancient prelates. In our day the irreconcilable enemy of that Church and of civilization is Islamism ; and to combat this enemy the new archbishop bent all his energies. He was the first Algerian prelate to make any serious efforts in this direction. The French Government had hitherto opposed all attempts to convert the Mohammedans ; even to-day it assumes the entire expense of their worship ; and under the empire and the royalty it went so far as to compel the Kabyles to the strictest observance of their religious precepts, even organizing and subsidizing the pilgrimages to Mecca, although it prohibited the bishops of Algiers from acceding to the entreaties of the Kabyles to establish Sisters of Charity among them. The arrival of Mgr. Lavigerie in Africa found in full force this ultra-protection of the Mohammedan cult on the part of the colonial authorities ; they ever cherishing the illusory hope of creating an "Arab kingdom" devoted to France, and separating as much as possible the Europeans from the aborigines. To this system the archbishop opposed that of assimilation, a progressive fusion of colonists and natives in a French nationality ; and since such a project could not be realized so long as the Arabs were Mussulmans, he openly declared his design to prepare their conversion to Christianity. And this preparation was accompanied by no preaching or discussion ; it consisted in devoted and gratuitous care of the sick, and in giving a rudimentary education and a taste for manual labor to such children as parents would consign to the care of the White Fathers. Twenty-four years after Mgr. Lavigerie collected his first Arab orphans, and established them in villages created expressly for them, his biographer (1) found them and their children "perfectly faithful to our faith and our customs ; around them the Mussulmans, who sought the villages because of the charities of which these were the centre, had become less fanatical, more like

Christiana, and to bring it to the level of more recent archaeological discoveries. And since his innumerable occupations prevented his undertaking the task, he entrusted it to F. Toulotte, a learned missionary of his Congregation ; and it is now very nearly completed.

(1) The Abbé Felix Klein, in his *Cardinal Lavigerie and His Labors in Africa*. Paris, 1890.

unto ourselves, and full of confidence in our priests." Let us see how these first fruits of the faith were gathered. In 1867, the year of our prelate's arrival in Africa, a frightful famine ravaged Algeria, and in a few months a fifth of the indigenous population had perished. The government tried to hide the state of affairs, although it secretly distributed some scanty relief; but the archbishop broke the cruel silence, and sent an appeal not only to the faithful of France, but to those of other countries, and abundant alms were soon available for the victims. But there were many orphans to be gathered in, and to be endowed with some substitute for the guardians whom they had lost, or by whom they had been abandoned. Very soon Mgr. Lavigerie became the father of nearly two thousand of these derelict children; he refused not one of those who voluntarily came to him, or who were brought to him by his White Fathers. Having saved their lives, he now proposed to give them such a training as would enable them to earn their living in a civilized manner, and would permit them to judge between Christianity and Islamism. This project was a flinging down of the gauntlet to the party of the "Arab kingdom," whose ideas were followed by the military administration. Immediately, the pretended Arabophilists prevailed on Marshal MacMahon to order the prelate to return the orphans to their tribes; whereupon the apostolic bishop thus protested: "You order us, Marshal, to hand over to the bestial passions of their co-religionists these defenceless children, these orphans who were abandoned by all and given over to death, but whom the charity of French Christians enabled our priests and Sisters to save at the cost of twenty of their own lives (owing to the typhus caught from their charges.) A thousand times better would it have been had they been left to perish. And this horror is represented to you as necessary! But it shall not be effected without my solemn protest to the entire world. I would have given them up to their parents, their natural tutors; but I am their father and protector, since their fathers and mothers do not exist. They belong to me, for I have preserved their lives. Force alone can take them from their refuge; and if it is employed,

my episcopal heart will emit such a cry that the authors of the crime will experience the indignation of all those who deserve the name of men and of Christians." These words of a stricken father evoked an outburst of sympathy throughout France, and the Supreme Pontiff sent him a brief of praise and encouragement. But Mgr. Lavigerie was not content with mere protests: he appealed personally to Napoleon III.; and on May 28, 1868, the *Moniteur* published a letter of the Minister of War, which announced that the Government "never had intended to restrict his episcopal rights, and that every latitude would be allowed Mgr. Lavigerie to extend and improve the refuges in which the prelate's love exercised itself in succoring the orphan, the aged, and the widow."

It often becomes the duty of the Algerian, like all other missionaries among the heathen, to baptize infants at the hour of death, and thus send them to heaven, without informing the parents, and without the permission of the civil administration. But, says the biographer of Mgr. Lavigerie, this is the sole "abuse" which can be laid to the account of the clericals in their interference with the natives, and it produces no consequences on this earth. However, very precise and severe rules define the duty of the clergy in all that concerns the baptism of heathens and Islamites. The diocesan statutes inculcate that "no Jewish or Mussulman infant shall be baptized without the express permission of the parents." The only exception is for such infants as are in evident danger of death, and for the orphans adopted by the missionaries or by the Christian colonists. And in the last case every prudential precaution is taken to prove that the child is really abandoned by its family, that it enjoys the necessary liberty, and has received the necessary instruction. Even in the case of a subject who has attained the legal age of majority, the authorization of the bishop is requisite for the baptism, and is given only when the probable durability of the conversion is assured. Mgr. Lavigerie always insisted that it would be folly—aye, a crime—to excite the fanaticism of the Mussulman population by an unwise proselytism. He opined

that "it is not necessary to be a priest, it is enough to be a man, to cause one to desire the enfranchisement of the fallen denizens of Northern Africa; and while the civil authorities deprive the indigenous peoples of their arms, of their power, and of their traditions, we priests try to calm them, to mollify their chagrin by the exercise of charity. We teach their children; we heal their wounded and nurse their sick; we succor their poor; we have for them only words of kindness. We do not obtain hasty and imprudent conversions, which are mere preludes to apostasy; but rather a certain preparation, without shocks or danger, for a transformation of the African world. The seed is sown; we who may not gather the crop will have our reward in having served the cause of humanity and of God."

The most important work of Mgr. Lavigerie in Africa was the creation of the band of Algerian missionaries popularly known as White Fathers. The astonishing progress of their apostolate was evident on the occasion of the first modern Council of Carthage. Children from their schools rendered the liturgical chants which accompanied the consecration of the primatial church; it was in their seminary, educating a hundred students, that the Council was held. Here were seen some of the missionaries who first traversed the Great Lakes and evangelized Ouganda. One White Father had for years directed the mission of Zanzibar, and had organized and accompanied apostolic caravans into East Africa. One had been military chaplain in the heart of Tunis; another came on horseback from Ghardaja in the Mزاب. There was the superior of the establishment at Malta, where negro boys are taught medicine and surgery, that they may afterward gratuitously attend on their compatriots. This same priest had previously been a professor in the Seminary of St. Anne at Jerusalem, where the White Fathers are preparing a new Greek clergy in the interests of unity. There could be seen several Fathers from the sunmits of the Grand Kabylia; or one who directed a novitiate in Brussels; or one who attended to the affairs of his congregation in the capital of Christendom. This admirable society was founded in 1868, when the archbishop,

having saved his orphans from famine, was cogitating how he could educate them, and maintain them in fidelity to their new religion and their new country. One day the Abbé Girard, the superior of the Seminary of Algiers, presented to the anxious prelate three students who were desirous of devoting themselves to the special service of the natives. "With the help of God," said the abbé, "this will be the beginning of the work you have desired to effect." The novitiate to which the candidates were assigned soon received many aspirants. One of these, already a priest, presented his credentials; and when the archbishop handed him his faculties, he found that, instead of the ordinary formula, the prelate had written: "*Visum pro martyrio*" (endorsed for martyrdom). "Do you accept?" asked Monsigneur. "It was for that I came here," replied the priest. In time the White Fathers were exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary, and subordinated directly to the apostolic-delegate for the Sahara and Soudan. The missionaries soon had their own revenues independent of the diocese of Algiers; and their own charges as well, which each one tries to lighten, "by submitting to privation, or by undergoing the humiliations necessary to procuring the means of living." In a General Chapter of all the missionaries of the new society, held in October, 1874, for the election of its first superiors, Mgr. Lavigerie was unanimously elected superior-general; but as he declined the position, Father Deguerry was chosen, with the title, however, of vicar-general during the life of the beloved founder. One special object the White Fathers have constantly in view, and without it they would lose their very reason of being. They were designed for the exclusive service of the heathen and Mussulmans of Africa. For this reason it is their characteristic to conform to the habits of the natives in all externals—in language, dress, and food. "Love these infidels," said their founder; "heal their wounds, do every good to them. Then they will give you their affection, afterward their confidence, and finally their souls." To see these sons of civilization made Africans for love of Africa must excite our admiration. As they guide their steeds

through the solitudes of the Sahara or the rocky passes of Kabylia, no one would take them for European priests. Nor would the illusion vanish, if we were to observe them as they lightly dismount, enter a tent, squat with native impassibility on the mat of palm or *alfa*; conversing in Arabic with their hosts, showing every interest in their wants, seriously explaining for them the innumerable masses of waste-paper with which the administrative and judicial authorities persist in endowing them; instructing the children in the three R's; exciting the admiration of the elders by their knowledge of the Koran; distributing little presents; sharing the repast of *couscous* and fresh water; and, when about to depart, exchanging the graceful Arabic salutation with their friends. Quite picturesque, a superficial observer would remark; but the reality is not very agreeable, the Abbé Klein will remind him, "if one has a keen sense of smell, or when one has journeyed for half a day to sup on *couscous*. Remember, too, that the White Fathers adopt the external habits of the people even in their private lives; for example, at night they stretch on the ground, wrapped in their *burnous*; although in their own houses they may rest on a plank, and if ill, on a mattress." Touched by their virtue, the Mohammedans often say to them: "The other Roumis [Romans, Christians] will, of course, be damned; but you will enter Paradise."

And now a few words on the anti-slavery agitation instituted by Mgr. Lavigerie, and its results. On May 24, 1888, Cardinal Lavigerie (he had been elevated to the purple in 1882) presented to His Holiness twelve secular priests from various dioceses of French Africa, twelve White Fathers, twelve Christian Kabyls of Algeria, and twelve negroes of Central Africa whom the missionaries had purchased from slavery and converted to Christianity. In an eloquent and touching reply to the cardinal's address, the Pontiff said: "It is upon you, Lord Cardinal, that we chiefly rely for success in the arduous missions of Africa. We know your active and intelligent zeal, we know what you have already accomplished, and we believe that you will not pause until your great enterprises have triumphed." Encouraged and

excited by these words of the Father of the Faithful, His Eminence wrote to Mgr. Brineat, procurator in Paris for the African missions : " I am about to go to Paris, to tell what I know of the crimes which desolate the interior of our Africa, and then to put forth a great cry,—one of those cries which stir the depths of the soul in all who are still worthy of the name of men and of Christians. . . . I know not where I shall speak ; but I do know that in demanding an end to such infamous excesses, in proclaiming the great principles of humanity, liberty, equality, and justice, I shall find in France and in the Christian world no intelligence or heart to refuse me its aid." Philanthropists and politicians will follow their usual course in claiming the glory of the great movement begun at the Conference of Brussels to engage the honor of Christian nations in a unanimous effort to terminate the slave-hunts of Africa ; but the fact will remain that hitherto, if we except some generous tentatives of the king of Belgium, neither philosophers, politicians, nor journalists had advocated the cause of the persecuted natives of Africa in anything like a serious manner. Cardinal Lavigerie held his first anti-slavery conference at Paris, in the Church of St. Sulpice. He then proceeded to London ; and so effective was his appeal, and so powerful the agitation resulting, that the English Government asked the Belgian monarch to take the initiative by requesting a conference of the powers at Brussels. Here was another favorable opportunity for the cardinal to preach his crusade ; and accordingly in the Church of Ste. Gudule he demanded the active co-operation of the authorities of the Congo State. After this sermon five hundred volunteers placed themselves at the cardinal's disposal for the defence of the negroes of the Upper Congo. Illness prevented the attendance of the prelate at the Catholic Congress of Fribourg-en-Brisgau, but he sent to it a lengthy and impressive appeal describing the slave-trade in Tabora and Onjiji, the two great centres of the German-African regions ; he suggested the formation of a German anti-slavery society after the style of those founded in France and Belgium. An anti-slavery committee was soon formed at Cologne, and all that was Catholic in

Germany joined in the great crusade. After an imperative, but brief rest from labor, the cardinal perfected the French Anti-Slavery Society, exclusively national, but designed to keep up relations with the similar associations in other countries, and with the various congregations of missionaries laboring in Africa (1). Other countries soon fell into the line of march indicated by the cardinal. Her Catholic Majesty of Spain became protectress of the work in her dominions, and Canovas del Castillo accepted the presidency. In Portugal, the great explorer Serpa Pinto organized a branch, the king becoming protector, and his second son head of the central committee. In Italy, a national committee was founded at Rome under the direct protection of Pope Leo XIII., and having Prince Rospigliosi for president, and Prince Altieri for vice-president. Cardinal Lavigerie was greatly aided in his endeavors in Italy by the zeal of his eminent brethren of the Sacred College, the ordinaries of Naples (2), of Capua, and of Palermo. After a final conference at Milan, the cardinal, when about to return to his diocese, wrote to M. Keller, begging the members of all the anti-slavery committees to continue his work of nourishing the zeal of Europe in the cause to which they had consecrated themselves. He had accomplished the first part of his design by publishing to the world the horrors of the slave traffic; now it remained to abolish it. His mission had not been comprehended by those who imagined that he had aspired to an immediate abolition of domestic slavery among all the Mussulman populations: what he demanded of all men of heart was to aid in abolishing the hunt for slaves in Africa, and the sale of slaves in the Turkish markets. There

(1) Its Council of Administration had M. Keller for president; and among the members of the Council were Chesnelong, General de Charette, the Count de Mun, Wallon, and Mgr. Brineat. A *conseil de haut patronage* was instituted for the defence of its cause in political assemblies and in the press; it counted among its members Jules Simon and Lefevre-Pontalis.

(2) The inhabitants of Naples were especially moved by the cardinal's eloquence. Cardinal Sanfelice, the archbishop, wishing to contribute to the collection, and being impoverished by his charities, handed in the rich pectoral cross which had been given him by the city in recognition of his noble conduct during the cholera, the jewels of which were worth more than two thousand dollars. But Cardinal Lavigerie wrote to the *Corriere di Napoli* that he would regard the acceptance of the gift as a sacrilege, and that therefore he sent it to the office of the journal to be raffled for, so that the fortunate winner might enjoy the sweet satisfaction of restoring the souvenir to its holy owner.

is not now on earth, he concluded, a work more holy or more necessary. At a conference held in the grand amphitheatre of the Sorbonne on February 10, 1889, Jules Simon, the celebrated republican philosopher and orator, while expressing his indignation at the public apathy toward African misery, thus vented his admiration for the White Fathers and their illustrious chief: "The spectacle afforded by these missionaries would console one somewhat for these miseries, if consolation were possible. . . . The more we realize the depth of these horrors, the more must we express our profound gratitude to these young men who abandon their parents, friends, and almost their ideas and feelings, leaving all that is dear behind them, to confront such evils and assuage such woes. Here, gentlemen, we are merely echoes: we come simply to repeat, and weakly, the words of a man of large heart. . . . He will persevere, and will amass treasures of pity in compassionate souls; he will teach humanity to know itself; and perhaps he will yet perform a work more magnificent than the destruction of slavery—the conversion of the European powers to the idea that they can do better than devour one another, and can actuate the possibility, for the men of our day, of serving with one heart, in the presence of God, the sacred cause of humanity and justice."

In 1868 Mgr. Lavigerie had urged on the Holy See his appointment as apostolic-delegate for the immense region extending from Morocco, Tunis, and Tripoli, to the missions of Senegal and the Guineas on the south, to the Atlantic on the west, and to the Fezzan on the east; for he realized that the French possessions of Algeria and Tunis could be connected by means of the Sahara and Soudan with those of Senegal. His design was to wrest the Sahara from barbarism, that it might cease to be a refuge for slavery, and a nursery of rebellion against France. The security of the French colonies, as well as the interests of religion, demand the sacrifices necessary for the reclamation of the Sahara; and it will not suffice to subjugate the Touaregs. A civilized training must be given to these tribes who now live only by assassination, pillage, and the sale of human beings. Who can effect this wonderful change? Our cardinal

replied that it will be worked by his White Fathers, six of whom had then already been martyred in the Sahara; and by the Brothers of the Sahara, an organization then being trained at Biskra—becoming acclimated, learning the languages of the desert, and studying its medical needs as well as its pharmaceutical possibilities. These Brothers were to give life to the waste by a revelation of the lost sources of fresh water, and by such agricultural ventures as experience would prove to be profitable in such a climate. They would instruct the children and nurse the sick; they would receive the slaves who might flee to them, or who might be delivered by the soldiers of France.

Cardinal Lavigerie was not only a man of action, but a *savant*. The importance of what he wrote, and the manner in which he wrote, caused him to be mentioned for the French Academy. We allude to this fact simply because it furnishes an opportunity of adducing an excellent illustration of his character. In 1884, having been invited by the perpetual secretary of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres to introduce his candidature in that section of the Institute, he replied by the following letter: "Owing to a serious illness, from which I have scarcely recovered, I have been able to reply only by telegraph to the flattering communication sent me in your name. I wish now to make up for the forced laconicism of that first answer, and to express at least my gratitude to those members of your Academy who have initiated my candidature. I desire above all to explain a reserve which may have surprised you. I appreciate the rule which obliges all candidates to solicit directly the votes of the Academy. It is but proper that they should show the high value they attach to these suffrages. But two personal reasons cause me to recoil from this task. The first is a total absence of justificatory reasons; the only one I could allege would be my own inclination, which, in a case where science and results are concerned, is an insufficient recommendation. The second reason is of a still more delicate nature. After all, I am a poor missionary; my other titles derive all their value from that fact. Now, while a missionary must receive everything, because he has nothing,

there are some things for which he must not ask. In order to make an inroad into barbarism, I have had to surround myself with a legion of apostles. In the struggle going on in the interior of our Africa, already eleven of these have spilled their blood, and others have succumbed to fatigue and sickness. What would be said of me, if while my sons seek only the palms of martyrdom, I should wave those of the Institute? Were I to yield to the seductive temptation, I should blush with shame. It is better to leave me in my Barbary."

However glorious it may be for France that the immense majority of missionaries in Asia and Africa is formed of Frenchmen, the zeal of Leo XIII. soon perceived that it was only proper for other Catholics to bear something like a just proportion of labor in the cause of heaven. Therefore the bishops of Belgium were told that they should encourage priests to join the missions in Belgian Congo; and since Germany had established a "protectorate" over a large portion of African territory, the Pontiff wrote to the archbishop of Cologne, asking him "to enquire diligently among the German clergy, as to whether there were not any of them who would appear to be called by God to evangelize the unfortunate peoples of Africa." The pontifical appeal was heeded; many Belgian and German priests entered on the new apostolate; and very soon both Belgian and German military officers reported, to the great scandal of the Protestant element in their jurisdictions, that the new missionaries were "excellent civilizing agents." One of our Pontiff's suggestions for the Christianization of the Dark Continent was the establishment, as soon as practicable, of monasteries of various orders; he remembered the paramount influence of the sons of St. Benedict in civilizing the barbarians of Northern Europe in the early Middle Age; and as a beginning, a colony of Trappists fixed themselves in Belgian Congo, the Pope himself giving 100,000 francs toward the defrayal of their expenses. In 1890, Leo XIII. was encouraged by the receipt of a letter which had been received by Cardinal Lavignerie from Mwanga, king of Ouganda (1). This sover-

(1) "Your Eminence and my great father. I, Mwanga, king of Ouganda, send a man

eign, who had been expelled from his dominions by the Arabs, had taken the offensive, and being aided by such of his subjects as were Catholics, had just reconquered his inheritance, and from a bitter persecutor had become a protector of the faith. Catholicism was progressing in every sense in Ouganda, when, in 1892, the Protestant missionaries induced the English East African Company to attack and disperse the neophytes. Their villages were burnt, hundreds were massacred, and their wives and children were sent adrift to wander or perish among strangers; the persecutors openly avowing that they preferred Pagans or Mohammedans to Catholics. However, in this case as in so many others, the blood of martyrs was the seed of the Church; for the thousands of Ougandan Catholics were scattered only to be the means of the conversion of many others. And in the following year, the East African Company was compelled to evacuate this region, authority therein devolving on Sir Gerald Portal, an English Imperial Commissioner, who soon showed that the Catholics might rely on his justice.

In 1890 there departed from Belgium the first of the anti-slavery expeditions which were destined to carry succor to Joubert (1), and to establish a long line of armed stations

to visit you. I write to tell you that I have returned to my kingdom. You knew that when the Arabs defeated me, I fled to Bukumbi. Mgr. Livinhac and his missionaries treated me kindly. After four months the Christians sent for me. We fought for five months. God blessed us, and we defeated the Arabs. Now I beg you to send priests to teach the religion of Jesus Christ in the whole of Ouganda. I also ask you for some physicians, like those who went to Ujiji. When they arrive, I shall give them a good place. I have heard that our Father the Pope, the great head of religion, has sent you to Europe to treat with the great ones concerning the abolition of slavery in Africa. As for me, if the white men help me, I can aid them, and I can prevent the slave-trade in all the country around the Nyanza. Deign to beg heaven to give me the strength to do good. On my part, I pray God to bless all the works that you perform for His glory. Your son
MWANGA, *King of Ouganda.*"

(1) "What a heroic poem would be formed by the mere recitation of the gigantic works performed in Africa under the inspiration of Leo XIII., and by the activity of Cardinal Lavigerie! One would need to deplet the legions of missionaries attacking the Dark Continent from all sides, creating centres of enlightenment, and attracting the ardent sympathies of the natives. One would need to give a detailed narrative of the efforts of the Pope and the cardinal to protect, by a circle of steel, the still pagan regions of Africa from the raids of the infamous traders in human flesh. One would need to describe the military heroism of Joubert, that Frenchman without fear, that Christian without stain, who alone resisted the assaults of the slave-traders for many years, that other St. Louis, who is, as Captain Jacques said, *le bon sergent de Dieu* among the blacks to whom he gives also material prosperity, the love of labor which civilizes the most degraded peoples, the hope which consoles, and the faith which ennobles. All this should be shown in life, in action, in combat, in suffering, and ever sustained by the spirit of God, unceasingly

which would serve as a barrier to the march of the slave-traders. This expedition, commanded by a Belgian officer named Hinck, was recalled before it could attain its object. More fortunate than Hinck, Captain Jacques had the Pontiff bless his sword, and in 1891 he destroyed the power of the ferocious Wagagos, and after a wonderful march of fifty-eight days, he reached the German station at Tabora with a caravan of 2,000 men. Then occurred his rapid march to the Tanganika, where his presence alone entailed the dissolution of the army of Rumliza, the most powerful Arab of Oujiji, who was preparing to assail Joubert. Then Jacques joined Joubert at St. Louis de M'rumbi, having arrived just in time to save him from the annihilation threatened by the slave-trade hordes who had surrounded him. But the Arabs were not discouraged; they constructed a fort in front of Albertville, ravaged the neighboring districts, and tried to reduce the Franco-Belgians and their black allies by famine. While Jacques and Joubert were awaiting succor from Belgium, another expedition was being organized in that country, thanks to a public subscription, and especially to a subscription from the veterans of the Franco-Belge Pontifical Zouaves, to which noble body Joubert had belonged. Leo XIII. signified his intention of associating himself with this expedition by means of a contribution of 50,000 francs. Commanded by Captain Descamps, this fourth Belgian private enterprise was a success, the stations of the Tanganika becoming a formidable barrier to the Mohammedan slavers. In the Belgian territory of the Upper Congo, many deeds of heroism were performed, notably that by Prince Henri de Croy, when he destroyed a caravan of 1,200 Arabs, and thereby delivered 307 slaves; but the civil administration of the Congo State seemed to have hitherto shared with all other civil Afro-European authorities the idea that the Arab in Africa is invincible, and that his presence, at least in Central Africa, is a necessary evil. To the intense indignation of Leo XIII. and Cardinal Lavigerie, the administrators of manifesting itself in the ardent words of Leo XIII., and in the *furieuse* energy of the cardinal." T'SERCLAES; *Pope Leo XIII.: His Life, and His Religious, Political, and Social Action.* Paris, 1894.

Independent Congo had concluded a treaty, in 1887, with Tippo-Tip, recognizing him as *vali* of Stanley Falls, and reconciling themselves to the idea that Nyangwe and Kassongo were inexpugnable intrenchments of slavery. However, in 1892 the Arabs of Tippo-Tip massacred the Hodister expedition, and attacked M. Tobback, the Belgian agent at Stanley Falls; whereupon Tobback, succored by Chaltin, undertook a vigorous campaign which resulted in the final annihilation of the power of Tippo-Tip. Thus finally, by means of the initiative of Leo XIII., the eloquence of Lavigerie, the good will of King Leopold II. of Belgium, and the valor of Belgian volunteers and soldiers, the domination of the Arab slaver in Central Africa was overthrown. As though he realized that he was not destined to behold the completion of the work that he had begun and impelled on its road to full development, Cardinal Lavigerie addressed the following words to the charitable in France and Belgium who had aided his projects:

"I thank them all in the name of the poor slaves whose restoration to life and liberty they have effected; I thank them, in the name of the devoted mothers, and of the dear little ones, who will not any more be separated, perhaps to be barbarously massacred, perhaps to be sold in distant regions; I thank them in the name of religion, whose progress toward peace and security they have promoted; I thank them, finally, in the name of the missionaries, whose lives they have protected, and whose regeneration and fructifying labors they have seconded." On Nov. 27, 1892, a few months after he had written this token of the interest which devoured him to the last, the great soul of Lavigerie went to its eternal reward. From among the innumerable eulogies which this death evoked, we select the following passages from that presented by the *Moniteur de Rome*: "A hundred years from now, when the European tourist visits the white cities of the Dark Continent, he will admire in their public squares the twin-statues of Pope Leo XIII. and Cardinal Lavigerie. To follow the reciprocal actions of the grand Pontiff and of the great organizer of missionary work would be to undertake a narrative of indefinite length. Without Leo XIII.,

the primate of Africa would not have been a founder; his brow would not have been stamped with the seal of a creator; the works of his own initiation would have been developed less fully and less rapidly, and his best and most daring conceptions would not have been born; a century would not have sufficed for the wonders which have been accomplished in ten years. In the reciprocating motion between Rome and Carthage, all was grand; the inspirations and the accomplishments, the direction and the execution, the conceiving intellect and the operating arm, the enjoining and blessing Pontiff and the apostle-patriarch who drew from the Vatican the force which filled the world with admiration. History will not mention the cardinal without also speaking of the Pope; they will live together in the memory of men. . . . A great man is never so creative, his creations are never so solid and far-reaching, as when his works are sanctioned by a great Pope. From the beginning of their acquaintance, Leo XIII. had discerned in the cardinal 'a man who will deserve well of humanity.' To counsel, to encourage, and to sustain Lavigerie was the constant idea of His Holiness; to use the cardinal for his own purposes was the Pope's noblest ambition. With what enthusiasm did not the Pontiff speak of the archbishop of Carthage? How confidently Leo XIII. watched that illustrious career! Neither detractors, nor calumniators, nor reprovers could ever prevent the Pope from blessing this grand man of action."

CHAPTER XIV.

POPE LEO XIII. AND THE EDUCATIONAL QUESTION IN BELGIUM.

The theory of an "independent morality," that is, of a morality derived from an absolute independence of all "religious dogmatic teaching," has been, as we have had frequent occasion to note, the pet dogmatism of the Freemasonry of our day, which thus accentuated, as though such emphasis was needed, its essential difference from the system which proclaims that all social order is based on

revealed truth—on God and His Christ—*Omnia instaurare in Christo*. On Jan. 26, 1879, at the ceremony of the consecration of the Masonic Temple of the *Amis Philanthropes* in Brussels, Brother Goblet d'Aviella, knowing full well that his words would be proclaimed immediately to the "profane" world, openly avowed that the time had come for the enforcement of the "independent morality" on Catholic Belgium. "When we laid the corner-stone of this temple (1877), I observed, my brothers, that Masonry is the philosophy of Liberalism, that is, the source from which the foes of all prejudices and superstitions must procure their superior principles of moral direction and political reconstruction. . . . What question chiefly engages the attention of the government and the people of Belgium to-day? It is that of a reform of popular education—that lever, with which, as a certain philosopher declared, mankind could be renovated. To-day we are about to deprive revealed religion of that right to teach morality which it has hitherto monopolized in the public schools. . . . If the Liberals wish to find the true principles of education, let them come to our temples. On our walls they will see those principles written; in our works they will see those principles formulated. Masonry teaches that in the moral just as in the physical world, there are laws which are absolute, primordial, permanent, universal, and independent of all time and place—independent of every sect and school, and destined to be the foundation of every society which is rationally organized. . . . When Masonry proclaims these laws, it merely conforms to the object for which it was instituted; for this object—as is known by all of you who have arrived at the third degree—although it is hidden under the *Biblical superstitions* of our Rituals, is simply the study of Nature" (1). The confidence of Brother Goblet d'Aviella was well-founded; for in the elections of the previous May, the Liberals had attained to power, and an entirely Masonic cabinet, composed of such men as Frère-Orban (for Foreign Affairs), Bara (for Justice), and Van Humbeeck (for the Interior), swayed the destinies of Belgium. The Brethren

(1) Reported in the *Courrier de Bruxelles*, March 7, 1879.

of the Dark Lantern in France, as we have seen, were firmly entrenched ; the adepts in Holland, thanks to their ally, the "Society for the Public Welfare" (1), had just procured the passage of a law which laicized all teaching of youth ; why should not halcyon days now arrive for Belgian Masonry ? (2). On Jan 21, 1879, the Venerable Brother, Van Humbeeck, in his capacity as Minister of the Interior, introduced into the Chambers the great desideratum of his order. The following were the principal articles : Art. IV. "Religious teaching is left to the care of families and of the clergy of the different religions. A place in the schools shall be assigned to the ministers of the various denominations for the purpose of giving, after school hours, religious instruction to such children as belong to their respective communions." Art. VI. "The books used in the primary schools shall be selected by the *Conseil de Perfectionnement*, and shall be approved (or rejected) by the government." It was evident that these provisions would be obnoxious to the immense

(1) This society was founded in 1784 by Nieuwenhysen, a Dutch Mennonite pastor, "with the intention," as his programme announced, "of combatting, in children as well as in adults, all the prejudices of superstition." Its apparent inoffensiveness rendered it an admirable propaganda of Freemasonry, especially among the lower orders. See the excellent work of M. de Moussac on *The Educational League*, p. 9 and 234.

(2) Under the domination of the first Napoleon, Freemasonry, which had hitherto flourished but poorly in Belgium, developed greatly ; but it attained to much larger proportions when the Machiavellian Congress of Vienna incorporated the Catholic Belgians with the Hollanders. One of the chief re-organizers of Belgian Masonry was an apostate priest named Saint-Martin, a counsellor of the Paris Court of Cassation, who had been employed by Napoleon in many confidential missions in the Low Countries. None of the Belgian Masons of those days had any sympathy for Belgian aspirations toward liberty ; the union with Holland under the sceptre of a Protestant prince promised to favor their game. A distinguished member of the Belgian parliament, Wœste, thus alluded to this unpatriotic attitude of the Belgian Masons : "When King William (of Holland) assumed a hostile and aggressive attitude toward Catholicism, Masonry took good care not to espouse the cause of the liberty of the Church against him. It proclaimed him 'the most enlightened monarch in Europe.' It approved his expulsion of the Brothers of the Christian Schools ; his suppression of the freedom of teaching ; his foundation of the 'Philosophical College' ; and one of the Masonic representatives in the States-General, Reyphins, exclaimed : 'It was necessary to take measures which would insure for Belgium in the future an educated and enlightened clergy ; and the government therefore created the Philosophical College. The government should not only watch over public instruction ; it should direct it, seeing that the young are taught good principles, those which conform to our habits and institutions.'" See the *Anti-Catholic and Radical Evolution of the Liberal Party*, in the *Révue Générale*, Nov., 1876. It is worthy of note that while the educational master-stroke of the Masons of Belgium was being prepared, these praters of patriotism were drawing closer their relations with the German Lodges, through the medium of one of Bismarck's chief confidants, Bluntschli ; and this was precisely the time when it was an open secret that the German chancellor was engineering the annexation of Holland and at least a part of Belgium to the domain of the Hohenzollern. See the *Bulletin of the Grand Orient of Belgium* for 1874 and 1875.

majority of the people, and that therefore in very many places the Municipal Councils would find some means of retaining the olden order of things. To obviate this inconvenience, a body of inspectors, to be appointed by the Minister of Public Instruction, was created, and to render the hold of the government on the schools still more firm, there was to be in each commune a School Committee, also of governmental appointment. To Catholics of the great American Republic who have come to regard the crying injustices of their Public School System as a matter of course, this Masonico-Liberal Belgian law of 1879 must naturally appear as comparatively a "consummation devoutly to be wished" in their own "freest land on earth"; but the bishops and clergy of Belgium, whose ancestors in the faith, ever since the days of Clovis, had been accustomed to the hand-in-hand march of religious and secular education, regarded the Frère-Orban law as the entering-wedge which would entail an ultimate triumph of indifferentism. It would be the height of rashness, therefore, to designate as excessively severe the decision emitted concerning this law by the Belgian prelates, after mature and conscientious reflection. This decision, as communicated to all the deans and pastors, declared: Firstly, absolution was to be refused to all the teachers and pupils of the secondary or Normal Schools. Secondly, since the religious instruction given in the lay schools was imparted by persons who had not received the canonical commission from their bishops, said instruction was to be regarded as schismatical; and therefore said instructors had incurred excommunication. Thirdly, absolution was to be refused to all the instructors under the new regime, even to those who gave no religious instruction in their schools; but as to the children frequenting the primary schools, their tender age excused them from culpability, and they could be admitted to the Sacraments, for the present (1). However, the prelates of Belgium had no intention of depriving their youthful subjects of the benefits of secular education. They called on their people to establish Catholic schools immediately, leaving those of the government to its subsi-

(1) Thus the decision was summarized in the *Gazette de Bruxelles*, Sept. 1, 1879.

dized and excommunicated servants. The organs of Belgian Masonry did not affect to conceal their exultation when the educational law of 1879 had been voted. On June 29, a "convent" of the Belgian and Dutch adepts was held in the Lodge *Geldersche Braderschap* of Arnhem; and among other ebullitions, the brother, Van Capelle, congratulated the order on "having accomplished a work for which humanity thanked it; it had put into the hands of a neutral State a primary instruction which it had taken from the hands of an intolerant clergy" (1).

From the day when the educational law was proposed in the Belgian Chambers, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Frère-Orban, endeavored to procure from Pope Leo XIII. an assurance that the Holy See did not share the indignation manifested by the Belgian bishops in regard to that law. When six months had elapsed, and the law had been voted, the desired assurance had not been given; therefore the disappointed Minister sought to make it appear that the Vatican had contradicted itself, blaming the Belgian prelates in the beginning, and afterward upholding them. But, as Cardinal Nina, then the papal Secretary of State, told the Belgian Minister to the Vatican, during the time when the law was being discussed in the Chambers, "the Holy See had hoped, and to the last moment, that some amendment would render the law less hateful to the Catholics"; now that the law was being executed, however, His Eminence declared that "he could not hold the opinion of the Minister for Foreign Affairs concerning the attitude of the Belgian clergy—he could not pronounce that attitude illegal or seditious." Speaking of the Pastoral in which the Belgian bishops, on June 12, 1879, had pronounced the censures of the Church on all co-operators with the wicked law, the cardinal declared that the doctrine contained in the document was thoroughly orthodox; and that the disciplinary portion, in which provision was made for dispensations in cases where the children would run no risk of spiritual injury, was couched indeed in strong language, but in terms which were perfectly justifiable. On three different occasions,

(1) The entire speech is published in the Masonic *Chaîne d'Union*, Jan., 1880.

Leo XIII. wrote personally to King Leopold II. in reference to the iniquitous enactment. In Aug., 1879, he begged His Majesty "to consider the disastrous effects of a law which has justly and deeply shocked the Belgian Catholics, as well as those who have charge of their religious interests." On Nov. 4, the Pontiff insisted that "any bishop who tried to fulfil his pastoral duties, let him be the most consummately prudent of prelates, would inevitably find himself at variance with a law which contradicts the principles of Catholic doctrine"; and His Holiness adds that it is because of the evident iniquity of the law that all the bishops of Belgium, "differing as they do in disposition, are so unanimous in arranging measures to counteract the consequences of the new legislation." The Pope also reminds the king that "no real need called for such an enactment—for a measure which was so utterly offensive to the immense majority of His Majesty's subjects." On May 10, 1880, the Pontiff tells the monarch that the Belgian bishops have been forced to adopt extreme measures, because of "the grave danger threatening the souls of their peoples," on account of a law which was designed "to undermine the Catholic faith in Belgium, rather than to vindicate rights of the State which no one had usurped." And the king must not forget, adds the Pope, that the bishops have accorded numerous dispensations, and taken other measures calculated to moderate the conflict—and all these things were done in accordance with the counsel of the Holy See." In the face of these letters of the Pontiff, the Masonic conscience of Frère-Orban allowed him to assert in the parliament that Leo XIII. had disapproved of the conduct of the Belgian prelates. This lie caused Cardinal Nina to send to Archbishop (now Cardinal) Serafino Vannutelli, the nuncio at Brussels, a despatch dated Nov. 11, 1879, in which the supposed discord between His Holiness and the Belgian episcopate was clearly denied. Frère-Orban refused to receive this despatch *officially*—an insult which was probably meant to induce the nuncio to ask for his passports. However, as Vannutelli knew the mind of the Pontiff to be averse to an open rupture of diplomatic relations with a Catholic

sovereign, when such a catastrophe could possibly be avoided, he consented to withhold the document, without, however, modifying its contents in any way. In spite of this letter, Frère-Orban made to the parliament a most impressive denunciation of the bishops, as of men who were disobedient to the Holy See. Then, in the name of the entire Belgian hierarchy, Cardinal Dechamps, archbishop of Malines, published a formal denial of the assertion, concluding with the words, "not only has the Holy Father uttered no word of blame for the bishops of Belgium, but we know positively—*nous le savons de science certaine*—that our adversaries will wait in vain for such a word." Nor did the Pontiff delay in notifying the world that Frère-Orban had lied, although of course, the papal language was polite, and restricted to the mere necessary. In a Brief to His Eminence of Malines, dated April 2, 1880, His Holiness said: "We wish to assure you, with all our heart, that your manifestations of devotion, of attachment to this Holy See, and of zeal for the preservation of faith and piety in your country, have filled us with consolation; and that they even strengthen the ties of paternal affection which have so long bound us to the bishops, clergy, and laity of Belgium." And the diplomatic correspondence of Baron d'Anethan, the Belgian Minister to the Vatican, shows that the Pope said to this envoy: "That alleged discord never existed. I am united completely with all the Belgian bishops; there is but one Fold and one Shepherd." But the Masonic audacity of the Belgian Foreign Minister was unaffected by shame. On April 7, 1880, he asked Cardinal Nina for "explanations" of what had been already explained *ad abundantiam*. In a despatch dated May 3, the cardinal-secretary again insisted that the Belgian prelates had acted properly and necessarily, when they condemned a law which violated the principles of Christian morality, and when they interdicted all formal co-operation in the observance of that law. The Holy See, again "explained" His Eminence, had indeed hoped for a moment that the Belgian bishops might find it possible to distinguish between school and school, showing in practice a kind of indulgence toward such institutions as did not really

inspire distrust in the Catholic mind; but the prelates replied that such a distinction was impossible. Therefore "the Holy See, considering the actual condition of the new schools in general, did not deem it wise to oppose the judgment of the bishops; for these prelates were on the spot, and were fully able to appreciate the circumstances as well as the needs of the faithful who were committed to their care." Nevertheless, again remarks the papal secretary, His Holiness did not cease to advise great moderation in the application of spiritual penalties; but such advice was by no means an opposition to the general condemnation of the new schools. Frère-Orban still affected to perceive a discord between the minds of the Belgian bishops and the mind of the Pontiff. On May 18, he repeated this often reiterated assertion; and then, in justification of his laicizing policy, he pointed to certain other countries, in which the Catholic clergy had been at least less opposed to "neutral" schools. To this would-be argumentation Cardinal Nina replied on June 8, proving that the Holy See had always condemned those schools, in whatever land they had been introduced. Before Frère-Orban received this despatch, he had ordered Baron d'Anethan to withdraw his legation from the Vatican. In the name of His Holiness, the cardinal-secretary protested against this outrage on June 13; and in another despatch, dated June 29, His Eminence said: "Europe will render justice to the great condescension of the Holy See, and to the striking proofs of his conciliatory spirit which Leo XIII. has given in the course of this affair. It was the duty of His Holiness, and history will honor him for it, not to debase his divine mission by compromises which would have involved the faith of the rising generation in Belgium, and perhaps the faith of the entire Belgian people." In the consistory held on Aug. 20, our Pontiff delivered a solemn Allocution, in which he condemned the Belgian educational law of 1879, and protested against the recall of the Belgian Minister to the Vatican, as well as against the dismissal of his nuncio at Brussels. He protested especially against the latter act, since it was a violation of the Apostolic dignity, and of the inalienable

right of the Roman Pontiff to send his envoys to any country on earth. He praised the zeal of the Belgian prelates, and the magnificent generosity of the Belgian laity, "who so fully recognized the danger that threatened religion when that law was voted, and who resolved to defend the faith of their ancestors at every cost" Then he referred to the grand eulogy of Pope Gregory XVI. on the Belgians, which that Pope pronounced when he was about to send the future Leo XIII. as nuncio to Brussels. "When Gregory XVI. deigned to name us for the pontifical legation in that country, he spoke to us in most flattering terms concerning the Belgian nation, styling it a strong race, whose loving fidelity toward the Apostolic See and its own sovereigns had been long maintained, despite many vicissitudes. And we ourselves were able, during our nunciature, to bear witness to those Belgic virtues which the monuments of long-vanished days have recorded. We have cherished a special affection for that people, because of the sweet recollections of persons and events which we still preserve, as we think of our residence in that land. We are certain that the Belgians will never abandon the love and the service of the Church; that on the contrary, remaining constant in the Catholic faith, and continuing in their solicitude for the Christian education of their children, they will always be worthy of their ancestors."

On Aug. 3, 1881, Leo XIII. addressed a Brief to Cardinal Dechamps, urging the necessity of concord among the Belgian Catholics, both clerical and lay; begging them to abstain from all irritating discussions, and giving them some rules for their guidance when talking or writing on politico-religious matters. Some of these remarks will interest the reader. "Filled with anxiety for the maintenance of concord among you, we notice that certain controversies on public law, which are agitated among you with great fervor, are not very favorable to peace. The theme of these controversies is the propriety of reconciling the principles of the new jurisprudence with those inculcated by Catholic doctrine. No one can desire more ardently than we desire, the organization of human society on a Christian basis, all

the institutions of the State being penetrated and impregnated by the Christian virtues. But if Catholics wish to strive for the common weal, it is necessary that they keep before their eyes, and follow faithfully, the prudent methods adopted by the Church in regard to these matters. Although the Church defends with indomitable firmness the integrity of revealed truth and of the principles of justice, and although she endeavors to secure the triumph of these principles in public and private life; nevertheless, she ever considers the circumstances of time, persons, and places, and frequently she resigns herself to a toleration of certain evils which cannot be overcome without opening a door to greater ones. In all discussions, you should beware of passing the bounds of equity and charity; you should never accuse rashly, or even suspect men who are docile to the teachings of the Church, especially when they are constituted in places of ecclesiastical dignity." On June 5, 1883, the Pontiff was able to congratulate the Belgians on their attention to his warning voice, in a letter addressed to the members of the federation of the Catholic societies of the kingdom, then assembled in convention at Audenarde. And the result of the prudent zeal of the Belgian laity was soon declared. In the general elections of June 10, 1884, the Masonic yoke was cast aside, and an enormous majority of Catholic deputies were chosen as representatives of a Catholic people. Under the successive Ministries of Malou and Bernaert, the work of Frère-Orban and his brethren was undone. On July 19, the legation to the Vatican was re-established; and on Sept. 20, the Chambers voted a new School Law which restored their legitimate rights to the Catholics, while it also respected freedom of conscience in their adversaries.

CHAPTER XV.

POPE LEO XIII. AND THE CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. THE CONDEMNATION OF SO-CALLED "AMERICANISM."

In November, 1889, one hundred years after the institution of a regular hierarchy in these United States by Pope

Pius VI., there was opened in Washington, in the presence of a papal ablegate, Mgr. Satolli, Archbishop of Lepanto, and of Mr. Harrison, then President of the Republic, a theological school which was intended to be the beginning of an American Catholic University. There was much reason for the complacency manifested by the American Catholic community on this occasion of an anticipated completion of its Catholic educational system; but the satisfaction would have been more thorough and more justifiable, had there been perceived no necessity for remembering that at that very moment many hundreds of parishes in the Republic were destitute of Catholic elementary schools. This lamentable fact must have appeared incomprehensible to such of the participants in this festivity as did not willingly ignore the convictions of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, held in 1884—sentiments which were accentuated by a decree that parochial schools should be established in all parishes in which they did not already exist, unless such foundations proved impossible of actuation; that the new schools should be opened *within two years*; that deprivation of his parish would be merited by any pastor who would be derelict in this matter; and that all Catholic parents should send their children to the parochial schools, unless the bishops should decide that in particular cases the contrary course might be pursued. Certainly poverty could scarcely have been accepted as a palliation of the fault by any friend of Catholic education who was familiar with the financial prospects of the heartily welcomed University; and such an observer might have trusted that the manifested zeal for the higher education of Catholic laymen indicated a perception, on the part of the wealthier American faithful, that necessary and proper mental food is to be given to the children who are mentally starving or poisoned—that the vital needs of the educational life of the majority of American Catholics are of paramount importance. Then it might have been deemed not foolish to believe that the endowers of the University would finally equip and endow a Catholic elementary school in every poor parish in the Republic. Such fancies, however, would have been dissipated when, in little more than a year after

the celebration in Washington, dearth of pecuniary resources was alleged by one of the foremost promoters of the University in defence of a transaction which appeared to menace the most important of the causes ever championed by the American hierarchy. The archbishop of St. Paul had entered into an arrangement with the civil authorities of Faribault and Stillwater, whereby the Catholic schools of those towns were to pass under the direction of the Public School Boards for the space of one year, the agreement to be renewed according to the good pleasure of each party. It was understood that the Sisters who had hitherto taught in the Catholic schools were to retain their positions, but were to use the text-books prescribed by the Board, and were to give no religious instruction during the school-hours. The "Faribault Plan," as it came to be styled, was certainly a pecuniary relief to the Catholics who had hitherto supported the parochial schools affected by it; but it was regarded by nearly all the bishops and clergy of the Republic as an entering-wedge which, if tolerated, would ultimately entail the ruin of the edifice of Catholic elementary education. The discussions which ensued eventuated in a submission of the question to the judgment of the Holy See; and on April 21, 1892, the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda decided that "while the decrees of the Councils of Baltimore still preserve all their force, nevertheless, all the circumstances of the case having been considered, the agreement concluded by Archbishop Ireland *may be tolerated*." In his explanation of this decision, Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of the Propaganda, recalls the decrees of his Congregation and of the Third Council of Baltimore concerning the parochial schools, and especially the Canon by which the Baltimorean synodals "decided very wisely that every church in every diocese should have a school for the education of Catholic children in religion, morality, and letters, said school to be under the authority and direction of the pastor." The cardinal-prefect recognizes that very many American ecclesiastics blame the course pursued by the archbishop of St. Paul as derogatory to the decrees of the Propaganda and of the Council of Baltimore; but His Eminence adjures

the clergy to heed the decision of the Sacred Congregation. The letter of the cardinal-prefect did not terminate the discussion; it was asserted by many, notably by the editors of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, that the phrase "may be tolerated" implied a disapprobation of the "Faribault Plan." In these circumstances Pope Leo XIII. deemed it prudent to address, on May 24, 1892, a letter to the bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province of New York, in which he declared that while it was his Pontifical will that the decrees of Baltimore should be religiously observed, "nevertheless, in the case of all general laws whenever anything special and unexpected occurs, equity may lead the lawgiver to tolerate something which deviates a little from the letter of the law." And the Pontiff adds: "We have perceived that the present is such a case; and we have thought it wise to follow the counsels of moderation and of prudence, rather than to judge according to the rigor of the law." Then the Pontiff draws attention to the fact that in the United States there is not one bishop who does not condemn the schools of the State, as they are now constituted. He urges the prelates to continue their efforts to prevent the little ones of their flocks from attending schools in which religious instruction is not given, and in which their morality will be endangered. He expresses the hope that some day the fairness of the non-Catholics among the Americans will cause them to perceive the propriety of doing justice to their Catholic fellow-citizens in this matter. On Nov. 16, the question of the schools was considered by the archbishops of the United States in an apposite meeting held in New York. The archbishop of Lepanto, Mgr. Satolli, who had recently returned to the Republic as special delegate of His Holiness to its prelates, was present; and as he laid before the bishops fourteen propositions designed to regulate the matter of the schools, he declared that his act was performed "in the name of the Holy Father" (1). We give the salient features of these propositions: II. Wherever there is no Catholic school, or when the existing school does not furnish a fitting education to the pupils, according to their condition of life, then those

(1) Thus in the Official Report of the meeting, signed by the secretary, Mgr. Chapelle.

children may attend the State institutions with a safe conscience, if the judgment and conscience of the ordinaries perceive no danger of perversion in that attendance. V. The bishops strictly enjoin, in accordance with the formal prohibition emitted by the Sovereign Pontiff by the mouth of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, that no bishop or priest dare to refuse the Sacraments, or to threaten such refusal, to parents who send their children to the public schools ; and with much greater reason this provision is to be applied to the children themselves. VI. *Absolutely and generally speaking*, it is not repugnant that a Catholic child should receive rudimentary and superior instruction in the schools of the State. VII. *But the Church entertains a horror for those public schools which oppose Christian truth and true morality ; and once that it appears to be possible to procure the abolition of such institutions, it is the duty of both clergy and laity to aid in that abolition.* The Church, be it understood, does not reprobate secular pedagogy as such ; she would rather encourage a united action of the spiritual and temporal powers, whereby there would be established everywhere public schools which would satisfy the legitimate needs of all the citizens in the matter of instruction in the arts and sciences. VIII. *The Church finds that, as a rule, the public schools in the United States are " dangerous to faith and morals,"* because they furnish a merely secular education, excluding all religious instruction ; because the teachers are indiscriminately selected from among all the sects with which the Republic abounds, and because therefore *every kind of error is liable to be inculcated in the susceptible minds of the pupils.* However, this article grants that whenever there is found a public school which, thanks to the care of the school commissioners and of the parents in the community, offers no danger to the faith or morals of the children, then the parents may avail themselves of that school, *on condition that their offspring are elsewhere taught carefully all the truths and duties of the Catholic Religion.* IX. Each ordinary is to judge whether, in such and such a parish of his diocese, a good Catholic school can be maintained. XIII. The Catholic schools should be in every

respect model institutions ; and the teachers should try to obtain certificates of their capability from the civil educational authorities, both because such action will show that they do not despise the prescriptions of the State, and because they will thus augment the respect of the heterodox for our schools. Having carefully considered these articles, the American archbishops accepted them all with some unimportant modifications (1). In a letter which Leo XIII. addressed to Cardinal Gibbons on May 31, 1893, His Holiness alludes to his intention of establishing a permanent Apostolic Delegation in the United States, and then having remarked that one of his objects in sending Mgr. Satolli to the Republic was a settlement of the school question which had caused much perturbation in well-meaning minds, he says: "This venerable brother obeyed our orders exactly. . . . The wise decisions of the assembly (of the archbishops in New York) appeared to the archbishop of Lepanto to be worthy of all praise ; and we ourselves confirm that judgment." Then the Pontiff alludes to the propositions submitted by Mgr. Satolli to the archbishops, the inopportune publication of which by some indiscreet person had caused much agitation among the journalistic wiseacres of the Republic: "Our delegate laid before the assembly certain propositions which he had drawn up, and which referred to that double order which embraces the science of truth and the guidance of life. . . . (2) These propositions of our delegate having been inopportunately published, new and more vivid discussions were excited, and because of inexact interpretations or of malign insinuations by certain journals, these discussions became more general and more acrid. Because of this fact, several of the American bishops, either disliking the interpretations which had been given to certain of those propositions, or fearing that said interpretations might result in injury to souls, confidently laid the matter before us. Therefore, remember-

(1) The Report says: "*Quæ omnia lecta et perpensa fuerunt in archiepiscoporum conventu, resolutis difficultatibus et actis emendationibus requisitis, die 17 Novembris, 1892.*"

(2) "*Propositiones quasdam vobis exhibuit ab se concinnatas, duplicem attingentes ordinem quo scientia veritatis et actionis continetur.*"

ing that the salvation of men must ever be our supreme law, and wishing also to give you another proof of our good will, we asked each one of you to express his mind separately to us on this subject. All of you hastened to comply with our wish. These replies have shown that while some of you found no cause for fear in the propositions, others thought that they appeared to abrogate in some measure the decrees of the Councils of Baltimore on the schools; and these latter bishops feared that a consequent diversity of interpretation of the decrees of Baltimore would engender grave dissensions. We have examined this question seriously; and we have found that the above-mentioned misinterpretations (of the propositions) accord neither with the intentions of our delegate, nor with the mind of the Apostolic See. *The principal propositions presented by the archbishop of Lepanto were drawn from the decrees of the Third Council of Baltimore; they especially announce the necessity of using the greatest zeal in the foundation of Catholic schools, although they leave to the discretion and conscience of each ordinary the duty of determining the cases when a child may or may not attend a public school.* If in every document the words at its end ought to be understood in the sense of those which precede them, is it not dishonest to give to the second part of a discourse an interpretation which contradicts the first part? When our delegate presented these propositions to the episcopal assembly in New York, he proclaimed his admiration for the pastoral zeal shown by the American bishops in their promulgation of the wise decrees of the Third Council of Baltimore concerning the education of Catholic youth. And he added that so far as those decrees prescribed a general rule of conduct, they were to be faithfully obeyed; and that without any *absolute* condemnation of *all* the public schools, *energetic efforts were to be put forth for the numerical increase and perfect organization of Catholic schools.*" It is evident from this letter of Leo XIII., if indeed it had not been evident before the letter was received in America, that firstly, parochial schools must be maintained and extended throughout the Republic; secondly, that it is the province of each bishop to judge, in the case of each parish in his

diocese, whether parents are to be free to send their children to a public school; and thirdly, that a general permission for a use of the public schools *cannot be accorded*, since only certain cases are affected by the toleration of what is in last analysis an abuse—" *possunt enim casus incidere*" (1).

During the years 1891 and 1892 the minds of the Catholics in the United States were profoundly agitated by a question which was intimately connected with that of the "Faribault Plan," and the consequences of which promised, at one time, to be as baneful as those which would have been entailed by a general adoption of that plan. We allude to those claims which, considered collectively, a certain element in the Republic has been pleased to designate as "Cahenslyism." In several of the countries which furnish a large number of immigrants to the United States of America, there had been organized branches of that zealous Society of St. Raphael which occupies itself with both the religious and material interests of those immigrants during the first few years of their residence in the New World. In April, 1891, the guiding spirits of this noble organization, among whom were such representatives of the most worthy among the European aristocracies as the Marquis Volpe-Landi, the Count de Mèrode, Prince Isenburg-Bierstein, and the Prince Schwartzemberg, met in Congress at Lucerne. The result of their deliberations was a report addressed to Cardinal Rampolla del Tindaro, the Papal Secretary of State, in which it was declared that an active intervention of the

(1) While the controversy concerning the "Faribault Plan" was being waged, another, and one which was closely connected with that plan, attracted much attention. This dispute, having for its object a determination of the extent of the rights of the State in the matter of popular instruction, was held by Dr. Bouquillon, a professor in the Catholic University in Washington, and the *Civiltà Cattolica*. According to Bouquillon, the State possesses, independently of all religious principles, the right to raise the children of its citizens; it can and should regulate every matter connected with schools, fixing the minimum of obligatory instruction, imposing what it will in the way of subject-matter for acquisition, punishing parents who fail to obey its prescriptions, and exercising full jurisdiction over every private educational establishment. Of course the partisans of the "Faribault Plan," as well as all the lovers of Statolatry, whose number is continually increasing in our Republic, acclaimed the theory of the Universitarian. The *Civiltà Cattolica* strenuously controverted the Spartan-like assumption, defending in its turn the thesis proposed by Schifflini (*Moral Philosophy*, Vol. II., § 517) in these terms: "Excepting only that moral and religious education which ought to be given by the parental care under the direction of the ecclesiastical and not the civil authority, instruction such as is given generally in the schools cannot be enjoined as a thing necessarily to be accepted by every citizen."

Holy See could alone prevent an annihilation of the spiritual interests of a large number of the Germans, Italians, and Austro-Hungarians who had arrived in the United States during the previous few years. This report was signed by Cahensly, the secretary of the German branch of the Society of St. Raphael, and by the Marquis Volpe-Landi, the president of the Italian branch. According to these gentlemen : "The most authoritative statistics show that the Catholic immigrants into the United States, together with their children, should have given to the Republic, by this time, a Catholic population of twenty-six millions ; whereas we know that there are not more than ten millions of Catholics in the country, showing that there has been a loss of sixteen millions." Undoubtedly there has been a very extensive "leakage" in the Catholic population of the United States ; but in the collective letter which the American archbishops sent to His Holiness during their conference of Nov., 1892, the prelates protested that the Raphaelite calculations were a gross exaggeration. Cahensly and Volpe-Landi alleged six causes of the lamented defection : I. The absence of adequate protection for the immigrants, during their voyage, and on their arrival in America. II. An insufficiency of priests and of parishes for each nationality among the immigrants. III. Exorbitant pecuniary sacrifices frequently demanded from the faithful. IV. *The public schools*. V. The need of benevolent and national Catholic societies. VI. The absence of representatives of each foreign nationality in the American episcopate. In their illustration of the first of these causes of defection, the Raphaelites insisted on the necessity of a preservation of their mother-tongue on the part of the immigrants as well as on an actuation of the idea of national parishes (1). "Of course," said the report, "in time the immigrants will speak the English language ; but if they do not practice their religion until that time arrives, there will be a probability of their not practicing it at all. Sad experience has taught us

(1) In 1886 the German Catholics had even asked the Propaganda to order that no German, or child of a German, should be allowed to frequent any other than a German church, without an *exeat* from his bishop. It goes without saying that the request was refused.

that such is nearly always the case. And since each people has its own characteristics, it is necessary that its priests should not only speak its language, but should also be of the same nationality. Therefore it is desirable that each national group of immigrants be organized in a distinct parish, under a pastor of its own nationality." It would be absurd to deny that justice and Christian prudence formed, in the main, the animating spirit of these views; but the English-speaking Catholics of the Republic, who formed the immense majority of the faithful, discerned in their actuation a danger to the American national unity. In his admirable work on the Pontificate of Leo XIII., Mgr. T'Serclaes says: "Unfortunately, the report insisted, in a rather unhappy fashion, on the possibility of an Americanization without a final abandonment of one's original national predilections. This idea was frequently enunciated, notably in the insistence on the establishment of national Catholic societies for the workingmen, and in the Sixth Article which demanded representatives of each nationality in the American episcopate. This last point excited a veritable storm in the United States. The dominating thought in the report of Lucerné was acceptable in a certain sense. Certainly an abandonment of the immigrants, without aid among the olden inhabitants, was an exposure of them to the danger of a loss of faith and of morality. Therefore nothing could be more useful than the establishment of national societies, which would remind the newly-arrived of their mother-country; nothing could be more just than to supply their religious wants by means of priests speaking their mother-tongue who were of their own nationality. But it was undoubtedly imprudent to desire a maintenance of the separate nationalities through a long series of generations, in the very bosom of that American people which is mainly composed of persons who are 'Anglo-Saxon' or Irish by race. The experience of other countries proves that the assimilation of immigrants with the nationals is soon effected, and often in the second generation; therefore it would seem that protective societies ought to restrict themselves to a preservation of the religious interests of the immigrants

during the period of transition, thereby facilitating the fusion of the foreigners with the natives. But the report of Cahensly and Volpe-Landi regarded the question from the contrary point of view, and seemed to look to a division of the races, and not to their harmonious commingling." It was quite natural that the English-speaking Catholics of the United States should have protested against the pretensions of the Society of St. Raphael; but an immediate affectation of violated American patriotism attained the height of absurdity when Catholic pens began to write about "the conspiracy of Lucerne," and to designate as a "siege of Rome" the report which Cahensly and Volpe-Landi had presented to the Father of the Faithful. The unfortunate secretary was accused of the blackest designs; his language was travestied, and he was represented as talking in a fashion that would have frightened him; it was declared that not only all the members of the noble society, but also all the German bishops and Windthorst himself, were but tools of an insidious Austro-German policy. Several of the weaklings so common in American Catholic journalism told their readers that Cahensly insisted on the establishment of two bishops, one American, and the other German, in each diocese of the Republic; whereas the report had plainly said: "Since the dioceses contain faithful of different nationalities, it is evident that we do not desire any division of these dioceses by nationalities. What we do request from the wisdom and justice of the Holy See is that the episcopal body be made to include prelates of the various nationalities, so that the different peoples may be represented by some of their own in the episcopate, in the ecclesiastical provinces, and in the Councils." In vain Cahensly declared that he adopted as his own the saying of a journal of Cincinnati: "That immigrant is a traitor, and cannot be tolerated here, who proposes in this country to favor the interests of his native land." The irritation continued; and finally the Holy See interfered. On June 28, 1892, Cardinal Rampolla wrote to Cardinal Gibbons: "The Holy Father cannot but rejoice because of the establishment of associations among you destined to give material and especially spiritual aid to the

Catholics who now migrate to America. But we have heard that some of these associations—for instance, the German Society of St. Raphael—are endeavoring, in their zeal to attain their object, to procure the elevation of a representative of each nationality among the immigrants to the American episcopate.” His Eminence alludes to the displeasure excited even among the American bishops by this project; and he declares that the Holy See finds that the idea “is neither necessary nor opportune,” and that there is no intention, on the part of the Pontiff, of making any change in the method of episcopal nominations which has hitherto obtained in the United States. The American prelates are asked not to foster “a movement which has been occasioned by a fear which had no foundation,” but rather to promote harmony, resting assured that the Holy See will never entertain any proposition which could disturb them. And the cardinal-secretary is careful to add that His Holiness considers that the spiritual interests of the European immigrants are sufficiently protected by the appointment of pastors who are their fellow-countrymen. Certainly this letter ought to have terminated the trouble. But the German branch of the Society of St. Raphael was nettled; and it complained to Cardinal Rampolla, because he had singled it out for implicit reproof, while all the other branches of the society had cherished the same reprobated ideas. And the Germans took advantage of the opportunity, in a memorial *ad hoc*, to reiterate their desire that every lawful means should be adopted to secure the preservation of its language to each nationality in the Republic. This memorial was referred to Cardinal Ledochowski, who had recently been made prefect of the Propaganda; and on May 15, 1892, there was sent to each bishop in the United States a circular which put an end to the agitation. After a meed of praise to the zeal of the American prelates, His Eminence thus speaks of the nomination of bishops: “The discipline now in force must be preserved entire and inviolable...Your Grandeur knows that in your country when there occurs an episcopal vacancy, there begin certain movements among both clergy and people, and experience teaches that these movements are becoming

insensibly more grievous and more frequent... We see the people and the clergy agitating, without regard to legitimate right, in favor of certain candidates for the episcopal throne; discussions concerning them are held in the newspapers; public and private meetings are convened, and each party lauds its own preference, while it disparages all others." Such agitations, says the cardinal, are principally caused by the intense desire of each faction to have a bishop who belongs to its nationality, as though the choice of a worthy pastor were a matter of private interest, and not of the general good of the Church. The Holy See regards the welfare of the whole Church whenever it appoints a bishop in any country; and it must have that welfare before its eyes most especially when there is a question of the United States of America, a land in which men of various European nations, seeking a new country, are forming one people and consequently one nation. The cardinal says that the bishops "must crush all attempts" to undermine the authority of the American Plenary Councils, especially that of the Third Council of Baltimore, whose decrees, "most conformable to the necessities of the time and the place," have been approved by the Holy See. It will be futile, concludes His Eminence, for any persons to devise or to entertain projects which in any way contradict the prescriptions of the Council of Baltimore, "since the Apostolic See has nothing more at heart than the integrity of Ecclesiastical Law, the guardian of order and the upholder of peace."

When it was announced that the government and people of the United States intended to celebrate, in a becoming manner, the fourth centennial anniversary of the discovery of America, Pope Leo XIII. wrote to the Committee of Arrangements, declaring his wish to be associated with so laudable a manifestation of legitimate national pride, and of gratitude to the Giver of all good things. Having praised "the vigor of the American people which enables them to effect the most difficult tasks with such audacity and success," His Holiness expressed the hope "that their noble enterprise (the World's Fair), to the success of which other nations would contribute, would have the happy result of

further inciting the genius of man to the efforts for the development of the gifts of Nature, and for the encouragement of the Fine Arts." Among the objects which the Pontiff loaned to the Centennial Exposition was the celebrated map on which Pope Alexander VI. traced what was to be the future line of demarcation between the Spanish and the Portuguese possessions in the New World (1). The American secretary of state, in a letter to Cardinal Rampolla, in which he assured His Eminence that the utmost care would be taken in order to ensure the restoration of the pontifical exhibits to their proper domicile, recognized the intimate association of the Holy See with the enterprise of Columbus; and in his turn the cardinal-secretary of state to His Holiness, after thanking the American government for its courtesy, announced that the Pontiff would be represented by a special delegate at the Columbian ceremonies; "His Holiness, who has so much reason for manifesting special regard for the government of the United States, because of the freedom enjoyed by the Catholic Church in that country, has determined to be represented at the festivities in honor of the great Genoese, and by a personage who is distinguished no less by his own merits than by his exalted position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This person is Mgr. Satolli, Archbishop of Lepanto, a prelate greatly esteemed for his virtue, as well as for the profound erudition which he has exhibited in so many writings." On July 16, 1892, Leo XIII. addressed to the bishops of Italy, Spain, and North and South America the Encyclical concerning the imminent Columbian festivities to which we have already alluded (p. 190).

In the beginning of 1893 Pope Leo XIII. actuated his long-entertained design of establishing a permanent Apostolic Delegation in the United States, appointing Mgr. Satolli, whom we have already seen fulfilling a temporary mission to the American bishops, as the first incumbent of the important position. In the letter by which he announced the new departure to the cardinal-archbishop of Baltimore, the Pontiff said that the mission of Mgr. Satolli during the Columbian festivities had been intended as a testimony of

(1) See our Vol. iii., p. 221.

"the pontifical regard for those who are at the head of the American Republic"; and then he continued: "We have openly declared, not only that your nation is as dear to us as are those flourishing nations to whom we are accustomed to accredit representatives of our authority, but that we earnestly desire a firmer consolidation of the ties which bind you and your flocks to our person." Shortly after the promulgation of this Apostolic Letter, His Holiness felt himself justified in writing again to Cardinal Gibbons: "We were greatly gratified when we learned that the additional mark of our regard for your nation had been followed by demonstrations of a general gratitude and respect for ourself." Noteworthy indeed was the reception accorded to the Papal representative in each one of the great cities of the Republic which he visited officially during the first few months of his delegation; but special interest was attached to his magnificent reception in New York, since it afforded to Archbishop Corrigan an opportunity to break a noble silence, and to finally vindicate himself, without any debasement of his personal or official dignity, from the aspersions which many of the secular and even some Catholic journals had cast upon His Grace as they deliberately falsified his position on the School Question, and as they travestied his sentiments in regard to the delegate-apostolic. On Aug. 15, 1893, Mgr. Satolli pontificated in the cathedral of the metropolis, before a congregation of more than 10,000 persons. After the Gospel, His Grace of New York mounted the pulpit, and began a discourse on the duties of bishops and their flocks to the Sovereign Pontiff and to his delegates. Finally, the archbishop approached the subject which most of his auditors, who had borne with impatience his long silence in face of his detractors, were anxiously awaiting. He entered on the matter by an allusion to the happiness and advantages experienced by those who, like himself, had received their ecclesiastical education in the Eternal City. Then he declared that he who had enjoyed those privileges would feel himself humiliated if he found that he was expected to protest that never, even for an instant, had he entertained the idea of disobeying the explicit commands, or of even disre-

garding the wishes of the Holy Father. For it is certain, insisted the prelate, that excepting that sorrow which is entailed by an offence against God, no more poignant grief can afflict the heart of a conscientious bishop, than that which he feels when his faith is attacked, or when doubt is expressed concerning his fidelity to his oaths of consecration. Of course, the archbishop reflected that such a cross might be productive of great merit; and he knew that a bishop so afflicted was in duty bound to imitate his Master, and to forgive his calumniators. In conclusion, His Grace protested that he rejoiced with his brethren of the clergy, because of the honor accruing to their diocese from the presence of the representative of the Vicar of Jesus Christ; and in the name of his priests, as well as in his own, he welcomed the delegate-apostolic most cordially. Then the archbishop declared that he repudiated whatever had been said in public or in private, against the undeniable rights or against the sacred character of his venerable guest; but he cheerfully endorsed everything that had been said in exaltation of the delegate's office and prerogatives (1).

During several years previous to the period which now engages our attention, certain imaginative American clerics had devoted much of their time to a fanciedly imperative task of indoctrinating the Catholics of the Republic with lessons in patriotism, although outside their diminutive circle no one had dreamed that the American Catholics needed this

(1) Mgr. Satolli was destined to look askance at those who had asked him to distrust the Archbishop of New York. We cull the following remarks from the *Church Progress* of St. Louis (Aug. 12, 1899): "It is well to look back at times. Past history often casts a light on present events. I remember when Cardinal Satolli first came to this country as Papal Alegate. He was acclaimed with a flourish of trumpets and with huzzahs by the Faribaulters. They had prepared Mgr. Satolli in Rome; his right ear was filled with their dust. When he arrived, they hedged him round, jealously guarding him from everybody save their own clique. The Papal Alegate could not then speak English. He had been led to believe that the people of the United States were eager to embrace Catholicity, if only some slight concessions were made in matters of discipline. After a time Mgr. Satolli, who has eyes and ears of his own, and had learned to read and speak English, learned that things were not in this country as he had been led to suppose. From that time Faribaultism ceased to flourish in Rome. Its weediness became apparent. Cardinal Satolli had studied the situation and understood what it meant. Since then His Eminence at Rome has been guarding the integrity of the Church in this country. . . . As long as Mgr. Satolli was in their hands (the hands of the "Americanists"), and was ignorant of the real conditions in this country, they could not blow his praises too loud nor too long. And now that he has seen through their complot, alas! for human fickleness, His Eminence is consigned to the limbo of their wrath."

instruction. Platform and even pulpit were made to resound with declamations which implied that these clergymen alone were the models of all that was patriotic for the imitation of their Catholic compatriots ; and as such models they were persistently indicated by the heterodox press, and by a few of the weaker sort of Catholic journals and periodicals. Had the exuberances of these gentlemen been manifested by nothing more grave than their titillating verbiage ; had they and their comparatively few acclamants prudently confined the resultant theories within the regions of simple academics ; the American hierarchy, as well as the immense majority of the Catholic laity, might have continued to smile indulgently, waiting until the lessons of experience would act with their wonted vigor. But the region of pure academics was not sufficiently broad for the new "Americanists," as they had come to be styled. In a sermon devoted to a commentary on the Apostolic Letter which will soon claim our attention, Dr. McQuade, the venerable bishop of Rochester, N. Y., very aptly described a few of the vagaries of the "Americanists," after their descent from the realms of theory to those of practice : "Firstly, you will remember the sorry spectacle of the Parliament of Religions at the Chicago Fair, when the Catholic Church was put on a par with every pretense of religious denomination from Mohammedanism and Buddhism down to the lowest form of Evangelicalism and infidelity. It is not at all surprising that our simple Catholics, who knew their *Catechism* in its letter and spirit, were shocked at this degradation of the Religion of Christ. The Holy Father's reprobation of such parliaments satisfied the just sentiments of our Catholic people. Secondly, there was heard the cry from some quarters that if our Catholic people would adopt the State system of public school education—education without religion or God—the American people would be disarmed and would embrace us all as brothers. Many of the lukewarm and the indifferent were led for a time to think that schools without religion would suffice. The whole question went before the head of our Church for adjudication, and the response gratified the heart of every loyal child of the Church. It left no room for doubt or cavil.

Thus ended the second cropping out of false Americanism. Thirdly, an assault was directed against the ban placed on secret societies. Just when the evil consequences of secret organizations are making themselves felt everywhere, and non-Catholic religious denominations find their churches depleted because the Lodge has become a substitute for the Church, and a few natural virtues replace the supernatural teachings and counsels of Christ, our liberal-minded Catholics would open the doors of the Lodges to our Catholics. They were not satisfied with permitting Catholics to enter the 'Odd Fellows' and 'Knights of Pythias' Lodges, but held out the hope that soon the ban would be raised from Freemasonry. The Pope's letter condemning the 'Odd Fellows,' the 'Knights of Pythias,' and the 'Sons of Temperance,' extinguished all hope of raising the ban against Freemasonry. Thus the third form of false Americanism among Catholics was shattered. The fourth exhibition came before the public when a Catholic ecclesiastic took his stand before a non-Catholic University in his clerical robes to advertise to the community the new-born Liberalism of the Catholic Church. It was an advertisement well worth paying for, as it was an encouragement to Catholic parents to send their sons to Universities of such liberal tendencies that they were glad to rank among the alumni the veriest atheists in the land. It was an innovation that affected the whole ecclesiastical body; yet the leaders in these proceedings never condescended to take counsel except from their superior wisdom." The bishop of Rochester might have adduced many other illustrations of the necessary consequences of the new theories; but these will suffice to indicate the dangers which were threatening the Church in the United States when Pope Leo XIII. sent to Cardinal Gibbons, under date of Jan. 22, 1899, an Apostolic Letter which showed those dangers in their native hideousness to the American Catholics. The reader will remember that in 1891 there appeared in the United States a biography of one of the founders of the community of secular priests known as the Congregation of St. Paul the Apostle (1). The author of this biography must have been sur-

(1) *The Life of Father Hecker*, by the Rev. Walter Elliott.

prised when he heard the "Americanists" lauding his hero as "the Paul of the nineteenth century," and it is improbable that he believed with the innovators that Hecker was "the apostle of the reconciliation of the Church with the age." Certain peculiar views of the famous Paulist attracted the attention of the European theologians, when his biography was translated into French by the Abbé Klein; then Magnien asked: *Was Father Hecker a saint?* and Delattre examined the nature of *An American Catholicism*. Finally, on Jan. 22, 1899, in order to terminate the controversies which had been excited by "Heckerism," as the new opinions had come to be designated, His Holiness issued the letter, *Testem benevolentiae nostræ*, from which we shall quote the more salient passages: "You are well aware, Beloved Son, that the *Life of Isaac Thomas Hecker*, especially through the agency of those who undertook to publish it in a foreign language or to interpret it, has excited no little controversy by reason of certain opinions that have been introduced concerning the Christian manner of living (1). . . The principles on which the new opinions we have mentioned are based may be reduced to this, that in order the more easily

(1) There were some acrimonious debates between the "Americanists" and their opponents, concerning the proper translation of this passage. The Roman correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal* of New York (St. Killian More) thus commented on the matter: "The translation (made in the office of the *Baltimore Sun*, and then copied by the other American papers), is in the main a very satisfactory one; but it fails altogether to give the true sense of the Pontiff's thought in a part of one important paragraph: In the Latin this runs: '*Comptertum tibi est, dilecte fili noster, librum de vita Isaaci Thomæ Hecker, eorum præsertim opera, qui aliena lingua edendum vel interpretandum suscepunt, controversias excitasse non modicas ob inexactas quasdam de ratione Christiane vivendi opiniones.*' In the Italian version (which, let me point out, is official) the passage is as follows: '*Li è ben noto, diletto figlio nostro, che il libro intorno alla vita di Isacco-Tommasso Hecker, per opera in ispecialità di coloro che lo tradussero in altra lingua o lo chiosarono, suscitò controversie non poche per talune opinioni messe fuori intorno al vivere Cristiano.*' And finally, the English translation puts it this way: 'It is known to you, beloved son, that *The Life of Isaac Thomas Hecker* especially as interpreted and translated in a foreign language, has excited not a little controversy, because therein have been voiced certain opinions concerning the way of leading a Christian life.' Now the real sense of the passage is this: 'It is well known to you, beloved son, that the book on *The Life of Isaac Thomas Hecker* has, especially through the work of those who have undertaken to publish it in a foreign tongue or to comment upon it, excited no little controversy, by reason of certain opinions advanced concerning the way of leading a Christian life.' This last version is not elegant (far from it), but in the light of the Latin and Italian texts, it is accurate, and that is the main thing to be considered now. The difference between it and the published translation is sufficiently important in itself, but it becomes more important still, owing to the coloring it has given to the entire document. The translation makes His Holiness put all the responsibility of

to bring over to the Catholic doctrine those who dissent from it, the Church ought to adapt herself somewhat to our advanced civilization, and relaxing her ancient rigor, show some indulgence to modern popular theories and methods. Many think that this is to be understood not only with regard to the rule of life, but also to the doctrines in which the *deposit of faith* is contained. . . . On that point the Vatican Council says : 'The doctrine of faith which God has revealed is not proposed like a theory of philosophy which is to be elaborated by the human understanding, but as a divine deposit delivered to the Spouse of Christ to be faithfully guarded and infallibly declared. . . . That sense of the sacred dogmas is to be faithfully kept which Holy Mother Church has once declared, and is not to be departed from under the specious pretext of a more profound understanding.' Nor is the suppression to be considered altogether free from blame, which designedly omits certain principles of Catholic doctrine and buries them, as it were, in oblivion. The same Vatican Council says : 'By the divine and Catholic faith we must receive all of those things which are contained in the word of God, either written or handed down, and are proposed by the Church whether in solemn

the controversy on the French version of *The Life of Father Hecker* and the views of the religious life contained in it ; whereas the Holy Father lays the responsibility on all those who have given countenance and publicity to those views by promoting the publication of *The Life of Father Hecker* in French and by commenting on it in various ways. Now leaving this subject of responsibility, it is a very serious mistake to suppose that only the French *Life* is referred to in the Papal document. I note that an American clergyman has in a manner excused His Holiness for the condemnation of *The Life of Father Hecker* on the ground that the Pope, being a very busy man, has not time to examine the accuracy of a translation, and just trusts to luck in dashing off a condemnation. This view of the matter is wildly grotesque, besides being grossly disrespectful. The supreme authority of the Church does not work on these off-hand lines, and in the present case I am in a position to state that the English as well as the French edition has been subjected to the most careful examination and (this is the most important point) been found to be out of harmony with Catholic teachings. Indeed, nobody who reads the English work and the Papal letter together can fail to see that a *number of propositions singled out for reproof in the latter are contained explicitly in the former*, while the tone of the one is simply in violent contradiction with the tone of the other. Let me observe here that I am not now discussing what Father Hecker or his followers and admirers held or hold subjectively. That is another matter, and it is highly satisfactory to see with what unanimity everybody concerned repudiates and condemns all the propositions repudiated and condemned by His Holiness. But let us look objective facts squarely in the face and bow to their inexorable logic, no matter how much hurt we may be by them. It is a fact that *The Life of Father Hecker* in English as well as in French contains objectively teachings which are not in consonance with the teachings of the Catholic Church."

decision or by the ordinary universal magisterium, to be believed as having been divinely revealed.' Far be it then from anyone to diminish or for any reason whatever to pass over anything of this divinely delivered doctrine; whosoever would do so, would wish to alienate Catholics from the Church, rather than to bring over to the Church those who dissent from her. . . . The history of all the past ages is witness that the Apostolic See, to which not only the office of teaching, but also the supreme government of the whole Church was committed, has constantly adhered *to the same doctrine, in the same sense and in the same mind*: but it has always been accustomed to so modify the rule of life, that, while keeping the divine right inviolate, it has never disregarded the manners and customs of the various nations which it embraces. If required for the salvation of souls, who will doubt that it is ready to do so at the present time?—But this is not to be determined by the will of private individuals who are mostly deceived by the appearance of right, but ought to be left to the judgment of the Church. In this all must acquiesce who wish to avoid the censure of our predecessor Pius VI., who proclaimed the 18th Proposition of the Synod of Pistoia 'to be injurious to the Church and to the Spirit of God which governs her, inasmuch as it subjects to scrutiny the discipline established and approved by the Church, as if the Church could establish a useless discipline or one which would be too onerous for Christian liberty to bear' (1). It is far indeed from our intention to repudiate all that the genius of the time begets; nay, whatever the search for truth attains, or the effort after good achieves, will always be welcome to us, for it increases the patrimony of doctrine and enlarges the limits of public prosperity. But all this, to possess real utility, should thrive without setting aside the authority and wisdom of the Church. . . . It is hard to understand how those who are imbued with Christian principles can place the *natural* ahead of the *supernatural* virtues, and attribute to them greater power and fecundity. Is nature, then, with grace added to it, weaker than when left to its own strength? and have

(1) See our Vol. iv., p. 596.

the eminently holy men, whom the Church reveres, shown themselves weak and incompetent in the natural order, because they have excelled in Christian virtue? Even if we admire the sometimes splendid acts of the natural virtues, how rare is the man who really possesses the habit of these natural virtues? . . . If we scrutinize more closely these particular acts, we shall discover that oftentimes they have more the appearance than the reality of virtue. But let us grant that they are real. If we do not wish to *run in vain*, if we do not wish to lose sight of the eternal blessedness to which God in His goodness has destined us, of what use are the natural virtues unless the gift and strength of divine grace be added? . . . With this opinion about natural virtue, another is intimately connected, according to which all Christian virtues are divided as it were into two classes, *passive*, as they say, and *active*; and they say that the former were better suited for the past times, but the latter are more in keeping with the present. There is not and can not be a virtue which is really passive. . . . From this species of contempt of the evangelical virtues which are wrongly called *passive* it follows that the mind is imbued gradually with a feeling of disdain for the religious life. And that this is common to the advocates of these new opinions, we gather from some of their utterances concerning the vows which Religious Orders pronounce. For, say they, such vows are altogether out of keeping with the spirit of our age, inasmuch as they narrow the limits of human liberty; they are better adapted to weak minds than to strong ones; they avail little for Christian perfection and the good of human society, and rather obstruct and interfere with them. That these assumptions are false is evident from the usage and doctrine of the Church, always according the most formal approval to religious life. Nor should there be any distinction of praise between those who lead an active life and those who, attracted by seclusion, give themselves up to prayer and mortification of the body. How gloriously they have merited from human society and do still merit, should be evident to all who do not ignore how *the continual prayer of a just man*, especially when joined

to affliction of the body, avails to propitiate and conciliate the majesty of God. . . . If there are any, therefore, who prefer to unite together in one society without the obligation of vows, let them do as they desire. That is not a new institution in the Church, nor is it to be disapproved. But let them beware of setting such association above Religious Orders. Since mankind is more prone now than heretofore to the enjoyment of pleasure, much greater esteem is to be accorded to those *who have left all things and have followed Christ*. . . . Lastly it is also maintained that the method which Catholics have followed thus far for recalling those who differ from us is to be abandoned, and another followed. It suffices to advert that it is not prudent, Beloved Son, to neglect what antiquity with its long experience, guided as it is by Apostolic teaching, has stamped with its approval. . . . If among the different methods of preaching the word of God, one may sometimes prefer that by which those who dissent from us are addressed, not in the Church but in any private and proper place, not in disputation but in amicable conference, such method is not to be reprehended, provided that those who are devoted to that work by the authority of the bishop be men who have given proof of science and virtue. . . . Hence from all that we have hitherto said, it is clear, Beloved Son, that we cannot approve the opinions which some comprise under the head of *Americanism*. If by that name be designated the characteristic qualities which reflect honor on the people of America, just as other nations have what is special to them; or if it implies the condition of your commonwealths, or the laws and customs which prevail in them; there is surely no reason why we should deem that it ought to be discarded. But if it is to be used not only to signify, but even to commend the above doctrines, there can be no doubt but that our Venerable Brethren the Bishops of America would be the first to repudiate and condemn it, as being especially unjust to them and to the entire nation as well. *For it raises the suspicion that there are some among you who imagine and desire a Church in America different from that which is in the rest of the world.* One in the unity of doctrine as in the unity of government—such is the

Catholic Church ; and since God has established its centre and foundation in the Chair of Peter, one which is rightly called Roman, for where Peter is, there is the Church " (1).

The reader will have noted that Pope Leo XIII. was careful to assure us that this condemnation of a false "Americanism" did not involve any reprobation of the political or patriotic predilections of the American people. It was to be expected, therefore, that "the opinions which some comprise under the head of 'Americanism'" would be repudiated by the entire American Church as soon as the Roman Pontiff drew attention to the falsity and evil tendencies of those principles ; especially since a further advocacy of such ideas would confirm "the suspicion that there were some who imagined and desired a Church in America different from that which is in the rest of the world." Nor was this expectation entirely unsatisfied. But a few of the "Americanists," while professing submission to the Pontifical decision, insisted, in a quasi-Jansenistic fashion, that none of the condemned theories had been received, if indeed they had ever been known, in the American Church ; that His Holiness had been deceived by certain intriguing spirits surrounding him, and by the mistakes or perhaps criminal

(1) Commenting on this Apostolic Letter in its issue of March 18, 1899, the *Civiltà Cattolica* says : "It is a historical fact that the word 'Americanism' was coined neither in France nor in Germany nor anywhere else in Europe by enemies of the United States. Its origin was purely American, and there it was employed at first to indicate in general the 'new idea' which was to rejuvenate the Church and, in particular, the 'new crusade' which was to be led against the uncompromising position of the Catholics of the old creed. But one capital, all-important limitation, must be borne in mind. The word 'Americanism' although it is neither void of sense nor indicative of a phantom, does not mean, neither is it employed in the apostolic letter to designate, a set of opinions common to all Americans or even one peculiar to all Catholics in the United States. . . . But if the 'Americanism' condemned by Leo XIII. cannot be called American in the sense of its being common to all Americans, or at least to those who profess the Catholic faith, it must be called and is American in the sense that America was its birthplace and that there it found its first advocates and adherents. These in truth were never numerous in the United States, but being restless and noisy, they always professed to be the only true Americans and the only genuine representatives of the Church. . . . Whoever knows anything about the causes defended by them, their speeches that have been printed, the introductions with which they have prefaced the works of others, the approval which they have given to certain books, the pamphlets and articles which they have published in various periodicals, the memoirs scattered right and left ; whoever knows, we say, all this and other things besides, needs not names or other proofs to be convinced that the 'Americanism' that has been reprovod by the supreme head of the Church is not 'an inflated balloon,' is not an invention of the enemies of the United States, but a sad reality which precisely on account of the evils which it had already produced in the United States and of the greater evils threatened, if it had been allowed to progress and grow

unfaithfulness of the Frenchmen who had respectively translated and misinterpreted the *Life of Father Hecker*—in fine, the more obstinate of the “Americanists” asked the Catholic world to believe that His Holiness was simply a theological and Pontifical Don Quixote. The assertion that the “Americanistic” opinions had been unknown in the American Church before their ostentatious discovery by the Roman Pontiff, or perhaps by the Abbés Magnien and Delattre, was daring indeed; it implied that the memories of the more persistent of the “Americanists” had conveniently failed to retain the matter of their teachings, during the previous ten or fifteen years, and that those ebullitions had been forgotten by such Catholic readers as are wont to consult the columns of the press. Had such oblivion overtaken all those utterances, however, the spirit of the false “Americanism” would have manifested itself to all who perused such passages as that in the *Preface* to the original *Life of Father Hecker*, in which it was insisted that precisely because the dogma of Papal Infallibility has been defined, Catholics should now enjoy greater scope for individual action—an action free from external direction. “There have been epochs in history,” said the archbishop of St. Paul, “where the Church, sacrificing her outposts and the

strong in Europe also, deserved to be condemned without delay or hesitation. . . . We come now to its nature. If by the name of ‘Americanism’ are meant those peculiar qualities of mind with which the peoples of America are endowed as other nations are with other qualities; likewise if it means the condition of their cities or the laws and customs which are peculiar to them; that is, if it is a question of an Americanism in the political sense, ‘There is no reason,’ writes the Pontiff, ‘why it should be rejected by us.’ This must be understood to mean, as is only natural, after excluding the exaggerations of the Americanists. Such are, for example, that of proposing the Constitution of the United States as the ideal of political perfection to be imitated by all other nations, or that of persons who, arguing from the fact that in the United States the Church, unhindered by the laws of the civil Government, enjoys without obstacles the secure liberty of living and acting according to the simple common law, infer that from America the model for the best condition of the Church must be taken; or that it is allowable or expedient, speaking generally, that Church and State should be disunited and separated in other countries just as they are in the United States. Wherefore, as Leo XIII. said wisely on another occasion: “If in the United States the Church remains unharmed, if even it prospers and spreads, that in every way is the result of the fruitfulness granted by God to His Church which, when it is not opposed by others, when it finds no impediment, grows and expands through its own power; when, nevertheless, it would give far more copious fruit if, besides having liberty, it enjoyed favor from the laws and patronage from the social power. (Encyclical *Longinqua* to the bishops of the United States, 1895.). . . . Another exaggeration of the Americanists is that of exalting American democracy, representing it as the form of government most loved by the Church, indeed as the flower of its principles. To arouse the idea or suspicion that the Church is a partisan of one form of government

ranks of her skirmishers to the preservation of her central and vital fortresses, put the brakes, through necessity, from the nature of the warfare waged against her, upon individual activity, and moved her soldiers in serried masses ; and then it was the part and the glory of each one to move with the column. *The need of repression has passed away. The authority of the Church and of her Supreme Head is beyond danger of being denied or obscured, and each Christian soldier may take to the field obeying the breathings of the Spirit of Truth and piety within him, feeling that what he may do he should do. . . .* The responsibility is upon each one ; the indifference of others is no excuse. Said Father Hecker one day to a friend : ‘ There is too much waiting upon the action of others. The layman waits for the priest, the priest for the bishop, and the bishop for the Pope, while the Holy Ghost sends down to all the reproof that He is prompting each one, and no one moves for Him.’ Father Hecker was original in his ideas, as well as in his methods ; there was no routine in him, mental or practical.” It is not improbable that it was this passage from the pen of His Grace of St. Paul that drew from the Pontiff the following commentary : “ It is of importance, therefore, to note particularly an opinion, which is addressed as a sort of argument to urge

rather than another, or that it is better adapted to one form rather than to another, is a wicked artifice contrary to reason and to history. . . . There is no question in the Apostolic letter of political ‘ Americanism.’ It is a question of that ‘ Americanism ’ which pretends not merely to rejuvenate the Church by promoting its evolution in dogma and in discipline in such a way that it may accord with the century, but also to renew Christian life and regulate it according to the aspirations and demands of new times. Every century, says ‘ Americanism,’ must have a special type of holiness. Ours demands that the natural virtues should be more particularly cultivated, and that the first place should be given to personal initiative, or to the so-called spirit of individualism. It should, therefore, be active rather than passive, and, so far as possible, free from religious vows, independent of all external authority, and subject almost solely to the internal and personal direction of the Holy Ghost, of whose language the soul is supposed to have perfect knowledge. By this system, which is condemned in all its parts by the Apostolic Letter, religious life would be reduced to a sort of independent republican and democratic asceticism, or if you prefer, to the transformation of the Protestant idea of ‘ free examination ’ into a personal ‘ free sentiment,’ that should be then applied to the Christian and religious life of every one. . . . If Americanism has been condemned, whose fault is it ? Certainly not that of the ‘ enemies of the United States,’ to whom till the other day even the existence of Father Hecker was unknown, and who, if they were Catholics, could not avoid being delighted at seeing glorified the first ‘ saint ’ of the American Church. The fault, if that term must be used, belongs alone to the friends and commentators of the *Life* of Hecker, who have repeatedly dignified his opinions with the name of ‘ Americanism ’ and have proposed him to the admiration and veneration of the faithful as the standard-bearer of their new school.”

the granting of such liberty to Catholics. *For, they say, in speaking of the infallible teaching of the Roman Pontiff, that after the solemn decision formulated in the Vatican Council, there is no need of solicitude in that regard, and, because of its now being out of dispute, a wider field of thought and action is thrown open to individuals.* Truly this is a preposterous argumentation. For if anything is suggested by the infallible teaching of the Church, it is certain that no one should wish to withdraw from it, nay, that all should strive to be thoroughly imbued with, and be guided by its Spirit, *so as to be the more easily preserved from any private error whatever.*" And His Holiness adds: "*Qui sic arguunt, a providentis Dei sapientia discedunt admodum.*" For in willing that the authority and teaching office of the Apostolic See should be more solemnly asserted, God willed above all to guard more efficaciously the minds of Catholics from the dangers of the present age. A license which is often confounded with liberty, a craving to put in a word on every topic, and the freedom of thinking as one pleases and putting one's thoughts in print, have cast such dense darkness over men's minds that *never before was there greater need for the existence and exercise of ecclesiastical authority to prevent them from running counter to conscience and duty.*" In several other reprobations of "Americanistic" ideas, His Holiness paraphrases those notions with words which, just as in this case of the Preface to the *Life of Father Hecker*, are all but identical with utterances of "Americanist" publicists. But if we were to grant that it is allowable to credit Pope Leo XIII. with crass ignorance of the state of affairs which he undertook to remedy, are we to ascribe the same want of knowledge to all those American bishops who, in their replies to the Apostolic Letter, proclaimed the fact of at least a limited circulation of the stigmatized errors in the American Catholic community? Of course the "Americanists" would have us ignore as of no value the avowal of the bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province of Milwaukee; since, as the innovators insisted, these prelates were "merely a few Germans in obscure dioceses"—as though the most pronounced Catholic opponent of the Teutonic Idea would fail to recognize those bishops as

competent witnesses in regard to matters which are presented to their observation. Archbishop Elder of Cincinnati was not "a German bishop of an obscure diocese"; and nevertheless he and his suffragans wrote to His Holiness: "The errors you condemn were calculated to work great harm to souls. Your Apostolic Letter, with its lucid explanation of Catholic truth, will, we feel confident, end all future misunderstanding. *Roma locuta est; causa finita est.*" And certainly Archbishop Corrigan of New York and the prelates of his province were not "Germans in obscure dioceses"; but on March 10, 1899, these bishops declared to the Holy See: "If Your Holiness had not opportunely come to our aid with your admirable letter, how numerous might have been those who, through ignorance rather than malice, would have been taken in the snare! The bishops and clergy would have had a heavy task to keep the people far from error. . . . We rejoice greatly that by reason of your infallible teaching we will not have to transmit to our successors the ungrateful task of having to struggle with an enemy which perhaps would never die" (1).

Among all the luminaries of the Liberal school in Europe, probably very few had even heard of "Americanism," when the Pontifical condemnation of that vagary appeared; but

(1) This letter of the bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province of New York should be read in its entirety: "Most Holy Father: We cannot express in words the feelings of admiration, of joy, and of gratitude, with which our hearts have been penetrated on reading the masterly and admirable letter which Your Holiness deigned to issue concerning what has been, for some time past, designated under the name of 'Americanism.' With what wisdom has Your Holiness known how to summarize the multitude of fallacies and errors which it has been sought to pass as good and Catholic doctrine under the specious title of 'Americanism'! And at the same time, with what prudence, discretion, and gentleness, together with force and clearness, has Your Holiness fulfilled the office of supreme and infallible teacher! Certainly this last emanation from the wisdom of Your Holiness is not inferior to any of the many which have excited the admiration of the nations during the course of your glorious Pontificate. As for us, placed by the Holy Ghost as bishops to rule the Church of God under the guidance of Your Holiness, we hasten to offer to you our sentiments of unqualified adhesion. We receive in the most absolute manner, for ourselves and for our clergy, for the religious orders and congregations working with us for the salvation of souls, and also for our flocks, the doctrinal Letter *Testem benevolentie* sent to us by Your Holiness. We accept it, and we make it wholly ours, word for word and sentence for sentence, in the very same sense according to which Your Holiness, following the tradition and wisdom of all Christian antiquity, understood and understands it, and wishes it to be understood by all. We shall never be guilty of any reservation or tergiversation, either directly or indirectly, in regard to it; nor shall we tolerate such a course on the part of those who are under our care. Your Holiness has spoken; therefore the question is terminated. This thought gives us great satisfaction, and it was this satisfaction that we wished to express in the first words of this letter. And we may now say that

immediately the Masonic and Protestant journals of Italy, France, England, and Germany, expressed their sympathy with the alleged progressists whom the retrograde Vatican was said to be persecuting. None of these effusions merits citation; but it may interest the reader to note the manner in which the Papal pronouncement was received by those nondescripts who so pathetically endeavor to vindicate for themselves a right to be considered as Liberal, even while they pose as Catholic. No sincerely Catholic periodicals or journals would loan their columns for a ventilation of the "Liberal Catholic" ideas; but fortunately for the vanity of the purveyors of those theories, the heterodox and indifferentist organs are ever ready to publish what promises to injure Catholicism, while it increases their circulation. Three of these periodicals, in England the *Nineteenth Century* and the *Contemporary Review*, and in the United States the *North American Review*, were made vehicles for the distribution of the latest concoction of "Liberal Catholic" poison under the guise of a defence of "Americanism." The *Nineteenth Century*, in its issue of May, 1899, enabled the Hon. William Gibson, a gentleman whose ravings in the matter of Lamennais we found it necessary to notice in our dis-

almost on its first appearance, death has overtaken that monstrosity which, in order to obtain a durable home among us, usurped the fair name of 'Americanism'; and it is to Your Holiness that this happy result is due, for if you had not opportunely come to our aid with your admirable letter, how numerous might have been those who, through ignorance rather than malice, would have been taken in the snare! The bishops and clergy would have had a heavy task to keep the people far from error. Error would have been able, little by little, always to take a greater hold; and we would soon be designated by the thoughtless as persons who are not Americans. Meanwhile the false 'Americanism,' understood like similar titles which have endured for ages among the nations to the great detriment of souls, would have taken tranquil possession among us, ever increasing its conquests in enormous proportions of time and place. Therefore we rejoice because of your infallible teaching which has so effected that we will not be obliged to transmit to our successors the ungrateful task of having to struggle with an enemy which perhaps would never die. Now, with heads erect we can repeat that we also are Americans; we are Americans, and we glory in the fact. We glory in this fact because our nation is great in its institutions and in its undertakings, great in its development and in its activity; but in matters of religion, doctrine, discipline, morals, and Christian perfection, we glory in entire obsequiousness to the Holy See. For these reasons we are, and shall ever be, most grateful to Your Holiness for the signal benefit which your Letter *Testem benevolentie* has conferred on us and on all the Catholics of America. By the testimony of your kindness, Your Holiness has uprooted this cockle from the field of wheat, as soon as it appeared. May God preserve, etc.! For the Right Reverend Bishops of this Ecclesiastical Province, the Most Humble Servant of Your Holiness, MICHAEL AUGUSTINE, ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK."

sertation on the great unfortunate (1), to prove that the lapse of time had not augmented his store of common sense. A writer who thinks that the great Napoleon's "war of liberation" in Italy—a war which "demonstrated the utility of an organization like that of the Carbonari"—was followed by a great mistake on the part of the Pontiffs who "might at this time have succeeded in winning for themselves a great position as the representatives of a great idea"; a writer who represents Lamennais as the victim of "the cowardly and underhand operations" of men whose religion was "identified with the divine right of kings"; might well be expected to see in every teaching of Leo XIII. an attempt to crush all independent thought in man. According to this honorable gentleman, the numerous Encyclicals of Leo XIII. have produced but one effect; they have demonstrated that the Church so distrusts all progress in science, that no true devotee of science can be a faithful Catholic. And Mr. Gibson finds the most conclusive proof of this Pontifical oppression in the condemnation of that "Americanist" tenet, according to which "the manner and method hitherto adopted to effect the return of dissidents should henceforth be abandoned for another" (2). The writer in the *Contemporary Review*, also of May, 1899, is anonymous; but he claims to be a Catholic, albeit "independent." He regards the condemnation of "Americanism" as consistent with a system which gives a place in the *Index* to the work of nearly every Catholic who is sufficiently brave to write on scientific matters. He asserts that the Church is now, if not formally, at least practically, divorced from science; the two are "separated at least *a mensa et thoro*." The *Civiltà Cattolica* thus comments on this aberration: "He utters an untruth and he calumniates the Church, if he refers to real science which is the certain and evident knowledge of a thing through a true knowledge of its causes; the science which does not rest on nothing, and is not bolstered by silly theories and gratuitous hypotheses, but is derived from unshakeable principles, and

(1) See our Vol. v., p. 280, 287.

(2) Since such are the views of Mr. Gibson, the *Review of Reviews* might well express its surprise on learning that the gentleman still remains in the fold of Catholicism.

deals with facts rigorously established—the science, in short, which is taught us by those who have a right to speak for it. From this science the Church is not separated—rather does she make it her own, promote it, bless it, and desire that it be cultivated with all zeal by her children. Far from plucking from the brows of real scholars a single leaf from the bays of learning that adorn them, she would have new laurels of still more glorious conquests added thereto. If, however, we are to judge by the names of ‘our best Catholic writers,’ the giants ‘whose heads tower above the crowd, which we find cited in the pages of the *Contemporary*, it is evident that the anonymous writer does not know what real science is, and, as a consequence, who are the true scholars. We are far indeed from wishing to detract in any way from the scientific and literary attainments of a Semeria and a Genocchi; but to present these two young priests to the English public as ‘the best thinkers, the only true scholars, the giants of science among Italian Catholics,’ is certainly an exaggeration which borders on the ridiculous. It is a little remarkable that the anonymous *Contemporary* writer, while knowing, or pretending to know, a number of giants in France, Germany, Italy, and the United States, is a complete stranger to those of England. He never quotes them—and he is wise, for were he to quote English ‘giants’ of the calibre of the Loisy, Schells, Semerias, and De Wits, he would be simply laughed at by every Englishman who knows anything about the scientific history of his country.” Certainly the surviving “Americanists” must have wished that they had been spared the ignominy of such defences as those advanced by Mr. Gibson and by the anonym of the *Contemporary*: and we would fain believe that few of them were grateful for the encouragement tendered in the *North American Review* (July, 1899) by Dr. William Barry, an English priest whose pen had hitherto done excellent service in the cause of religious truth, but who then announced to the world an alleged discovery of a Spanish diplomatic complicity in the matter of the Letter *Testem benevolentiae*. According to this English champion of the “Americanist”

idea, the condemnation of that idea was the work of "the party which in France has pursued Dreyfus to extermination; which in Italy is accused of coquetting with Socialists to overturn the monarchy; and which saw itself confronted with a new enemy, and that enemy America." And why did this party, these conspirers against the Savoyard of the Quirinal, regard "Americanism" as an enemy? Dr. Barry finds the reason in the fact that "The Franco-Latin world had been shaken to its foundations by the triumph of an English-speaking race over Spain; and if anything was to be undertaken by way of safeguard or revenge, American Catholics stood in the front, the first line of battle, resting on Rome. At Rome, accordingly, they have been assailed." After this malevolent identification of the French Catholic party with the Jew-baiters whose chief leaders are by no means prominent in Catholic circles, and many of whom are no more Catholic than are those foremost of Anti-Semites, the Communist Rochefort, and the German court-preacher, Stöcker; after this slur on those who would restore the Papacy to its proper independence; after this sop to the ignorant prejudices of that Celtico-Anglo-Saxonico-Dano-Norman stock which a defiance of historical truth terms the "Anglo-Saxon" race; Dr. Barry's discovery thus unfolds itself: "The Society of Jesus opened fire upon Liberalism, an ancient enemy; the Dominicans were solicitous for the credit of the Master of the Sacred Palace (Father Lepidi, who granted the *Imprimatur* to the book by Magnien). There was another place in Rome, too, that of the Spanish embassy, whose tenants were not idle. The high Roman society was led by Spaniards, and its tone was violent against America." In plain words, therefore, Dr. Barry would ask us to regard the Apostolic Letter *Testem benevolentie* as the work of supposedly retrograde, absolutistic, vindictive, and ignorant Jesuits; of presumed timorous and vain-glorious Dominicans; and of a Spanish government, most of the members of which, like nearly all their predecessors during the now closing century, were votaries of the Dark Lantern. And according to the "Anglo-Saxon" cleric with a Norman-Irish name, the Apostolic Letter has resulted

principally in an acquisition of "everlasting honor" for those "Americanist" leaders who have (so superfluously) "shown the world how they can be at once fervent Catholics and loyal Americans"—for those victims of European obscurantism who "in the name of America have undergone a *moral martyrdom*." Such might have been the chief consequence of the Leonine condemnation of "Americanism," had that vagary been, as Dr. Barry afterward asserted in the *Liverpool Catholic Times*, "a scarecrow set up under that name, and manufactured in Paris" (1).

It is well to note, however, that in an article which this "Americanist" champion published in the *Contemporary Review* simultaneously with the one in the *North American*—an article which professedly descanted on the "Troubles

(1) The *Church Progress* of Sept. 16, 1899, says: "Now that we have discovered that we are in the category of those who know nothing about Christian liberty, who detest the American Constitution as the work of Antichrist, and who hate England because of her freedom, we venture the hope that Dr. Barry is done telling Americans what 'Americanism' is, and where 'Americanism' came from. . . . Dr. Barry assures his American brethren that they have had nothing in common with the condemned opinions, and that there is nothing to be avoided or corrected. Hitherto, we were wont to suppose that a certain amount of human prudence, at least, was exercised by the Holy See before condemning or locating any set of errors, and that its practice was more conscientious and more methodical than to be driven 'by sheer force of lungs' to find error where error did not exist. It was very old-fashioned, to be sure; but we believed that were error to begin spreading, for instance, among the Catholics of Austria, the Church would hardly be satisfying her obligation as custodian of the deposit of faith, by sending her condemnation to Honolulu. Those of us who are prepared to accept Dr. Barry's explanation of the proscription of 'Americanism' will certainly be ready for just such an hypothesis as that we have mentioned. . . . We do not wonder that general readers arise from the perusal of such language as Dr. Barry's with the conviction that the Catholic Church is full of foolish and dishonest people, and that the supreme authority permits itself to be made the tool of their foolishness and their dishonesty. It must be quite painful to an up-to-date Anglo-Saxon like Dr. Barry to have to notice the ignorance of the Roman officials. What strangely uncultured intellects these Latins have, anyhow, that, when we talk error or heresy, they can't see that we are only poking fun at somebody! Most devoutly do we hope that the Apostolic See will make itself acquainted with the labyrinthal eccentricities of the American mind, before it risks another Encyclical, warning us what to beware of and to correct. A tremendous responsibility would be lifted from the shoulders of those zealous men who at present find it 'an imperative duty' to amend or to explain away the Pope's mistakes. Doubtless Dr. Barry would be prepared to say that he had spoken with some of those whose names were chiefly associated with the proscribed views, and that they emphatically denied ever having held them. Of course, they emphatically denied it. The distinction between *right* and *fact* is an ancient but very common weapon of defence. Every second man whose opinions have met with the Holy See's disapproval will tell you that Rome did not understand him. . . . If, as often as a Papal Encyclical were issued, we were prepared with an interpretation, neutralizing its point and palpably foreign to its spirit, we might, at an opportune moment, gain some cheap publicity. We might even have the honor of being classed with those progressive spirits who, on their own showing, are eternally rescuing the Church from collision with the judgments of advanced thought. But we think we can forego that dazzling distinction. We are satisfied to be taught by the Church: we don't seek to be her teacher."

of Catholic Democracy"—he presented "Americanism" as anything but a "scarecrow set up under that name." The following passages alone would suffice to show that "Americanism," as understood by the "obscurantists," is a real entity, and that Dr. Barry is saturated with its poison. "The years of Leo XIII., shining *once* with all the milder lights of reconciliation, are drawing toward sunset, and clouds come up from the north and the west. Secessions have taken place; books are denounced to the *Index*; persons fall under suspicion; the battle of the nations, never quite asleep, has broken out afresh in Rome. . . . 'Reaction' is the cry of assault and defence. The elements in conflict are many; it is a tangled situation, which we may view from the standing ground of theology, politics, or historical criticism. . . . The American demand—for there is a demand—turns not upon doctrine, but upon government; it is, in a high and important sense, political; but it has no concern with revolutions in dogma. . . . *My drift is to explain why many of us who know the Church from inside, and who see what the fortunes of religion have been since private judgment took hold of it in Northern countries, are Catholics still despite imperfections, abuses, tyrannies, and all the evil, great or petty, which has encrusted itself during ages on a venerable institution. . . . The nations are perishing. That any large number of men and women will be drawn to the Church by arguments, by decrees, which bear on minute details in the text or the history of the Bible, or which deal with RECONDITE POINTS OF DOGMA and rarefied systems of philosophy, it is impossible to imagine. The issues of life and death are elsewhere. . . . We are constrained to cry aloud and spare not; to warn those who threaten liberty in the name of Absolutism (in the name of common sense, who are these parties?) that they are darkening the door of faith, and repeating their ancient error which confounded religion with dynasties, as now they would confound it with national prejudice and local interests (of course Dr. Barry and the other "Americanists" are guiltless of this crime). It is well that they should learn that the youthful peoples who speak our tongue do not mean to be ruled by Philip II. from his tomb in the Es-*

curial; that they prefer Stephen Langton and Magna Charta to Spanish and Renaissance methods, and will ever do so." The foolish howl concerning the tomb of Philip II. of Spain may be pardoned as a mere manifestation of "Anglo-Saxon" spleen; but it is not easy to qualify, within the limits of ordinary courtesy, an ebullition of contempt for the Latin races with which Dr. Barry panders to "Anglo-Saxon" and German arrogance as he perorates for the recognition of "an English or German school" which should at least rank with "the Scotists and Thomists who once, long ago, fought their battles in the arena of the Vatican." Having reminded us that the pre-eminently freedom-loving and noble-minded English-speaking peoples "live under the Common Law," while the wretched Latins groan "under the Roman," the English "Americanist" hurls this *pronunciamiento*: "Futile indeed will be the task (who has undertaken it?) of those who attempt to persuade us that the laws we have inherited from our Catholic ancestors are not preferable to a jurisprudence derived from imperial Cæsar and heathen Rome." This deliberate concealment of the fact that the jurisprudence of the Latin nations is no more derived from that of heathen Rome than is the Common Law which is presented for our veneration; this lamentable indication that Dr. Barry wished to forget that the mediæval and modern Roman Law of the Latin peoples resulted from the transforming action of Catholicism on the ancient Roman jurisprudence; this insinuation that when compared with the Common Law of blissful Anglo-Saxondom, the fundamental codes of the Latins are heathen in nature and tendency; may flatter the prejudices of the more ignorant among those Americans who desire that Anglo-American Alliance for which Dr. Barry seems to hold a brief, but the cause of "Americanism" is not strengthened by this travesty of the truth.

What will be the effect of the Leonine condemnation of the so-called "Americanism"? Unless we are prepared to admit, with Dr. Barry, that "the plane of thought (of the American Catholics) was unexplored by the officials of the *Curia*"; and that Pope Leo XIII. was utterly deficient in

even a commonplace knowledge of religious matters in the United States—a want under which he would have labored, had he called “attention to things to be avoided and corrected,” when those things were fantasies or inventions of hallucinated or dishonest Europeans; we must believe that the consequences of the Letter *Testem benevolentie* will be many and beneficial. One great and practical consequence, a more intimate appreciation of the fact that Catholic truth is ever the same in all lands and in all times, has already been observed, and has been thus noted by the *Civiltà Cattolica*: “The practical lesson which we must all draw from Leo XIII.’s Apostolic Letter is that Catholic principles do not change, whether through the passing of years, or the changing of countries, or new discoveries, or motives of utility. They are always the principles that Christ taught, that the Church made known, that Popes and Councils defended, that the Saints loved, that the Doctors demonstrated. As they are, they must be taken or left. Whoever accepts them in all their fulness and strictness is a Catholic; whoever hesitates, staggers, adapts himself to the times, makes compromises, may call himself by what name he will, but before God and the Church he is a rebel and a traitor.”

CHAPTER XVI.

POPE LEO XIII. AND SOCIALISM.

The Encyclical *Rerum novarum*, published by Leo XIII. on May 15, 1891, and dealing with the relations between capital and labor, was a veritable programme for a reconciliation of these apparently irreconcilable factors of modern society. But before we enter on an analysis of the teachings of our Pontiff in the matter of the great social question of our day—convictions which had been presented at least in germ in several of the pastorals of the archbishop-bishop of Perugia, it may be well to consider the significance of the term “Socialism.” In its more general sense, the term indicates certain theoretical and practical efforts

to remedy, by means of social institutions, the evils now predominant in society. Such a Socialism as this the Church must necessarily favor—witness, in the practical order, the monastic system, and the Jesuit “Reductions” of Paraguay; and in the line of theory, the *Civitas Solis* of Campanella, and the *Utopia* of St. Thomas More. It is not this species of Socialism, however, that has become an object of distrust to such minds as are still properly conservative at the close of the nineteenth century, whether those minds be Catholic, heterodox, or pagan. As the term is now generally understood, Socialism is a species of philosophy which inculcates the necessity of destroying the now-existing society, with an intention of forming a new order of things on its ruins. This idea, until our day resident only in the domain of theory, has now become a real danger; and all the more easily, because, on account of the present prevalence of religious indifference, Socialism seems to have reason on its side. Remembering the words with which St. Paul characterized the pagan times in which he lived, “You were at that time without Christ... and without God in this world” (1), we may define Socialism as the philosophy of those moderns whose souls know not God, and who, being strangers to resignation, would form a society founded solely on a hope of enjoying unto satiety the things of earth. Philosophically speaking, Socialism is Pantheism reduced to practice; the doctrine of continuous progress, of the legitimacy of evil inclinations, and many other ravings, are taught also by Saint-Simonism, Fourierism, and Communism, all of which are derived from Pantheism and Naturalism, which in their turn are the progeny of Protestantism. It is not reserved for men like Bossuet to demonstrate the logical sequence between Luther’s war on the Papacy and the more modern war on social order; the arch-revolutionist, Louis Blanc, averred: “The revolution prepared by philosophy, begun by theology, and continued by statecraft, must finish in Socialism. *Protestantism was the first step toward Anarchy; Luther led straight to Munzer.*” A logical system like that of Socialism cannot be combatted successfully by

(1) *Ephesians*, ii., 12.

so illogical a system as Protestantism—a conglomeration of conceits which was born in a contempt of logic; the sole invincible foe of Socialism is the true Church of Christ, teaching and acting according to the principles of the divine revelation which was entrusted to her alone. The eminent Protestant publicist, the Count de Tocqueville, admitted: “Catholicism alone, by her union of all classes of society at the foot of the same altar—a union such as they present in the eyes of God, solved the great problem of human dignity and of hierarchical dependence.” Coming now to a brief consideration of the history of Socialism, the most intellectual of its votaries whom we meet are Robert Owen in England, and Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Proudhon, in France. Owen, whom some regard as the founder of Socialism, published a manifesto in 1840, in which he stigmatized as false all the social systems which had hitherto obtained; all the history of the past, he insisted, is but a narrative of “the irrational period of humanity.” History has been, he well declares, an interminable series of wars and massacres; it shows us humanity in a constant state of opposition to all that might work for its happiness; each one is always fighting against the rest—“one against all, and all against one.” He essayed a new system as a remedy for these evils, the scene of the experiment being at New Harmony, in Indiana; but financial ruin and ridicule were his sole rewards. The basis of Owen’s society was the life in community; there was to be no private property; education was to be the same for all. As for Saint-Simon, who was the first of the French Socialists, chronologically speaking, and the no less celebrated Fourier, we have already detailed their hallucinations (1). Proudhon, easily the most intellectual and best equipped of the entire school of Socialists, would have based all social economy on mutual justice—a justice, he believed, asserting itself little by little, amid a number of economic contradictions, the most important of which is the antithesis of property and also of community. According to Proudhon, “property has a just basis, namely, liberty; but it becomes unjust, when it becomes capital. On the other hand,

(1) Vol. v., p. 378, *et seqq.*

community of goods, although it is derived from the just idea of association, is in itself an injustice." When asked how he could reconcile these "antitheses," he replied that "synthesis" would effect the reconciliation; the "synthesis" was furnished by the idea of "mutuality." He expogitated an ideal society, formed of "free and independent laborers," making one family, with no capital besides their tools of trade, and such like. Hours of work were to be equal, and wages the same. The State would be composed of working persons alone; there were to be no idle consumers. Central government would be unknown; but a local police and magistracy would be necessary. As for property, according to Proudhon, "that is theft." As for God, "that is evil itself." As for capital, "that is truly *the infamous one*." It is noteworthy that like the Reformers of the sixteenth century, who agreed in destruction, but could not agree in constructing, the Socialists have such divergent notions of the essential constituents of their expected millennium, that it is difficult to define their aspirations with any degree of precision. Perhaps the most satisfactory idea of their general ambition is found in the programme which is often presented as the basis of the future social edifice—"the free consent of *all*." In his admirable work on Socialism, Count Edward Soderini thus descants on the difference between French and German applications of the pestiferous theory: "French Socialism, while elaborating theoretical systems, has nevertheless sought, in order to render them acceptable to the masses, to bring them to the concrete, and to apply them immediately. On the other hand, German Socialism has assumed a shape more definitely scientific; and while in France the Socialists for a long time sought to show themselves humanitarian rather than speculative, in Germany the matter has proceeded very differently. Learned men, devoted either to politics or to the study of public economy, have unfolded the banner of discontent; but instead of repeating with Proudhon and Rousseau that all economic ills are derivable from faulty social organization, they have preferred asserting that the economic systems prevailing have been the true cause of social corruption. Hence, while the

former hastened to demand the destruction of the State, the latter, on the contrary, have declared themselves its partisans in order to get the upper hand in it, to reform it to their own liking, especially by the application of a wholly different system of political economy. Protectionists have affirmed that social salvation is to be found in a system of protective duties, and hence through intervention, more or less pronounced, on the part of the State. Somewhat nearer akin to them are the so-called *Katheder* or 'pedant' Socialists, in whose eyes the great remedy consists in the State's intervening with intent to recast the whole economic situation. Then come Free-traders, who afford lavish assurance that the problem would be happily solved were only the most ample and unlimited freedom of competition adopted, and the action of the State dwindled down to the narrowest range possible. Some even have pushed matters so far as to demand the complete abolition of the State. But while they have been thus wrangling among themselves, and their quarrels, breaking over the borders of Germany, have been embraced by the several economic schools of all Europe, German Socialism has burst forth in sudden and full maturity. It has stood forth as a body of doctrines, or rather a *creed*, which, presented previously under various guises and elaborated gradually, is found thoroughly condensed in the manifesto recently published by the directing centres of revolutionary Socialism, all of which now receive their password from Bebel and his adherents. . . . The Socialist State must begin by taking possession of the great industrial establishments; expropriating on the ground of public utility the actual owners, who are to be indemnified according to conditions to be determined, either by bonds bearing slight interest or by an annuity payable up to the death of the respective owners. This only in case of a peaceful solution of the question. But if, contrariwise, the Socialist workmen have to attain to victory by means of a violent revolution, the measures would change and might prove far more radical in regard to capitalists. The manifesto does not state in what such radical reform is to consist; but we are led to understand that they would not shrink from the revolutionary enormities of the

last century, reserving the fate that then befel the nobles, the rich, and the clergy, for such landlords and middle-class folk who should refuse to relinquish voluntarily their property to their new masters" (1).

Now for a few words concerning the connection between Socialism and Freemasonry. In his monumental work on Secret Societies (2), Deschamps demonstrates, by means of an analysis of the Masonic Rituals, and of the writings of the chief luminaries of the sect, that its doctrines are radically destructive of the rights of property, whatever may be the secret and natural proclivities of the more wealthy and therefore more "conservative" adepts. But let us listen rather to the avowals of conspicuous contemporary Masonic authorities. The Socialistic manifesto published by the *Révolté* of Geneva, on the occasion of the working-men's Congress held in Marseilles in Sept., 1879, began with this fanfaronade: "Considering that every man, by the very fact of his being a man, has a right from his birth to the same satisfaction of his desires that any one else enjoys, etc." Here we have the doctrine of the "Rights of Man," according to which emanation of 1793, the right to property was one of the "natural rights" of every citizen, to whom the State was to assign his quota of other men's goods; "the Jacobins cried loudly for equality of right, the sole right compatible with individual property. Condorcet (the author of the above-mentioned doctrine) was more revolutionary when he said: 'Equality in fact, the ultimate end of the social art'" (3). Harken to Ragon, the founder of the "Trinosophs" of Paris, whose work was solemnly approved by the Grand Orient of France in 1840, "as written by a profoundly-instructed brother," and was afterward sent to a second edition by the Capitular Lodge of Nancy, with orders that it should be termed "a sacred edition, for the purpose of reconstructing unity of thought, from which eventually will come unity of power and of action." This authoritative Ragon tells us: "Masonry alone is capable of realizing that

(1) *Socialism and Catholicism*. Rome, 1895.

(2) *Secret Societies and Society*; or, *The Philosophy of Contemporary History*, Bk. i., ch. 6. Paris, 1882, Sixth Edition.

(3) MALON; *Exposition of the Socialist Schools*. Paris, 1872.

grand and beautiful social unity which was conceived by Jaunez, Saint-Simon, Owen, and Fourier. Let the Masons only will it, and the generous conceptions of these philanthropic thinkers will cease to be vain utopias" (1). Saint-Simon is regarded by Masonic authors as one of the luminaries of their order; and the infamous Enfantin (2), quite naturally a Masonic adept, thus unites his patriarch with the Carbonari and the Jacobins: "Those who sympathize to-day with Saint-Simon, if they are thirty or forty years old, will have sympathized with Foy, Manuel, and Lafayette; and if they are sixty, they will have sympathized with Mirabeau, Saint-Just, and I might also say, with Robespierre" (3). The chief founders of Fourierism were Masons, and the Lodges were their proselytizers; this is especially true of Jaunez and Pompery (4). Eugene Sue, the first of Socialistic romancers, received special honors from the Belgian Lodges in 1845; and in his letter of thanks to the Lodge *Persévérance* of Antwerp, written on Jan. 13, 1845, he congratulated himself on the fact that "the Masonic Lodges were at the head of the Liberal Socialist Party." On Nov. 7, 1866, the United Lodges of *Parfaite Intelligence* and *L'Étoile*, both of Liège, were affiliated to the Lodge of *Philadelphs* in London; and they avowed that their object was to further the work of "Militant and Progressive Masonry," according to the following programme: "To banish from the human mind all vain thoughts of a future life, and the fetichism of a Divine Providence succoring humanity in its miseries; to crush the pride of money and of privileges; to transform charity to the poor, as a thing which humiliates them; to procure for the poor the rights which will elevate them; to equalize all intelligences by instruction, all fortunes by a proper equilibrium of salaries (*sic*), and all protections by laws which treat all alike; and finally to realize justice here on earth, instead of promising it in a future and unknown world" (5). In 1868, when there was question of revising the statutes of Belgian Masonry,

(1) *Course of Ancient and Modern Initiations*, p. 46. (2) See our Vol. v., p. 380.

(3) *Letter to General Saint-Cyr*.

(4) See the *Globe*, *Journal des Initiations*, 1839, p. 170; 1840, p. 144, 168, 210.

(5) Cited by *Le Monde*, Jan. 16, 1867.

Brother Jacobus, in an address to the Lodge *Amis Philanthropes* of Brussels, said: "The transformation of charity into emancipation, of beneficence into social institutions, of protection into definitive freedom—that is the doctrine which may be termed 'practical Socialism,' and which we desire to express clearly in the very first Article of the General Statutes of Belgian Freemasonry" (1). In its issues of August and November, 1879, the *Monde Maçonnique*, which disputes with the *Chaine d'Union* the right to be considered the most reliable Masonic organ in the world, told how the Lodges of Paris were about to found a "Superior School of Positive Science," destined to propagate Socialism scientifically among the members of the "intelligent classes." And why not? Did not Brother Jules Ferry proclaim, in 1875, the identity of Masonry and Socialism? (2). The first German Socialist, Weitling, who began his propaganda in Switzerland and Germany in 1837, organized his societies on the model of the Illuminati and the Carbonari; and the "Musical Associations," founded by him, were Masonic Lodges in thin disguise (3). Finally, we would ask the reader to heed the remarks of the *Monde Maçonnique*, as it eulogizes Proudhon in its issue of Dec., 1881: "Masonry never forgets Proudhon; and when the celebrated publicist died, in 1865, Massol was charged with the task of interpreting the regrets of us all, and of showing how the life and work of Proudhon conformed to the aspirations of Masonry.... In spite of his various occupations, Proudhon never grew lukewarm in his love for Masonry. Read the following page, written by him at the close of his life, a page which was a precious encouragement to the friends of progress." And then we are treated to a morsel which is as Proudhonesque as it is Masonic. Since the accredited organs of Masonry assert that the work of the patriarch of Socialism "conformed to the aspirations of Masonry," we are not surprised when we read that on March 4, 1882, in the Lodge *Libre Pensée* of Aurillac, Brother Paul Roques,

(1) Cited by *La Patrie* of Bourges, Oct., 1868.

(2) See the *Chaine d'Union*, 1877, p. 181.

(3) FROST; *The Secret Societies of the European Revolution*, Vol. II., p. 268. London, 1876.

after reminding his brethren that the French Revolution was the work of their order, declared: "The past is a guarantee of what you will do in the future. The task of Freemasonry is far from finished. After having effected the Political Revolution, Freemasonry must now undertake the Social Revolution" (1).

The Encyclical *Rerum novarum* is at once a forcible arraignment of Socialism at the tribunal of religion and reason, and a guide for Catholics when they find themselves confronted by the social questions of these days. That a "redoubtable conflict" now subsists among the social classes; and that this conflict is due to a too great concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, to the increasing exigencies of the workers, to the closer union of workers among themselves, but above all, to the corruption so prevalent in modern society; Pope Leo XIII. cannot, if he would, avoid perceiving. As in the fulfilment of his Apostolic duty, His Holiness approaches the problems which are entailed by the social question, he realizes that these problems are both difficult and dangerous. Their difficulty is evident to the most superficial thinker; they are dangerous, because the revolutionary spirit now so rampant profits by their difficulty to foment disorder. But the Roman Pontiff must speak, since the working classes are in so many lands "in a situation of unmerited misfortune and misery." His Holiness discerns the causes of this situation in the disappearance of the mediæval guilds which protected the workingman; in the present non-existence of religious principle in civil jurisprudence; and in the consequent isolation of the workingman as he is oppressed by "irrepressible competition" and by "employers too often inhuman." Then there is usury, always condemned by the Church, and which appears every day in new form; and there is also "the monopoly of labor, and of the fruits of trade," possessed by a few rich ones "who impose an almost servile yoke on an infinite multitude of laborers." For these evils Socialism proposes a remedy in the shape of an abolition of private property, and a State-ownership of everything ownable—a system which would

(1) *Chaine d'Union*, July, 1882.

not only annihilate present proprietary rights, but would ultimately injure the workingman. "The right of private proprietorship is according to the Natural Law;" a brute, governed entirely by instinct, attains his end by a transient use of present things, whereas man, endowed with reason, "by virtue of this prerogative, is capable not only of using the things around him, but also of acquiring a perpetual right to them." To a certain extent, man is a law and providence unto himself, subjected, of course, to the Supreme Providence of God; nor can the Socialists reasonably appeal to a Providence of the State." The State's existence is of later date than that of man; long before the State received its being, man "had acquired the right to live, and to defend his existence." Nor can it be objected that since the Scriptures tell us that the fulness of the earth was given to the children of men, private proprietorship must be wrong. The Bible "tells us merely that God did not assign any part of the earth to this or that particular individual—that, on the contrary, God wished to leave the limitations of property to human enterprise and to the ordinances of the peoples." Even when the land is divided among various owners, it serves, directly or indirectly, to the benefit of all; in fact, we may say "in all truth, that labor is the universal means with which all provide what is needed for life, whether that labor be exercised on one's own bit of land, or in some lucrative occupation, the remuneration for which is drawn from the many products of the earth—products which are exchanged for the things produced by some other kind of labor." When a man has applied his intelligence to the cultivation of some bit of the earth, to which no other man has a better right, he acquires an inviolable right to that estate; "for those fields, under the hand of the cultivator, have changed their nature; they were wild, and now they are fertile. Would justice allow a stranger to appropriate that soil which has been improved by the sweat of another's labor?" As for the rights of property, when considered in reference to the family, we must remember that the family existed *by natural right*, before the State, and independently of the State; and in this domestic society, "a society very small

undoubtedly, but nevertheless real, there must be recognized certain rights and duties which are absolutely independent of the State." Among these rights, that of proprietorship must be counted as "possessed by man, considered as head of a family." Therefore the Pontiff concludes that "paternal authority cannot be abolished or absorbed by the State"; the children, a kind of extension of the personality of the parent, are incorporated into civil society only "by the medium of that domestic society in which they were born." Here we perceive the monstrous injustice of the Socialistic idea which would substitute a Providence of the State for that of the parent. And the consequences of such a substitution are as patent as their injustice: "Perturbation in every rank of society; a hateful servitude for all citizens; an open door to all jealousies and discontents; talents deprived of their necessary stimulants, and therefore the sources of prosperity abolished; in fine, instead of the desired equality, an equality in every kind of misery." Having shown that the Socialistic theory of collective proprietorship is untenable, Leo XIII., in the plenitude of his Pontifical right and of his Apostolic duty, proceeds to point out the remedies for the present social miseries. To secure an amelioration of the present conditions, "the intervention of governments, of the rich, of employers, and of the workingmen themselves, is certainly indispensable"; but all the efforts of these powers will be futile, without the concurrence of the Church (1). The first thing

(1) "On opposite sides, two schools or two parties are bent on representing Catholicism or Social Christianity as a sort of purely lay and earthly doctrine, stripped of all supernatural elements, entirely devoted to the solution of a painful problem by means of human activity. Those who will not accept Social Christianity, because they hate Christ's religion, and those who will not accept Christian Socialism because they hate the mere thought of an organic reform of society, agree with certain men of more pronounced zeal, but ignorant in their good will, in order to deprive this great movement of its true sense and import. To bring down religion to an earthly level; to efface, or at least put in the background, all supernatural elements of Christianity; to treat dogma as old-fashioned rubbish, which is preserved through a sort of pious weakness for the past; to make human solidarity the alpha and omega of morality, without resting it on the fatherhood of God revealed by the brotherhood of Christ; to transform the Church into an immense Friendly or Benefit Society; to wish to perform the miracle of human love in the sphere of men's interests, after having rejected the miracle of divine love on the Cross; in a word to pretend to renew humanity, to establish the reign of justice and charity on the earth without the help of those great deeds which contain all salvation, the salvation of the species as that of the individual, such is the vague, unhealthy dream of minds who think they can kill two birds with one stone, unchristianize the Church, and with it regenerate the world. They would not all define with

for the discontented to remember is that "grief and suffering are the appanage of humanity"; to attempt an entire suppression of this inheritance is purely chimerical. In the state of innocence, had it endured, labor would have been a pleasure; after the fall of man, labor became one of the inevitable expiations of sin. But coming to the very heart of the present question, His Holiness says that its capital error "is to suppose that the rich and the poor are born enemies of each other; on the contrary, they are destined by nature to help each other in a perfect equilibrium; there can be no capital without labor, and no labor without capital." As to the conflict of to-day, "Christianity amply and multifariously provides for its termination." Manual labor is honorable; "but it is shameful and inhuman to use men as though they were mere instruments of gain, and to esteem them merely in accordance with the strength of their arms." On the other hand, the workingman should remember his obligation to furnish the labor demanded by a free and just contract; he should in no way injure his employer, either by violence, or by seditious insistence on presumed rights, or by hearkening to the seducers of the people. In considering this question, the Pontiff does not omit the part which pertains by right to the State—not to this or that particular State, but to "every government which acts in accordance with the dictates of natural reason, and of the divine teachings." It is the duty of the State "to see that public and private prosperity flow without effort from the very

this pitiless precision the object of their secret desires or their unconscious aspirations. There are souls still half-religious, but tainted by the deadly contagion of modern rationalism, who think that all that lessens the share of dogma and increases that of practical activity in the Church makes her truer to her vocation, and more conformable to her Master's design. It is often the noble error of ardent and generous hearts touched profoundly by the sufferings and the injustice of society, indignant at the indifference, I had almost said the passive complicity of the Church, who long to see her fulfil her sacred mission, and who lose sight of the fact that without these dogmas, in which they say she is selfishly absorbed, she would have neither authority, nor strength, nor means of action, nor motive power. In our day, when it is so difficult to maintain resolutely our testimony in honor of Christian supernaturalism and of Jesus Christ, the miracle of miracles, nothing is so dangerous as the coalition of very practical rationalism and imprudent charity. Therefore one cannot profess enough gratitude for the inflexible champions of principles, who, while being the first to preach with incomparable ardor the social crusade of the Church, have been careful to connect this crusade closely with the profession of objective, dogmatic, orthodox Christianity. They have not only cleansed the Church from a reproach; they have offered to the world the only efficacious instrument of salvation. What particu-

organization of society"; and the State being ordained for the good of all, the rich and poor, it should "take special interest in the welfare of its most numerous class of citizens, the workingmen." The State should see that "the workingmen receive a proper share of all the wealth that they procure for society; that they be enabled to live with the least possible amount of privation and suffering; that, in fine, they be not always familiar with misery." The authority of the State comes from God, and it should be exercised for all the children of God. The bodily interests of the workingmen demand that the State "protect them from those speculators who see in them so many machines, and abuse their persons to the utmost for the sake of mere cupidity." The care of female and youthful operatives is especially incumbent on the State; "no child should be allowed to labor, until it is sufficiently developed in all its physical, intellectual, and moral forces; for otherwise, like a tender plant, it will wither." Touching the question of wages, His Holiness does not agree with those economists who hold that once that an employer has paid the precise wages demanded by the contract, his obligations are satisfied; and who contend that justice is offended, only when the employer retains wages that are due, or when the employed do not fulfil their engagements. The Pontiff holds that these reasoners ignore a very serious side of the question; he insists that labor is at once *personal* and *necessary*; "it is *personal*, because it is the property of him who exerts

value would men ever attach to the purely natural, human, and terrestrial action of a great corporate body? Without a divine mandate, without the help of her Master, without the Gospel to awaken consciences, without the Sacraments to nourish souls, what could the Church be, do, even hope for, in social matters? Social Christianity will either be Christian in the full sense of the word, or it will not exist. That is what Manning set forth, with incomparable strength and clearness, not only in all he said and wrote on Social Catholicism in the last years of his life, but by his whole career. He believed he ought to become a Catholic, because he did not believe he could otherwise remain a Christian; in virtue of the same need, he was a Catholic upholding authority and centralization; finally he was the initiator of Social Christianity or Catholicism through his very fidelity to doctrinal Catholicism. All this development is alike connected and self-complete. It is one of the greatest honors to the memory of Manning to have been the first representative—at least in his country—of the beneficent doctrine which the Social Encyclicals of Leo XIII. have since sanctioned and set forth, and which has the double object of reminding the Church of the performance of an essential part of her divine vocation, and of offering to our unhealthy society the remedy of supernatural Christianity." PRESENSEÉ; *Cardinal Manning, in Introduction*. Paris, 1896.

it, and to whom the power of exerting it was given for his own benefit; it is *necessary*, because man has need of the fruit of his labor, in order that he may live." If we consider the matter of labor as personal, the workingman is free to engage for insufficient wages; but if we consider labor from the second point of view, which really is inseparable from the first, such will not be our conclusion. "It is the duty of every man to preserve his existence, and he cannot neglect that duty without sin. From this duty comes naturally the right to procure the necessities for life, things which the poor man must buy with his wages. Therefore let the employer and the employee come to what agreement they will, far above their free consent is the more elevated and older law of natural justice, which proclaims that wages ought to be sufficient to secure subsistence for an honest and sober workingman." The Pontiff deprecates those societies of workingmen which obey the commands of unknown leaders, and which are "equally hostile to Christianity and to the welfare of nations"; but he has words only of praise for beneficent societies, labor-unions, etc., which are conducted in the light of day, and in a Christian manner. Here we take occasion to notice the course pursued by our Pontiff in regard to a powerful association of workingmen which had recently been formed in the United States and Canada. Justin McCarthy thus comments on this subject: "Men will always find some allurements in the mysterious, and the Knights of Labor at first put on certain of the forms and fashions of the secret society, and of the Masonic Lodge. This, however, was afterward altered by the American order, in deference mainly to the objections of the Irish Catholics, who counted for much in the ranks of the Knights of Labor. . . . In Canada, however, the condition of things was not quite the same; and the archbishop of Quebec, upheld indeed by all the Canadian bishops, condemned the association because of its mystery and its secrecy and its possibly dangerous tendencies. The archbishop appealed to Rome, and obtained from Rome an expression of disapproval as regarded the form and the rules of the Canadian association, which, be it observed, had not undergone the revision applied to the association in the

United States. On the other hand, the archbishops and bishops of the United States sent to the Pope a clear and very interesting memorial, drawn up by Cardinal Gibbons, archbishop of Baltimore. The order of the Knights of Labor in the United States numbered nearly three-quarters of a million of men. Cardinal Gibbons explained that a council of archbishops and bishops had examined the rules of the association, and that only two out of twelve of the bishops were in favor of its condemnation. No oath was exacted by the society, Cardinal Gibbons pointed out; no obligation of secrecy was imposed; no blind obedience to the chiefs of the order was exacted from its members. There was no indication of hostility toward civil authority or the Church. Cardinal Gibbons went, at some length, into the subject of the grievances against which the association protested, and against which, as he explained, the association only claimed a legal remedy. . . . No one, he insisted, could deny the existence of the evil, and the necessity of a remedy. But then came the question, whether the methods employed by the Knights of Labor were lawful in themselves? On this point the cardinal was very distinct. To obtain any public object, he said, the association and organization of multitudes interested in a reform must be the most effective means to the end—a means at once natural and just. Such a method he declared to be especially in conformity with the genius of the American Republic, and of its essentially popular social state; and, indeed, almost the only means of commanding public attention, and of giving power to the most legitimate resistance, and weight to the most reasonable demand. Cardinal Gibbons submitted that the strikes, in which, undoubtedly and unhappily, acts of violence sometimes occurred, were by no means the invention of the Knights of Labor, but were the rough-and-ready methods by which, in every country, and in all times, the employed protest against injustice on the part of the employers. The rules and the leaders of the Knights of Labor endeavored, as far as possible, to discourage violence, and to keep the whole movement within the limits of good order and lawful action. Cardinal Gibbons admitted that amongst the Knights of

Labor, as in every movement where workingmen are grouped in thousands and hundreds of thousands, there must be wild, or even criminal men, who commit violence, and urge their fellows to the same course. But he protested earnestly against the tendency to attribute those evils to the organization itself. . . . A condemnation of their movement from Rome would be regarded as unjust, and would perhaps not be accepted. Cardinal Gibbons admitted that the condition of things might be different in Canada, especially in Lower Canada, where the population might be said to be altogether Catholic. He did not fail to point out, also, that the Canadian bishops had criticised the constitution of the Knights of Labor, before the recent modifications which the interest of Mr. Powderley had been able to introduce into the rules of the American order. . . . The Pope referred the whole question to one of the Sacred Congregations of Rome. The Sacred Congregation does not seem to have quite entered into the spirit of Cardinal Gibbons' recommendations. The Congregation abstained from condemning the movement of the Knights of Labor, but only extended to it a certain conditional toleration. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Leo XIII. was, for himself, much more sympathetic with the purposes of the labor organization all over the world. He had more than one opportunity of expressing his sentiments in person. Several pilgrimages of French workingmen—one of them organized and introduced by the Count de Mun—waited on him, during the time of his sacerdotal jubilee. One of these pilgrimages contained nearly two thousand members; another was much larger still. To all of these deputations the Pope spoke with sympathy, with encouragement, and with affection. He warned them against the danger of expecting too much; he told them that the solution of the whole question would be impossible, except on a basis of mutual charity, of morality, and of religion. But he recognized and accepted their movement; he welcomed them for such as they were—the delegates of a great trade-union organization. In the language of diplomacy, he 'recognized their existence,' and he made it impossible for anyone, thereafter, to say that the

Pope had pronounced against the movement for the organization of labor. That in itself made one of the great events of the time" (1). Returning now to our synopsis of the Pope's great Encyclical on labor, we observe that His Holiness especially commended the zeal manifested by his wealthier children throughout the world for a betterment of the condition of the working classes, chiefly by efforts to improve the relations between employers and the employed, and by measures calculated to make the workingmen more exact in the performance of their religious duties—a course which infallibly leads to harmony. He also praises the numerous Catholic Congresses which have been held so frequently in our day, serving as means for a profitable interchange of ideas, and for the arrangement of definite programmes of united Catholic action. He praises perhaps more than anything else the endeavors to establish something like the mediæval guilds; and he would have the State protect these associations, without any attempt at interference with their action. These Corporations, which have been the object of so many dreams of a possibly happy future for the modern workingman (2), should be so organized, says the Pope, that "they may obtain for the laborer, as far as possible, an increase of all the goods of body, soul, and fortune." The first Christians, remarks His Holiness, were despised by the Pagans, because of the poverty which afflicted the majority of them; but wise and charitable conduct finally silenced sarcasm, and opened the way of triumph for Christian truth. So it ought to be with the social question of to-day, if taken in hand by Catholics throughout the world. Let all the Catholic workingmen unite with a will, and let them act according to Catholic principles: then there will be no longer a Labor Question. "Let the force of prejudice and of passion be what it will, sooner or later the public good must turn toward those workingmen who are seen to be active and modest, preferring justice to profit, and placing duty above everything else." The truly admirable Encyclical terminates with this call to action: "Let each one begin the task that

(1) JUSTIN MCCARTHY; *Life of Leo XIII.* New York, 1896.

(2) See our remarks on *Trades Unions*, in the Supplement to our work, this volume in chapter on *Salient Features of the Middle Age*.

is incumbent on him, and without delay, lest the disease now so grave may prove to be incurable. Let governments use the protecting authority of laws and institutions. Let the wealthy and employers remember their duties. Let the workingmen, whose future is involved, seek their interests by legitimate means ; and since religion alone can destroy evil in its very root, let the laboring classes remember that their first ambition must be for a restoration of Christian morality, without which very little good will be produced by the means which human prudence regards as efficacious."

In the minds of non-Catholics of thinking proclivities this Encyclical produced sentiments of mingled astonishment and admiration. The London *Times* declared that it presented many observations worthy of universal attention, and breathed the spirit of Christian charity, and a good-will which, if it were imitated and shared widely, would nearly resolve all the industrial questions of the epoch. The same journal described the Encyclical as clear, logical, and written with all the knowledge of a statesman. The Tory *St. James's Gazette* thanked the Pope for the courageous words in which he had enforced the necessity of keeping the multitudes within the limits of duty. It asked the question, How many of our politicians who have votes to keep or to win, would have ventured to express such a sentiment in a form so intrepid ? But the *St. James's Gazette* carefully noted that it would be a serious injustice to the Pope if his Encyclical were to be treated as a declaration in favor of the capitalists. Every paragraph, said the *Gazette*, breathed a love for the working people, and many passages of it were inflamed with an eloquent anger against the inhuman abuses which too often made their way into industries and commerce. The High Church *Guardian* spoke in the warmest terms of the tone and purpose of the Encyclical, and said that its effects could not fail to be important, since in all questions which concern labor, the Catholic Church put itself readily on the side of the working population. The Pope's Encyclical had done this in a wise and moderate spirit, and with the constant care to distinguish legitimate claims from those which are extravagant, and are set up in the pretended interest of

the working-people. The Pope, added the *Guardian*, spoke as a prudent friend, not as a blind and impassioned advocate. The effects of the Encyclical, the *Guardian* predicted, would be of immense importance in the development of the social question, and it would be so also without doubt for the future of the Catholic Church. The Anglican incumbent of Manchester declared at a public meeting that the Encyclical revealed a spirit very vast, a great depth of knowledge, and a foresight most sagacious. The Pope, according to this Protestant dignitary, had put his finger on the sore part of the social system, and his word must be heeded or otherwise the world would have to expiate its neglect by terrible calamities. The principal organ of German Socialism, the *Vorwärts*, was apparently thunderstruck; for it exclaimed: "In the plenitude of his power, the Pope has stolen a march on the princes and governments of all the civilized States, and has solved the social question. Yes, undoubtedly he has solved the social question, so far as any existing power can solve it." The ultra-liberal *Breslauer Zeitung* said: "We praise the attitude of the Pope. His Encyclical is the teaching of a wise and generous man, who has carefully studied the economic and social situation of these days." In France, the judgments emitted by Maurice Barrès, a famous Socialist deputy; by the Socialist economist, Leroy-Beaulieu, a member of the Institute; by Emile Ollivier, an ex-Minister of the Second Empire; are worthy of being noted at some length. Barrès said: "In discussing the social question, the Pope recognizes the right of the weak. Give us a few more years for the disappearance of mistrust, and democracy will no longer discern an enemy in a priest. . . . Will Leo XIII. be content with having disarmed hatred? Will he not try to restore to the Papacy the power that it had in the Middle Age? We may well suppose that such is his ambition; that he intends St. Peter to direct the social reorganization which all demand. Wonderful audacity! Unforeseen metamorphosis! To reconcile the Church and modern society by thrusting them together into the same unknown! To change with one breath the mental attitude of many millions of believers, at least in their views of the old

social forms of Europe! I admire, and I am astonished. The more I feel my inability to conceive all the possibilities of the new policy, the more do I feel a respectful curiosity in regard to that illustrious old man who, as they say, is about to undertake it." Leroy-Beaulieu was so impressed by the Papal pronouncement, that he wrote an apposite book on *The Papacy, Socialism, and Democracy*, which was entirely devoted to a respectful criticism of what he reluctantly admired. He began his work with the following reflections: "What is the Pope troubling himself about to-day? How does the social question concern the Church and the priests? Such a question might be put by an old man, and he would talk according to the French tradition of the last century. The nineteenth century was—we may now speak of it as having been—congratulating itself for having deprived the Church of all connection with the things of this world. It had thought that religion, having been made for things of heaven, should have no connection with those of earth. Liberalism, professing all respect for religious liberty, had carefully shut up the clergy in their churches, seminaries, and convents. The nineteenth century had acted like those mayors and sub-prefects who, in the name of the law, ordered Christ not to show Himself in the street. The cross was to be seen only in the solitude of the cemeteries, or on the tombs of the dead, or on the tops of church-towers, up there in the air, far from the gaze of the living. Well, all this was a mere illusion. The Church could not remain very long, without taking some interest in those who lived and acted around her. Her priests could not remain content with chanting psalms in the immobility of their choirs, with intoning the *De profundis* at the bier of the dead, with teaching the Catechism to distracted children, or with listening to the monotonous avowals of the devout of every age in the silent twilight of the confessional.... And now behold! That old mother, treated like a dotard by so many of her irreverent sons, has begun to talk to men about things which interest and divide them most. Just as though we were living in the days of Gregory VII. or of Sixtus V., the Pope must have his word on human affairs;

and the world shows no irritability, it does not seem to be surprised. Here is a sign of the times that are coming. It seems that we are beholding one of the great actors in history returning to the stage. On that old theatre from which some people believed it for ever banished, the Papacy beholds a new personage of its own order, indeed, but very different from those whom during a thousand years the world has seen. The Papacy shows that it has the spirit of its age, and, without lingering over useless dissertations, it goes straight to the democracy, and of what does it speak? Of that which comes closest to the heart of the people—the social question.” Emile Ollivier, whose judgments on Leo XIII. are not always accurate, has naught but praise for the *Rerum novarum*. “Here Leo XIII. surpasses himself; he has never been so much the Pope of enlightenment and of harmonious serenity. These pages are a wonder of elevation, of justice, of elegant and strong language, of delicate and firm handling of contradictory ideas and interests.... In all the theses of this Encyclical we meet an incomparable circumspection, an imperturbable equilibrium, because of which the fundamental question of the intervention of public authority is solved, without any injury to any other principle which is equally fundamental. Thus Leo XIII. is favorable to the poor man, but he is no foe to the rich man; he does not hurl against the latter any paraphrases of the text: ‘Woe to the rich!’ He speaks severely of the too evident hardness of heart of certain rich men; but instead of maltreating them, he implores them, and he tries to convince them. To this end, he is not satisfied with leaving them to the judgment of God; he shows them the perils that menace them, and he does not exaggerate these dangers, for every observer knows that the social conflict, excited wherever employers are ‘intelligent concerning the poor and the indigent,’ is continually growing more bitter in those centres of ferocious egotism.... The politicians themselves, turned temporarily from their rivalries, have been impressed by this language of a sage and an apostle, language which is beautiful with the beauty that comes from on high; and they have admired it. Truly, said these gentlemen, the venerable man has

uttered very significant words ; he understands the drift of the times, and he marches with it ; hitherto the Church has been in the tents of the rich, but now she caters to the poor ; Leo is an able tactician. Leo XIII. does not merit this species of eulogy in which irony is mingled with distrust. Had the framers of this eulogy understood the policy of the Church, they would have abstained from it. The Church, depository of many doctrinal treasures, does not exhibit them all at once, and with equal insistence (?) ; she puts forth more especially those which meet the intellectual and moral needs of the present. When Pelagius contested the divine sovereignty, the Pontiffs and the Doctors explained the doctrine of grace. When the free will of man was attacked by Luther, Calvin, Baius, and Jansenius, the Pontiffs and Doctors defended that free will. To-day the object of general preoccupation is the problem of Poverty and Wealth ; and the Pope explains the Catholic doctrine on the relations between the two. Where is the strategy of this explanation ? It is not necessary for the Church to change her domicile, in order that she may be found with the poor. When was she not with them ? At what moment were her maternal ears closed to their cries ? The poor have always been her favorite children. Have the poor ever had such servants as Francis of Assisi and Vincent de Paul ? What land does not testify to the inexhaustible fecundity of the Church's charity ? So much the worse for you, if you have not hitherto perceived this truth."

Naturally an immediate consequence of the Encyclical *Rerum novarum* was an effort, on the part of Catholics in every civilized land, to mobilize their social forces in accordance with the spirit indicated by the Pontiff. In France, always at the head of every movement involving the destinies of Catholicism, the systematic opposition of the Republican government could not prevent the development of such admirable institutions as the many Catholic Workingmen's Circles, the Confraternity of Notre-Dame de l'Usine, the model co-operative establishments of the Harmels at Val-des-Bois, etc. In Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, and the United States of America, there was manifested an instan-

taneous desire to meet the paroxysms of an anti-Christian demagoguery with Catholic organizations which would be no longer purely isolated and individual. In Spain and in most of the Spanish-American countries, the pre-eminently Catholic spirit of nearly all their inhabitants had caused labor-agitations to be unknown, because they were without any reason for being; but the sentiments of the *Rerum novarum* gave in these lands a new impetus to the already dominant Catholic idea that the workingman and his employer were but servants of the same Master, and consequently Catholic charity began to consider the possibility of ameliorating social conditions which were already far superior to those which obtained in the "Anglo-Saxon" and the other regions which are of Teutonic or of partially Teutonic origin. In Celtic and Catholic Belgium, the land so dear to Leo XIII., the several Catholic Congresses of Liège had already drawn the attention of the rest of Christendom to the schemes of the Socialistic foes of the Christian name; and the echoes from the trenchant words of the Pontiff had not died out, ere there arose everywhere in the original home of Clovis those *Maisons des Ouvriers* which were to be powerful centres for the propaganda of a Christian Socialism. Everywhere in Belgium the Catholics founded guilds similar to those associations which had been the very life of the mediæval Flemings, and which were now to contest with Pagan Socialism for the empire over the hearts of Flemish workingmen. Throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom, there were held festivals which were at once religious and civic—festivals at which tens of thousands of Catholic workingmen prayed before the renowned shrines of their motherland, or enjoyed their simple games in the parks of the first nobles of the country. But it is to the Pontiff's own city of Rome that we must turn—to the Rome that the Vatican could reach, not to the Rome of the Quirinal—if we wish to see, in a pre-eminent degree, the teachings of the *Rerum novarum* reduced to practice. Of course, when Leo XIII. mounted the pontifical throne, he found Rome as ever the model for Christian charity, very nearly such as his predecessors had made her; for not even a devastat-

ing regime such as that of the Quirinal could at once obliterate the work of centuries which had its roots in the hearts and traditions of the real Romans. But it devolved on the new Pope, even though he was not in fact a Pope-King, to protect and sustain the many Catholic Schools in the Eternal City, the hope of future Roman generations, and the many orphanages and refuges which had made the Rome of the Popes the most beneficent city in the universe. And the financial crimes of the "liberators of Italy" had entailed new duties on the Pontiff; thousands of workingmen were in abject destitution. For the succor of these victims of "free Rome," Leo XIII., through the Circle of St. Peter, established cheap kitchens throughout the city, furnishing a solid and appetizing meal for four cents. The same Circle of St. Peter established Night Refuges which were managed by the Sisters of Charity, and superintended by the members of the Circle; in these asylums, the poor man or woman found a clean and comfortable bed for two cents. Then there was the "Primary, Artistic, and Operative Association of Reciprocal Charity," which, established by Pius IX., received a splendid development under Leo XIII. This association is a society of mutual help, numbering about five thousand members, divided into several sections, all sections having their delegates in the directing council. Painters, sculptors, jewellers, printers, and workers of every kind, are admitted to membership. In 1888, Pope Leo donated to the Association a piece of ground for its home, which cost five hundred thousand francs. One of the sections, especially concerned with workingmen and the smaller employers of labor, has in its charge the making of allowances to its associates in case of sickness or want of employment. The funds of this section are obtained by subscriptions from its members, and by voluntary contributions from the public. This section also gives gratuitously the medicines necessary for its members who are out of health and are poor. It has created savings banks on a small scale, which have done much to encourage a spirit of economy and of foresight among the poorer class. In fact, the Association forms a centre of economy and of self-help, around which various similar institutions have recently

grouped themselves. Among these, the least important is not the one which grants loans without other security than the "honor" of the borrower; nor another which builds comfortable houses for workmen. As for alms-giving properly so-called, on the part of Leo XIII., it ought to be sufficient to remember that he is a Roman Pontiff; but nevertheless certain journals of the Quirinal party have dared, from time to time, to assert that he is avaricious. In 1890, the *Cittadino* of Genoa and the *Osservatore Romano* gave details which showed that in the previous year His Holiness had distributed 427,125 francs in private charity. Even the *Sera*, a Liberal organ, experienced nausea on reading these aspersions on the character of its chief priestly adversary, and said: "It is false that the charities of Leo XIII. have become unfrequent. Were we to enumerate the families who are continually aided and even supported by the Pope, we would never finish. And all of his alms are distributed to the designated beneficiary, even to the last penny; for the bureaus charged with this duty are so scrupulously careful, that it is impossible for any sums to be alienated from their proper objects."

Concerning the burning question of wages, the mind of the Holy See, although never indicated by an apposite and positive decision as to the details of that question, can be sufficiently apprehended by him who reads the Encyclical *Rerum novarum*; but in 1891, there appeared a document which was, if not inspired by the Pontiff, at least tacitly approved by him, and which served to develop the already-emitted pontifical judgments on the rights of wage-earners. When the Congress of Malines was about to be held in 1891, Cardinal Goossens, the archbishop of the honored city, anticipating a discussion on certain points of the *Rerum novarum*, submitted three questions to the Holy See. It was not deemed necessary, or perhaps advisable, to give an official answer; but Cardinal Goossens was informed that the doubts would be submitted to a reliable theologian for solution. This theologian was the erudite and judicious Cardinal Zigliara; and the reader will note that his views in the premises are to be regarded with more than ordinary

deference, since the Holy See intended them to serve as guidance for the deliberations of a very important Catholic Congress. Cardinal Goossens observed that the pontifical Encyclical contained the following passage: "Let the employer and the employee come to what agreement they will, far above their free consent is the more elevated and older law of natural justice, which proclaims that wages ought to be sufficient to secure subsistence for an honest and sober workingman." Regarding these words, His Eminence asked, firstly, whether the "natural justice" here mentioned was to be understood as "commutative justice," or rather as "natural equity" (1). The reply was: "Commutative justice." In support of his answer, Zigliara called attention to the fact that the labor of the workman, a free and wage-deserving labor, differs greatly from a piece of merchandise that is sold for a determined price; but that nevertheless said labor may be regarded as a merchandise, when it is considered from the point of view which makes merchandise an object of price. Just like a piece of merchandise, therefore, the work of the laborer is an object of *commutative* justice. "Whenever," continues Zigliara, "the workingman has fulfilled the natural duty of obtaining the immediate object of his labor, and it is found that the wage does not procure for him food, lodging, and clothing, then from the very nature of things, it follows that there has been produced an objective inequality between the labor and the wage—in plain words, *commutative* justice has been violated." Cardinal Goossens had asked, secondly, whether sin is committed by the employer who pays wages which suffice for the decent support of a workingman, but which are utterly insufficient for the sustenance of his dependent family. To this deli-

(1) For the benefit of the reader who is not conversant with the terminology of Moral Theology, we note that theologians distinguish three kinds of justice: *legal*, *distributive*, and *commutative*. The *legal* turns on the relations of an individual body-corporate, or the State; it is called *legal*, because it has for its objects things that a man owes to the community, because of positive law. *Distributive* justice turns on the distribution, according to the decrees of legitimate authority, of the honors or burdens to which the citizen may be subject. *Commutative* justice, which is the species which principally engages the attention of moralists, is exercised by one citizen toward another, by one private individual toward another; and its ordinary manifestation occurs in contracts, and in other relations of social commerce. It is also to be noted that a violation of *legal* justice is termed *illegal injustice*; a violation of *distributive* justice is an *exception of persons*; and a violation of *commutative* is styled simply an *injury*.

cate and heart-touching question, Zigliara replied that in that case there would be no sin against strict justice, but that there might be a sin against charity or natural equity; and he thus explained his answer: "His labor is the personal work of the employee, not that of his family; said labor has relation with the workingman's family only subsidiarily and accidentally, inasmuch as the workingman shares his wages with his wife and children; just as the family has not contributed to the labor, so justice does not demand that the family be paid for the labor. But there is a question of charity in this case; although one should not rashly decide as to whether charity is violated in this or that particular instance." The third difficulty propounded by Cardinal Goossens was as to whether an employer sins, when he, without any violence or deceit, gives smaller wages than the work would merit, and smaller than decent living would require for the employee, merely because there are many workingmen who would be glad to labor for starvation wages? The reply of Zigliara is: "Such an employer sins against commutative justice," and the reason is clear: "When one purchases a thing, it is not allowable, properly speaking, to give less for it than it is worth, according to common estimation, circumstances of time and place being considered; much less is it permissible to give wages which are less than the labor merits," excepting, of course, the case in which the employer is himself making no profit.

In the spring of 1893, three hundred representatives of the workingmen of Switzerland held a Congress at Bienne; more than half of the participants were either Protestants or infidels, and very many were avowed Socialists. During one of the first sessions, Dr. Gaspard Decurtins, a national counsellor, a "Democratic Ultramontane," proposed the following resolution: "The Catholic Associations of workingmen are invited to exercise an international propaganda for a realization of the principles which Leo XIII. enunciated in his Encyclical on the Labor Question." The motion was carried almost unanimously, despite the religious differences of the members—a convincing proof, remarked the very unclerical *Journal des Debats*, that the Swiss workingmen had heard of

the Encyclical, that they no longer considered the Roman Church as an instrument of oppression, and that their immediate aspirations agreed with the social doctrines of the Pontiff. Writing to Dr. Decurtins on Aug. 6, Leo XIII. expresses his gratification on having received such a testimony to the effect produced in Switzerland by his words; and amid his counsels he seems to foreshadow the future institution of an international legislation for the workingman. "It is strange and very important," says the *Journal des Débats*, "to read in this short letter an expression of this pontifical hope. In 1887 M. Decurtins asked the Swiss Federal Council to propose certain questions on labor to the various States of Europe, with the hope of arriving at an understanding concerning them; and Mgr. Jacobini congratulated him. In 1890, the appeal of M. Decurtins was heard by the German emperor, and Leo XIII. wrote to that sovereign: 'The labor question must be settled according to all the rules of justice; the combined action of the powers would contribute to the desired end.' In May, 1891, the lengthy Encyclical on this question appeared; but it was silent in regard to an international legislation on the matter. This silence was remarked; in certain circles it was thought that Leo XIII., deceived by the Congress of Berlin, had renounced the idea which he had cherished. But this recent remark to M. Decurtins shows the falsity of that conclusion: 'It is evident that the workingmen will never find efficacious protection in the laws which vary in the different States. The very moment that in one land goods from various others are offered for sale, a diversity of labor-conditions assures the success of one people, and the failure of another.' Similar phrases, which one might suppose to have been extracted from some treatise on economy, abound in the documents which Leo XIII. has consecrated to the social question." And indeed our Pontiff not only declared with precision the reasons for his desire that an international understanding concerning labor should be reached, but he applauded every step toward that end: "We have learned with great satisfaction that the Congress of Bienne has taken measures for the meeting of a still more important Congress of Working-

men, the object of which will be to draw the attention of the civil authorities to the necessity of equal laws which will protect the weak, women, and children from excessive toil." The *Journal des Débats* rightly observed that Leo XIII. is not at all frightened when a great manifestation of workingmen occurs; he is much less suspicious of these indications of vigor, than is the most liberal of modern governments. "Defender of true order and of social harmony," says the perspicacious journal, "the Pontiff wishes the workingmen to organize; for once organized, they will oppose to the civil power, not a violent revolt which triumphs by force, and whose reason is force, but a plain expression of the claims which can be discussed in the name of justice, once that they are formulated" (1).

(1) In the *North American Review* for April, 1899, there appeared an article by Prince Iturbide, which must interest the student as showing not only the institution of Mexican *peonage* in a very unexpected light (if the student is an average "Anglo-Saxon" American), but also the curious fact that, of all the countries of the New World, our neighbor alone has settled the question between labor and capital to the satisfaction of both. Probably the reader knows that Mexican *peonage* is a kind of bondage for debt; but it is not generally known that this bondage is sometimes contracted directly, sometimes by voluntary inheritance. "In the former case," says Prince Iturbide, "a peon seeking employment presents himself to the administrator (by which title the manager of a hacienda is known) and asks for an *enganche*—that is, a retainer, the amount of which varies between ten and thirty dollars. If the applicant be acceptable, the peon becomes part of the establishment. His contract obliges him to work for the hacienda until his debt is canceled. On the other hand, his prerogatives are such as no other laborer in the world enjoys. In the first place, it is understood that while the peon remains in the employ of the hacienda, his debt will not be canceled, but, on the contrary, that it will be increased, until, if ever, his children are pleased to assume it, or death or old age wipes it out. The debt may not be sold without his consent, except to a new owner of the hacienda. The peon is free, however, to change creditors at will. Only a part of his earned wages may be applied each week to his debt. Each week he receives rations, sufficient for his maintenance and for his family. Each year he and his family receive an ample supply of clothing. Medical services are furnished them free of expense, and the sums of money that they may require for baptisms, confirmations, marriages, or burials are advanced to them regardless of the balance that the peon's account may show against him. Haciendas have schools to which the peon may—and often must—send his children. He is furnished space and material for the construction of his hut, and is entitled to the use of ground, which he cultivates for his own benefit, with hacienda's stock, implements, and seed. Finally there are two days in the year on each of which the peon receives extra wages amounting to several dollars. And when, through age or accident, the peon is no longer able to work, he becomes a charge of the hacienda. Prince Iturbide mentions one establishment which in 1887 had 1,600 inhabitants whose indebtedness to the owner amounted to more than \$26,000, of which one peon alone owed \$1,500. Several of the peons, however, were free of debt, and a few of them were even the hacienda's creditors. The earnings and expenses of the women, who are very industrious, are entered on the accounts of the men of their families. Sometimes, at the end of a day, a peon is credited with several days' extra work that has been done by the women of his family. Prince Iturbide is enthusiastic in his praise of the system, contrasting it with the labor systems of other lands to the disparagement of the latter. Of the condition of the laborers, he says: "There is a numerous class of human beings who are born not only in poverty, but in debt, and heirs by natural law to all the

CHAPTER XVII.

THE "INTERNATIONAL" AND ANARCHISM.

The most successful propagator of Socialism in our day has been the society termed the International, the principal founders of which were Karl Marx, the son of a Jew who had been "converted" to Protestantism, and Frederick Engels. It is not true, as many Catholic and other conservative publicists would fain imagine, that the International is now dead—that its demise was a consequence of the Socialistic Congress held at The Hague in 1872. In another Congress of the Brethren convened in Zurich on Aug. 6, 1893, Liebknecht, one of their chief luminaries, thus avowed the still persistent vitality of the dread organization: "A general ought to change tactics according to the movements of the enemy. We should do likewise. Were we residents of Russia, we would act as the Nihilists act; but we have become convinced that we must employ against the modern State every one of the means which the State can furnish us." In confirmation of this evidence of vitality, Engels then said: "I am the first Socialist of Europe. When we taught the doctrines of 'Collectivism' in 1843, they were

misery of the proletariat—to which they would be a prey if the peon system were not there to solve their problem of life. As it is, from his cradle to his grave the peon will never lack food, raiment, or shelter. His wife and his children will never know the pinch of hunger. If he has the capacity to rise above his class, the hacienda will afford him the opportunity to do so. If he goes through life an insolvent debtor, still at the hacienda he will have an open credit, and not only his needs, but in a measure, his limited appetite for the superfluous will be satisfied. In a word, he will be above the proletariat, and that through no charity of his employer; for all that is done in his interest is his due. "The peon system affords the farmer proportionate advantages. It is less expensive than others—so much so that in many instances peon labor competes successfully with machinery. The prerogatives and perquisites that it secures to the field hands could not be replaced by increased wages of reasonable amounts; hence the owner secures greater satisfaction among his laborers by this system than he would by others that demand larger pecuniary disbursements. Then the laborer becomes identified with the hacienda. It is his home, and he takes a natural interest in its welfare. "This solution of the labor question is due to the clergy of the early Mexican Church, who perhaps did not conceive the peon system as such, but whose humanitarian efforts in behalf of the Aztec race constituted one of the forces of which the system in question is a resultant. It perhaps presents imperfections, but improvements may be sought in keeping with its principles; for it is an excellent formula that has stood long and varied tests, with the result that Mexican haciendas collect an indigent population into communities that know no want, while they furnish the most remunerative safe investment to be found in this hemisphere."

pronounced a dangerous Utopia; but now, after a period of fifty years, those doctrines are professed by a party which is found everywhere on earth, and which holds the future in its hands. Who then will dare to say that the International is dead? You yourselves have proved that it is more alive now than it ever was" (1). Although the International was founded and is managed by men in close relations with the powers of Masonry, and although it continually breathes a spirit of impiety that is truly Masonic; nevertheless, the average Internationalist heartily curses the Revolution of 1789, the masterpiece of the Brethren of the Three Points, as having been of benefit only to the hated middle classes, and he includes the Masonic Lodges in his imprecations, since they are really so many intrenchments for the security of his capitalistic enemy (2). We must remember, however, that this antagonism does not imply any divergence of views and aims between the leaders of the two sects. "The International and the various Socialistic organizations," says Jannet, "have hitherto been in the hands of men who were more or less dependent on the supreme directors of the secret societies, who have always succeeded in turning the revolutionary ardor of the proletariat against the Church. The Jacobin element, just as it was during the Paris Commune, is now more powerful than the purely Socialistic element. But this policy of equilibrium and intrigue cannot always dominate the passions which it unchains; and the opposition between Freemasonry and the International, between Jacobinism and Socialism—if we may represent the diversity of the sects by these names—must always be real, since it derives from the very nature of things, from the different social positions of the members. United, so long as the Christian social edifice is the object of attack, the different secret societies try to throttle one another, as soon as they deem their work finished; and by this procedure they often undo their work, thus anticipating the hour of divine justice" (3). Originally the Internationalists

(1) BECHAUX: *Demands of the Workingmen in France*, p. 12. Paris, 1894.

(2) The *Monde Maçonnique* of Jan., 1880, says that in 1870, the Radical Committee of Lyons insisted on a declaration, on the part of its candidates, that they were not Masons. In 1870, in fact, the International of Lyons "excommunicated" all the Masonic Lodges.

(3) *Introduction to the Secret Societies* of Deschamps, § 7.

styled themselves Communists; but even while they bore that name, their association had already become international. At the head of their manifesto, issued in 1851, was inscribed the call, "Proletaires of every land, unite!" The World's Fair held in London in 1862 gave a powerful impetus to the International; and on Sept. 28, 1864, the name was officially adopted and promulgated in a public meeting in St. Martin's Hall, at which there were present delegates from every European country (1). It would have been strange indeed if Mazzini, the champion conspirator of modern times, had allowed an international league to be formed without his intervention; hence it was that Wolff, his secretary, presented to the meeting of 1862 a number of statutes which his master had prepared in accordance with the centralizing policy which had served him so well in the management of his Young Italy and Young Europe. But Marx was unwilling to be eclipsed even by the superior talent of the Italian; his influence caused the adoption of a set of statutes which flattered the susceptibilities of the particular circles, while at the same time they strengthened his directing hand (2). The supreme authority of the International, according to the statutes as ratified in the Congress held at Geneva in 1866, was placed in Congresses, one of which was to be assembled each year. The time and place for the meeting, and the subjects to be treated, were to be prescribed either by the Congress or by the General Council, a body corresponding to the Masonic Grand Orient. The seat of this Council was originally in London; but in 1873 it was transferred to New York. Each section was to be free to appoint its correspondents with the General Council. The General Council was to have the right of granting or refusing affiliation to any new society or group, saving a right of appeal to the next Congress. The General Council was to have the right to suspend, until the meeting of the next Congress, any section of the order; and any group could exclude one of its sections from its communion, but without depriving it of its internationality. One would imagine that from the very birth of the In-

(1) FRIBOURG; *The International Association of Workingmen*, p. 6. Paris, 1871.

(2) See the apposite article of Laveleye in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 15, 1880 and also the *Contemporary Socialism* by Winterer.

ternational, its sole ostensible reason for existence having been the good of the workingmen, none but workingmen would have been admitted to its membership; and indeed it was this proletarian characteristic that caused the essentially democratic Internationalists of the European rank and file to detest the Freemasons, among whom the European laboring man seldom or never enters. But if this had been the rule, Marx himself, a man of independent fortune, would have been excluded from the house that he had built; and the same would have been the lot of a horde of Jacobin *bourgeois*—professors, physicians, clerks, military officers, etc.—who had joined the association of manual laborers, in order to use them for their own or for the purposes of some other organization. Therefore it was that the German group of the order, entirely devoted to Marx, refused to listen to the demand of the French delegates in the Congress of Geneva, that the International should be closed to all who did not live by their own manual labor. All of those whom the German decision benefited, soft-handed Socialists of dubious sincerity, were Freemasons; and hence it was that despite the repugnance of the least impious among the impious host, the Brethren of the Three Points became the rulers of the International. Among the notable votaries of the Dark Lantern who joined this “association of workingmen” during the first years of its public life, we may mention the famous and popular historian, Henri Martin; Chaudey, the collaborator with Proudhon, who fell a victim of Rigault, during the Commune; Corbon, who had been vice-president of the Constituent in 1848; and strange to say, Jules Simon, who was certainly far from suspecting that his new comrades would soon try to burn Paris, and that he, the bitter enemy of standing armies, would help Thiers to crush those comrades to earth. Like many others of his party, this naturally well-meaning man was the victim of the first principles of a philosophy which starts from man’s absolute independence of all divine positive law; and when he finally realized the necessity for that law, he abandoned the International and Freemasonry for Christianity.

The religious and social doctrines of the International are

public property, since each one of its Congresses published expositions of those teachings. At the Peace Congress held in Geneva in 1866, the French member of the General Council, Eugene Dupont, thus perorated: "The workingman is certainly the warmest advocate of perpetual peace; but do you think that you will attain it by means such as were proposed to you yesterday—the creation of a new religion (that of the God-Reason, suggested by Garibaldi)? Well, far from creating a new religion, you ought to destroy all those that now exist. Every religion is a despotism that has its standing armies—the priests; and those armies have inflicted far worse wounds on the people than are ever received on the field of battle. Those armies have travestied right; they have atrophied reason. Do not change a barrack into a church; pull them both down." Among the toasts which were given at the banquet which followed this Congress, that of the Russian delegate, the enigmatical Bakunine, prognosticated a glorious future for humanity, when "true democracy would be attained, by means of Federalism, Socialism, and *Anti-Theologism*" (1). At the Congress of Lausanne, held in 1867, a certain Albert Richard advocated a study of the careers of "useful men, instead of *the immoral study of the Bible*"; and one Murat endorsed the plea with the assertion that "*The Bible is a code of immorality.*" At this same Congress, notice was given by Aristide Rey, one of the students who had infamously distinguished themselves at the Congress of Liège in 1865, that recently there had been formed an organization entitled an "Act as You Please Society," the members of which were sworn to insert the following clause in their last wills: "It is my final desire that I be not buried with the rites of any religion whatsoever, and I appoint N. . . to represent me at my funeral, charging him to see that my body be not profaned by such ceremonies." This Congress of Liège deserves more than a passing notice. It was a reunion of more than a thousand students of the irreligious stamp, who had come from England, France, Spain, Germany, Russia, and Holland, in order to encourage the youth of Belgium to oppose religious education. The

(1) *Annals of the Congress of Geneva*. Geneva, 1868.

sessions were appropriately held in the Casino Grétry, a dance-hall and *café chantant*. In the work of Deschamps the reader will find copious extracts from the orations with which the young men were enlightened; and if he peruses them attentively, he will find that it was quite natural that many of the auditors should have afterward become eminent in the councils of the International, of Freemasonry, of the Commune, and of the Gambettist administration in France. We submit a few of the precious morsels. Arnould, the editor of the *Précurseur*, the most important among the Liberal journals of Belgium, said that in the present condition of society, "there were not two institutions, whose reason for existence was based on justice." As for the moral order, said Arnould, "we have, in spite of ourselves, a Catholic morality, and that is all"; how, therefore, could there be "any serious and complete education in a society which is governed by ideas that have come from—goodness knows where?" A certain Fontaine, a lawyer and an editor of Brussels, took care to remind his hearers that "although he had been baptised a Belgian by the Civil Code and the Catholic clergy, nevertheless, he had no country; for him, his country was every land where there was liberty." Then he proceeded to demonstrate the object of the education which his party proposed to make obligatory in Belgium, "in the name of freedom of education." The Socialists insisted, said Fontaine, on "an annihilation of every prejudice derived from religion or Church, an annihilation which will produce a denial of a God, and entire freedom for investigation." In fine, concluded Fontaine, "we expect to procure, by means of the enfranchisement of the workingman and of every citizen, the abolition of every authoritative system." Shortly after the explosion of the cerebellum of Fontaine, a certain Georges Janson called on the youth of Europe and America "to seek for models in their political lives, among the Dantons, the Saint-Justs, the Camille Desmoulins, and the Marats." It should be noted that the Masonic organ, the *Chaine d'Union* (1878, p. 147), said that Janson here expressed the "present view" of Freemasonry. After the ebullition of Janson, a French educationalist named Regnard

told the assembled students that "if success had attended the efforts of the man who is termed Julian the Apostate, the fifth century would have seen all the good which has been accomplished in the nineteenth." A sage named Lafargue told the boys to remember that "human affairs are regulated by no divine intelligence"; but that they ought not to forget that "Catholicism is the great weapon of the spiritualists; that during the last four centuries men have tried to destroy it, and that it is, unfortunately for us, as strong now as ever it was." A few days after the adjournment of the Congress of Liège, this same energumen, Lafargue, bidding farewell to the lads in Brussels, concluded his address with: "*War on God! Hatred for God!* In those sentiments all progress consists! *You must demolish heaven as though it were a ceiling of paper!*" One of the French boys, Germain Casse, who afterward made some noise as a deputy, called on his comrades to vote, as soon as they were able, for "the absolute withdrawal of the right of teaching from every individual who represents, in the slightest degree, the religious idea"; and he added: "When you leave this hall, you belong either to Paris or to Rome; you will be either Jesuits or Revolutionists." In the following year, another crowd of students, assembled in Brussels under the auspices of the editors of the *Liberté*, applauded the following utterances of a Citizen Sibrac: "I see before me a number of women, and I thank them for their presence. They will not be wanting in our revolutionary movement. *Eve was the first to emit the cry of revolt against God!*"

In July, 1869, the General Council of the International, sitting in London, admitted as a section the International Alliance of the Social Democracy, the programme of which had been prepared by Bakunine and Becker, and was couched in these terms: "The Alliance avows itself atheistic. It demands the abolition of all worship of God; the substitution of science for faith; and a recognition of human, in the place of divine justice" (1). In the memorial addressed to the Congress of Geneva by the French delegates, on the occasion of the ratification of the statutes of the Internation-

(1) FRIBOURG; *loc. cit.*, p. 129.

al, a memorial which the English and German delegates condemned as not sufficiently advanced, we read the following theory, which is in last analysis a perfect summary of the teaching of Cousin and of Masonry: "Labor is an act by which man manifests his worth, his strength, and his morality. By labor man dominates nature, acquires new knowledge, and *arrives at a deification of himself*, if we may use such an expression (superstitious, in the sense of the memorialists); for *the Divinity is not, and cannot be, anything else than an ideal of the perfection toward which humanity invincibly tends.*" If the English and German Internationalists found this manifesto too tame, they should have been satisfied with the concluding concession of the French brethren: "Religion is one of those manifestations of human conscience which *may be respectable, like so many others, so long as it remains an individual and thoroughly private matter.* We believe that all religious ideas, and all *a priori* ideas, can form the subjects of no useful discussion. Let each person think as he deems proper on such matters, *providing that he does not introduce his God into the affairs of society.*" No wonder that in the grand Masonic reunion which was held in Paris on April 26, 1871, in order to prepare for the Communistic explosion of the 29th, one of the chief Communists, Lefrançais, exclaimed: "When I was received into Lodge No. 133, my heart was with Masonry; for I was assured that the object of Masonry was identical with that of the Commune" (1). In regard to the tenets of the International on the subject of the ownership of land, it is necessary merely to state that the Congress of Bâle, held in 1869, proclaimed, firstly, that society "has the right to abolish individual ownership of land, and to give the land to the community"; and secondly, that "there is a necessity for a collective proprietorship of the soil." Carteret, a prominent member of Bakunine's International Alliance of the Social Democracy, was wont to defend this curious proposition: "When an owner wishes to rent a piece of immovable property, he shows that he does not need it; therefore it should be confiscated." There is no reason for our descanting on the differ-

(1) DESCHAMPS; *loc. cit.*, Bk. ii., ch. 14, 6.

ences which have divided the men of the International into Collectivists and Communists. This division was merely a result of personal rivalry ; and both parties aim at a destruction of the existing order of society, at an abolition of individual property, and at some kind of an omnipotence of the State. Again, when there was question of establishing the Paris Commune of 1871, all the Internationalists—Marxists, Anarchists, Jacobins, and Mazzinians—forgot their rivalries ; and now, after some years of another division, all seem to be reunited in a compact organization.

No account of the International would be complete, did it not contain some particulars concerning Michael Bakunine, the famous Pan-Slavist who, together with Herzen, another Russian, had a principal part in the foundation of the chief Socialistic organization. Thanks to the investigations of Rudolph Meyer, a famous German writer whom Bismarck honored with a particular hatred, and to the judicious reflections of the Abbé Winterer, whose *Contemporary Socialism* has shed so much light on a subject which courts darkness, we are able to perceive that both Bakunine and Herzen were merely Russian agents of Pan-Slavism at the time when they posed as agitators for the Socialism of the International. It is certain that Karl Marx and his immediate followers came in time to regard Bakunine as a Russian agent ; and there can be no doubt that Herzen was an apostle of Pan-Slavism from the very beginning of his connection with Western Europe. Undoubtedly, Herzen was a Socialist ; but, remarks Winterer, Pan-Slavism is also Socialistic. "The dream of Pan-Slavism is to dominate Europe, and then the world ; it expects to reign over the ruins of the present social order, having planted thereon the Russian social organization. It is not sufficiently well understood that the basis of this organization is Agrarian Communism. This constitution of the commune is the foundation of all the social dreams of Pan-Slavism ; its apostles despise the proletariat of Western Europe, and they proudly assert that the Russian communes have prevented their country from being afflicted by such a proletariat. Alas! they forget that Russia suffers from wounds which are no less cruel.'

Meyer and Winterer agree in terming Bakunine an agent of the Pan-Slavic party, although they seem to hesitate as to the direct complicity of the Russian government in his anarchistic enterprises. Before his arrival in Germany, Bakunine had been an officer of artillery in the Russian army. The year 1848 found him in Bohemia, where he published a Pan-Slavist manifesto in the name of the Slavic Congress which was then held in Prague; whereupon the *New Rhenish Gazette* denounced him as a Russian emissary, and when his friends demanded proofs of his guilt, the editor told them "to apply to George Sand, who had furnished said proofs to the journal." Soon after this *contretemps*, Bakunine was arrested at Chemnitz, and he was condemned to death by the governments of Austria and Saxony; but the Czar Nicholas I. demanded his person, and having obtained the extradition, sent him to Siberia, not as a convict, but as a simple exile under the tutelage of his cousin, Count Murawieff, who was then governor-general of Russian Asia. After a few years of merely nominal restraint, Bakunine was sent "on a mission to the Pacific coast"; of course he embarked for Japan, then proceeded to America, and in 1861 he appeared in London as "one who had dedicated his life to the freedom of the Russians, the Poles, and all the Slavs." So he declared in a manifesto in which he asserted that Nicholas I., just before his death, had conceived the idea of declaring war on Austria, and of inciting the Austrian and Turkish Slavs to rebellion. Here then we find in 1862 a war of races preached by the man who, in 1868, was to speak in the name of the International. At this time the revolutionists of Western Europe, not contented with the emancipation of the Russian serfs, tried to induce Herzen and Bakunine to pronounce against the government of St. Petersburg; but neither would yield to the pressure. On the contrary, Bakunine published a pamphlet in which he called on Alexander II. to head a Pan-Slavic revolution. To this programme Bakunine remained faithful to the end of his life; the fiery talker of the Peace League and of the International never ceased to be a Pan-Slavist, although his sentiments were sometimes veiled. He never would admit, with the Western

Socialists, that Russia was reactionary ; when those gentry would have entered into active politics, he counselled "complete abstention," although he was then calling on all the Slavs of Europe to enter the political arena. In fact, Bakunine did not wish the International to become a dominating power in the West ; he wished to use it as a means of weakening the West through the forces of revolution and anarchy, so that Pan-Slavism would find its triumphant march an easy one. Meyer finds a convincing argument for the Pan-Slavic apostolate of Bakunine in the fact that the last years of the agitator's life were passed in luxury in one of the most delicious villas in Switzerland. No pension from the International, no contributions from the workingmen of Europe and America, could have enabled him to lead this happy existence. He had no private fortune ; his money must have come from the Pan-Slavist treasury—a rich one, or from the government of the czar. Nor can it be urged that Bakunine's Pan-Slavic mission was incompatible with the Socialism that he propagated in Spain, Switzerland, and other lands ; for, as we have already said, this Socialism was in reality the Agrarian Communism on which the rural communes of Russia are based. Certainly the czar and his government were frequently objects of bitter invective on the part of Bakunine ; but such eloquence could easily have been a trick of his trade. And how are we to account for the czar's interference in order to save Bakunine from a merited Austrian scaffold ? Why did the culprit receive merely a nominal punishment from the imperial intercessor, and why was he afforded an easy method of escaping from even that penalty ? But more recent events show the cabinet of St. Petersburg in a light that would indicate that much of the guilt of Bakunine is to be laid at its door. "Did not Tcherniaieff," asks Winterer, "accomplish a Pan-Slavic mission very similar to that of Bakunine ? Did not the Revolution applaud this Russian commander of the Servian army ? Was not Servia then (and is it not now) harrassed by conspiracies of a nature at once Pan-Slavic and revolutionary ? Did not Garibaldi shout for that cause ? Did not Tcherniaieff withdraw at a convenient moment, with all the blessings, or at

least with the favor of the Czar Alexander? But if it may be doubted whether Bakunine had any positive relations with the government of St. Petersburg, it is impossible to doubt concerning the intimate relations of the agitator with the Pan-Slavic party of Russia, a party which enjoys all the favors of the government. Hideous, indeed, are the designs of this Pan-Slavism; the lethargic barbarism of the Crescent is much to be preferred. To corrupt, to lacerate, to enfeeble Europe by revolution, anarchy, and war; to hurl the innumerable Slavic hordes on a Europe in ruins; to offer to the insurgent proletariat of Western Europe the allurements of Agrarian Communism; such is Pan-Slavism, the monstrosity which, in company with the International, now menaces civilized Europe." Reichenbach, in his valuable *Socialism and the Reformation in Germany* (Paris, 1878), thus speaks of Bakunine: "This agitator played so extraordinary a part, that one is tempted to agree with the veteran Internationalists who insisted that he was a Russian agent. Certainly his exile to Siberia was a veritable joke. It is to be hoped that the phases of his career will be better comprehended, when there will appear a true history of the Communes of Paris, Marseilles, Carthage, etc. Karl Marx would be the man for this task, just as he would be the man to tell us all that he ought to know concerning Privy Councillor Hamburger, that personage of German nationality and of Jewish blood who received from Prince Gortschakoff the same confidence that Bismark felt for Bucher."

The fall of the Commune of Paris was ascribed, in great measure, to Karl Marx by many of his hitherto docile disciples; they insisted that he had been bought by Bismarck—a foolish charge, since it was the interest of the German chancellor to prolong the career of an institution that promised to annihilate the French. However, the dominating influence of Marx remained unshaken; and at its Congress of 1872, held at The Hague, the International voted compliance with his suggestion to transfer the seat of the General Council to New York. The cosmopolitan character of the American metropolis, and the all but absolute freedom accorded to nearly every conceivable species of organization

by the great republic, together with the phenomenal prevalence of Freemasonry among the Americans, seemed to form a guarantee for such a development of the International, that the destinies of the world would soon be in its hands. But the General Council had scarcely been established in its new residence, when the order was afflicted by a schism which for a while menaced its existence. A large number of the brethren, principally Belgians and Spaniards, disgusted with Marx, proclaimed themselves followers of Bakunine, and called for a Congress at Geneva. The meeting was held on Sept. 8, 1873, and besides the Belgian and Spanish sections, those of France, England, Holland, and Switzerland were well represented, while the Lasalle wing of the German brethren telegraphed that it would accept the Genevan decisions. A new international association, a federation of national sections without any central direction, was now formed; annual Congresses were to be the sole connecting link for the sections, and during the intervals between those assemblies the sections of each nationality were to be guided by the Federal Council of each country. The secessionists assumed the name of Anarchists, and their plans, as detailed by the famous Spanish revolutionist, Py y Margall, in his work entitled *Nationalities*, were based on the two fundamental dogmas of absolute atheism and the absolute autonomy of the individual. On the score of atheism, the palm of wickedness could not well be accorded to the Bakunists, rather than to the Marxists; and each faction vied with the other in proclaiming hatred of individual property and of all existing governments. But while Marx proposed to preserve an omnipotent State, under the form of a General Council composed of delegations from every country, the Anarchists desired to abolish every social tie; their reformation of society was to be founded on the autonomy, not only of every commune, but also of every corporative group. These first Anarchists, all partisans of Bakunine, were for some years almost the sole representatives of the International in Spain, Belgium, and the Italian and French Cantons of Switzerland; but before his death in 1877, the Russian agitator had lost all

his influence. The workingmen chafed under his order that they should abstain from political matters in their respective countries; that they should reserve themselves for the imminent revolutionary outbreak. And they bore with ill grace the presence of many members of the hated middle class in their groups. Bakunine had promised that no *bourgeois* should contaminate their delicacy by his presence; and nevertheless, the effective direction of the organization was entrusted to the class which they hated with a hate which they had never felt for the aristocrats. These two causes of complaint combined to lead the Anarchistic proletariat to a belief, encouraged by the Marxists, that Bakunine was employed by certain governments to foster dissension among the workingmen; and they soon manifested a desire for a reunion of the entire Internationalist family. The first step toward this reunion was taken at the Congress of Gotha in 1873, when the two factions of German Socialism united to form the Social Democratic Party, the disciples of Lasalle, hitherto allies of Bismarck, having shaken hands with the Marxists. The final step was taken in 1877, at the Congress of Ghent, when an "agreement of solidarity" was adopted by the representatives of nearly all the Socialistic organizations. This "agreement" was afterward accepted by the German Social Democratic Party, which had ostensibly kept aloof from the International, on account of the prohibitive German laws. From this time the International, as the prime association of the Anarchists, has been a solid organization, united for that preparation for its millenium, during which, as Kropotkine said, "much blood must be shed, but this blood will be only an incident in the struggle." In the Congress of Fribourg, held in 1878, it was declared that Anarchism demands the "collective appropriation of social wealth," and the abolition of the State under all forms (1). The Congress ap-

(1) The admirers of Ibsen are perhaps not all aware that in a letter written to Dr. Brandes on Jan. 17, 1871, the novelist gave vent to the following Anarchistic sentiments: "Yes, to be sure, it may be a good thing to possess liberty of suffrage, liberty of taxation, etc., but for whom is it a good thing? For the citizen; not for the individual. But there is no rational necessity why the individual should be a citizen. On the contrary, the State is the banishment of individuality. How has Prussia bought her strength as a State? By the absorption of the individual in the political and geographical conception. The

proved theoretical propaganda and insurrection as means for the actuation of its programme; but it condemned the use of universal suffrage as a frequently dangerous weapon. Immediately after this Congress, the attempts on the life of William I. of Germany were made by Nobiling and Høedel, the latter proclaiming himself an Anarchist; Moncasi tried to kill Alfonso XII. of Spain; and Passanante attacked Humbert of Savoy. In 1879, the Anarchists held their Congress of Chaux-de-Fonds, and their Kropotkine insisted on the propaganda of ideas "by means of acts"; and in the following year Ottero Gonzalez made a second attempt on the life of Alfonso XII. In the Congress of London in 1881, appeals to violence were made, and in the ensuing year, the insurrection of Monceau-les-Mines occurred; the walls of Marseilles were covered with incendiary placards; hidden stores of dynamite were discovered throughout France; explosions occurred at the Bellecour Theatre and at the Custom House of Lyons; and Louise Michel preached the gospel of Anarchy without hindrance. In 1884, a number of "comrades," as the Anarchists had begun to style each other, being out of work, held a public meeting at the Salle Lévis, and proclaimed their right to attack private property, that they might obtain all that they needed. In 1886, to say nothing of minor outrages, an Anarchist named Gallo fired into the crowd assembled at the Bourse in Paris; at Charleroi workshops and convents were sacked and burnt; and in Chicago the Anarchist feast of May 1 was signalized by the explosion of a bomb which wounded eighty persons. In 1889, the chief streets of Rome were filled, on one occasion, with men who either sincerely or hypocritically declared that they were starving, and then

waiter makes the best soldier. On the other hand look at the Jews—the nobility of humanity. How have they preserved their identity in isolation, in poetry, in spite of all vulgarity? Thereby that they have had no State to drag along with them. If they had remained in Palestine, they would long since have perished in their own construction like all other nations. Away with the State! I would like to take a hand in that revolution. Undermine the idea of the State; put in its place free-will and spiritual affinity as the one decisive reason for a union; that would be the beginning of a freedom that would be worth something. Changes in the form of government are nothing but fiddling with degrees—a little more or a little less—fooling altogether. . . . The State has its root in the age; it will have its crown, too, in the age. Greater things than it will perish Neither our moral conceptions nor our artistic forms have an eternity before them. How much are we really in duty bound to hold on to? Who can afford me a guarantee that up yonder on Jupiter two and two do not make five?"

proceeded to demolish windows, and to plunder shops. In 1890 Kropotkin published his *Anarchist Morality* and his *Indicator*, for the purpose of teaching the brethren the method of preparing high explosives. In 1891, explosions of dynamite frequently occurred in Charleville and Nantes; at Clichy the desperate Ravachol tried to destroy the Commissariat of Police, and the houses of many magistrates; an Anarchical propaganda was started in the French army. It was also in 1891 that the literary bureau of the comrades caused to be printed in London a manifesto purporting to be a "Declaration of the Anarchist Soldiers of France," in which we read: "If we remain in this hell, we remain with enraged hearts, and tortured by the wearers of filagree who threaten to shoot us. We must remain; but our hatred for authority is invincible, and we yearn for the day when we may turn our weapons against our tormentors. Remember how our predecessors, on March 18, 1871 (on the explosion of the Commune), nailed those two generals to the walls! We also, when we receive the proper order, will turn our rifles against the lace-bedizened vultures who now feed on us." In 1892, dynamitic outrages became more frequent. Several occurred in the palaces and houses of Rome. In Paris they were effected at the residence of the Princess de Sagan; at that of the Councillor Benoit; in the Boulevard Saint-Germain; at the Lobau barracks; at the Restaurant Véry; and at the Commissariate of Police in the Rue Bons Enfants. In 1893, Vaillant threw a bomb into the Chamber of Deputies, and many disturbances occurred in the Quartier Latin; many explosions took place in Marseilles; thefts of dynamite abounded in Berlin, Lyons, Saint-Denis, and Roubaix; Austria experienced many troubles; in Madrid a bomb was hurled against Martinez Campos by Pallas, and an explosion was effected at the theatre Liceo. In 1894, Barcellona witnessed an attempt on the life of its prefect; in front of the House of Parliament in Rome a tin of dynamite was exploded; Paris had her explosions at the Café Terminus, at the Hotel Saint-Jacques, in the suburb of Saint-Martin, and in front of the shops of the Printemps; at Lyons the president of France, Sadi-Carnot, was slain by Caserio: in

Rome Lega fired two shots at Crispi, then President of the Council; and Vienna and London also experienced, though in a minor degree, the dread fact that the International was not dead, although it might now be more properly designated as the Universal Society of Anarchy. During the last five years, if we except the murder of Canovas y Castillo in 1897, the Anarchists have been apparently satisfied with their newspaper propaganda (1), probably regarding it as promising the greatest measure of success for the grand *coup* against society, with which many of their publicists propose to signalize the opening of the twentieth century. But just as this dissertation is about to go to the press (Aug., 1899), we read that the deluded wretches have sacked and gutted the church of St. Joseph in the Rue Saint Maur in Paris, thrown the Blessed Sacrament to the pavement

(1) Probably the most influential of the Anarchist organs is the *Internationale*; and as a specimen of its style we submit the following passage: "Side by side with theoretical propaganda, which is carried on without truce and which we are delighted to applaud, it becomes indispensable to proclaim aloud all that science has placed at our disposal. Useless to say that we understand the urgent, logical necessity of expropriating in all possible ways the middle class, the common object of our implacable hatred. Thus by the side of theft, murder, and incendiarism, which become naturally our legal means, we shall not hesitate to place chemistry, whose puissant voice may become absolutely necessary to guide the social uprising and to make by violent means fall into our hands the wealth of the enemy, without spilling the blood of our own people. It is necessary to demolish all political, military, and religious authority, it is absolutely needful to burn the churches, palaces, convents, barracks, town-halls, mayoralties, fortresses, prisons, and finally to take possession of everything that up to this day has been able to thrive on human labor without joining in it." The titles of the other principal Anarchist journals are sufficiently eloquent. We have the *Insurgé*; *L'Affamé*; *La Révolution Sociale*; *L'Émeute*; *Le Droit Anarchique*; *Der Socialist*; *Die Zukunft*; *Der Anarchist*; *The Commonwealth*; *Liberty*; *Freedom*; *El Corsario*; *Volne Listy*; *Demoliamo*; *L'Eguaglianza Sociale*. In addition to the newspapers there are manifestoes printed secretly. These are inserted within the folds of an unsuspected paper, and are thus expedited to the members. Next come the novel-writers, orators, and poets of the party. Their elucubrations generally appear in Anarchist Reviews, such as *L'en Dehors*, *La Revue Libertaire*, *La Société Nouvelle*, etc., wherein they insert the best formulas for the manufacture of dynamite, bombs, and other explosives, where finally they glorify their great Anarchists, Ravachol, Henry, Vailant, etc., whom they make "martyrs" and "saints." There is besides a large sale of almanacs, and of prints representing scenes fitted to awaken either wrath against the middle class or pity and admiration for some Anarchist. Thus when Ravachol was executed, many of his photographs were seen with these lithographed inscriptions: "*Anarchy is the future of humanity, property is robbery.*"—"If you want to be happy, hang your landlord." There are, finally, Anarchic circulating-libraries, which contain mainly Anarchic writings, or works non-Anarchic, but which are thought fitted to produce confusion in the minds and hearts of the readers. Amongst these works the principal are: *Words of An Insurgent* and *The Conquest of Bread*, by Kropotkin; the works of Tolstol Dostoiewski, Tschernichevsky, Ibsen, Lethomnoff, etc. On every volume are printed, these words: "Read and Circulate." SODERINI: *loc. cit.*, p. 83.

and trampled on it, and made bonfires of the crucifixes and sacred pictures.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE VAGARIES OF FATHER CURCI, S. J.

When the future demi-god of Young Italy, the quasi-panteistic philosopher and semi-rationalistic theologian, Gioberti, gave to the world his grand but subversive *Moral and Civil Primacy of the Italians* (1), very many of the more generous among the Catholic clergy of Europe, less clair-voyant than the foes of the Pope-King, momentarily succumbed to the specious arguments of him who was then the most brilliant although the sole dishonest one of the Neo-Guelphs (2). Even the Jesuits, generally regarded as animated by phenomenal astuteness, were so far deceived as to acclaim Gioberti as their friend; and one of their Society, the Father Curci who was soon to become famous as the most pronounced of all the adversaries of the Sub-Alpine enthusiast, published an edition of the *Primacy* in the pontifical Duchy of Benevento (3). But two years had scarcely passed, when Gioberti, having found it to his interest to repel the charge that he was a "Jesuitizer," published his venomous *Prolegomeni*, a worthy forerunner of his *Modern Jesuit*. It was evident that the Society could not be silent in the face of the accusations which formed the very essence of the *Prolegomeni*—charges which were very different from those which constitute the arsenal of the ordinary Jesuitophagus, a creature who ought never to be honored with a reply. No less evident was it that the Society should entrust to no ordinary champion its defence against allegations proffered by the latest and worthiest apologist of

(1) Brussels, 1843. The future prime-minister of Charles Albert of Sardinia was then living in the Belgian capital, his liberal opinions having entailed his exile from Piedmont in 1833.

(2) See our remarks on Gioberti and his works, in Vol. iv., p. 442; Vol. v., p. 241, 388.

(3) It is interesting to note that Curci, having desired to publish this edition in Naples, and having applied for authorization to Santangelo, the royal Minister of the Interior, received the following reply: "You are still a young man; but I, a man of greater experience than yours, find in this *Primacy* the seeds of the Revolution and of all its consequences."

the Revolution. On the side of Gioberti there was "the prestige of science, the halo of patriotism, and the fanatical devotion of (very many of) the Italians ; if Gioberti were attacked, but not vanquished, the remedy would be worse than the evil " (1). In this emergency, Father Rothaan, the general of the Society, confided the task to Carlo Curci, one of the most impassioned natures whom passionate Naples has ever produced, but whose ecclesiastical reputation had hitherto been based solely on an extraordinary success in the pulpit. At this time Curci had never manifested any talent as a writer ; indeed, not a line from his pen had ever been printed. But the event proved that Father Rothaan had discerned a born polemic in his fiery Neapolitan subject. Two months after he had received the generalitital command, Curci sent his *Facts and Arguments* to the printers (2) ; and in a few weeks Gioberti perforce comprehended that no sane and candid mind, after a perusal of their refutation, would attach any value to his cherished *Prolegomeni*. But the consequences of this refutation, the work of a Jesuit, and of one who was a master in a sphere where he thought that he reigned alone, penetrated to the very soul of Gioberti ; and from that moment he devoted an implacable ire and an indomitable energy to an annihilation of both Curci and the Society. The first and principal fruit of his wrath was that famous work which, with little exaggeration has been styled infernal—the *Modern Jesuit*. No production of human pen was ever so adapted to the purpose of Masonry in Catholic countries as this diatribe ; and to it alone might be ascribed those " popular " effervescences which forced all the governments of the peninsula to again expel the Jesuits from their dominions, even before the days of 1848. When this natural manifestation of modern Liberalism occurred in Naples, Curci was one of the 146 Jesuits of that kingdom who took the road of exile. Malta became his first abiding place, and

(1) KANNENGIESER : *The Adversaries of the Temporal Power and the Triple Alliance*, p. 254. Paris, 1893.

(2) In order to obtain the funds for the publication of his book, Curci asked for the loan of 500 ducats from a friend. The favor was granted ; but when handing the money, the Mæcenas remarked that it would be better to give a hundred to some rascal who would engage to administer a good beating to Gioberti. By some means this heedless observation reached the ears of Gioberti ; and the reader may imagine the use to which he put it.

there he began a refutation of the *Modern Jesuit* which he completed in Paris after ten months of labor. The original edition of Gioberti's diatribe (Lausanne) consisted of no less than five volumes; to its refutation which he termed a *Divinazione*, because he proposed to conjecture (*divinare*) the real object of Gioberti's enterprise, Curci devoted two volumes, showing that the Piedmontese had really attacked the Catholic Church when he assailed the Society which he foolishly presented as a personification of the Church as she had been illustrated by the Council of Trent. "The thesis of Curci was incontestable," observes Kannengieser; "the duel between Curci and Gioberti was really a duel between Catholic doctrine and Rationalist philosophy, involving all that derives from the one and the other; Curci had *divinato* correctly." Gioberti and Curci never met in this world (1); and three years after the commencement of their controversy, a fatal stroke of apoplexy carried off the former in the midst of his political and literary glory, leaving us to consider whether he would have ultimately acted as the latter was fortunately destined to act, after many years of a similar estrangement from the centre of Catholic authority. When the defeat of the revolutionary forces of 1848-'49 enabled the Jesuits to return to Italy, the author of the *Facts and Arguments* besought his superiors for permission to found a "Review" of the first class, the special mission of which would be the defence of the right of the Roman Pontiff to his temporal dominion in the States of the Church. Accordingly, the year 1850 saw the beginning of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, which was the first of all the Jesuit "Reviews," and which, published originally in Naples, was soon transferred to Rome, and has ever easily held the first place among the Catholic periodicals of the world.

(1) On one occasion, and shortly after the appearance of the *Divinazione*, the adversaries barely escaped a meeting which would certainly have been interesting. During the exile of Curci in Paris, he often visited Mgr. Fornari, the papal nuncio to France; and one day, as he entered the courtyard he passed the sumptuous carriage of some member of the diplomatic body who had evidently just left the salon of the prelate. The Jesuit and the diplomat exchanged a fixed but an unrecognizing glance; and when the former entered the nuncio's apartment, His Excellency asked: "Did you notice the beautiful equipage which just left the palace?" Curci replied: "Certainly; that of a colleague, probably?" And Fornari smilingly said: "It was the carriage of the Minister-Plenipotentiary of His Sardinian Majesty—the carriage of the Abbate Gioberti."

Encouraged by the success of their Italian brother, the Jesuits of France soon founded their *Études*, those of England their *Month*, and even those of Germany ventured to establish their *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*. All of these organs of the Society soon demonstrated that the older periodicals of the Catholic world could advance no stronger claims to the gratitude and support of the faithful children of Christ's Vicar on earth; but none of them ever attained to the scientific and literary consequence, with which our fiery but judicially-minded Neapolitan endowed the creature of his own prolific brain, the *Civiltà Cattolica*. During his twenty-four years of journalistic combat against the united forces of the cosmopolitan Revolution and of Masonic impiety, Curci was true to the motto which he had chosen for his periodical, "*Beatus populus, cujus dominus Deus ejus.*" And when, in 1870, the Savoyard usurper feigned to consecrate the crime of the Porta Pia by a pretended vote of the Roman people, it was Curci who initiated the immense petition which was destined to manifest the true sentiments of the veritable Quirites; it was Curci who founded a new journal for the purpose of seconding the Catholic and truly patriotic efforts of the *Civiltà Cattolica*; and it was Curci who was the animating force of the many associations of faithful Christians who endeavored to impede the dedication of the Eternal City to the powers of hell. Such was the picture presented by the great Jesuit polemic until 1874, when he suddenly changed his cry, "Restore Rome to its Pope-King," to an affectation of the pious avowal, "We must bow to the will of God."

Strange to say, for the proclamation of his change of views Curci seized the occasion of the publication of the first two volumes of his *Exegetic and Moral Lessons*, a collection of certain instructions which he had already delivered from the pulpit, and which naturally afforded few, if any, opportunities for an invocation of the blessing of God on "United Italy." It was the preface, however, which served to warn the Catholic world that it erred egregiously, when it regarded the destruction of the Temporal Power as an injury to the Church. Affecting to penetrate the secret

designs of the Most High, the recreant said : " God gave a great proof of His mercy to the Church when He deprived her of this temporal domain, and thus took from her the possibility of making a bad use of it. . . . God permitted this spoliation in order to sanctify His Church, and it is toward this sanctification that the efforts of the despoiled ought to be directed. . . . It is incomprehensible how there can be so much lamentation at the moment when we ought to be thanking God for His mercy ; and least of all do I understand the efforts (put forth by the Holy See) to promote a confidence in an ultimate return to that past which has been destroyed by the permission of God. . . . We must abandon all illusion, and bow to the will of God. . . . The present situation being merely a consequence of the past, we should recognize the goodness of God in His accomplishment of these changes in the external conditions of His Church, and because of His having forced us, in spite of ourselves, to become detached from the goods of earth." In the *Modern Dissension* which he published in 1877, Curci tells us that while he was engaged in preparing the last volumes of his *Lessons* for the press, he was not so ill-informed concerning outside events, as not to see reason for affliction on account of the persistent efforts of the Pope to hide the truth from the Catholic world. Therefore it was, adds Curci, that he conceived the idea of developing the thoughts then animating him in a Preface to the third volume. He communicated his design to "an eminent prelate"; but that personage advised him, he says, to lay his developed theories at the feet of the Pontiff before he presented them to the public. In accordance with this advice, the self-appointed counsellor of the Holy See sent to His Holiness, in June, 1875, a *Memorial* which Pius IX. afterward qualified as "a piece of impertinence." We select the following passages from this document : "We must admit at once that Italy will never return to the olden conditions, least of all to the recognition of the temporal power of the Pope, as it existed until Sept. 20, 1870. This truth begins to penetrate even those minds which would prefer to hope to the contrary." As for the opinion that the temporal power is necessary for

the pontifical independence, Curci insisted that "although men have tried to make it dogmatically certain, using every kind of fallacy and irrelevancy, it is the real cause of all the present troubles of the Church." And he asks: "Why should Italy be allowed to perish morally, simply because great wickednesses have contributed to her modern restoration?" Nor does the new apologist of the Revolution hesitate to say that "*United Italy has been made partly by God, and partly by the permission of God.*" Finally the Pontiff is approached on his weak side, that of his Italian patriotism and of his hatred of a German presence on Italian soil. If the Pope does not compromise with his despoilers, renouncing the imprescriptible rights of the Holy See, sanctioning sacrilege and brigandage, closing the sole mouth on earth which can protest authoritatively against injustice, then Italy, "enervated and sapped from within, separated from her natural ally, will be in danger of falling once more a prey to the Germans. For Italy will help Germany to crush France, only to be crushed in her turn by Germany." Let the Pontiff extend the hand of friendship to the Savoyard in the Quirinal, proclaiming a policy which is "reasonable, grand, and useful, and so necessary for the preservation and prosperity of Italy." Let the pontifical ear be closed to the suggestions of "a press which calls itself Catholic, while it imposes its system on imbeciles by manœuvres the most ignoble, and while it tries to reduce the wise to silence." There is but one way of salvation for the Pontiff and for Italy—a hearty and thorough acceptance, on the part of the once Pope-King, of the "glorious" results of the "grand" Italian Revolution. If the Holy See continues in its obstinacy, then, predicts Curci, "the Almighty will use the mistakes of the good and the iniquities of the wicked to inflict on the Church a long course of suffering—suffering which will strengthen her by a recourse to the evangelical principles which now seem to have been forgotten." The world was not astonished when it learned that the author of this mixture of absurdities, sophisms, and lies, all diametrically opposed to the doctrine and policy professed by the Holy See, had been expelled from that Society of Jesus into which he had entered fifty-two years

previously. We are dispensed from any obligation of now refuting the ravings which entailed this catastrophe, since they are merely manifestations of the revolutionary principles which engaged so much of our attention when we treated of the pontificates of Pius VI., Pius VII., Gregory XVI., and Pius IX. ; but the reader may not object to a succinct notice of the other works with which the quondam champion of the triple crown illustrated his otherwise inexplicable change of front.

The Modern Dissension Between the Church and Italy appeared in December, 1877 ; and the author informed his readers that his intention had been "to write a useful, not a scandalous book." He congratulated himself on the presumed fact that all who knew him would not expect a scandalous work from his pen ; they would "not be deceived by those journals, in regard to which he was about to administer severe justice." He was entirely "confident that the present work would be more beneficial to Italy than anything he had ever written" ; for it would be seen that he had demonstrated that "all the obstacles, interposed by the Church between the Italians and a love of the motherland, were rubbish contrived by ignoramuses who posed as doctors in Israel and as paladins of Catholicism." Then he declared that the temporal dominion of the Popes was irrevocably vanished, and that probably the loss was all for the best. But who was responsible for the miseries which afflicted Italy because of that everlasting "Roman question" which no man could bury ? All these miseries, according to Curci, were due, "not to the new government, which in spite of its faults might have been made good as easily as it has been made bad ; the responsibility belonged to the weaklings and cowards who despoiled themselves of their rights in favor of the enemies of morality and religion, and nevertheless have the audacity to term themselves Catholics." These weaklings and cowards are those Italian Catholics who, following the counsels (not the orders) of the Pontiff, take part indeed in municipal affairs, but refuse to recognize the powers of the Quirinal by any participation in parliamentary elections ; and Curci feels nausea when he thinks of "their

mystical and arrogant inertness, as well as of their torpid Catholicism." The sons of these *papalini* are all "puny and almost rickety creatures, while the progeny of those who have left the pale of the Church is blooming and vigorous." As for those who devote their pens to the cause of the Pope-King, "that party without a name, they are a handful of fanatics who unceasingly croak against those who decline to obey their orders"; and they may be styled "little snakes disguised as journalists," whose weapons are "insipid epigrams and every kind of uncouthness," and who are capable of descanting fittingly "only upon triduums and novenas." The perverted Curci has no good words for Catholic France, whatever he may think of Masonic, infidel France; the quondam decrrier of the German, like his leaders at Monte Citorio and in the Quirinal, finds gratitude for services received a bitter thing, and therefore he now flatters the German, and unblushingly sneers at "*that famous* Eldest Daughter of the Church," a pitiful victim of her own "phantasmagorias." After the publication of the *Modern Dissension*, Curci retired to a suburb of Florence for the pursuit of exegetical study; but in 1881, he proved that he had by no means abandoned the political arena, as many of his well-wishers had fancied. The pamphlet which he now issued was attractively entitled *The New Italy and the Old Zealots*: but it was not received by the Italian revolutionary public with the acclamations which had been given to the *Dissension*. The curiosity of the reading masses had been satisfied; and what was more conducive to a neglect of the unfrocked religious, the foes of the Vatican were disgusted with his persistency in professing the Catholic faith. Nor was this discouraging indifference lessened when the year 1883 witnessed the appearance of *The Royal Vatican, the Surviving Devouring Worm of the Catholic Church* (1), although the title was indicative of a feast for the cleric-baiters, and although the author had dished up for their delectation all the alleged scandals concerning the papal court which Liberalism had either concocted or exaggerated. The *Rassegna* indicated

(1) When an experience of several months had taught the booksellers that the first edition was in danger of never being exhausted, they announced in their catalogues: "Price reduced from six to three lire."

to Curci the estimation in which the *Royal Vatican* was held by the Liberal party, when, commenting on the basic and pet idea of the author, it entitled its article "Illusions Regarding a Reconciliation," and placed among those illusions "the Curcian theory of a complete distinction between the royal and the spiritual Vatican." And the journal added: "Let us suppose that Leo XIII. fully resigned himself to accomplished facts, and that he dreamed no more about a restoration of the temporal power. Would that fact necessarily entail a reconciliation between the Church and the State? By no means." In fact, Curci was then made to realize the Liberal demand which we have heard Crispi expressing when he said to King Humbert: "Our work is still incomplete; we must now prevent the Vatican from ruling the consciences of men."

After the comparative failure of the *Royal Vatican*, Curci published only one incendiary pamphlet, the *Scandal of the Royal Vatican*; and then he devoted his remaining days almost entirely to the composition of his *Memoirs*. It was to the two last ebullitions of Curci that Leo XIII. alluded on Christmas Eve, 1883, when he said to the assembled cardinals: "To the troubles caused us by external enemies we may add those which we have suffered from some of our own flock; some of whom have woefully wandered, while others, by means of insidious artifices and ignoble writings, have played the part of forgetful and ungrateful sons, endeavoring to render their Mother, the Church, responsible for the evils which afflict her so cruelly, instead of ascribing the guilt to those whose sole object is to outrage and vilify her." From the day that Curci was expelled from the Society, he had lived as a secular priest, of course unbeneficed, but celebrating the Holy Sacrifice, the small and unfrequent *honoraria* for which function, together with some pitiful remuneration for hack literary work, if we are to credit his assertion, alone enabled him to exist; but it is not improbable that he received considerable assistance from those whose cause he was serving. Be this as it may, until the culmination of his self-inflicted misfortunes, his expulsion from the Society had not compromised his good standing as an ecclesiastic; and the

friendship of the archbishop of Florence was always an assurance that comfort and honor would be at his command, whenever he chose to return to the right path. But his respectable ecclesiastical status was dependent entirely upon the mercy of the Holy See which he had outraged; and although from the beginning of the pontificate of Leo XIII. the leniency of Pius IX. had been more than imitated in his regard, Curci was eventually made to feel in his own person what he had often taught to others, that pontifical mercy must be guided by pontifical duty. In the early days of 1884, he learned that all of his recent works had been condemned publicly by the Holy See, and in a few months he learned that he was not only suspended *a divinis*, but even excommunicated. In a letter which the Pontiff wrote to the archbishop of Florence, His Holiness recapitulated for the benefit of the prelate the entire history of the aberrations of his protegee—aberrations which “frightened the Pontiff, because of their fatal influence on inconsiderate youth.” Having pronounced the sentence in very energetic terms, the Pope concluded: “We reject and condemn all these ill-timed and false ideas, as well as all this author’s abominable assaults on this Apostolic See and on our Holy Congregations. . . . However, our charity impels us to trust that his repentance may atone for all that his rashness has effected; and we shall continue to beg God to enlighten his understanding, and to strengthen his will.” The archbishop immediately communicated the contents of this letter to his clergy in an apposite circular, beseeching all to implore of heaven that “the diocese of Florence, which had been made the theatre of so great a scandal, might become the theatre of a much needed reparation.” Curci received official information of his excommunication in the beginning of September; and on the 15th, he sent to the Abbate Margotti, the intrepid editor of the *Unità Cattolica* whom he had for years so ferociously assailed, a request for the publication of the following retractation: “I have read the letter which, under date of Aug. 27, the Sovereign Pontiff addressed to His Lordship, the archbishop of Florence, and which was transmitted to me on the fifth of this month. By this letter I have been fully informed that the legitimate

authority of the Church has found things worthy of censure in those three works of mine which have already been placed on the *Index*. Therefore I believe that duty calls on me to make the following declaration, and I request that it be made public. Impelled by the respect which I profess, and which I have always professed, for the Catholic Church and for her visible Head, I reject and condemn everything that my last writings present in contradiction of the faith, morals, discipline, and rights of our Holy Church. And this my retraction must be regarded as covering not only all that I myself perceive to be reprehensible in my works (for I cheerfully renounce my own judgment in the matter), but also all that has been condemned by those whom the Holy Ghost instituted for the government of the Church of God. I trust that this sincere expression of my sentiments will contribute to a reparation of the scandal which I have given; and I hope that in consideration of this my submission, our Holy Father will deign to receive me once more as the last of his sons in Jesus Christ!" So unreserved a manifestation of obedience could produce but one effect; and in a few days, His Grace of Florence had the happiness of announcing to his diocesans that the Abbate Curci, "his dearly-beloved brother, having been duly absolved and rehabilitated, again offers among us the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass." However, the edification consequent on this act of proper humility was of brief duration; the retraction had scarcely been welcomed, when the Liberal journals of Europe published a letter in which Curci protested against "a too wide interpretation of his words." He affected to believe that it was "his duty to enlighten the reader as to his meaning"; it was to be remembered that he "reprobated the *Royal Vatican*, not because of its teachings, but because it had been interdicted." Such was the spirit which animated the "converted" Curci as he wrote two or three more pamphlets, which excited no interest even among the Liberals, and as he composed the *Memoirs* which he intended to be a vindication of his inconsistencies.

The *Memoirs* of Curci, although written after his reconciliation with the Holy See, form, in too many respects, a

kind of summary of all the bitter personalities with which he had illustrated the *Dissension* and the *Royal Vatican*—outrageous attacks which an atmosphere of polemics may sometimes explain, but which are absurdly out of place in a work which is composed on the brink of the grave, and when the world has ceased to give a sign that the existence of the writer is still remembered. In these *Memoirs* there is scarcely any indication of the man of talent, of noble thoughts, and of literary power; one perceives only the worst side of Curci's character, as it naturally extenuated itself when he emancipated himself from the control of the religious spirit—his too frequently vulgar vanity, his proneness to unworthy impertinences, and his continual torture of self with morbid reflections on his fancied injuries. As he looks back on the career of Pius IX., he seems to regard that Pontiff as merely an imbecile: "It was the great fault of Cavour to have thought that Pius IX. possessed the qualities of a king;" this Pope deserved no monument, and that which now marks the spot where his remains repose "was erected by his creatures, all of whom were created in the philosophical sense of the term—*ex nihilo sui et subjecti*." He loves to manifest his feigned contempt for those whom Pius IX. especially cherished—Antonelli, "with his astute *finesse*"; Simeoni, "who knew nothing about statesmanship"; even Curci's own venerable general, Father Beckx, "a man of weak will, which age rendered still weaker." But Victor Emmanuel! He was "the worthy son of the magnanimous Charles Albert." And Cavour! "In both politics and religion I was with Cavour." Then he sympathized with Minghetti, "that grand statesman." Even Bonghi, who qualified the Papacy as "the cancer of Italy," was hailed by Curci as "my friend." The Marquis Massimo d'Azeglio, who detested the Jesuits, although his brother (Taparelli) was one of their luminaries, was "that excellent Massimo" in the mind of Curci. Even the blasphemous Leopardi finds grace in his eyes. But what shall we say of his treatment of his late brethren of that Society "which he had always loved, and still loved with a most sincere affection"? He tells us that in his day "the Roman College had become, in matter

of studies, a veritable Babel, because of the confusion there reigning." He insists that among the Jesuits there then prevailed "many enormous faults which revealed their moral decadence," and that those faults subsisted "either because the superiors were ignorant of them, or did not comprehend them, or—what was worse—did not have the courage or the strength to correct them." The great astronomer, Secchi, was a fairly good man, according to Curci; but he thought more of the stars than of the saints, and he desired, above all, that his brethren should revere in him "a science which, after all, might well have been ignored." As for Armellini, if we are to credit Curci, he was a vain man, and knew not the first principles of exegesis. Another celebrated professor is said to have taught Scholasticism, "because he was at the ball, and was therefore expected to dance; but his highest ambition was to see a crowd of aristocratic women waiting at his confessional." We are even asked to believe that some of the Jesuit professors were ignorant men (1). Curci is careful, however, to remind us of his own great merits. Speaking of his exegetical work, he says that "since Dom Calmet, nothing like it has appeared"; and he laments because in the government of the Society he has been ever "left in the background." Here we have his great grievance. In the *Dissension* he says: "During my membership of more than half a century in the Society, I have always been a stranger (to its government); but since I did not enter it for the sake of exalted position, . . . I resigned myself to pass my few remaining years as the very refuse of the Society." No one can arise from a perusal of the *Memoirs* of Curci without a firm persuasion that the eloquent Jesuit would never have

(1) We are told by Curci that Father Rozanka, a Pole, was very obtuse, and knew very little of the language (Latin) in which he was expected to lecture. Curci says that during an examination in Moral Theology which he underwent during his scholasticate before this professor, the matter of matrimonial impediments was taken up, and Rozanka proposed this case of conscience: *Fit casus: Titius INOPS ducit uxorem. Quid faciendum?* Of course, the young student replied that the parties should not be troubled, but should live in the fear of the Lord. Then, says Curci, the professor cried: "But don't you perceive, sir, that here there is a question of an invalidating impediment?" And when the scholastic replied that he never had heard that poverty was an invalidating impediment for matrimony, the Pole was non-plussed, until one of the laughing co-examiners came to his rescue, saying: "Your Reverence wished to state that Titius was IMPOS; but you used the word INOPS." Truly the perspicacity of his readers must have appeared infinitesimal to Curci.

gone astray, had he paid, in 1874, some little attention to the severe but true judgment which he had pronounced, in 1854, in the case of "that grand immoderate spirit," the author of the *Essay on Indifference in Matters of Religion*: "Lamennais, like Tertullian, possessed many virtues; but he was wanting in the most necessary of all, humility. Alas! This priest, once so honored, rebelled against the Church and the Papacy, and ended in apostasy." By the mercy of God, Curci never apostatized; and when he died in 1891, he had been fully reconciled with the Church, and had been re-admitted into the Society of Jesus.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE APOSTASY OF DÖELLINGER.

There is a widespread and erroneous impression to the effect that the unfortunate Döellinger, the founder of the "Old Catholic" heresy, was a faithful son of the Church until the Vatican Council proclaimed the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. And nevertheless, as early as 1860, ten years before the promulgation of the dogma which the "German science" of the Bavarian professor refused to accept, he avowed the already consummated shipwreck of his faith to an intimate friend. During a visit to the Protestant historian, J. B. Böehmer, the conversation having turned on the literary projects of the provost, his friend asked: "Why do you not finish your *History of the Church* (1), before you undertake other work?" And Döellinger replied: "I cannot finish it. The latter part of it would not agree with the former; the conclusion of my *History of the Church* would be thoroughly Protestant" (2). And this was the Döellinger whose correspondence with Ræss, the future bishop of Strassbourg who had founded the *Katholik Review* in 1825, shows that then the future apostate posed

(1) Döellinger had interrupted his *History of the Church* when he began his writings on the period of the Reformation, and he never finished it, contenting himself with publishing certain fragments, of which the *Paganism and Judaism* was the most noteworthy.

(2) Böehmer narrated this fact to the publicist, Jörg. See Kannengieser's *Triple Alliance* p. 89 Paris, 1893

as one of the few "Ultramontanes" then in Germany. This was the Döllinger who in a letter to Ræss in 1826 found fault with the *Tübinger Quartalschrift*, a Catholic periodical which suffered from Jesuitaphobia: "These good men fear lest they may say a word in favor of the Jesuits. Is it not grotesque? If perchance something complimentary to the Society drops from their pens, they immediately neutralize it." This was the Döllinger who had bitterly condemned, in another letter to Ræss, what was to be one of the war-cries of his future "Old Catholic" brethren—the marriage of the clergy. Speaking of an attack on ecclesiastical celibacy which the Theiner brothers had published, he said: "Is it not humiliating, when we see even priests rebelling against the Church? These Theiners should be beaten with rods. See that the *Katholik* makes an example of them." This was the Döllinger who in 1832, when Lamennais asked him what course the "great immoderate spirit" should pursue in regard to the papal condemnation, replied: "Submit." But the Döllinger of those happier days was the intimate friend of such grand Christian souls as Gœrres, Ringseis, Mœhler, and Klee; and perhaps it was merely in accordance with his pre-eminent characteristic of never having a will of his own, that his works of that period were animated by a thoroughly Catholic spirit. It was this excessive susceptibility to the impressions of the moment that ultimately ruined Döllinger; as Jøerg remarked, when alluding to the famous discussions between the *Correspondant* and the *Univers*, "After he had received a letter from Rio, he was all Rio; and if a letter from Montalembert arrived on the following day, he was all Montalembert. The last correspondent was always right." This lamentable defect, however, worked no great detriment in the mind of Döllinger until he fell under the influence of John (afterward Lord) Acton, now a Professor in the University of Cambridge, who, although a mere boy of seventeen when he became the nominal pupil of the idol of Munich, soon showed that he was the idol's master and predestined evil genius (1). Breathing continually the quasi-mephytic

(1) Concerning this dominant influence of Acton over the mind and destinies of Döllinger, Kannengieser says: "In 1849 a young Englishman of noble family was entrusted to the care of Döllinger for the completion of his scientific and literary education. Lord

atmosphere which surrounded Acton no less than it surrounded the Jesuit-eating theologian, Huber, and several others *ejusdem furfuris*, Döllinger showed, even before the avowal to Böhmér which we have noted, that his faith had been weakened. Jærg, who has been styled his foremost disciple, said of him even in 1858 : “ In order to become a heretic, Döllinger wants only to be assured of his rear-guard.”

In the autumn of 1860 there appeared a work by Döllinger which bore the title *Christianity and the Church*, and was written in a thoroughly Catholic spirit ; not only was the temporal power of the Pontiff defended, but certain of its sentiments were intelligible only under the supposition that the author believed in the still undefined doctrine of Papal Infallibility. But in April of the following year, he delivered in the “ Odeon ” of Munich two discourses which were gleefully acclaimed by the Liberal press on account of their disrespectful tone toward the Holy See. As yet, however, the timidity of Döllinger was greater than his vanity ; and in order to calm the indignation of the Catholics which had been expressed in no uncertain manner, he pretended that the Liberal journals had grossly exaggerated some of his

Acton-Dalberg was seventeen years old when he arrived in Munich. He was a boy of quick intelligence and very precocious ; and his temperament attested his double origin. Through his mother he was German, she, *née* Duchess of Dalberg, having married an English nobleman. After the death of her first husband, the duchess espoused the Whig minister, Earl Granville. The mere mention of this double marriage indicates the surroundings amid which the new disciple of Döllinger had passed his boyhood. Although a Catholic because his mother was one, he lived in a Protestant and Liberal atmosphere which was necessarily an obstacle to his religious development. Full of admiration for Gladstone, Russell, etc., he had conceived an invincible repugnance for Wiseman and the English converts of the day. He was bitter against the restoration of the English hierarchy, and like all his intimates, he entertained feelings of horror for the Jesuits. It is evident therefore, that the young Acton was more of a Protestant than of a Catholic. His mother perceived this fact ; and in hopes of withdrawing her son from pernicious influences, she confided him to the care of the most illustrious scholar in Germany. She trusted that Döllinger, by means of his knowledge and his faith, would subjugate his English Telemachus. But wonder of wonders ! The contrary happened. The erudite scholar, who knew only his books, was conquered by the young politician who had a great experience of life. Lord Acton was certainly the evil genius of Döllinger ; he obtained an incredible ascendancy over his master, and drew him insensibly into schism. And this was effected because the young Englishman was endowed with what Döllinger did not possess—character. In this species of *connubium*, of intellectual marriage, if I may so speak, which was contracted between the master and the beardless pupil, the latter represented the virile element. Döllinger had no firmness in his disposition ; he continually yielded to transient influences. . . . When Acton entered the household of Döllinger, he became literally the master of the professor's soul. Hitherto the French friends of the Bavarian had exercised a happy influence over him ; their very disputes could never have drawn Döl-

observations, and he made haste to issue, after a labor of only three months, his *Church and the Churches, the Papacy and the Temporal Power*. The first part of this work was an excellent championship of the Holy See; but in the second part, which treated of the pontifical difficulties then obtaining in the temporal order, while the author modified many of the views expressed in the "Odeon," he so flattered the Liberal school, that the *Historisch-Politische Blätter* plainly charged him with having capitulated to the enemies of Rome. In 1863, the *Papal Fables of the Middle Age* appeared; and here for the first time Doellinger explicitly attacked the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, relying principally on the alleged heresy of Pope Honorius (1). In September, 1863, at the first of the Congresses of Munich which he had organized for the glorification of "German science" even at the expense of Catholic faith, Doellinger first emitted his pet idea of reconciliation of the "three great Churches, the Roman, the Greek, and the Anglican," by means of a suppression of everything that separated them, and by a maintenance of whatever they all accepted—a scheme which implied the possibility of an abandonment, on the part of

liver from the right path, for in spite of their dissensions of later days, they all loved the Church with their entire souls. The fall of Lamennais had only strengthened their convictions. Montalembert had cried: 'The Church is more than a woman; she is a mother.' And the French Catholic correspondents of Doellinger cherished an inexpressible tenderness for that mother, while the Bavarian shared that feeling until the day when Lord Acton succeeded in giving another direction to his thoughts. This disciple put the professor in relation with his compatriots—not, however, with men like Wiseman, Newman, Manning, and others of the young English Catholic school—but with a group of Protestant Liberals, of whom Gladstone was more or less the soul. Doellinger became entirely Lord Acton, in anticipation of the moment when he would become entirely Gladstone. . . . When he lost his old friends, he lost, we may say, his compass; he was like a ship without a helmsman; perfidious friends directed the course of the vessel, resolved on casting her on the rocks. The ship was not wrecked until many years had elapsed. Thanks to the impetus of the direction already initiated, thanks also to one or two of his olden intimates, the moral vagaries of Doellinger were not perceived at once; he drifted a long time, ere he foundered on the shoals of heresy. . . . Perhaps all would have yet been well, if Doellinger had remained faithful to his vocation as a historian; but questions of religious politics were the order of the day. Young Italy was preparing her war for independence, and English diplomacy favored her ambition. Lord Acton took a keen interest in the political struggles which his English friends had instigated; a decided partisan of Italian unity, he condemned the temporal power of the Pope. These problems were often discussed by the master and the pupil; and Doellinger ended by harboring all the antipathies of the English Liberals, and by encouraging the designs of the Sub-Alpine plotters. The past lost its attractions for him; instead of burying himself in historical documents, he now devoured Italian pamphlets and the reports of English diplomacy. The effervescence of the peninsulars consumed him; he became an *Italianissimo*."

(1) For the defence of Pope Honorius, see our Vol. i., p. 432.

the Church, of at least some part of her dogmatic teaching. This step in the path of "religious progress" was rewarded in the following October by the provost's appointment as a member of the Royal Bavarian "Historical Commission," and so great was his glee on receiving this gratification of one of his supreme ambitions, that he wrote to Jøerg: "*Est mirabile in oculis nostris.*" Besides this token of approbation, others had been given to Döellinger by King Maximilian II., whose ideal scheme for religious pacification was practically a mere substitution of a kind of Universal Academy instead of the Church; in 1860, His Majesty had conferred on him a decoration which allowed him to appear at court—a favor which caused him, although he had said in 1859 that the court was "a mad house," to now call on Jøerg to rejoice because "the wind had changed." Ranke was delighted with the ebullition of Döellinger at the Congress of Munich; writing to Sybel on Oct. 7, the historiographer of His Prussian Majesty said: "Döellinger has defended the rights of *science* so well, that we may regard him as being, in a certain sense, one of our friends and allies." These rights of science, and let it be understood, particularly of "German science," were strenuously vindicated by Döellinger in the funeral oration for Maximilian II. which he pronounced before the Academy of Munich on March 30, 1864, insisting that "Germany is the heart of Europe, and Bavaria is the heart of Germany; Munich is the heart of Bavaria, and the Academy or the University is the heart of Munich." In January, 1865, the provost completed a study on the *Question of the Seminary of Spire and the Syllabus*, and in 1866 a pamphlet on the *Council of Trent*, both of which were redolent of a spirit of bitter hatred for the Papacy, but were retained in the writer's desk until his death enabled Reusch, an injudicious friend, to give them to the public among other effusions of minor importance (1). In 1867, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* and the *Neue Freie Presse* published a series of venomous anti-papal articles which a few of the friends of Döellinger refused, contrary to the general opinion, to regard as his productions. Jøerg said

(1) *Minor Writings of Döellinger*. Stuttgart, 1890.

at the time that the provost had placed his signature on them by means of the fulsome eulogies of himself which the articles contained ; and their appearance in the posthumous collection published by Reusch is a proof that the unfortunate was really their author. In 1868, he "corrected" his *Christianity and the Church*, suppressing all the passages of the first edition which favored the Holy See ; and when the "corrected" version appeared, the reader was left in ignorance concerning the "corrections." In 1869, when the Protestant and Catholic worlds were both indulging in speculations upon the imminent Council of the Vatican, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* published several anonymous articles which time has shown to have been written by Doellinger, and which were more injurious to the Papacy than anything which he had hitherto produced ; and when a friend, taking for granted that the paroxysms were his, ventured to reprove him, the hypocrite replied : "Your reproaches are unjust. I am always the same ; I follow the march of events attentively and tranquilly. It is true that I do not approve of everything that is being now done in the name of the Church ; but can it therefore be said that I sulk ? If so, then certainly St. Bernard and Fénelon were sulkers." This comparison of himself with the last of the Fathers and with the gentle dove of Cambray deprives Doellinger of every claim to be excused on the score of good faith. Well may Kannengieser say : "When revolt is accompanied by frankness, it may have its grandeur ; but we find it difficult to pardon the hypocrite who lifts his eyes toward heaven while he assassinates. Doellinger had the misfortune to play this part, and the stain is irremovable. For his honor it is a pity that he did not at least regret these articles. At a time of violent anger, one may pen pages which he may afterward deplore most sincerely ; but alas ! such a regret did not trouble the heart of the learned historian. When a friend conjured him to close the mouths of his accusers by publishing an avowal of submission to the Holy See, the provost took advantage of the anonymousness of the articles, and said that he had nothing to retract ; 'he accuses himself who excuses himself,' he wrote, adding that

his conscience was tranquil. It was a strange conscience that prompted him to unite these articles in the volume which he entitled *The Pope and the Council, by Janus*."

In the work which Döllinger published under the pen-name of *Janus*, he rejected not only the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, but also that of Œcumenical Councils; according to the infallible *Janus*, public opinion, guided of course by "German science," of which Döllinger at least implicitly claimed to be the incarnation, was to take the place once occupied by the Popes or by the bishops assembled in Council. Since the ninth century, there has been no Church; we must now try to re-discover her; when the bishops considered whether or not they should proclaim the Pope infallible, they were amusing themselves with child's play, for the Papacy itself is illegitimate. Such is a summary of the teachings of *Janus*; but when, a few months after the appearance of the incendiary lucubration, the same *Janus* addressed his *Reflections* to the bishops who were on the point of starting for the Vatican Council, he showed that he was indeed two-faced, for he adopted a tone of evangelical sweetness, and he begged the prelates to remember the solemnity of an oath. Nothing, he said, could exceed the respect with which he regarded them; but this assurance was eloquently belied when, shortly afterward, he declared that the French episcopal partisans of the Pope-King were like "a lot of old women armed with the squirt of Molière, trying to save a palace in flames." We have already given some attention to the course pursued by Döllinger in reference to the Council of the Vatican (1); but there are other details which will interest the student. When the note of Prince Hohenlohe, praying the European powers to prevent the meeting of the Council, had failed of success, Döllinger, who had inspired that note, did not therefore regard his cause as desperate. No sooner had the prelates arrived in the Eternal City, than he began to publish in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* a series of letters on the Council which purported to come from Rome, but were written by him after he had studied information furnished to him by his friend

(1) See Vol. v., ch. 17.

Friedrich and by Count Arnim, who were then really in the capital of Christendom. One of these letters, that of Jan. 19, 1870, abandoned the affectation of anonymousness which the others presented, and the author took care to draw the attention of the public to his position as a "doctor of the Church—*Lehrer der Kirche*," averring that his conscience was troubled, because of the imminent ecclesiastical revolution. The numerous endorsements of these letters—forwarded by Protestants, Freemasons, avowed infidels, and men bearing the stamp of every school except the Catholic—caused Schulte, one of the most prominent of the Doellingerites, to hope that the conciliar minority would carry its point; but the master told him that they "could not count on the bishops," and that it would be better to convoke a Council of the anti-infallibilists, in order to show their power. We have seen the importance of this and similar reunions of the future heretics; here we would merely remind the student that the first Doellingerite assembly, convened at Nuremberg on Aug. 25, 1870, was composed of eleven priests and two laymen. The chief consequences of this convention were the pastoral of the German bishops, assembled in Fulda, warning their flocks concerning the machinations of the Neo-Protestants; and a demand of the archbishop of Munich, addressed to the Faculty of Theology in the University, calling on its members to announce their definitive position in reference to the dogma of Papal Infallibility. Seven of these professors submitted to the Vatican decrees; Doellinger refused compliance, continuing to lecture in the University, and strange to say, the seminarians of Munich were sufficiently fatuous to frequent his exhibitions (1). That His Grace of Munich should have so long allowed this scandal is a curiosity of episcopal polity. Undoubtedly the protection of the mad king, Louis II., prevented the

(1) One day toward the end of 1870, one of these seminarians happened to find a portfolio of Doellinger which the professor had mislaid. Impelled by youthful curiosity, the lad examined the contents, and he found among them the proof-sheets of the *Ecclesiastical History* which Kurtz, a Protestant, had recently written. Further investigation showed that for some time Doellinger had delivered, *verbatim et literatim*, the course of Kurtz to his own auditors. When the rector of the seminary restored the portfolio to Doellinger, he requested the old gentleman to have some respect for the faith of his students; and justice demands that we record that the hint was taken, at least to some extent.

entertainment of any hope that the heretical professor of Ecclesiastical History would be deprived of his chair in a State institution; just at this time the monarch wrote to his protegee: "I am glad that I have not been deceived in you. I have often declared that you are my Bossuet. Veritable rock of the Church, I am proud of you." But the recalcitrant was certainly excommunicated *ipso facto* because of his obstinately heretical teachings; and proper ecclesiastical zeal now demanded that the toleration he still enjoyed should be abrogated immediately by a public announcement of that excommunication. Only when that course had been pursued, would the seminarians and other Catholic students of the University be compelled to avoid the lecture-room of Döllinger. Not until January 4, 1871, did His Grace of Munich demand a retraction from his rebellious diocesan, and then his letter was answered with a request for a delay of a few weeks, during which the culprit "might conscientiously study the grave question on which his future depended." The insincerity of this prayer was almost immediately demonstrated when, on January 20 and 22, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* published two letters, anonymous indeed, but which all Germany recognized as Döllingerian, and which, like all of the other anonymous productions which were universally ascribed to the professor, the collection given to the world by Reusch acknowledges as such. These letters heaped outrages on the archbishop of Munich, and denounced the Catholic Church as an institution dangerous for any State. Eight days after these ebullitions, however, their author wrote to his ordinary, not anonymously, but as Dr. Döllinger, begging for another respite, during which he might "implore light from the Most High." And again, almost immediately, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of February 10 presented to its readers an anonymous lucubration, which is also accepted by Reusch, and which branded the archbishop as a forger. Nevertheless, on February 15 the prelate signified to the hypocrite that a further delay of a month was accorded to him; and when that term was about to expire, and a respite of eight additional days was requested, for the purpose of enabling the heretic "to examine the many documents

which he was receiving from every quarter," His Grace paternally granted the favor. Meanwhile Lord Acton and other self-proclaimed good theologians, the real leaders of the movement which was fondly supposed by many good Protestants to prognosticate the final demise of that Papacy which had been so frequently killed, were prompting their scapegoat as he prepared the pronunciamiento which was to announce to the world the birth of the Bismarckian National Church of Germany. On March 25, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* published Doellinger's formal declaration that "as Christian, as a theologian, as a historian, and as a citizen, he could not accept the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff." And he exultantly proclaimed: "Thousands of priests, and hundreds of thousands of lay persons, think as I think, and regard the recent conciliar decrees as inadmissible. Down to this present moment no Catholic has ever told me that he was convinced of the truth of those doctrines; and all my friends and acquaintances declare that their experience is like mine." Even this manifesto did not induce the archbishop of Munich to declare the excommunication of Doellinger; he simply announced that thereafter the seminarians of his diocese would not be allowed to attend the lectures in Ecclesiastical History which were given in the University of Munich. But on April 17, His Grace felt that he was compelled to act; and the faithful were informed that by his own avowals the great Dr. Doellinger had segregated himself from the Catholic communion. Naturally "the champion who had endeavored to save the Church" was congratulated by all the Protestant, Masonic, Jewish, and avowedly infidel journals of the world; the University of Oxford enrolled him among its Doctors of Laws (at least a superfluous compliment to the most prominent exponent of "German science"); the ex-Carmelite apostate, Loyson, prophesied that the unfortunate would be revenged by the terrible punishments which were being prepared for "those who had corrupted the Church."

We have already shown, in our dissertation on the "Old Catholics," the miserable delusion under which Doellinger labored when he flattered himself that hundreds of thousands

of Catholics would follow him as he deserted from the Roman camp; now we would draw the attention of the reader to some features of the evolution which the heresiarch experienced, after his emancipation from the "tyranny" of the Catholic Church. One of the most salient of these features, although an apparently necessary accompaniment of every abandonment of the faith, was his treatment of the Society of Jesus. We have seen that in his Catholic days Döllinger was not hostile to the Jesuits; but after the catastrophe of his life, the *Modern Jesuit* of Gioberti would appear to have become his *Vade Mecum*. Writing to Michelis on May 1, 1874, he said: "I have found that I am obliged to revise radically all my historical and patriotic science (after forty-eight years of a professorship of that science); I must again investigate the fundamental results of my early studies. Would that I had done this twenty years ago!" He prosecuted this so much needed revision; and one of its results was a consciousness of a duty to teach the world, in nearly every one of the academical discourses with which he regaled his infidel or latitudinarian audiences in Munich, how little they knew concerning the iniquities of the sons of Loyola. In 1882, he published, with this object, his *Policy of Louis XIV.*; and in 1886 there appeared his foolish essay on the noble Mme. de Maintenon under the title of *The Most Influential Woman in the History of France* (1). Here his revised historical and theological attainments impelled him to define the Jesuit conception of moral science as "the art of changing mortal or venial sins into indifferent acts." This evolution of the famous historian, however, is less inexplicable than his *volte-face* in the matter of the Jews. In the olden times, he had been inexcusably severe toward the children of Israel; even his feelings as a Bavarian, commiserating the sufferings of the thousands of his countrymen who were the prey of Jewish usury, could scarcely justify this passage from a discourse which he once delivered in the Bavarian Chambers: "One should have seen the

(1) For a defence of Mme. de Maintenon against the aspersions with which her character and career have been visited by the majority of Protestant, and by many ignorant Catholic writers, see our Vol. IV., p. 291, *et seqq.*

cold calculation with which the Jew selects his victim, seizes him slowly but surely, and then sucks his blood without pity or mercy, and with the imperturbable calm with which a surgeon dissects a corpse. One should have seen all this on the spot; and then he would recall involuntarily the verses in which the Roman poet depicts Laocoon fighting the serpent whose folds entwine him and are about to strangle him. And besides these diabolical manœuvres, we behold the vampire of the Jewish press spreading its wings. It waves them in the journals of the morning, of mid-day, and of the evening; in its issues on Sundays and on holy-days; in order that those whom it deceives may not have a moment for reflection, and in order that, reduced to semi-paralysis, they may not feel that the proboscis of the Jewish demon is drawing from their frames the last drops of their life-blood." But after Doellinger had separated from the Papacy, he had no hatred to spare from that with which he pursued Rome and the Jesuits. He forgot the manner in which his then dearly-beloved Luther had treated the Israelites when descanting on *The Jews and Their Lies*. He ignored the assertion of his colleague, the Protestant Lagarde, that "The Jewish Alliance is, in the field of Semitism, what the Society of Jesus is in the field of Catholicism"; and he cared not to hear Böckel, another Protestant associate, declaiming that "The Jew-Jesuits are a thousand times worse than the others." It was in accordance, therefore, with the anti-Christian predilections of his later years, and not because of any universal humanitarian proclivities, that in the discourse which Doellinger pronounced in 1881 on *The Jews in Europe*, he declared that "he was there to love, and not to hate"; and that "Israel remains the chosen people of God; for God does not forget His promises. The Jews are our brothers, who will be one with us as soon as we learn how, by our faith and our lives, to excite in them a holy emulation." But the most interesting phrase of the Doellingerian evolution was the apostate's virtual acceptance of Rationalism. He showed his unbelief in the historical truth and in the inspiration of essential parts of the *New Testament* when, in 1887, he insisted that the story of Simon the Magician, narrated in the

Acts of the Apostles, is a fable ; and that "belief in demonism is an illusion," being nothing more than "a gift from Paganism to Christianity." He had already implicitly denied the historical value of the Pentateuch in 1883, when, speaking of the *Founders of Religions*, he said : "The first commencements of religious development are a mystery for us, just as the primitive history of humanity is a mystery. . . . The history of *all* religions proves that it is a very dangerous temptation to believe one's self divinely inspired, and to imagine that God has chosen one's self, among many millions, to be the instrument of His designs." In 1887, when treating of the influence of Greek literature and civilization on the Western world, he adopted the assertion of Ranke : "The Christian religion was born from the antagonism subsisting between the religious opinions of other peoples," and then, concluded that Christianity is simply a mixture of Greek philosophy, Judaism, and a few poetical fictions. "It was from this atmosphere," said Döellinger, "that Christianity emanated." It is true that in many of the discourses which the apostate pronounced in the days of his terrible desolation—when he was "isolated," as he wrote to the papal nuncio, Mgr. Ruffo-Scilla, in 1887—the most palpably Rationalistic sentiments were often so clothed in a thin disguise of ostensibly orthodox verbiage, that persons of merely ordinary powers of penetration might have been led to believe in a survival of Christian convictions in the mind of the orator. But from the day of his formal segregation from the Fold of Christ, Rationalistic asseverations fell from the lips of Döellinger so frequently, that one is led to believe in the accuracy of the judgment which impelled Gladstone, some years after the great catastrophe, to term his unfrocked friend a freethinker. This freethinking propensity, however, may have resulted merely from a habit which the unfortunate had consecrated by very many years of indulgence—the habit of yielding to circumstances, to the dictates of policy, and to the tyrannous exigencies of human respect.

In the year 1857, three years before he avowed to Böehmer the shipwreck of his own faith, Döellinger took occasion, in an article published in the *Historisch-Politische Blätter*,

to account for the religious aberrations of Baader, one of his comrades of the School of Munich. The vagary of this septuagenarian was short-lived, and he died in the communion of the Church; but after his demise certain foolish friends thought to procure for him a posthumous reputation by publishing certain love-letters which the old man had written to a little soubrette of nineteen. Commenting on this intrigue, Döllinger said: "This correspondence shows very clearly that the motives for Baader's animosity against the Church were purely external and accidental, and that they were foreign to his philosophy. . . . We need no more than these letters in order to understand how Baader crossed the line which separates the serene convictions of one who has arrived at the zenith of his intellectual development, from the passionate but almost childish desires of an impotent old man." If Döllinger ever perused these lines during the long years of his segregation from the Fold of Christ, he must have recognized in them his own self-condemnation. Baader had once said that when an old man descends to illegitimate amours, he is "a soul that has fallen from heaven into a scullery." So far as we know, the old age of Döllinger succumbed to no onslaught of carnal passion; but certainly, like those of Baader, "the motives for his animosity against the Church were purely external and accidental," and Satanic pride is at least as ignoble as sensuality. No Catholic will pretend to judge as to the sentiments of Döllinger's innermost heart at any moment of the long years which he spent as an exile from his Father's house; still less will any Catholic abandon the hope that when, on Jan. 9, 1890, a fatal stroke of apoplexy reduced the more than nonagenarian to an unconsciousness which ended only in death, a moment of lucidity and of sincerity might possibly have enabled him to conceive an Act of Contrition, as he remembered the words which he penned in 1861 in his *Church and Churches*: "One thing is certain. Amid the ruins of everything earthly, one institution alone will ever survive, emerging intact from the mass of debris, because it is indestructible, immortal. That institution is the Chair of St. Peter."

CHAPTER XX.

LOUIS VEUILLOT. *

"Place my pen at my side ; put the crucifix, my pride, on my breast ; lay this volume at my feet ; then close my coffin in peace. . . I trust in Jesus. Here on earth, I have not been ashamed of His faith ; and on the last day, when I stand before His Father, He will not be ashamed of me."

Such were the words of his funeral sermon, preached by Veuillot himself in his beautiful book, *Here and There* ; and one of his biographers would add no more by way of epitaph than the involuntary homage which was rendered to the great journalist by the adversary who said that Veuillot never had other objects in view than the Pope and good grammar. The life of such an editor must necessarily furnish material for the edification of a Catholic layman ; and that of Louis Veuillot will refresh his memory with the remembrance of some of the most stirring events of our century. Veuillot was born at Boynes in the Gatinais, October 11, 1813. "Once upon a time," he tells us in *Rome and Loreto*, "there lived, not a king and queen, but a journeyman-cooper, who had nothing in the world but his tools ; and who, carrying these on his back, in winter through the mud, and in summer in the heat of the sun, trudged from town to town, making and repairing barrels, tubs, and pails ; pausing awhile wherever he found work, and departing when there was no more ; happy if he took along enough to sustain him during his new journey, but certain of leaving behind him a good name, and of receiving a welcome when he returned. He was called Francis Veuillot ; he was a native of Burgundy ; he could not read, and knew nothing but his trade, which he had learned by prodigious efforts of intelligence and courage, since he was the seventh or eighth child of a farm laborer. One day while passing through a village of the Gatinais, he saw at the honeysuckle-framed window of a humble dwelling a robust young girl,

* This chapter appeared in THE AVE MARIA, Vol. XXXIV.

who was singing at her work. He walked more slowly . then he turned toward her, and he tramped no further. The maiden was as good as she was pleasing; she liked to work; honor shone on her brow amid the flowers of health and youth; good sense ruled her conversation; her fortune was equal to his; their hearts were soon paired; they were married." Louis Veillot was the first fruit of this happy union. While yet a child, his parents moved to Paris, and he was brought up almost without religion; going, of course, to Mass on Sunday, but dependent for his early training on one of the government schools. The Catechism was taught in a kind of a way in these establishments, and finally he made his First Communion. "Happy they," he afterward wrote, "who can go through life under the protection of the souvenirs and graces of that beautiful day! Such felicity was not for me. Led to the Holy Table by hands which were ignorant or altogether impious, I approached it without knowing the holiness of the Banquet; I left it with all my stains still upon me, and I returned to it no more." When manhood had come upon Veillot, the realization of all he had lost in his youth by having been trained in the irreligious schools of the State contributed chiefly to the zeal of his advocacy of freedom of education.

When thirteen years of age, Louis entered a lawyer's office, receiving as stipend twenty francs a month, and a crust of bread every day for breakfast. The revolution of 1830, which dethroned the elder branch of the Bourbons, excited the sympathy of the boy. "I was seventeen years old," he tells us, "when I heard the best youth of the *bourgeoisie* congratulating themselves on having demolished the throne and the altar; I was eighteen when I saw ferocious beasts pull down the cross. . . . Already my companions were less sympathetic, but I still applauded. All that fell excited their fears; all that fell excited my joy." Very soon the trembling *bourgeois* began to found journals in order to defend themselves from the baleful consequences of their own work, and young Veillot was offered a position on the *Echo de Rouen*, a moderate paper founded by M. Herbert, afterward a Minister of State. Without any special preparation

he became a journalist ; his first duties were in connection with the theatres, but he soon launched into politics. His brother Eugene, the most reliable of his biographers, warns us not to credit readily all the stories narrated about the early commencements of the journalistic life of Louis. Much has been said concerning his innumerable duels ; but the fact is that he engaged in only two, and in each case he was the challenged party. In 1832 Louis Veuillot became editor of the *Mémorial de la Dordogne*, at Périgord. Hitherto he had made no classical studies ; he now repaired this defect. And it was while he was editing the *Mémorial* that he began to experience a change in his religious sentiments, although his full conversion did not take place until his visit to Rome in 1838. In 1837 he was called to Paris to collaborate on the *Charte de 1830*, a journal founded by Guizot ; but the fall of that statesman precipitated the end of his paper, and Veuillot passed over to the *Paix*. At this time Louis Veuillot, as we gather from his fraternal biographer, had lost all sense of the just and unjust, and he was little better than one of those *condottieri* of the pen who sell their labors in any field with equal pleasure. While in the lamentable condition produced by such a life in the case of one destined by nature and grace for better things, his friend Fulgence Ollivier asked him to accompany him on a voyage ; he needed the diversion, and accepted the offer. “ He thought to go to Constantinople, but he went farther ; he went to Rome ; he went to baptism.” We would refer the reader to the charming pages of *Rome and Loreto* for Veuillot’s own account of his arrival in the Eternal City on March 15, 1838 ; of his visits to the monuments of antiquity, and then to the churches ; of his hesitations and struggles ; and finally, of his paternal reception by Pope Gregory XVI., who perhaps perceived in his prodigal son the future champion of the Church.

Now that he was a practical Christian, Veuillot could scarcely resume his place in the officious press of the government of July ; but he accepted a position in the Ministry of the Interior, and while thus occupied he produced his *Pilgrimages in Switzerland, Rome and Loreto, The Holy Rosary, An Honest*

Woman, and other works. But agreeable as was the sinecure which he enjoyed, Veuillot was impelled by both his temperament and his new faith to abandon it. Combat was his life, and again he entered the journalistic arena; but now it was Catholic journalism that he undertook to sustain. There was then in Paris but one purely Catholic journal, the *Univers Religieux* established in 1834 by M. Bailly, the founder of the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul. Since 1839 Veuillot had written for this paper; in 1843 he became its editor, renouncing for that end a sure place which furnished him double the revenue he was about to receive. It was his design to abstain from all systematic opposition to the government of Louis Philippe, but despite himself Veuillot soon found himself involved in a struggle concerning the vital question of the freedom of education. Immediately after the revolution of 1830 certain Catholics, disgusted with the sceptical, if not impious, education given by the University, and relying upon the guarantees professedly offered by the Constitution, had opened a school. Summoned before the House of Peers, one of their number, the Count de Montalembert, being a Peer of France, they were condemned. The recollections of his own experience in the government's godless schools gave great force to the zeal with which Veuillot entered into the controversy which now ensued. He wrote an introduction to an account of the trial of the Abbé Combalot, who had written a memorial to the bishops on the dangers of University education (as then given at Paris), and had been condemned to fifteen days' imprisonment and a fine of four thousand francs. For this introduction Veuillot was condemned to a month's imprisonment and a fine of three thousand francs. The governmental and freethinking press was dumbfounded at the audacity of Catholics who dared to defend themselves. The absurdity of these despised ignoramuses presuming to pretend to a possibility of reason against such adversaries! And then, said some of the bigwigs of the University, and others of the political world—men like the Duke de Broglie and the Count Portalis, who called themselves Catholics, and had nevertheless violated the rights of the Church and of Catholic parents,—how lament-

ably deficient was the editor of the *Univers* in evangelical meekness! In fine, the violent course of the recent convert, who, to make matters worse, was a thorough Ultramontane at a time when there were still many Gallicans among the French clergy, was presented as the cause of all the trouble between the Church and the government of July. An evident error; for the question of the freedom of education had originated in 1831, before the *Univers* existed (1).

The revolution of 1848 was favorably received by the *Univers*. Catholics could have few regrets for the Orleans branch of the Bourbons; and certain members of the provisional government, such as Lamartine, Arago, and Marie, were capable of inspiring confidence. On February 24, Montalembert being present, Veuillot traced the following manifesto for his journal: "The dynasty of July has succumbed. The struggle was at an end on the third day. The revolution is accomplished, and it is one of the most surprising in history. The tempest has carried everything away; new men appear on the scene; God will effect His designs by means which the world now ignores. To-day, as yesterday, nothing is possible unless through liberty; to-day, as yesterday, religion is the only possible base of society. Religion is the aroma which keeps liberty from corruption. It is in Jesus Christ that men are brothers; it is in Him that they are free. Real liberty can save everything. The new government has great duties toward France and toward the entire world. We trust that it may be able to fulfil them. All governments have the faculty of being able to consolidate themselves; they need only love justice and frankly promote liberty." Two days afterward Veuillot reminded the provisional government that the Catholics had done their duty by the government of July, and that the new régime might expect the same fidelity. The *Univers*, added the writer, did not believe, "with Gallican theology, in the inamissible right of crowns; but, with Catholic theology, in the right of peoples." But the *Univers* did not long remain a partisan of that republic which it had so warmly welcomed. Alongside of Lamartine were Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc;

(1) See our dissertation on Montalembert, in Vol. v.

the former distributed his fiery circulars, demanding an assembly "capable of understanding and accomplishing the work of the people"; he wanted deputies who would be "all men of the past, and not of the future"; that is, Robespierres, and not common-sense patriots. But having little confidence in most of his allies, whose principles he regarded as little better than those of the revolutionists, Veuillot reserved complete liberty of action for his journal. When the Catholics were divided as to the candidature of General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte for the presidency of the republic, the *Univers* called for the intentions of the aspirants in regard to the Roman question. The capital of Christendom was then in the hands of the Revolution, Pius IX. having fled to Gaeta after the assassination of his Minister, Rossi. "It is not the Pope," wrote Veuillot, "but the Papacy that we must now defend; it is the keystone of European civilization, the work of God, that must be preserved from a horde of wretches, whose strength is the ruin and opprobrium of the world. He who will manifest sufficient intelligence and heart to pronounce himself the enemy of these scoundrels, in order to break with them entirely, to trample on their bloody standards, to prefer their poisoned daggers to the ignominy of their praise; he who, before these atheists, will proclaim himself a man of God, and will reply to their clamors with the Sign of the Cross,—that man will deserve our suffrages." To this direct appeal Cavaignac, though sufficiently courageous, made no answer; he had to account to his political friends. Louis Napoleon seemed more disposed to satisfy the Catholics. At this juncture Veuillot was asked to meet Louis Napoleon; but he declined, alleging that Montalembert was the head of the Catholic party. Then appeared the letter of the prince to the papal nuncio, in which that candidate disavowed the conduct of his cousin, the Prince of Canino, at Rome. He "regretted with his whole soul that the Prince of Canino had not realized that the temporal power of the venerable head of the Church was intimately connected with the *éclat* of Catholicism, and with the liberty and independence of Italy." Although the *Univers* did not plainly avow itself in

favor of the presidency of Louis Napoleon, it was now clear that it might be ranked among his partisans; and consequently numbers of Catholic votes went to secure the majority which effected his election.

In less than two years the Second French Republic had convinced the world that its tendencies were socialistic, even though the legislative majority was monarchical. For this majority was divided into Legitimists, who themselves were split into the pure and fusionist; Orleanists, or the non-descript devotees of the younger and usurping branch of the royal house; and finally, Bonapartists. Veuillot was personally inclined to a submission of the Orleans princes to the Count of Chambord, the grandson of Charles X., and, as Henry V., legitimate king of France. But when all hopes of a submission, or even of a fusion, had vanished, thanks to the influence of Thiers on the Duchess d'Orleans, what were the Catholics to expect, now that 1852, which would conclude the term of the prince-president, was at hand? During his journeys in the provinces, Louis Napoleon had arranged that he should be invited to restore the Empire; Veuillot saw that the prince was the sole obstacle to the triumph of the socialists. So far in accord with Montalembert, who had not yet abandoned the prince-president, Veuillot acquiesced in the *Coup d'État*. He was "neither conquered, nor conqueror, nor malcontent"; France now possessed "a government and an army, a head and an arm"; the new ruler was to be supported, "that they might afterward have the right to counsel him." "Property need not now anticipate pillage; families need not fear dishonor; religion will not mean martyrdom. The head of the Church is no longer on the road to a new exile, a new Calvary. The foundations of society are no longer threatened by sophism, armed with poniards. Public blasphemy has ceased." Undoubtedly Veuillot was no prophet when he saw in the new Empire an anti-revolutionary government, and in Louis Napoleon the material for another Charlemagne; but we must not forget that the *Coup d'État* was followed by many reparative measures. And according to M. de Mongeot, a judicious biographer of Veuillot, the prince-president would have suppressed the University,

that receptacle of every evil doctrine, had it not been for the objections of certain bishops, who feared that they could not yet supply its place. Again, as Montalembert expressed the idea, our editor was a witness, not a guarantee, for Louis Napoleon. And he reserved the right to combat the new government, if it deviated from the right path; refusing, in order to do this with more freedom, every offer of preferment and every favor.

It was about the time of the *Coup d'État* that the famous controversy on the classics began; and this contest was, for a while, one of the most painful in which Veuillot ever engaged. In 1851 the Abbé Gaume, a distinguished theological writer, had denounced the disastrous influence of the pagan classics, and had advocated the substitution of works by Christian authors. He was sustained by several prelates, among whom was Cardinal Gousset. Veuillot defended the thesis advanced by Gaume; and Mgr. Dupanloup, in a letter to the professors of his preparatory seminary, justified the olden methods, and attacked rather vividly the partisans of the new idea. Veuillot responded with equal energy, and then the prelate of Orleans interdicted the reading of the *Univers* in his seminary. Such judges as Cardinal Gousset thought that Mgr. Dupanloup had gone too far; they held that a journal had the right to discuss an opinion emitted in an episcopal act, provided it did not blame the act in itself. Mgr. Dupanloup tried to procure a collective warning from all the French bishops to the *Univers*, but he could obtain the signatures of only a small minority. Finally, Veuillot requested his friends to terminate the dispute: "We need not defend ourselves; in fact, we have said only what we have said. Malevolent or unintelligent interpretations will fall of themselves, and useful truth will alone remain. If on our part, any exaggerations have been committed, we trust that they may be forgotten." In her own good time Rome spoke on the matter; the Christian classics obtained more attention in the French seminaries, while the good faith and learning of the Abbé Gaume were attested by his promotion to the Roman prelacy.

An incident of more gravity succeeded the controversy

on the classics. In 1850 Veuillot had begun the publication of a collection of new works which would constitute a complete "apology" of Christianity. Among his collaborators were the Benedictines Dom Pitra and Dom Guéranger, the Abbé Martinet, and Bishop Rendu. The great Spanish orator, Donoso Cortes, wrote for this collection his solid essay on *Catholicism, Liberalism and Socialism*, in which he contended that the second system was necessarily the precursor of the third. Against this idea the Abbé Gaduel, vicar-general of Orleans, arose, discerning in the work of the great Spaniard a tissue of errors, and taking occasion to involve in his censures the entire religious press whenever it undertook to treat of theological matters. At this time Donoso Cortes occupied in Spain an unchallenged position as chief apostle of the truth in the world of letters; and, unknown to Gaduel, he had taken the course generally followed, *pace* Gaduel, by all prudent Catholic laymen in similar contingencies; that is, he had submitted his ideas to the judgment of authorized theologians. In reply to Gaduel, Donoso Cortes submitted his book to Rome, and he was fully justified. But Veuillot had less equanimity than his Spanish friend, and in his defense of the religious press he wielded his ready weapon of raillery very freely against his adversary. Unable to reply, the latter complained to the archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Sibour. This prelate then prohibited the *Univers* to all the priests and religious communities of his diocese. The archiepiscopal act was applauded by the entire revolutionary press; but many prelates, in public letters, manifested sympathy for the condemned journal.

Louis Veuillot was then in Rome, and he appealed to the Pontiff, writing to his staff on the same day: "Judged by the Father of all the faithful, by the highest authority on earth, we shall know with certainty what we must do, and we will do it at once. We will continue our work or we will abandon it with equal security; asking pardon of God and of men for having been unable to do good, or for having done evil." Six days afterward he received from Mgr. Fioramonti, Secretary for Latin Letters to His Holiness, a consoling letter, which, while inviting him to moder-

ation, augured well for the success of his appeal. And very soon the supreme authority took up the defense of the religious press. In an Apostolic Letter to the bishops of France, dated March 21, 1853, Pope Pius IX. said: "We must here remind you of the ardent advice which we gave four years ago, to all the bishops of the Catholic world: that they should exert every effort to induce talented and healthily educated men to devote themselves to writings calculated to enlighten the mind and to dissipate the darkness of error now so prevalent. Again, therefore, while urging you to remove from your flocks the poison of bad books and journals, we insist that you extend every protection to the men who consecrate their energies to the production of works whereby Catholic teachings may be propagated, whereby the venerable rights of the Holy See may be fully recognized, and whereby the obscurity of error be dissipated. Your episcopal charity should excite the ardor of these Catholic writers who are animated by so good a spirit; and if, perchance, they sometimes commit some mistakes, advise them paternally and prudently."

This letter of the Pontiff was generally regarded as a justification of Veuillot, and Archbishop Sibour hastened to lift the sentence which he had so rashly pronounced. But the adversaries of Veuillot were not reduced to silence: in less than two years from the appearance of the above papal letter there was issued an anonymous pamphlet, which, entitled "*The Univers Judged by Itself*," endeavored to show by means of citations, that the said journal was "revolutionary, turbulent, without respect for authority, without charity, full of injuries and insults, which constantly involved itself in contradictions, in the name of the Church." Another Catholic journal, *L'Ami de la Religion*, upheld the pamphlet; but the incriminated editor found many distinguished defenders, among whom were Mgr. Parisi, archbishop of Arras, and the ablest journal in Italy, the *Armonia*. It was proved that most of the pamphleteer's citations were made in bad faith; that they were presented without regard to the context; that in many cases they were truncated, and even falsified. And the *Armonia* well in-

sisted that if the *Univers* were a revolutionary journal, it would not be the object of revolutionary hatred in every land, and the Roman Pontiff would not have extended his protection to it. While the discussion was at its height, and while Veuillot was taking the first steps to vindicate himself before the tribunals, the assassination of Mgr. Sibour saddened the hearts of all Catholics, and Veuillot generously let the matter drop.

When after the Crimean War, the Count Walewski, representative of France at the Congress of Paris, allowed the Count di Cavour, agent for Piedmont, to menace the pontifical government, Veuillot protested against this open attack on the rights of the Church. When the Italian war of 1859 opened, he asked whether Napoleon III., allying himself with the revolutionists, was not about to undo his work of '49. When the preliminaries of Villafranca were signed, he rejoiced at the end of a war "which had caused a fear lest the Revolution, rather than liberty, would be the gainer." But he found in these preliminaries "no recognition of the right of revolt; Lombardy did not give herself, but was rather ceded by Francis Joseph, and given by Napoleon"; he was sufficiently optimistic to trust that Piedmont would prove "one Catholic nation the more." Alas! Napoleon III. allowed Victor Emmanuel to contend for the whole of Italy, not even excepting the Papal States. Then Veuillot entered upon the combat which he had vainly tried to avoid. When the *brochure*, "The Pope and the Congress," written by La Guéronnière, but inspired by Napoleon, appeared, advocating the spoliation of the Pontiff as a political necessity, Pius IX. characterized it, in reply to an address from the Count de Goyon, commander of the French army of occupation in Rome, as "a signal monument of hypocrisy and an ignoble tissue of contradictions." The imperial authorities would have prevented the *Univers* from publishing the papal rebuke, but Veuillot knew his duty. His brother Eugene says that just as he had resolved to ignore the imperial wishes, a friend asked him if he realized what he was doing. "We are dying," was the reply. The discourse of the Pontiff was published on January 11, 1860; but the government

hesitated. On the 28th, however, Veuillot received the Encyclical *Nullis certe*, condemning the last aggressions against the Papal States. The document was at once translated; and as he sent it to the printers, the brave editor said: "Our paper will be suppressed to-morrow." So it happened, but Veuillot had triumphed; for when the government realized that the news of the pontifical action had already transpired, it authorized the other journals to publish the Encyclical. Thus it was, as Veuillot wrote to the Pope, that an Encyclical of Pius IX., that of 1853, had given life to the *Univers*, and another one had taken that life. Twice Veuillot asked for authorization to resume his journal, but in vain; however, in 1867, while Napoleon was effecting his tentative evolution toward liberalism, and which was to involve freedom of the press, the permission was accorded. Pius IX. sent a sum of money to further the good work; but as it did not prove necessary, Veuillot turned it over to the Peter's Pence. The attitude of the *Univers* did not change toward the liberalized Empire. When, just previous to the plebiscite of May 7, 1870, Emile Ollivier, the new Minister, solicited its support, he was told that the imperial government would have to promise the preservation of the territories still remaining to the Pope. As this assurance was not given, our journal remained neutral, being unwilling to vote with the revolutionists against the plebiscite, and unable to support an administration which refused satisfaction to the Catholics. Meanwhile the General Council of the Vatican was celebrated, and the favorite thesis of Veuillot was solemnly promulgated. Well has it been said that in the Constitution which promulgated the dogma of Papal Infallibility, "*Tout Veuillot est là, et tout Veuillot n'est qu'une victoire.*"

The revolution of September 4, 1870, did not surprise Veuillot; Sedan was a consequence of Castelfidardo. Remaining in Paris during the siege, he sustained the Government of the National Defense, and continued to hope against hope. He was a constant adversary of the Commune, and the articles which he wrote against its insane leaders form his interesting book entitled *Paris During the Two Sieges*. When peace had returned, he seized every occasion to protest

against the brutal seizure of Rome on September 20, 1870. One day the members of the right had almost interdicted the right of speech to M. de Belcastel, who wished to interpolate the government on this subject; and Veuillot severely attacked this Catholic majority for thus appearing to abandon the cause of the Head of the Church. For this action he was blamed by many persons of his own party; and even Pius IX., so partial to the *Univers*, complained of his too zealous defenders. Veuillot bowed to the rebuke, declaring himself ready to break his pen if it was deemed a danger or useless. But a few days afterward Mgr. Mermillod, then vicar-apostolic of Geneva, and supposed to be, in this matter, an authorized interpreter of the sentiments of the Pontiff, informed the entire staff of the journal that Pius IX. blessed their work. When Marshal MacMahon was called to the presidency, May 24, 1873, Veuillot welcomed the loyal soldier who seemed disposed to favor a monarchical restoration. We need not detail how such efforts failed, and how MacMahon showed himself pliant to the dictates of the secret societies—probably because he belonged to them. Enough here to note that this administration disliked the *Univers*. Twice the journal was suspended: once at the request of Bismarck, it was thought, for having published a letter of the bishop of Perigueux on the religious persecutions in Germany; and again for an article which displeased the Spanish Cabinet of the day.

In this short sketch we have confined our remarks to the public life of a great soldier of the Church; his private life "*est de l'intime*," as Eugénie de Guérin would say. Even his brother hesitated to trench upon this privacy: "To speak of his habits would be a puerility; and as for his joys and griefs, I have shared them too entirely to display them before the indifferent." But a trace of his joys and griefs is to be found in his works. It is believed that one chapter of *Here and There* gives the history of his marriage; and in his masterpiece, *The Nuptial Chamber*, are depicted many of his chagrins. After the death of his beloved wife, Louis Veuillot found a faithful companion in an adored sister, Mlle. Elise Veuillot, whose portrait he outlines in *Here and There*:

"Your sweet and noble countenance is beautiful in our eyes as in those of the angels, by the cares which have prematurely impressed their mark. For the love of God you refused yourself to the service of God, and for charity's sake you deprived yourself of the joys of charity. You do not fully enjoy the peace of the cloister, nor the care of the poor, nor an apostolate in the world; and your great heart has known how to forego all that is grand and perfect like itself. A servant to your brother, a mother to his orphans, you have sunk your life in little duties. You have given away your youth, liberty, and future; you are no longer yourself, but one who is no more, a dead wife and a buried mother. You are a virgin-widow, a religious without a veil, a spouse without her rights, a mother without the name. You sacrifice your days and your vigils to children who do not call you mother, and you have shed a mother's tears upon the graves of those who were not your children. And amid all this labor, this abnegation and trial, you seek and you find for repose other infirmities to succor, other weaknesses to strengthen, other wounds to heal. May you be blessed by God as you are by our hearts!" Louis Veuillot went to his reward on the 7th of April, 1883.

A profound and judicious critic, the Abbé Le Noir, comparing Veuillot, the journalist of the sovereign and infallible Papacy, with Emile de Girardin, the journalist of liberty, says: "Girardin had no governmental system, and he was defeated by all our governments, not one of which either understood or desired liberty. Veuillot had a fixed, clear, and simple system, which the French clergy adopted; the Papacy upheld him even against the bishops, and he ended by obtaining a complete triumph in the Catholic Church. Veuillot created a style which was adapted to the clergy of his time; he found the tone which was to touch their heart-strings; he gave them in his journal the aliment they craved, and he became omnipotent with his readers. Certain prelates tried to crush him: they merely rendered his vitality greater. In the eyes of Rome and his public he was right, and afterward the Council of the Vatican solemnly proclaimed his thesis" (1).

(1) *The Dictionary of Bergier, Adapted to the Intellectual Movement of the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century*, Art. Veuillot. Paris, 1876.

CHAPTER XXI.

CESARE CANTÙ, PRINCE OF MODERN HISTORIANS. *

Modern Italy has reason to be proud of her knights of the pen. To say nothing of her ecclesiastics who have distinguished themselves in current literature, and whose name is legion, no other country has produced, in this century, a literary galaxy which merits comparison with that formed by Pellico, Manzoni, Monti, Brofferio, Foscolo, Romagnosi, Grossi, Troya, D'Azeglio, and Cantù. Our century has produced more celebrated mediocrities than any of its predecessors; and, since the inception of her sham-encouraging unitarian revolution, Italy has brought forth her share. But literary mediocrities are soon forgotten in Italy. There, few mistake voluminousness for exhaustiveness; obscurity is not landed as profundity; petulancy is not taken for vivacity; specious smartness does not pass for wit. As a rule, literary pre-eminence is attained in Italy by the deserving alone; and among those contemporary writers who have won the respectful admiration of the Italian historical and literary world, the first place, both for the number and the variety of his works, must be accorded to Cesare Cantù, who went to his eternal reward in 1894, in the ninetieth year of his age. The chief title of Cantù to the gratitude of scholars throughout the world is his *Universal History*, a work which excels all similarly styled lucubrations as a persevering research for historical truth, and as a frank expression of that truth. It is a voluminous work; but the scholar never meets with anything that might be omitted without diminution of its utility, or even with little passages which have no necessary bearing on the subject-matter. As all the peoples of the earth pass in chronological order before the student, he feels as though he were contemporary with each of them; so clearly does his Mentor philosophize, as the procession moves on, concerning the social, political, and religious development of all. Characteristic details abound. The events are so grouped,

* This chapter appeared in *THE AVE MARIA*, Vol. XL.

that the scholar can consider them from a general as well as from a particular point of view ; and during the entire unfolding of the panorama, he inspects humanity as it accords with or transgresses the law of justice and progress. In the perusal of this admirable *History*, we often discern the hand of him who has touched the most delicate fibres of the heart in his poems and romances ; on the other hand, the historian is ever calm on his judicial bench as he descants on past and present, and penetrates into the future. No historian has so well understood the science which is termed the philosophy of history ; that science which deduces from the events of the past the laws obeyed by human passions, the aspirations of men and of nations, and which aids us in anticipating the future. The work of Cantù is pre-eminently a living work ; it is not a mere corpse of the past which he presents to our contemplation. The men whom he evokes are living characters, not the mere shades and names of men. And he is no mere shade of a historian, when he judges these personages ; he is sagacious, trenchant, and precise, utterly void of that eclecticism and that scepticism which are the dominating features of nearly all modern would-be historians.

One cannot but think that the poetical genius of Cantù helped him to attain to historical eminence. Of course few poets make good historians. Not one true poet in ten is properly equipped to court the Muse of History ; and the chances are ten to one that the properly equipped poet will sacrifice historical truth to the exigencies of dramatic effect. But poetic fire is of great advantage to the competent historical delineator, as the works of Cantù well evince. Our author shows that a man can be both poet and historian, although such success is exceptional. Schiller, for instance, a good poet, and an admirable one when he speaks the truth, is but a poor historian. He essayed a history of that brigandage and butchery, that chaos of contrary elements, which is termed the Thirty Years' War ; which he would never have approached had he not hoped to make capital out of its tremendously dramatic personages. Well, Schiller found the material for a thrilling work ; but, as we have remarked elsewhere, he brought forth an incoherent

mass of platitudinous declamations. In fine, Schiller ceased to be a poet without becoming a historian. Such was not the destiny of Cantù.

Our author's *Universal History* was, so to speak, the tree which put forth those fruitful branches, the *History of the Italians*, the *History of a Hundred Years*, and *The Last Thirty Years*. After the revolution of '48, during that time of repose which preceded the unitarian movement of '60 which was to "regenerate" Italy, Cantù deemed it well to draw the attention of the world to the lessons furnished by the events which were consequent on the great French Revolution of 1789, and which were calculated to serve as warnings for the revolutionists of the future. This intention was realized in the *History of a Hundred Years*, dealing with the period from 1750 to 1850, of the latter part of which Cantù could well say: "*Quorum pars magna fui.*" He had already experienced the bitter fate which is reserved for one who declines to be the slave of any faction, and who, recognizing the merits and faults of all, becomes a target for the venomous shafts of diametrically opposite parties (1). Nevertheless, he had undertaken the task of describing that magnificent but doleful period, with the sole desire to manifest the truth, without fear of either despots or popular passions. He felt that he was a re-creator, and for such a one truth is necessary. In this work Cantù read severe lessons to Austria; but he told just as severe truths to the leaders of '48. Intensely patriotic, he never deviated from the principles of sound morality; and when, in concluding his exhortations, he questioned himself as to the prospects of Italy's gaining her independence, he made Italy reply to Austria in the words used by Matteo Visconti to Guido Torriano when the latter asked him when he would return to power: "When thy sins shall have become greater than mine." The volumes created a great sensation throughout continental Europe; but the French version was a sad mutilation of the original; and when the author complained to M. Renée, the Napoleonically-inclined translator, he received the reply: "Do you think that there is as much free-

(1) For an account of Cantù's experience with the Congregation of the Index, see our Vol. iii., p. 189, in Note.

dom of speech in France as there is in Italy?" And this question was put before the Italians had tried their unitarian experiment. In his *Last Thirty Years*, describing events in which his own part was so great, Cantù never loses the serene tranquillity which is one of his characteristics; and, ever loyal in his own sentiments, he is indignant when he beholds crime figuring as a chosen instrument of statesmen. He says of Cavour: "He despised men sufficiently to avail himself of their wickednesses, and he introduced a corruption which contaminated Italian regeneration." He paints in gloomy colors the condition of his country since she succumbed to the domination of the Brethren of the Three Points; but the facts which he presents are so patent, that the book has found few censors.

In the *Heretics of Italy*, our author depicts the vicissitudes of the Church in Italy with broad and masterly lines. The constant theme of this work is the often forgotten fact that civilization has always developed under the influence of the Church, and has always retrograded when that influence has been impeded. The conclusion of the three large volumes is in these words: "After a study of Christianity in the light of reason, of history, and of conscience, our respect for Catholic tradition has been confirmed. Our studies have furnished us new reasons for the conviction that the Christian organization, infusing a spirit of subordination into the masses, confers on men the greatest amount of happiness. Of course we speak of that felicity which subjects the will not to violence, but to the sweet empire of a persuasive morality. We remain convinced that the most ancient of powers, the sacerdotal principality, is also the most venerable and the most generous; that it is the keystone of the social edifice and the guarantee of the liberty of our nation, because it can oppose to social convulsions the sole force which can curb them—conscience."

With Manzoni and Grossi, Cantù completes the triumvirate of modern Italian poetry. As for his power as a novelist, we may say that no romance, not even *The Betrothed* of Manzoni, has furnished such exquisite pleasure to refined and sympathetic souls as his *Margherita Pusterla*. And

Cantù could write for "the people." His honesty was equal to his intelligence, and he always loved what it is the fashion to style "the lower orders." For the benefit of the working class he wrote many books, small in volume, but of immense value,—books which speak to the heart of the toiler, although dictated by solid reason and filled with extraordinary erudition. One of these works, *Good Sense and Good Heart*, published in 1870, has been pronounced, by competent critics of every school of thought, to be the best educational work given to workingmen in modern times. In this book Cantù speaks to the people in their own language, displaying no party feeling; and urging his readers to economy, benevolence, sobriety, and above all to activity, which he regards as the vocation of man on earth, an instrument of that progress which is the characteristic of true civilization. The stupendous amount of historical knowledge possessed by Cesare Cantù, the immense amount of reading, writing, and other labor in which his nearly ninety years of life were spent, enabled him to adorn and fructify this volume with a profusion of examples illustrating every precept which he inculcates. And he ever remembers that the mind of his reader, a "man of the people," must not be fatigued; so he drops at times into a bit of poetry, which is both recreative and edifying. In fact, he so *miscuit utile dulci* that, as a certain critic observes, his useful appears to delight in swimming and splashing in sweetness.

Another beautiful work for the improvement of the toiler, called *The Workingman's Portfolio*, is admirably practical. It is an autobiography of a young Neapolitan orphan who goes to Lombardy to learn a trade. Naturally restless and fond of novelty, he continually changes masters and trades; picks up a little knowledge of everything; learns much about the vicissitudes of Italy, and participates in some of the recent ones; studies considerably; and through all his adventures ever thinks of the injunction of his deceased mother: "Remember that God sees you!" Around this simple framework Cantù entwines much practical philosophy, moral counsels, refutations of the socialistic theories of the day, and advice concerning the oft-recurring conflict between the

interests of the employee and those of the employer. Certain chapters on "A Father's Experience Narrated to His Children," "One for All and All for One," "Rich and Poor," and on "Strikes," are a perfect quintessence of all the possible arguments against communistic and socialistic dreams. Throughout the entire book Cantù evinces such sincere devotion to the moral and intellectual progress of the toiling classes, and exhales so pronounced an odor of honesty, that even those of his compatriots who do not sympathize with his "clerical" aspirations, have fain avowed that every workingman should have a copy of the book, and that the government should introduce it into every public educational institution. In a letter to the author, the illustrious French publicist Laboulaye says: "You have written more extensive and graver works, but none have attested so well as this one your great love for the 'people' and your real patriotism." However, the Italian governmental authorities have stigmatized the book as "anti-national" in its sentiments; and they discourage its circulation among those whom it would undoubtedly prevent from becoming a peril to the State.

"Perseverance" was ever the motto of the long life which Cantù devoted to the glory of the God who gave great talents to him. In 1873 he thus replied to greetings sent by the printers of Milan: "For a long time your eyes have been directed toward a workingman who wills strongly. Like yourselves, that workman was born in humble circumstances. When twenty years of age, he became the father of nine orphans; and, without fortune or any kind of protection, he resolved to preserve the independence of his opinions, without any adulation of either the great or the lowly. Asking for no other Mæcenæ than the public, he produced books which are more conscientious than scientific. Deprived of his liberty and of his country, defrauded of the fruit of his youthful labors, attacked in his most sincere aspirations and in his dearest affections, made a target by all who thought or wrote differently from himself, he adopted for his motto the word, *Perseverando*. When you accompany him to the cemetery, say: 'A good workman has passed away. Let us imitate his perseverance.'"

The charity of Cantù well deserved to be so termed, for it was reasonable; and it did not prevent his manifestation of a noble indignation, when he found himself face to face with the enemies of the Church, and of Christian truth. He never cared to hide his disgust when he was compelled to listen to pretentious chatter like that of one of his scientific compatriots who smartly declared: "At length we know how much phosphorus is required to make a Dante." To men of that ignoble stamp, Cantù would address but one serious observation: "The studious man will not ignore the researches and the conjectures of the grand seekers who, perseveringly although sadly, pursue that Infinite which they cannot reach; but he will not attempt to raise an edifice on systems which are not only discordant, but which contradict each other. Yesterday we were told to listen to Renan, who insisted that Monotheism was instinctive in the Semitic race; to-day we are directed to Soury, who affects to show that the Hebrews were Polytheists." To those who are willing to derive their descent immediately from monkeys although possibly mediately from the hand of God, Cantù adduces language as a decisive proof of the immediately divine origin of man: "Language is a treasure of wisdom which is superior to all our meditations; its origin cannot be ascribed to reflection or to conscience, since in its very beginnings it was the vehicle of metaphysical conception so fertile and so logical that the would-be scientist is at a loss for an explanation." To the so-called reformers who to-day foster one of the most pregnant evils which now afflict civilized society—to all who exalt popular instruction to the detriment of popular education, Cantù proclaimed: "Attention should be paid to the hearts of men much more than to the alphabet and to gymnastics." To those whose adoration of the nineteenth century does not hide the fact that Anarchism is now a power, Cantù prescribes: "We must lift up those who are on their knees; we must not prostrate those who stand erect. . . . The laborer may need to gain his daily bread by the sweat of his brow; but it should not be necessary for him to live with tears always in his eyes." To the France of his day Cantù spoke the language of confidence in

the destinies of the land which had shown to the world the *Gesta Dei per Francos*; he did not hide from himself the melancholy fact that modern France is "a clinic of all the social diseases," but he bade Frenchmen remember: "The literature of France is the literature of all Europe; her language is the universal vehicle of all ideas; her tribune seems to be the tribune of the peoples who have none; and with more truth than ever the saying of Jefferson may now be quoted: 'Every man has two countries—his own and France.' " To the misguided zealots who in 1848 were confounding the cause of the Pope-King with that of the Austrian campers on Italian soil, Cantù, who had just brought his *Universal History* down to his own time, complained that they knew not the significance of "Pius IX., who in his doubts threw himself at the feet of the crucifix"; and he called on the Italians to learn from the political attitude of the Pontiff, and from all history, "how reason is on the side of those who expect a regeneration of their country, not from revolutionary despotism, but from a healthy moderation."

CHAPTER XXII.

THE PLACE OF THE MIRACULOUS IN HISTORY. THE MIRACLES OF LOURDES.*

I.

THE MIRACULOUS NOT UNHISTORICAL *PER SE*.

Few incredulists cherish any kind feeling for mere authority; but nevertheless, the entire school expects men to submit their intelligences to the ukase of its own *ipse dixit*, and to do so with as much simplicity as was ever evinced by devout royalists when they doffed their caps before an edict issued, "*De par le Roi*." We can fancy that we see, in every part of the habitable globe, placards warning God that the school of "pure science," of "pure reason," of "rational criticism," denies His right to transcend the laws of His own creation. However, a very respectable number of persons contend that

* The first part of this dissertation appeared in the *Ave Maria*, Vol. xl.

even at the close of this progressive nineteenth century miracles do occur in Christendom. The incredulist, inflated by the spirit of modern "criticism," may sneer as he reads of the faith displayed at the venerated shrines of Lourdes, of La Salette, or of Ste. Anne de Beaupré by so many thousands of every age, condition, and mental calibre; but perforce he acknowledges that the ancient theories of the miraculous are not yet efficaciously exploded. In our day the sincere student of history thanks Providence—or mayhap the stars which take the place of Providence in his imagination—that he lives in this much-vaunted period of "scientific criticism." If he has already acquired a certain amount of solid information as to the nature and history of the critical faculty, he realizes that a critical school is not a peculiar appanage of the nineteenth century: that the best modern scholars admit that the so-called Dark Ages witnessed the agitation of nearly all the questions that have been mooted and disputed in our days of presumed intellectual pre-eminence. However, this real student perceives that modern days have beheld some advance in the apparatus wherewith man exercises his perceptive faculties; and he is grateful for his share in the improvement. But does the modern school of "scientific criticism" always deserve its name? Do all its professed devotees follow out in practice the principles inculcated by its canons, and which they really venerate so long as there is merely question of abstract theory? The Rationalistic school can not close its eyes to the fact that Catholic scholars and—alas! it must be admitted—*monks* founded the most solid and severe school of historical criticism which the world has yet admired; but, despite this fact, the arrogant tribe proclaims that a Catholic has no place in historical science, since he is necessarily subservient to prejudices which are foreign to science. This proclamation is made whenever it is asserted that a narrative of a miracle is a mere legend, and that legends have no rights in history. In other words, Dom Mabillon, Dom Bouquet, and other founders of that school of historical erudition to which the Benedictines have given their name, are to be dismissed as incorrigible dunces.

We are asked to believe that miracles have no place in

history : and therefore, since we do believe in miracles, to write ourselves down as outlaws in the historico-critical domain. But we would ask our Rationalistic friends what method of historical criticism one should follow when, in the course of his inquiries, he finds himself face to face with a presumed occurrence which is certainly strange, and which Catholics-insist upon regarding as a miracle. Is he to summarily dismiss the alleged fact as an impossibility? Prof. Huxley would reply in the negative. He frankly admits that the impossibility of miracles can not be sustained, although he knows of nothing which calls upon him to qualify the grave verdict of Hume : "There is not to be found in all history any miracle attested by a sufficient number of men of such unquestioned goodness, education, and learning as to secure us against all delusion in themselves ; of such undoubted integrity as to place them beyond all suspicion of any design to deceive others ; of such credit and reputation in the eyes of mankind as to have a great deal to lose in case of their being detected in any falsehood ; and, at the same time, attesting facts performed in such a public manner and in so celebrated a part of the world as to render the detection unavoidable ; all of which circumstances are requisite to give us full assurance in the testimony of men." We do not propose to question the necessity of adopting these stringent canons ; but, admitting the postulate of Hume, Huxley, and others of that ilk, we ask our Rationalistic friends how they proceed in the contingency just mentioned. If they are honest, they will candidly reply that when they meet a passage recording some strikingly strange event, their first and immediate proceeding is to note whether the narrative accords with their own preconceived ideas concerning the subject matter. They will avow that if, at this early stage of the so-called investigation, they discover that their notions have sustained no unpleasant shock, then, and only then, will they bring the canons of criticism to bear upon the point at issue. It is only when they have assured themselves that there is no likelihood of contagion from the new applicant for admittance into their self-arrogated domain, that they deign to lift the quarantine, and allow the detained to be-

come amenable to those canons which are at once invoked in every other class of cases. Then indeed will be heard the usual challenges: Where and how did this narrative originate? Who was its author? Does he merit credit? What means of verifying his story did he enjoy? and so on. We suppose, of course, that our Rationalistic friends are true students and well-equipped critics; for these interrogatories imply that an intricate investigation is imminent, and the audacious individual who would omit it in a matter of any moment would not deserve the name of scholar, let him be Catholic or Rationalist. Now we imagine that most of our readers have opined that the ordinary canons of criticism should be put into practice before any use of, or at least independently of the quarantine regimen which the advocates of "pure reason" so zealously enforce. We shall illustrate our position and that of these gentry by two examples.

In the year 484 Huneric, King of the Vandals, an obstinate Arian who was then master of the Mediterranean coast of Africa, and had begun a cruel persecution of all Catholics who would not deny the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, one day ordered that several of the recalcitrants should have their tongues plucked out at the roots. Six contemporary authors record that after their mutilation, the victims continued to proclaim the divinity of our Saviour in as audible and distinct tones as had hitherto been natural to them. These six writers are: Victor, bishop of Vite (1); the Emperor Justinian, the third successor of Zeno (2); Æneas of Gaza (3); Procopius (4); the Count Marcellinus (5); and Victor, bishop of Tunon (6). Furthermore, these six authors tell us that the martyrs proceeded to Constantinople, where the Emperor Zeno attested the prodigy. Four of these authors say that they examined the mouths of the victims, and that they heard them talk. It is useless to object that perhaps the entire tongues were not cut out (7); and that

(1) *History of the Vandalic Persecution*, Bk. v.

(2) *Code*, Bk. 1., tit. 27.

(3) *Dialogue "Theophrastes."*

(4) *War Against the Vandals*, Bk. 1., ch. 8.

(5) *Chronicle*.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) Thus urges the English translator of Mosheim.

the "Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences" of Paris make mention of two persons who had no tongues, but nevertheless could talk. In these latter cases there were remaining small portions of the original tongues; and even with those portions, as the examining surgeons reported, the unfortunates could talk only with very great effort, and their utterances were unintelligible articulations rather than comprehensible words. On the other hand, an inspection of the mouths of the martyrs of Typasis revealed not a vestige of tongue, and the emitted tones were precisely such as would have been produced by organs in normal condition. Now, if four eye-witnesses, men respectable by their worldly rank and by their learning and probity of life, do not form good historical testimony, we know not where to find any. Let the reader apply the criterions insisted upon by Hume and Huxley to the testimony in favor of this miracle. He will find that it will stand the test. Our witnesses could not have conspired to palm off an impudent fraud upon a credulous world; for some of them wrote in Africa, and others in Constantinople. And mark that they all agree in the substance of their narratives, while their simplicity and positiveness are indicative of sincerity.

The narrative for which we now ask attention concerns St. Martin of Tours. It is related by Sulpicius Severus, a writer with whom the learned among our opponents are well acquainted, and whom they esteem as a reliable authority, whenever their preconceptions do not interfere with their sanity of judgment. One day it happened that while St. Martin was walking in the neighborhood of Chartres, a weeping father besought him to give speech to his daughter, who had been mute from her birth. By the power of God the saint complied with the request; and one Evagrius, a priest who witnessed the event, related it to Severus, who recorded it in his book. Here is an author who is not only contemporary with the subject of his story, but who knew him well, who lived long among the disciples of the saint, and heard their testimony concerning the prodigies performed by him, and whom, therefore, we must suppose to have been well equipped for the work of preparing an accurate account of

the life and deeds of the great prelate. His book, multiplied into thousands of copies while he yet lived, has come down to us intact, and with as sure guarantees of authenticity as is possessed by any ancient manuscript. There is still preserved in Verona a copy which was contemporary with Sulpicius, an exceptional case in the matter of a work of the fourth century. Now, according to all the rules of ordinarily sound criticism, the narrative of Sulpicius Severus concerning the adduced miracle by St. Martin of Tours ought to inspire confidence in the credibility of that prodigy. But our Rationalistic friends will not view the matter in this light. With a contemptuous shrug they dismiss both the well-attested miracle of St. Martin and the equally well-proved prodigy which occurred among the Vandals. And why? Merely because they are presented as miracles. We are told that rules of criticism do not exist for such narratives. In fine, the results of an investigation which has been conducted in scrupulous accordance with canons adopted and consecrated by these same devotees of "pure reason" and of "scientific criticism" must go for nothing whenever those results contradict the Rationalistic manner of thought on the Deity, on the soul's immortality, or, for that matter, on anything else. And this is the same as saying that incredulist criticism diametrically reverses the position which criticism ought to occupy. Criticism should lead us to a knowledge of the truth. That which one may happen to regard as truth before any preliminary examination has been held, should not impose its limitations upon criticism. Why will not our Rationalistic critics be content with treating an alleged miracle as they would any other alleged fact? Why not subject it to the same verifying process? When the alleged miraculous appears on the pages of history, let all sincere critics pronounce judgment on it, with eyes directed simply on the question of fact, without any preliminary reflections, direct or indirect, upon even the existence of the supernatural. There will be sufficient time afterward to decide whether the event must be regarded in a natural or supernatural light. We ask for no more than this; and this is mere justice, plain common-sense.

We can scarcely believe that atheistical and Protestant critics will ever adopt this course. It is much more easy to settle every question as to the truth of an alleged miracle with a smart sally of words,—with a feeble attempt at a joke. Mayhap such conduct is prudent; for the frivolous travesties of ratiocination generally presented by the giants of agnostic criticism can not withstand the shock of the evidence which leads the Roman Congregation of Rites to proclaim the miraculous nature of a given occurrence. When Joseph II., the philosophistic German emperor and “sacristy-sweep,” visited the Eternal City during the Conclave of 1769 which resulted in the election of Pope Clement XIV., he had resolved, like a true philosophist, to ridicule everything papal; and among other enterprises, he sought to belittle the precautions taken by the Sacred Congregation in cases of canonization. Having requested to be allowed to examine some evidence regarding an alleged miracle then being considered by the tribunal, he obtained it, and taking it home, he subjected it to a hypercritically thorough investigation. The result was not what the pupil of Kaunitz had fondly anticipated; and he was constrained to remark, when returning the documents, that if all the testimony favoring the truth of “Roman miracles” were as conclusive as that which he had just weighed in his Rationalistic balance, no sane jurist would reject it. Judge of the emperor’s consternation when he learned that the Congregation of Rites had rejected as insufficient the evidence which he had deemed satisfactory. We do not know whether Joseph II. again feigned to condemn Roman views of the miraculous; but we do know that if our contemporaries of the pretendedly scientific school of historical criticism were to peruse the documents just mentioned, they would simply resort to ridicule. With the rank and file of men, ridicule succeeds where reason would fail. Few men are capable of sustaining the painful march of argumentation; and still smaller is the number of those who are above being influenced by a display of some verbal scintillations which pass for wit. Even educated and thinking persons not unfrequently succumb to raillery, and prefer a specious vivacity to unadulterated truth.

II.

THE MIRACLES OF LOURDES.

Commenting on the assertion, so often made by heterodox polemics, that if mathematical certainty could be predicated of even one of the many miracles which the Church indicates as forming one of her constant and necessary treasures, the entire world would probably be converted, Léon Gautier thus speaks of the entrancing but calmly critical book (1) which Henri Lasserre presented to Our Lady of Lourdes as an *ex-voto* in grateful recognition of a cure which he himself had received at her hands : “ Henri Lasserre has furnished us with the proof of this one miracle, chosen from among thousands. He has obstinately confined himself to one fact, closing his eyes to thousands of other splendors, in order to contemplate one alone. He has had sufficient patience to study only one star in a heaven studded with so many constellations ; but who knows that star so well as he knows it, and who has revealed it so well to men ? In *Our Lady of Lourdes* you will not discern any of those honeyed phrases which are so characteristic of the false mysticism of our day ; this work cannot be styled ‘ a good little book ’ ; it is nervous and virile, and it will make men ; every thing in it is strong, and above all, everything is demonstrated. Lasserre is a judge, and not a narrator ; he is a magistrate pronouncing from his tribunal a decision which is based on good reasons which have been duly weighed. His book is a scientific production ; it is a series of theorems which are endowed with splendid form ” (2). This one miracle which claimed the attention of Lasserre as though he had determined to satisfy the affectedly modest demand of heterodoxy—the one fact which, if proved to have been the effect of a real miracle, was supposedly to be pronounced a sufficient reason for the conversion of the sceptical world, was “ the incessant procession of pilgrims—men, women, entire populations—

(1) *Our Lady of Lourdes*. Paris, 1869.

(2) *Portraits of the Nineteenth Century*, Vol iii., p. 216. Paris, 1894.

coming from all sides to kneel before a grotto in the desert which had been unknown ten years previously, but which the word of a child had suddenly caused to be regarded as a divine sanctuary." Before the inception of his investigation, Lasserre had felt that the word "superstition" was rather unsatisfactory as an accompaniment to the scoff of the incredulists at the most wonderful phenomenon of the grand nineteenth century; the mouthing of that word, albeit an expeditious proceeding, was not to his taste: "Whether the miracle (of the apparitions to little Bernadette) was true or false; whether the cause of this vast concourse of persons was due to the divine action or to human error; a study of the matter was no less of consummate interest. This study did not at all suit the worshippers of 'free investigation'; they preferred a summary dismissal, a course at once more prudent and more easy, but which I could not regard as consistent with a zealous search for the truth, although I felt that it was risky to affirm with a haste equal to that of their denial. . . . The witnesses of what I have narrated are living; I have given their names and their residences, so that they may be questioned, and so that my own conclusions may be confirmed." The Church has as yet accorded no formal admission of the miraculous nature of the prodigies of Lourdes; just as in the cases of those which have rendered celebrated, although to a minor degree, the shrines of Genazzano, La Salette, St. Anne de Beaupré, and several others, we are not obliged to predicate anything worse than rashness and absence of common sense concerning the infinitesimally small number of Catholics who, after a study of the events which have recently conferred a halo of glory on the little Pyrenean town, persist in regarding it as a monument to human credulity. To those who have carefully reflected on the arguments adduced by Lasserre there can occur no good reason for hesitation in agreeing with Pope Pius IX., when, in an apposite Brief to the zealous but judicious Frenchman, His Holiness congratulated him on "having demonstrated the truth of the recent apparition of the Most Clement Mother of God," and on having so adduced his proofs, that "the luminous evidence of the event is strengthened by the

very objections advanced by human malice as it attempts to combat the divine mercy."

On Feb. 11, 1858, a girl of fourteen years named Bernadette Soubirous, accompanied by a younger sister and a little friend, left her home in Lourdes in order to search for drift-wood on the banks of the Gave. When a mere infant, Bernadette had been consigned to the care of a relative of her father, the poverty of the family rendering such a course necessary, and the health of the child demanding a life in the fields. She had returned to her parents' humble domicile only two weeks before the day when their persistent poverty forced her to seek for fuel with which the simple food of the family might be prepared. During the years of absence, her guardians had given no care to her religious instruction; she had, however, picked up that quantum of knowledge which is necessarily breathed in every Catholic atmosphere, and she was able to recite her Rosary with simple faith in the existence of a God who was her Creator and Protector, and of a Dear Lady in heaven who was the Mother of God, and wished to be the adopted Mother of every child of man. It was in order to procure for their daughter all necessary catechetical instruction, so that she might receive her First Communion, that the Soubirous had taken her home; she had already joined a class under the care of the pastor, but had not as yet attracted the attention of that clergyman. The Rosary had been continually in the hands of Bernadette, since the day when she had learned to regard it as a dear companion while she tended the sheep of her foster-parents; and when, on the occasion of which we speak, the trio of girls had arrived at the Massabielle Rocks, where they expected to find many branches and twigs which had drifted with the current, her companions were not astonished when they noticed that instead of bending to her task, she had fallen to her knees, seemingly forgetful of the purpose that had brought them to the river. The drama of Lourdes had begun. The sister and the friend of Bernadette had formed their little bundles, when they were approached by the apparently negligent child, who seemed to be strangely agitated as she demanded: "Did you see

anything?" Learning that the others had heard or seen nothing worthy of mention, she replied to the query as to her own experience with the words: "If you saw nothing I have nothing to say." Then the children started on their return; but the strange demeanor of the eldest excited the curiosity of the others to such a pitch that at length, with many injunctions of secrecy, she narrated what had befallen her. Standing above the grotto before which her sister, Marie, and their little friend, Jeanne, were gathering fuel, a beautiful lady had appeared to Bernadette. The personage, declared the child, was surrounded by an ineffable light—a light which was brighter than that of the sun, but which in no manner wounded the eyes. The apparition was that of a person about twenty years old, of medium height, and with a countenance of inexpressible sweetness; the figure was clothed in white, with a blue girdle, and the feet were bare, each one supporting a rose which seemed to be of gold; the hands of the lady were joined, as though she were praying, and from them a Rosary showed beads of a milk-white color. Bernadette said that when she first saw the lady, she instinctively raised the cross of her chaplet, trying to make with it the Sign of our Redemption; that, however, her trembling prevented the action; and that it was only when her visitor made the salutary sign, that she received sufficient strength to make it. Then, added Bernadette, she felt no more fear; she recited the five decades of her Rosary, and as she pronounced the final "Glory to the Father," the luminous figure vanished. Marie and Jeanne afterward declared that they had passed about fifteen minutes at their task while Bernadette was apparently wrapped in devotion; and this fact, together with the assertion of the favored child that she had recited five decades of the chaplet during her vision, would indicate that about fifteen minutes was the duration of the apparition. It is needless to state that Marie and Jeanne forgot their promise of secrecy; that they informed Mother Soubirous of the event, real or imaginary; and that the story was ridiculed, while they were forbidden to revisit the grotto. Two days passed, and Bernadette, whose recollection of "the beautiful lady" continually filled

her heart, begged her mother to withdraw the prohibition. The other girls supported the request ; the mother yielded ; and after the early Mass the little ones again repaired to the Massabielle Rocks, taking the precaution, however, to carry with them a bottle of Holy Water, for, as Mary and Jeanne declared with their relatively superior theological knowledge : “ If the lady is the devil, she will flee if we throw the Holy Water on her ; we need only say : ‘ If you come from God, approach ; if you are from the demon, depart ! ’ ” When they arrived at the grotto, Bernadette began the recitation of the Rosary, the others responding. Suddenly the countenance of Bernadette seemed to be transfigured ; her eyes gave forth a preternatural light, as she cried : “ Look ! She is there ! ” Marie and Jeanne saw nothing but the usual rocks and verdure ; but the bearer of the salutary water handed it to Bernadette, who quickly threw some drops on the figure, saying : “ If you come from God, approach ! ” She cared not, she afterward said, to add the alternative words of the objuratory formula ; for her heart told her that the implied suspicion would have been an outrage on the “ beautiful lady.” And indeed, declared Bernadette, she had no sooner spoken to the apparition than it moved a few steps toward her, smiling, as it were, at the precaution of the child. Then the children concluded their Rosary, the “ lady,” insisted Bernadette, appearing to join with them, for, as the girl said, she saw the beads gliding through the fingers of the apparition, just as they passed through her own. When the devotion was completed, the “ lady ” disappeared. As on the previous occasion, Marie and Jeanne had seen nothing of the vision. It was quite natural that this strange story should have soon become known in the town ; and while nearly all agreed with the Soubirons that their child was the victim of an hallucination, all were struck by the evident sincerity of the visionary, and by the wonderful change in her appearance and demeanor. Two of the townswomen, a “ Child of Mary ” named Antoinette Peyret, and a matron named Millet, believed that the apparition might be that of some suffering soul of Purgatory who was desirous of prayers for deliverance ; and accordingly they told Bernadette that

when she next saw the "lady," she should ask her what it was that was wanted, and that, lest Bernadette might make some mistake in reporting the answer, the "lady" should be requested to write her reply on a paper which the child would hand her. Bernadette, therefore, accompanied by Mlle. Antoinette and Mme. Millet, went to the grotto on February 18; the "lady" again appeared, the child's visage being transfigured as before, but her companions seeing or hearing nothing else which was preternatural. "She signs to me that I should go to her," cried Bernadette. Then Antoinette said to the girl: "Ask the lady whether she is displeased because we are with you; tell her that if she so desires, we shall retire." And Bernadette replied: "She says that you may remain;" whereupon the Child of Mary and the matron knelt on the sward at the side of Bernadette, and lighting a blessed candle which they had deemed it wise to bring, they told her to obey the sign to approach which the apparition had given. "Ask her who she is," they suggested; "ask her why she has come, and whether she is not some soul desiring that Masses be said for her deliverance from Purgatory. We are ready to do all that she may desire, if that be the case." Receiving from Antoinette the paper, pen, and ink, with which the "lady" was to make known her identity and her wishes, the child advanced toward the mysterious figure, a maternal smile seeming to encourage her steps. But the apparition receded as Bernadette progressed; it did not stop until it reached the entrance to the grotto, and then the little one stood on her toes, as though she were trying to place the writing materials in the hands of the "lady." The matron and the maiden now stepped forward, wishing to hear a possible conversation; but the child, without turning toward them, and as though she was obeying a command of her visitor, signed with her hand that they should move no further. Then the favored girl was heard to say: "My lady, if you have something to tell me, please write it down, and tell me also who you are." Bernadette afterward said that the "lady" smiled at this request, and replied: "It is not necessary that I should write what I intend to tell you; and I simply ask that you

do me the favor of coming here each day during the next fortnight." And the reply was cheerfully given : " I promise, my lady ; " whereupon, as Bernadette afterward said, she received the assurance : " And in my turn I promise to render you happy, not in this world, but in the other." Evidently the " lady " now told Bernadette that she might withdraw ; for the child backed toward her companions, and as she reached them she exclaimed to Antoinette, the Child of Mary : " Now she is smiling on you " ; and Lasserre is careful to note that from that moment Antoinette lived on that smile. " Ask her," cried the maiden, " whether it would displease her if we were to accompany you in your daily visits during the coming fortnight." A pause ; and then Bernadette announced that the " lady " had replied : " They, and others also, may come ; I wish to see everybody." Another moment ; and the child declared that the " lady " had gone, and with her the light that had always announced her coming. Thousands of persons, some merely curious, but many filled with the spirit of faith, came from the neighboring districts and attended the little Bernadette as she made her visits to the grotto during the two following weeks. None saw anything but a child in ecstasy ; a few were disposed to regard the matter as a comedy arranged by priestcraft ; others saw, or affected to see in Bernadette an illustration of the power of hallucination. The hypothesis of trickery was not long sustained ; good judges, who had seen the best efforts of the most eminent actresses of the world, declared that human art could not produce such manifestations as those presented by this ignorant and stolid peasant girl. But the supposition of hallucination, of catalepsy, was a simple method of explanation adopted by the philosophists who soon came from all parts of France to pronounce their dictum concerning the " visionary " of Lourdes. Meanwhile the clergy of the locality, realizing full well that while God has His miracles, nevertheless the devil has his prodigies, and man has his impostures, followed the course which is traditional with their order in similar circumstances. An appreciation of their attitude must result from reflection on the instruction given to his assist-

ants by the Abbé Peyramale, the senior *curé* of the town and Canton of Lourdes : " Let the impatient have their talk. If on the one hand we are strictly obliged to examine thoroughly the affair which is now progressing, on the other hand we are enjoined by the simplest kind of prudence not to mingle with the crowd now singing its canticles at the grotto. By holding aloof from these assemblages we will run no danger of sanctioning an illusion or a trick by our presence ; but neither should we manifest a hostile attitude, or condemn by a premature decision a thing which may be the work of God. As for attending these demonstrations as simple spectators, such a proceeding would be impossible to persons wearing the soutane. If the people saw a priest at the grotto, they would place him at their head, and insist on his intoning their chants ; and if he were to yield to the general pressure or to his own unreflecting enthusiasm, and were afterward to discover that the alleged apparitions were illusions or impostures, who does not see that religion would be compromised in the persons of its clergy ? And if a priest were to frequent the grotto, and nevertheless resist the popular clamor, would not the same lamentable conséquences follow, if perchance the hand of God were found to have been in the apparitions ? " And when many pious persons insisted on his change of front, the *curé* replied : " We clergymen can interfere only if there should result from this excitement some heresy, some superstition, or some disturbance ; then our duty would be marked out by the facts themselves, for by bad fruit we would recognize a bad tree, and we would perforce attend to the first symptom of disease in order to save our flocks. Up to the present moment no danger has presented itself ; on the contrary, the people have shown a spirit of recollection, and are content with prayers to the Holy Virgin, thus increasing in piety. We may well wait for the decision which episcopal wisdom will soon pronounce on this matter. If these events are the work of God, they need not our interference ; and the Omnipotent, without our help, will know how to arrange affairs in accordance with His designs. But if these events are not from God, the moment when we

should interfere, in order to denounce them, will be designated by Him. In a word, let us trust in Providence." Mgr. Laurence, the bishop of Tarbes, and therefore ordinary of Lourdes, approved the instruction given by the *curé-doyen*; and without a single exception the clergy checked their own possibly legitimate desire to share in the pious demonstrations of their flocks before competent ecclesiastical authority had spoken the permissive word. The attitude of the civil authorities, however, was less sensible than that of the clergy. The Second Empire, almost as entirely a child of the Revolution as the Third Republic which succeeded it, was far more Masonic than Christian in the choice of its governmental servants; and these gentry, since they were loud praters concerning liberty of conscience, declared that civilization was outraged by a claim that a miracle had occurred in the nineteenth century, and that in any case the Catholic people of France had no right to pray without governmental permission. On Feb. 21, the third day of the fortnight of interviews described by her "lady," when the apparition had particularly enjoined upon Bernadette to "pray for sinners," the child was arrested "in the name of the law" as she was leaving the church where she had assisted at Vespers. A thrill of indignation coursed through the veins of nearly all those who had that morning seen the visage of the little one illumined by what they deemed to be rays of heavenly origin; and they would have resisted the officers, had not a priest ordered them to "submit to the authorities." The multitude accompanied the child to the office of the Commissioner of Police; but the first great ordeal of the innocent was undergone behind closed doors. The official report of the interrogatory, sent by the Commissioner, Jacomet, to his superiors in Paris, was refused to Lasserre, so anxious were the Masonic agents of the government for a triumph of truth; but from M. Estrade, the local Receiver of the Indirect Taxes, whom Jacomet had allowed to assist at the examination, and who shared the views of the Commissioner, our author afterward obtained all the particulars. All the cunning of an experienced and more than usually brilliant detective, all the malice of an

adept of the Lodges, had not succeeded in confounding the simplicity of Bernadette; even when the officer, affecting furious anger, termed her a liar, and menaced her with imprisonment, the child had calmly answered: "Monsieur, you may order the police to lock me up, but I can say only what I have said; it is the truth" (1). On receiving a command to abstain from future visits to the grotto, she had replied that she had promised the "lady" to repair thither every day for a fortnight, and that even though she might wish to obey the Commissioner, an interior force would induce her to prefer obedience to the apparition. The result of the examination had been an order to François Soubirous to prevent his daughter from re-visiting the grotto. "She is a cunning child," Jacomet had remarked when Bernadette had departed. "She is sincere," Estrade had replied. Out of obedience to her father, who believed in the truth of the apparition, but who greatly feared the more tangible power of the government, Bernadette now endeavored "to resist the attraction toward the grotto which possessed her"; and on the morning of Feb. 23, she proceeded to school, sore at heart, feeling that she would displease God, whether she disobeyed her "lady" or disobeyed her parents. She received, of course, no consolation from the Sisters of the school, who believed, or affected to believe, that she was a victim of hallucination. But when the mid-day *Angelus* had been recited, and the pupils started for their dinners, the quandary of the little one was dissipated by a force, irresistible although maternally sweet, which impelled her to an interview with her whom she regarded as her Protectress. Hastening to the grotto, where some of the crowd of the morning still awaited her appearance, hoping that she would defy the Commissioner's prohibition, Bernadette as usual knelt and began her Rosary; but alas! her "lady" did not appear. The tears ran

(1) Estrade informed Lasserre that personally Bernadette was timidity itself, as might have been expected in the case of an ignorant peasant girl confronted by the dread powers of the police. Indeed, at this period of her life the child was always more or less confused in the presence of any stranger. But whenever there was a question of the reality of her vision, the girl manifested a strength of mind seldom found in persons wise with the wisdom of the world; and on such occasions she always replied without any indication of timidity, and with invincible firmness, although, even then, she showed the virginal modesty which leads its possessor to avoid the notice of the curious.

down her cheeks as she exclaimed: "Have I done something wrong, and thus prevented her coming?" She waited in painful anxiety for some moments, and then turned toward her home, many of the spectators declaring that the Commissioner had gained his point—that the foolish child would have no more visions. But one joy was hers when she appeared before her father; when he heard that she had disregarded his command because she was impelled by an interior and unconquerable force, he declared that his daughter had never told a lie, and that it was not for him or her mother to contradict the will of God. Bernadette might go to the grotto whenever she desired to go. In vain Jacomet now threatened to imprison the entire Soubirous family, if his orders were again violated; Bernadette innocently declared that she could not disobey her "lady," and both the parents upheld her determination. In this emergency the Commissioner sent a report of his predicament to the imperial Procurator of the Department; and that wise official replied that there was no pretext for police interference unless the crowds became "disorderly"—a view which encouraged an officer of a body which knew well how to manufacture disorder for its own purposes. On the morning after her bitter disappointment, Bernadette prostrated herself again before the grotto, holding a blessed candle in the hand which was not occupied with the Rosary; and scarcely had her knees pressed the ground, when the ineffable expression of her countenance showed the bystanders that she was again in communion with her mysterious visitant. As the girl afterward swore in her declarations, the "lady" sweetly called her by name, and then said: "My child, I have something to tell you, and to you alone; do you promise me that you will repeat it to no one?" (1). When the promise had been given, the

(1) Concerning this secret, Lasserre asks: "What secret could there be between the Mother of the Sovereign Creator of heaven and earth and the daughter of the miller Soubirous; between that lowly child and the resplendent Majesty of her who ranks after God alone; between a little shepherdess and the Supreme Queen of the realms of the Infinite? Certainly we dare not divine it, we would consider it a sacrilege to listen at the doors of heaven. Nevertheless, we may note the profound and delicate knowledge of the human heart and the maternal wisdom which induced the august speaker to communicate some secret to Bernadette, before she conferred the public mission that the girl was to fulfill. Favored with wonderful visions, charged with a message from the other world to the priests of the True God, this childish heart, hitherto so peaceful and so solitary, found itself

"lady" communicated to her protegee that secret which Bernadette would never divulge; and then she said: "Go now and tell the priests that I desire that a chapel be built here in my honor." The vision disappeared, and paying no heed to the questions of the crowd, the most favored of all the Children of Mary of our day hurried to the residence of the Abbé Peyramale, with whom as yet she had not exchanged a word. "*M. le Curé*, I have a message for you from the lady who appears to me at the grotto of Massabielle." When the worthy pastor heard this announcement, delivered with calm assurance, he deemed it wise to feign some roughness of manner, and said: "Ah! you are the one that pretends to have visions, and who runs around the country with foolish tales. Well; tell me all about these extraordinary adventures, the truth of which nothing seems to prove." The heart of the child sank a little as she heard the harsh tones of one who was celebrated for his kindness to the lowliest of his parishioners; but in all simplicity she repeated the story of the grotto. The accents of sincerity impressed the priest, and as he afterward said, had there been merely a question of the opinion of Monsieur Peyramale, he would have yielded full credence to Bernadette; but the girl was addressing the

suddenly in the midst of dense crowds, and subjected to great agitations. She was about to be contradicted by many, to be threatened by some, to be ridiculed by others; and what was to be most dangerous for her, to be venerated by a large number. The day was approaching when multitudes would acclaim her, and dispute among themselves for bits of her clothes as though they were relics of a saint; when illustrious persons would kneel before her, and ask for her blessing; when on the faith of her simple word a magnificent temple was to be erected, imposing pilgrimages to be undertaken, and grand processions to be held. Thus this poor child of the people was about to suffer the most terrible trial which could assail her humility, a trial in which she might lose forever her simplicity and all the sweet and modest virtues which had grown in the days of her solitude. The very graces which she had received were about to be for her a redoubtable danger, a danger which more than once has conquered souls favored by the honors of heaven. Even St. Paul was tempted by pride after his visions, and had need of the afflictions which came from the evil spirit of the flesh in order that his heart might not be exalted. The Holy Virgin wished to secure the child of her predilection without any approach, on the part of the wicked angel, toward the lily of purity which was warmed by the rays of her favor. What does a mother do, when danger menaces her child? She presses her more tenderly to the maternal bosom, and softly whispers in the little ear that there is no need for fear, since the mother is near. And when the mother is forced to leave the child alone for a moment, she murmurs: 'I shall not be far away; only extend your hand, and it will meet mine.' So did the Mother of us all for Bernadette. All this did the Queen of Heaven to the little child of Lourdes when she told her that secret. . . . The secret became for Bernadette the surest of safeguards. Theology does not teach us this; we learn it from a study of the human heart."

Abbé Peyramale, the pastor of a large flock which he was obliged to guard from snares. He persevered with his rough demeanor, and asked: "And yet you do not know the name of this lady?" And when the child replied that she had not yet learned the name, the priest said: "Those who believe you imagine that she is the Blessed Virgin Mary. But do you not know that if you tell untruths in this matter you are in the path which leads far from heaven?" After a few moments of reflection, the abbé continued: "Nothing compels me to believe that this lady is the Queen of Heaven. Tell her that before I can undertake to procure the fulfilment of her request, she must give me some proof of her power." Again he mused awhile, and then he said: "You tell me that the apparition has at her feet a wild rose-bush, an eg-lantine which grows from between the rocks. Well; we are now in the month of February, and you may say to the lady that if she wants that chapel, she will cause that bush to flower." When Jacomet and the other incredulists of Lourdes heard of this interview, they said that the abbé had asked the mysterious lady for her "passport." Estrade, the incredulist collector of taxes whom we have heard avowing that Bernadette impressed him as being at least sincere in her belief in the vision, was one of the curious who joined the throng of devotees on the morning after the child's delivery of the message to the *curé*; and it may be well to let him give his own account of what he saw, and of the effect that the spectacle produced on his deeply rooted infidelity. His remarks were first published by Louis Veuillot in the *Univers* of July 28, 1858, and afterward he himself amplified the narrative for the benefit of Lasserre: "I arrived on the scene, bent on having a good laugh at a farce or at some grotesque incidents.... Thanks to my elbows, I easily obtained a place in the foremost rank. As the sun arose, Bernadette appeared. I was next to her; and I noticed in her childish features that character of sweetness, of innocence, and of deep tranquillity, which had impressed me when I saw her at the office of the Commissioner. She knelt without any ostentation or embarrassment, without any attention to the crowd, absolutely as though she were alone in a church

or in an unfrequented forest. She began to pray on her Rosary, and suddenly her features seemed to receive and to reflect a mysterious light; her looks became fixed on the opening of the grotto, and she became radiant with happiness. I looked at that spot, but I discerned absolutely nothing but some leafless branches of eglantine; but nevertheless, all my previous prejudices, all my philosophical objections, all my preconceived negations, were immediately destroyed as I looked on the transfiguration of that child, and I felt that in spite of myself some extraordinary sentiment had mastered me. I had an irresistible intuition, a certainty, that some mysterious Being was there; my eyes did not see it, but my soul, as well as the souls of innumerable others there present, saw it with the light of evidence. Yes, I avow it; a Divine Being was there. Suddenly and completely transfigured, Bernadette was no longer Bernadette; she was an angel from heaven. . . . Her attitude, her slightest gestures, the manner, for instance, in which she made the Sign of the Cross; all these had a dignity and a *grauder* more than human. . . . She seemed to fear, lest she might lose, for a single instant, the ravishing spectacle that she was contemplating. . . . I held my breath, as though I might thus hear the conversation between the apparition and the girl. Bernadette was listening with an expression of the most profound respect, or rather of absolute adoration, mingled with a limitless love and the sweetest of ravishments, although at times a tinge of sadness was observed. . . . If the denizens of heaven make the Sign of the Cross, assuredly they make it as Bernadette did during her ecstasy; she seemed, in some sort, to embrace the Infinite. At one moment, she moved on her knees from where she had been praying to some distance within the grotto—about ten yards of a rather steep ascent; and those near her distinctly heard her murmur: ‘Penance, penance!’ A few moments afterward she arose, and took the road to the town. Then again she was but a poor little child in rags who appeared to have had no part in this wonderful drama.” Bernadette immediately visited the *curé*, telling him that she had given his message to the “lady,” and that the reply had been a smile. “Then,” added the child, “she told me to

pray for sinners, and asked me to enter the grotto. Three times she cried: 'Penance, penance!'; and I repeated the words as I moved on my knees toward her. In the grotto she revealed to me a second secret which is personal to myself. Then she vanished." When Bernadette prostrated herself at the grotto on the following day, the "lady" raised her and embraced her, saying: "My daughter, I wish to confide to you a third secret which, like the others, you will keep to yourself." Then the apparition told the child to go to the spring and drink, and to eat some of the grass there growing. No one had ever seen a spring in the neighborhood, and it seemed to Bernadette that her visitor meant the little brook which coursed before the grotto on its way to the Gave. But the mysterious one cried: "I told you to drink from the spring. It is not there, but here"; and the "lady" pointed toward the dry spot at the right side of the grotto, toward which the child had gone on her knees on the previous day. Wondering but promptly the girl went to the place, but found no indication of a spring; whereupon the "lady" made a sign that the clay should be scraped. The hundreds of spectators were truly puzzled when they witnessed this operation, and many began to suspect that the child's brain had become affected by the strain of her experiences. Their wonder grew when they saw her apparently drinking from the palm of her hand, for they knew that water had never been seen in that place. Afterward Bernadette said that when she had scraped the earth, she noticed that the spot appeared to be damp; that in a moment some drops of water oozed forth; that then she formed a little cavity, and that soon it was filled with the fluid; that although the water naturally was muddy, after three trials she conquered her repugnance out of love for her "lady," and swallowed some of it; that while she was eating some of the grass, the minute reservoir which she had dug was overflowed, and a little stream began its flow toward the Gave; that finally the apparition beamed on her with a smile of satisfaction, and disappeared. When the girl had come out of her ecstasy, the crowd rushed to the new fountain, and found that it was continually growing more abundant; regarding it as mirac-

ulous, they drank of it, and many carried some of it to their homes. The news travelled quickly; and as that day, Feb. 25, a Thursday, was market-day in Tarbes, the city was well filled with strangers. Hundreds of persons therefore left Tarbes during the night, in order to be present at the events which the next morning would probably bring forth at the grotto of Lourdes; and at the first dawn of Feb. 26, more than five thousand acclaimants greeted Bernadette with cries such as "See the saint!" while the nearest to her reverently touched her garments as she passed to her accustomed station. But the more devout, and especially the more perspicacious of the Catholic spectators, were not surprised when, after the popular attempt at canonization, the innocent subject of the honor seemed to have lost her connection with the world of heaven. On that morning the child appeared to be no more than any ordinary denizen of earth; no ecstatic radiance was visible on her countenance; and after the usual recitation of her Rosary, she announced that her "lady" had not manifested herself. Undoubtedly, remarked those who were versed in the science of God's dealings with the children of grace, the sweet Mother of the humble had deigned to remove a temptation to vain-glory from the daughter of her predilection. But when the multitude returned to Lourdes, they learned that strange rumors were current concerning some wonderful cures which had been operated by the use of the recently revealed water; and the ensuing days beheld a multiplication of these apparent instances of divine approbation of the claims of *la voyante*. People talked of how the hand of Jeanne Crassus, paralyzed for ten years, had immediately recovered its vitality when bathed with the water of the new spring. Cures had also been effected, it was said, in the cases of Marie Daube, Bernarde Soubie, and Fabien Baron, whom various maladies had rendered bedridden for several years. The most remarkable of the cures, because its subject had been deeply pitied in all that part of France for twenty years, was Louis Bourriette, a poor man who, while working in a quarry in 1838, had been a victim of an explosion which almost entirely destroyed the sight of his right eye, and so undermined

his constitution that he could never afterward work more than sufficiently to barely sustain his life, and that of a daughter. At the time of which we are speaking, when Bourriette closed his left eye, he could not distinguish a man from a bush; and it was greatly feared that the sound organ would soon be affected in a similar manner. The poor man heard of the supposedly miraculous virtues of the new spring, and he asked his daughter to bring him some of the water. "If the Holy Virgin is the author of that spring," said he, "she will restore my sight." The water was brought; raising his heart to God, and imploring the intercession of Mary, the suppliant bathed his eye, and immediately he could distinguish objects with considerable clearness; he continued the application at intervals until the following morning, when he announced to his physician, Dr. Dozous, who had attended him from the day of the accident, that his sight was perfect. The medical man, who had hitherto believed in little save human science, shrugged his shoulders, and told his patient that the diseased eye could never regain its powers; that all of the doctor's care had been extended merely in order to assuage Bourriette's pain. "But I do not say that you have cured me," cried the exultant one; "it is the Holy Virgin of the Grotto that has cured me." Dozous having persisted in his incredulity, and Bourriette having reiterated his declaration that he saw well with his right eye, the physician quietly tore a leaf from his pocket-diary, and having written a few words thereon, he handed the paper to the obstinate man, telling him to close his left eye, and to repeat what had been written. "If you do," proclaimed Dozous, "I shall believe what you have said." Bourriette looked with his right eye alone at the paper, and immediately read aloud: "Bourriette has an incurable amaurosis; he will never be cured." Then the physician announced that however he himself and his brethren of the Faculty might be displeased with the denouement, he was forced to admit that the cure was not ascribable to natural influences; and both he and Dr. Verges, a professor in the Faculty of Montpellier, so testified before the episcopal commission which afterward examined the manifestations at the grotto.

"Bourriette was not cured," cried some of the "philosophers of the day. "Bourriette's eye was never diseased," exclaimed others. "Bourriette imagines that he sees with the right eye," insisted many. "There is no such a person as Bourriette," proclaimed a few.

During the next few interviews between the "lady" and Bernadette, there occurred nothing which the child thought proper to reveal ; but on March 2, she again waited on the *cure*, and insisted that he should see to the construction of the chapel demanded by her celestial visitor. The time had come when the Abbé Peyramale could yield to his natural expansiveness of heart when talking with the maiden ; but he was still governed by prudence when he replied : "I believe you now, my daughter ; but it is not my province to grant your request. That concession depends on the decision of our bishop, to whom I have submitted a report of all that has happened at the grotto." But Mgr. Laurence, the bishop of Tarbes, one of the most prudent and judicious members of the French episcopate of that day, thought, as he declared in a Pastoral published at the time, that "the hour had not arrived, when the episcopal authority should intervene in the matter"; he contented himself with the receipt of daily reports, made by witnesses of undoubted probity and of approved capability, concerning all that happened at the Massabielle Rocks, and concerning every rumored cure that took place. Bernadette bore this delay with her habitual patience and serene confidence that her "lady" would work all things well. But the civil authorities of Lourdes and its neighborhood were less calm than the prelate, and less serene than Bernadette; even the Baron Massy, Prefect of the Hautes-Pyrenees, an excellent Catholic, but whose administrative zeal seemed to lead him to a belief that, as Lasserre expresses the idea, "the part of God (in the affairs of France) was regulated by both the Orthodox Creed and the Concordat," conceived it to be his duty to order the police and garrison of Lourdes to hold themselves prepared for any event, and to watch, by day and by night, the grotto and all its approaches. The government entered on a course of insulting suspicion, but the people continued to manifest

their interest and devotion, merely smiling at the regiment of cavalry which "preserved order"; fortunately the immense majority of the soldiers and the police were good Catholics, and the chagrin of the people was neutralized by the air of sincere respect which both police and soldiers manifested toward the grotto, and especially toward Bernadette. On March 4, at least twenty thousand persons knelt with the *voyante* as she began her customary recitation of the Rosary; and in the afternoon, five or six hundred of these were still praying, when there burst on the scene a distracted mother, carrying a dying child two years of age. Croisine Boulhorts, to the great fright of her husband and sympathizing neighbors, had snatched the little consumptive from its dying couch, crying that she would place its emaciated frame in the hands of the Lady of the Grotto. Praying aloud to the Mother of the Afflicted, the wretched parent ascended on her knees to the miraculous spring; she stripped the babe, apparently in its last agony, of every bit of clothing; and then having made the Sign of the Cross over herself and the little body, she plunged the babe, all save its head, into the glacial water. Turning indignantly to those who cried that she was killing her infant, and who tried to lift it from the spring, she exclaimed: "Leave me! I must do what I can; the good God and the Holy Virgin will do the rest." The crowd retired a few steps, saying that the babe was already dead, and that the crazy mother should be humored. During fifteen minutes the immobile, corpse-like frame remained in its icy bed; then the mother carried it to her cottage. "You have killed him"; cried the father. "No," replied Croisine; "the Holy Virgin has cured him." So it had happened; the babe slept well that night, and in the morning he who had never walked a step was running around the cottage. Dr. Peyrus, the physician who had attended the child, and Drs. Verges and Dozous, testified to the supernatural nature of this cure, drawing attention to the length of the immersion, to the immediate effect, and to the acquisition of the power of walking, which the babe had never evinced, and which he continued to enjoy. Several other miracles occurred at this time, but we shall adduce only

that of Blaise Maumus, who was cured of an enormous wen by plunging his hand into the spring, the wen disappearing immediately ; that of a widow named Crozat, who was cured of an all but absolute deafness by an application of the water ; and that of a cripple named Auguste Bordes, whose crooked leg was restored to its natural form and pristine strength by the same means. In the face of all these at least presumed facts, what course was pursued by the incredulist servants of the imperial government ? Lasserre replies : " The Administration, the Parquet (the prosecuting officers), the Police, did nothing ; but turning aside, they deemed it prudent to not risk a public examination of facts which were notorious throughout the land. In the presence of such striking prodigies, what does this abstention signify ? It shows that incredulism is prudent. Even amid its extravagancies and its passions, the spirit of party has a certain instinct of self-preservation which warns it of danger when it is on the point of falling into that danger. . . . A change of front then takes place, and a petty warfare is undertaken on a less perilous field. In the military order, such a course is proper ; but in the order of ideas, similar prudence is scarcely compatible with good faith. It implies a doubt and even disquietude as to the truth of its own thesis. Nay, I must say that it indicates a suspicion that what it combats is true. . . . In spite of the many invitations extended, incredulism turned a deaf ear to everything which would procure a public debate concerning these wonderful cures. It affected a complete indifference in regard to striking phenomena which were objects of the senses, and which were notorious and easy of study ; it preferred to advance theories on hallucinations—to occupy a very indistinct field, where one could declaim at his ease without being troubled by the brutality of visible, palpable, and irrefutable facts. In fine, the Supernatural offered debate ; Free Investigation declined that debate, sounded a retreat, and thus proclaimed its defeat." Of course the incredulists used ridicule as an argument against the " besotted " Catholics who proclaimed their belief in miracles by their belief in the prodigies of Lourdes ; and the same devotees of Free

Thought did not forget, on this occasion, their favorite weapon, brazen mendacity. Thus, the governmental journal *L'Ère Imperiale*, in its issue of March 6, asked its readers to believe that the partisans of Bernadette proclaimed that during her ecstasies a dove continually fluttered over her head; that those partisans declared that their idol had given sight to a blind child, by blowing into his eyes; that they insisted that when a certain peasant of the vale of Campan had refused to credit the assertions of the *voyante*, she changed his sins into snakes, and that the reptiles so efficaciously devoured the irreverent wretch, that not an atom of his body remained.

Since the last day of the fortnight designated by her "lady" for the visits to the Massabielle Rocks, Bernadette had gone thither several times before she again beheld the apparition. It was on March 25, the Feast of the Annunciation, that she was once more raised almost to the height of heavenly bliss, and it was then that she obtained the answer to the question which the Abbé Peyramale had told her to propound to her mysterious visitor. As soon as the "lady" had appeared, the child expressed the great desire of her heart: "Please, my Lady, do tell me your name, and who you are!" Thrice the demand was repeated, but saving an indulgent smile, no answer was vouchsafed; however, the fourth repetition was followed by a declaration which transcended the very untheological capacity of the still ill-informed mind of Bernadette. Separating her hands, which had remained joined in the attitude of prayer as they had been during all the apparitions, the "lady" allowed them to fall to her side; then raising them toward heaven, while an ineffable expression of gratitude shone on her countenance, she exclaimed: "*I am the Immaculate Conception*," and immediately disappeared. Bernadette, as we have observed, was still very imperfectly informed concerning even the essential truths of religion; she had never heard of an "Immaculate Conception"; and as she wended her way toward the house of the *curé*, she continually repeated the words, so that being well-fixed in her memory, they might be correctly reported to the priest. Undoubtedly the reader has

wondered why the Blessed Virgin used that peculiar phraseology, instead of one of the apparently more correct expressions: "I am the Immaculate Mary," or "I am she who was conceived without sin." The reader may possibly have suspected that the phrase ascribed to Mary might have indicated that it had originated in the still comparatively rude mind of Bernadette. If such an objection has been conceived, it must be remembered that not only such an idea as that of an Immaculate Conception was utterly foreign to the imagination of the *voyante*, but that the words of Mary admirably, and more forcibly than those ordinarily used, expressed her wonderful and unique prerogative. As Lasserre remarks: "These words sound as though Mary, if she wished to say that she is pure, would not say: 'I am pure,' but rather: 'I am purity'; as though she would not say: 'I am a virgin,' but rather, 'I am Living and Incarnate Virginity.'" On April 7, the Wednesday after Easter, when Bernadette knelt at the grotto in the presence of nearly ten thousand persons (1), she held in her hand a very long lighted candle which she rested on the ground. When the visitor appeared, and the ecstasy began, the child, in order to join her hands in suppliant adoration, slipped them up to the lighted end of the candle, holding it between her wrists, while the fingers were interlaced in the flame which was plainly seen curling around them and waving with the gentle motion of the air. She remained for fifteen minutes, according to Dr. Dozous, who took care to time this feature of her ecstasy, insensible to any pain. When the ecstasy terminated, the nearest persons seized her hand, and examined it; there was no sign of its having been burnt. Then one of the spectators, having taken the candle from her, held the flame quite near to her hand; whereupon she retreated a step, crying: "Monsieur, you are burning me," and then calmly joined the companions of her everyday life. And here we must note that although the name of "Bernadette the *voyante*" was already on many thousands

(1) In Letter No. 86, written by the Mayor of Lourdes to the Prefect, it is stated that on this occasion governmental agents had been appointed to count the number in attendance; and that it was found that there were 9,060 persons, of whom 4,238 were strangers to Lourdes.

of lips; although she was continually visited by many of the most illustrious persons in society; her simplicity was ever as marked as it had been when she was tending the sheep of her foster-parents. None of the children in her school enjoyed play more than Bernadette; in fine, until the day when she donned the robe of a Sister of Charity, and was freed from the admiring persecutions of the world, that world saw nothing in her that was not child-like. Some of her remarks, however, were quaint and very much to the point. Thus, when M. de Ressaiguier, a counsellor-general and former deputy for the Basses-Pyrénées, brought several ladies of the *élite* to see her, and then told her that she uttered an untruth when she asserted that her "lady" addressed her in the dialect of the Pyrenees, since "the good God and the Holy Virgin do not know that miserable language." She asked: "If they do not know it, how comes it that we know it?" When the lawyer asked her whether the Blessed Virgin was as beautiful as the ladies there present, she made a little pout of something like disdain, saying: "Ah! the beauty of Our Lady is very different from *tout cela*." When she was asked what she would do, if the *curé* were to forbid her to go any more to the grotto, she replied that she would obey; and when she was asked what she would do, if, after that prohibition, her "lady" should command her to go, she answered: "I would beg for permission from the *curé*."

On April 28, there occurred at Nay, in the Basses-Pyrénées, one of the most striking of the events which were then corroborating the truth of the asseverations of Bernadette. Two years previously, a boy named Henri Busquet, then thirteen years of age, had been afflicted with a violent typhoid fever. The malady left him with an abscess, as large as an ordinary fist, which covered the right side of his neck; and the pain was at times so terrific, that he would roll on the floor in his agony. Dr. Subervielle, one of the most renowned practitioners in Southern France, had tried every known remedy in vain, when the boy insisted on being taken to the Grotto of Lourdes. It was deemed impossible for the lad to live after such a journey, and therefore he besought his father to procure for him some of the water

from the holy spring ; and when it had been brought, Henri removed his bandages, bathed the ulcer with the water, although the physicians had warned him never to use cold fluids for that purpose, and then tried to compose himself to sleep. His rest during that night was perfect ; and in the morning, he found that his pains had vanished entirely, and that a scar, which appeared like one that had been formed years before, was all that reminded him of his terrible ulcer. Occurrences such as this, and there were many of them, enraged the philosophists of the day ; and they racked their brains in order to devise some means of checking what they termed the unbridled audacity of the fanatics. Mesmerizers undertook to subject Bernadette to their influences, trusting that they might procure from her avowals of fraudulent practices ; but she proved to be insusceptible to the magnetic fluid. Traps were laid in the hope that it might be shown that the Soubirous were exploiting certain powers of their daughter for purposes of gain ; but it was notorious that the family remained as poor as they had ever been, and that they had refused to accept all donations which their many visitors had pressed upon them. Then a grand idea was conceived ; Bernadette was to be pronounced a victim of hallucination, and for that reason was to be confined in a madhouse. The imperial Prefect was induced to order an examination of the child by two physicians, each of them a determined foe of the supernatural ; but the result of the investigation was a declaration that while the girl was asthmatic, her brain had no lesions, her nerves were normal, and all her faculties were in perfect equilibrium. However, added the wise men, she *might be subject to hallucinations*. Armed with this *might*, the imperial Prefect inaugurated the Month of May in one of the most Catholic portions of France by an address to all the mayors of the Canton of Lourdes, in which, according to the official journal, *L'Ère Imperiale* of May 8, "he showed how the scenes at the grotto had *compromised the good name of religion* ; and how the establishment of an oratory at the grotto had constituted an *illegality*, since the law forbids the erection of a public chapel or oratory without the previous consent of the government."

And then this zealous official announced that he had ordered the arrest of Bernadette as a "disseminator of false news," the said Bernadette to be confined for the present in the asylum in Tarbes ; and he also informed the mayors that he had ordered the removal of every object of devotion from the grotto. Afraid of the effect of this ukase on his fellow-citizens, the Mayor of Lourdes besought the imperial procurator, Dutour, to accompany him on a visit to the Abbé Peyramale, in order to enlist that influential clergyman in the cause of "legality" ; but as he must have anticipated, the priest interrupted the explanations of the procurator with this indignant protest : "That child is innocent, sir ; and the proof of her innocence is found in the fact that you, in spite of interrogatories of every kind, have discovered no pretext for prosecuting her." The procurator vainly adduced a number of sophisms in favor of the "legality" of the prefect's action ; the *curé* protested : "This prosecution is inexcusable. As priest and as *curé-doyen* of the Canton of Lourdes, I belong to all, more especially to the weak ; and if I see an armed man attacking a child, I shall defend that child, even at the risk of my life, and even though that man were the prefect, armed with an iniquitous passage of an iniquitous law. Go, sir, to Baron Massy, and tell him that his police will find me at the door of this poor family, and that his agents will trample me under their feet, before they succeed in touching a hair on the head of Bernadette ! As for the dismantling of the grotto, let the prefect, if he wishes, in the name of the law and of his own piety, appropriate the objects which innumerable Catholics have dedicated to the honor of the Holy Virgin. The faithful will grieve, and will be indignant ; but the prefect may rest assured that the inhabitants of these districts respect the civil authority, even when it is delirious. They say that already at Tarbes cavalry are in the saddle, awaiting the prefect's signal to charge on Lourdes. Well, let the troopers dismount ; for hotheaded though my people may be, lacerated though their hearts may be, they obey my words. If the troops do not come, I answer for the tranquillity of my flock ; if the soldiers show themselves, I shall not be responsible for the consequences." The mayor

reported these words to Massy, and declared that he would not act in the matter of the proposed arrest of Bernadette; that if the prefect refused to reconsider his determination, the outrage would necessarily be committed by some other person than the mayor. The prefect did reconsider his resolution, and Bernadette was not disturbed; but Jacomet, the Commissioner of Police, was ordered to despoil the grotto. Lasserre gives many interesting details of this sacrilegious operation which horrified the thousands of weeping spectators. We merely note that the woman who mercenarily loaned her cart to Jacomet for the transportation of the sacred furniture, after every other owner of carts and horses had refused to be his accomplices even for gain, fell from her hay-loft on the following day, and broke several of her ribs; that at the same time a joist crushed both feet of the man who had loaned to Jacomet a hatchet with which to demolish the railing which had been placed around the grotto. These occurrences were, of course, mere coincidences in the eyes of the philosophists; and the contrary opinion of the devout served only to impel the foes of the supernatural to adopt more subtle means for the annihilation of "superstition." On June 8, the prefect issued a decree whereby, after a declaration that he was acting only *in the interests of religion* by obviating a repetition of the *regrettable* scenes lately witnessed at the Massabielle Rocks; that it was the duty of the civil authority to safeguard the public health by a careful examination of *mineral waters*; and that finally it was well known that no person could exploit mineral waters without the previous consent of the government; he prohibited all persons from taking water from the spring at the grotto, and for the more efficacious observance of his decree he ordered that the local authorities should not allow any person to approach the grotto. But in spite of this decree; in spite of the barriers which were erected around the grotto; and in spite of the guards (very frequently, it must be admitted, devoted sons of Mary); the salutary waters continued to be drawn from the spring, and the local magistrate, one Duprat, vainly tried to put an end to the "evil" by rendering each culprit responsible not only for his or her particular fine of

five francs, but also for the fines—*en solidarité*—of all the other criminals. Not every recalcitrant, however, was dragged before this magisterial genius; if Massy, Jacomet, and their brethren knew nothing about theological *epikeia*, they realized the propriety of admitting an “exception of persons.” When the wife of Admiral Bruat, the governess of the Prince Imperial, made known her identity after her arrest, she was dismissed with profuse apologies.

By this time the philosophists had come to the conclusion that the supposition of hallucination could no longer be presented as accounting for the wonderful cures effected at Lourdes; they now suddenly opined that those cures were real indeed, but that they were purely natural effects of wondrously powerful medicinal waters. On April 28, Dr. Lary, a worthy physician of the Canton who disbelieved in the miraculous, had written to a colleague as follows concerning one of the prodigies: “This woman, Mme. Galop, had been so afflicted by rheumatism in her left hand, that she could grasp nothing with it. . . . For eight months she had neither made her bed, nor sewed a stitch; but after one trip to Lourdes, where she used the water internally and externally, she sewed with great ease, she made her bed, she drew water from the well, she washed and carried her china to the table—in fine, she used her left hand nearly as well as the right. . . . She intends to return to the grotto, and I shall see that she calls on you, so that you may be convinced of the truth of what I have said. On examination you will perceive that she has an incomplete ankylosis of the metacarpophalangeal articulation of the index-finger—the sole remnant of the olden trouble. If a reiterated use of the water of the grotto banishes this morbid condition, the disappearance will be a proof of the alkalinity of that water.” In fact, after the second visit to the grotto, Mme. Galop was entirely cured; and the letter of Dr. Lary was immediately quoted by the incredulists as having furnished the explanation of all the wonders of Lourdes. These gentry were determined to recognize nothing supernatural; anything *extra-natural* was welcome, but on no account was any credit to be given to God. They feigned to regard as of no value the reflections of the

"fanatics" on the fact that this presumed "medicinal" water had been discovered by Bernadette while she was in a state of ecstasy superinduced by her celestial visions (real or false), and that the discovery seemed to prove the heavenly origin of the apparition. They laughed at the assertion that Bernadette discovered the spring while she obeyed the supernatural injunction (real or imaginary) to go and drink at that spot where water had never flowed. Great was their glee when the chemist of the Administration, Latour de Trie, after an analysis of the water, declared that "its constituent substances showed that *perhaps* medical science would in time perceive that the spring possessed special curative power" (1); but it was rather unfortunate for the *éclat* of the fancied triumph of the prefect, that he had forgotten to warn his official journal of the imminent triumph of chemistry over superstition, and that because of that neglect, on the very day when Latour de Trie submitted his report, May 6, the zeal of *L'Ere Imperiale* led it to qualify as mere "dirty water" that which the governmental chemist was lauding as probably beneficent: "It goes without saying that the famous grotto floods our Department with miracles; at every turn in the fields you hear people talking about the thousands of cures which have followed the use of this *eau malpropre*. Very soon physicians will have lost their occupation; all rheumatics and consumptives will have disappeared from the Department." The governmental chemist could have afforded a pitying smile to the unscientific journalist; but his own report appeared unsatisfactory to many who considered the variety and suddenness of so many of the operated cures. And a chemist of some repute, Thomas Pujo, soon followed by many others, even insisted that the analysis effected by himself had demonstrated that the water in

(1) We submit the result of the official chemical examination: "The water of the grotto of Lourdes is very limpid, inodorous, and with no pronounced taste. Its specific gravity is very near that of distilled water; its temperature at the spring is 15° centigrade. Its constituents: I. Chlorides of soda, calx, and magnesia; abundant. II. Carbonates of calx and magnesia. III. Silicates of calx and alumine. IV. Oxide of iron. V. Sulphate of soda and carbonate of soda. VI. Traces of Phosphate. VII. Organic matter: ulmine. In the composition of this water there is a complete absence of sulphate of calx or selenite; and this quality, very remarkable, is to its advantage, forcing us to conclude that it aids digestion and gives to the animal economy a disposition which benefits the equilibrium of the vital action. We run no risk in saying that "etc., as above.

question was the ordinary article, utterly destitute of any special therapeutic value. Much was written on both sides of the dispute; and finally, without consulting the prefect, the Municipal Council of Lourdes requested one of the most illustrious chemists of the century, Prof. Filhol, of the Faculty of Toulouse, to analyze the water. This task was imposed on M. Filhol on June 3, the day on which Bernadette received her Sacramental Lord for the first time; and on Aug. 7, the professor submitted the result of his investigations to the mayor of Lourdes—an analysis which completely nullified the conclusions of M. Latour de Trie. “This analysis shows that the water from the grotto of Lourdes has the constituents of all the drinkable waters which are found in mountains where the soil is richly calcareous. As for the extraordinary effects which are said to have followed the use of this water, said effects cannot be explained, at least in the present condition of science, by the nature of the salts which analysis has found in the water. The said water contains no active substance which would be capable of endowing it with the indicated therapeutic properties” (1). It is evident, therefore, that the naturalistic theorizers had at least not proved their hypothesis to the satisfaction of all truly scientific men; that is, the incredulist foes of the supernatural had not demonstrated the presumed hallucination of the *voyante* of Lourdes by any proof of the natural therapeutic value of the water which testified, in the opinion of thousands of Catholics, to the reality of Bernadette’s visions.

On July 28, Mgr. Laurence, the bishop of Tarbes, appointed an episcopal commission for the purpose of determining the answers to four questions of consummate importance: Whether the alleged cures, operated by the drinking of

(1) Lasserre gives this report in its entirety; we shall quote merely the results of the analysis: “The water of the grotto holds in solution: I., Oxygen. II., Azote. III., Carbonic acid. IV., Carbonates of calx, magnesia, and a trace of Carbonate of iron. V., A Carbonate or an alkaline silicate of the chlorides of potassium and sodium. VI., Traces of sulphate of potassium and of soda. VII., Traces of Ammonia. VIII., Traces of Iodum. The quantitative analysis of the water, effected by the ordinary method, gave the following results in one kilogramme: Carbonic acid, 8 centigrammes; Oxygen, 5 centigr.; Azote, 12 centigr.; Ammonia, traces; Carbonate of calx, .006 milligr.; Carbonate of magnesia, .017 milligr.; Carbonate of iron, traces; Carbonate of soda, traces; Chloride of sodium, .008 milligr.; Chloride of potassium, traces; Silicate of soda and traces of Silicate of potassium, .018 milligr.; Sulphate of potassium and of soda, traces; Iodum, traces. Total, 434 milligrammes.

water from the grotto of Lourdes, or by means of bathing with said water, could be explained naturally, or whether they should be attributed to a supernatural cause; whether the presumed visions of Bernadette Soubirous were real, and whether in that case, they could be explained naturally, or should rather be regarded as impressed with a supernatural and divine character; whether the personage seen by Bernadette (if really seen) had made demands on the child, or manifested certain intentions to her; and whether the spring, now flowing in the grotto of Lourdes, existed before the presumed visions of Bernadette occurred. The commission was composed of nine canons of the Cathedral of Tarbes, the superiors of the Grand and Preparatory Seminaries, the superior of the diocesan missionaries, the *curé* of Lourdes, and the professors of dogmatic theology, moral theology, and physics, in the Grand Seminary. Scarcely had the commission been appointed, when the bishop received from M. Rouland, the imperial Minister of Worship, a letter which, coupled with the episcopal reply, will dispense us from detailing some episodes which had recently occurred at the grotto and in the neighborhood of Lourdes. The imperial director of the religious affairs of France informed the prelate that he had heard how "the affair of Lourdes was of a nature which necessarily afflicted all persons who were truly religious." He sternly condemned "the blessing of Rosaries by children, and all manifestations in which, in the front ranks, women of equivocal morals were prominent." He reprobated the "grotesque ceremonies which parodied those of true religion," because he feared, in his apostolic zeal, that "Protestant journals would take advantage of them." And he besought the bishop "to publicly condemn all similar profanations." The reply of the bishop was as follows: "Monsieur le Ministre; your communication has astonished me. I am well informed concerning everything that happens at Lourdes, and as a bishop I am deeply interested in a reprobation of whatever might injure religion or the faithful. I can assure you that the scenes mentioned by you have not been of the nature which you describe; and I can also assure you that if certain regrettable things have occurred, they have been so

transient as to leave no trace behind them. Your Excellency alludes to things which happened after the grotto was closed to the public, and in the early part of July. Then two or three children of Lourdes played the part of visionaries, and emitted certain extravagancies in public. The grotto having been closed, as I have remarked, these boys contrived to pass the barriers, and approaching the visitors who were praying on the other side, offered to take Rosaries from those visitors in order to touch the beads to the interior of the grotto, and also to deposit offerings which they appropriated to themselves. One of these children, the most remarkable for conduct which was far from edifying, was one of the choir-boys of the church of Lourdes; and the *cure* reprimanded him severely, expelled him from the catechism class, and banished him from the service of the altar. The disorder was a passing one, and the people regarded it as a boyish frolic which would cease under threats of punishment. Such are the facts which have been reported by superfluously zealous parties as permanent scandals. I would be pleased, Monsieur le Ministre, if you would derive your information concerning Lourdes from its regular inhabitants and from the child who declares that she saw the apparition, as well as from the many respectable personages who have visited the grotto—persons like the bishops of Montpellier and Soissons, the archbishop of Auch, the wife of Admiral Braut, Louis Venillot, etc. The prudence of the clergy of the district has been admirable; they have refrained from visiting the grotto, and have even favored the measures adopted by the authorities. And nevertheless, these priests have been denounced as favorers of superstition. . . . On June 8, the Mayor of Lourdes prohibited all access to the grotto (by order of the Prefect); and the alleged reasons were based on a presumed care for the interests of religion and of the public welfare. Religion was made an excuse for this action, although the bishop had not been consulted; and nevertheless, the prelate formulated no protest. . . . Now, however, yielding to pressure from all sides, I have determined to give my attention to this matter; and accordingly I have appointed a Commission which will gather the

data necessary to enable me to come to a decision on a subject which seems to interest the whole of France." This letter produced no change in the philosophistic and tyrannous policy of Rouland ; Massy and Jacomet continued to arrest those who dared to pray before the grotto, otherwise than from the opposite side of the Gave, and Duprat continued to impose his fines. But during a visit of Napoleon III. to Biarritz in September, the archbishop of Auch, Mgr. de Salinis, waited on His Majesty ; and besought him, in the name of the rights of conscience, to withdraw the matter of Lourdes from the cognizance of Minister, Prefect, and Police Commissioner, and to act in accordance with his own sense of justice and of humanity. The emperor immediately wrote a dispatch to the Prefect of Tarbes, ordering him to cancel his prohibitory decree, and to permit the people to have free access to the grotto. On Oct. 5, the barriers were removed.

It would certainly interest the reader if we were to quote at some length from the lucubrations of the Liberal journalistic quidnuncs of that time, as they prognosticated concerning the probable outcome of the investigation ordered by Mgr. Laurence. Such journals as the *Siècle*, the *Journal des Débats*, the *Presse*, the *Indépendance Belge*, as well as nearly all the secular journals of England, the United States, and Germany, teemed with effusions no more honest or reasonable than an ebullition of the *Amsterdamsche Courant* in its issue of Sept. 9, with which our limits compel us to be satisfied : " A new manifestation, designed to rekindle and nourish the ardor of the faithful in the worship of the Virgin, was imminent. The deliberations of the bishops on this point resulted in the preparation of the famous miracle of Lourdes. Recently the bishop of Tarbes appointed a Commission instructed to enquire into this miracle ; but the so-called conclusions of the report of this Commission were prepared long previous to its first session. Bernadette, the pretended shepherdess, is no innocent little peasant-girl ; she is a very well educated and very cunning young woman of the *bourgeoisie*, who resided for many months in a cloistered nunnery where she was taught the part that she was to play. Long before

the drama was presented in public, it was rehearsed in this convent before a small number of select spirits. If ever there is a dearth of sorry dramatists in Paris, it can easily be supplied by the upper clergy. However, the Liberal press has so ridiculed this farce from beginning to end, that it is not impossible that the priests will be prudent, out of regard for their own interests." All the philosophists of the day did not confide in the "prudence" of the clergy of Lourdes; many called on the emperor to prevent the Commission from rendering any decision in the matter of the apparition. Pré-vost-Paradol, who was soon to commit suicide while representing his country in Washington (1870), even dared to argue that it would be an injustice to the other religions tolerated by the State, if God were supposed to manifest a particular interest in any special religion: "It is evident," said this coryphæe of Masonic enlightenment, "that by any striking manifestation in favor of one religion, the Deity openly attests its truth, its superiority over all others, and its incontestable right to govern souls. This decision, therefore, will naturally be followed by many desertions from the ranks both of dissidents and incredulists; it will be, in a word, an instrument of proselytism. . . . It will tend, to some extent, to destroy in France the proper equilibrium between the religious and the civil power. The ministers of the favored religion, the one which the prodigies will have favored, are not those whom the Concordat foresaw, organized, and regulated; they exercise another influence over the people, and in case of conflict, they will guide the people independently of Prefects and Councils of State. . . . Nothing can be done legally in France without a previous authorization of the Administration. If, as M. de Morny once well said, a stone cannot be moved or a ditch dug without the consent of the Administration, much less, without that consent, can a miracle be approved or a pilgrimage be instituted. Whoever has any acquaintance with religious affairs knows perfectly well that the administrative authority has on its side not one means, but ten; not one law, but twenty or thirty which accord to it supreme power in such matters. The sessions of the Commission of Tarbes can be prevented or

dissolved in a hundred ways by an invocation of the Concordat, of the Penal Code, of the law of 1824, of the decree of Feb., 1852, or of municipal and every other kind of authority" (1). However, the imperial government did not allow itself to be tempted to this ridiculous pretension to a legitimate competency in the premises; the emperor may have been influenced by his pious consort, or he may have appreciated these remarks of Louis Veuillot: "We do not doubt the existence of ordinances permitting the government to interfere with the sessions of the episcopal Commission; but the wisdom of the ruling powers ought to convince them that their interference would favor superstition. Governmental intervention would give free rein to popular credulity, since then the bishop would be unable to decide the matter in question" (2). When the Commission entered on its task, it found that hundreds of alleged miraculous cures awaited its consideration. It decided that an investigation of only thirty would suffice for its purposes; and it selected those whose instantaneousness rendered them especially remarkable, carefully ignoring those which were alleged to have occurred while the subject was under medical treatment, since, as the secretary said in his report: "Although in these cases the inefficaciousness of the remedies had been sufficiently demonstrated, nevertheless, the cures could not be rigorously and exclusively ascribed to a supernatural virtue of the water of the grotto, since it had been used simultaneously with those remedies." The report of the Commission divided the investigated prodigies into three classes: In the first class were six cures which, striking though they indubitably were, could possibly be explained by the laws of nature; in the second class were nine prodigies which were deemed by the testifying physicians to present supernatural conditions, but in which those supernatural conditions were not necessarily to be acknowledged; in the third class were fifteen cases which the Commission declared to be undeniably of a supernatural character. All of these cases in the third class were of widely different maladies; nevertheless, all had yielded to

(1) Thus wrote Prévost-Paradol in the *Journal des Débats*, Sept. 3, 1853.

(2) *L'Univers*, Sept. 10, 1853.

the application of one and the same thing—a fact which is not in accordance with the natural and scientific order, since according to that order each remedy is beneficial in certain classes of maladies, but injurious in others. It cannot be said, therefore, declared the report, that it was some inherent natural property of the water of the Massabielle Rocks that produced effects not only so extraordinary, numerous, and sudden, but also diverse in their nature. In the medical report we read: “When we first examined these cases (of the third class) we were surprised by the ease, promptness, nay, instantaneousness, with which the effects had been produced; by the complete violation of all therapeutic laws in each case; by the contradictions of all the precepts and provisions of science which each case displayed; by a sort of disdain manifested in regard to the duration and deep-seatedness of disease; by a kind of hidden but real care in so arranging and combining the circumstances, as to show that in the cure it would be evident that all had been effected outside of the habitual order of nature. These phenomena are beyond the comprehension of the human mind. How indeed can we understand an opposition between the means and the grandeur of the result; between the oneness of the remedy and the diversity of the maladies; between the brief application of the curative agent and the length of the treatment prescribed by science; between the sudden efficaciousness of the first and the long futility of the second; between the chronicity of disease and the instantaneousness of the cure? Certainly there must be here a contingent force which is superior to those derived from nature, and which is consequently foreign to the water which it uses for a manifestation of its power.” To a mind ill-informed concerning the habitual attitude of the authorities of the Church in regard to matters of a reputed miraculous nature, this report might seem capable of producing in the mind of the episcopal judge a conviction that the visions of Bernadette were real, and that the prodigies effected by the water of Lourdes were true miracles. But Mgr. Laurence demanded further proof; he wished to be assured as to the permanency of the reputed cures; and not until Jan. 18, 1862, more than three

years after he had received the favorable report of the Commission, did he issue the much-desired approbation in an apposite Pastoral to his flock. In this document the prelate begins by reminding his people how, at intervals during the entire history of humanity, there have been marvellous communications between heaven and earth; how in the very first days of that history, God appeared to our first parents in order to rebuke them for their disobedience; how in the succeeding centuries God conversed familiarly with the Patriarchs; and how, as we read in the Old Testament, the children of Israel were often favored with celestial apparitions. And the bishop carefully notes that these divine favors could scarcely be expected to terminate with the Old Law; nay, he insists, such manifestations were naturally to be more numerous and more striking under the Law of Grace, and history attests that they were not restricted to the first days of Christianity—that ever since that period they have frequently occurred for the glory of religion and the edification of the faithful. Then the bishop narrates briefly the wonderful experiences of Bernadette, but he also reminds his flock that “the Church is wisely slow in forming a judgment concerning reputed supernatural occurrences; that she demands certain proofs of their supernaturalness, since from the date of the original fall of man, and especially in matters of this kind, humanity has ever been subject to error, yielding now to the deceptions of its own weak reason, and then to the wiles of the demon who often transforms himself into an angel of light.” We are told how the bishop had studied the manifestations at the Massabielle Rocks for nearly four years; and that his convictions had been formed not only because of the testimony of Bernadette, but because of the events which followed the apparitions, and which could have been effected only by divine interposition. And as for the testimony of the little girl herself, the prelate regards it as indubitably trustworthy. “In the first place,” he insists, “her sincerity is unquestionable. Who does not admire, if he approaches this child, her simplicity, candor, and modesty? While everybody talks about the wonders that she has seen and

heard, she remains silent ; she speaks only when she is interrogated, and then she narrates without affectation, her answers to the numerous questions being always to the point, and evidently proceeding from firm conviction. She was never influenced by threats ; she always rejected the most generous offers of assistance (whether for herself or for her family). Always consistent, she never varied in the slightest degree in her narrative, during the many interrogatories to which she was subjected. But it has been asked whether, if not herself a deceiver, Bernadette may not be a victim of hallucination ? We cannot harbor this suspicion. The wisdom of her replies reveals a rectitude, a calmness of imagination, and a good sense, which are superior to those possessed usually by children of her age. In her, religious sentiment has never been exaltedness ; she has never manifested any weakness of intellect or any mutability of views, any extravagancies of character, or any morbidness which might dispose her to freaks of imagination. . . . But the testimony of Bernadette, so important in itself, is corroborated by the wonderful events which occurred after the first apparition ; if we may judge of a tree by its fruit, that apparition was supernatural and divine, since it produces supernatural and divine effects." In conclusion, the bishop declares : " Having invoked the Holy Name of God, and following the rule established by Pope Benedict XIV. for the discernment of true and false apparitions (1) ; having read the favorable report presented by the Commission appointed by us to consider the apparition at the Grotto of Lourdes and its consequences ; having read the testimony of the physicians whom we consulted concerning the numerous cures which have followed applications of the water from the grotto ; and considering firstly, that the fact of the apparition, whether it be regarded in reference to the child who narrated the event, or whether it be regarded in reference to the extraordinary effects which it has produced, can be explained only by a recognition of the intervention of a supernatural cause ; considering secondly, that this cause could be no other than divine, since its effects were such

(1) *Canonization of Saints*, Bk. III., ch. 56.

perceptible results of grace as the conversion of sinners, or such derogations from the law of nature as miraculous cures—effects which could be produced only by the Author of grace and the Master of nature ; considering, finally, that our conviction is strengthened by the immense and spontaneous attendance of the faithful at the grotto—an attendance which has been continual since the first apparitions, and the purpose of which has been the receipt of favors or thanksgiving for benefits already obtained ; therefore, in order to satisfy the legitimate impatience of our clergy and people, and that of so many pious persons who have long asked us to pronounce a decision which motives of prudence compelled us to defer, and wishing also to yield to the desires of many of our colleagues in the episcopate ; and having invoked the light of the Holy Ghost and the aid of the Most Holy Virgin ; we have declared and do declare as follows : *Art. I.* We judge that the Immaculate Mary, Mother of God, on Feb. 11, 1858, and on eighteen following occasions, did really appear to Bernadette Soubirous ; that this apparition presents every characteristic of truth, and that the faithful may safely credit it. However, we humbly submit this our judgment to that of the Sovereign Pontiff, who is entrusted with the government of the Universal Church. *Art. II.* We authorize the cult of Our Lady of the Grotto of Lourdes in our diocese ; but we forbid the publication of any particular formula of prayer, or of any canticle or book of devotion, referring to the apparition, without our approbation in writing. *Art. III.* In order to conform to the desire which the Holy Virgin expressed during several of her appearances—a desire that a sanctuary should be erected near the grotto, that is, on land which has recently become the property of the bishops of Tarbes ; and since the steepness and other difficulties of the site will entail a need of long labor and relatively large sums of money for the construction of the edifice ; we appeal for the requisite means to the clergy and faithful of our diocese, to those of all France, and to those of all lands who are zealous for the honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.

APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Of the Roman Pontiffs, Rulers of Principal Nations, Principal Councils, Ecclesiastical Writers, and Sectarians.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

<i>Popes. Date of Election.</i>	<i>Holy Roman Emperor.</i>	<i>Kings, Emperors, etc., Of France.</i>
Pius VII.	1800 Francis II. at the com-	Napoleon, abdicated in
Leo XII.	1823 mand of Napoleon in	1815, d. in 1821
Pius VIII.	1829 1806, ceased to be Ger-	Louis XVIII. d. 1824
Gregory XVI.	1831 man emp'r, and as-	Charles X. dep. 1830
Pius IX.	1846 sumed the title of emp'r	Louis Philippe, abd. in
Leo XIII.	1878 of Austria as Francis I.	1848, making way for
<i>Kings of England. Date of Death.</i>	<i>Emperors of Austria. Date of Death.</i>	Second Republic, which
George III. supplanted by	Francis I. 1835	was followed by the
a regency in 1800, and	Ferdinand I. abdicated in	Second Empire in 1852
d. in 1820	1848, in favor of	Napoleon III. emperor, ab-
George IV.	1830 Francis Joseph, now	dicated in 1870, and was
William IV.	1837 reigning	succeeded by the
Victoria, now reigning		Third Republic.
<i>Czars of Russia. Date of Death.</i>	<i>Kings of Prussia. Date of Death.</i>	<i>Kings of Spain. Date of Death.</i>
Paul I.	1801 Fred. Wm. III.	Charles IV. abdicated in
Alexander I.	1825 Fred. Wm. IV.	1808, d. in 1819
Nicholas I.	1855 William I. became Ger-	Ferdinand VII. 1833
Alexander II.	1881 man emp'r in 1870	Regency of Christina un-
Alexander III.	1894	til 1841, followed by
Nicholas II, now reigning	<i>German Emperors. Date of Death.</i>	that of Espartero until
	William I. 1888	1843 when Queen Isa-
	Frederick III. 1888	bella II. was declared of
	William II, now reigning	age.
		Isabella II. abdicated in 1870
		Alfonso XII. 1885
		Regency of Maria Chris-
		tina, in the name of
		Alfonso XIII. who may
		reign in 1903

Ecclesiastical Writers: Picot, Joseph de Maistre, Cardinal Maury, Barruel, Frayssinous, Bausset, Lamennais, Boyer, Carrière, Gosselin, Gousset, Parisi, Gueranger, Lacordaire, Cardinal Pie, Ségur, Pitra, Perroie, Patrizzi, Tosti, Andisio, Curel, Ventura, Rosmini, Passaglia, Balmes, Lingard, Milner, Cardinal Wiseman, Cardinal Manning, Cardinal Newman, Cardinal Moran, Gasquet, Möhler, Theiner, Hefele, Cardinal Hergenrother, Hurter.

Councils: The Council of the Vatican (Nineteenth General). About 200 others.

Sectarians: Anti-Concordatarians, Ronge, Vintras, Traditionalists, Socialists, Naturalists, Satanists, Freemasons, Spiritualists, Mormons, "Old Catholics."

SUPPLEMENT.

CHAPTER I.

THE IDENTITY OF THE THREE MAGI OR WISE MEN OF THE EAST. *

Such of our readers as are of Italian or German origin, or who have resided for any length of time in Italy or in the Catholic portions of Germany, must have been impressed by the devotion exhibited in those regions toward the Wise Men of the East,—those favored persons who came from among the Gentiles to adore the Expected of Nations, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, having been notified of His advent by the appearance of a new star, which their wisdom had taught them to regard as a sign that God was about to work some prodigy in favor of fallen man. The devotion to the Three Kings, or Magi, is more prevalent in Italy and Germany than in other regions of the Western Patriarchate; but every Catholic student will welcome a few reflections on the condition of life, nationality, etc., of those Gentiles who were the first of their kind to adore the God-Man, and who, therefore, were our first ancestors in the Christian faith. We sometimes speak of these holy men as the Three Kings; but we generally denote them by the term “Magi” or “Wise Men.” Now, the question arises whether these persons were really magicians, as the term “Magi” would seem to indicate. That up to the time of their extraordinary vocation (for as such we may designate it) they had been veritable sorcerers, was believed by St. Justin Martyr, Origen, St. Basil, and St. Jerome. But that they were merely astronomers—or, as more modern men would say, scientists,—was held by such excellent judges as St. John Chrysostom, St. Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, and Pope St. Leo I. We know that the word *magus* was commonly used in the East when men spoke of any very learned man or philosopher; and hence Baronio, Maldonado, Calmet, Gotti, and nearly all modern Catholic biblicists reject the idea that the Three Kings had ever been guilty of the crime of sorcery or incantation (1).

* This chapter appeared in *THE AVE MARIA*, Vol. XLII.

(1) That the word *magus* was used by the ancients to signify a philosopher is clear from Cicero, in his treatise *On Divination*, Bk. I., ch. 23.

It may be asked, secondly, whether the Magi were really kings in our sense of the term. Calvin and Beza denied the royalty of the Wise Men; and several Catholic critics—*e. g.*, Tillemont, Baillet, and Serry—have held the same opinion. It is difficult, however, to resist the arguments of the generality of Catholic critics, led by such authorities as Baronio, Sponde, Maldonado, Sandini, Onorato di Santa Maria, and Gotti. It is not necessary to suppose that the Wise Men were great monarchs, or even kings in the ordinary sense of the latter designation. Every Scriptural scholar knows that Holy Writ frequently applies the term “king” to the ruler even of an insignificant village; and the classical student is aware that the Latin word *rex* is merely the correlative of *regere*—“to rule.” We need cite only a few Scriptural passages in defence of the position held by most Catholic polemics in the premises. In *Isaiah*, ch. 49, we read: “Kings shall see, and princes shall rise up and adore for the Lord’s sake.” The entire context of this chapter indicates that the prophet is treating of God’s summons to the Gentiles to adore His Incarnate Son; and therefore exegetists unhesitatingly apply it to the adoration of the Magi. The same must be said of ch. 60, v. 3: “And the Gentiles shall walk in Thy light, and kings in the brightness of Thy rising”; as well as of Psalm 71, verse 10: “The kings of the Arabians and of Saba shall bring gifts.” Many of the Fathers of the Church testify to the royalty of the Wise Men. Thus Tertullian tells us: “Nearly all the East and Damascus had kings for their magi” (1). St. Ambrose says: “The Magi are said to have been kings” (2). About A. D. 310 the poet Juvencus wrote: “These lords were called Magi; and they were accustomed to note carefully the rising and the course of the stars. The said lords made a long journey to Jerusalem, and went before their King” (3). And Claudius Mamertus says: “The Chaldean kings brought their gifts to

(1) *Against the Jews*, ch. 9.

(2) In *Homily on the Epiphany*.

(3) “*Astrorum solers ortusque obitusque notare,
Hujus primores nomen tenuere Magorum.
Hinc lecti proceres Solymas per longa viarum
Deveniunt, Regenque adeunt.*”

Thee : myrrh to Thee as man, gold to Thee as king, and incense to Thee as God" (1).

Those who contend that the Wise Men were not kings rely upon the silence of St. Matthew as to their royal condition; and this objection seems to gather force when we notice that St. John is careful to note that one of the beneficiaries of Our Lord was the son of a certain ruler—*regulus* (petty king). But if St. Matthew does not mention the regal dignity of the Wise Men, he says nothing which would contradict it; and we may hold with Melchior Canus that it was eminently proper for the Evangelist, wishing to obtain credit among the Gentiles for his narrative, to lay stress upon the intellectual calibre of the Magi, rather than upon their more adventitious splendor (2). Again, it is certain that the condoling friends of Job were kings or rulers; but the sacred text in *Tobias* does not so term them. It is urged, secondly, that Herod treated the Wise Men not as equals, but as inferiors. In the supposition that they were kings, how are we to account for the monarch's brusqueness in telling them to go after accurate information as to the whereabouts of the Divine-Babe? To this objection it is not necessary to reply with Canus that Herod simply displayed an innate ruffianliness on this occasion. The more natural answer is implied in the belief that the Magi were really petty kings or rulers, and therefore of dignity inferior to that of Herod. And we must not necessarily discern an arrogant command in the words of the monarch. They are easily interpreted as: "Do you find this Messiah. That accomplished, I also will go and adore him." A third objection is made by heterodox writers, alleging that it was only in the eleventh century that Theophylactus, the first to style the Magi kings, flourished. The futility of this difficulty is shown by the testimonies of Tertullian, St. Ambrose, Claudius Mamertus, and Juvenius, which we have already given; and the reader will find additional evidence in the writings of St. Caesarius and many other Fathers of the Church.

(1) " *Dant Tibi Chaldaei prænuntia munera reges;
Myrrham homo, rex aurum, suscipe thura Deus.*"

(2) *Theological Sources*, Bk. II., ch. 5.

Ecclesiastical writers are not accordant in their views as to the nationality of the Magi. Some think that they were Chaldeans ; others describe them as coming from Arabia Felix ; while many assign either Ethiopia, Mesopotamia or India as their country. The most common opinion is that they journeyed from Arabia Felix ; and certainly, if we reflect that Saba is a part of Arabia, we shall find a basis for that view in the words of the royal psalmist : "The kings of the Arabians and of Saba shall bring gifts." Again, this opinion is strengthened by Tertullian (1) and by St. Justin Martyr (2) ; for both expressly pronounce it. Finally, the gifts tendered by the Magi, especially the myrrh and incense, were such as an Arab would deem most appropriate. But it is urged that the Magi, or Wise Men, were a monopoly of the Chaldeans. This is not correct ; for we read that Job and his friends were good philosophers. And St. Cyril of Alexandria informs us that Pythagoras and Porphyrius went for their studies to Chaldea and to Arabia (3). There is no strength in the allegation that the olden pictures and medals represent the Magi as of different complexions, and therefore as of diverse nationalities. In the first place, the adduced fact is not universal. In the picture given by Papebroch, copied from very ancient rituals, all three kings are shown as white men. Secondly, we know that artists often, and sometimes righteously, insist on great latitude in regard to the observance of historical exactness in their compositions. Now, a diversity of costume in the component figures of a picture adds greatly to its attractiveness ; and how much more impressiveness is obtained by the introduction of various facial characteristics ! Finally, why should we conclude from the black visage of one of the Magi, even though it occupied a legitimate place in the picture, that all three of the adorers did not come from Arabia ? Were there no negro tribes in Arabia ?

A very interesting question is raised concerning the time when the Magi appeared before the Infant Jesus. Eusebius says that the event occurred two years after the divine

(1) *Loc. cit.*

(2) *Against Tryphon.*

(3) *Against Julian, Bk. x.*

birth (1) ; and St. Epiphanius contends for the same view (2). Then the celebrated authors of the Bollandist *Lives of the Saints* placed the advent of the Wise Men precisely on the first anniversary of the birth. They hold also that the guiding Star of the Magi had appeared twenty-one months before what they regarded as the first Epiphany,—i. e., it is said to have been created on the day when Our Lady gave her consent to the Incarnation of the Word in her own bosom (3). And there is still another theory as to the date of this event. Tillemont, Calmet, Dupin, and Baillet regard it as having occurred a little before or a little after the Purification of the Blessed Mother. However, there are excellent arguments which seem to evince clearly that the correct date of the first Epiphany was the 6th of January, the thirteenth day after the Nativity of Christ. Firstly, St. Matthew narrates that the Magi found Our Lady and the Blessed Child in Bethlehem ; but if they had arrived in Bethlehem one or two years after the birth of Jesus, they would not have found the Holy Family in that village. When the days of her Purification were completed, Mary, accompanied by St. Joseph, took her Divine Babe to Jerusalem, and thence to Nazareth (4). Secondly, the authority of St. Justin Martyr and St. Jerome is of great weight, especially in this case. The former says : “ Mary bore Christ, and placed him in the Manger, where the Magi, having come from Arabia, found Him ” (5). And St. Jerome writes : “ Behold the great Lord of the earth born in this little nook of the earth ! Here He was seen by the Shepherds ; here he was adored by the Magi ” (6). Are we to suppose that the Holy Family inhabited that stable for a year or two ? Thirdly, St. Matthew seems to indicate that the adoration of the Magi occurred immediately after our Saviour’s birth ; for he says : “ When Jesus was born . . . behold, there came Wise Men,” etc. This use of the word “ behold ” in the circumstances shows that the Magi arrived very soon after the glorious

(1) *Chronicle*.(2) *Heresies*, Nos. 30 and 31.

(3) Zaccaria observes that Papebroch, after having assigned the day of the Annunciation as the date of the first appearance of the Star, anticipates that date by making it concordant with the day of the conception of St. John the Baptist.

(4) *St. Luke*, ch. 2.(5) *To Marcella*.(6) *Loc. cit.*

event ; for such is its meaning in most Biblical passages where we find it. Fourthly, in the Bollandist supposition, the Star ought to be styled the Star of the Baptist rather than " His Star," as the Magi termed it. Fifthly, it seems certain that Herod died three months after the nativity of Christ, and therefore the Bollandist theory is untenable.

CHAPTER II.

THE LEGEND OF THE WANDERING JEW.*

Few legends are so pathetic, none more weird, than that which we now present for the consideration of the student. Poems of merit and entrancing novels have been based upon it ; but the genius who will do it justice has yet to appear. If it should ever be taken in hand by a thoroughly Christian writer, one who also possesses an accurate knowledge of ecclesiastical as well as of profane history, who is capable of constructing dramatic scenes in both telling and simple form, and who is endowed with Heaven's choicest gift to a knight of the pen—true poetic fire, then men will enjoy a production which will be worthy of its subject, and which will not be ephemeral. The apposite poems of Schubert and A. W. Schlegel are fairly interesting ; but no higher praise can be accorded to them. They lose sight of the main point of the legend, when they represent the accursed of God as receiving the boon of death. Goethe had designed to compose an epic in which he would trace the travels of Ahasuerus, and would make of him an experienced guide through the regions of profane history and into the mazes of the history of religion. But the world has lost little by Goethe's abandonment of his project ; for little could have been effected in the premises by one who believed, or, what is worse, affected to believe, that " beautiful and healthy nature needs no morals nor natural law nor political metaphysics ; and one may add that she needs to take no account of a Deity or of an immortality of the soul " (1).

* This dissertation appeared in the *Ave Maria*, Vol. xxxix.

(1) In a letter to Goethe, his friend Schiller, once a Protestant but then an atheist, said of these views of the master : " You are right."

The first European author to speak of the legend of the Wandering Jew was the very unreliable English chronicler Matthew Paris (often incorrectly designated as Matthew of *Paris*), who, writing in the thirteenth century, tells us that there arrived in England in 1229 an Armenian archbishop, who gave to the islanders much interesting information concerning the Orient. When asked as to whether he knew anything about a certain "Joseph" of whom many strange reports had reached Britain—for instance, that said Joseph had been among the living at the time of the Saviour, and had talked with Him,—the prelate replied that he had conversed with Joseph, and that what was narrated concerning the mysterious man was indubitably true. Then, continues Matthew Paris, the dragoman of the archbishop entered into some details about Joseph. This strange being had dined with the prelate, and during the repast had given a minute account of his life. According to his own words, he had been a janitor at the time of the Passion, and was called Calphurnius. He was standing at the door of his house when Jesus, after His condemnation, was led along the street. As Our Lord paused a little, Calphurnius struck the Divine Victim on the back, crying: "Walk on, Jesus; walk on!" The Saviour gazed mournfully at the miserable man, and said: "I shall walk on, but thou shalt remain until I return." In time Calphurnius was baptized by Ananias, taking the name of Joseph, and thenceforth he was a homeless wanderer over the earth. Once in every century, said the dragoman, Joseph falls into sickness, and becomes rejuvenated, always appearing at the time of recuperation to be thirty years old, his age when he insulted Our Lord. The next mention of the Wandering Jew is in the chronicles of the sixteenth century. According to Dudulæus (1), the records of that period represent the unfortunate as appearing in Hamburg in 1547. He was very tall and emaciated, and in the rags of a beggar. He told several persons that when Jesus, wishing to rest at his doorway when on the road to Calvary, paused for a moment, he struck his Lord,

(1) *History of a Jew Who, by a Strange Fatality, Has Wandered Since the Time of Our Lord Jesus Christ.* Hamburg, 1634.

and then heard those fearful words : " I would have rested here ; but thou shalt walk until I return." The involuntary pilgrim was once accosted by Paul Eizen, afterward bishop of Schleswig, while he was praying in a church at Hamburg in 1564 ; and then he called himself Ahasuerus, and seemed to be about fifty years old (1). Boulenger says that Ahasuerus was also known as Gregory and as Buttadeus (2). Dudulaeus states that he was seen in Naumburg shortly after his appearance in Hamburg ; and that he never sat down, being forced to a continuous walk. The same writer naïvely remarks that Ahasuerus made considerable money by the recital of his experiences. In 1616 his history and portrait could be bought in Tournay. He is said to have appeared in England in the early part of the eighteenth century. Colerus, a lawyer of Lubeck, says that the wanderer displayed, so far as men could judge, an intimate knowledge of every circumstance of the careers of the various Apostles ; and that the most learned professors, with whom he frequently discoursed, were astounded at his apparently thorough acquaintance with the events, trivial as well as great, of the past centuries of the Christian era. In vain did they devise cunning traps in order that he might be compelled to admit that he was an impostor (3). He next appeared on the Matterhorn and in France and Hungary. The narrative of the interview between Eizen and Ahasuerus is so interesting, that the reader will be pleased with a brief synopsis (4). The alleged wanderer said that he belonged to the Tribe of Nephthali ; that his father was a carpenter, and his mother a seamstress, employed at the Temple of Jerusalem in embroidering the vestments of the Levites. He was born in the year of the world 3962. His father trained him in a knowledge of the Mosaic Law, and taught him many wonderful historical facts, which were all narrated in an immense parchment volume which he had inherited from his

(1) HEDECK ; *Story of a Pilgrim Called Ahasuerus, a Jew Who Lived at the Time of the Crucifixion of Christ, and Who is Said to Still Wander*. Hamburg, 1681.

(2) *History of His Times*. Paris, 1628.

(3) See CALMET ; *Biblical Dictionary*, Vol. viii. Paris, 1721.

(4) THILO ; *History of the Wandering Jew*. Wittenberg, 1668.—SCHULTZ ; *Dissertation on the Immortal Jew*. Königsberg, 1668.—ANTON ; *Dissertation in Which the Flimsy Fable of the Immortal Jew Is Investigated*. Helmstadt, 1756.

ancestors. One of these not generally known facts concerned the death of Adam. When our first parent felt that he was about to die, he sent Seth to the entrance of the Garden of Eden, where the Angel Gabriel stood on guard with a flaming sword. Seth was to beg the Angel to allow Adam to look once more upon Eden. The boy made the request in vain; but when he was about to depart Gabriel handed him three seeds of the Tree of Life, telling him that when his father was dead he should place them upon his tongue, and then bury the body. So it was done; and over the grave of Adam soon appeared three beautiful trees, from one of which Moses took the rod with which he worked such prodigies. In time these trees were transplanted to Jerusalem, and as a boy Ahasuerus had often played in their shade. It was from their wood that the cross of Christ was made. The reader should know that among the many beautifully ingenious fancies invented by the vivacious faith of the Middle Age was that of our Saviour dying on a cross made from the seed of that tree which was so fatal to the human race,—from a seed which had matured out of the dust of the mortal frames of our first progenitors. The idea was carried even further, our ancestors imagining that the cross was erected over the grave of Adam and Eve, so that the Sacred Blood drenched it, and, as it were, vivified the ashes therein contained. As Ahasuerus continued his tale, his hearers were made acquainted with many details of the mortal life of the Son of God; details which in great part he probably took from the apocryphal Gospels—documents which, though not inspired, are by no means to be utterly despised by the historian. According to his story, when Ahasuerus was nine years old his father told him that he had just heard of the arrival of three kings from the Orient, who were seeking for some royal Babe just born, whom they wished to adore. The boy went to see the kings, followed them to the Manger, and witnessed their adoration of Jesus. The flight of the Holy Family into Egypt is graphically described. While on their journey they were once captured by robbers and led to a cave. They were on the point of being despoiled of what little property they had, when the Divine Babe smiled

so sweetly on the evil men that their hearts were touched, and the leader told the travellers to go in peace. But before they departed the leader's wife took the little Jesus and bathed His sacred limbs ; then when she had performed the same office for her own child, who had dropsy, she found the little one suddenly cured. The captain spoke to the Infant Jesus, saying that he felt that He was more than man, and he begged Him to pity his miserable life. That robber, said Ahasuerus, was afterward the Penitent Thief of Calvary. Many other interesting incidents of the sojourn in Egypt were narrated ; and if the reader has opportunity to consult one of the cited works, his curiosity will be well repaid.

When Ahasuerus came to speak of the Passion of Christ, his hearers trembled with excitement. He gave quite a minute account of Judas, saying that the wretch had been a thief and a murderer before he followed our Saviour. "I was standing at my door," said Ahasuerus, "when the crowd which accompanied Jesus to Calvary approached. I lifted up my child, that he might have a good look at the Victim. When Jesus, staggering under the great weight of the cross, had arrived in front of us, he stopped as though He would like to rest. 'Away with you from my door!' cried I. 'No ribald shall rest here.' Then Jesus directed a sorrowful glance upon me and said : 'I go, and shall find repose ; but thou shalt travel and find no rest. Thou shalt walk while the world is the world ; and then thou shalt behold Me on My throne at the right hand of My Father, when I judge the twelve tribes of Israel who are now about to crucify Me.' I put away my boy and followed Jesus. The first person whom I met was Veronica, who was just approaching to wipe the perspiration from Christ's holy face. As you know, the imprint of His features was fixed upon the towel. Then I saw Mary and other weeping women. A workman was carrying a hammer and some nails very near to us, and I seized one of the nails, and thrusting it directly under the eyes of the Mother of Jesus, I gloatingly cried : 'Look, woman ! This is one of the nails which will fasten thy Son to the cross.' Then came the crucifixion." Ahasuerus narrated its details, and described the convulsions of nature sympathizing with its outraged

God. When Christ had expired "Longinus pierced His side with a lance, and the Sacred Blood flowed to the ground, was soaked in, and bathed the ashes of Adam and Eve, who were there buried." Ahasuerus now cast a mournful look on Jerusalem and began his travels. "I knew not whither I was going; I crossed high mountains, and could not pause. Even now, gentlemen, while I am talking to you, I feel as though I were standing on hot coals. If, by chance, I sit down for a moment, my legs seem to be moving." He tells how he journeyed for an entire century before he saw Jerusalem again; how he yearned for death, for all relatives, friends, and even acquaintances were gone. He soon started again on his mournful journey, and ere long he began a series of attempts to lose his life. He fought in many battles, receiving thousands of apparently deadly strokes; but he could not even be wounded, for "his body was hard as a rock and impenetrable by mortal weapon." Many a time he suffered shipwreck, but he could not drown: "he walked on the waves or floated like a feather." He sometimes ate, but he needed no food. He never had serious illness. When Ahasuerus arose to depart, Eizen offered him money, but he refused it as something to him entirely superfluous. He needed no food, he insisted; and as for shoes and clothes, they never wore out. That many persons, during the course of the Christian era, have claimed to be this mysterious individual is as certain as any fact of history; but few of the claimants seem to have so favorably impressed men with an idea of their veracity as did this Ahasuerus of Wittenberg. One account says that the bishop of Schleswig was preaching, by invitation of Eizen, afterward his successor in the cathedral of Wittenberg, when he observed beneath the pulpit an old white-bearded man, who struck his breast and groaned painfully whenever the name of our Saviour was mentioned. The good prelate, thinking that the poor man might be in sore need of spiritual succor, sent a servant to invite him into the episcopal residence after the service. For a long time the stranger refused to give any account of himself, but finally he was influenced by the cordiality of the host; and joining the company at dinner, he manifested his identity.

In 1602 there was issued at Leipsic a popular history of the Wandering Jew (1), in which it was declared that this Ahasuerus led the Magi to Bethlehem, that he was well acquainted with St. John the Baptist, that he had talked with Judas, and that he had helped to make the cross on which Our Lord was nailed. Quite naturally, among the writers who speak of this Ahasuerus or Calphurnius there is a great diversity of opinion as to the genuineness of his claims. Matthew Paris entertains no doubt of his veracity. Dudulaeus, Hedeck, and others of the seventeenth century, show some hesitancy. Bartholin thinks that the presumed Jew may have been an emissary of Satan. Boulenger dismisses the legend with : "*Credat Judeus Apella ; non ego !*" It is noteworthy that most of the consideration accorded to this legend has been given by very incredulous parties—namely, German Protestants ; and that the wanderer is said to have manifested himself in Teutonic lands in every instance but two. But long before European imaginations began to be affected by this weird and improbable tale, it had circulated widely in the East. According to Herbelot, the Arabs of the seventh century were wont to narrate how, in the sixteenth year of the Hegira, one of their princes, Fadhil by name, having penetrated into a lonely valley to perform his devotions, heard each one of his prayers repeated by some invisible personage. He exclaimed : " If thou who repeatest my prayers art an angel, may the favor of Allah remain with thee ! But if thou art from the Evil One, I want nothing to do with thee ! And if thou art a man, show thyself." Then there came forth a venerable, bald-headed man, who appeared to be a dervish, and who leaned heavily upon a staff. Addressing Fadhil, this personage said : " I am Zerib, son of the Prophet Elias. Jesus Christ ordered me to remain in this life until His second coming. Even since that day I have been waiting for the Lord, the Source of every good." We must here note that this phrase would indicate that the legend was not of Mohammedan manufacture ; for no good Islamite could give to Jesus a title which belongs only to God, since, according to

(1) *Wonderful Story of a Jew Born in Jerusalem, and Called Ahasuerus, Who Pretended to Have Been Present at the Crucifixion of Christ. First Printed in Leyden.*

his faith, Jesus and His Apostles, like Abraham, were good Moslems,—that is, children of Islam—the religion of trust in God. Jesus, according to Mohammed, was the first among the prophets, and he (Mohammed) continued His work. Jesus is to come again upon earth, says the Koran; and therein the apparition talks like an Islamite, but none save a Christian would term Jesus the Source of all good. Probably the Arabs derived the legend from Eastern Christians. Prince Fadhil is said to have asked when Jesus would come again upon earth, and Zerib replied: “When men and women shall live promiscuously, without distinction of sex; when abundance of food does not prevent famine; when the blood of innocents shall be shed; when the poor beg and receive no alms; when mercy shall have vanished from the earth; when the Sacred Scriptures shall be set to music; when the temples of the One and True God shall be filled with idols.” If any of our readers credit this legend, they will probably find in the prophecy of Zerib an indication that the days of Antichrist are already upon us. At any rate, the Arabs found in the prediction a description of the time when the Last Judgment would be imminent. It is strange, however, that gross as Mohammedan ignorance was then, and has ever been, it was not perceived that the story of Zerib asserted an anachronism in its assignment of a son of Elias to the time of Christ. But such was the legend of the Wandering Jew as it was credited in the East twelve centuries ago. That the story was accepted by many Christians as well founded in its essential features, is not at all surprising; for probably it was regarded, when it first originated, as a mere allegory, illustrative of the condition of the Jewish people since their final dispersion—scattered over the earth, deprived of their national existence, and immovably obstinate in their rejection of Christianity. In Joseph, Ahasuerus and Zerib was recognized the Jewish race, bearing the consequences of their self-imprecation: “His Blood be upon us and upon our children!” Destined to subsist, as testimonies to Christ and His Church, until time is no more, the Jews, according to some Fathers, are to be reconciled with God at the end of the world. Ahasuerus, therefore, was represented as ex-

pecting the end of his punishment to arrive when Jesus would ascend His judgment throne. To us, and probably to most Christians, the most interesting point to be debated in this legend is the implication that the Jewish people, as the end of the world approaches, will recognize Jesus as their Messiah and their God.

CHAPTER III.

THE ALLEGED IDOLATRY OF POPE ST. MARCELLINUS.

Writing to the Emperor Michael in the year 865, Pope Nicholas I. said : " In the reign of the sovereigns Diocletian and Maximian, Marcellinus, Bishop of the city of Rome, who afterward became an illustrious martyr, was so persecuted by the Pagans that he entered one of their temples, and there offered incense. Because of this act, an inquiry was held by a number of bishops in Council, and the Pontiff confessed his fall." Platina amplifies the reputed fact with these details : " When Pope Marcellinus was threatened by the executioners, he yielded to fear, offered incense to the idols, and adored them. But when, soon afterward, a Council of 180 bishops met in Sinuessa, a city of Terra di Lavoro, Marcellinus appeared in the assembly clothed in sackcloth, and begged the synodals to impose upon him a penance, because of his infidelity. But no member of the Council dared to condemn him, all declaring that St. Peter had sinned similarly, and had merited pardon by his tears " (1). Belarmino admits the sin of St. Marcellinus, and the demand for pardon at Sinuessa, contenting himself with a refutation of the conclusions drawn by heretics from the presumed fact (2). And also Baronio, although he had been the first to question the genuineness of the *Acts of Sinuessa*, and consequently the truth of the charge against St. Marcellinus, thought that he served the cause of historical truth when, in his second edition, he said of the arguments which militated for the innocence of the Pontiff : " Although they

(1) *Lives of the Pontiffs*. Venice, 1674.

(2) *Roman Pontiff*, Bk. ii., ch. 36 ; iv., 6 and 8.

appear to be weighty, we do not find them sufficiently strong to demonstrate the entire falsity of the *Acts*." And strange to say, even the Bollandists, although they afterward changed their opinion (1), at one time averred the weakness of the Pontiff (2). When such Catholic authorities as these encouraged them, it is not strange that the rank and file of Protestant polemics, beginning with the Centuriators of Magdeburg, exultantly proclaimed the idolatry of St. Marcellinus, especially as they regarded the alleged fall as an argument against Papal Infallibility; being unaware, or perhaps feigning not to know, that this special prerogative of the Roman See does not imply any personal impeccability on the part of the Pontiff. However, one of the most eminent of these Protestant polemics, Samuel Basnage, having perceived that the guilt of St. Marcellinus could be evinced only by an acceptance of the *Acts of Sinuessa* as genuine, was constrained by a fear of the teachings of those *Acts* to denounce the incriminating story as a mere fable. The presumed *Acts* had declared that "The first See can be judged by no one"—a doctrine which the zealous Protestant recognized as much more to be feared by the children of the Reformation than an unwilling admission of the innocence of the accused Pontiff; therefore he reluctantly avowed: "The story is a fable; the *Acts of Sinuessa* are also fabulous" (3).

Among Catholic authors who have combatted the genuineness of the *Acts of Sinuessa*, and who therefore have denied the idolatry of St. Marcellinus, the first place must be accorded to the illustrious Gallican historian, Noel Alexandre, whose natural predilections could not prevent him from discerning the contradictions and absurdities presented in the *Acts of Sinuessa*. That other eminent cory-phaee of Gallicanism, Claude Fleury, is silent in the matter; therefore as it was the interest of his school to make known every instance of Pontifical weakness, we may conclude that this historian also discredited the melancholy story. Amat de Graveson deems the tale "a badly constructed fable" (4).

(1) When treating of the month of May.

(2) At April 26.

(3) *Politico-Ecclesiastical Annals*. Amsterdam, 1692.

(4) *Ecclesiastical History*, Dialogue ii. on Cent. V. Venice, 1761.

Cardinal Noris (1), Francis Anthony Zaccaria (2), Cardinal Orsi (3), and Audisio (4), find that it does not stand the test of historical criticism. Why the more recent Catholic historians, Palma and Alzog, should have ignored the question is incomprehensible; but a still later Catholic scholar of eminence, the late Cardinal Galimberti, while he was filling the chair of Ecclesiastical History in the Urban College of the Propaganda, published an exhaustive monogram in which he may be said to have pronounced the last word in defence of Pope Marcellinus (5), clearly evincing that throughout the whole of his career the Pontiff was *integer vita, scelerisque purus*. Certainly none of the writers of the fourth and fifth centuries have any words of condemnation for this saint; whereas, on the contrary, Theodoret (386-457) expressly qualifies him as "one who was illustrious under persecution—*eum qui persecutionis tempore inclaruit*" (6). Are we to suppose that Theodoret would have assigned fidelity under persecution as a characteristic of a pontificate which had unfaithfulness for its most striking feature? And how is it that no contemporary or quasi-contemporary of our Pontiff even alludes to an event which, from its very nature, was of transcendent interest to Christendom, if it had really happened? Not a word of this accusation was heard until the Donatists, like all heretics, wishing to debase the authority which had stricken them with anathema, declared that Pope Melchiades was not to be obeyed, because he had received Orders from the Pope Marcellinus "who had fallen into idolatry." To this calumny St. Augustine replied: "What necessity is there for refuting the incredible calumnies which he (Petilianus) urges against the bishops of the Roman See? He charges that Marcellinus and his priests, Melchiades, Marcellus, and Sylvester, were wicked and sacrilegious men, who had delivered the holy books (to the persecutors), and

(1) *History of the Donatists*. Venice, 1690.

(2) *Collection of Dissertations on Ecclesiastical History*. Rome, 1790. *Anti-Febbronio*. Pesaro, 1767.

(3) *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. ii., ch. 41. Rome, 1746.

(4) *Religious and Civil History of the Popes*. Rome, 1880.

(5) *Apology for Pope Marcellinus*. Rome, 1876.

(6) "Sylvester was the successor of that Miltiades who ruled the Church after that Marcellinus who was illustrious under persecution." *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk. i., ch. 3.

had offered incense (to the idols). *I reply that these men were innocent*; and why should I work to prove the truth of my assertion, when he has not tried in the least to support his accusation?" (1). Again, the most ancient documents adduced in proof of the idolatry of St. Marcellinus seem to bear upon their face evidence of their unreliability in this matter—evidence, that is, of interpolation. These documents are the *Pontifical Book* and its probable parent, the *Second Catalogue of the Popes*, in both of which we read: "Marcellinus was led to a temple, and ordered to offer incense; and he complied. But after a few days, he repented, and was beheaded for the faith of Christ by the same Diocletian." Now, as Bencini observes in his commentary on Anastasius the Librarian, whom some mediæval writers credited with the authorship of the *Pontifical Book*, Diocletian could not have been in Rome at the time of the martyrdom of St. Marcellinus. Relying on the testimony of Lactantius, who was "probably at that time in Rome," Bencini finds that Diocletian came to Rome for the *vicennalia* which were to be celebrated on the Twelfth of the Kalends of December, 303; and that "when the *vicennalia* had been celebrated, Diocletian, unable to bear the arrogance of the Roman people, suddenly rushed from the city just before the Kalends of January, when the consulate was to be re-tendered to him. This circumstance not having been remembered by the inventor of the guilt of Marcellinus, he ruined the value of his *Acts of Sinuessa*"—that is, since it is certain that St. Marcellinus received his palm on April 26, 304, he could not have been condemned by an emperor who was not in Rome. However, it is not improbable that the arrest and execution of the Pontiff might have been effected by the orders of even an absent emperor; therefore we abandon this line of argument, and turn our attention to the question of the genuineness of the *Acts of Sinuessa*, upon the solution of which depends absolutely and entirely that of the guilt or innocence of St. Marcellinus.

(1) "Ego innocentes fuisse respondeo. Quid laborem probare defensionem meam, cum ille nec tenuiter probare conatus sit accusationem suam?" In book on *One Baptism*. ch. 16.

Who can believe, if he is conversant with the circumstances of Christendom during the reign of Diocletian, that a Council of 180 bishops, as Platina alleges, or of 300, as *The Acts of Sinuessa* pretend, could have met in any city of the empire? Even at the Council of Nice, when peace had been given to the Church, when her prelates and priests were protected and aided by the imperial authority, only 308 synodals answered to their names. Elsewhere we have descanted on the horrors and the universality of the persecution under Diocletian (1); here let it suffice to say with Lactantius: "The entire world was tormented; from East to West three ferocious beasts hunted for prey... the emperor (Diocletian) raged not only against his own household, but against all... Priests and assistants were seized, and without trial were led to execution... Persons of every age and sex were thrust into the flames, not merely one at a time, for so great was the multitude that they were collected into a heap, and fire built around them" (2). It has been said that bishops from Africa might easily have crossed for a Council into Italy; but we know from Optatus of Milevi that "the tempest raged through the whole of Africa, making martyrs of some, confessors of others" (3). And if African bishops went, in any number, how comes it that no memory of such a Council subsisted in Africa in the days of St. Augustine, when there certainly lived many, whose fathers had been contemporary with the great assembly? Many historians, among whom it seems strange to perceive Baronio, Pagi, and Basnage, find an argument against the genuineness of the *Acts of Sinuessa* in a supposition that such a city as Sinuessa never existed; but unfortunately for one who would expect to solve the present question in summary style, the existence of Sinuessa is known by every careful student of Livy and of Martial (4), and Ughelli demonstrates that it was an episcopal city, two of its bishops, whom he identifies, having been crowned with

(1) In our Vol. I., p. 56, *et seqq.*

(2) *Deaths of the Persecutors*, ch. 19, *et seqq.*

(3) *Against Parmenian*, Bk. i.

(4) Livy tells us (*Bk. X., ch. 21*) that the city of Sinope, a Greek foundation, *Falernum contingente agrum*, was termed Sinuessa by the Romans; and Strabo (*Bk. V.*) says that the latter name was given to it because it was in the heart, in *sinu*, of the Vescino. Martial praises the wine of Sinuessa in his *Bk. XIII., Epigram 2*.

martyrdom (1). However, as Galimberti remarks, if geography does not condemn the *Acts of Sinuessa*, chronology will effect the purpose. The presumed *Acts* assert: "While Diocletian was engaged in the Persian War, he heard that 300 bishops, thirty priests, and three deacons, had united in the one condemnation; and that Marcellinus himself, first of all, agreed in his own anathematization by his own subscription to the decree. Then Diocletian became furious, and sent (officers) to that city... and Marcellinus was condemned *suo judicio* on the Tenth of the Kalends of September." Now it is certain, firstly, that Maximian, not Diocletian, then ruled at Rome and in the contiguous regions; secondly, that all the ancient *Martyrologies* contradict the assertion that Marcellinus was condemned in September; and thirdly, which at once subverts the authority of the *Acts*, that the Persian War had been terminated either in 301 or in 302, two years or thereabout before the alleged idolatry, the alleged anathematization, and the martyrdom of St. Marcellinus. How could Diocletian have "raged against Marcellinus," arrested, and condemned him, while the emperor "was engaged in the Persian War," since, according to Eusebius, it was only after that war that the sovereigns, having met in Nicomedia, issued the decree of persecution which overwhelmed our Pontiff? This anachronism alone must suffice to prove that the *Acts of Sinuessa* are forgeries; but it will be interesting and profitable to examine the absurdities, of which they are redolent—absurdities which caused Le Nain de Tillemont to say: "The way in which Marcellinus talks in these *Acts*; the lie that he utters when he denies his crime, and the terms that he uses when he confesses that crime; are all less like the lamentations of a sincere penitent, than they are like the foolish excuses of a schoolboy who is about to be whipped."

The following are the words with which the presumed *Acts* describe the alleged crime of our Pontiff: "Then Diocletian deemed it prudent to shower blandishments on Marcellinus; and his caressing language succeeded so well, that he was able to lead the Pontiff to the Temple of Vesta.

(1) These bishops were Sts. Castus and Secundinus. *Sacred Italy*. Venice, 1717.

He was accompanied by two deacons, Caius and Innocentius, and by three priests, Urbanus, Castorius, and Juvenalis. When these had seen Marcellinus enter the temple, but before he had offered incense, they went away, and proceeding to the Vatican, they informed their priestly colleagues as to what they had seen. In the meantime, many Christians who had entered the temple, in order to see what was being done, beheld Marcellinus offering incense." And this pontifical renegade, succumbing to an oily tongue, is the "Marcellinus who was illustrious under persecution"; the same who "confirmed the faith of the soldiers of the Theban Legion, so that they might rather die under the sword, than deny the holy faith of Christ which they had embraced!" (1). But can we believe that in the height of the persecution of Diocletian, many Christians left their hiding-places, and visited a pagan temple, the home of "those false gods who were demons," in order to witness a denial of the faith by one of themselves? All of those Christians, whom the inventor of the *Acts of Sinuessa* represents as yielding to a curiosity "to see what was being done" in one of the sanctuaries of the foul deities whom they both contemned and hated, proclaimed with Tertullian: "If we keep our throats and stomachs clean, how much more should we keep far from our eyes and ears all idolatrous pleasures—things that are not merely taken into our intestines, but are digested in our very souls, the cleanliness of which God desires more than that of our bodies?" (2). But listen to the *Acts* as they present what purports to be a Chapter on "The Synod, and the Denial of His Idolatry by Marcellinus": "The synod met, but all the clergy had not assembled, because of the persecution then in vigor. Marcellinus having entered, he denied that he had offered incense." We are not told the authority by which this synod was called. And why is a stress laid on the absence of many because of the persecution? Certainly, if there were 300 bishops present, it was a very respectable convention. But how did those 300 prelates, from so many interdistant dioceses, manage to travel safely in that direful time? Then we hear:

(1) BOLLANDISTS; *Acts of the Saints*, at Sept. 22.(2) *On Spectacles*, ch. 13.

“Fourteen witnesses entered, and said: “We saw thee (Marcellinus) offering incense to Hercules, Jupiter, and Saturn.” The forger showed in this passage that he knew nothing about the pagan liturgy; for the temple in question was dedicated to Vesta, and no worship of other deities would have been tolerated in it. “When was it,” the Pontiff is represented as asking the witnesses, “that you saw me offering incense?” The reply is given as: “On the day when you discarded your purple garments, and donned scarlet ones, Diocletian thereupon rejoicing.” If the reader believes that in that day, and even in a time of persecution, a Roman Pontiff wore distinctive robes of purple, he will not smile at this passage. We are told that when conjured to reply truly to his accusers, Marcellinus protested: “I did not sacrifice to the gods; I simply placed some grains of incense on the fire.” Can it be supposed that a Roman Pontiff, a priest necessarily acquainted with the story of Ezekiel and the prohibited food, would proffer such a puerile explanation to an assembly of three hundred Christian prelates? Finally, say the *Acts*, when the Pontiff was exhorted to judge in his own cause—“thou shalt be condemned by your own judgment, not by ours,” he threw himself on the ground, and: “As he remained there prostrate and hesitating, they condemned him.” Then it is said that soon afterward “Marcellinus, Bishop of the city of Rome, exclaimed in a loud voice: ‘I have sinned in your sight, and I ought not to remain in the priestly order (?), for I have been corrupted by gold’; whereupon they signed his condemnation, and expelled him from the city. Bishop Melchiades was the first to sign this condemnation; and he said in a clear voice: ‘He has been condemned justly by his own mouth... for the first See will never be judged by any one.’” And nevertheless, according to the *Acts*, the bishop of bishops was judged by his inferiors, and was “expelled from the city.” No wonder that Tillemont could not understand how it is that these pretended *Acts of Simnessa* have been allowed to retain a position among the received *Acts of the Councils*. Concluding our examination of the absurdities of the composer of these supposititious

Acts, we must note that the phrase "the First See is judged by no one," as purporting to be uttered by one of the members of the alleged Sinuessan Synod, would indicate that the synodals were very bad theologians, since they tacitly, at least, approved a doctrine which, according to their hypothesis, would be false and absurd. That the decisions of the Holy See in matters of doctrine are *per se irreformabiles*, and therefore "to be judged by no one" in other than a spirit of obedience, is a matter of faith; but it is false that in an hypothesis like that asserted to have been verified in a synod at Sinuessa, a Roman Pontiff "could be judged by no one." Of course we hold with Bellarmine and the majority of theologians that "it is probable, and may piously be believed, that *even as a private person* the Roman Pontiff cannot be a heretic, obstinately teaching anything contrary to faith" (1). But if we were able to suppose, as the presumed Sinuessan Synod was said to have supposed, that a Pontiff *could* fall into apostasy, then certainly we would be obliged to admit that such a Pontiff could be subjected to an inquiry *as to the fact*. That three hundred bishops could advance the contrary theory, and at the very moment when they "condemned Marcellinus, and expelled him from the city," we must refuse to believe.

But we are asked to remember that the *Roman Breviary* explicitly records the idolatry of St. Marcellinus. This objection can be seriously adduced only by one who is unacquainted with the nature of the *Breviary*. As Pope Gelasius observed, the Church does not present the lives of the saints, which are sketched in the *Breviary*, "as a Gospel." The same Pontiff tells us to "examine all (the presumed facts), and to hold to what is correct"; and his advice was reasonable, for, as all ought to know, the historical features of the *Breviary*, being based on human, not on divine faith, can properly be made subjects of historical criticism. Several Pontiffs, notably St. Pius V., Clement VIII., Urban VIII., and Benedict XIV., reformed the text of this monumental work; they all understood, as all future Pontiffs will understand, that historical assertions in the *Breviary* have no

(1) *The Roman Pontiff*, Bk. iv., ch. 6.

more value than that possessed by the sources from which they are derived. That pre-eminently learned and judicious Pope, Benedict XIV., speaking of the authority of the *Breviary*, says : " It is thought that Pope Nicholas III. (1277-1280) finally decreed that in all the churches in the city of Rome those *Offices* should be recited, and those books read, which the Franciscans were accustomed to use ; and that all the more ancient *Offices* and *Books of Chant* should be thereafter proscribed. . . . Gavanti (1), speaking of the *Roman Breviary* as we now have it, gives us in his already-mentioned work (*The Lessons*) an account of the corrections of the Lessons in the Second Nocturn which were made by Cardinals Baronio and Bellarmine in the time of Clement VIII. ; and he testifies to the difficulty experienced in reforming those Lessons concerning the saints according to the demands of historical truth, and with the least possible change. He even admits that certain legends of the saints, which good historians pronounce inexact and perhaps without good foundation, were generally retained, because of the possibility that they might be true. . . . Although it may safely be asserted that an insertion in the *Roman Breviary* gives no little weight to historical narratives, nevertheless, it must not be thought that there is any prohibition against laying before the Apostolic See any historical difficulties (in reference to those narratives), in order that said difficulties may be considered, whenever another correction of the *Breviary* is undertaken " (2). It is evident, therefore, that when we consider the positive arguments which militate for the innocence of St. Marcellinus, the contrary testimony of the *Roman Breviary* is not necessarily to be received. We must say of the credulity of the compilers of the *Breviary* what Papebroch remarked concerning that which Pope Nicholas I. displayed in his letter to Emperor Michael : " He alleged in good faith a report which was regarded as true in his time." It may be noted, however, that this is not the sole historical error committed by Nicholas I. in the same letter. He speaks of a Roman Council having been convened by

(1) See our Vol. iv., p. 49.

(2) *Canonization of Saints*, Pt. ii., Bk. iv., ch. 13. Rome, 1747.

Pope Xystus III. for the purpose of judging Polychronius, bishop of Jerusalem; and both Baronio and Papebroch demonstrate that no such bishop of Jerusalem ever existed. The same remark as to inculpable credulity might be made in regard to the author of the *Second Catalogue* or *Pontifical Book*, a work which is ascribed to the sixth century—to a period two centuries later than the questioned event—by nearly all erudite chronologists, notably by Papebroch, Pearson, and Dodwell; but the innocence of this author becomes problematical, when we reflect on the absurdities which he utters, and on the silence of the *First Catalogue*—a more ancient work which he must have read—concerning any guilt of St. Marcellinus.

CHAPTER IV.

CONSECRATED VIRGINS AMONG THE EARLY CHRISTIANS.

In the very first days of the infant Church we find followers of that state of perfection which Our Lord had chosen for Himself and for His Mother. Virginity was the portion of some of the apostles, absolute continency of all. The ancient records show us SS. Peter and Paul receiving the vow of chastity from St. Petronilla; St. Matthew from St. Iphigene, and St. Clement from Flavia Domitilla. Not a Father of the Church fails to show his admiration of those who are “to follow the Lamb wherever He goeth.” St. Ignatius, fresh from the instructions of the virgin St. John, tells the people of Tarsus to “honor the virgins who are consecrated to Christ.” St. Justin sings the praises of those who have grown old in voluntary celibacy. St. Cyprian declares “that the greater the number of virgins, the greater the joy of the Church.” And so tenderly did the early Church cherish these imitators of Mary, that, as a rule, they were supported by ecclesiastical funds. Some writers, following St. Athanasius, ascribe the first cloister to a sister of St. Anthony, about the year 313; and they insist that before Constantine gave peace to the Church, all the sacred

virgins lived in the world, although, of course, not "of it." But there is good reason for the assertion that, at least in Syria and Mesopotamia, cloisters were known before the fourth century. Tertullian (160-245) and St. Cyprian (d. 258) are cited by Balto, in his *Preface to the Acts of St. Febronia*, as alluding to such establishments (1). And St. Ephrem (d. 379) speaks of them as having existed in his country long before his day. But the *Acts of St. Febronia*, as transcribed in the *Martyrology* of the Western Church, in the Greek *Menology*, in the *Calendars* of the Copts and of the Muscovites, would remove all doubt in the matter. These authentic *Acts* tell us that when Silenus, Lisymachus, and Primus, fulfilling the command of Diocletian, in 304, to punish all Christians with death, had arrived at Sibapolis in Assyria, they there found "a monastery of fifty women under the government of Bryene, who had hitherto followed the rule assigned them by one Plato, a deacon." However, it seems certain that cloisters were unknown in the West during the days of pagan persecution; then our religious resided at home, carefully avoiding all worldly amusements, and subject, so far as circumstances permitted, to what we call a "rule." Writing to the virgin Eustochia, St. Jerome says: "May the intimate privacy of thy chamber protect thee! May thy Spouse ever rejoice in thy heart! When thou prayest, thou speakest to thy Spouse; when thou readest, He talks to thee. All of you know well the Hours—Prime, Tierce, Sext, None, and Vespers. Twice or thrice a night thou must arise and recall to thy mind the lessons of Scripture. Leaving home, let prayer arm thee; returning, at once prayer must meet thee." As to the obligation of perseverance on the part of these consecrated virgins, the Council of Elvira (2) decreed, in its thirteenth canon, that a violation of their vow should entail a denial of Communion even at the hour of death.

With the triumph of Constantine came that of Christianity; and just as magnificent basilicas took the place of hidden and often subterranean churches, so the system of the clois-

(1) TERTULLIAN; *On the Veiling of Virgins*.—ST. CYPRIAN; *Discipline of Virgins*.

(2) This Council was probably held in 324, but some writers assign it to the year 252.

ter replaced the independent religious life. Palladius, writing at the end of the fourth century, says that Pacomius built a convent for his sister on the bank of the Nile opposite his own monastery; that while the latter counted fourteen hundred monks, the former sheltered four hundred nuns (1). St. Basil built many convents, and drew up a rule for their inmates. In the Thebaid the Abbot Elias directed three hundred virgins; and in the city of Ossirintum, says Rufinus, there were twenty thousand (2). The delicate ladies of Rome seem to have shown, at first, but little inclination for the severe life of the cloister. Most of its votaries were for a time from the lower classes; indeed, we learn from St. Jerome that St. Paula so far yielded to the prejudices of her noble subjects as to locate the others, unless when at prayer, in separate buildings (3). But very soon the example of Marcella and her daughter affected ladies of even the highest rank, and the aristocracy gave more than a reasonable quota of its daughters to the holy level of convent discipline. At the time of Pope St. Gregory the Great (590-604) the number of cloistered women in Rome was so large, that during a period of scarcity of food, the Pontiff himself fed and clothed more than three thousand (4). Just as in our day, parents were accustomed to confide the education of their daughters to the care of religious. Writing from Bethlehem, St. Jerome earnestly advises Leta, a widow, to send even an infant to the care of Paula, over whose convent the holy doctor exercised supervision: "Try not to bear a burden which is too great for you, but so soon as you have weaned her, let her be consigned to the monastery; let her live in a virginal choir, knowing not the world. . . . If you send her to Paula, I promise to be her teacher and her guardian. I will carry her on my shoulders, and my age will direct her hesitating words." Many of these girls were destined by their parents (if they afterward should deem them-

(1) *Lausiac History*.

(2) *Lives of the Fathers*, Bk. i., ch. 5.

(3) *Plures virgines, quas e diversis provinciis congregarat, tam nobile, quam mediæ et infimæ generis, in tres turmas monasteriaque divisit, dumtaxat ita ut in opere et in cibo separate, psalmodiis et orationibus jungerentur. . . unumquodque agmen matrem propriam sequeretur.*" Thus in his letter to Eustochia on the epitaph of Paula.

(4) Bk. vi., letter 23.

selves so called) to the conventual life, and their training was accordingly directed with that view.

Religious profession was allowed at sixteen (1); but St. Jerome says that his friend Asella made her profession at ten (2). Consecration, which corresponded to the solemn or definitive *profession* of our day, was given only at twenty-five, as we learn from the 26th canon of the Third Council of Carthage, held in 397. The age at which a nun might be made an abbess was put at sixty by St. Basil; but the Councils of Chalcedon and Trullo deemed forty a sufficient guarantee of prudence. St. Gregory the Great, writing to the bishop of Syracuse, said: "We absolutely prohibit the appointment of young abbesses; Your Fraternity will appoint only such as are sixty years old." This requirement of very advanced age was extended at one time even to a consecration. St. Leo I., having learned that certain cruel parents forced their daughters to take the veil, decreed in 458 that no religious should be invested before the age of forty; but in the course of time the age of twenty-five was re-established, to remain until the twelfth century, when twenty became customary. It was quite natural that all these women, whether members of the cloister or consecrated to a particular service of God at home, should adopt some distinctive dress, while, of course, they abandoned all garments which might savor of vanity, however harmless. The latter generally wore clothing of wool and of a dark color; the former, owing to the variety of institutes, in time came to present as many different uniforms as they formed families. But there was one distinctive mark for all religious women, which dated at least from the fourth century, and, with the exception of a very few modern Congregations (3), they have always worn it—the veil. Even Tertullian seems to allude to this vesture when he says: "True and entire virginity fears nothing more than itself; it cannot bear the eyes even of women, and retires under its veil as behind a shield which protects its treasure" (4). St. Jerome speaks of those who,

(1) BASIL; *To Amphilochius*, epist. 2. (2) *To Marcella*.

(3) Thus, the Sisters of Charity have no veil. When their founder, St. Vincent de Paul, was interrogated on this point, he replied: "Their virtues will be their veils."

(4) *Loc. cit.*—Among the Orientals, unmarried females never went out unveiled. We

“when they swear to preserve their virginity, hide their features under a dark mantle.”

Although the veil was often assumed without ceremony, it was frequently blessed and solemnly imposed by the bishop; thus, St. Jerome exhorts Demetrias to perseverance in her obligations, assumed when “the prayer of the Pontiff laid the virginal insignia on her head.” This solemn profession at the hands of a bishop was, in the first centuries, always made on a principal feast; thus, St. Ambrose, in his elegant exhortation to virgins, says: “The Paschal day has arrived, and all over the world the Sacrament of Baptism is conferred, and virgins receive the veil.” And Pope Gelasius (492), writing to the bishops of what is now Portugal, mentions Christmas, the Epiphany, and Low Sunday as days when “especially the veil is to be given by bishops.” In the course of time this ceremony was performed also on Sundays and on anniversaries of Our Lady and of the martyrs. Catalani shows that the bishop usually pronounced an appropriate discourse on the occasion (1). Sometimes, but only in very extraordinary circumstances, the Supreme Pontiff enhanced the solemnity of the function by himself officiating; thus, as St. Ambrose informs us, on a Christmas Day, Pope Liberius gave the veil to his sister Marcellina in the Vatican Basilica (2). In the days of St. Jerome, and in Rome, the religious veil was of purple, and the saint explains the mystic sense of the color: “The sacred virgins invest their hair with sobriety, modesty, and continence, as well as with the entire company of the virtues; and, covered by the veil purpled with the blood of Our Lord, they show His mortifica-

read of Rebecca (*Genesis*, xxiv. 65) that when she saw Isaac, her future husband, from a distance, she covered herself with her veil. On the contrary, the ancient Roman girls showed their faces in public, while the married women were veiled; in fact, the primitive meaning of *nubere* (to marry) was to veil one's self. The privilege, of course, pleased the young women; but the severe Tertullian condemned them for availing themselves of it in church, and it was with this object that he composed his treatise, *The Veiling of Virgins*. He was told that the privilege was appropriate to the candor of innocence, and that, when the virgins were seen to be thus unique in church, they invited others to imitate them. But he answered that where there was complacency there came vanity, interest, constraint, weakness; and a constrained virginity was a source of crime.

(1) *Commentary on the Pontifical Book*, title 19.

(2) Benedict XIV. (1740-58) gave the veil to one of the Colonna princesses, and delivered on the occasion one of his most erudite and majestic sermons. We have met with no more modern instance of such pontifical action.

tions in their own frames" (1). St. Optatus of Milevi says that there was no precept as to the material of the purple veil (2). Generally, however, the veil was black. In some places, as is shown in the learned dissertation by the Benedictine (St. Maur) Anthony Mege, published in 1689, there were eight different veils: 1. The veil of probation, given to any one who asked for it; 2. That of reception, for novices, and this was white; 3. That of profession, which was red; 4. That of consecration, blessed by the bishop, and given only to virgins; 5. That of "ordination," so termed, given to deaconesses on their appointment; 6. That of "prelacy" or authority, for abbesses; 7. That of continence, for widows; 8. That of penance, for any religious who had been guilty of grave scandal. As to cutting the hair of a novice, it was not in vogue in some places, but in others it was customary from time immemorial; the operation was performed by the superior-ess. From the *Acts of St. Saturninus and His Companions*, and from many other testimonies adduced by Martene (3), we learn that the first religious did not cut their tresses, but wore them hidden.

And now a few remarks as to the order of "deaconesses"—women consecrated to the service of the Church, who, although known even in Apostolic days (4), have not been seen in the West since the twelfth century, nor in the East since the thirteenth. But in very modern times the Ambrosian rite provides for a similiar organization of matrons—*vetulones*,—who furnish the bread and wine for the Sacrifice (5). It was the duty of the deaconesses to perform toward females those offices at baptism, then conferred by immersion, which the deacons fulfilled toward men; to act as vergers or beadles in that part of the church assigned to women; to visit the poor and sick of their own sex; and, when circumstances would not allow a deacon to do so, to strengthen by exhortation the courage of the women during persecution (6).

(1) *The Institute of Virgins*.

(2) *Against the Donatists*.

(3) *Ancient Rites of the Church*.

(4) St. Paul speaks of them in the *Epistle to the Romans*; and Pliny the Younger, writing to Trajan, says that he has put two *ministrae* to the torture.

(5) MACER; *Hieroglexicon*, art. *Deaconesses*.

(6) BALSAMON; canon 2 of the Council of Laodicea.—ASSEMANI; *Oriental Library*, Vol. 71. ch. 13.

The Council of Trullo, in the year 692, uses the word *cheirotonein* (to impose hands) in speaking of the consecration of deaconesses; however, it is certain that such "imposition" was not Sacramental, but merely ceremonial, for the Nineteenth Canon of the Nicene Council expressly places these women among laics. At first the deaconesses were widows who had been married but once, and their reception as deaconesses was an impediment to a second marriage; in time, as is shown by Zonaras and Balsamon, virgins also were enrolled. The modern Greeks, both the United and the Schismatic, give the name of deaconesses to the wives of their deacons, but these have no office in the Church. The same is to be noted of those women who are sometimes mentioned during the early Christian centuries as priestesses, bishopesses, etc. (1); they were separated wives of men who had become priests, etc., and they are specially denominated laics by Pope Soter (175). These were bound to a life of continual prayer and mortification, and were excommunicated if they broke their vows.

In the olden time, female religious were often styled "canonesses," because their lives were arranged by the ecclesiastical Canons (2). But they were very different from the aristocratic "canonesses" of the Middle Ages, and from those who are to be found to-day in the Empire of Austria. These women are not, properly speaking, religious; for, the abbess alone excepted, they are bound by no vows. All necessarily being of noble, and often of imperial blood, their retirement is frequently only temporary; but so long as they remain in the convent, they are bound to the Divine Office and many exercises of piety, and in the choir they wear the robes of "canonesses." In 816 the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle prescribed for them a somewhat severe rule, founded on the prescriptions of SS. Cyprian, Jerome, and Athanasius; thus, it obliged them to chastity, and, while it allowed them servants, it compelled them to make their own clothes. But in the thirteenth century the canonesses ceased to observe these rules,

(1) Thus the second Council of Tours, can. 20, says: "*Si inventus fuerit presbyter cum sua presbyteria, aut diaconus cum diaconissa, aut subdiaconus cum subdiaconissa.*" etc.

(2) SOCRATES; b. i., c. 17.

although Cardinal James de Vitriaco, writing about the year 1240, remarked: "I have observed that many of these women are very earnest in their struggle toward perfection; and probably they are acceptable to God precisely because they have been in the fire, and nevertheless have not been burnt" (1).

(1) During the course of our disquisitions we have frequently had occasion to refer to the mute but eloquent testimony of the Roman Catacombs in favor of many points of Catholic dogma and discipline; and here we would observe that the researches of the eminent archaeologist, the late Commendatore De Rossi, show that the Catacombs are redolent of testimony concerning the consecration of virgins among the primitive Christians. On Feb. 14, 1900, the Roman archaeologists listened to a discourse in which the Rev. William Campbell, formerly rector of the Scotch College in the Eternal City, recalled to mind many of De Rossi's observations on this subject. Shortly afterward the *Baltimore Sun* published a synopsis of this lecture, and we submit to the reader a few of its more salient points. In the Catacomb of St. Priscilla, on the Salarian Way, a pictorial representation in one of the oldest chambers shows the reception of the veil. There are three figures in the group—a bishop, a deacon, and the maiden who is about to receive the veil. The bishop, an aged man with a white beard, is seated on a chair or throne. With his right hand he points before him, probably to the figure at the other extremity of the picture, which represents the Blessed Virgin, seated on a throne, holding the Divine Infant in her arms. The action of the bishop has been interpreted as calling the attention of the virgin about to be professed and to receive the veil to the model she is to aim at imitating—the Virgin Mother. The maiden stands at the side of the bishop, holding the veil with both her hands. She is dressed in a long yellow tunic, with two red bands falling from the shoulders to the feet. Behind her stands the deacon. In the centre of the picture there is a large figure of a virgin, with a veil and long dark red flowing gown or tunic. The veil, which is white, hangs down on each side of her head, and near the ends it is crossed by bars of red color; it terminates in a fringe. The figure is that known as an *Orante*, or praying figure, and represents the virgin vowed to God, who was, in all probability, buried here and is thus represented as having passed into the enjoyment of heavenly bliss. The eyes are looking upward, and you may read the desire of the artist to convey the idea that this *Orante* beholds the face of the Lord. This notion is strengthened by the doves with olive branches and the peacocks—symbols of immortality—depicted in the curving ceiling of the arcosolium, where these groups are painted. There are several other frescoes in different catacombs in which virgins are represented, such as that in the catacomb of St. Cyriacus, where Christ is seen with five virgins on His right hand, and five others on His left. Those on His right hold up lighted torches, while those on His left bear extinguished torches. The picture is easily read as a symbolical representation of the five wise and the five foolish virgins—the former with their lamps trimmed and burning, the latter with their lamps extinguished for want of oil. That it has a special reference to this place, the catacomb of St. Cyriacus, is evident from the fact that here in the vicinity of the Church of St. Lawrence, which stands close to the catacomb, was in early centuries a convent for nuns. When this church was restored and newly adorned by Pope Pius IX. in 1862, many inscriptions to the memory of virgins were found. The fresco in the catacomb of St. Priscilla, representing the investiture of a virgin with the veil, belongs undoubtedly to the second century, but the interpretation of the subject of this fresco has been questioned, though the burden of evidence favors the original interpretation. In the latter half of the fourth century, that the life of the cloister was established and recognized is evident from the writings of St. Jerome, especially from the letters he wrote to those who led such lives, on the duties and observances of their state. It has been supposed that Marcella, a noble widow of Rome, was the first who gave the example of such a mode of life in the metropolis of the Roman world. She studied the discipline which the widows and virgins placed under the direction of Pachomius practiced in the monasteries of the Thebaid: "and she did not blush," says St. Jerome, "to adopt a rule of life which she recognized as pleasing to Christ." The interpretation, says De Rossi, which would represent St. Jerome as having said that Marcella was the first among noble Roman ladies to give the example of living

as virgins or as chaste widows, is a wrong interpretation. Well, indeed, are the names of illustrious virgins and widows dedicated to God known and celebrated who flourished in Rome in the very ages of the persecutions. What St. Jerome says is only that Marcella first among Roman matrons undertook the monastic life in Rome, *propositum monachorum*; that is, that mode of solitary and severe living together with other companions of the same intention. On the slabs found at St. Lawrence's church, the epitaphs bear dates of the years 434, 464, and 486. These are much later than the dates of other sacred virgins mentioned in the writings of the Fathers, and very much later than the picture in the catacomb of St. Priscilla. In fact, more than a century before the last of these dates, the Latin poet of Christian Rome, Prudentius, mentions the conventual house of St. Lawrence. He mentions in a special manner a Vestal virgin named Claudia who, having left the worship of Vesta and embraced the Christian life, went to St. Lawrence's—in every probability a convent of nuns in the vicinity of this church, the epitaphs of some of whom were brought to light in 1862. It is in the proximate catacomb—that of St. Cyriacus—that the fresco representing the wise and the foolish virgins was painted, and according to the general opinion, over the tomb of one of these nuns. Other incidents depicted here seem to point to the fact that the tomb was that of a person converted to the faith. The question has been asked, could it have been the tomb of the Vestal Claudia who, as Prudentius tells, became a Christian nun? In the Atrium of Vesta—the courtyard of that pagan cloister—there stands a pedestal bearing a most laudatory inscription to a high priestess of Vesta, to whom a statue was erected on this pedestal by the college of the high priests, under the vice-presidency of Macrinus Sossinus, as a testimony to her chastity and to her profound knowledge in religious matters. The name of this highly lauded lady has been carefully erased from the pedestal, no other erasure but the name having been made. On the discovery of this pedestal in 1883, the minds of scholars and students went at once back to the events of the time—for the pedestal is dated A. D. 364—and considered what was likely to have happened in Rome at that date. It is contemporary, or almost so, with the words of Prudentius in his hymn to St. Laurence—"Claudia the Vestal virgin enters thy shrine." It is not improbable that the virgin buried at St. Lawrence's, over whose grave the fresco of the wise and foolish virgins was painted, was indeed that Claudia who had forsaken the cloister of Vesta. It is not improbable that it was the name of Claudia that was erased from the laudatory inscription in the Atrium of Vesta. However strange these conjectures may seem at first sight, there is probability in them; and thus if they be true, one of the noblest of the women of pagan Rome, for such were the Vestals, became one of the noblest of the Christians, living out her pure and holy life at the shrine of the martyr Lawrence, while the priests of paganism decreed that her memory should be condemned to oblivion and her name erased from their records of honor. It would again be one of the ironies of history to find that the name of the Vestal condemned to forgetfulness should under newer and better auspices be recorded in the writings of the great Christian poet and held in high honor for centuries as that of Claudia, the converted Vestal Virgin.

Gregorovius, the most pretentious and one of the most deliberately mendacious among the exponents of so-called "German science" in historical matters, audaciously asserts that before the fourth century Rome knew little or nothing concerning any special veneration of the Blessed Virgin; that said devotion began only in 432, when Sixtus III. restored the Liberian Basilica, dedicating it to the *Virgo Dei parva*. Thus the German "historian" in his *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Age*, Vol. I., p. 121. In an apposite monograph entitled *Historical Notes Concerning the Antiquity of the Veneration of the Virgin Mary* (Rome, 1887), the learned Jesuit, Mariano Armellini, demonstrates the absurdity of the antipathy ever displayed toward an even ordinary respect for the Most Blessed among Women, on the part of the heterodox North—that North "which once gave to the Latin races a lesson in regard to respect for women"; and he shows how Gregorovius, problematically well equipped for a study of the Rome of the Cæsars, was absolutely ignorant of all that concerns Subterranean Rome, the Rome of the Martyrs. The monuments of the Catacombs demonstrate that long before Pope Liberius erected St. Mary Major's on the Esquiline, the disciples of the Apostles, children of those who had known and conversed with Our Lady, "had depicted her dear features on the sepulchres of their dead, thus proving that the devotion of the nineteenth century for Mary is the same as that of the primitive Church."

CHAPTER V.

SOME SALIENT FEATURES OF THE MIDDLE AGE.*

(Complement of Chap. I., Vol. II.)

.. ASTROLOGY, ALCHEMY, AND SORCERY.

Désiré Nisard, the late venerable Dean of the French Academy, once rebuked a presumptuous, self-acclaimed wise man with these words: "It is not your knowledge, sir, but your ignorance that we fear." The Catholic apologist for the Ages of Faith indulges in the same reflection whenever he is obliged to note the arrogant ignorance of some decrifier of a period which the poor man has not studied. We have no desire to ignore any of the salient features of the Middle Age; although we are ready to admit that Christendom was then as now composed of human beings, and that then as well as now individual men and general society suffered from many failings. Among these failings—or, as the worshippers of everything modern would term them, the crying evils—of the most misunderstood of periods, we are sometimes asked to note the existence of a blind faith in astrology, alchemy, and sorcery. But was such a belief a creation of the Middle Age? He must be indeed a tyro in historical study who does not know that astrology was a legacy from paganism; that it originated among the ancient Chaldeans; that from Chaldea it passed into Egypt, thence into Greece; and that from the decadent Lower Empire the Arabs transplanted it into Spain, whence it was diffused throughout Europe. Very little patience in investigation is required in order that one may learn that all that was *magical* in astrology—that is, the so-called *judiciary* astrology—was always condemned by the Church. Even a casual student of the Middle Age knows that *natural* astrology was only what we now term astronomy, and that this science was always cultivated pre-eminently by the mediæval ecclesiastics. Judiciary astrology, which Kep-

* Most of the contents of this dissertation appeared in *THE AVE MARIA*, 1893-'99 *passim*.

ler rightly styled a "crazy daughter of a sane mother," pretended to predict the future of men and states by means of examination of the stars; and we read that Charlemagne issued many edicts against its practice, while many Pontiffs condemned it in apposite Bulls. And long after the Middle Age had vanished, judiciary astrology continued to be in vogue. To say nothing of the then still comparatively crude English and Germans, the more enlightened Italians and French were not guiltless in this matter, even in the sixteenth century. And even in our own day, astrology is practised to a great extent among people who are far from mediæval in their tendencies; and if it is not more in favor than it is, especially among those who are outside of the Catholic Church, the reason is to be found not in any superiority of intellect, but in a spirit of materialism which prevents so many non-Catholics from looking above the roofs of their houses for an explanation of the things of earth.

The word "alchemy"—merely the Arab term for our "chemistry" (*al chemia*)—does not occur in any writings of an earlier date than the ninth century; but the science itself is of ante-mediæval origin. We know that the Greeks and Arabs derived it from the Egyptians; and that the latter, with every appearance of reason, assigned its beginnings to the early generations of humanity. As an illustration of the antiquity of alchemical experiments and inventions, we may adduce the fact that the art of enamelling, rediscovered by the Frenchman, Bernard Palissy, in the sixteenth century, was known not only by the ancient Etruscans whose pottery we so admire, but also by the Egyptians of thirty centuries ago. In the Khedival Museum of the Boulak, in Cairo, there are specimens of *oua-chaptis*, in a state of perfect preservation, taken from the Pharaonic tombs, and evidently at least three thousand years old. However, it is not this legitimate alchemy or chemistry that the contemnners of the Middle Age indicate, when they ridicule that period as addicted to charlatanry. They point to exceptional abuses, or rather travesties, of the science; and they never use the term "alchemy" in other than contemptuous fashion, reserving the synonym "chemistry" for the nobler operations and

investigations of the same science. But is it true that alchemy, understood in the ignoble sense of the term, flourished peculiarly in the Middle Age? Is it not rather an indisputable fact that every age has furnished its charlatans and innumerable victims, of whom it could always be said: "What fools these mortals be"? Long after the Middle Age had disappeared, even in that Golden Age of the semi-pagan and semi-Christian Renaissance, if we take a peep at Sedan, we shall see Henry I. de Bouillon negotiating with an itinerant alchemist who has promised to communicate to the needy prince the "great secret" of the method of manufacturing gold. And the man of the world, the circumspect politician, having witnessed "with his own eyes," as he afterward assured his friends, the fact of the transmutation of metals, gave to his deceiver what would be a quarter of a million of our money, that he might advance the cause of science in the imminent Congress of the adepts at Venice. During this same illuminated period of the Renaissance, Charles IX. of France, intent on the same method of acquiring wealth, was swindled by Jacob Gantier to the amount of twenty thousand louis d'or. We may note, however, that Pope Leo X. was more prudent than either Bouillon or Charles IX. When Giovanni Augurello read to His Holiness his poem, *Chrysopea*, or "The Art of Making Gold," the greedy promoter received from the grand Mæcenas in tiara, not a plethoric purse, but an empty one, which, observed Leo, would serve to hold the fortune which would soon be manufactured. If we approach nearer to our own days, we behold the entire school of Voltaire, to a man, dupes of charlatans like Cagliostro, the Count de Saint-Germain, and J. J. Casanova (1). Again, we must not forget that the chemical, or alchemical (if we must use the term), investigations of the Middle Age were the immediate causes of all the advances made by modern chemistry. In fact, the study of the occult, the prostitution of science in the interest of knavery, occupied much less of the attention of our mediæval ancestors than is commonly supposed. Speaking of the aberrations of certain mediæval alchemists, Cantù says:

(1) See our remarks on Cagliostro in Vol. iv., p. 420.

"These vagaries of human reason were an inheritance of antiquity, *and they ceased during the most glorious centuries of Christianity* (the early Middle Age). Undoubtedly, it is to be regretted that human intelligence ever abandoned itself to such a delirium; but the occult sciences were to have their moment of reign in the age of imagination, and to impel, by means of the imagination, the minds of men to an activity of which reason alone was not capable. How many vigils were consecrated to study by those men who thought that thereby they would surely discover the universal remedy and the philosopher's stone! It was out of their labors that chemistry was born." It was only after the time of Raimondo Lullo that rascals turned alchemy into an instrument for swindling, and that it was abandoned by men of merit. From the time of Lullo to that of Palissy it made no progress. While engaged in alchemy, Arnaldo di Villanova (b. 1238), the preceptor of Lullo, discovered the sulphuric, muriatic, and nitric acids. He it was who made the first attempts at the distillation which afterward produced alcohol. Paracelsus introduced antimonial, saline, and ferruginous preparations. Glauber discovered the sulphate of soda. Basil Valentino (or whatever Benedictine monk wrote under that name in the fifteenth century) gave to us vitriolized tartar.

Judiciary astrology and the abuses of alchemy certainly produced many baneful effects during the Middle Age; but they were harmless when compared with the evils which attended the practice of sorcery—that lengthy hallucination, says Littré, "which afflicted humanity during many long centuries. The prodigious multitude of sorcerers who were victims of a senseless justice, show how persistently and effectively intellectual maladies are communicated. The executioner did not deter the sorcerers; and they all died, avowing their relations with the demon." But, like the corruptions of astrology and alchemy, sorcery was not peculiar to the Middle Age. It existed among the ancient Egyptians, and even among the Jews long before the time of Moses, as we learn from *Deuteronomy*; and in *Kings* we read how the Pythoness of Endor caused the ghost of Samuel to appear to Saul. The works of ancient Greece are more redolent of the

paraphernalia of sorcery than of the glories of Hellas ; you can open scarcely one of the Greek narratives, plays, poems, or philosophical treatises, without meeting divinations, philtres, charms, invocations of the dead, metamorphoses of men into animals, etc. Every student remembers the scene described by Homer, where Tiresias prepares the ditch filled with blood for a summoning of the shades ; and that scene where Circe changes the companions of Ulysses into pigs. We know that in pagan Rome sorcery was an acknowledged profession ; and in the time of Tacitus its adepts, under the name of “ mathematicians,” were addicted to abominations which caused the great historian to number them among the worst scourges of the empire. These were the “ mathematicians ” against whom Pope St. Gregory the Great so forcibly inveighed, with the result that many Protestant writers exhibit him as an illustration of papal hostility to learning (1). From Roman paganism, by means of Neo-Platonism (a philosophico-poetical mixture of Indian, Egyptian, and Greek doctrines, which the School of Alexandria tried to substitute for pure Christianity) sorcery and other theosophistic inventions found their way into early mediæval society ; but during the halcyon days of this Age of Faith—that is, from the eighth to the fourteenth century—the number of adepts of occultism was always incomparably less than that which flourished during the Renaissance. Nor could it have happened otherwise. In pagan times, when, to use the words of Bossuet, “ everything was God excepting God Himself,” association with demons, either real or imaginary, was not repugnant to the tastes of men, especially since it was endowed with the charms of terror. But the worship of demons could not subsist in hearts which were occupied by faith in the one, all-powerful, and loving God. In vain did the powers of darkness join the remnants of the Latin with the Germanic superstitions in order to oppose a last resistance to the conquests of the God-Man : the mind of the Church, like that of her grandest poet, Dante, assigned to the sorcerer the lowest place in hell. But when the Renaissance tried to effect an alliance between the ideas of paganism and those

(1) See our Vol. I., p. 389.

of Christianity, there was a great revival of the ancient tendency to superstition; and then arrived the Golden Age of sorcery,—a fact which seems not to be recognized by the admirers of the Renaissance and the decriers of the Middle Age. And this Golden Age of sorcery reached its culmination in the sixteenth century, the period of Protestantism and of scepticism, when the characteristics of the Middle Age had become mere traditions. When writers on sorcery adduce instances of capital punishment for this crime, they seldom go further back than the sixteenth century. They do, indeed, point to the signal case of Joan of Arc in the fifteenth century; but what modern historian, possessed of critical acumen, and not enrolled in the service of the father of lies, ventures to assert that the English murderers of the sweet Maid of Orleans really believed that she was a sorceress?

The many treatises encouraging sorcery and demonology which were published and scattered broadcast throughout Europe, especially in Germany and England, at the time when the so-called Reformers were claiming that human reason had broken its fetters, were the cause of a spread of superstition such as the Middle Age never knew. Martin Luther and his companion preachers contributed their share in furthering the contagion. If we except Luther himself, Melancthon, and a few others of the first innovators, who had been trained by that Church whose seamless garment they were rending, the early preachers of Lutheranism were men of no education; and naturally, instead of combating the belief and practice of sorcery, they helped to propagate the evils. Luther himself said that he held theological conferences with the devil (1), and that he often saw the *Killkropft*—a child born of Satanic parents—sitting among his own offspring; and for many years after the heresiarch's death, credulous visitors to his room in Wartburg were shown the inkspot on the wall which recalled his interview with the prince of darkness. M. Alfred Rambaud—a dis-

(1) *Works of Luther*, Vol. iii.—*Claude's Defense of the Reformation*, pt. 2.—*Nicole's Legitimate Prejudices*, ch. 2.—*Basnage's History of the Reformed Churches*, Vol. iii., ch. 5.—*Bayle's Dictionary*, Art. *Luther*.

tinguished professor of the French Institute of our day, and of course a freethinker,—is astonished when he reflects on the fact that, in so many places in the days of the Reformation, superstition should have taken the place of religion: “It is very strange, and very humiliating for human reason, that when the Middle Age had vanished; when Charron and Montaigne had just written those books so impregnated with the spirit of scepticism; precisely then, in the full light of the sixteenth century, persecutions of sorcerers entered on their most violent phase” (1). One of the most sincere writers on sorcery, albeit probably the most tiresome and pedantic, was the royal head of the English Church Establishment, that “wisest fool in Europe,” as Sully termed him, James I. “It is not a century,” writes Voltaire, “since King James himself, that great enemy of the Roman communion and of the Pope, caused his *Demonology* to be printed. Master James, as Henry IV. styled him, admitted the fact of enchantments, etc.; he granted the power of the devil, and that of the Pope, who, according to him, has the power of expelling Satan from the bodies of the possessed, just as all priests have it. And even we—we unfortunate Frenchmen, who think to-day that we have re-acquired a little common sense,—even we were then immersed in—oh, what a sewer of stupid barbarism it was! At that time there was not one parliament, not one tribunal, which was not engaged in trying sorcerers.”

Yes, M. Arouet, it was a shame for France that her parliaments and other courts of judicature, like the tribunals in Protestant lands, and notably like the disciples of Cotton Mather in the English colonies of America, were so foolishly cruel toward men and women who may have been guilty of devil-worshipping, but who may have been the victims of hallucination, and may have been more innocent than their judges. But, Sage of Ferney, you who were so sympathetic toward the real or alleged sorcerers and witches who cursed the Pope, at the very time when you wrote of Pombal's burning of the Jesuits at Lisbon (2) that “it is a good

(1) *History of Civilization*, Vol. I., p. 511. Paris, 1885.

(2) It had been rumored in France that Pombal had sent twenty Jesuits to the stake: and it was of this reported hecatomb to Freemasonry and Protestantism that Voltaire said

beginning," could not have been ignorant of the fact that those cruelties would not have been possible in the early Middle Age, when the merciful spirit of the Church permeated the civil jurisprudence. You must have known that at least in that France which you so persistently besmirched, the jurisprudence which you rightly decry was a revival of the old *Jus Penale Romanum*, which had been replaced by the Canon Law of the Church until Philip the Fair broke with all the traditions of the Middle Age, and put secular tribunals in the place of the "Courts of Christianity" which had never prescribed the pain of death for sorcery.

Witchcraft (that form of sorcery which is the most familiar to the American student of history), was a legacy of paganism, and was scarcely known until toward the close of the Middle Age, when the hitherto all-pervading spirit of the Church was beginning to lose its hold on European institutions. The student of the classics will remember Lamia, beloved by Jupiter, and the victim of Juno's jealousy; the murderess of children and the foe of imminent motherhood (1). From this idea of Lamia the pagan Romans drew that of beautiful but lubricious women whom the gods had transformed into witches—*striges*,—and who sucked the blood of infants, or weakened them by feeding them from their own breasts. Garlic was supposed to be a remedy for these enchantments (2). Lucian and Apeleius give many notions concerning the witches of Thessaly, and their powers of transformation. The Jewish *Talmud*, that strange mixture of traditional ancient wisdom and puerile errors, speaks of a certain Lilith, who may have been a version of the pagan Lamia. This Lilith, says the *Talmud*, was the first wife of Adam, a mother of demons, and most baneful to the newly-born children of men; and in order to obviate all danger to the infant, it was deemed necessary to place in the room of

it would do for a beginning. We can imagine the chagrin of the Sage when he learned that only one Jesus had been burnt—Father Malagrida. (See our Vol. iv., p. 452.)

(1) "*Neu pransæ Lamie vivum puerum extrahat alvo.*" (HORACE, in "*Ars Poetica*," 340.)

(2) "*Præterea si forte premit strix atra puellas,
Virosa immulgens exerts ubera labris,
Alia præcepit Titini sententia necti.*"

—SERENUS SAMONICUS, ch. 59.

the mother a triangle bearing the names of God, Eve, and Adam, together with the warning, "Away, O Lilith!" Another instance of the belief in witchcraft in the early days of Christianity is furnished by the legend that when Herodias received the head of the Baptist, she attempted to kiss it; and that the mouth of the victim opened, emitting a breath which sent the murderess floating in the air, where she is still seen in the quiet of night, waiting for opportunity to injure Christians.

However, during the greater part of the Middle Age there was but little belief in witchcraft. Friar Bernard Rategno, a most zealous Inquisitor of the sixteenth century, whose *Guide for Inquisitors* is praised by that light of the Holy Office, Francis Pegna, says that there were no witches in Christendom "before the time when the *Decree of Gratian* was compiled"—that is, about the year 1151; and he adds that "the *Strigiarum secta* first appeared only about a hundred and fifty years ago, as is evident from the archives of the Inquisition" (1). We are justified, therefore, in believing that it was only after the crime of Anagni had entailed the vital end of the Middle Age, that witchcraft and its attendant horrors became a scourge to humanity.

II.—TRADES-UNIONS.

Among the many proofs that the lot of the mediæval workingman was superior to that of his modern brother, not the least convincing is found in those trades-unions of the Middle Age, which formed an essential constituent of not only the social organism, but also of the political life of that too frequently misunderstood period. A trade-union an institution of the Middle Age? Is it possible that in that "dark period" there existed associations for the protection of the laborer? Such is the fact, surprising though it may be to those who have been led to think that all the social good in the world is a thing of yesterday. In the *History of the Hermit Ampelius* (2), which dates from the fifth

(1) *Guide for the Inquisitors Into Heretical Perverseness, in Which They May Find All That They Need to Know for the Exercise of Their Office*; by Friar Bernard of Como, Friar-Precacher and Illustrious Inquisitor. Milan, 1566.

(2) In the *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine.

century, we read of the "consuls" or presidents of the locksmiths. In many of the *Chronicles* of the Carolingian period we find mention of the corporation of the goldsmiths. We discover that the bakers had formed an association even in the time of King Dagobert; for an ordinance of that monarch, dated in 630, speaks of them in their collective capacity. Several of the *Capitulars* of Charlemagne prescribed the number of journeymen whom the bakers' association may receive, to the end that the trade may not be overcrowded. In the days of this first Holy Roman Emperor there were in Lombardy many *collegia* of artisans, probably relics of the ancient pagan Roman associations, or rather imitations of those bodies, transformed and sanctified by the Church. In many of the *Annals* of Ravenna, we perceive that about the year 943 there was in that gem of the Adriatic a *collegium* of fishermen; the same annals, at the year 953, make mention of a corporation of traders; and in 1001 they introduce us to a president of the butchers. In 1061 King Philip I., of France, grants privileges to the "masters" of the tallow-chandlers. The records of the reign of Louis VII., at the year 1162, allude to time-honored customs of the butchers' union. In 1182 Philip Augustus confirmed the statutes of the butchers, as well as those of the furriers and the drapers (1). It is true that in Germany, during the early Middle Age, artisans were generally mere serfs; but in the twelfth century even there the laborers had formed their *einnungen*, or unions, although the princes placed every obstacle in the way of these associations, and the emperors (notably Frederick II.) decreed their abolition. In France, on the contrary, just as in Italy and in Spain, there was never any antagonism between the trades-unions and the monarch; and from the time of St. Louis IX. to the Revolution, royal confirmations of the privileges of these associations were multiplied. In 1261 St. Louis appointed Etienne Boileau, a wealthy *bourgeois*, to the provostship of Paris, charging him with the task of collating in form all the customs and usages of each trade-union; for as yet those

(1) *Customs and Usages of the Middle Age, and at the Time of the Renaissance*; by Paul Lacroix (Bibliophile Jacob). Vol. i., p. 301, 6th edit. Paris, 1878.

customs, etc., had been merely traditional. Boileau conferred with the "masters" of all the associations, and the result of his labor was the *Livre des Métiers*, or "Book of the Trades," which Depping edited in 1837; and which, as the editor observed, "has the advantage of being, in great part the unaffected work of the unions themselves, and not a series of regulations established and formulated by municipal or judicial authority." This work of Boileau contains the statutes of a hundred different organizations of artisans; but during the reigns of the Valois and that of Henry IV. the number of trades-unions in France was increased to an immeasurable extent, there having been, in the time of the first Bourbon monarch, one thousand five hundred and fifty-one in Paris alone. The fourteenth century was the golden age for all the trades-unions in Europe. At that time they paraded their own armorial insignia in every religious or other public solemnity. They enjoyed the right of discussing their own general interests and of modifying their statutes. In order to unite its members more closely, each trade inhabited a special quarter of a city, and preferably one street, as is shown to-day by the names of innumerable streets in every European city of any antiquity.

The trades-unions of the early Middle Age exercised a civil and, to some extent, a criminal jurisdiction over their respective members; but since they constantly tended to extend the limits of this jurisdiction, the municipalities and sovereigns finally restricted it to a simple affair of police, to be exercised only in matters concerning the business of the unions. The relations of a union with its members were held by means of officers, who were variously styled as kings, masters, deans, wardens, or syndics. These officers decided all disputes between employers and employees; and at any moment a shop or factory was liable to be entered by one of these representatives of the sovereign corporation, in order to discover whether any infraction of the rules was being committed. These syndics, etc., were generally elected by the members of the unions; in some cases they were appointed by the king himself or the feudal lord. It is by no means a rarity for the reader to discover

in mediæval annals instances of women filling these positions. An eminent publicist of our day has well said that the corporations (so were termed these unions) formed the beloved country of the laborer, the artisan, the mechanic, and the artist of the Middle Age (1); and it is certain that in those days, far from hating the middle class, the workingman could afford to regard the *bourgeois* as his equal, since no member of the *bourgeoisie* occupied so eminent a position socially, or exercised so much civil authority, as did the syndie of a corporation; and every workingman knew that the syndichship was the reward of probity and of skill in his trade (2).

The corporation of the Middle Age (let not the word alarm the reader who may be suspicious of modern corporations) was a "moral personality," which guaranteed to the workingman many social, material, and moral advantages which are unknown to the modern laborer, whether, as is the rule in most countries, he be in that state of isolation to which the individualizing tendencies of the day condemn him, or whether he belong to that unsatisfactory substitute for the corporation of the Ages of Faith, the modern trade-union. In the Middle Age the workingman "was a *body* in the state; now he is merely an *individual*" (3). The mediæval corporation protected each one of its members; the modern omnipotent state confronts individuals who are powerless in their vaunted independence. In the mediæval corporation the laborer, artisan, or artist found the means to satisfy his most ordinary and pressing needs—primary, and industrial instruction for his children, his own support when sick or incapacitated by age, and even dowries for his marriageable daughters. The mediæval guild (another name for this admirable institution) was surrounded by an atmosphere of religion the most life-giving, as it is the most encouraging atmosphere which the workingman can breathe. Each guild was placed under the patronage of some special

(1) LEVASSEUR: *History of the Working Classes in France*. Paris, 1859.

(2) FOUQUE: *Historical Researches Concerning the Communal Revolution in the Middle Age*. Paris, 1840.

(3) ROMAIN: *Was the Middle Age a Period of Darkness and of Servitude?* Paris, 1895.

saint; the feast of the patron was the great holiday of each member and of his family; the saint's portrait was the prominent feature of the guild's banner; in the church dedicated to the saint (or in the absence of such, before his image) the apprentice assumed the obligations of his "mastership"; in fine, in every action of the corporation, as such, every member was made to feel that the end of labor should not be the mere accumulation of money, but rather the sanctification of one's soul.

In nearly all the pictures and medals of the thirteenth and fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, illustrating the careers of the mediæval guilds, which may be seen to-day in the Vatican Museum, the religious spirit of these associations is attested as having been of their very essence (1). Here we see the workingmen marching in solemn religious procession, surrounded by the emblems of their corporation, bearing lighted candles and revealing an expression of devotion which real acolytes do not always present. There we see a guild kneeling in prayer, probably in its own special church; and the artist has endowed the figures of the suppliants with a spirit which leads us to believe that those laborers, mechanics, or artists did conscientious work. Conscientious? Certainly; for when the apprentice was received as journeyman, one of the solemn promises which he made to God and to his corporation was to the effect that he would do "loyal" (that is, sound and honest) work. It was the duty of the syndic to see that this promise was kept, and to destroy or undo every piece of work which would bring discredit on the association. The instinctive and disciplinary "loyalty" of these mediæval workmen is evidenced in every production of their hands which has come down to us. Every mediæval corporation consisted of apprentices (for one, two, or three years, according to the nature of the labor or art), of journeymen, of aspirants to a mastership, and of wardens. The modern trade-union is an association of employees, the employer having no other connection with the organization than that which is entailed by his nearly constant antagonism to its measures,—an antagonism which is

(1) Many of these representations are reproduced in the monumental work of Lacroix.

sometimes justifiable, frequently inexcusable, and always lamentable. In the mediæval guild the employer was a member, and he was as subject to its laws as was the humblest apprentice. The mediæval employer, just like the newest apprentice in the guild, regarded as the ægis of his happiness, as the symbol of his real glory, that silken banner on which was admired, in gold or in silver, the saw of the carpenter, or the knife of the shoemaker, or the scissors of the tailor, or the crown and golden cross of the goldsmith; and like the apprentice, the employer was ever guided by the motto of his corporation, which could never lead him astray, since the device of every guild was assigned by the spirit of Christ (1). In order to become a member of a corporation, a person was obliged to prove that he was of good reputation, and it was necessary that the commune or municipality should certify his moral character. The candidate was also obliged to show that he was capable of performing, or of learning how to perform, the labors of his chosen craft; and when he had passed the examination, he was presented to the mayor of the municipality, and then led to a banquet of initiation, accompanied by two "god-fathers." When the apprentice had become a journeyman, his great ambition was the mastership in his trade or art, and that grade could not be attained until he had produced a "masterpiece" which won the approval of the best judges in the corporation. Once a master in his trade, the workman of the Middle Age could travel in any country of Europe, and he would always be sure to receive assistance from his brethren of the same trade. In those days, says Levasseur, the corporation was the safeguard and the teacher of industry. "It taught the people how to govern themselves. It did more: it gave to the artisan dignity, a taste for his business, pecuniary aid, the joys of fraternity in the most extensive sense of the word. It was the great affair of the working classes—the source of their pleasures, and the interest of their entire life." As George Sand expressed the idea, the corporation "conferred on the

(1) The corporations of Paris all had for device: *Vincit Concordia Fratrum*—"The concord of brothers conquers."

initiated a patent of nobility, of which he was proud and zealous even unto excess."

A very productive source of revenue, for both the corporation and the municipality, was formed by the system of fines for every delinquency on the part of a member. But gross offences against the reputation of the association in matter of "loyalty" were not condoned by a merely pecuniary sacrifice. At as late a date as the fifteenth century, we find that *adulteration of material, and culpable deficiency of care in building, were punished by death*, just as other kinds of robbery were then punished. The good traditions of each trade or profession, as well as the public interest, were guaranteed by the care which was taken for the morals of all the members. If any of them associated with, labored with, or took food with an excommunicated person, a reprimand ensued; a repetition of the offence entailed more severe punishment, perhaps expulsion from the guild. Immorality, in the case of a master, meant the loss of his mastership; in the case of an apprentice, it prevented his entrance on the examination for advancement. In many corporations the most trivial indecent expression was followed by a fine. Injudicious rivalry was obviated by prohibiting a new master from opening an establishment within a certain distance from the quarters of his old superior. Among the merchants and traders there was no "pulling in" in those days; the street was as free to the wayfarer as the castle to the baron.

That in time abuses arose in the mediæval corporations cannot be denied; but most of those abuses originated at the decline of the Middle Age, not in its prime. And even though those abuses—natural concomitants of everything human—had been tenfold more numerous and more condemnable than they were, they were more than neutralized by the eloquent fact that the laborer and artisan were then free men, and that their liberty was defended by municipal institutions and by the confraternities to which these workingmen belonged. It cannot be denied that the modern workingman is sometimes reasonably proud of his *individual liberty*; but it may be questioned whether his condition be not rather one of *individual abandonment*, in the face of that

capital which has become, to a very great extent, his antagonist,—that capital which in the Middle Age was his partner in the strict sense of the term. Indeed, absolute social equality is purely utopian; but its semi-insane advocates ought to acclaim the corporations of the Middle Age as having done more than any modern institution has effected in the way of harmonizing the social classes. It is of the essence of fallen human nature to be subject to the attacks of the passion of envy; therefore there was, in the Middle Age, a certain amount of ill-feeling for the rich and the lords of feudality, on the part of those whose bread was gained by the sweat of their brows. But how trivial was that envy if it be compared with that hatred of “the capitalist” which is now but too rampant in the breasts of very many workingmen! Speaking of France, where the mediæval corporations did not disappear entirely until the Revolution of 1789, the very unclerical Proudhon pronounces their abolition a “great iniquity”:—“It was the new system of law, inaugurated in 1789, which created the entirely new distinction between the middle class [*la bourgeoisie*] and that of the working people [*les prolétaires*],—a distinction which was unknown in feudal times. Before '89 the workingman lived in the corporation and in the mastership, just as a wife, a child, or a servant lives in the family. Then it would have been simply absurd to recognize one class of employers and another of employees; for then the employers included the employed. But since '89—the tie of the corporations having been severed without any equalization of wealth and condition between masters and workingmen, without any provision for a repartition of capital, and for a new organization of labor and of the rights of laborers,—a distinction has arisen between the class of capitalists and great proprietors who were the manipulators of the instruments of labor, and the class of laborers who were mere wage-earners. The deep-seated antagonism between the two classes—a thing unknown in the Middle Age—cannot be denied; and *that which caused it was a great iniquity.*”

This judgment of the giant among the many pygmies of modern Socialism should be well considered by all proletarian

sympathizers. Class hatred is styled by M. Levasnier, the editor of the Parisian journal *La Corporation*, "the barbarism of the civilized world, the dynamite of progress which threatens to destroy the edifice of society." When the Revolution of 1789 abolished the corporations in France, the government realized that the workingmen would suffer, and it promised to frame "a law on associations which would restore to the laborer the guarantees which had disappeared with his corporative organization." But unto this day that law has not been passed; and there is too much truth in the words of the extremely radical journal, the *Cri du Peuple*, when, after declaring that in the Middle Age the laborer was a free man, it complains that in our day "the condition of the workingman is very similar to that of a serf who enjoys a relative liberty, while because of that liberty his master has no duties in his regard." The trade-union of the Middle Age was certainly a close corporation, and probably its consequent condition of a privileged monopoly was its chief defect. M. Levasseur contends that this monopoly was justifiable at a time when "labor was extremely conscientious," the market very difficult, and local life very limited. Be this as it may, the monopolistic feature, the closeness of the corporation, might have been abolished without a destruction of the union itself; and there is no reason why our day should not see a revival of the mediæval institution, divested of its spirit of exclusiveness, but being, as of yore, a veritable representative of the interests of the workingmen. In France the enterprises of the noble Count Albert de Mun bid fair to bring about some such consummation.

III.—BUSINESS FEATURES.

Should some enterprising archæologist of the twenty-fifth century undertake to investigate the social life of the nineteenth, would he derive any information from a perusal of one of the ledgers of any of the monstrous "department-stores" now so common in both Europe and America? Some of the account-books of these establishments may possibly survive the vicissitudes of the next five or six

centuries ; and possibly, though very improbably, the ink of the nineteenth century may prove to have been, in some rare instances, nearly as durable as that of the Middle Age. But a twenty-fifth century investigator will scarcely find any eloquence in the interminable columns of dry and heartless figures which are now more distressingly monotonous to many poor book-keepers than are, to any seamstress, the stitches produced to the tune of the "Song of the Shirt." Will any idea be derived concerning the private lives of those individuals whose shopping proclivities are now the cause of the ledger's existence? The average merchant of our day will tell you, of course, that his account-book must necessarily deal with nothing but dollars and cents ; that in his business minds and hearts have no place ; and that only a madman would expect the records of his office to furnish material for a treatise on social or religious economy. Very different from this theory was that entertained by the average business man in the Ages of Faith. Then hardness of heart did not cause a mercantile register to present a record merely of monetary transactions—of things which are of no use to the philosophy of history. Of course in mediæval days, as in our own, the merchant noted accurately each expenditure and each sale ; but then time was found, or made, for such an explanation of each transaction as renders it, when examined by the modern investigator, an interesting and reliable source of history.

Under the auspices of the Historical Society of Gascony there was published, in 1890, a ledger of a mercantile establishment which flourished in the fourteenth century at Montauban (1). The book had been unearthed in the archives of Montauban by M. Edouard Forestié ; and when read with the aid of the Introduction furnished by its discoverer, it sheds much light upon the social and economic conditions of the Middle Age. We learn from this book of accounts that the Bonis Brothers were general merchants in Montauban. They were bankers, both of deposit and of issue ; money-lenders ; collectors of taxes and of ecclesiasti-

(1) *Ledgers of the Bonis Brothers, Merchants in Montauban in the Fourteenth Century.* Paris, 1890.

cal revenues; executors of wills; dealers in all kinds of dry-goods, made clothing, and shoes; jewellers, armorers, and mechanics; manufacturers and loaners of all things requisite for baptisms, weddings, and funerals; manufacturers of gunpowder and of all kinds of chemicals; wholesale and retail apothecaries, confectioners, etc. We are told that the two members of the firm lived in apartments over the immense halls in which the goods were retailed; that the younger brother, Gerard, was married, and had several children, who were educated at home by a Master of Arts; that during "the year of mortality"—that is, 1349, the year of the Great Plague—two of these children died; and that in the following year, Pope Clement VI. having proclaimed a Jubilee, the bereaved parent journeyed to the Eternal City, that he might obtain, as the book-keeper piously notes, rest for the departed and grace for himself. The clerk describes carefully the itinerary of his master: "He who wishes to visit SS. Peter and Paul, St. John of the Lateran, and the other saints in ancient Rome, should proceed from here [Montauban] to Avignon. He will dine at Avignon. At night he will sleep at Carpentras. On the next day he will dine at Sault, and then he will sleep at Sederon. . . . On the twenty-third day he will dine most joyously in ancient Rome. During this year 1350 our lord the Pope grants pardon from guilt and punishment to all repentant persons who have confessed their sins. This present Pope is a native of Avignon." Since the clerk informs us how careful M. Gerard Bonis was in complying with the conditions of the "Pardon," we are not surprised on hearing that in the house of the great merchants there was a resident chaplain, whose chief duty it was to offer the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for the living and dead of the house of Bonis.

One of the striking features of this mediæval ledger is its presentation of evidence that the Bonis Brothers never charged interest to their debtors. It is undoubtedly true that many merchants in the Middle Age were less disinterested; but a very small minority—and that minority composed almost entirely of Jews—were guilty of what was then regarded as a nefarious practice, since the ecclesiastical

canons of that period prohibited it. Another important fact evinced by this book is the not merely comfortable but the luxurious conditions enjoyed by most of the customers of the Bonis. The list of purchases shows that during the fourteenth century not only were garments of very fine texture worn by the lower middle class of the French, but that even the peasants were not unaffected by the tyranny of fashion. Much of the time and energy of the Bonis was consumed in the manufacture of medicines; and the ledger gives valuable information concerning the ingredients of many of the popular nostrums of the day. We learn that in the little city of Montauban—then of about ten thousand souls—there were eighteen regular physicians; in the Suburban parish of Montricoux the pastor was the acting Æsculapius; and in some places one individual was both lawyer and physician. One of the curious items is a charge for a quantity of powder for cannon—*polveras per lo cano*—entered against the monastery of St.-Theodard (1).

Luxury at the table, if we are to credit the revelations of the Bonis ledger, which speaks of sales of the finest condiments and confections to families of the middle class, was well known to the French of the fourteenth century, whatever may have been the gastronomic taste of the English and Germans of that time. There is scarcely a spice or a sweet known to us that is not charged to some *bourgeois* of Montauban. As to the peasants, their condition, as evinced by this quaint but reliable authority, is very different from that described as theirs by most modern historians. We find many of these presumed unfortunates stamping their documents with their own seals—things which are generally supposed to be prerogatives of aristocracy; we learn that

(1) Commenting on this entry, M. Forestié makes this interesting remark: "Hugues de Cardaillac, lord of Bioule, nephew of the Bishop of Montauban, was one of the most valiant knights in the French army. Friend and comrade of Gallols de la Beaume, grand-master of the cross-bowmen, he had a brilliant share in the campaign of Gascony, under the standard of Armagnac. We find him in 1339 making the cannons which are to defend Cambrai against the English, and it is his squire who makes the powder. At Bloule we see him with twenty-two *breech-loading* cannons. It was he who furnished the artillery to the walls of Montauban, Lauzerte, and Cahors; and thus we find that there were sixty cannons on the ramparts of four little towns of Quercy, just at the time when Villani (and after him many modern writers) states that at Crecy three little cannons demoralized the French chivalry."

their garments were lined with fur, and that they lived in brick houses rather than in the loathsome huts in which we are accustomed to picture them. Every farm laborer had his wages and other recompenses assured by written contract. As a specimen of these contracts, we give the following: "He is to be in our service, with his own ox and one belonging to us, from January until the Feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24), to act as ox-driver and general farm-servant; and we are to give him a barrel of wheat, a barrel of mixed grain, and two barrels of wine." Many of the laborers mentioned in this ledger had quite comfortable properties. Thus the swineherd, Jean Chausse-Noire, owned a fine vineyard. Salona, an ox-driver for the Bonis, owned two houses in Montauban; and his wealth must have been considerable, since the ledger notes that on the occasion of the baptism of one of his children he bought two hundred and twenty livres' worth of wine for the feast. Another peasant, owner of an extensive vineyard, must have dwelt in a fairly large house; for we read that he bought twenty thousand bricks from the Bonis for the facing of its walls. One of the servants of Gerard Bonis was a rival of that steward whom Chaucer represents as so thrifty that he could lend to his master "out of his owen gude"; for we find that this domestic loaned three golden scudi to Gerard during his Roman pilgrimage. Those who believe that the peasants of the Middle Age were generally illiterate, should observe that in the register of the Bonis many of the laborers signed receipts with their names; and the same book tells us that each village of the neighborhood had a school, in which the parish priest was pedagogue. Commenting on the discovery of M. Forestié, that sage and impartial critic, Lecoy de la Marche, makes these reflections: "The general prosperity of which we have seen the proof, and which the people of France owed to the wise and firm government of St. Louis, was soon to disappear amid the incalculable disasters of the Hundred Years' War; and the second half of the fourteenth century was not at all like the first. But the Hundred Years' War was the end of the Middle Age, the tearing up of the pacific charter which united the nations

and constituted Christian society. The Middle Age, properly so called, was a flourishing period for commerce and agriculture, and for both public and private fortune. Let it be loudly proclaimed that down to the end of that period—down to the day when the peace of Jesus Christ ceased to cover Europe like a protecting mantle—the world knew much more of happiness than it has known since, and incomparably more than it will know under the sway of atheism and socialism. God treats faithful nations as he treats faithful individuals: ‘All these things shall be added unto you’” (1).

In the National Archives of France there is preserved a register of the accounts of the mines of Jacques Cœur in the Lyonnais and the Beaujolais, dated 1455. This document, given to the light in 1890 (2), shows the condition of the miners at a time when, according to most modern publicists, there was no ordinary comfort for the workingman. According to this register, the mines were in the charge of a “governor”; but the decisions of that official were subject, on the appeal of the miners, to the judgment of a representative of the king, who was specially charged with the preservation of their privileges. The rules of the mines were most stringent in regard to blasphemy and all matters of immorality. The workmen were paid, for little more than half a year’s labor, from two hundred to two thousand francs, according to their skill and consequent position; and when we reflect on the cheapness of living at that time, and on the fact that the miners were fed, clothed, lodged, and doctored by the establishment, we shall realize that they must have saved sufficient to ensure for themselves a comfortable old age. This conclusion is well founded; for they were never allowed, unless in cases of real necessity, to draw their wages in advance. The food of these workmen was abundant and of the best quality—consisting of beef, mutton, pork, fish, eggs, bread, cheese, spices, nuts, and all kinds of fruit. They had as much white and red

(1) *Recent Progress of History*. Paris, 1893.

(2) In the *France During the Hundred Years’ War, Historical Episodes and Private Life in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, by Simeon Luce, Member of the Institute. Paris, 1890.

wine as they desired. They slept in dormitories near to the kitchens of the establishments, so that in cold weather the immense sleeping rooms might be heated by hot air carried by pipes from the kitchen fires. A modern miner, especially an English one, would wonder at a description of the resting-place of these laborers. Each one had his own couch; and on it was a mattress, a feather-bed, linen sheets, two blankets, a coverlet, and a pillow (1). The subterranean tasks of these mediæval miners did not last from January 1 to December 31: many of them were owners of farms, and at sowing time and harvest-tide they left the bowels of the earth to attend to their crops. Certainly the picture conjured by these two registers cannot be acceptable to those who would fain believe that our mediæval and Catholic ancestors enjoyed neither comfort nor common-sense; that the lot of the modern workingman is immeasurably superior to the apology for an existence which a Catholic society is presumed to have decreed for the mediæval laborer. But it conveys some valuable lessons for us who live in a time of charlatanical political and social economy.

IV.—THE LOT OF THE PEASANT.

When Chateaubriand declared that "the peasant serf of the Middle Age, partly soldier and partly laborer, was probably less oppressed, less ignorant, and less rude than the free peasant" of later days (2), the decriers of the Age of Faith hailed the remark as one of the many proofs that in the author of *The Genius of Christianity* historical acumen was less evident than poetical imagination. Nevertheless, a universally acknowledged prince of historians in that day, Augustin Thierry, at a time when his investigations had not yet led him from rationalistic darkness to Catholic light, had pronounced the feudal system—which was said to have

(1) It is a pity that Michelet, who thought that the sanitary features of the toilette were habitually neglected by the mediæval peoples ("not a bath in a thousand years"), could not have read this passage concerning the bed for each miner. But what must have been the surprise of M. Stupuy, that member of the Municipal Council of Paris who, just before the publication of this register, had informed his colleagues that in the public institutions of the Middle Age the beneficiaries were always consigned to rest at the rate of "eight to ten in each bed."

(2) *An Analysis of the History of France*, Vol. lii., p. 354. Paris, 1838.

been a source of misery for the workers of mediæval Europe—"a necessary revolution, a natural bond of defence between the lords and the peasants,—a bond which originated on the one hand in the thing conferred, and on the other hand in recognition of the gift (*donum*) and in the oath of fidelity" (1). Undoubtedly the mediæval lord exercised many rights; but he had also many duties, especially that of protection to his vassals. Certainly the serf, in return for the land which he had received from his lord, was obliged to pay the "tithes" which are so universally misunderstood by the worshippers of all that is modern; but this burden was far less grievous than those which crush the modern peasant and workingman, especially in the Europe of our day. It is not improbable that a fairly accurate idea of the feudal régime may be formed by a contemplation of the little Pyrenean republic of Andorra, a vassal of France, but a survival of the many independent and happy republics of the Middle Age (2). Happy in their vassalage to their lords, the bishop of Urgel and the government of France, to whom they pay what is almost a nominal "tithe," the Andorrans might appropriate to themselves the saying of Tacitus, "*Plus ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonæ leges.*" Of course the unique conditions of Andorra exempt her from the miseries of a society which was too prone to shed human blood in intestine and foreign war; but an unprejudiced eye will discern that the little state has much in common with those of the Middle Age. "The erudite," remarks Le Play, "who have investigated the condition of the European peasantry of the olden time, without being blinded by the passions of our day, have all arrived at the same conclusion. Faithful

(1) *Considerations on the History of France*. Paris, 1837.

(2) Charlemagne permitted the Andorrans to continue to govern themselves according to their own customs, in recompense for their aid in his war against the Moors of Spain. Afterward Louis le Debonnaire transferred part of his right of suzerainty over the Andorrans to the bishop of Urgel, thus making that prelate a co-suzerain with France,—a form which still subsists. As suzerains of Andorra, the bishop of Urgel and the French government appoint two *riguiers*, who conjointly with the syndic of the Valley of Andorra decide in all important cases. Ordinary matters are submitted to the twelve consuls whom the people elect annually to represent the six parishes of the republic; and these magistrates consult with the consuls of the previous year. Each commune imposes its own taxes, every citizen paying according to the revenue from his land or flocks. Primary instruction is more extensive in Andorra than in the contiguous districts belonging to France and Spain.

pictures of the past show us peasants judging in their own civil and criminal cases, paying very light taxes, and fixing these in accordance with local necessities; in fine, those peasants yielded to an independent attraction toward their lords, which could not be excited by any modern European bureanocracy" (1). "In those days," observes Duruy, "no tax could be levied without the consent of the parties affected; no law was valid unless it had been accepted by those who were to obey it; no sentence was legitimate unless it had been pronounced by the peers of the accused. Behold the rights of the feudal society,—rights which the States-General of 1789 found under the ruins of absolute monarchy. The sentiment of the dignity of man, which despotism had destroyed, was rediscovered. Mediæval society, which shed blood with so deplorable a facility, often exhibited a moral elevation which can be found in no other age. The low vices, the degradation of the Romans in their decadence, were unknown in the Middle Age; and that age bequeathed the sentiment of honor to modern times" (2).

About forty years ago the Abbé Defourny, *curé* of Beaumont in Argonne, France, while delving among the musty archives of his municipality, brought to light a document which illustrates the relations which subsisted in the twelfth century among the lords, citizens, and serfs of France. It proved to be the famous *Charter of Beaumont*, given to his people in 1182 by Guillaume de Champagne, cardinal-archbishop of Reims and lord of Beaumont; and since the eminent author declares that he simply ratifies *existing customs*, we may be assured that his charter presents a faithful picture of at least a large portion of French society in his day. Guizot termed this charter "one of the most liberal" of the Middle Age; but we know that in every country of Europe there were then in vigor customs analogous to those which His Eminence of Reims confirms; and it is certain that the same charter, in all its details, was promulgated throughout Lorraine by Duke Fery III. in 1270 (3). The cardinal shows

(1) *Social Reform*. Paris, 1880.

(2) *History of the Middle Age*. Paris, 1875.

(3) ROMAIN; *Was the Middle Age a Period of Darkness and of Servitude?* Paris, 1890.

that the political power in his jurisdiction of Beaumont resided in himself as lord of the fief; but we find no indication that he ever exercised such power, except to defend his vassals from outside attack or to grant pardon when it could be granted. He does not claim the right to appoint magistrates or judges or fiscal agents; in fact, he gives no sign that he ever interfered in the administration of justice. He declares that he will never revoke any of the clauses in his charter; and although one of his successors in the see of Reims, Richard Pique, transferred his rights to King Charles V., care was taken that the new suzerain should promise to "respect all the stipulations of the charter of Guillaume de Champagne"; and the said privileges were respected until the Revolution of 1789. We adduce this *Charter of Beaumont* in order that the reader may determine whether the lot of the mediæval peasant was, as is so frequently asserted, one of unmitigated misery and despair. In the first place, we observe that every peasant's "hut" (if the reader prefers that term) was heated without any expense to himself: the communal forest furnished him all the wood that he required for comfort and for cooking. His lamp was supplied with oil made from the beech-nuts which the lord of the soil allowed him to gather in the manorial woods, and he could sell to the denizens of the nearest city all the superfluous oil that he could manufacture. The communal forest and the woods of the lord also furnished the peasant with the timber which he needed for building purposes; and from the same sources he obtained wild apple and pear trees, which by cultivation (since arboriculture was then an art far better and more universally understood than it is in these days) became ornaments to the peasant's acres and beneficent purveyors for his table. Generous wine was at the easy command of this needlessly-pitied man; for all around him grapes were common property. And we may note in passing that his modern successor would be much more happy if he used such wine in abundance, instead of the foul spirits which were unknown to the average peasant of the Middle Age. Much has been written concerning the discomforts of the peasant domiciles in this olden time; but we note that the *Charter of Beaumont*

informs us that each commune, at least in that jurisdiction, operated a tile-factory which furnished coverings for every peasant's roof. This item alone would justify the opinion that the mediæval "hut" was more sanitary than at least half of its modern successors in the most progressive countries of the world. Did our space permit, we could dilate on this matter of the domestic economy of the mediæval dwellers in the fields; and the result would not flatter the intelligence of many "educators" of our modern youth. We must dismiss this feature, however, with one reflection. Famine was nearly an impossibility in mediæval Europe. Each commune had a common pasture ground—*la vaine pâture*,—on which any individual, domiciled or houseless, comfortably situated or destitute, could find sustenance for one cow and for one goat or sheep. It is not strange, therefore, that pauperism, that plague which modern society vainly endeavors to neutralize through mercenary agents, was impossible in the rural districts of that time. And it would seem that free-trade, if not as to the word, certainly as to the thing, was familiar to the mediæval peasant; for the *Charter of Beaumont* declares: "It shall be lawful for you to buy and sell whatever you may desire, without paying us any tax whatsoever." No wonder that the Protestant De Tocqueville was constrained to avow that in spite of the many advantages of modern civilization, "the condition of the peasant was better in the thirteenth than in the eighteenth century" (1). If the economists are right when they assert that a density of population is an indication of prosperity, at least rural France of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries must have been remarkably happy; for although the science of statistics is of modern birth, such investigators as Dureau de la Malle and Siméon Luce have furnished indications which seem to evince that the rural population of the France of to-day is less numerous than the same population in that early period.

But was not serfdom a running sore among the populations of the Middle Age? No; a thousand times no! Serfdom, a vestige of ancient pagan slavery, was gradually disappearing throughout the Middle Age, being continually pressed

(1) *The Old Regime and the Revolution*, Bk. II., ch. 12. Paris, 1856.

by the triumphant advance of the Christian civilization which the Catholic Church had created. "How many persons," exclaims Lecoy de La Marche, "even to-day imagine that the Middle Age was the halcyon time of serfdom, and that the existence of a caste of slaves was one of the essential foundations of its social constitution! But the truth is diametrically contrary to this assertion. The Middle Age waged incessant war against serfdom as a principle; it substituted for crying abuses alleviations which became more and more efficacious, and finally it abolished the evil *de facto*. When it bequeathed the rule of the European populations to the modern states, serfdom had long been a mere memory or a name. Already in the thirteenth century it had become rare; in Normandy and in many other parts of France it had disappeared entirely" (1). France is generally supposed by the poor dupes of certain English and German historiasters to have been, until the "glorious" days of 1789, a veritable holocaust to the mediæval Catholic love of slavery; and it has suited the purpose of French Voltaireans and atheists to swell the chorus which must necessarily try to besmirch the fame of the Spouse of Christ. But it is certain that in the beginning of the fourteenth century serfdom was legally abolished in France; and that before the end of the fifteenth century—before the dawn of the Renaissance—there were no longer any of those who, despite the royal decrees, had persisted in regarding themselves as serfs (2). We hear certain readers demanding whether it can be possible that any sane human beings could have insisted upon their right to remain in serfdom. Such was the case when Louis X. declared that "in the land of the Franks no man should be a serf"; force was required ere thousands of the serfs could be brought to recognize the new order of things. Such was the case in our day when the Russian Czar, Alexander II., incited by

(1) *History of St. Louis*. Paris, 1891.

(2) The *coryphées* of the Revolution and the generality of the Masonic tribe continually laud, *usque ad nauseam*, the decree of August 4, 1789, by which the French National Assembly pretended to abolish serfdom in France. They wish us to ignore the fact that Louis XVI. himself had issued a similar decree in 1778; and that even this *ordonnance* affected only a few light burdens which had survived the march of centuries rather as archaeological curiosities than as objects of serious attention.

Napoleon III., emancipated the serfs of his empire. Nor was this fact worthy of enumeration among phenomenal aberrations of human perversity. The serf was by no means a slave; no mediæval serf could have even dreamt of being visited by such horrors as were the almost constant concomitants of American slavery, or by such as were solemnly sanctioned by the pagan Roman jurisprudence. The serf, to use the words of Eginhard, the secretary of Charlemagne, was a vassal of an inferior degree; and his own immediate superior—his “lord”—was merely a vassal of a higher degree. The serf had no master, but a patron; he was master of his own person, but he had certain obligations and duties toward his lord, who recompensed his fidelity by efficacious protection. The serf drew his sustenance from a piece of land, the high domain of which was reserved by the lord to himself, but of which the serf was a kind of half-proprietor. Of course the serf was “attached to the glebe”; and this phrase is offensive to certain modern ears. But is not the modern mechanic bound to the means which gain his livelihood? the merchant to his business? The serf could not abandon his glebe; but neither could he ruin himself by mortgaging it. If he fell ill, his lord took care of him; if his cattle died, his lord replaced them; if he or his family were attacked, his lord defended him. “While the lord was owner of the soil,” says Guérard, “he could not dispossess its inhabitants. The residents on his territory had become, through custom, real proprietors; whereas in olden days they had been tenants. If the lord wished to sell his domain, he did so without ousting the serfs: he acted as a monarch acts when he cedes a province.” Does the reader perceive much practical difference, so far as this matter of attachment to the glebe is concerned, between the lot of the mediæval serf and that of the English or Irish tenant who leases a piece of ground for a hundred years? Such difference as we perceive is in favor of the serf, especially when we note this sentiment uttered by the Abbé Defourny in his commentary on the *Charter of Beaumont*: “In the twelfth century, after the serf had improved his land, the lord gave to that serf a right of property in

that improved land, together with full liberty to transmit it to his descendants, without payment of any right of succession or any other tax. Then the serf could say to himself while he was improving his farm: 'This soil, watered with my sweat, belongs to me and my children; at each stroke of the spade I take possession. The lord asks for only one-seventh of the crop; therefore my labor is well rewarded, and from generation to generation my posterity will possess the land which I have fertilized.' But the tenant-farmer of the nineteenth century must say: 'I have improved this land, but it belongs to the landlord. After a few years, when I am old, when the lease has expired, I shall be ordered to move with my children to some other farm, which, in its turn, after being improved by me, will still belong to the landlord.'"

Now a few words in explanation of certain burdens suffered by the mediæval peasant, which at first sight may perhaps appear to blur the pleasing picture which we have drawn. In the Middle Age the peasant was subjected to the payment of tithes, ecclesiastical and temporal; to the law of pursuit, to the law of *mainmorte*, and to the right of *forismaritagium*. As to the payment of tithes, we may observe that it was not peculiarly a mediæval institution: it was instituted by Moses, and we find it in force among the Christians of the fifth century; it exists to-day in England (1). We find no records of complaints of the excessiveness of ecclesiastical tithes during the Middle Age; indeed, such complaints would have been absurd, since, although the term "tithe" indicates a tenth, the tax was seldom so large, and was frequently only one-twentieth of the crop. When Vauban submitted his work on *The Royal Tithe* to Louis XIV., he urged the monarch to take the ancient ecclesiastical tithe as the model for the tax which he advised Louis to decree; for, said he, "the ecclesiastical tithe has excited no complaints since it was established, and we have never found that it has been the occasion of corrupt prac-

(1) At present tithes *in kind* are not collected in England for the benefit of the clergy of the Royal Establishment. In 1835 it was ordered that they should be paid in money, the value being determined by the average receipts from the crops during the preceding seven years. They amount to about forty millions of dollars.

tices. Of all taxes, it requires the fewest collectors, it entails the smallest expenses, and it is the most easily and gently raised." And let us not forget that the ecclesiastical tithe was always payable *in kind*, or in the products of the soil; so that in times of failure of crops the peasant paid nothing. On the contrary, the greater number of secular taxes, being payable in money, were often grievous burdens to the taxed. The decriers of the mediæval tithe should study the economic conditions of the rural populations of France, as they now subsist under the Third Republic, the foremost European representative of all that is peculiarly *modern* in our civilization. On January 21, 1884, M. Pouyer-Quertier showed the French Senate that agriculture paid thirty per cent. of its revenue in taxes, and industrial property paid twenty per cent.

We do not hear much concerning the presumed burden of the "law of pursuit," since it was fairly reasonable, and was seldom executed to the letter. By virtue of this right, the lord of the soil could pursue and capture a serf who abandoned his tenure. It is certain, however, that in practice the serf could, by means of the payment of a small sum, and by the fulfilment of his other obligations, generally obtain the right to reside where he desired. A different judgment must be emitted in regard to the "law of *mainmorte*." According to this law, the serf could leave to his natural heirs only a small portion of his movable property, the greater part accruing to his lord; and against this prohibition the Church continually thundered. The curious student of the Middle Age, one who delights in reading the quaint but frequently sublime sermons of that time, knows how often the preachers compared the nobles to vultures pouncing on a corpse. It was this fact, this difference between their spiritual guides and their temporal lords—the latter too often worthy precursors of our modern liberals,—that caused the peasants of the Age of Faith to declare that "it is well to live under the crosier." However, this tremendous evil, like many other loudly-published abuses of the Middle Age, was frequently attenuated. Lecoy de La Marche observes that it generally affected only

the isolated serf: "If the serf had established a kind of community with his natural heirs, residing with them on the land which he cultivated, his goods passed to them. Very often this course was adopted in order to overcome the legal obstacle: the community subsisted after his death, and therefore naturally succeeded to him. It succeeded, in the same manner, to all of its successively deceased members, successively replacing them. These associations of farm-laborers, entitled 'tacit societies,' eventually constituted, in certain localities, veritable little agricultural republics."

The right of *forismaritagium* was, for a time, undoubtedly the most obnoxious, as it is still the most famous, of all the burdens which the mediæval peasant was called to bear. As is partly indicated by the etymology of the word, it was an exemption from a feudal proscription which forbade the marriage of a serf with a woman of superior condition who resided in another lordship; and the reason or pretext for the prohibition had been based on the supposition that such a union might "diminish the fief" by depriving it of the services of persons who ought to have been born within its limits. That this theory was a relic of pagan slavery was evident; and the Church, ever zealous for the freedom and the honor of Christian matrimony, resisted its actuation as a tyranny which could have no invalidating effect on a Sacrament pertaining to her sole custody. The nobles ultimately abandoned their claim so far as to permit the undesirable unions, on condition that they received from the bridegrooms a sum of money (varying from three cents to sixty cents), as an acknowledgment of their presumed jurisdiction in the premises. Such was the meaning of the *forismaritagium* at the beginning of the twelfth century; but very frequently the fine, or tribute, was solved by the presentation of a fancy cake, or even by a gymnastic exhibition before the lord and his retainers (1).

V.—HOSPITALS.

So vivid was the spirit of religion in the Middle Age, that music, architecture, and all the arts were brought into

(1) See the *Glossary* of Ducange, art. *Forismaritagium*.

requisition to *externate* this noblest sentiment that can fill the heart of man ; and the choicest flowers of language were culled, and made to join in the general homage to the Creator. Most of the beautiful expressions which so impress us in our devotional and ascetic works were then coined. Nowhere more than in the service of charity were the tender capabilities of language, the poetry of which it is capable, adapted to Christian use. Thus when speaking of those who were in dire want, our ancestors in the faith styled them *pauperes nostri*—our poor ; and the establishments in which their necessities were supplied were called Houses of God, a term perpetuated by Catholic France in every *Hotel Dieu*. The necessitous were theirs, because these were especially dear to God ; they were theirs to love and succor ; and when our ancestors went on errands of mercy into the refuges of the needy, they felt that only when before the Tabernacle were they nearer to God. Animated by such a spirit, it is no wonder that scarcely had they emerged from the Catacombs, when the early Christians founded on every side asylums destined to every category of misery : *brephotrophia*, *gerontocomia*, *xenodochia*, *ptocheia*, *orphanotrophia*,—for children, the aged, the stranger, the hungry, the orphan. St. Jerome tells us that in the time of Fabiola, one of the founders of such institutions—that noble woman, whose fame Cardinal Wiseman has so beautifully perpetuated,—the healthy poor used to envy the “ lot of the sick.” From the eighth century the most famous hospitals were those devoted to lepers ; and in the thirteenth century, says Matthew Paris, these amounted to nineteen hundred ; but by the fifteenth this scourge had almost entirely yielded to Catholic heroism.

The Catholics of the Middle Age really loved the poor ; for they saw in them the members of the suffering Jesus Christ. Our love is more platonic ; for too often it has its source in a vague “ philanthropy ” rather than in the ardor of faith. Hence it is that we erect immense, grandiose establishments, uniform monuments to the vanity, probably, of their founders, and fill them with as many sufferers as we can—the more, the better for the reputation of the

managers, etc. But it is certain that until very lately—and not even now in most cases—the comfort of every individual patient has been less studied in hospitals of modern foundation than have deceitful and unprofitable appearances. Modern philanthropists, in their zeal to claim for the nineteenth century every advance in the realms not only of science and of physical comfort for the masses, but in that of consideration for the afflicted, confidently point to the introduction of the pavilion system (and in how many institutions has that been adopted?); ignoring the fact that said system was used in the Middle Age, and on a vastly greater scale, as well as with more comforting adjuncts than moderns have yet attempted. Where the pavilion system was not in use, something very nearly approaching it was in vogue. The sick were encouraged in the illusion that they were not in a public asylum—an object of horror to so many,—but still at their own hearth-stones. Each one had a room to himself, or at least the appearance of one. A judicious author—one, by the way, not suspected of clericalism—speaking of the prejudice of the common people against hospital treatment, says (1): “In the few hospitals of the Middle Age which are still extant, we find a spirit of charity well understood and delicate. Without being richly ornate, the buildings present a monumental aspect. The sick have air, space, and light. They are separated one from the other; their individuality is respected; and certainly if there is one thing which is abominated by the unfortunate who take refuge in these establishments, in spite of the intelligent care now accorded them, it is their dwelling together in vast wards. . . . The separate system has a great advantage from a moral point of view, and it has emanated from a noble sentiment of charity on the part of the numerous founders of the ancient *Maisons-Dieu*.” One of the most interesting illustrations of this olden respect for the individuality of the patient is furnished us by M. Lecoy de La Marche in an excellent article on this subject. It is the grand Hospital of Tonnerre, founded by a sister-in-law of St. Louis IX. The great hall, or ward, was divided by suffi-

(1) VIOLETT LE DUC; *Dictionary of Architecture*, art. *Hôtel Dieu*.

ciently high partitions, and a little above these a gallery ran around the entire enclosure. Attendants could always observe the inmates without disturbing their equanimity. The circulation of good air was perfect.

A very interesting book was published in 1887 by M. Leo Legrand, of the *École des Chartes* at Paris, descriptive of the hospital or asylum founded by St. Louis, under the name of the *Quinze-Vingts*—the “Twenty Times Fifteen,”—from the fact that it accommodated three hundred patients (1). It was situated just outside of the capital, and was destined for the poor who were blind. It is specially worthy of attention as being an example of that system of separation—and even of family life, though in the confines of a hospital,—which we have indicated as so advantageous. No great, massive structure frightened the visitor as he approached: he saw a collection of residences, apparently inhabited by people of the middle class. Some of these were occupied by a family, others by one individual. The blind formed a confraternity—albeit not restricted to a religious rule,—and as an independent body, they governed the establishment. Marriages were celebrated in the community, but never between two blind persons: one of the spouses should be capable of managing the little household. Those who were not blind were relatives or friends of the afflicted; they formed part of the society, and served as a kind of lay-brethren to the wants of the blind. Both parties wore a uniform of substantial material, with a lily on the left breast. Each household did its own cooking, ate by itself, and “the mother,” as the community was called, supplied the food. All the members met at stated times for pious exercises. The children were apprenticed to trades, or were sent to school; while the blind themselves were generally taught music, that being, in the Middle Age, a profession specially followed by the so afflicted. The governing body of this miniature republic was a Chapter, composed of women as well as men; the sovereign being represented by his grand almoner as presiding officer. One must not suppose that the Hospital

(1) *The Quinze-Vingts From Their Foundation*, in the Collection of the Society of History of Paris, 1887.

of *Quinze-Vingts* was unique in its care for the blind : from the first days of Christian freedom, there were similar institutions, although not on the same plan, in Syria and in many parts of Europe.

But it was not in well-organized hospitals alone that the poor of the Middle Age found relief from their physical woes. A multitude of local congregations were dedicated to their consolation ; St. Vincent de Paul and his heroic Sisters of Charity had their forerunners in those Ages of Faith. There were thousands of Brothers and Sisters aggregated to the service of the sick outside the precincts of organized establishments. These did not form a united congregation, depending from one head ; but, considering the circumstances of the time, the general spirit of decentralization then prevalent in every order, political and ecclesiastical, the system worked very well (1). Perhaps, however, this separatist tendency was the cause of the disappearance of these "fraternities" in the sixteenth century ; and certainly St. Vincent de Paul was divinely inspired when he resuscitated them, giving them all the prestige and influence which result from unity. In the Middle Age these societies, just like the Conferences of St. Vincent nowadays, carried aid and consolation into the homes of the afflicted ; governed, remarks M. de La Marche, "by the idea that the unfortunate should continue to enjoy the family life, the associations of the domestic hearth." This practice of extending domiciliary relief was common even during the persecutions of the first Christian centuries ; to do so was one of the chief duties of the deacons ; and owing to this touching office the members of the modern Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul are often

(1) "When we reflect," remarks M. de La Marche, "on the extreme divisions of the society of that day, on the differences in customs and language subsisting between the different provinces, and on the difficulties of travelling, we may ask ourselves whether distinct organizations—the separatist system, in fine—was not a hundred times preferable in the circumstances. Just in proportion as distances are lessened, as kingdoms agglomerate, as the larger countries absorb the smaller, centralization becomes a political and social necessity. But in the olden time the contrary system insinuated itself [into national and social polity], and it worked as much good then as it would now effect harm. And remember that an identity of spirit and of sentiment united these charitable communities in very close bonds : all these Brothers and Sisters were equally animated by a love for suffering humanity, and all met in that Divine Heart where this supernatural love originates."

styled "lay-deacons." When the great abbeys came into existence, each one very soon established an infirmary for the poor; and to these was joined a subsidiary service extended by men and women living in the world, who made regular domiciliary visits to the sick.

The latest biographer of St. Margaret of Cortona (1) believes that the *Poverelle*, founded by her in her native city, are the earliest examples of Sisters of Charity known in the Middle Age. Indisputable documents show that such devoted women were at their beneficent work centuries before the time of St. Margaret; nevertheless, the *Poverelle* were a most interesting community. Led by a spirit of penance and reparation for a scandalous early life (2), Margaret joined the Third Order of St. Francis, placing before herself two great objects—the maintenance of peace among the feudal nobles and between the city factions, and the alleviation of human misery. She became, in fine, an angel of peace and an apostle of mercy. She founded at Cortona a refuge for pilgrims and other travellers, and a hospital for the sick poor. This latter establishment she herself served, assisted by a number of zealous women whom her fervor had drawn around her. A local Sisterhood was soon formed, and the people denominated it the Congregation of the *Poverelle*, or Little Poor Ones. St. Margaret soon joined to these Tertiaries a number of independent confraternities, who should spread the benefits of her work among the Cortonese in their own homes. This latter association extended a special care to the bashful but really needy, of whom there are so many in every large city. The director was a prior elected for six months from among the secular clergy, and he was assisted by six counsellors, a treasurer, a secretary, and a standard-bearer. Besides its directly beneficent visits to the poor, this forerunner of the Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul exercised a social and political rôle. Let not any hypercritical worshipper of the State, like his friends the advocates of the "separation" of the Church and State in

(1) LEOPOLD DE CHERANCE; *Life of St. Margaret of Cortona*. Paris, 1887.

(2) This saint, who is well styled the Mary Magdalen of Italy, had passed nine years of her youth in a sinful alliance.

Europe, affect to be scandalized at this presumed clerical interference in political matters. A momentary reflection on the nature of this interference will show that it was for the good of society; and that, far from retarding, it advanced progress and civilization. When civil war was imminent, or when any disorder threatened the peace of the community, the *gonfaloniere* or standard-bearer seized the banner of the Confraternity, rushed to the principal Square, and, summoning his brethren around him, explained the state of affairs, and dispatched them in every direction to preach union, concord, and patriotism.

VI.—THE LOT OF THE LEPERS.

Much has been written concerning the *lazaretti* of the olden time; but a mere modicum of truth has been imparted by either the false humanitarians, the sentimental romancers, or the irreligious historians who have handled the theme with the object of decrying the Catholic Church. "Michelet and his school have seized on the phantom of leprosy, shaking it, just as the leper himself used to shake his rattle to frighten the passer-by. According to these writers, leprosy was a consequence of the filthiness of our ancestors. People never washed in the Middle Age; therefore leprosy was the result of a spontaneous generation in the dung-hill on which society was rotting. And since the Catholic Church had formed mediæval society to her own image, she alone was responsible for the ravages of the terrible malady. And the Church not only originated leprosy, but she persecuted its victims. She thrust the unfortunates into loathsome huts, banishing them forever from human society; she cruelly condemned them to be devoured by the fire in their frames, augmenting their physical sufferings by the tortures of perpetual solitude. The theme has become hackneyed (1)." Nor are there wanting some Catholic writers who have assisted in propagating false notions as to the lot of the lepers in the Middle Age. Even the tender Xavier de Maistre forgot, or perhaps was unaware, that the strict isolation of the leprous was not enforced before the dying

(1) LECOY DE LA MARCHE; *Lepers and Leper-Houses*. Paris, 1892.

agonies of the Middle Age had begun,—in that fourteenth century when men's hearts had commenced to lose some of the charity which had characterized the Middle Age in its Catholic fulness ; and hence it was that the sympathetic were invited to pity the woes of the *Leper of Aosta* in pages where pathos strives with exaggeration for prominence. Xavier de Maistre should have known that in the Middle Age the lot of the leper was diametrically the opposite of that which he depicted. When treating of the hospitals of the Middle Age, we showed that the constant aim of our Catholic ancestors was to furnish the sick with all the benefits accruing from a union of independence with a community life ; and this beneficent idea was actuated in the case of the leprous, just as with the sick from other causes. No sooner had Catholic Europe realized the fell nature of the evil which the returning Crusaders brought from the pagan East, than the generosity of the faithful erected and endowed thousands of institutions for an amelioration of the lot of the afflicted. If the reader would like to know the characteristics of these *lazaretti* (also styled *maladreries* and *léproseries*), we shall not regale him with the product of a feverish imagination, but present to his consideration the regulations of one of these establishments which was founded in the thirteenth century.

Probably the reader is familiar with at least the names of the chief Societies of France, developments of that principle of association which our century has borrowed from the Middle Age, and which have merited so well of the science of history. Great is the fame of the Société Bibliographique, whose name indicates its programme very imperfectly ; of the Société de l'École des Chartes, which has really founded a school of serious historical criticism in France ; and of the Société de l'Histoire de France, which has proved worthy of its founders (1833)—Guizot, Thiers, Pasquier, Barante, Count Molé, Champollion-Figeac, etc. But throughout France there are many minor Societies working on lines more or less similar to those occupied by these more famous organizations ; and every now and then the records of their sittings show how some indefatigable member has unearthed a

precious monument of the past, a study of which sheds much light upon some important matter of history which has hitherto been beclouded or travestied. Among these societies the least distinguished is not the Société Académique de Saint-Quentin ; and in 1891 one of its impartial and disinterested members drew forth from the musty archives of Noyon a document which demolishes completely the theories of the school of Michelet regarding the lepers of the Middle Age. M. Abel Lefranc read to his fellow-academicians, and illustrated with apposite and erudite commentaries, a collection of rules for the leper-house of Noyon, which had been composed by Mgr. Vermond de la Boissière, who occupied the See of Noyon in 1250-1272. The reader shall judge whether the generally accepted opinion in regard to the olden leper-houses is well founded,—whether these establishments were hideously loathsome habitations ; whether the regulations governing their inmates were pitilessly severe ; whether no one approached the abodes of misery without terror ; whether the unfortunates were really obliged to ring a bell, or sound a rattle, as warning to the wayfarer to flee their presence ; whether they were strangers to even those joys and distractions which were permitted to the galley-slaves ; whether, in fine, the lepers were truly “living-dead,” painfully awaiting a final dissolution which would free them from the implacable anathema which a Catholic society had launched against them. In the first place, the code of rules promulgated by the good bishop of Noyon proves that the lepers in his establishment occupied a more than tolerable position, since the prelate was obliged to obviate an abuse of the privileges of the *lazaretto*, on the part of healthy and well-to-do persons who frequently wished to join the community. We have already had occasion to notice how, even in the fourth century, many of the poor envied the comparatively happy lot of the sick, the crippled, the blind, whom the Catholic asylums supported and protected. A similar envy was often expressed in the Middle Age in regard to the lot of the lepers. So numerous and striking were the advantages of residence in the *lazaretto* that the managers could not satisfy all who begged as a favor to be admitted,

even at the risk of contracting the horrible disease. "This strange yearning for a life in the leper-house," observed M. Lefranc, "is easily explained. We must remember that most of these institutions were richly endowed, having extensive territorial possessions, and therefore receiving revenues far more than sufficient for their support. In those days no person made a will without leaving large legacies to charitable establishments, and especially to the leper-houses. In time the property of these abodes of misery became enormous. Then life in them was easy, and even lavishly sustained. There was nothing onerous in the labors which most of the lepers performed: they merely cultivated the lands near to the asylum, the rest being leased to farmers. We can easily perceive how many persons, in spite of certain inconveniences, sought to find refuge in these tranquil homes."

But, above all, we must remember that the spirit of the Middle Age was pre-eminently one of charity and self-sacrifice, actuated in the hope of pleasing God by succoring the creatures for whom He died. Therefore many were attracted to the leper-house, not merely in the hope of finding tranquillity, but by the more commendable intention of assuaging the sufferings of God's children. Damians were common in the Middle Age. He who has read even in a cursory manner the lives of the saints who lived in that period of exuberant faith, knows that there is no exaggeration in this assertion. Who were the attendants, the nurses, of the lepers? Ignorant and heartless mercenaries of the State? Praters about philanthropy—blatant friends of abstract humanity, with no real affection for the concrete man? No! Such persons cannot furnish the material out of which the Church fashions an Elizabeth of Hungary or a John of God—saints whom she has duplicated thousands of times, and will continue to duplicate when the laicizers of her institutions of charity shall have sunk into oblivion, or be remembered only to be condemned by men of common-sense. The reader knows that in many monasteries and convents there are two kinds of religious: those of the choir (a species of religious aristocracy) and the lay-Brothers or lay-Sisters. The menial offices

of the establishments—a means to gain heaven equal to the more intellectual offices performed by the choir religious—are the province of the *conversi*, or lay-brethren. Now, in the leper-houses, who were the aristocrats of the institutions, and who the servants? The loathsome lepers were the honored patients and masters; the nurses, guardians, and servants of these unfortunates were healthy, even wealthy persons, who had given themselves to the service of Christ in the guise of His afflicted members. These heroic souls formed a religious confraternity, under the immediate and exclusive authority of the bishop; but the immediate superintendence of the community, lepers and all, was confided to a “master” and to a “council,” all elected by the lepers. The sexes were separated; the male volunteers attending to the men, and the female volunteers to the women. All the inmates were required, one year after their entrance, whether lepers or nurses, to take simple vows of chastity and obedience; the vow of poverty was optional. All dispensations from the rule, all punishments, were pronounced by the “master.” The punishments varied according to the gravity of the fault. A very flagrant offence was followed by perpetual exclusion; then there were temporary banishment, a deprivation of some choice but unnecessary article of food, a deprivation of wine, etc. All who were able, took their meals in the refectory. The inmates wore a uniform; but, as M. Lefranc gathered from the Noyon rule, “this dress presented nothing of that sombre and repulsive aspect of which we often hear.” The men wore a plain skirt and a wide-sleeved mantle. The mantle of a woman was of lamb’s wool, and she wore a rather coquettish head-dress. Each leper had an excellent bed and plenty of clean linen. No leper was allowed to enter the kitchen or the bakery, but all the rest of the establishment was open to them. Every possible provision was made for the most minute and scrupulous cleanliness of person, as well as of every nook and corner of the institution. There were numerous fountains; but, quite properly, certain of these were restricted to the use of the uninfected inmates—a necessary provision. The utmost care was devoted to the spiritual interests of the lepers.

They had a beautiful church, and a chaplain always at hand. Games of chance were prohibited, but all other means of recreation were provided.

Certainly this picture of the leper-house of Noyon is very different from that presented by those who can discern no good in mediæval times, and whose denunciation is always in strict proportion to their ignorance of even the salient characteristics of those days. But it may be retorted that this rule of Bishop Vermond de la Boissière shows the good treatment of lepers in only one isolated instance. We are fully justified in supposing that the *lazaretto* of Noyon may be regarded as a specimen of all the leper-houses of the time ; because, firstly, no mediæval documents can be adduced to evince the contrary ; and secondly, because we know that more than a century before the birth of La Boissière there were in Europe over 19,000 well-organized leper-houses, most of which were served by the members of the Order of St. Lazarus, which had been instituted for that purpose.

VII.—A TYPICAL BISHOP OF THE MIDDLE AGE.

When that great Scholastic, Peter the Lombard, he who was termed the "Master of Sentences," went to his heavenly reward in 1160, the Chapter of Paris deemed it proper to consult King Louis VII. as to their choice of a new bishop for the capital of France. His Majesty asked the canons for the names of such clergymen of the diocese as seemed most worthy of the mitre. Only two candidates—Master Maurice and Peter Le Mangeur—were selected ; and when the monarch asked for information as to their comparative merits, he was told that Maurice was very zealous in leading souls to heaven, but that Peter was better versed in the Scriptures. Then the king pronounced his decision : "Let Maurice govern the diocese, and let Peter manage its schools." And the chroniclers tell us that "so it was arranged, and everybody was well pleased." Thus the mitre was placed on the head of Maurice de Sully, the enlightened prelate who was to bequeath to Parisian piety that grand and perhaps imperishable monument which every French revolution has respected—the Cathedral of Notre-Dame. This bishop of

Paris was not, as his name would seem to indicate, a member of a noble family; still less was he of the stock which produced the celebrated minister of Henry IV. The family of Master Maurice was so lowly in social station that the chroniclers of the day have not transmitted its name to us, and probably because they knew nothing concerning it. In his case the particle *de* is not significant of nobility. His family name having been unknown, the distinguished cleric came to be styled Maurice de Sully, because he was born in the village of Sully, in the department of Loiret. Maurice had left this village in quest of an education, and in the guise of a "poor scholar," literally begging from door to door for his daily bread. It was to no "little red school-house" that the ambitious lad had recourse for instruction; but to the gratuitous courses which were about to give birth to the grand University of Paris, and which had recently been rendered illustrious by the lectures of Peter the Lombard, William of Champeaux, and Abélard. There was, of course, in the twelfth century no dearth of such establishments for primary education as the "little red school-house" is sometimes supposed to represent. As the not too clerical J. J. Ampère avowed to the French Institute in 1837, "*Even in the days of Charlemagne there were probably more primary schools than there are to-day*" (1).

In the Middle Age, observed Duruy, a minister of the Second Empire who was not always favorable to the rights of parents in the matter of education, "the Church, then the depositary of all knowledge, distributed *gratuitously* the bread of the mind, just as she gave to all the bread of the soul. Nor do I speak merely of monasteries—institutions into which the poorest man was admitted, and out of which he often came a bishop or perhaps a Pope, like Gregory VII. or Sixtus V.; I allude to other schools. The decrees of the Popes and of Councils attest the desire of the clergy to multiply free schools for the poor" (2). In fact, when the little Maurice proposed to himself a search for an education,

(1) *History of Literature under Charlemagne.* Paris, 1841.

(2) "*Report of 1863 on the Freedom of Primary Instruction.*" By M. Victor Duruy, Minister of Public Instruction.

he saw no arduous task before him. The number of students then in Paris, the majority of whom were "poor scholars," nearly equalled that of all the other inhabitants. In a few years Philip Augustus was obliged to extend the limits of the city, in order to accommodate the votaries of science; for their number had increased to 20,000—an attendance of which no modern University can boast, even though the populations of Christendom have multiplied tenfold since the twelfth century. Therefore it was that as Maurice entered the capital of France, where the great Benedictine statesman, Suger, was guiding the helm of state with a zeal and success such as have never been displayed by any minister of modern times, he had no reason to complain that the Church of his day or the Christian royalty of France—the creation of that Church—had become hostile or indifferent to popular education. Maurice felt a justifiable pride, pauper though he was, when he reflected that he was about to become a resident of the great "city of philosophers," as Paris was then termed, just as Bologna was termed "the city of jurists." His pride assumed a holy tinge when he remembered that whatever course of study he should elect to follow, Holy Mother the Church would regard him as under her special protection, and would proclaim through her Canons that, as a student, his person was inviolable (1).

A prolific but not always reliable chronicler of the thirteenth century asserts that when the canons of the Cathedral Chapter of Paris were debating as to a successor to Peter the Lombard, it occurred to them that the election might be effected more easily if it were entrusted to three of their number; that the three were delegated; and that one of these, Maurice de Sully, prevailed on his associates to place the mitre of Paris on his brow. This story is contradicted by the well-evidenced humility of Master Maurice, by the direct testimony of the contemporary and otherwise trustworthy Etienne de Bourbon (2), and by the incontestable fact that the alleged manner of election was as foreign

(1) DU BOULAY; *History of the University of Paris*, III., 93.

(2) LECOY DE LA MARCHE; *The French Pulpit in the Middle Age*. Paris, 1890.—*Edition Etienne de Bourbon*. Paris, 1891.

to the mind of the Church of the twelfth century as it is to the will of the Church of our day. One illustration of the humility of Master Maurice deserves mention, although the reader may remember that he has read of similar incidents in the lives of several bishops and in the case of at least one pope. The mother of the new bishop had continued, during her son's scholastic and professorial career in Paris, to lead the humble life of a peasant widow of that day; but her neighbors deemed such retirement unbefitting to the mother of the bishop of Paris. Accordingly, by their own exertions and with the aid of certain noble ladies, they procured for her a magnificent outfit, and sent her, all bedecked and bedizened, to congratulate her mitred Maurice. But, says the chronicler, when the poor woman entered the episcopal presence, she found, to her dismay, that the son of her bosom did not recognize her. "My mother," he exclaimed, "is an humble peasant, and she wears the commonest clothes!" And not until his mother had retired, and had donned the habiliments of her station, did Maurice de Sully embrace her affectionately. A similar episode is related in the various "Lives" of Mgr. Dupanloup, the celebrated bishop of Orleans. As bishop of Paris, Maurice de Sully held, of course, a high rank among the temporal lords of the kingdom; but, like all the French prelates of his time—prelates whose appointment was not due to the crown,—he remembered that he was, above all else, a shepherd of Christ's flock. From the very beginning of his episcopal career he seemed to think that he was living in one of those early centuries when preaching was the chief duty of a bishop, and his exclusive prerogative (1). He realized how-

(1) In the early days of Christianity, who had the right to preach? Origen (185-253) says that "the bishops, priests, and deacons teach us, and rebuke our vices with severe words." (*Hom. 1 in Ps. xxxvii.*) This remark, however, must be understood as applying, in its absoluteness, only to the Eastern churches, which all, from the earliest days, observed discipline inculcated in the (authentic or not) "Apostolic Canon, decreeing that any bishop or priest who neglects his clergy or people, and does not teach them, is to be deposed." (*No. 57.*) Eusebius tells us that Origen preached in Jerusalem and in Cæsarea of Palestine, and Socrates says that priests preached in Cyprus and in Cappadocia. Many of St. Chrysostom's finest homilies were delivered before his elevation to the episcopacy. Certainly the priests of Alexandria were forbidden to preach in the fourth century; but this decree was issued, as we are told by Socrates, Sozomenes, and Nicephorus, because of the audacity of Arius. In the West, however, during the first centuries of Christianity, in most dio-

ever, that his was an age when it was not sufficient for the parochial clergy to instruct their congregations by means of homilies taken from the ancient Fathers. The need of real preachers was great in the twelfth century; that need had not yet been supplied by the Orders which were soon to be founded by Saints Dominic and Francis. Bishop Maurice resolved to transform his priests, whenever possible, into so many sacred orators. With this intention, he composed for their use a collection of plans for sermons. And for the benefit of such persons as believe, or feign to believe, that in the Middle Age all spiritual works were couched in Latin, we note that these models of discourses were written in French, and—considering that the Age of Louis XIV. had not yet arrived—in very elegant French. The reader of these skeleton sermons perceives at once that they are destined to become, after amplification, short but substantial instructions for those who have just attended at the celebration of the parochial Mass. They are, in fact, excellent models for those familiar but solid “short sermons” which the French call *prônes*. In them there is no display of zeal

ceses priests were not allowed to preach, at least in the presence of the bishop; and in Africa this rule was so strictly observed that it was not left to the discretion of the bishop to relax it. Valerius, Bishop of Bona, seems to have been the first African bishop to allow a priest to preach before him, and the privilege was granted to St. Augustine. So indignant did the other African prelates show themselves because of this action of Valerius, that St. Jerome was moved to write: “The custom of some churches imposing silence on priests in the presence of their bishop, is abominable. One would think that the bishops are jealous or that they cannot condescend to listen.” (*Epist. ad Nepot.*) In Gaul the discipline varied. Gennadius, writing about the year 470, speaks of Museus, a priest of Marseilles, as preaching in 461; but it is certain that in many Gallic dioceses preaching was the special office of the bishops, until the Council of Vaison decreed, in 529, that every parish should frequently enjoy such ministration. In the Iberian Peninsula, as late as the year 619, we find a Council of Seville establishing that no priest shall presume to preach in the presence of his bishop. However, we must not suppose that in those Western dioceses where preaching was reserved to the bishop, the laity heard the word of God only on the rare occasions of an episcopal visitation; for at nearly every meeting of the faithful the pastor read a homily of some Father. That deacons preached, even in the first days of the Church, is evident from Holy Writ: this office of preacher caused Philip, one of the seven deacons, to be styled an evangelist (*Acts* xxi.) St. Ignatius, who was martyred in the year 107, praises the sermons of a deacon named Philo, and encourages the eloquence of Hero, a deacon of Antioch. During the fearful persecutions of the first three centuries of our era, the principal attention of the pagan tribunals was directed against the deacons, not only because of the Church treasures of which they were the custodians, but on account of their preaching office. It is interesting to observe here that in many dioceses of the East it would have been impossible to adopt the Latin custom of restricting the obligation of preaching to the bishop; for the Orientals had become so fond of sermons that frequently one was followed by a second, and then by a third—generally, however, delivered by different clergymen. (CHRYSOSTOM; *Hom.* 26 in *Epist.* 1 ad *Tim.*)

for science; not even any leaning toward those scholastic subtleties which are popularly supposed to have formed the soul of every mediæval intellectual effort. Each sermon is a simple explanation of the Gospel of the day, interspersed with practical advice for the auditors. In the introduction to his manual, the bishop insists on the preaching of the divine word in season and out of season; and he warns his clergy that success will attend their efforts only when solid attainments in sacred learning are joined to their holiness of life. He advises each one to possess and to study continually the *Sacramentary*, the *Lectionary*, the *Collection of Penitential Canons*, the *Psalter*, and the *Calendar*; although it is certain that in those days, when books were as rare and costly as they were solid, a priest's annual income would scarcely have purchased any one of the works recommended. The zeal of Maurice de Sully for the sanctification of his people led him to request the celebrated Foulques de Neuilly, the enthusiastic but prudent preacher of the Second Crusade, to devote many of his later years to missions in every part of the diocese of Paris; and the chroniclers of that time grow eloquent when they describe the consequent improvement of morals in the French capital (1).

Although not the chief city of France in ecclesiastical dignity (2), Paris, as capital of the kingdom, naturally surrounded the mitre of Maurice de Sully with much of its own splendor. During eight centuries the piety of monarchs and nobles had so added to the estates possessed by the bishop of Paris, that much of the time of Maurice was devoted to the cares of their administration. The zeal of the prelate in this regard has been well illustrated by instructive details in a work published in 1890 by M. Mortet in the sixteenth volume of

(1) Otho de S. Blasio, a Benedictine of Constance, tells us that, as a consequence of the preaching of Foulques, many usurers and dishonest merchants and tradesmen frequently threw themselves at his feet, avowed their guilt, and made restitution on the spot. Wherever he preached, abandoned women would rush toward the pulpit, cut off their tresses, and bewail their sins. Foulques procured husbands for some of these penitents; but so many desired to lead penitential lives in cloistered retirement, that he obtained from the king, in their favor, the foundation of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Anthony.

(2) The archbishop of Lyons was primate of France until the Revolution of 1789 erased nearly every ancient landmark in the kingdom. Although the see of Paris was established in the third century by St. Denis (not by the Areopagite, as was once believed), it did not become an archbishopric until 1622.

the *Memoirs of the Society for the History of Paris*. But why such a state of affairs? Why, the hypercritical and the anti-clerical may ask, should the Church countenance a system which consumed time that ought to have been given to the service of the altar? And was so much wealth a benefit to the Church? These specious insinuations are refuted when one remembers that the funds of which Maurice was trustee were, like those of all the other bishops and abbots of that time, devoted to the erection and care of churches, to the modest support of the parish clergy, to the relief of the poor, to the care of the sick, to the education of youth; and, far more frequently than our modern historians record, to the needs of the State. As for the revenue which might remain after the liquidation of these obligations, a visit to the grand cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris will convince the reader that the money was put to good use by Maurice de Sully. Like the author of *The Imitation of Christ*, like nearly all the architects of the cathedrals of the Middle Age, the original architect of Notre-Dame de Paris labored for the glory of God, and not for the praise of men; and therefore he took care that his name should not be transmitted to posterity (1). But no veil of modesty could possibly cover the name of the episcopal projector, to whose generosity the grand monument owes its existence. The original cathedral had seen six centuries of existence when, in 1163, the cornerstone of the new edifice was laid by Pope Alexander III., who had sought refuge in France from the persecutions of the German emperor Barbarossa, and his creature, the anti-pope, "Victor IV." The year 1177 witnessed the completion of the choir of the vast edifice; in 1182 the high altar was consecrated by the papal legate; and in 1196 the roof was about to be constructed, when Maurice de Sully went to his reward. The immediate successor of Maurice erected the façade and the towers, and many other bishops of Paris labored for the non-essential but beautiful features of the cathedral; still, the credit of the principal part of the work

(1) Several architects labored on Notre-Dame before, with its wealth of ornamentation, it was completed; and of these, we only have the name of one—Jean de Chelles, who constructed the southern transept in the thirteenth century.

will always be given to the prelate who began his ecclesiastical career as a "poor scholar" of Sully.

When St. Thomas a Becket sought a French refuge from the persecutions of Henry II.—persecutions at which, alas! some English bishops connived,—Maurice de Sully was foremost among the French prelates in encouraging King Louis VII. to persevere in his truly royal refusal to banish his guest from French soil. Just as he had refused to deliver Pope Alexander III. into the hands of his German enemy, so Louis VII. assured the archbishop of Canterbury of a continuance of his hospitality. The letters which were sent to the Pontiff on this occasion, by Maurice, and by the bishops of Sens and Nevers, are redolent of the sentiments which actuated their monarch when he thus replied to Henry's demand to repel "the late primate": "You are king of England, and I also am a king; but I would not depose the least one of the clerics of my kingdom. The defence of exiles from persecution, especially ecclesiastics, has ever been one of the glories of the French crown." When the light of seven hundred years of history had come to his aid, Michelet, who is not regarded with suspicion by the foes of Papal Rome, found himself constrained to admit that the interests of the human race were defended by the holy Becket; but without that light which was to be furnished by the centuries which were yet to come, Maurice de Sully was able to perceive the consequences of the struggle which had been initiated by the "Constitutions of Clarendon." We have three of the letters which Maurice wrote to Pope Alexander III., criticising respectfully but candidly the hesitancy of the Pontiff in the matter of adopting extreme measures against the king of England, and against the episcopal sycophants who were ready to ruin the cause of religion that they might bask in the smile of royalty. In the first letter we read: "Let the bishop of London, and the other enemies of the Church whom Thomas has justly though tardily anathematized, be crushed entirely by that Rock of Peter which has so often crushed men like them (1). If this criminal audacity goes

(1) For an account of the dastardly conduct of these prelates, see our Vol. ii., p. 293, *et seqq.*

unpunished, we may expect the speedy ruin of the Church in England." In his second letter Maurice says: "Our Most Christian King shares the sufferings of the archbishop of Canterbury; the entire kingdom pities him, and everyone asks himself whether the Apostolic See can be deceived in so evident a matter. What criminal will ever be condemned, if this king of England is not brought to account for so manifest an outrage, for so patent a contempt of the Church? How shall innocence henceforth escape the wiles of the calumniator, if you do not come to the aid of this archbishop and of his companions in exile?... It is our heartfelt prayer, and that of the entire Church in France, that Your Holiness now put an end to this great scandal; that you teach this king of England to conduct himself in a Christian manner; and that you exercise in its plenitude the prerogative of the king of kings." Letters like these of Maurice de Sully determined Pope Alexander III. to send a warning letter to the royal criminal, announcing: "We have not thought it proper to close our eyes to your obstinacy any longer, nor shall we again close the mouth of the aforesaid bishop. We now allow him to do his duty freely: to punish you with the weapons of ecclesiastical severity for the injuries which you have heaped on him and his diocese" (1). The threatened excommunication only deferred the catastrophe. Thomas à Becket gave his life for his flock; and it is edifying to read that not the least of his consolations, during his exile in the Land of the Lillies, came from the "poor scholar" of Sully.

VIII.—"LEGENDS" OF THE SAINTS.

During the latter part of the Middle Age, and indeed as late as the sixteenth century, no book, after the Bible, was so much studied as the *Golden Legend*, or "Lives of the Saints," by James de Voragine. In the Age of Faith no book could appeal so strongly to the affections, aspirations, and even interests of men, as did one which laid bare the foundations of that faith which was their very life, and another which taught them how thousands of their fellows

(1) ROGER OF HOVEDEN: *Annals*.

had built upon those foundations the edifice of their own salvation. The name of James de Voragine was a household word in Christendom for many centuries; and nevertheless the very name of his family is ignored, for the term "De Voragine" is variously derived from the village of Vorago, near Savona in Italy, from our author's reputation as a devourer of literature, and from his extraordinary facility in Scriptural citation, as though he ever had at hand an inexhaustible mine of apt quotations. He informs us that he joined the Order of Preachers at Genoa in 1244, when he was fifteen years of age (1). According to the conscientious and critical work of Echard (2), he was an able theologian, a zealous and pathetic orator, an accurate interpreter of Scripture, and an edifying religious. It was James de Voragine who, realizing that the then fully developed Italian language had finally supplanted the mother Latin in general use among his countrymen, first translated the entire Bible into the new idiom, half a century before Dante, through his immortal poem, gave precision to that idiom (3). Sixtus of Siena (d. 1569), regarded as the founder of the historico-critical method of Biblical study, greatly praises this translation for exactness—a fact worthy of note when we remember that the Dominican Passavanti, one of the best prose writers of the fourteenth century, found the opposite fault, and worse ones, in every translation that had yet appeared, whether Italian, French, Provençal, English, German, or Hungarian (4). Spondanus says that no author was more imbued with the principles of St. Augustine, and that he had learned this doctor's works almost by heart (5). In 1267, although only twenty-three years of age, James de Voragine was chosen provincial of his Order in Lombardy, and as he filled this office during twenty years, his brethren must have been persuaded of his talents, piety, and wisdom,

(1) *Genoese Chronicle*, in Muratori's *Italian Writers*, Vol. ix.

(2) *Writers of the Order of Preachers*, Vol. i., p. 454. Paris, 1719.

(3) "That Dante created the Italian language off-handed can be asserted only by one who, through convenience or ignorance, repeats the sayings of others. To say nothing of other persons, his friend Guido Cavalcanti spoke Italian like a modern. Dante directed Italian to sublime flights; he did not arrange, but determined it." CANTU; *Universal History*, b. xiii., ch. 28.

(4) *Mirror of Penance*.

(5) At year 1292, No. 8.

for we must remember that the sons of St. Dominic were still glowing with their primitive fervor. In 1292 the Cathedral Chapter of Genoa elected him as their archbishop. For more than fifty years Genoa had suffered intensely from the wars of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, and one of the prelate's first tasks was to put an end to the civil strife, and to efface its cruel traces from his diocese. His four immediate predecessors had struggled in vain to this end, and Pope Innocent IV. had personally endeavored, during a visit to Genoa, to restore tranquillity. But nothing discouraged James de Voragine, and in 1295 success crowned his efforts (1). It has been said that our author was a Ghibelline, and that on an Ash-Wednesday, when Pope Boniface VIII. perceived him kneeling to receive the ashes, the Pontiff dashed a quantity into the prelate's eyes, saying: "Remember, man, that thou art a Ghibelline, and that with thy fellow-Ghibellines thou shalt return to dust!" But there is no foundation for a story so unworthy of the grand character of Boniface and of that of the archbishop, though Sismondi adduces a passage of Stella's *Genoese Annals*, and under the presumed authority of a greater name, Muratori, to show that Pope Boniface committed the violence in question toward Porchetto Spinola, the Ghibelline successor of De Voragine (2). But Muratori does not sanction even this latter tale, as Sismondi would have us believe that he does. He declares that "it smacks of the fabulous—*fabulam sapit*." Tournon, an excellent annalist of the Dominican Order (3), well describes the life of De Voragine as devoted entirely to study and religion; but the Jansenist Baillet, one of the most bitter contemners of the *Golden Legend*, shows superfluous grief because of a fancied beatification of the archbishop on the part of the Genoese and the Dominican Order (4). "We do not know," replies Tournon, "whether the people or the church of Genoa have ever given the title of Blessed to this bishop, but we know that M. Baillet attributes to the Dominicans pretensions which they do not entertain."

(1) UGHELLI; *Sacred Italy*, Vol. iv., col. 888. Venice, 1717-22.

(2) *Loc. cit.*

(3) *History of the Illustrious Members of the Order of St. Dominic*. Paris, 1743.

(4) *Discourse on the Lives of the Saints*, § 33.

The principal work of De Voragine is undoubtedly that to which he gave the name of "*Legenda Sanctorum*—Stories of the Saints," but which came to be called, in time, the *Legenda Aurea*—"Golden Legend," and also *Historia Longobardica*—"History of Lombardy," because it finished with an abridged history of that country. There now exist more than a hundred editions of the work, and in every civilized language. Here we must remark at once that the title of the book is apt to mislead a modern reader. When moderns use the word "Legend," it is in the sense of something uncertain, perhaps fanciful in the main, and often fabulous; but in the days of James de Voragine, the word signified "something to be read," without any implication of doubt as to its foundation in the world of fact. Therefore we must beware of supposing that our author presented his *Lives* as mere legends; such a theory would be too favorable to the school which, as Catholics, we must combat. The entire work is an explanation of the *Office* as it is recited, day by day, during the ecclesiastical year. Naturally, therefore, the *Lives of the Saints* received prominent attention, for the feast of some canonized servant of God occurs every day. "The principal object of the author," remarks an erudite writer, "is to teach the faithful the meaning of every solemnity recognized by the official calendar of the Catholic world. Since each ceremony has its own significance, he explains that meaning by means of certain traditions—sometimes very extraordinary ones, and as in his time it was not so easy as it is to-day to lay one's hand on the life of a saint as the feast comes around, James de Voragine conceived the idea of gathering in one great work, in a form more diffuse than that furnished by the Lessons of the *Breviary*, all the particular *Lives* of the blessed ones proposed by the Church for the veneration and imitation of her children" (1). He reproduces, as nearly as possible, the style of every author whom he cites; and the dialectic form of his moralizations, which so greatly charmed his contemporaries, shows that the people of the Middle Age were much better informed than our age generally supposes.

(1) The Abbé Rose, in the *Revue de l'Art Chretien*, 1867, p. 39.

The value of the *Golden Legend* was first impugned by James Lacopius, an unfrocked friar who apostatized in 1566. He not only rejected all that sound criticism justly blames in the *Legend*, but denied the credibility of many of its histories which are incontestably true. However, having returned to the fold of the Church, he sealed his devotion to the faith with his blood, being martyred by the Calvinists at Gorcum in the Netherlands, on July 9th, 1572, together with eighteen other ecclesiastics, secular and regular (1). At the last moment of his terrible agonies he threw his famous book, the *Refutation of the Golden Legend*, into the flames. Launoy, the "un-nicher of the saints," as his extravagant scepticism in all hagiographical matters caused him to be styled (2), narrates that Despençe, a celebrated doctor of Paris in the College of Navarre, fiercely declaimed, one day while preaching (y. 1543) against the *Golden Legend* as being a tissue of lies; but the critic adds that the doctor afterward publicly retracted, on the demand of the Faculty of Paris (3). This proves that as yet, in the sixteenth century, the famous collection found champions among the learned. Melchior Canus, a great light of the Dominican Order, and one of the first among Catholic theologians, is adduced by Elias Dupin, a most erudite scholar of the seventeenth century, as denunciatory of the *Legend* (4). Dupin says that De Voragine amassed, "without any critical discernment, a quantity of narratives mostly fabulous. This is the opinion of Melchior Canus on this writer: 'The *Legend* was compiled by a man who had an iron tongue and a leaden heart, and whose judgment was neither correct nor prudent; he give us monstrosities rather than miracles.' But if this archbishop is not to be admired for his writings, he is to be esteemed for his piety. He was very devout, and very charitable to the poor, to whom he gave nearly all his revenue." Now the great Dominican never pronounced this

(1) ECHARD; *loc. cit.*, p. 456.—*Roman Breviary*, in *Suppl.*, July 9.

(2) Whenever the parish priest of St. Roch at Paris met this hypercritic, he invariably made an extraordinary deferential salutation, "for fear," he would say, "lest some day M. Launoy may rob me of my dear St. Roch."

(3) *History of the Royal School of Navarre in Paris*, Vol. i., p. 297.

(4) *History of the Controversies of the Thirteenth Century*. Paris, 1701.

opinion on De Voragine. The words cited by Dupin are those of Louis Vives, a famous Spanish Humanist. Canus does not even mention the *Legend* or its author, in his vigorous onslaught against false *Lives of the Saints*. The Jansenist Baillet finds fault with Bollandus for trying to mollify the extravagantly strong censure of Vives. Bollandus says: "I have always esteemed Louis Vives most highly. . . . but I wonder when so grave and moderate a man styles so wise and holy a person one of iron tongue and leaden heart. . . . James de Voragine, like all his contemporaries, did not possess a cultivated style, but he was learned and pious, and was a man of singular prudence and judgment; so much so, that he was more capable than Vives or Erasmus of judging as to the probability of his narratives" (1). Bollandus insists against Wicellius (2), that James de Voragine consulted ancient authorities of reliability: "I cannot doubt it; I even find that the majority of his narratives agree with the original documents" (3).

Undoubtedly the *Golden Legend* has many grave faults. In the first place, grievous and even absurd errors are frequently committed in the etymological and other derivations of names. Thus, for example, we read that the name of St. Denis, "Dionysius," is derived "from *Diana*, i. e., Venus, the goddess of beauty, and 'syos,' i. e., God, as though the bearer were beautiful before God." Again, the compiler is too prone to credit every story of heavenly visions, ecstasies, diabolical possessions, etc. But it is to be noted, remarks Fleury, that De Voragine never invented any of the stories which a more advanced critical science has relegated to the realms of the fabulous; they, and similar ones, are found in Vincent of Beauvais and other preceding writers; our author "merely added some embellishments, discourses, and probable circumstances, which he deemed an edification to the reader, and he did so with good judgment."

(1) The text has: "Erat non modo doctus et pius, sed prudentia judicioque singulari, ut quam probabilia essent quæ scriberet, Vive Erasmoque melius potuerit judicare." Vol. i., p. 20.

(2) Speaking of that critic's *History of the Saints*. Metz, 1541.

(3) If the reader desires to know how far James de Voragine carried his investigations, he may consult the Abbé Roze, *loc. cit.*, who arranged all these authorities in chronological order.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONVERSION OF THE FRANKS. THE ALLEGED CRUELITIES OF
CLOVIS AND OF ST. CLOTILDA.*

It has been said that when God erases, He is about to write again. In the fifth century of our era God made use of the barbarians to destroy the Roman Empire in the West ; and on the resulting *tabula rasa* He traced the future annals of a new civilization, in which the instruments of His justice and of His loving wisdom, transformed by His Church, were to play a prominent part. These barbarians—these “conscripts of God,” as Chateaubriand happily styled them—were the blind accomplishers of an eternal design. The new religion, recently issued from the Catacombs, had need of new peoples, and the need was well satisfied ; for twenty years after Odoacer the Herulan had reduced the Eternal City and had put an end to the Western Empire, there occurred in Gaul an event which initiated that marvellous series of events which mediæval writers gratefully described as the *Gesta Dei per Francos*—the wondrous deeds which God performed through the arms of the French, and which are discerned in even more modern times by such historians as grasp the truth that there can be no true philosophy of history for him who ignores the directing power of the Most High in the affairs of nations. There are two theories concerning the origin of the Franks. One holds that they were a Germanic people, and that Tacitus mentions them when he speaks of the Istevoni—a league of the Cherusci, Sicambri, Caudi, Catti and Brutteri. According to this idea, the Cherusci became weak after the days of Arminius, and were for some time protected by the Catti ; then recovering some of their olden strength, and acquiring a preponderance in the league, they assumed the names of Salic or River (*Ripuarii*) Franks, according as they dwelled near to the Saal or to the Rhine. However, some historians contend that the Franks were dis-

* Most of this chapter appeared as an article in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, Vol. XXI.

ting from the Germans, and that originally they inhabited what are now Denmark and the duchies of Holstein and Lauenburg. During the reign of Gallienus, the Franks crossed the Rhine and advanced even into Spain, and at Tarragona they embarked for Mauritania; then loading themselves with booty, they returned to their own land. In the middle of the fourth century they became nominal subjects of Rome, and defended the Rhenish frontier against the other barbarians. Many poets, and some historians, speak of a Frankish king, Pharamond, whose reign they ascribe to the neighborhood of the year A. D. 420; and authentic history tells of King Clodion, under whom the Salic Franks, about the year 440, advanced to the Somme. Meroveus, the founder of the Merovingian dynasty, was one of the victors at the battle of Chalons, in 451. Childeric, son of Meroveus, ascended the throne in 458; but his immoralities disgusted the nation, and he was forced to flee to Thuringia, whereupon the Franks chose as chief, probably not as king, the Roman Count of Soissons, general of the Roman forces in that part of Gaul. This nobleman, Egidius, was faithful to the Emperor Majorian, and therefore hostile to Ricimer, the Warwick of that day; consequently, he found himself deposed in favor of Gundioc, king of the Burgundians, and he saw the Visigoth, Theodoric II., with the connivance of Ricimer, occupy the Narbonnaise, his line of communication with Italy. Then Egidius invited the banished Childeric, whom the Franks now yearned for, to return to his throne. Childeric bade farewell to his host, the Thuringian monarch, but took with him the queen, Basina, who had become infatuated with him. Childeric expelled from Gaul the Alani, whom Theodoric II. had pushed as far as the Loire; and he consolidated his power over the Salic Franks. He died in 481; and the Franks lifted on their bucklers, in token of their submission to his rule, the young Clodoveus (Chlodowig or Clovis), the issue of the late king's adulterous union with Basina.

At this time five different peoples occupied Gaul. In the centre were the Romans; but we must remember that this term was then applied to such of the olden Gauls as had not imitated the Armoricans (Bretons) in proclaiming their in-

dependence, or had not recognized the sway of some barbarian monarch. Although the Western Empire had been dead for five years, the Roman authority was still represented by Syagrius, a son of the famous Egidius, who ruled over the cities of Beauvais, Soissons, Amiens, Troyes, Rheims, and their dependent territories. The Armoricans were in the west, the Alemanni in the northeast, the Burgundians in the east, and the Visigoths in the south. The Romans, Gallo-Romans, and Armoricans were Catholics; the Burgundians and Visigoths were Arians; while the Franks and Alemanni were Pagans. The power exercised by Count Syagrius was regarded as the sole legitimate authority in Gaul, having a duration of five centuries for its sanction, whereas the barbarian and Armorican governments relied only on the sword. Hence it was understood that if the Gauls were ever to resolve on a conquest of their national independence, they certainly would fight in the name of the Roman Empire. Therefore the destruction of that remnant of Roman domination, to which the Gauls still avowed an honorable fidelity, would naturally be the aim of any enterprising individual who would essay the formation of one state out of all the discordant elements which confronted his ambition. Clovis perceived this truth, and when the eastern emperor, bent on a restoration of the Western Empire, appointed the Frankish king general of the Roman armies in Gaul, the young monarch felt that the time for action had arrived. In virtue of his new title, he demanded obedience from Syagrius, and when the proud Roman refused to abdicate his rank, 5,000 Franks advanced on Soissons. The count led his few soldiers to the open field; and having been defeated, he fled to Toulouse, the capital of Alaric II., king of the Visigoths. Soissons opened its gates to the conqueror; and in less than a year he was master of all the territories which the Romans had possessed between the Loire and the Rhine. Then, fearing that Syagrius would incite the neighboring princes to combine against the Franks, Clovis menaced Alaric with war unless the Roman general were delivered to him. The Visigoth dared not refuse, and the unfortunate was put to death. Clovis now sought for a bride, and his choice of Clo-

tilda, a Burgundian princess and a Catholic, although she had been raised in an Arian court, gained for him the hearts of the Gallo-Romans. From the day of her marriage every Catholic eye in Gaul was turned toward Clotilda as to one who was to be the divine instrument for the conversion of the great Clovis to the true religion and a humane policy. In 496 the Alemanni, burning to emulate the Franks, advanced as far as Cologne and attacked Sigebert, king of the Ripuarii; whereupon Clovis, being a nephew of Sigebert, led his Salic Franks to the rescue. The hostile forces met at Tolbiac; the Alemanni were routed, and Clovis annexed to his dominions all the Alemannic conquests between the Moselle and the Rhine, together with a large district on the right of the latter river. All of these Frankish conquests now received the name of *Francia Rhenana*—Rhenish France. The remaining Alemannic territories, Vindelicia alone excepted, were accorded to a duke of Alemania, who swore to be a vassal of the Frank monarch. Vindelicia was given to the Ostrogothic sovereign, Theodoric, who had acted as a mediator in effecting peace. This victory of Tolbiac was the occasion of the conversion of Clovis. In the beginning of the action the Franks, greatly outnumbered, were on the point of retreating, when their king thought of the God of Clotilda. He vowed that if he conquered the adorers of Odin, he would become a Christian; and on the ensuing Christmas Day he was baptized by St. Remy in that baptistery at Rheims which still remains as a monument of one of the most important revolutions which the world has seen. The entire Frankish nation soon followed their monarch into the Fold of Christ; and from that date they became the most efficient constituent, after the Catholic Church, the informing spirit, of the new civilization. Pope Anastasius II. granted to the Frankish kings the title of "Most Christian," and styled them the "Eldest Sons of the Church" (1)—qualifications which were historically correct, since at that time the eastern emperor was a Eutychian heretic, and all the western Christian princes of any importance were Arians (2).

(1) For the antiquity of this title, see our Vol. III., p. 369.

(2) About the year 377 the Goths asked the Emperor Valens, an Arian, for permission to

The consequences of the conversion of Clovis were immediate and supremely important. All the cities of Brittany submitted to the Frankish sceptre ; all the Gallo-Romans regarded Clovis as their liberator from the yoke, either actual or threatened, of the Arian Visigoths and Burgundians ; all the Roman legions which were still stationed between the Seine and the Loire entered the service of him whom the Vicar of Christ had blessed ; and the Roman eagles and *Labarum* shed some of their ancient splendor over the warriors of the new Christian nation. Gallo-Romans and Franks were soon amalgamated by the force of their common Christianity ; the foundations of France were laid.

In his last will and testament, St. Remy thus speaks of the family of Clovis : " I raised it to the supreme rank of royal majesty ; I baptized them all in the waters of salvation ; I gave to them the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and I consecrated their head as king with the Holy Chrism." But on that Christmas Day of 496 it was not only the family of Clovis, not only those 3,000 of his warriors who were baptized with him, whom Christendom acclaimed as they issued from the baptistery of Rheims ; then all France was assigned by the hand of God to a pre-eminent place in the destinies of the world. " Nearly two hundred years after Constantine," says Lacordaire, " there was, as yet, no Christian nation in the world (1). The empire was formed of twenty different races, united indeed in administration, but separated by

settle in Roman territory, and the request was granted on condition that they embraced Arianism. One of their deputies, a bishop named Ulphilas—a man of talent, who had shown much orthodox zeal at the Council of Nice—yielded sufficiently to the imperial wiles to permit his nation to obey the sovereign's behest, although he himself continued to preach the Catholic doctrine, at least in its substantial integrity. Very soon the pest was communicated to all the allies of the Goths, such as the Gepidi, the Ostrogoths, the Vandals, the Alani, etc. Genseric led his Vandals into Arianism in 428. Gondebald did the same for his Burgundians in 430. The Anglo-Saxons in Britain were still idolaters.—TILLEMONT, *Hist. Eccles.*, at y. 377 ; CILLER, art. *Ulphilas*.

(1) This sentence is misleading, if one does not remember that the illustrious Dominican uses the word " nation " in its strict sense ; that is, applying it only to a politically-organized, united, and independent people. At the time of the baptism of Clovis, there were very many peoples in Western Europe who were entirely Catholic ; and in the East, very far from all had succumbed to heresy. In Europe, the Italians were not the only ones who rejected Arianism ; the Gauls and the Britons (the latter then relegated to Cambria) were Catholics. And for half a century the Scots, afterward known as the " Irish," had been Catholics, and they were then propagating the faith in Caledonia. The term " barbarian " was then applied pre-eminently to the various hordes of Teutonic origin ; and therefore it was said that the Franks were the first " barbaric " nation to receive the faith.

their traditions and customs ; and a new germ of division had been planted by Arianism, a most active and fruitful heresy. Then the empire was beset by barbarous populations whose greed was ever increasing, and who were either given to idolatry or subjugated by Arianism. But now behold the work of God ! Not far from the banks of the Rhine, a barbarian chieftain was engaged in battle with other barbarians. His followers were giving way ; and in his peril he bethought him of the God whom his wife adored, and whose power she had often lauded. He invokes that God ; and victory having declared for him, he prostrates himself at the feet of the God of Clotilda. That God was Christ ; that king, that queen, that bishop, that victory, were the French nation ; and the French nation was the *first Catholic nation* which God gave to His Church" (1). If it had been given to St. Remy to see through the veil of the future, he would have known that a national birth was effected by the regenerating waters which he poured on the head of Clovis. "Forth from the Baptistery of Rheims issued France and all her destinies ; the age of Charlemagne, the freedom of the communes, the genius of scholasticism, the glories of the Crusades, the days of St. Louis, the heroism of Joan of Arc, the valor of Henry IV., the splendor of Louis XIV., the eloquence of Bossuet, the great modern movement, and we ourselves. Yes, from that Baptistery we also came ; we who are Catholics, despite the scandals of the Great Schism, despite the seductions of the Reformation, despite the diabolical reign of Voltaire, despite the bloody persecutions of the Revolution. Despite all these terrible trials, we are Catholics. Long and magnificent is that history which has been termed the *Gesta Dei per Francos* ; for on its every page the grandeur of God and our national greatness stand forth in indissoluble unity" (2).

Fourteen centuries have passed since the Frankish king, Clovis, led the Burgundian princess, Clotilda, to the hy-meneal altar, thus opening the way to an event which was

(1) *Discourse on the Vocation of the French Nation*, delivered in Notre Dame, Paris, February 14, 1841.

(2) PÉREYRE : *Panegyric on St. Clotilda*.

to be one of the chief directive agents in the formation of modern history—the baptism of France. With few strokes of his pen Féval has described this wonderful conversion: “A man praying amid the ruins of the past, and a seed developing in the dense shade of the oaks—that was sufficient; it was thus that God made France.” The man praying amid the ruins of Gallo-Roman splendor and power was St. Remy, archbishop of Rheims; the seed developing its great potentialities in the silence of oppression was St. Clotilda, a delicate flower which had survived the storm that had devastated everything around her, and still retained its native freshness and beauty. We must devote a few words to the career of this princess, for too many historians have sadly travestied it. Through her father, Clotilda descended from Gondicarius, who, while defending his subjects from the invading Huns, perished at the hands of Attila. The Burgundian dominions were then divided by his sons: Gondemar, Godeghesil, Gondebald, and Chilperic. The last-named prince was the father of Clotilda. On the death of Godeghesil, Gondebald made war on his two other brothers; Gondemar fell amid the flames of his last fortress; while Chilperic, taken on the field of battle, was conveyed to Geneva, then the capital of the Burgundians, and massacred, together with his wife and all his children, excepting Clotilda and one sister. At this time the Burgundians were Christians, but had succumbed to the Arian heresy. Gondebald, although a fervent Arian, allowed full liberty to his nieces to practise the Catholic religion, in which they had been trained by their mother. Frequently Clotilda heard the voice of nature crying for vengeance on the murderer of her family; but she ever hearkened to the promptings of divine grace to forgive him. Before many years the young princess became the idol of Geneva, so completely did she unite angelic beauty with the best gifts of a large heart and a grand soul. Clotilda had not reached her twentieth year, when, in 492, her fame was sounded in the ears of the great Clovis. He was seized with desire to make her his queen, and accordingly negotiated with Gondebald for her hand. The Burgundian sovereign willingly assented; but at first the princess hesitat-

ed. The Franks were brave and glorious indeed, and the world already prognosticated their early arrival at the height of power ; but they were still pagans, and Clovis especially was attached to the worship of the false deities with all the ardor of an impetuous and naturally religious heart. Clotilda reflected, however, that Clovis was held in great esteem by the bishops of Northern Gaul, and that the holy Remy, with whom she regularly corresponded on the affairs of her soul, had told her that he cherished great hopes that the brave Frank would yet become a Christian. What if she were to be the instrument of Providence in effecting so wonderful and happy a transformation ? In fine, Clotilda consented to become Queen of the Franks, and in due time set out for the court of Clovis. Only a few days had been spent on the journey when an event occurred which very nearly changed the current of Clotilda's career, and which helped to give rise to a calumny which is gleefully repeated by philosophistic historians. Shortly after the departure of the bridal *cor-tége*, there had returned to Geneva, from an embassy to Constantinople, a virulent enemy of our princess ; and on learning of the matrimonial treaty with Clovis, he sought to prevent its consummation. Aridius was a Roman, and the intimate confidant of Gondebald. He had been a Catholic, but had sacrificed his religion to political ambition, and had embraced Arianism. There was not a more ardent sectary among the Burgundians than this renegade, and he had often endeavored to draw Clotilda into apostasy ; but failing, and perceiving no favorable opportunity of injuring her, he had dissembled his rage, and bided his time. He now tried to procure a disavowal of the agreement with Clovis, and an order for the pursuit and interception of the princess. He represented to Gondebald that he risked great danger by placing Clotilda in the camp of the Franks. Even as a captive she had been formidable ; he had often suggested to his lord the propriety of ridding himself of the last of the serpent's brood. What would she not become, if raised to the Frankish throne ? Even when in the power of Gondebald, she had defied him by persisting in her Catholicism. If now she were supported by the Frankish army, what would she not effect ? The

king should remember that Clotilda was of a race that forgot no injuries ; and that she had seen her father and brothers murdered before her eyes, and her mother, torn from her embraces, thrown into a well with a stone at her neck. Aridius prevailed ; an armed force was immediately dispatched to arrest the princess. But secretly as these measures had been taken, they came to the knowledge of a Catholic officer who was devoted to Clotilda ; and by means of a shorter road, impracticable to the heavily accoutred troops, he managed to warn her. The resolution of the princess was soon taken. Leaving her litter, she was soon in the saddle ; and surrounded by a few chosen cavaliers, she pushed ahead at full speed for the Frankish frontier, while the main body of her late escort continued their march. No sooner had their mistress disappeared over the horizon, than the Franks, for her protection and their own, fired and otherwise devastated all the villages and forests in their rear, as they advanced, so that the pursuers found their progress so impeded that they were unable to prevent the little band and its precious charge from reaching the border in safety.

This ravaging of the Burgundian territory, presumably by order of Clotilda, on the first occasion furnished her of satisfying a natural desire for vengeance, has given to authors of the freethinking school a specious advantage, when they adduce in favor of their theory of our saint's vindictiveness a passage of St. Gregory of Tours (545-595), in which the holy chronicler, rightly styled the "father of French history," seems to say that Clotilda, in her advanced age and widowhood, armed her sons against Burgundy, in order to further slake her thirst for revenge for the crime of Gondebald, committed thirty or forty years previously. This testimony of St. Gregory, say the philosophistic historians, is rendered more credible by the vengeance taken by the expectant bride ; and then they feign to show, from the words of the archbishop that her implacability, not military necessity and a desire to preserve their own lives, prompted the Frankish devastation. And in this vicious circle they pretend to find their proof that the Catholic Church has presented to the veneration of her children a virulent fury, or at best a person who quite

readily succumbed to the ordinary frailties of the descendants of Adam. Even Catholic authors of merit have accepted the story of Clotilda's two strokes of vengeance as authentic and indubitable, contenting themselves with a more or less successful minimization of the force of the argument deduced from the alleged facts by the freethinkers. Thus Cesare Cantù, as Catholic and truly philosophical a historian as ever wielded a pen, gives the generally credited version, unaccompanied by the slightest manifestation of doubt (1). Henrion evinces the same innocence of suspicion concerning the authenticity of the Gregorian text, though he extenuates the alleged guilt of the saint by the assertion of the rights of her sons over Burgundy. Fleury says nothing on the subject; but from the fact that whenever he alludes to the Franks, he constantly cites St. Gregory as his source of information, we may conclude that he places no reliance on the passage in question. We may imagine how welcome to Henri Martin, who saw in St. Clotilda a spirit of blind and implacable vengeance, was the spectacle of one canonized saint incriminating another. But had this historical champion of the modern anti-clerical school read the excellent disquisition of H. del'Epinois on the value of the writings of St. Gregory of Tours (2), or the still more convincing work of the Abbé de Barral (3), he would have felt less reason for complacency. The alleged inculcating text of St. Gregory of Tours runs as follows: "Queen Clotilda, addressing Clodomir and her other sons, said to them: 'Let me never have to regret, my dear sons, having raised you to maturity. May my injuries excite your indignation, and enkindle an ardent zeal in your hearts to avenge the slaughter of my father and mother.' Having heard these words, they turned toward Burgundy, and marched against Sigismund and his brother Godomar." Now, this delivery of her native Burgundy to rapine and pillage, this deluging of then peaceful homes with blood, this loosening of a flood which might engulf all Europe, is very unlike an act of that ven-

(1) *Universal History*, bk. viii., ch. 9.

(2) In the *Annals of Christian Philosophy* for February, 1862.

(3) *Examination of the Celebrated Text of St. Gregory of Tours on the War Against Sigismund*. *Ibi*, December, 1862.

erable widow of Clovis, whom St. Gregory describes elsewhere as "passing her days near the tomb of St. Martin of Tours in all *benignity* and chastity." Of course, Henri Martin accounts for this unchristian conduct by the purely gratuitous averment that among the barbarians Christianity existed only on the surface. Here is another vicious circle : to evince contested facts the character of the barbarians is adduced, and then this character is painted by the aid of these same contested facts. But though that barbarian blood boiled ever so fiercely, age should have somewhat cooled it, and about forty years had elapsed since the murder of Clotilda's relatives. Again, the alleged passage of St. Gregory confronts us with many absurdities which nothing compels us to admit. If it is to be accepted in evidence, how did Clotilda succeed so well in dominating her thirst for vengeance during the entire life of the guilty Gondebald ? Occasions for the satisfaction of her supposed lust for blood had not been wanting ; and nevertheless, she had not induced her husband to gratify it. Once, when Gondebald was shut up in Avignon by the victorious Franks, she had but to insinuate the wish, and Clovis would not have accorded peace to the royal murderer, but would have exacted his wretched life. On another occasion Gondebald had violated his troth to the Franks, and had refused his tribute of vassalage to their king. The queen certainly so far forgave as not to influence Clovis toward severity ; for he overlooked the crime and made a new alliance with the culprit against Alaric. Again, she displayed anything but a vindictive spirit in not opposing the hearty welcome into the Frankish camp of that Aridius who had very nearly prevented her marriage, and had pursued her with Burgundian troops. And, finally, it is incredible that Clotilda should have kept peace for thirty or more years with the murderer of her family, only to take her revenge at last on the innocent and holy Sigismund. These and other absurdities force us to conclude that the unique motive of the sons in warring on Sigismund was their own ambition.

But how are we to account for the incriminating words of St. Gregory of Tours ? We cannot charge the holy chron-

icler with deliberate lying ; but we must remember that he wrote nearly a hundred years after the marriage of St. Clotilda. And as Henri Martin, unconsciously refuting his own theory, admits : " That union and its important consequences struck the popular imagination so vividly that they became the text for romantic recitals, which every succeeding generation enlarged and embellished." In this embellishment, then, and consequent alteration of the Gregorian manuscript, and not in the writings of the saintly chronicler, is to be found the source of the charge that Clotilda was a vindictive woman. These " highly embellished recitals " had impressed the imagination, perhaps even affected the critical faculties, of some copyist, monastic or secular, who was occupied in a reproduction of the saintly author's chronicle. Either in good or bad faith, he wrote his ornamenting ideas on the margin of his copy ; and in time some other copyist, perhaps in good faith, inserted the annotations in the text as originally the production of the recognized author of the work in hand (1). No fact is more familiar to historical investigators than such interpolations in olden manuscripts ; and to detect the fraud is one of the chief tasks, as it is the most laborious, of the patient critic. In fine, we hold that St. Gregory of Tours was not the author of the passage which incriminates St. Clotilda. No other hypothesis can account for the eulogy which the same historian pronounces on the humility of the queen : " Queen Clotilda so conducted herself that she was honored by all. Neither the royalty of her sons, nor worldly ambition, nor wealth, could entice her to perdition ; but humility raised her to grace " (2). That the chronicle of St. Gregory has been grievously interpolated in many places, is satisfactorily proved by Le Cointe (3) and by Kries (4). That the passage in question must be rejected,

(1) St. Gregory of Tours was well aware of the danger of alteration which all MSS. underwent in his day, from indiscreet or malevolent interpolation. At the end of his work he placed this warning : " Although this volume is written in uncultivated style, I conjure all the priests of the Lord who hereafter govern the Church of Tours, and I do so by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the judgment-day, if they do not wish to see themselves then covered with confusion and condemned with the devil, that they never destroy this book ; also that they never, in copying it, add any things or omit others."

(2) *Loc. cit.*

(3) *Ecclesiastical Annals of the Franks.*

(4) *Life and Writings of Gregory of Tours.* Breslau, 1839.

has been well demonstrated by the eminent Italian historian, Carlo Troya (1), and by Alphonse de Boissieu (2). And now a word concerning the testimony of Fredegarius, which is also adduced by freethinkers in corroboration of their charge against St. Clotilda. This chronicler, speaking of the future queen's journey to the court of Clovis, says that before crossing the frontier and joining the king, who awaited her at Troyes, the princess asked her escort to pillage and burn two leagues of the Burgundian territory, on both sides of the road. They obtained permission of Clovis, and the Franks set themselves to the task. Then Clotilda is said to have prayed: "Almighty God, I thank Thee! Now I see the beginning of my vengeance against the murderers of my family." Now, is it probable that Clovis, at such a time, and merely for the satisfaction of a woman's caprice, would have thus created a cause of war? And how did the Frankish escort of Clotilda, pursued by the Burgundians, find leisure for the message to their sovereign and for the arrival of the reply? And remember that the expectant bride was just then running great risk of being captured and restored to the custody of her enemies; for she was guarded, not by a powerful army, but by a mere escort of honor. These considerations impel us to pass the same judgment on the testimony of Fredegarius that we have recorded concerning that of the Turenian chronicler. As to the prayer of thanksgiving which Clotilda is said to have offered on the consummation of her first vengeance for the slaughter of her relatives, we need not let it cause us much surprise. It is not very easy to draw the line where a just punishment of a terrible crime ends, and the principle of Gospel forgiveness begins to have force; especially in the case where the sufferer is judge and punisher. And Clotilda was then a girl of scarcely nineteen, who had been trained amid many of the traditions of barbarism. Even when she knelt at the altar of God, thanking Him for her escape, she was breathing the atmosphere that surrounded her. She was a Christian; but her lately converted nation had not yet forgotten the maxim of retaliation, "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." The law of her

(1) *History of Italy*, Vol. xi.(2) *Ancient Inscriptions of Lyons*.

people assigned "to the nearest relative of the victim, the goods, the arms, and revenge." Hard indeed was the task of the Church to extirpate from the customs and laws of our ancestors that barbarity which, born of egotism, could be eradicated only by the spirit of self-sacrifice, cultivated by sympathy with the woes of Calvary. In fine, we may admit that at the time of her union with Clovis, Clotilda had not yet arrived at that Christian perfection to which, under the guidance of St. Remy, she was destined to attain.

Returning now to the conversion of Clovis, we would remark that the spirit of the world affects to regard as insincere nearly every conversion to the Catholic faith, although it finds no difficulty in awarding the praise of sincerity to any perversion from that faith. It is quite natural, therefore, that heterodox and rationalistic historians should represent Clovis as being influenced by ambition when he threw himself at the feet of St. Remy; but one would suppose that a writer of the calibre of Augustin Thierry, even though he was not a professing Christian when he penned the observation, would not have fallen into this error (1). Thierry wrote: "Among the French kings of the first race, Clovis was the politician. With the view of founding an empire, he trampled on the worship of the gods of the North, and he associated himself with the orthodox bishops for the destruction of the two Arian kingdoms. But he was the tool, rather than the director of this league. . . . He continued to be influenced by the customs and ideas of his people. . . . The torch and rapine did not spare the churches when he made his incursions toward the Saone and to the south of the Loire. . . . The ceremony (his baptism) was performed at Rheims, and the most splendid arts of the Romans were adopted with profusion to celebrate the triumph of the bishops" (2). Gorini well remarks that if

(1) Gorini, in his admirable *Defense of the Church* (1853), took occasion to refute a number of Thierry's assertions made in the *Conquest of England by the Normans*, and in the *Letters on the History of France*. It is a pleasure to note that Thierry most handsomely admitted the justice of Gorini's animadversions, and in all posterior editions (while he lived) the criminated passages were either corrected or omitted. But the great historian had then become a devout and uncompromising Catholic. M. Henri Martin, the head of the Druidical school, imitated Thierry's example to some extent. Guizot granted the accuracy of Gorini's judgments, but he allowed the errors to appear in his later editions.

(2) In later editions, also published before his conversion, Thierry modified the last sen-

Clovis received baptism in order to found an empire, it was *his* policy that triumphed, and not that of the bishops or their faith; especially if, as Thierry says, the Christian Clovis was no more reverent toward the churches than the pagan Clovis had been. But how is it that the policy of Clovis had never shown itself during his fifteen years of reign on both banks of the Somme in the midst of Christian populations; during his ten years of intimacy with St. Remy, and of acquaintance with other clergymen; and during the three years of entreaty on the part of Clotilda that he would abandon paganism? It was not until he found that the God of the Christians had heard his prayer at Tolbiac that he abandoned his false deities. And if conversion to Christianity was to strengthen his power, is it not strange that other barbarian princes of the day, equally ambitious, never made such a discovery? But, humanly speaking, Clovis did not need to embrace Christianity in order to attain the objects of his royal ambition. As a pagan he had subjugated Central Gaul; and all the other Gallo-Roman populations, still subject to other barbarians, were calling on him to deliver them. And what had he to hope, if fortune abandoned him, from the power of the orthodox clergy? They had been unable to save the orthodox Syagrius, put to death by him at Soissons; or the orthodox Childeric, murdered by the Burgundian Gondebald. Let us, therefore, say with Nicetus, bishop of Treves, addressing Chlodosinda, a granddaughter of the Frankish king: "Being a man of extreme prudence, Clovis did not embrace our faith until he found that it was the true one" (1). As for the remark of Thierry that Clovis and his Franks retained, after their conversion, an affection for their olden habits, it is certain that no people, newly converted, are at once metamorphosed. Clovis could scarcely become a St. Louis. Among the heterodox there are some fortunate souls who are able to appreciate to some extent the intervention of God, the Creator and Sustainer, in the affairs of human life; but the arrogant Rationalist, of the earth earthy, would fain

ence so as to read: "To celebrate the triumph of the Catholic faith," thus presenting the prelates in a less odious fashion.

(1) SIRMOND; *Ancient Councils of Gaul*, Vol. I., p. 324.

perceive the workings of priestcraft in this intervention. Hence we are told that the marriage of Clovis to St. Clotilda was an affair of episcopal policy; that the bishops, who are said to have then held the destinies of Gaul in their hands, projected this union as a means for the conversion of the Franks, to whom they intended to subject the whole of Gaul, having realized that the Arian barbarians would be less easily converted than the idolatrous ones. But St. Gregory of Tours (b. 539), the father of French history, upon whom we must chiefly rely for all knowledge concerning the Franks of this period, assigns the charms and virtue of Clotilda as the cause of the demand of Clovis for her hand; the historian utters not one word which would indicate that the clergy had any part in the affair. "Clovis often sent ambassadors to the Burgundians; and these messengers, having seen the young Clotilda, were impressed by her beauty and graciousness. Having learned that she was of royal blood, they told Clovis about her. He immediately sent a special embassy to demand her hand, and Gondebald, not daring to refuse, delivered the maiden to the messengers. When Clovis received her, he was so enraptured that he made her his wife" (1).

As for the assertion that the Gallo-Roman bishops had devised the plan of subjecting all Gaul to the Franks, because of the greater probability of the future conversion of those idolaters, it is certain that the orthodox clergy had no reason to despair of the conversion of the Arian Burgundians and Visigoths. They had already attained great success; and very little perspicacity was needed to foresee that soon their apostolic labors would be fully rewarded. In Burgundy the Catholic faith had been openly professed by King Chilperic, and Gondebald had proposed to profess it in secret. The daughter and grandchildren of the latter prince abjured their heresy; and Sigismund, the king of Geneva, made St. Avitus, bishop of Vienne, his intimate friend and adviser. As to the Visigoths, in the previous century, before they had entered into any relations with the Arians of Constantinople, they had been Catholics; and even in Gaul it is very probable that Frederick, the brother of Theodoric II., was orthodox,

(1) *Ecclesiastical History of the Franks*, bk. iii., ch. 28.—*Epitomata*, ch. 18.

for we find him informing Pope Hilarius of the intrusion of Hermes at Narbonne, and we hear the Pontiff styling him "my son" (1). Certainly these and many similar facts must have encouraged the Gallo-Roman clergy in the belief that the conversion of the Burgundians and the Visigoths was not improbable; and in the face of such a belief they would scarcely have devised the expedient of fettering themselves and their entire nation under the domination of those idolatrous Franks who, if we are to credit Guizot, were "more German, more barbarous," than the other barbarians. But, by the way, were the Franks more barbarous than the Burgundians and Visigoths? Guizot says: "There were notable differences between these peoples. The Franks were more foreign, more German, more barbarous than the Burgundians and the Goths. Before entering Gaul, the last had long held relations with the Romans, had lived in Italy and in the Eastern Empire, had become familiar with Roman manners; and very nearly the same may be said of the Burgundians. And what is more, these two peoples had been Christians for a long time, whereas the Franks came from Germany, as yet pagans and enemies" (2). In the first place, we must observe that Clovis did *not* bring his Franks from Germany; but from Tournai, in the ancient Roman province of Belgium. When Clovis became King of the Franks, they had resided on the Roman side of the Rhine for more than a hundred and fifty years, having established themselves there in 337; and we may well say with Michelet that during this long residence in Celtic Belgium, they must have necessarily become, through intermarriage, Celtic to a great extent (3). But the relations between the Franks and the Romans were of a date more ancient than that of the Frankish occupation of Belgium. From the year 288, when the Emperor Maximian hurled the Franks and other Germanic invaders across the Rhine, great numbers of the former entered the military service of Rome, and thus came in contact, at least, with Roman refinement. St. Sidonius, a contemporary of

(1) *Epistles of Hilary to Leontius*, in Sirmond, Vol. 1.

(2) *History of Civilization in France*, Vol. I., lesson 8.

(3) *History of France*, Vol. I., p. 195.

Clovis, gives pictures of luxurious display on the part of Frankish warriors, which are incompatible with utter barbarism. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus the Emperor Constantine the Great considered the blood of the Franks so noble that he issued a decree permitting imperial princes to marry Frankish women (1). Before the time of Clovis, the Franks had given to Rome nine commanders-in-chief for her armies, five tribunes, a prefect of the city, a prime minister (Arbogastes), and an empress (Eudoxia). Ammianus Marcellinus, writing in 370, tells us that for a long time past young Franks had frequented the schools of Rome, Ravenna, Milan, Narbonne and Autun; that so fine were the dwellings and so careful the cultivation on the right or Frankish side of the Rhine, that a stranger had to inquire as to which bank was the Roman (2). If the reader now reflects that the Visigothic chief, Ataulphus, said that the sole reason why he abandoned his design of founding a Gothic empire on the ruins of the Roman was, that "long experience had taught him the absolute impossibility of subjecting the unrestrained barbarism of the Goths to any kind of law" (3), he will not agree with Guizot in the assertion that the Visigoths were more cultured than the Franks. There is no need of dilating on the barbarism of the Burgundians, since all historians agree that they were inferior to the Visigoths in every respect. Gorini assigns a very probable reason for the frequently accepted notion that the Visigoths were more cultured than the Franks. "As narrator of his life, the Frank monarch had only St. Gregory of Tours, the barbarian historian of barbarism; whereas, at the court of the Visigoths, there was, both as courtier and as suppliant, that personage whom M. Augustin Thierry terms 'the grandest poet of the fifth century,' St. Sidonius Apollinaris. This writer, a sensible man, and one of imagination, addicted to a highly-colored style, was led by many circumstances to describe the habits of Theodoric; his efforts to raise to the empire the father-in-law of Sidonius; the solemn receptions of his successor. Euric; the pleasures of his Gallo-Roman subjects, who lived

(1) CHATEAUBRIAND; *Analysis of the History of France*.

(2) *Deeds*, bk. xv.

(3) OROSIUS; *History*, bk. vii., ch. 43.

in the retirement of their villas exchanging verses with each other, or carelessly promenading along the banks of the Garonne, or preparing magnificent presents for their sovereigns. The brilliant periods of the poet form a setting amid which the Visigothic kings lose their barbarism, and such a setting did not fall to the lot of Clovis. But the description of the prayers, labors, games, and public audiences of Theodoric are no more interesting than would have been, if executed by an able pen, a picture of Clovis, surrounded by Clotilda, the lords of his court, and the leaders of his army; the artists who had been brought from Italy; the Gallo-Romans of the East and South begging him to enroll them among his subjects; ambassadors imploring the freedom of the prisoners of Tolbiac; other ambassadors handing to him the insignia of the Consulate which they have brought from Constantinople; and St. Remy discoursing on the duties of a Christian ruler or recalling the pomp and splendor of the baptism at Rheims. There was no such painter for Clovis; only St. Gregory of Tours was to illustrate his career. Would Theodoric affect our imagination more strongly than Clovis, if no one had spoken of him but Jornandes or St. Isidore? . . . That superior refinement which Thierry discerns in the Visigoths must be ascribed less to any merit of the conquerors than to the Gallo-Roman nobles of the court, and to the descriptions of Sidonius. As Thierry himself says, 'the German appeared in the Visigoths as soon as they took the field,' and they took the field very frequently" (1).

"Hail! O Christ, who lovest the Franks! Preserve their kingdom; enlighten their leaders with Thy grace; protect their army; strengthen their faith! May Jesus Christ, the Sovereign Master of the masters of the earth, give to the Franks all the joys of peace! Hail! O Christ, who lovest the Franks! By means of its courage and its strength the Frankish race threw off the heavy yoke of the Romans; and having received the grace of baptism, covered with gold and precious stones the bodies of the holy martyrs which the pagans had burnt with fire, lacerated with the sword, and given as prey to wild beasts!"

(1) *I'bi supra*, Edit. 1864, Vol. I., p. 319.

These quaint and sublime words form the prelude to the new Salic Law, which Clovis, immediately after his baptism, assigned to his Franks as the basis of their future jurisprudence. Does the reader discern in them the spirit of a murderer—of a murderer of his own kindred? And yet we are told by certain historians that Clovis the Christian was a foul assassin of his own flesh and blood. In the year 1873 the educational superintendents (“Conseil de l’Instruction Publique”) of the Third French Republic authorized and “crowned” a text-book on the history of France, written by one Mad. de Saint-Ouen, in which we read: “Clovis I. would occupy a distinguished place in history, if he had not soiled his reign by his cruelties toward the chiefs of the various Frankish tribes, most of whom were related to him. Some of them he caused to be massacred, others he killed with his own hand.” Then the poor woman, undoubtedly sincere, since she follows, at a distance, in the footsteps of such pioneers as Guizot and Henry Martin, devotes twenty-five modest pages to the presumed easy task of trying and condemning, for the instruction and edification of French youth, the entire series of Merovingian monarchs: “It is necessary to give only a rapid glance at these barbarous times.” Can it be possible that the charge of murder is deserved by a prince whom Pope Anastasius lauded as a just man, and as the Eldest Son of the Church; by a prince whose most intimate counsellor was the grand St. Remy? But what evidence sustains the hideous accusation? Merely an alleged passage of St. Gregory of Tours, who wrote toward the end of the sixth century; that is, nearly a century after the death of Clovis. And it is to be noted that St. Gregory, in this short passage, if indeed he was its author, used the word “*fertur*—it is said” no less than four times. Again, if this passage is authentic, how are we to account for the following language of the saint, uttered immediately after it? “Every day God caused the augmentation of the kingdom of Clovis, *because he walked before Him with a pure heart, and did what was pleasing in His eyes*” (1). And in the pro-

(1) “*Deus augebat regnum ejus, eo quod ambularet recto corde coram eo, et faceret quæ placita erant in oculis ejus.*”

logue to his fifth book, St. Gregory offers the example of Clovis to the sovereigns of the sixth century: "Remember the deeds of the first author of your victories; of him who put to death so many hostile kings, who crushed so many wicked peoples, who subjugated those who now are our countrymen (*patrias gentes*), and who left to you an authority which is stainless and uncontested." In the Council held at Orleans in 511, immediately after the alleged crimes of Clovis, the synodals placed at the head of their *Acts* a letter to Clovis in which they lauded his pious zeal and his *humanity*. Were these bishops hypocrites? Finally, we would draw attention to the characters and deeds of the petty princes who are supposed to have been the victims of the rage and greed of Clovis. In the *Life of St. Maximin* (Mesmin, abbot of Micy, near Orleans), written in the early part of the sixth century; in the *Chronicle of Aimoin*, written in the tenth century; in the *Chronicle of Balderic*, written in the eleventh; and above all, in the *Life of St. Remy* which Hincmar (b. 806) reproduced from a biography composed by a contemporary of Clovis, we find some pertinent particulars regarding these personages, all of which indicate that the Frank monarch was an inflexible punisher of revolt (1), like Dagobert, if you will, or Charlemagne, or Louis XI., or Richelieu; but not an assassin. Much stress is laid upon the killing of Ragnacarius, a relative of Clovis. But Balderic, who tells us that he drew his narrative from the text of St. Gregory of Tours, plainly evinces that he did not read, in his copy of the alleged criminating *History*, the passages which are adduced to show the wickedness of Clovis and the culpable subservience of the saint to royal power. Balderic says: "Clovis had assigned the custody of Cambrai to Ragnacarius, his cousin or nephew. . . . When the king returned, this Ragnacarius, inflated by criminal pride, violated his pledges, and refused entrance into the city to his sovereign. The insolence and obscenities of Ragnacarius had already procured for him the hatred of the Franks, and now they resolved to bring about his death, and they informed the king of their

(1) And, nevertheless, yielding to the intercession of St. Euspičius, he granted full pardon to the rebels of Verdun.

intention." The rebel was delivered to his sovereign, and his execution was an act of justice. As to the murder of Sigebert by his son Chloderic, and the killing of the latter by order of Clovis, there is nothing in the adduced passage of St. Gregory which would indicate that the parricide was instigated by the Frank king, and certainly this sovereign was justified in punishing so revolting a crime. Augustin Thierry (1), Ozanam (2), and Kries (3) assign a German legendary source to the belief in the cruelty and injustice of the Christian Clovis ; but one of the best of the critics of our day, A. Lecoy de la Marche, discerns its origin in the hatred which the Gallo-Roman race resumed during the reigns of the immediate successors of Clovis (4). We believe that the adduced testimony of St. Gregory of Tours is at least an interpolation, and probably a malicious forgery.

The marvellous action of Christianity in the work of civilization has been recognized by all conscientious historians and polemics ; not only by those who were guided by Catholic principles, but even by those who were the victims of Protestant prejudice, or who allowed their intellects to be obscured by the vagaries of rationalism. The Protestant Guizot says : " Among the causes of our civilization the Christian Church presents itself to every mind. Society has never made such efforts to influence its surroundings and to assimilate to itself the external world as the Church put forth between the fifth and the tenth centuries. The Church attacked barbarism, as it were, on every side, and, conquering it, she civilized it." Probably the reader has noted the frequently passionate invectives of Michelet against the Church ; but the otherwise grand historian found himself compelled to admit : " By the side of the civil order another order is established, and it will take up and preserve the civil during the tempest of the barbarian invasion. Everywhere, alongside the Roman magistracy which is about to be eclipsed and to leave society in peril, religion has established another magistracy which will never prove deficient. Imperial universality is

(1) In the Preface to his *Merovingian Times*.

(2) *The Germans*, Vol. i., p. 133.

(3) *Loc. cit.*

(4) *Political Murders of Clovis*, in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, Vol. i., p. 450.

on the verge of ruin ; but Catholic universality has appeared, and the world will be maintained and arranged by the Church." Balmes observes : " Amid this social dissolution, this monstrous upheaval of laws and customs, Christianity stands erect like a solitary column in a ruined city, like a glowing beacon in the midst of darkness. Christianity is the sole element which can render life to the germs of regeneration which are covered by ruins and gore." Laurentie says : " When civil wars had desolated the empire, and the provinces were at the mercy of the barbarians, only one authority in Gaul was popular, and that authority took care of the nation, a prey to various conquerors, one after another. This authority was that of the bishops, who were ever ready to throw themselves between the combatants." And the eloquent Montalembert remarks : " With invincible perseverance religion performed the arduous work of kneading and moulding the various elements of those Teutonic and northern races which had overrun Europe, in order to civilize and sanctify them through the patient and vivifying action of faith. Even Littré, the great materialist and philologist, who persevered in his atheism almost unto the hour of his death, avowed, in the midst of his hallucinations, that " in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries the Church was the grand agent of social salvation." And Gibbon himself declared : " The bishops made the kingdom of France." This admission received the equally celebrated commentary of Joseph de Maistre : " The bishops made France, as bees construct a hive." As Cantù well observed, it is only by agriculture that men become really fixed in a country, " and become attached to it by sentiments which make sacred the name of fatherland," and Guizot never spoke more solidly than when he said that the Benedictines were *les défricheurs* of Europe. This influence of the Church was felt wherever there were barbarians to be tamed ; but, above all others, and from the very day of their conversion, the Frank barbarians seem to have been the most amenable to the lessons of their spiritual mother, and to have been the most zealous and enthusiastic in their demonstrations of gratitude to God for their rescue from the darkness of paganism. Probably much of their amenability and much of the

simplicity of their Catholic spirit was due to their speedy amalgamation with the Gallo-Romans ; for centuries were to elapse (in the case of the Prussians more than seven) before all the other Teutons abandoned idolatry. But their own nature also seems to have been in their favor. We can discern a heart yearning to love God and to fight for His honor in the Clovis who cries out when he first hears of the Passion of Christ : " Oh ! why was I not there with my Franks ? " From the day when Clovis and his three thousand companions issued regenerated from the Baptistery of Rheims, giving an example which was to be soon followed by their entire nation, France seems to have been—if we may reverently so express our idea—the special pet of heaven. In its entirety, although not in all its particulars, her history warrants the supposition, and many a time and oft her foes have proclaimed the idea as truth. Probably there never lived a less enthusiastic man than that profound observer, the Austro-Spaniard, Charles V. ; but he declared, after many years of experience of French propensity to recover from even merited misfortune : " No people ever did so much to bring about their own ruin as the French have done ; but they always recover, for they are specially protected by God."

Gesta Dei per Francos ! Certainly the French Catholic has reason for holy pride as he peruses the annals of his country, and discerns so many instances of God's use of the arms of France to effect His designs in the world, especially in the sole really important matter of the preservation of His Church. And now that a culmination seems to have been nearly attained by the efforts of the enemies " of all that is called God," which have been exerted for a full century and more to effect the unchristianization of his country, the French Catholic may well meditate upon these *Gesta Dei* ; for in them he will find a justification of his confidence that God has not deserted France, even in the matter of her temporal prosperity. Of course, while individuals attain the end of their creation only in the next world, nations must accomplish their end here below, and therefore it may easily be that the end for which God established French nationality has already been reached. It may be that all Europe is soon

to be made a *tabula rasa* by a Russian or a Mongolian invasion, and that once again the Catholic Church, the sole surviving institution of what was once the European *populus Christianus*, will pursue her God-given work of taming and converting a new set of barbarians, who will be the most prominent members of her flock during a coming decade of centuries. But the remembrance of what France has done, as an instrument of God, for Catholicism and civilization will endure in the world when the annals of many a now proud nation shall have become myths; for that remembrance will be guarded as a precious souvenir by that Church which will endure until the end of time. Perhaps it will be chiefly by a study of these *Gesta Dei per Francos*—both the original series, which were so named a thousand and more years ago, and the later ones, equally glorious—that the student of the thirtieth century of the Christian era will be able to learn something definite concerning that Arianism which is even now almost a myth to most people, although it was, in its day, more powerful than Protestantism has ever hoped to be. The student will learn how a mortal blow was given to Arianism by the victories of Clovis—against the Burgundians on the plains of Dijon, and against the Visigoths on the plains of Vouillé. In the thirtieth century the investigator will learn how, when Arianism was in its death-throes, Mohammed appeared, and, as Lacordaire observes, “renewed the idea of Arius at the point of the scimitar”; how, after its subjugation of Spain, Islamism tried to subject France to the laws of the Koran, and the nation that was baptized at Rheims furnished Christendom with its champion in the person of Charles Martel, whose victory at Poitiers hurled the Mussulman hordes back into the Iberian peninsula, and deprived them of future possibility of subjugating the whole of Europe. Then our thirtieth century indagator into the past will continue his searches among the *Gesta* of that wonderful people of whose glories the traditions circulating in his day will be so redolent; and he will read how Frankish monarchs *restored* (not *gave*) to the head of God’s Church that temporal sovereignty which the Founder of the Church had designed as its guarantee of indepen-

dence amid the poor fluctuations of the politics of human intelligence. The Baronio of the thirtieth century will read how, when the Roman people, in 754, had proclaimed the secular sovereignty of their Pope-King, Stephen II.; and the Lombard still quasi-barbarian monarchs, Astolphus and Desiderius, had appropriated much of what was rightly styled the Patrimony of the Church ; the French sovereigns, Pepin and Charlemagne, restored, by force of French valor, the temporal power of the Pope, declaring that they reserved to themselves and their successors " No power within the same limits, unless that we may gain prayers for the repose of our souls, and that by you and your people we be styled PATRICIANS OF THE ROMANS " (1). And when the searcher for historical truth shall have read such annals of the nineteenth century as may have come down to him, he will wonder why so many of the Italians of that time were so basely ungrateful to that pontifical monarchy which France had assured to them, and which had procured for them an almost uninterrupted primacy in letters, science, and art during eleven centuries. Pursuing his studies, the thirtieth century publicist will find in the *Gesta* how, in the eleventh century, the great heart of France recognized the voice of God issuing from the sepulchre of the Saviour, and calling on the children of Clovis, Martel and Charlemagne, to deliver the Holy Places from infidel persecution ; how in that and all the following Crusades these descendants of heroes, and heroes themselves, shed far more of their blood in the holy cause than all other peoples combined, and how French monarchs ever afterward regarded that blood, and the tears and sympathy of those who could not fight, as the most precious jewels in their diadems. Then our investigator will read how, in the fifteenth century, God raised up that sweet Maid of Orleans who was canonized in the beginning of the twentieth century ; how her valor, her purity, and her faith triumphed over the arrogant nation which was soon to

(1) In the olden time the title of " Roman Patrician " was given by the Pope-Kings to very few, and only for very great services to the Holy See. Clovis had received the honor, and Pepin was anxious to bear a title which then signified " Defender of the Church," and would therefore increase his consequence in the eyes of all Christian nations. He received it from Pope Stephen on the day that the Pontiff crowned him as King of the Franks.

become heretical, and by that triumph preserved the Land of the Lilies from the imminent pestilence. Then the student will perceive, a little further on in the *Gesta*, how gallantly the French prevented their own land from succumbing to the dire conflagration which had scared the regions watered by the Thames and the Elbe. "Luther came into the world," says Lacordaire, "and at his call Germany and England separated themselves from the Church. Had France accepted their fearful invitation, what would have been the result for Christianity? Her national enthusiasm saved France. Confederated in a holy league, Frenchmen placed their faith above everything else—even above their allegiance to their monarch—and they refused to recognize as legitimate heir to the crown any prince who would not swear fidelity to the God of Clovis, of Charlemagne, and of St. Louis. For the defence of the Church we Frenchmen have fought combats of blood and of mind. Arianism crushed, Islamism vanquished, the temporal dominion of the Popes consolidated, Protestantism repelled,—behold the four crowns of France which will not fade for all eternity." These four crowns represent, indeed, the chief episodes among the *Gesta Dei per Francos*; but they are not the sole instances of God's use of the arm of France for the good of His mystic spouse, or of His loving protection of France. Much could be said about God's work in saving France from the philosophists and *sans-culottes* of the last century, and much about France's defence of the Holy See almost to the present day. Are there to be any more chronicles of *Gesta Dei per Francos*? An affirmative reply will be given by those who perceive pre-eminent vitality in the Catholicism of the great majority of Frenchmen: by those who contend that the French Church of our day has an inestimable advantage over that of the eighteenth century, inasmuch as now the warfare between good and evil in France is open, a contest between affirmation and negation, and not a question between religion and religiosity—because, in fine, the day of half-measures has passed, and now a Frenchman must be either a Christian or an atheist. Such students of their epoch find that the religious movement encouraged by Lacordaire, Montalembert, and Dupanloup, has

been much advanced, of late, among the enlightened classes ; and while they are invincibly opposed to the sect which now administers the affairs of the Republic, they see no reason why Catholics, as such, should regard the Republic itself with suspicion. "The Church follows all the natural movements of reason and of history, with the intelligent tenderness of a mother for her child ; she is ever ready to satisfy the legitimate desires of her child. To the man of ancient times, crushed under the despotism of the Roman Empire, the Church offered refuge in one of her solitudes, where he could renounce the corrupting goods of earth. In the Middle Age, when man had acknowledged her maternal authority, the Church showed him that he could live according to the law of God, even in the world. At the time of the Renaissance, the Church associated herself with the literary and artistic movement of civilization ; and she furnished the world with inspirations and subjects which helped to immortalize so many men and works of the sixteenth century. To-day, democracy, the equality of all men in civil and social rights and duties, is a general aspiration of civilized people ; and it does not entail upon the Church any necessity of changing her doctrines, since she was the first to inculcate, under the superior law of charity—the love of God and of men—the principle of equality among men" (1). We hope, therefore, that Mgr. Freppel, one of the noblest Frenchmen who ever donned the mitre, was justified in pronouncing these encouraging words : "Lift up thy head, noble land ! Have confidence in thy divine vocation ! Thou hast not yet fulfilled thy divine mission ; for shouldst thou disappear, thou wouldst leave a void which Divine Omnipotence alone could fill. If some days of forgetfulness have called down punishment upon thee, many centuries of devotion to Christ and His Church demand pardon for thee. Thou wilt resume thy glorious destiny ; remaining in the world the soldier of Providence, the armed apostle of faith and of Christian civilization. Just as in the past, the weak and the oppressed of the universe will owe their deliverance to thy valor. Thou wilt repeat those grand days of thy history, when all that

(1) PELLISSIER ; *Christian France in the Nineteenth Century*. Paris, 1895.

was most venerable on earth was protected by the sword of Clovis, of Charlemagne, of Godefroy de Bouillon, of St. Louis, of Joan of Arc " (1).

As we write this dissertation, Christian France is celebrating the fourteenth centennial of that sacred function which was performed by St. Remy in the baptistery of Rheims on the Christmas Day of A. D. 496. From all parts of Christendom the great heart of the real and Catholic France has received proof that its emotions are shared by all the children of that Church whom it has served so well. The following ode, written by our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., on this joyful occasion, deserves remembrance by future generations :

VIVAT CHRISTUS QUI DILIGIT FRANCOS.

OB MEMORIAM AVSPICATISSIMI EVENTVS QVVM FRANCORVM NATIO
PRÆEUNTE CLODOVEO REGE SE CHRISTO ADDIXIT.

Gentium custos Deus est. Repente
Sternit insignes humilesque promit :
Exitus rerum tenet atque nutu
Temperat æquo.

Tentonum pressus Clodoveus armis,
Ut suos vidit trepidos pericli,
Fertur has voces iterasse, ad astra
Lumina tendens :

Dive, quem supplex mea sæpe coniux
Nuncupat Iesum, mihi dexter adsis :
Si juves promptus validusque, totum
Me tibi dedam.

Illico excussus pavor : acriores
Excitat virtus animos ; resurgit
Francus in pugnam ; ruit, et cruentos
Dislicet hostes.

Victor i, voti Clodovee compos,
Sub iugo Christi caput obligatum
Pone ; te Remis manet infulata
Fronte sacerdos.

Ludor ? en signis positis ad aram
Ipse rex sacris renovatur undis,
Et cohors omnis populisque dio
Tingitur amne.

Roma ter felix, caput o renatæ
Stirpis humanæ, tua pande regna :
Namque victrices tibi sponte lauros
FRANCIA defert.

Te colet matrem ; tua maior esse
Gestiet natu : potiore vita
Crescet, ac summo benefida Petro
Clara feretur.

Ut mihi longum libet intueri
Agmen heroum ! Domitor ferocis
Fulget Astolfi, pius ille sacri
Iuris amator.

Remque Romanam populantis ultor:
Bis per abruptas metuendus Alpes
Irruit, summoque Petro volentes
Assertit urbes.

Lætus admiror Solymis potitas
Vindices Sancti Tumuli phalanges
Me Palæstinis renovata campis
Prælia tangunt.

O novum robur celebris puellæ
Castrâ perrumpens inimica ! turpem
Galliæ cladem repulit Ioanna
Numine freta.

O quot illustres animæ nefanda
Monstra Calvinî domuere, gentem
Labe tam dira prohibere fortes.
Sceptraque regni !

Quo feror ? tempus redit auspicatum
Prisca quo virtus animis calescat.
Ecce, Remensis ciet atque adurget
Corda triumphus.

(1) *Discourse for the Benefit of Wounded Soldiers.* Feb., 1889.

Gallicæ gentes, iubaris vetusti
Ne quid obscuret radios, cavete ;
Neve suffundat malesuadus error
Mentibus umbras.

Vos regat Christus, siti quos revinxit :
Obsequi sectis pudeat probrosis ;
Occidat livor, soclasque in unum
Cogite vires.

Sæcla bis septem calor actuosæ
Perstitit vitæ, rennen perire :
Currite ad Veslan : novus æstuabit
Pectore fervor.

Dislitis floret magis usque terris
Gallicam nomen : populi vel ipsis
Adsit eois, Fideique sanctæ
Vota secundet.

Nil Fide Christi prius : hac adempta
Nil diu felix. Stetit unde priscæ
Summa laus genti, manet inde iugis
Gloria Gallos.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REIGN AND CHARACTER OF ST. LOUIS IX.*

The reign of the holy grandson of Philip Augustus has been rightly styled the keystone of the arch of French history. Certainly much had been effected for the consolidation of the French monarchy when Philip Augustus defeated, at Bouvines (July 27, 1214), the trebly larger forces of the German Otho IV. and the English John Lackland. By that victory the standard of the Lilies, which for some years had waved only over the space which is covered by five of the modern departments of France (1), again threw its protecting folds over all the ancient provinces excepting Aquitaine. But it was in the reign of St. Louis that the lineaments of the later French society were drawn ; and it was in the person of that everlasting glory of the French monarchy that the world beheld an incarnation of all that was most honorable, most redolent of justice—in fine, most Christian, in the royalty of the Middle Age. This reign demonstrated that the great theologians of the Church had not formulated the vagaries of a dream when they conceived the idea of a Christian royalty legitimized, not only by sacerdotal consecration, but by justice in its exercise, and by a proper participation, on the part of the governed, in public affairs. The salient features of the career of St. Louis, the grandest of the nearly innumerable Christian heroes of France, are at the

* This chapter appeared as an article in the *Amer. Cath. Quarterly Review*. Vol. xlii.
(1) Seine, Seine et Loire, Seine et Marne, Oise, and Loiret ; 120 by 90 miles in extent.

command of the student (1); in these few pages we propose to treat of some points which, although essential to a proper appreciation of the character of the royal confessor, and to even a moderate understanding of the period in which he lived, are ignored by the authors whose works are consulted by the average reader. We shall touch upon the sanctity of Louis IX. only by implication; for nothing in the domain of history is more certain than the belief in that sanctity, held by the contemporaries of the monarch, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, Christians or pagans. Neither shall we attempt to detail even the principal events of this charming and edifying life; but we may be permitted to preface the fulfilment of our main purpose by a brief summary of the results of a policy which, although less theatrically impressive than that followed by certain of the crowned disposers of national destinies, was probably unique in an utter absence of reasons for blame. From the very beginning of his reign, Louis IX. resolved to restrain the abusive domination of the great vassals of the crown; but law and justice formed the invariable basis of his conduct. The same scrupulousness led him to doubt as to the entire legitimacy of certain conquests of some of his predecessors to the detriment of the kings of England, and he resolved to yield something for the sake of peace. By the treaty of Abbeville, in 1259, he voluntarily ceded to Henry III. of England part of the territories which that monarch reclaimed from the conquests of Philip Augustus; but in return he obtained the recognition of Anjou, Normandy, Maine, Touraine, Berri, and Poitou, as inalienable from the French monarchy. The English sovereign also engaged to do homage to the king of France, as to his liege and suzerain lord, for all his possessions in the kingdom of France. When the dissensions between Henry III. and his barons threatened to become interminable, the reputation of Louis for probity caused the contestants to appeal to him as arbitrator. In 1264 both parties argued

(1) MICHELET; *History of France*, ch. 8. Paris, 1830.—VILLENEUVE; *History of St. Louis*. Paris, 1840.—MIGNET; *Feudality and the Institutions of St. Louis*. Paris, 1850.—CANTU; *St. Louis of France*, in the Collection of Biographies attached to that author's *Universal History*, 9th Turin edition, 1862.—LECOY DE LA MARCHE; *St. Louis, His Government, and His Policy*. Paris, 1891.

their claims before the saint at Amiens, submitting to his judgment, although only for a time. In his conduct toward Frederick II., the most virulent of all those German emperors who were, with few exceptions, so many running sores in the visible body of the Church, the saintly monarch demonstrated that if the Holy Roman Emperors of the German line had ignored the fact that their sole reason for existence was their obligation to be Defenders of the Holy See, that sublime privilege had devolved on the Eldest Sons of the Church. In his relations with the Orient, the crowned hero showed himself a missionary, as well as an armed defender of the Christian faith; he spared no exertion, no expense, in aiding the missions which the sons of Sts. Dominic and Francis had established among the Photian and Nestorian schismatics, and among the Saracens and Tartars. In the administration of the internal affairs of his kingdom, St. Louis was an energetic and prudent reformer; there was not, in all France, a bailiff, a seneschal, or a provost who was not made to feel that his office was a solemn charge for the benefit of the people. The reign of St. Louis was pre-eminently one of justice. The royal tribunals became sure refuges for oppressed innocence; and the king himself heard whatever case a subject desired to be considered by him. From one end of the kingdom to the other, the proudest lord hastened to undo a wrong, when he heard the peasant murmur: "If the king only knew of that!" Students of public economics know that anything like a well-regulated system of governmental finance is of very modern origin; but St. Louis so regulated the reception of revenue, so accurately verified all the accountings, that never, during his reign, was there ordered an extraordinary tax. And let the statesmen of our day note that to our times must not be credited the invention of that famous panacea: "No taxation without representation." In 1256 this "crowned king" decreed in favor of the *bonnes villes* of his dominions that no tax should be levied on them without their consent. If the reader is curious to know how much St. Louis effected for the amelioration of the lot of the serfs, and how he emancipated those of his own royal domain; if it would interest the social economist

to learn all that this crowned saint of the Middle Age effected for the encouragement of art, for the improvement of agriculture, etc., we refer him to the eloquent but judicial narrative of Lecoy de la Marche. When the beautiful picture has been examined, it may occur to the observer that it is strange that one is not oppressed by the sight of some disagreeable shadows, behind which some possible miseries may lurk. Nearly every other biography furnishes some occasion for adverse criticism of its subject; but that of St. Louis refuses to a critic the exercise of his choicest prerogative, and for the simple reason that Louis IX. was more than a worthy husband and father, a consummate statesman, a successful general, and an excellent sovereign. He was also a saint. Such a phenomenal combination has been witnessed in only three or four instances in the history of the world; for while it is true that, at least in the Middle Age, there were many royal saints—considering the comparative fewness of royal personages, more than from any other condition of life—very seldom have other saintly royalties filled all the positions which St. Louis occupied (1).

I.

It is impossible to attain to a correct conception of the character and influence of St. Louis, or to any accurate knowledge of the period in which he lived, if one does not appreciate properly the theory concerning the nature and origin of the royal power which was then in vogue. And among moderns, especially among those whose ideas of history have been derived from Protestant and rationalistic sources, how many are there who understand the meaning of that phrase, the "divine right of kings," which, with some show of reason, they regard as indicative of that *toto cælo* difference which

(1) Speaking of the Venerable Mary Christina of Savoy, mother of King Francis II. of the Two Sicilies, a writer in the *Civiltà Cattolica* (1859) says: "In the Ages of Faith sanctity shone on the thrones of kings, and in royal halls; and perhaps more than in the homes of the lowly and in the cells of religious. Then Italy, France, Spain, Germany, England, Scotland, Hungary, and Denmark gave to the Church so many saints who were either kings or queens, or royal princes or princesses, that, considering the comparatively small number of those persons who occupy so elevated a position, it may be seen that reigning families furnished more saints than were produced by any other condition of life."

subsists between mediæval days and our own? Very few; and, nevertheless, there are some who have read, to say nothing about many minor struggles between royal autocracy and the protectress of the peoples, much concerning that perennial and soul-sickening struggle between the Papacy and the Holy Roman Emperors of the German line—a contest the sole object of which was, on the part of the Pontiffs, to force the emperors to avow that between them and God there was a divinely-appointed power. If these pages come to the notice of any persons who believe, with the immense majority of Protestants, that the “divine right of kings,” as they understand the formula, was the theory held by jurists in the Middle Age, and then taught by the Church, they must learn that the Church has never made any definition concerning either a mediate or an immediate communication of ruling power. The Church has simply presented the dogma revealed in the Pauline declaration that all power comes from God. But the most reliable and most authoritative doctors and theologians of the Church have taught that power has its source in the nation; that power comes from the nation; and that the nation gives, in some manner and in unison with God, that power to princes or other rulers of the peoples. Hear St. Chrysostom, as he comments on the Pauline text: “Is every ruler established by God? I do not say that he is; for I am not speaking of any particular rulers, but of the thing in itself. I say that it is an institution of Divine Wisdom that some command, and others obey; and thus human affairs do not go on in haphazard fashion, the peoples being agitated like the waves of the sea. The Apostle does not say that there is no prince who does not come from God; but speaking of the thing itself, he says that there is no power, unless from God” (1). But hearken to the Angel of the Schools, who, to put the matter very mildly, is the best accredited of all the Catholic theologians, and upon whose judgments all other theologians rely, when they approach this matter *ex professo*. St. Thomas, who was a contemporary of St. Louis, tells us that the legislative power resides in the nation, in the people, or in him who has received it from the peo-

(1) Homily XXIII. on the Epistle to the Romans.

ple (1). He says the same in regard to the coercive power (2). He insists that in certain conditions of society, the ruler has power to make laws, only because he represents the nation—in *quantum gerit personam multitudinis* (3). A little further on he says that in a well-ordered state the governing power belongs to all—*principatus ad omnes pertinet*, inasmuch as all can vote and be elected (4). After St. Thomas of Aquino, probably Suarez would dispute with Bellarmine the honor of leading the schools. The opinion of Suarez concerning the divine right of kings can be gathered from his "Treatise on Laws," and from an apposite work written in reply to King James I. of England, who, an earnest champion of that doctrine which is falsely supposed to be Catholic teaching, had taken up the pen in an attempted refutation of Bellarmine's defense of the really Catholic position. Listen to Suarez: "It must be admitted that the power to rule is not given by nature to any one person in particular; being, rather, resident in the community. This is the *common opinion*, and it is *certain*. It is the teaching of St. Thomas" (5). And can anything be clearer than the following? "Whenever the civil power resides in any man, in any prince, it has emanated, by legitimate and ordinary right, from the people and the community, either immediately or mediately; and in no other way can it be legitimate" (6). Again: "When the civil power is found in this man, it is the result of a gift of the nation, as I have proved; and in that respect, the power is of human right. And if the government of this or that nation or province is monarchical, it is such because of human institution, and therefore the power also is of human origin. And what proves the matter more strongly, the power of the ruler is more or less great, according to the agreement between him and the nation" (7). Now listen to the reply of Suarez to His Protestant Majesty: "Here the most serene king not only upholds a *new and singular opinion* (that of the *immediate and direct divine right of kings*), but he violently attacks Cardinal Bellarmine because His Eminence affirmed

(1) *Summa Theol.*, 1 a., 2 ae., q. 90, a. 3.(2) *Ibid.*, q. 90, a. 3, ad 2 um.(3) *Ibid.*, q. 97, ad 3. ad 3 um.(4) *Ibid.*, q. 105, a. 1.(5) *Laws*, lib. iii., cap. 2.(6) *Ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. 3.(7) *Ibid.*, cap. 4.

that monarchs, unlike the Sovereign Pontiffs, do not receive their authority immediately from God. His Majesty holds that a prince does not receive his power from the people, but immediately from God ; and he tries to support his assertion with arguments and facts which I shall examine in the following chapter. Now, although this controversy does not turn directly on matters of faith, since neither Scripture nor patristic tradition determines anything concerning the subject, nevertheless the matter ought to be treated carefully, firstly, because it may furnish an occasion of error in others ; secondly, because the king's opinion, such as he establishes it, and because of its object, is *new and singular*, and seems to have been expressly invented in order to enhance the temporal, and to diminish the spiritual power ; and, thirdly, because we contend that the opinion of the illustrious cardinal is *ancient, received, true, and necessarily to be admitted*" (1). When such was the opinion of theologians like the Angelic Doctor, Bellarmine, and Suarez, we are not surprised on hearing Beaumanoir, in the thirteenth century, and Marsilio of Padua, in the early fourteenth, asserting that the people were the first sovereign, and that from the people the king derived his right to make laws.

Nevertheless, the sovereigns of the Middle Age, especially in France, were popularly regarded as, in some sort, images of the Deity ; in those days men respected authority. In France, the holy unction which the monarch received at Rheims gave to him, in the popular imagination, an almost sacerdotal character ; hence in the *Chanson de Roland* we see Charlemagne giving a solemn blessing to his army. It is very probable, remarks a judicious critic of our day (2), that this idea of the quasi-divinity of royalty came from the principle of Aristotle—a philosopher then almost worshipped in the schools—that the monarchical form of government is the most conformable to the order of nature, since all nature is ruled by one God. So thought Gerson, repeating the words of Homer, “*Οὐχ ἀγαθὸν πολυχοιρανία’ εἰς χοίρανος ἔστω*—It is not good to have many leaders ; let us have but one.” As to

(1) *Defense of the Faith Against the Errors of the Anglican Sect.*

(2) JOURDAIN ; *The French Royalty and Popular Right.*

hereditary monarchy, the principle was by no means absolute in mediæval France. Louis VIII. was the first monarch whose father had not procured his coronation during his own life ; all the Capetians, down to Philip Augustus, had found it necessary to take this measure in order to secure the succession to their eldest sons. At that time, not only in France, but also in Italy, Hungary, and Germany, there was always a menace in the ears of a reigning prince ; he knew that misconduct or tyranny might cause the royal dignity to be transferred to some other family. However, with the advent of St. Louis, the hereditary principle was definitely accepted by the French ; the Christian prestige of this prince was so communicated to his race that to be the heir of St. Louis was equivalent to being the future wearer of his crown. And now a word as to the measure of the royal authority during the Middle Age. Elinand, a Cistercian monk of the diocese of Beauvais, in the time of St. Louis, whose knowledge and prudence is lauded by all his literary contemporaries, and whose political ideas are regarded as having helped to form the policy of the holy monarch, thus speaks of the power of a Christian sovereign in his day : "The ancient code (the pagan Roman) utters a tremendous lie, when it pronounces that the mere will of the prince has the force of law. . . . It is not at all strange that, among us, the king is not allowed to have a private treasury ; for the king does not belong to himself, but to his subjects" (1). And lest the reader may think that this theory of Elinand is a mere isolated opinion, we subjoin a remark of the most celebrated publicist of that day, Cardinal James de Vitry, bishop of Tusculum and dean of the Sacred College : "There is no security for a monarch, from the very moment when men find that they are not secure from him" (2). Then we hear St. Thomas proclaiming that the good of the community is the sole end of a government ; that a monarch is not enthroned for his own satisfaction, but for the public weal ; that a king must be the good shepherd of his people ; that, in fine, no law should be considered as

(1) In a sermon by Elinand, recorded in the edition of the works of Vincent of Beauvais, published by the Dominicans of Douai, in 1624.

(2) Latin MS. No. 17,509, folio 103, in the National Library of France, cited by Lecoy de la Marche, *loc. cit.*

such, unless it be "a reasonable regulation, promulgated by him who has the care of the community, and directed to the public good—*quedam rationis ordinatio ad bonum commune, ab eo qui curam communitatis habet promulgata*" (1). One of the most ardent partisans of hereditary monarchy was the great Gerson; but he wrote: "He errs who thinks that a king can use the persons and goods of his subjects as his pleasure dictates; or that he can load his people with taxes, when the public weal does not call for such burdens. Such conduct is that of a tyrant, not that of a king" (2). It is true that in the time of Philip the Fair, the hero of the sad and disgraceful episode of Anagni, certain jurists tried to flatter their royal master with the notion that his authority was unbounded; that it was even independent of the tiara (3). But we must remember that between the reigns of St. Louis and Philip the Fair there had intervened the reign of Philip III. (the Rash); that then had really begun the end of the Middle Age, and the disintegration of its vital and most characteristic elements. During the reign of St. Louis, and during many previous centuries, no Christian publicist would have dared to utter such sentiments as began to be current when *the populus Christianus* was giving place to the divided Christian peoples, and when other elements than the Christian faith began to sway the nations. In the palmy days of the Middle Age the governmental ideal was an absence of both despotism and demagoguery.

St. Louis was not twelve years of age when, by the premature death of his father, Louis VIII., he was called to the throne of France in 1226. The political condition of France was very different from that which the kingdom had presented in the time of Charlemagne. That king of the Franks, placed by Pope St. Leo III. at the head of a new empire which had nothing but the name in common with that of pagan Rome, had fulfilled his mission by combining the heterogeneous elements entrusted to his care, so that he left behind him neither Romans nor Franks, neither Gauls nor barbarians; but a *populus Christianus*, in a unity which

(1) JOURDAIN; *Philosophy of St. Thomas*, i., 407.

(2) JOURDAIN; *Ibid.*

(3) GOLDAST; *Monarchy of the Holy Roman Empire*, II., 96.

required for its maintenance merely the moral leadership of the Roman Pontiff, and in that unity the political and social organization of the Middle Age was established (1). In the year 962 Pope John XII. transferred the Holy Roman Empire from the French to the Germans ; but thereafter the emperors were merely kings of the Germans and of whatever other peoples happened to be subject to the titular of the nonce, he enjoying over other sovereigns only the primacy of dignity. When the crown of France passed from the Carolingians to the Capetians, a radical change had been effected in the royal condition. Under both the Merovingians and the early Carolingians, the dukes and counts, in various parts of the kingdom, had been merely administrators for the king ; but toward the end of the ninth century they bought up or appropriated the proprietorship of their territories. Thus arose feudalism in France, the new proprietors soon confounding, in good or in bad faith, the right of the land-owner with that of sovereignty. In this new state of affairs, in which the sovereignty was attached to the land instead of to the individual, the king was a person of small consideration ; for even his residence, the Ile de France, belonged to the Count of Paris. Even when the will of the nation raised Hugh Capet, Count of Paris and Duke of France, to the royal throne in 986, his own services and those of his father, Hugh the Great, could not obtain for him better conditions than that he should be full sovereign in his own county of Paris, and have the commandment of all forces in war. Of course all the other princes swore homage to the new king as their "suzerain." From the date of Hugh Capet's accession down to the time of Louis XI., the main object of every king was to enlarge his own peculiar domain by purchase or alliance, and to augment the attributes of his suzerainty. The first successors of Hugh Capet, namely, Robert, Henry I., and Philip I., effected much in this really praiseworthy struggle ; that great minister, the Benedictine abbot Suger, did still more in favor of Louis VI. and Louis VII. ; but Philip Augustus struck two mortal blows against feudalism. The first was when he caused the king of Eng-

(1) LECOY DE LA MARCHE; *loc. cit.*, p. 27

land, his most redoubtable vassal, to answer, before the peers of France, for the crime of murdering his own nephew ; confiscating thereafter to the benefit of the French crown, nearly all the fiefs which the English monarch had held in France, namely, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou. The second blow was when, by the victory of Bouvines, he destroyed forever the arrogant pretensions of the German emperors in regard to France. It is true that Philip Augustus feared for the permanency of his work ; but God had decreed that his daughter-in-law, the saintly Blanche of Castile, should carry it on during her regency, and should so train her son, St. Louis, that he would perfect it by the exercise of an ability and an honesty which exceeded those of his grandfather. In the fulfilment of his task, St. Louis relied little on the lasting effects of conquest ; nay, he was so unworldly that he would not regard as legitimate any gain accruing to his kingdom, which had not been sealed by a perfect concord between the parties concerned. The work of consolidating the Capetian monarchy on the ruins of feudalism was indeed consummated only by Louis XI., the very antipode of St. Louis ; but the latter monarch had contributed more to that end than all of his predecessors united. And how different was the policy of St. Louis from that of his foxy successor ! Certainly Louis XI. was not the character which most modern historians describe for the worshippers of the nineteenth century ; nor was he at all the incarnation of royal cruelty and deceit whom modern play-goers know so well. But where Louis XI. was astute, St. Louis was frank ; where Louis XI. was unjust, St. Louis observed an equity which would have excited the derisive laughter of a Cavour or a Palmerston, if the Middle Age could have tolerated those who are grandmasters of "diplomacy" in our day. Finally, the policy of St. Louis was less expensive than that of Louis XI. ; and since it was incomparably less expensive than the policies now in vogue, our utilitarians should accord to it their heartfelt admiration.

II.

In the palmy days of Gallicanism, and of its sister-school,

German courtier-theologism, one often heard the name of St. Louis cited as that of an opponent of the "encroachments of Rome." Even in our own time, when both of these schools were dead, and waiting for the Vatican Council to bury them, theists of celebrity *et id omne genus* were wont to utter the same absurdity with complacent solemnity. Poor Renan said: "The Church had commanded kings to obey; Philip Augustus *and St. Louis protested*, and Philip the Fair dared to resist" (1). That Philip Augustus protested against the order, issued by Pope Innocent III., to put away his concubine, and to restore Queen Ingelburga to her rights, is true; but he repented in time, and obeyed. That Philip the Fair resisted the just demands of Pope Boniface VIII. is also true; but he was obliged to acquiesce in the vindication of that Pontiff's conduct by the Fifteenth General Council. That St. Louis protested, in the sense in which Renan, Michelet, etc., use the term, is false. The principal, if not the sole, reason for supposing that St. Louis would have been a Gallican, if there had been such a thing in his day, is founded on an unauthentic document—that celebrated forgery which bears the pseudo-title of "Pragmatic Sanction" (2). Elsewhere we have done justice to this pretended edict of St. Louis (3), and here we need only say that no true erudite of our day defends its authenticity. But there are some, for instance, Viollet and Wallon, who insist that even though St. Louis did not issue the supposed Sanction, he *might* have done so in all consistency; for, they contend, his principles were those defended in it. This curious theory was that of Bossuet, who did not fully credit the document. The great bishop of Meaux exclaimed to those who, even among his partisans, decried the authenticity of the Sanction: "Even though this Pragmatic were apocryphal, its doctrine ought not to be rejected" (4). Let us see, therefore, what was the attitude of the grandest Christian of the thirteenth century toward the Holy See. This

(1) *Literary History of France*, xxiv., 146.

(2) The title is absurd in the premises. The word "Pragmatic" is derived from the Greek *πράγμα* and the Latin *sancio*; and it would be appropriate if the edict sanctioned some previous ordinance. But this document sanctions nothing.

(3) See Vol. iii., ch. 9.

(4) *Defense of the Declaration*, pt. ii., bk. 2, ch. 9.

attitude will appear without distortion if we consult, not the prejudices of Henri Martin, Beugnot, Faure, or the rank and file of English authors, but those original sources, the neglect of which constitutes the capital sin of a historian. In this matter those sources are the official documents preserved in the *Tresor des Chartes* (1), and cited by Lecoy de la Marche; the pontifical letters collected by Rinaldi; many documents published by the Bollandists; and last, but by no means least, the *Registers of Pope Innocent IV.*, comprising many hitherto unknown illustrations of the reign of that Pontiff, especially in the matter of his relations with St. Louis, which M. Elie Berger recently unearthed from the archives of the Vatican and of the National Library of France (2). In the year 1235 St. Louis attained his majority, and from that time he governed his kingdom by his own sole authority, although he took frequent counsel from his wise and holy mother until the end of her life, in 1252. One of the first communications held with him by the then reigning Pontiff, Gregory IX., was of a nature to indicate that His Majesty of France was a personage not merely ordinarily *grata* to the Holy See; we find the Pontiff conceding the extraordinary privilege of exemption from any possible interdict to the private chapels of the royal family, and what was still more wonderful in that age, the king and his family were allowed to communicate with the excommunicated without consequence of censure (3). At the renewal of the struggle between the Holy See and Frederick II., that German emperor who proclaimed that "the world had suffered from three impostors, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet," we hear Pope Gregory IX. asking for aid and counsel from His Most Christian Majesty, invoking the ancient friendship between the tiara and the lilies, and concluding: "Just as the tribe of Juda was called to a special blessing from among

(1) In the National Archives of France.

(2) *Registers of Innocent IV.*, Paris, 1884-1887. This monumental work merited the "prix Gobert," from the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. M. Berger's two introductions, one historical and the other diplomatical, form a mine for the polemic whose duties bring him to a study of this important period of European history; and the entire work is another proof of the sagacity which dictated the establishment of the *École Française* in Rome.

(3) *Tresor des Chartes*, Nat. Archives of France, J. 684, 686.

the other tribes, so the kingdom of France is illustrious above all others through a divine prerogative of honor and grace. Just as the tribe of Juda, a figure of France, defeated and subjugated all its enemies, so the kingdom of France, fighting the battles of the Lord, and combating for the liberty of the Church in both the East and the West, delivered the Holy Land from the pagans under the leadership of your predecessors, reduced the empire of Constantinople to the Roman obedience, saved Rome herself from a multitude of perils, and conquered the pest of Albigenian heresy. Just as the tribe of Juda never abandoned the worship of the true God, so in the kingdom of France the Christian faith has never vacillated, devotion to the Church has never weakened, ecclesiastical liberty has never been imperilled" (1). Certainly the recipient of this praise had not yet shown any tendency to interfere with the prerogatives of the Holy See. And in the subsequent years his conduct during the struggle between the Church and the Empire proved his intense devotion to the Papacy. Undoubtedly he tried to mediate between the contending parties, for a love of peace was the dominant feature of his character; but his active sympathies were with the Supreme Pontiff of Christendom. Immediately on the arrival of the special legate of Pope Gregory IX. in France, the holy monarch ordered the publication of the anathema against Frederick which the prelate had brought; and he facilitated the levy of the tax on ecclesiastical benefices which was to furnish the means of combating the imperial enemy of the Church. The English chronicler, Matthew Paris (sometimes styled Matthew of Paris), tells us that the Pope wished St. Louis to do more; that he desired France to declare war against Frederick; and that when St. Louis refused, he annulled the election of one of the king's uncles, Pierre Charlot, to the bishopric of Noyon. But the truth is, as we gather from Baronio, that the Pontiff did not desire immediate war on the emperor, for he was about to try the effect of a council on the recalcitrant. As to the affair of Charlot, the election to the See of Noyon was annulled for reasons unconnected with the matter of Frederick II. This

(1) *Ibi*, J. 352; *Invent.*, Num 2,835.

Charlot was a bastard son of Philip Augustus, and the Holy See had dispensed with the impediment *publice honestatis*, in order that the royal wish for his admittance to the priesthood might be gratified; but it was not the intention of the Pontiff that the higher dignities of the Church should be open to one who was tainted by infamous origin. When the Thirteenth General Council (First of Lyons) was convoked, and Frederick opposed its meeting by every means in his power, St. Louis adopted every means to further it. In the height of his insanity, the German seized the Papal legate and some French bishops who were accompanying him to Italy, maltreated them, and imprisoned them. Immediate preparations for war, however, on the part of France, induced him to give full satisfaction for the insult. Before the Council of Lyons could meet, Pope Gregory IX. died; and when his successor, Celestine IV., also died, after a reign of a few days, the intrigues of Frederick, more than probable infidel though he was, to raise himself to the Chair of Peter, led to an "*interpontificium*" of nearly two years. Then St. Louis voiced the sentiments of Christendom, when he wrote to the Sacred College this very un-Gallican message: "Since there is a question of defending the independence of the Church, you can rely on the aid of France. Be firm; throw off the yoke which has pressed your necks so long!" (1). And here we would take advantage of an opportunity to show the utter unreliability of Matthew Paris, whenever that ultra English chronicler undertakes to write of French affairs. He asserts that St. Louis threatened, in his letter to the cardinals, to choose a Pope by his own authority, *by virtue of a privilege to that effect conferred on St. Denis by Pope St. Clement*. A Pontiff was soon chosen in the person of Innocent IV., and one of his first acts was to assure the king of France of his affectionate respect: "God has already made your name great among the greatest." The Pope also besought the aid of his Eldest Son against the perjured emperor, who was then conspiring against the personal freedom of the head of the Church.

(1) HULLIARD-BREHOLLES; *Diplomatic History of Frederick II.*, in introduction, page cccliii. Paris, 1860.

The Thirteenth General Council met at Lyons in 1245, and by a unanimous vote of the synodals the Emperor Frederick II. was deposed. But one resource was open to the disconcerted prince; he might induce the temporal rulers of Christendom to unite against the "usurpations" of the arrogant churchman who presumed to dictate to the salt of the earth. To gain the king of France to his views would be equivalent to a conquest of all the other sovereigns of Europe; therefore, besides the circular which he sent to every monarch, he sent to St. Louis his chancellor, who was empowered to make the most brilliant promises. Frederick knew well the spirit which actuated many of the vassals of the French crown; therefore he cunningly suggested that Louis should arbitrate in his cause, "together with his peers and barons, as became so grand a monarch and so powerful a state." He promised to give to the Church whatever satisfaction this tribunal should deem proper; he would accompany the French king in his projected Crusade, and he would not lay down his arms until the entire kingdom of Jerusalem was conquered. In return, besides the revocation of his deposition, he would ask for only one little concession; he was to be allowed to glut his imperial vengeance on the Lombards (1). Naturally such terms were unacceptable to both Innocent IV. and St. Louis. The latter could not sit as an equal with those vassals whose pretensions he was combating; but for the love of peace, and in the interest of the Crusade, he consented to intercede with the Pontiff. Innocent granted the requested interview; and in November, 1245, the Most Christian King prostrated himself before the Sovereign Pontiff in the cloisters of the abbey of Cluny. The conferences lasted for fifteen days, Queen Blanche alone assisting. The Pontiff finally announced that he could not accept the conditions formulated by the culprit; but in order to show that he was not averse to an ultimate reconciliation, he agreed to allow Frederick to wait upon him at Lyons, there to try to clear himself of the charges, especially of heresy and heinous violence, which the Christian world had made against him. It is not probable that either the Pope or the king believed that Frederick

(1) HICILLARD-BREHOLLES; *loc. cit.*, p. cccvi.

would dare to attempt a formal justification of his notorious crimes ; at any rate the perverse man affected to regard the pontifical offer as a refusal of justice, and ere long St. Louis learned that he had resolved to march on Lyons, not for the purpose of conferring with the Pontiff, but in order to seize his sacred person. Then the disgusted monarch broke off all negotiations ; he announced to the Pope his resolve to attack the excommunicated traitor, and would have led his intending crusaders across the Alps, had he not learned that Frederick had decided to remain in Italy, and had not the Pontiff ordered him to sheathe his sword. Probably we have adduced a sufficiency of proofs in the matter of the attachment of St. Louis to the See of Rome ; but it will not be amiss to present a few more instances of an utter absence of any " Gallican " ideas of a false independence on the part of this Catholic hero. Firstly, then, it has been asserted that Innocent IV. condemned a league which certain French barons formed for the purpose of upholding their own judicial decisions when they differed from those of the episcopal tribunals. But we reply with Wallon (1), that St. Louis was foreign to this league, as is fully proved by the absence of his seal in the original Act. Again, when the monarch returned from the Seventh Crusade he received a letter from Innocent IV., in which the Pontiff lauded the zeal which he had ever displayed in defending the rights of French ecclesiastical establishments against the exactions of some of the royal bailiffs and certain barons. " The king," says the Pope, " does not know of these crimes (when they are committed), and he grieves when they are brought to his knowledge." The many favors which Alexander IV. showered on St. Louis also show that the king was a prince according to his pontifical heart. And that these concessions were granted simply because of the virtue of the applicant, and because Rome realized that he would never abuse them, is evinced by the fact that when the king begged that some of the favors might be extended to his heir, the request was refused. Rome is never blind. The relations of St. Louis with Pope Clement IV., the last of the potentates who were contemporary with him,

1) *St. Louis and His Times*. Paris, 1865.

indicate a perfect harmony of thought between the two powers—a thorough true respect for the rights of each. As the Bollandists expressed the idea: “Negabat alter alteri quod justis rationibus concedendum non putabat, nec inde amicitia lædebatur.” During the vacancy of the episcopal see of Rheims, Pope Clement conferred several benefices which were of episcopal right; but he soon revoked the collation, lest he might appear indifferent to the “right of regalia” enjoyed by the French kings (1). St. Louis showed an equal appreciation of the difference between pontifical and royal prerogatives when the Greek emperor, Michael Paleologus, having asked him to arbitrate between the Pontiff and himself, he replied that such a rôle was above the powers of even a king of France, since the Roman Pontiff was the supreme judge in Christendom. He would promise the emperor merely the exercise of his “good offices” at the pontifical court. When many of his courtiers advised St. Louis to claim as a royal fief the county of Melgueil, near Montpellier, then in the possession of the bishop of Maguelonne, he followed the advice of Pope Clement, and respected the claims of the bishop. When St. Louis thought of taxing the merchandise which passed through the port of Aigues-Mortes, which had been constructed in the interests of pilgrims to the Holy Land, and wishing only to use the revenue for the maintenance of the port in good condition, he consulted with Pope Clement; and received permission to levy the desired imposts, “after consultation with the bishops of the province, the barons of the neighborhood, and the consuls of Montpellier, and on condition that the duties would be moderate and never afterward increased” (2). Here, then, we see St. Louis asking for the intervention of the Pope in a purely temporal matter; the Pontiff admits that the king can decide as he thinks best, and the monarch deems it advisable to follow the counsel of His Holiness. Certainly a more perfect harmony could not have been desired. Did our limits permit, we could multiply instances of this concord; but the reader will probably conclude that the course of St. Louis toward the Holy See was always such as one would have expected, *a priori*, so pious a monarch to follow.

(1) See our Vol. IV., p. 211, *et seqq.*

(2) BOLLANDISTS, at Aug. v. 485.

III.

The best efforts of Pope Gregory IX. had been devoted to the preparation of a new crusade ; and in the next pontificate the urgency for such an expedition became extreme. Jerusalem, which for some years had been in Christian hands, was captured in 1244 by the Mussulmans of Egypt, who had become masters of Syria. Aid from the West was tearfully sought by the few Christians of the Holy Land whom the scimitar had spared. But the king of England and the German emperor ignored every appeal ; the other princes, St. Louis excepted, were too feeble to do else than pray to heaven for the success of a holy cause. To France, therefore, then, as always, the reliance of Christendom in every dread emergency, the entreaties of Pope Innocent IV. were directed ; and St. Louis arose from a bed of sickness, donned the cross, and having proceeded to Notre-Dame in the dress of a humble pilgrim, went to Lyons for the blessing of Christ's vicar upon his enterprise. It is not our purpose to describe this expedition. In 1248 St. Louis led his army out of France, not in royal array, but in a pilgrim's guise, and with bare feet, to impress his followers with the truth that they were about to engage in a holy task, and one which needed a special blessing for its success. In the same penitential dress he entered Damietta, chanting the *Te Deum*. When the final reverse overtook him, he was able to say with the Apostle, "*Quum infirmor, tunc potens sum.*" How much of the responsibility for the failure of the Seventh Crusade must be cast upon the German emperor, Frederick II. ? When St. Louis was about to depart, Frederick feared that a new French principality would soon be founded in the Orient, and he asked of the king a promise that all of his conquests should be annexed to the kingdom of Jerusalem. The saint replied that he would effect nothing to the prejudice of the emperor, but that he could only promise that all his actions would be for the good of the Church. Frederick appeared to be satisfied ; he ordered his officers in Sicily not to overcharge the French for the provisions they would buy in that island. But the Arab historian, Makrizi, declares that Frederick sent a spec-

ial messenger, disguised as a merchant, to warn the sultan, then sick at Damascus, of the French intention to attack Egypt (1). Such a course was perfectly consistent with the entire career of Frederick II. He had already shown how little spirit he had for the Holy Wars, when, in 1227, after years of incitement by Rome, Italy, Germany, and Hungary, he had finally set sail from Brindisi, only to return three days afterward, alleging that he was sick—conduct which entailed upon him his first excommunication by Gregory IX. (2). And when finally he did appear in Palestine, it was only for the annoyance of the Christians, he having hastened to make an alliance with the persecuting sultan of Egypt. We are justified, therefore, in believing the Arab historian, when he says that this false Christian (and probably renegade) betrayed the plans of St. Louis. Joinville, the companion of the holy monarch during the best years of his life, and his most reliable biographer, narrates that when Frederick heard of the captivity of the hero, he burst into a frenzy of joy, and gave a grand feast to his court. Then he sent, says the seneschal, a messenger to the sultan, ostensibly for the purpose of negotiating for the release of the king, but really in order to insure the prolongation of his durance. In order to rid ourselves of so unsavory a subject, we hasten to add, that the later conduct of the German emperor was such as to confirm the recital of Makrizi. Not satisfied with allying himself with the Saracens in their own land, he invited to the Italian peninsula those of them who resided in Sicily, and gave them lands around Lucera, in a state which was a fief of the Holy See. He adopted the manners of the infidels, composed his bodyguard of them, and chose their prettiest women for his hours of lasciviousness. Shame like this well

(1) The work of Makrizi is translated in the *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, Vol. iv.

(2) The Bull of excommunication recites that Frederick was thus punished because he had, five different times, violated his solemn vows, emitted with the clause that he would incur excommunication if he broke them; because he had not furnished the troops and money which he had promised to the eastern Christians; because he had despoiled their king of his title and his revenues; because he had prevented the Archbishop of Tarento from visiting his diocese; because he had robbed the Templars and Hospitalers of their Sicilian revenues; because he had not observed treaties for the keeping of which the Holy See had become his security; because he had robbed of his property Count Roger, a Crusader, and under the protection of the Pope; because he had imprisoned unjustly the son of that Count Roger, etc.—In LABBE, Vol. xl.

befitted the closing years of the Hohenstaufen, a dynasty the most salient characteristic of which was a perennial attempt to destroy the Papacy, an institution which buried it, as it has buried, and ever will bury, others of the same stamp. The first use which the Saracens made of their royal captive was to endeavor to obtain from him an order on the Templars and the Hospitalers for the surrender of their fortresses in Palestine. When he refused, and the sultan threatened to put him to the most frightful tortures, the king replied that the infidel might work his pleasure. At length, liberty was offered to him in exchange for the surrender of Damietta, then held by the noble Margaret, the queen of St. Louis, with a small garrison of Frenchmen; and in addition, for the sum of a million golden bezants—about two and a half millions of dollars. “If the queen consents,” said the monarch, “I shall pay that amount for my soldiers, and shall deliver Damietta as my own ransom; you must know that such as I am are not exchanged for money.” One incident that occurred before the departure of St. Louis from Egypt deserves mention as indicative of the true spirit of Christian knighthood. The sultan had been murdered by his emirs, and the chief assassin rushed into the presence of the king, sword in hand, and demanded that Louis should dub him knight there and then. The wish was not preposterous in the mind of the Mussulman; for had not Frederick, the head of the Holy Roman Empire, knighted the emir Fakr-Eddin? But the French monarch could not prostitute an essentially Christian dignity, and calmly he awaited death from the horde of indignant miscreants. The majesty of his mien awed the Saracens; they drew back, and the disappointed candidate swore to observe the treaty (1). If this incident does not give the reader some idea of the ascendancy which St. Louis exercised over the minds even of infidels, we would remind him that the emirs debated among themselves whether or not they should offer him the sceptre of the late sultan. Then Joinville, being asked by the monarch in an apparently serious tone whether he ought to accept, replied “that none but an insane man would receive a diadem from those who

(1) *Memoirs of Joinville*. Edition of Wailly, p. 185.

had murdered the previous wearer." "And nevertheless," said St. Louis, "I would accept it" (1). Voltaire did not credit this episode; but we can understand how St. Louis may have conceived the sublime idea of availing himself of the infidel sceptre, or rather of its attendant influence, in order to convert his new subjects to the faith of Christ. History furnished him with many precedents for such a hope.

In 1270 St. Louis entered upon his second Holy War, that which is known as the Eighth Crusade. The commercial rivalry of the Venetians and Genoese, joined to the scandalous dissensions between the Templars and the Hospitalers, had encouraged the Mussulmans to greater progress than they had ever dared to anticipate; and the condition of the Oriental Christians appealed again to the great heart of France. Tunis was chosen by the king for his base of operations; he was persuaded that the Tunisian prince was disposed to become a Christian, and he therefore relied on that portion of the African coast as his main source of supplies. But the usually circumspect monarch had been deceived, perhaps unwittingly, by his brother, Charles of Anjou, who had an ulterior motive for landing in Tunis, he being desirous of preventing any Tunisian attack on his kingdom of Sicily—a worthy intention, but which hampered the main object of the Crusade. The reduction of the castle of Carthage and successive defeats of the Tunisians and other Mussulmans appeared to augur well for the expedition; but the delay of Charles of Anjou to join the Crusaders had already filled the army with dismay, when a malignant dysentery incapacitated all for action. Among the many leaders and nobles who succumbed was the Count de Nevers, the youngest son of the king; and soon the holy monarch himself was stricken. To prepare himself for death was an easy task for one who had ever lived the life of a saint; but mindful to the last of the welfare of the nation committed by God to his care, the hero gave to his heir a written copy of those instructions which we read as "The Teachings of St. Louis." Since this document is not only a monument of the purest faith of the

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 201.

Middle Age, but an epitome of as wise a policy as statesman ever devised, as well as a faithful mirror of the testator's entire career, we subjoin some of its passages: "My dear son, the first thing I recommend to you is that you direct your whole heart to the love of God. Beware of anything displeasing to God; above all, beware of mortal sin (1). If God sends adversity to you, receive it patiently, knowing that you have deserved it, and that it will be profitable to you; if He sends you prosperity, thank him humbly, so that pride may not injure you (2). Go frequently to confession. Attend all the services of the Church with great recollection (3). Be gentle and charitable to the poor and the suffering. Maintain the good customs of your kingdom, and abolish the bad ones (4). Do not burthen your people with taxes. Always have around you worthy men, seculars as well as religious. Hear sermons willingly; and eagerly seek for prayers and indulgences. Let no man be so audacious as to utter a word in your presence which might lead another into sin; let no man speak ill of another behind his back; and if any one blasphemes God or His saints, revenge the insult at once (5). Be rigid and loyal in the administration of justice. If you know that you

(1) Through all the years of his manhood St. Louis had been accustomed, from time to time, to tell his familiars how his mother, the saintly Blanche of Castile, had often said that she would rather see him dead at her feet than know that he had committed one mortal sin.

(2) On the glorious field of Massourah he had prostrated himself, and cried: "I thank God for all, good or evil, which He sends to me."

(3) He had always heard two Masses every day; and when he was reproved, he would say: "These gentlemen would find no fault, were I to spend as much time in the chase or in other pleasures."

(4) He had abolished private wars, judicial duels, etc.

(5) From very ancient times it had been customary in France for any man to slap the face of one who had uttered a blasphemy, or even such a phrase as "Go to the devil!" In the days of Justinian, and through out the empire, death was inflicted on him who swore by the head or hair of God (*Novella* 67). Philip Augustus decreed against blasphemers a penalty of four golden livres (about \$80.00), and if the culprit was too poor to pay it, he was thrown into the nearest river, and pulled out only when he was nearly drowned. At the accession of St. Louis, men often took the law into their own hands, and great cruelties were sometimes practised. Pope Clement IV. remonstrated with St. Louis for allowing such treatment, and insisted that there should be no danger to "life or member" in the punishment. Consequently, in 1269 a royal ordinance mulcted blasphemers in amounts varying from five to forty livres; those who could not pay, and were under forty years of age, were whipped; the other impecunious culprits were pilloried and imprisoned. Jacques de Vitry and Etienne de Bourbon narrate how a certain knight, before the issue of this edict, gave a very heavy blow to a citizen who had blasphemed egregiously; and when he was called to account by the king, he replied: "He outraged my heavenly Master, and I struck him even as I would have done had he insulted my earthly king." St. Louis told him to act similarly when occasion warranted him.

possess what belongs to another, restore it immediately ; if the ownership is doubtful, let prudent and just men investigate the matter (1). Let your best endeavors be exerted for the furtherance of peace within and outside your kingdom. Maintain the franchises of your good cities and communes ; for by the strength and wealth of these cities and communes the peers and barons will be compelled to respect you. Honor and love most especially all religious and all ecclesiastical persons. It is narrated of my grandfather, King Philip (Augustus), that when one of his councillors remarked that it was strange that he should allow certain clerics to interfere with his rights, he replied that he knew very well that certain clerics so acted, but that when he reflected how very good the Lord, had been to him, he preferred to relinquish some of his rights rather than raise difficulties with the Church (2). Love and revere your father and mother, and obey all their commands (3). As to ecclesiastical benefices, confer them on worthy persons, and after having consulted with prudent men. My son,

(1) His subjects often upbraided St. Louis with excessive zeal in the matter of restitution ; for instance, they said that he had restored to the king of England far more than justice demanded.

(2) This passage should be considered by those who think that St. Louis was the author of the *Pragmatic Sanction* ; for this monarch was much more scrupulous in ecclesiastical matters than his grandfather dreamed of being.

(3) People of our day who read the life of St. Louis must think that he carried this filial deference to an extreme. Joinville, in all simplicity, gives some curious instances of the subjection of the king to his saintly, but rather imperious mother, even in matters of his married life. And he insisted on his devoted spouse, the noble Margaret of Provence, being in all things an obedient daughter-in-law. The following passage is interesting : " So severe was Queen Blanche toward Queen Margaret, that she would not permit, so far as she could have her way, her son to enjoy the company of his wife except at night, when they retired together. Their favorite palace was at Pontoise, and they preferred it because the king's apartment was immediately above the queen's, a winding stairway connecting them. On this stairway they used to converse, having arranged with the chamberlains on duty that when the queen-mother would appear in the corridor leading to the apartment of her son, they would strike their wands on the door of that apartment ; and then the king would hurry at once to his quarters. In the same way, if the queen-mother was approaching the rooms of Queen Margaret, the officers would give the signal on her door ; and then she would hasten to her domicile. On one occasion the king had gone to his wife's chamber, where she was lying at death's door, because of a recent difficult *accouchement*. Suddenly Queen Blanche appeared, and taking the king by the hand, she exclaimed : ' Come away ' ; you have no business here ! ' When Queen Margaret saw her mother-in-law leading the king away, she cried : ' Alas ! you will not allow me to have my lord, either in life or death. ' Then she fainted, and they thought her dying. The king returned to her, and they had much difficulty in reviving her. " Old chroniclers say that Margaret followed her husband in his first Crusade, principally that at last she might have him to herself. But it seems that the gentle queen really venerated Blanche, and loved her. When the news of the queen-mother's death reached Palestine, Margaret showed every token of deep sorrow ; but we note that Joinville thought that she grieved because of her sympathy with the king.

I instruct you to be ever reverent toward the Church, and toward the Supreme Pontiff, our father. Honor the Pope, for he is your spiritual father. Destroy heresy as far as your power will permit you" (1). When the dying saint had handed this document to his heir, the future Philip III., he had himself raised from his bed, and kneeling, he received his Sacramental Lord. Then he lay on the ground, which he had ordered to be strewn with ashes. Having received Extreme Unction, he calmly awaited his summons to be dissolved, and to be with Christ. At midnight of August 25, 1270, the everlasting glory of the French monarchy cried: "Now we go to Jerusalem," and he had gone indeed to the heavenly Jerusalem.

He who discerns in St. Louis, as he undertakes his crusades, merely the French warrior who is ambitious of conquest, will not realize the true significance of the monarch's efforts. Nor will that significance be grasped by him who regards St. Louis as possessed by the sole idea of restoring to Christendom the holy places which were sanctified by the tears and blood of the God-Man. With St. Louis, under the cuirass of the Christian warrior throbbed the heart of an apostle of the Christian faith. He had not designed merely to subjugate the Holy Land to European or probably French domination. He had intended to convert the heretical and Mussulman inhabitants of the Orient; and to effect that work his serried battalions were accompanied by a little army of Dominican and Franciscan friars. According to the chronicle of Primat, these missionaries converted five hundred Arabs during the saint's short sojourn in Saint-Jean-d'Acre; and hence we may judge of what they effected during the

(1) The sole ordinance issued by St. Louis in reference to heresy is dated in 1250. Previously he had been unable to follow the dictates of his heart by modifying the rigor of his mother's ordinance of 1229, which was, however, strictly in accord with the common law of the time. The revolts excited by the remnants of the Albigenses in the south of France had forced St. Louis to apply the laws against heresy with rigor. But the submission of the count of Toulouse caused the barons of Languedoc to cease their struggles against the royal authority, and then the king was free to pursue his policy of reconciling the North with the South. The chief articles of the decree of 1250 are these: "The properties taken from heretics in virtue of the ordinance of 1229 shall be restored to them, unless they have fled from the kingdom, or unless they continue in their obstinacy. Wives shall not lose their properties on account of the crime of their husbands. The goods of heretics who die in the faith shall be restored to their heirs.

Seventh and Eighth Crusades. Godfrey de Beaulieu and Etienne de Bourbon, who saw the converts in France, speak of many Saracens who were baptized during the king's first expedition, and accompanied him on his return, afterward marrying French women, and raising families which for many years remained under the direct protection of the crown. About the time that Pope Innocent IV. sent the Franciscan, Piano Carpini, into Tartary, our saint sent many other friars on the same apostolic mission. The results of his enterprise were only partial and isolated ; but they show what was the policy of St. Louis in that Eastern Question which was then far more vital than it is in our day. In a word, his design was to arrest the advance of pagan barbarism, by force when that was necessary, but constantly and principally by the Christianization of the orientals. And if we look for his successors in this order of ideas, where shall we find them ? " In the camps, or on a throne ? " asks Lecoy de la Marche ; " among the partisans of Russia, or among the defenders of the Ottoman Empire ? No ; they will be found in the humble tunic of those heroic friars whose glorious path St. Louis opened. They will be found in the persons of those persevering missionaries who are preaching the Gospel in the heart of the old oriental world, and who, like certain ambassadors of St. Louis, incur thousands of dangers in order to probably save a few souls. These men may truly be termed the heirs of the spirit of St. Louis. When they cross burning plains and arid mountains, they can sustain their courage by the thought that they are realizing the dream of the wisest and most perspicacious of French kings (for three-fourths of them are Frenchmen). And when they fall under the strokes of executioners, when they shed their blood in the cause which St. Louis championed so vigorously, they may well be saluted with that exclamation which once greeted the departure of another martyr : ' Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven ! ' "

IV.

That the thirteenth century, the century of St. Louis, was the zenith of the Middle Age ; that, together with the twelfth century, it " formed the most important, complete, and re-

splendent period in the history of Catholic society" (1); is admitted by not only Catholic polemics, but by most of our modern adversaries, from Voltaire to Guizot. It remained, however, for the picturesque theist, Michelet, to pretend that modern skepticism dates from the thirteenth century, and that the chief personification of the Christian idea in that period, St. Louis, was a victim of religious doubt. "Such was the aspect of the world in the thirteenth century. At the summit, the 'great dumb ox of Sicily' (2), ruminating his questions. Here, man and liberty; there, God, grace, the divine foresight, fatality; at the right, observation proclaiming human liberty; at the left, logic impelling invincibly toward fatalism. . . . The ecclesiastical legislator drew back at the brink, fighting for good sense against his own logic, which would have precipitated him. This steadfast genius paused on the edge of a sword between two abysses, the depth of which he realized. A solemn figure of the Church, he kept his balance, tried for an equilibrium, and perished in the attempt" (3). The eloquent historian flattered himself that he understood the philosophy of the Angelic Doctor; but he thought that none of the scholars of the thirteenth century appreciated the delicacy of that position. "between two abysses." He continues: "From below, the world looked up to the elevated region in which he calculated and understood nothing of the combats which were fought in the depths of that abstract existence." Having invented this tremendous struggle, of course Michelet comprehended it. "Beneath that sublime region raged the winds and the tempest. Beneath the Angel was man, morality beneath metaphysics, St. Louis beneath St. Thomas. In St. Louis the thirteenth century had its Passion—an exquisite, intimate, profound Passion, of which previous ages had scarcely any presentiment. I speak of the first laceration which doubt effected in souls; when the entire harmony of the

(1) MONTALEMBERT; in the Introduction to his beautiful *History of St. Elizabeth of Hungary*.

(2) So the early fellow-students of St. Thomas termed him. He was born in Aquino, a town of Terra di Lavoro, in the kingdom of Naples; but that kingdom was then one of the Two Sicilies.

(3) MICHELET; *History of France*, Vol. ii., bk. 4, ch. 9.

Middle Age was disturbed ; when the grand edifice on which society had been built began to totter ; when saints cried against saints, right waged war on right, and the most docile souls saw themselves obliged to examine and to judge. The pious king of France, who wanted merely to submit and to believe, was very soon forced to struggle, to doubt, and to choose. Humble though he was, and diffident of himself he had to resist his mother ; to act as arbitrator between the Pope and the emperor ; to judge the spiritual judge of Christendom ; and to recall to moderation him whom he would have preferred to regard as a model of sanctity. Afterward the Mendicant Orders attracted him by their mysticism ; he entered the Third Order of St. Francis ; and he took part against the University. But nevertheless, the book of John of Parma, received by very many Franciscans, filled him with strange doubts." Michelet wastes many pretty phrases in an attempt to convince his readers that St. Louis was a skeptic because he once resisted the will of his mother ; but he did so in order to don the cross, she having feared, like many others and even himself, that the expedition might be futile. Michelet presents the saint as a skeptic because he combated the University and the pamphlet of William de Saint-Amour ; but he did so in order to protect the Dominicans and Franciscans (1). Michelet discerns skepticism in the relations which St. Louis had with Pope Gregory IX. ; but it is absolutely false that the French king was called upon " to judge the supreme judge of Christendom." As to the book entitled *The Eternal Gospel*, it is by no means certain that it was written by the Franciscan general, John of Parma ; but when Michelet tells us that the faith of St. Louis must have vacillated when he saw some of his Franciscan friends defending a condemned book, we are asked to believe, not that the pious king was a skeptic, but that he was a ninny.

Michelet asserts that "the thirteenth century had its Passion" ; he perceives in its sombre tableau the creakings of a social edifice which is about to tumble into chaos, and he judges that this social disorder *must have affected the faith of men*, especially of him who was the foremost layman

(1) FLEURY ; *Eccles. Hist.*, bk. lxxxiv., ch. 32.

in Christendom. But the interesting historical writer (a *great historian* he is not) ignores the notorious fact that the eleventh century was far nearer to chaos than the thirteenth. Let the reader remember the state of Italy and Germany before and after the German emperor, Henry IV., "went to Canossa"; a state of affairs that wrung from the heart of St. Gregory VII. the exclamation, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile." Certainly the eleventh century was not a period of skepticism. But Michelet thinks that "the man, St. Louis," must have plunged into the abyss of doubt, because, as he affects to believe, "the Angel, St. Thomas," knew not how to withdraw his faith from the clutches of his logic. It is true that St. Thomas was frequently the adviser of St. Louis in religious matters, as he probably was in things political (1); but the logic of Michelet could not have "clutched" his mind very firmly when he arrived at this conclusion. But what authority is there for the supposition that the Angelic Doctor "fought for good sense against his own logic," and that fearful "combats were fought in the depths of that abstract existence"? Certainly neither St. Thomas nor his contemporaries even hint at such struggles; and who has found any indications of skepticism in the works of the Angel of the Schools? Take up the treatises on the liberty of man, grace, and predestination, which seem to have served as a foundation for the ravings of Michelet. Of course, we meet the usual *videtur quod*; but with what triumphant serenity the master always pronounces his *patet*, or his *manifestum est*! Very different from the judgment of Michelet and his school is the appreciation of St. Thomas by one who had studied all the scholastics with a profundity to which Michelet was always a stranger. In his admirable work on Abelard, M. Charles de Rémusat says: "St. Thomas of Aquino includes the whole of theology in his wonderful work. He lays down the *pro* and the *contra* of every question, and of every proposition in each question; and presenting every possible objection and the answer to it, he opposes authority to authority, reasoning to reasoning, giving, without ever weakening, *without ever doubting*, a work

(1) BOLLANDISTS; at March, in the *Life of St. Thomas*.

which is as dogmatic in its conclusions as it is skeptical in its examinations. The *Summa Theologica* presents the whole of religion as an immense dialectical controversy, in which dogma always ends by being in the right. It is the frankest and most developed negation of dogmatic absolutism." Now Michelet seems to hold that as the master is, so is the pupil. Therefore, since "St. Louis realized on earth and in practical life that which preoccupied the genius of St. Thomas in the world of abstractions" (1), we may conclude, with all due admiration for the most poetic pamphleteer (not historian) of modern times, that the faith of St. Louis was as unshakable as that of the Angelic Doctor. We have not thought it proper to waste any of our limited space in quoting any of the instances of fact which Michelet adduces as pretended supports of his amusing theory. They are too puerile for serious attention; but the reader may be better satisfied, if we furnish one specimen which is a worthy exemplification of all. Michelet discerns skepticism in the mind of St. Louis, when that monarch asks Joinville: "What is God?" The seneschal thus naively records the incident: "He called me, one day, and said: 'On account of your subtle mind I do not like to ask you concerning the things of God; but since these friars are present, I shall put one question to you. It is this: What is God?'" That here the king was only playing the catechist, half jocularly and half seriously with his familiar companion, appears from the fact that he complimented Joinville because the seneschal's reply was identical with that contained in the book which he then held in his hand (2). The fact is, and it serves as another indication of his character, that St. Louis was very fond of catechizing his friends, and even his private soldiers. He also, on occasion, preached sermons. During his voyage to Africa, the sailors wanted to go to confession; whereupon he preached to them a discourse on the nature and benefits of the Sacrament of Penance (3). In his library at Paris, which was *open to the public*, he was wont to explain to the nearest

(1) GORINI; *Defense of the Church*, pt. 1., ch. 20. Paris, 1853.

(2) JOINVILLE; *loc. cit.*, p. 194.

(3) BELLOLOCO; *Life of St. Louis*, in the *Collection of Historians of the Gauls*, Vol. xx.

student some passage of the works of the Fathers which generally formed his literary pabulum (1). Once he reminded a lady of the court that she had arrived at an age when a woman could not occupy her mind with other beauties than those of her soul, unless she was willing to incur ridicule (2). Once he asked Joinville what was his father's name; and when the seneschal replied that it was Simon, he asked the poor man how he knew that such was the case. Then, says Joinville, "I told him that I knew it, because my mother had so informed me. Then he said that we ought to believe most firmly all the articles of our faith, to which the Apostles had testified" (3).

Michelet says that St. Louis must have been affected by the spirit of skepticism which began to invade the Christian world in his time. "In St. Louis the thirteenth century had its Passion. . . I speak of the first laceration which doubt effected in souls." He would be indeed an enterprising investigator into the recondite who could determine the date of the entrance of incredulism into the world; but when Michelet discovered that date in the thirteenth century, would he not have been more worthy of admiration if he had found his champion skeptic, not in St. Louis, but in the German Frederick II., who regarded Christ as one of the three impostors who had deceived the world? (4). Skepticism had infected humanity long before the thirteenth century. There are three kinds of skeptics; those who do not believe in the Catholic Church, those who do not believe in any of the forms of emasculated Christianity, and the gross materialists who deny God and the immortality of the soul. The last form did not appear in Christendom until about the time of the full development of the Renaissance, toward the end of the fifteenth century. But the other forms of skepticism appeared in their full audacity, simultaneously with the intellectual movement of the eleventh century, when the Manichæans reappeared in France and in Northern Italy; when Leuthard destroyed so many

(1) *Ibid.*

(2) WILLIAM OF CHARTRES; *Life and Miracles of St. Louis*, in the Collection, *ubi supra*.

(3) *Loc. cit.*, p. 197.

(4) The authority for this accusation is Pope Gregory IX., in his *Epist.* 12 to the Archbishop of Canterbury. See Labbe's *Councils*, Cent. XIII.

religious images ; when Gondulphus preached the absurdity of Baptism, Penance, and the Eucharist ; when Turin and Milan heard many proclaiming that the Son of God is each soul illuminated by the Lord. And then the twelfth century beheld Tanchelm posing as the Son of God ; Peter de Bruis abolishing churches ; and the Cathari, Patarines, etc., attributing creation to the devil, and proclaiming fate as master of men. But the reader may ask, could Michelet have expected men to credit his presentation of St. Louis as an incredulist ? Well, the attempt was not extraordinarily audacious at the hands of him who had not only declared that Pope St. Gregory VII. was a skeptic, but had so far blasphemed as to cast the same foul aspersion on the Divine Saviour of men : “ There is a moment of fear and of doubt. Here is the tragic and the terrible of the drama ; it is this which rends the veil of the temple, and covers the earth with darkness ; it is this which troubles me when I read the Gospel, and causes my tears to flow. That God should have doubted of God ! That the Holy Victim should have cried : ‘ My God, My God, why hast Thou abandoned me ? ’ This trial has been experienced by all heroic souls who have dared great things for the human race ; all of these have felt more or less of this ideal of grief. It was in such a moment that Brutus exclaimed : ‘ Virtue, thou art only a name. ’ It was in such a moment that Gregory VII. cried : ‘ I have followed justice and hated iniquity : therefore I die in exile ’ ” (1). The veriest tyro in ascetical or even moderately spiritual matters knows that the expression of the holy victim of Henry IV. did not issue from a heart submerged in the despair of doubt ; that the words of the dying Pontiff were rather a sublime indication of his invincible trust in God, of his confidence that a reward in heaven would be the recompense for an earthly suffering which had been entailed by his worthy fulfilment of his duties as vicar of Christ. As to the calumny against Christ, which Michelet dared to pronounce at the foot of the cross, let us say, with Gorini, that he only joined the crowd who passed in front of the sacred tree, blaspheming : “ *prætereuntes autem blasphemabant.* ” The sublime lessons of the cross were foolishness to Michelet, as

(1) *Loc. cit.*, Vol. II., bk. 4, ch. 9.

they ever will be to all of his school ; and therefore such as they cannot understand St. Louis of France. We who have spent much time in the study of the prince who, even according to Voltaire, was as pious as an anchorite and possessed of every royal virtue, must agree with the judgment of St. Francis de Sales, that " St. Louis was the beloved of God and of men, and one of the grandest sovereigns upon whom the sun has shone." We must say, with Chateaubriand : " Each epoch has a man who represents it. Louis IX. is the model man of the Middle Age ; he is legislator, hero, and saint. Marcus Aurelius showed power, united with philosophy ; Louis IX. power, united with sanctity ; the advantage remains with the Christian."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SIEGES OF RHODES ; EPISODES IN THE HISTORY OF THE SOLDIER-MONKS.*

On June 8, 1476, a solemn silence reigned in the island of Rhodes. The thirty-eighth grand-master of the glorious Military-Religious Order of St. John (1) had yielded his valiant soul to the God whose Church and people it had intrepidly served ; and now dissolution—perhaps the chief bane of even those human institutions which are directly intended for the honor of the Most High—was at its fell work among the knights. Four centuries had elapsed since Gerard Tunc and Raymond Dupuy had founded their celebrated order in the Holy Land, and a summarization of its utility and glory during all its vicissitudes would have been made by saying, *crescit eundo*. As a bulwark of Christendom against the hordes of Islam, it had rivalled the brilliant order of the Temple—that most dazzling of Catholic organizations—whose rule was one of the masterpieces of St. Bernard ; but it had succeeded better than the Templars in at least so far

* This chapter appeared in the *Catholic World*, July, 1894.

(1) Such was the proper title of this celebrated order. A Bull of Pope Paschal II., dated in 1118, confirms Brother Gerard Tunc as " president of the hospital founded near the church of St. John the Baptist, in Jerusalem." Hence the members were also styled " Hospitalers." After the knights had fixed their headquarters in Rhodes, in 1310, they came to be popularly known as Knights of Rhodes ; and in 1530, when they moved to Malta, their designation was assumed from that island.

resisting corruption as not to be engulfed in it (1). Like that of all the other monastico-military orders, the universal and indomitable bravery of the Hospitalers is admitted by historians of every class. In his Bull confirming their statutes, Pope Innocent II. (y. 1130) ordered the following monition to be read to the novice at his solemn profession: "If, which we deem impossible, you should ever turn your back to the enemies of Christ, or if you should abandon the banner of the cross, you will be deprived of this holy sign (the insignia, an eight-pointed cross, embroidered on the left breast) and cut off from our body as a putrid member." It is noteworthy that in all the acts of the order there is but one instance of this penalty having been incurred. Rashness, however, was not encouraged; although it is true that these monastic knights had views concerning the constituents of rashness which were, perhaps, somewhat extravagant. Thus, the initiatory oath of a Templar required him "never to ask for quarter, and never to decline battle unless the odds were at least four to one." On the summer-day of which we are now writing, sadness might well have been dominant in every heart which throbbed in the mother-house of the Knights of St. John. Now that the Templars were no more, having been suppressed by the Holy See in 1311; and now that the followers of the false prophet had but lately raised their emblematic half-moon over the proud dome of St. Sophia's patriarchal cathedral (y. 1453); the Christians of the West realized that their hopes were to be centred, under God, chiefly on the Knights-Hospitalers. Rhodes was the advanced sentinel of European religion and civilization. Placed between Egypt, where the Mamelukes held full sway, and Asia Minor, where the redoubtable conqueror of Constantinople was encamped, it had refused to pay tribute to this prince, and it knew that he had sworn on the Koran to take the life of every chevalier of the Hospital who might fall into his hands. Every hope of success for the Cross in the coming struggle depended on the wisdom displayed in the imminent election of a grand-master. That this prudence would be manifested was uncertain, for precise-

(1) See our apposite dissertation on the Suppression of the Templars, Vol. II.

ly at that time national jealousies were rife in nearly every preceptory of the order. But heaven had decreed to use the services of the Hospitalers for many years to come. As the hour for the election drew near, the chief dignitaries resolved, in the interest of harmony, to introduce an innovation in the electoral procedure. They appointed as president of the Electoral College a knight who had been a candidate in the last election, and whose zeal and piety were pre-eminent—Raymond Ricard. Then all the knights voted for three assistants to the president, who were to be styled the chaplain, the knight, and the servant of the ceremony. These four officers swore to seek only the good of Christendom, and then they chose a fifth; the five then chose a sixth; and so on, until fifteen had been selected—two from each nationality or “language” (1), excepting in the case of the Germans, who received but one representative, there being very few of them in the order. Each member of this Electoral College then took the customary oath, but on a portion of the True Cross, which he was obliged to touch with his hand. After three hours of deliberation, the electors announced that their choice was effected; and, when all the knights of every grade and class had assembled in the chapel, an oath was exacted from each that he would recognize and obey the chosen grand-master. This precaution might have been omitted, for when the name of the grand-prior of Auvergne, Peter d’Aubusson, was proclaimed, the enthusiasm of all was indescribable.

Peter d’Aubusson, a scion of one of the noblest families of France, had made his first campaigns against the Turks, and in the train of the Dauphin, afterward King Louis XI.; and he had shared with that prince in the glory of the battle of Bale, in 1444, where the Swiss were defeated. But the destined fame of the young noble was not to be attained by combats against Christians. From his childhood the woes of the Holy Land had affected his heart; especially impressed in the memories of his boyhood was the flaying

(1) In the early days of the order there were seven “languages”; viz., Italy, France, properly so called; Provence, Auvergne, Aragon, England, and Germany. This division subsisted at the time of which we write; but when England became heretical, her “language” was abolished, and those of Castile and Portugal were added.

of a papal nuncio by the Mussulmans, while still alive. Then had come the capture of Constantinople; and, although his Catholic mind regarded that event as Heaven's punishment of the schismatic arrogance of the Greeks, it showed him that the West needed to be on the alert if it hoped not to become the prey of Mohammedan fanaticism. The most eminent of the European nobility, especially those of his own fair France, were then wearing their armor over the cassock, so why should not he also enlist in that holy militia which warred under the blessing of the Vicar of Christ, and which was regarded by every Christian youth as the very apogee of human glory? Therefore, after his return from the Swiss campaign, D'Aubusson informed King Charles VII. of his ambition; and as that monarch saw no prospect of any need of the young noble's services in France, a truce with the English having lately been arranged, he granted his permission, remarking to his courtiers: "I have never seen so much fire and wisdom united in one man." Having taken farewell of his friend the Dauphin, who was afterward, as Louis XI., to render great assistance to the Hospitalers in the time of their direst extremity, D'Aubusson proceeded to the nearest preceptory of the admired order, and donned the monastic tunic. His first military service as a chevalier of St. John was in the Grecian Archipelago; and after winning the commendations of the successive grand-masters, John de Lastic and James de Milly, the year 1460 found him castellan of Rhodes and prefect of its finances. John des Ursins, whom he was to succeed in the superiorship, made him superintendent of the Rhodian fortifications and captain-general of the city, and from that moment he was the soul of all the preparations which were being made for the struggle with Mahomet II. When he entered upon the grand-mastership, naturally the zeal of D'Aubusson redoubled; but a description of all his improvements in the defences of the island would interest only the military reader, nor are we competent for the task, although we do not imply that the priest or religious is always incompetent to understand the mysteries of Mars, especially when these partake of, or are derived from, the scientific.

We know that among the priests of the military-religious orders there were many accomplished generals and engineers, although they were non-combatants. And in the last century the Jesuit, F. Carlo Borgo of Vicenza, wrote a work on fortifications which so pleased the "great" Frederick of Prussia, that he forwarded to the author a commission as lieutenant-colonel in his army—an "honor" that was not accepted. (1).

Among the preparations which demanded the prompt attention of D'Aubusson, was an increase of the garrison; his letter to all the houses of the Hospitalers throughout Europe is pathetic in its religious patriotism and earnestness, and it resulted in an almost complete renunciation, on the part of every establishment, of all their possessions, that means might be obtained for the relief of the mother-house. Indeed, when we remember that just then the Knights of St. John were bearing the brunt of a shock directed against all Europe, we must admit that besides offering up their lives—which they valued lightly in so tremendous a contingency—these heroes did far more than their share in procuring the sinews of war. But the grand-master soon experienced the joy of seeing his religious reinforced by many of the best soldiers of Europe, especially of France and Italy. As was his duty and his pride, to say nothing of the traditions of the Roman See, ever foremost in advancing or upholding the standard of civilization, Pope Sixtus IV. contributed large sums from the papal treasury, and ordered a Jubilee in aid of the Knights. D'Aubusson also wrote to King Louis XI., reminding him of their ancient comradeship, and sending to the royal zoölogical collection some curious beasts and birds. Louis showed his own good memory by a large gift to the treasury of Rhodes. By means such as these the grand-master was enabled to purchase much-needed war material and provisions, not only for the garrison of religious and for his volunteer auxiliaries, but also for the sustenance of the Rhodians, whose means of subsistence would be destroyed by the Moslem

(1) For the distinction between the combatants and the non-combatants in the Military-Religious Orders, see this Volume, p. 136.

invasion, whichever way the struggle ended. One of the last measures taken by D'Aubusson before the conflict indicates the scrupulous devotion of these soldier-monks to their semi-monastic obligations. It will be readily understood, by any of our readers who belong to a religious community, that the fulfilment of the ordinary conventual duties was an impossibility to our Knights in the circumstances then surrounding them. The grand-master, therefore, besought the Pontiff to grant the brethren of the Hospital, then under arms in Rhodes, such dispensations as His Holiness might deem appropriate. Accordingly, the Knights were freed from every obligation excepting, of course, those entailed by the three vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity.

Meanwhile, the sultan prepared for what he regarded as the chief enterprise of his wonderful career, not excepting even his Constantinopolitan campaign. Besides the last remnant of the olden Byzantine Empire, he had subjugated Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, Servia, Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bosnia. Nearly all the islands of the Archipelago had also succumbed to the son of Amurath, and from the *campanile* of St. Mark's the dismayed Venetians had seen the flames devouring the rich possessions of the Queen of the Adriatic, only a few miles from their own lagoons; hence The Most Serene was fain to buy exemption from the same fate by a promise of an annual tribute to the Sublime Porte of the—for that time—exorbitant sum of eighty thousand golden scudi. Circassia, Georgia, and even the Crimea, had become Musulman. In the midst of this ruin of so many nationalities, indomitable Rhodes, defended by a mere handful of religious, strong in their faith and their own self-abnegation, rather than in their incontestable valor, awaited imperturbably the onslaught of the "Alexander of Islam." From the Rhodian Greeks, generally termed Rhodiotes, the Knights could not hope for much assistance. Most of these islanders were indeed Catholics; but there were many who were descended from persons who had joined the Photian Schism when the island was a Byzantine dependency. These were Schismatics, and naturally they hated

the Knights, who were a source of strength to what they called "Latinism." To this party probably belonged the one of the Rhodian traitors who gave much trouble to the Hospitalers. This man, Meligalo by name, was of noble birth; and had dissipated his patrimony in debauchery. He thought to restore his fortunes by revealing the military secrets of the island to Mahomet. Having drawn exact plans of the fortifications, he proceeded to Constantinople and sold his information.

Mahomet began his Rhodian campaign by an attack on the islands of Piscopia, Nizzaro, Calamo, and Cefalo, which were ravaged, and saw all their able-bodied men and boys carried off into slavery (1), the women being destined for Eastern harems. On May 23, 1480, the Turkish expedition, commanded by Mesis Vizir, appeared before Rhodes. In the siege which followed, all of the Catholic Rhodiotes, inspired by the devotion and bravery of D'Aubusson, rivalled the Hospitalers and their auxiliaries in zeal and patience. The aged, the women and children, and even the nuns, helped indefatigably to repair the damages caused by the enormous balls of granite—two feet in diameter—which the Turkish balistas discharged night and day, against the ramparts and into the town. Several assaults were made against Fort St. Nicholas, perhaps the key of the place; but the heroism of the knights of the Italian "language," led by the commander, Fabrizio Carretto, rendered the desperate courage of the Moslems a mere waste of blood. In his blindness concerning the spirit animating the defenders, Mesis Vizir thought that if he could procure the death of the grand-master, the city would yield. Accordingly, the few traitors within the Christian lines were instructed to poison D'Aubusson. But the design was discovered, and the enraged populace tore the miscreants limb from limb. This attempt having failed, the pasha essayed another assault, and this one was made at night. The combat lasted for hours, and an immense number of the Islamites perished. D'Aubusson seemed to be omnipresent; and if any of the knights would fain have sunk in their sanguin-

(1) In accordance with the Turkish custom of that day, the healthy boys were made cadets in the famous Janissaries, and of course were trained as Mohammedans.

ary fatigue, his cheery cry of "Mountjoy and St. Denis!" and the example of his good right arm, gave them confidence that numbers would not avail against the soldiers of Christ and the sons of Mary. With the dawn of morning the pasha found that, while the flower of his army had perished, he was no nearer to the attainment of his object than he had been when still in the Dardanelles. The futility of another assault, made simultaneously on every part of the works, led him to adopt a curious stratagem. His archers affixed to their bolts pieces of parchment, on which were described the alleged tyranny of the Hospitalers, men foreign to Rhodes and to the fallen Lower Empire; and then were described the glories and sweet disposition of Mahomet II., the favored by Allah, the tolerant prince who was so well-disposed to Christianity, so desirous of satisfying the aspirations of all his subjects, that he would accord full religious liberty in their lovely isle (1). When Mesis Virzir learned that the Rhodiotes treated his missives with scorn, he turned his overtures to D'Aubusson. A flag of truce obtained for an envoy an interview with the hero; and after an exalted estimate of the sultan's power had been unfolded, the unconquerable valor of the Moslem soldiery was extolled. Then an appeal was made to the grand-master as prince and as general. As prince, observed the turbaned pleader, D'Aubusson ought not to expose his subjects, the devoted Rhodiotes, to the horrors of war; as general, he should have regard for his soldiers. Let him, therefore, concluded the envoy, surrender Rhodes; and the possessions of the Order of St. John would be ever respected by the sublime Porte. The reply of the Christian leader was simple and to the point. By one path alone could the followers of the Crescent enter into Rhodes; it might be the duty of the pasha to try to open that path, but it certainly would be that of the Hospi-

(1) It would be interesting to know whether, in this mendacious document, the pasha made use of that story which has been credited by many European writers, to the effect that Mahomet II. was born of a Christian mother, Irene, daughter of Prince George Bulcovich, despot of Servia. This presumed Christian origin is an absurdity; firstly, because Mahomet was born in 1430, and Amurath married Irene in 1433. Secondly, because a son of Irene could have been only fifteen years old when Amurath died in 1451; and all the Turkish chroniclers describe Mahomet as inheriting the Ottoman sceptre when he was in his twenty-second year.

talers to oppose him to the death. Another assault, therefore, was now made on the stronghold; and this time the Islamites succeeded in penetrating through a breach. But suddenly D'Aubusson, accompanied by his brother, the Viscount de Monteil, showed himself at the head of a picked body of knights, and, though the enemy outnumbered his followers, together with those originally defending the breach, by twenty to one, the further advance of the half-moon was stopped. Blood flowed as it had not flowed since the siege began. Many times the standard of St. John fell out of sight, as its bearer was cut down; but just so often it was again waved on high as another intrepid hand grasped its staff, and with cries of "To us, Jesus and Mary!" and "To us, St. John!" revived the strength—not the courage, for that never failed—of the devoted band. Finally, with an exhibition of valor which the Turks afterward described as superhuman, the soldier-monks drove the infidels out of the city, pursuing them into their intrenched camp, and from the very tent of the pasha carrying off in triumph the great Standard of Islam. If, in this last attempt to capture Rhodes which that century witnessed, the lieutenant of Mahomet II. felt a shame proportioned to the extent of his defeat, he found some consolation in an explanation of that defeat given by his fatalistically inclined followers. They insisted that during the most intense part of the struggle within the walls they had plainly seen, "high up in the air, a shining cross of gold, and a virgin clothed in white, carrying a lance, and followed by a troop of richly-armed warriors." None of the knights mentioned any such vision; and probably it was either an hallucination of the highly-wrought imaginations of the Moslems, or a cleverly devised excuse for their failure. Be this as it may—and, of course, we do not deny the possibility of the appearance—the presumed miracle had the effect of soothing their pain; for, they reflected, since Allah had thus protected the Christians rather than the true believers, mortal Mussulman could do no more. It may have been owing to his real or affected belief in this prodigy that Mahomet II. did not consign his discomfited general to the bowstring, but contented himself with sending the un-

fortunate into exile. We do not know the exact number of the troops with which Mesis Vizir attacked Rhodes ; but he admitted that on the day after the final failure he found that his dead and seriously wounded were more than twenty-five thousand. When we consider that the Knights Hospitalers engaged in the defence numbered only 450, and their auxiliaries 2,000, we do not wonder that D'Aubusson regarded his victory as miraculous, and that the hostile fleet had no sooner set sail than he summoned his little band to the cathedral for a solemn thanksgiving to God and Our Blessed Lady. When the news of this event, so important to the welfare of Christendom, reached the Holy See, the Pontiff determined to signify his appreciation of the chivalrous devotion and sublime piety of the Order of St. John by an act which would reflect glory upon the entire organization, as well as upon its immediate beneficiary. He forwarded a cardinal's hat to the grand-master.

After the hopelessness of capturing Rhodes had been impressed upon his unwilling mind, Mahomet II. confined his ambitions to objects of easier attainment ; but when his successor, Bajazet, manifested an inclination to emulate the enterprises of his father's earlier years, D'Aubusson's activity seemed to indicate a renewal of youth. Incessant hostilities in the Adriatic, in the Archipelago, and on the coast of Greece, gave abundant employment to the dashing navy of the Hospitalers ; but the astute grand-master thought that all these minor skirmishes were a mere waste of time, blood, and money. He told the Pope that if Christendom was seriously bent on at least checking the advance of the Crescent, a great blow must be struck ; let a Christian fleet force its way into the Dardanelles, burn Gallipoli, and making a dash on Constantinople, burn it also, if it could not be permanently retained. The moment was favorable, urged the veteran ; for the attention of Bajazet was then drawn by the advance of a new enemy and Mussulman rival, the Shah of Persia, into Armenia. At first the powers agreed to form a league to carry out the bold design ; but alas ! the latter part of the fifteenth century was true to itself—it was the vital end of the Middle Age ; and already men might antici-

pate the remark afterward made to Leibnitz by Pomponne, Minister of Louis XIV., that Crusades were no longer the fashion. Sorrow rankled in the heart of the old soldier-monk ; perhaps he foresaw that twenty years after this culpable negligence on the part of the Christian governments, the same neglect would be manifested by an ambitious and egoistic emperor (Charles V.), who could not for an instant compromise his petty schemes in the Milanais for the sake of Christendom ; and that Rhodes, the most important outpost of Christianity, and therefore the beacon light of civilization, would capitulate to the Crescent. The chagrin of the hero entailed an illness which terminated fatally on July 3, 1503 ; and throughout the Catholic world there ensued deep and long-lasting mourning for him who had for many years been styled the "Liberator," and the "Shield of the Church." The chronicles of the time show that, as was quite natural and appropriate, the obsequies of Cardinal Grand-Master d'Aubusson were far more ornate and ceremonious than the Hospitalers, in their monastic simplicity, were wont to accord to their deceased brethren. The body was carried to the council hall, and placed on a catafalque covered with cloth of gold. Around stood knights in habits of mourning and bearing the cardinalitial hat, the cross, the standard of St. John, and the escutcheon of the deceased. On his breast was a golden crucifix, his hands were encased in silk gloves, and his feet wore slippers of cloth of gold. Beside the remains were the robes of a prelate, his well-worn armor, and the glorious sword yet tinged with Moslem blood, which he had wielded at the siege in 1480. Not only all the religious, his comrades at the altar and on the field of battle, kissed his pure though valiant hands ; the common people and peasantry, groaning and beating their breasts, also tendered him that homage, for D'Aubusson had been known as the father of the Rhodiote poor. When the body was brought out of the palace of the grand-master, an immense cry of lamentation went up to heaven, and women tore their hair in their extreme grief. After the burial in the vaults of the church of St. John, the hero's *maggiordomo* broke his marshal's baton over his tomb, and his squire did the

same with the spurs (1). Thus was laid to rest the body of one of the greatest and most valiant captains that ever drew sword in the cause of Holy Church. The glorious Order of St. John produced many real heroes and true religious ; but of its grand-master, the Cardinal D'Aubusson, it might well say :

“ . . . *Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.*”

After the death of the heroic D'Aubusson, the two succeeding grand-masters entertained little anxiety concerning the safety of Rhodes. The memory of the signal defeat of 1480 was too fresh in the mind of Bajazet, the son of Mahomet II., to allow him to do more than threaten to undertake an enterprise which had proved too mighty for his more warlike father. But in 1513, the Grand-Master Fabrizio Carretto, of the “ language ” of Italy, began to anticipate an attack from Selim. This sultan had already subjugated Egypt and Syria, and Persia seemed about to succumb to his arms. He was known to be anxious for fame, and hence Carretto bent all his energies to render the island fit to sustain another siege. He engaged the services of two eminent Italian engineers for the erection of new and powerful fortifications, and he augmented the navy of the order ; but his exertions were terminated by death. When the knights assembled for the election of a new master, it was found that three competitors divided their sympathies. These were Villiers de l'Île-Adam, grand-prior of France ; the Commander d'Amaral, a Portuguese, chancellor of the order, and grand-prior of Castile ; and Thomas Ocray, grand-prior of England. The Englishman had no great merits beyond the possession of powerful relatives who might be of some service to the order ; hence his name was dropped when the importance of a wise selection became manifest. Apparently the Portuguese had more valid claims for the suffrages. He was a skilful commander, both on sea and on land ; but he was overbearing and conceited, and on reflection the electors

(1) For the facts concerning Cardinal D'Aubusson we have relied on the *Lives of the Grand-Masters of the Holy Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, Written by the Commander, Brother Girolamo Marulli. Naples, 1636. Also, on Darn's *Republic of Venice*. Paris, 1821 ; and on Flandrin's *History of the Knights of Rhodes*. Paris, 1876.

deemed it dangerous to confide the magistral staff to such hands. There remained, therefore, Villiers de l'Île-Adam a knight of great nobility of character, a man prudent in counsel, a veteran of a hundred battles, a fine strategist, and a true religious. With but one exception all the votes were cast for the grand-prior of France; the exception being the vote of the disappointed Portuguese, who so far forgot himself as to cry: "May ruin fall on Rhodes and the order!" Unfortunately, no attention was then paid to his chagrin; and only when it was too late did the knights discover that the miserable man had already become a renegade in his heart. At the very time that l'Île-Adam received the staff of grand-master of the Hospitalers, the throne of the Ottoman empire was inherited by Soliman II., a prince of greater audacity than his father, Selim, and who was fresh from that victorious campaign against the Hungarians which had resulted in the reduction of Belgrade. It was said that he regretted the conquests of his ancestors, since now he had a smaller number of victories before him. In his exalted imagination he saw the Order of St. John constantly taunting him with the injuries which it had heaped upon the Crescent: with the defeat of Osman (y. 1310), and the abortive attempt of Orcan to avenge his father (y. 1323); with the innumerable naval disasters of the Ottoman fleets, which never dared to meet the galleys of the Hospital on equal terms; with the successful assistance given to the rebellious Mussulmans of Egypt; and with that most disgraceful catastrophe that ever befell the Islamites, the failure of Mahomet II. to crush the indomitable spirit of D'Aubusson. And never could Soliman expect again so favorable an opportunity to sweep the hated order from the face of the earth. The knights could rely just then upon no aid from the western powers. The struggle for supremacy in Italy was of more importance to Charles V. than any interest of the Church or of the Christian body-politic. His chivalrous adversary, Francis I., would have strained every nerve to aid a cause which appealed to his soldierly instincts, and to the Catholic traditions of his crown; but the fortunes of war had been adverse to him, and he was reduced to unwilling inactivity. The Pontiff was of

no value in a military sense. The Venetians who, by means of their powerful fleet, could have extended more valuable aid than either France, Spain, or the Empire, were envious of the maritime power of the Hospitalers ; the rest of Italy was too deeply involved in the combat between France and Austria-Spain. Hungary was prostrate before the half-moon. And still another encouragement to attack Rhodes was furnished to Soliman from within the very council-chamber of the Hospitalers. The Portuguese chevalier, D'Amaral, had, as he afterward expressed the idea, "sold his soul to the demon" ; and immediately after his failure to obtain the grand-master's staff he had sent to the sultan a plan of the Rhodian fortifications, and all other information valuable to an intending aggressor. And the Turk was still further aided from within the Christian lines by the cunning of a Jewish physician, who had feigned conversion to Christianity in order to play the spy more efficiently.

The intentions of Soliman soon became apparent to the grand-master ; and he held a review of the garrison, that he might judge of its fitness for the coming trial. There were less than 300 Hospitalers, of whom the "language" of France contributed 140 ; those of Spain and Portugal, 88 ; that of Italy, 47 ; England and Germany together, only 17. But these soldier-monks were truly a *corps-d'élite* ; right worthy to uphold the standards of Jesus and Mary ; men who realized thoroughly the sublimity of their vocation to the evangelical counsels, and soldiers who felt that they combatted under the prayerful eyes of the Supreme Pontiff of Christendom. To these veterans of a hundred holy fights were joined many gentlemen of various lands, each followed by some soldiers who were equipped and maintained at his expense. Then there were the auxiliary troops in the service of the knights, men who wore the insignia of the order, and fought under its banners ; but who took no religious vows, and did not reside in the convent. Their officers were always Hospitalers, and as a rule these auxiliaries imbibed much of the spirit of their patrons. Many of them in time joined the brotherhood ; but not as knights. To become a knight, four quarterings of nobility, on the side of both father and

mother, were requisite. The inferior brethren were styled "serving brothers," and they were obliged to recite the Lord's Prayer one hundred and fifty times each day. These auxiliaries increased the total force to about 5,000 men. One Italian knight who had only lately entered the order must be especially mentioned: namely, the engineer-in-chief, Martinenghi. A native of Brescia, and regarded as the first engineer of his time, he had been employed by Venice to fortify Candia, and he had rendered it almost impregnable. Entering the service of the Hospitalers, he was so impressed by their piety, courage, and self-denial, that he begged for admittance into the holy militia. Very soon he had so distinguished himself that he was raised to the grade of grand-cross (1) and was made superintendent of the fortifications. Perhaps the heroic prolongation of the resistance to the arms of Soliman was chiefly due to the inventive genius of this Italian engineer. When l'Ile-Adam had made all the military preparations possible, he began—if indeed this was not always being made—the preparation of the souls of his brethren. The Great Standard of St. John was entrusted to the care of a French knight named Grolè-Pacim; and the honor of bearing at the side of the grand-master during the battle the banner of the Crucifixion, a present from the Holy See to the Cardinal Grand-Master d'Aubusson, was accorded to the Chevalier de Tintenille, a nephew of l'Ile-Adam. Then the entire garrison, or rather community, began a series of prayers, fastings, and scourgings; and these devotional exercises did not cease until the hostile sails were descried in the offing. Then the heroes were ready to draw their swords in the holiest of causes; and they smilingly committed its issue into the hands of God.

It was on the 26th of June, 1522, that Mustapha, a brother-in-law of Soliman, anchored a fleet of about 400 vessels in front of Zimboli, five miles from Rhodes. Here he disembarked 100,000 men and 300 cannon. These were to be followed in a few days by Soliman in person, at the head of another army of equal strength. The grand-master im-

(1) There were three grades of Knights-Hospitalers; the chevaliers or simple knights the knights-commanders, and the knights-grand-cross.

mediately left his palace, which he was never again to inhabit, and established his headquarters at the advanced post of Our Lady of Victories, a position which the last siege had proved to be the most exposed of all in the *enceinte* to assault. As in the narrative of the siege of 1480, we shall avoid details and present only the most important points of this memorable event. The first balls of the Turks were received and returned by the bastions confided to the languages of Provence, Spain, and England; and no less than twenty times were the Moslems driven from their trenches by the impetuous sorties of these knights. This unexpected result of the first operations demoralized even the Janissaries, then, as ever, the choicest troops in the Ottoman service; and when the account reached Soliman, he hastened to the scene with his reinforcements. While the siege was being pressed with greater vigor, a conspiracy was formed among the Mohammedan slaves—prisoners of war as yet unransomed. The design was to fire the town in many places simultaneously; but the discovery of the plot, and the public execution of the leaders, prevented any more attempts of that nature. But there was another source of serious mischief which, originating in only one person, was less easily discovered. Mention has been made of a Jewish physician, a feigned convert, who acted as a spy for the Moslems (1). To him the knights owed the foiling of some of their most promising schemes. One effect of his machinations was especially injurious to the besieged. From the top of the cathedral tower one could easily observe every movement of the Osmanlis; and here the grand-master was wont to watch for hours at a time. By advice of the Jew, the Ottoman fire was directed against this tower until it tumbled to the ground. From the moment that Soliman appeared on the scene, every means known to the science of engineering at that time, every strategy of good generalship, and the most prodigal sacrifice of life, were adopted to crush the defiant and persistently confident knights of St.

(1) The Hospitalers also employed spies. The most successful of these was a serving brother named Raymond, who, speaking Turkish and Arabic perfectly, and having sojourned in Mohammedan lands many years, was able to pass as one of the faithful. He was wont to employ certain signals, and then shoot his message over the walls.

John. Having perceived, as had Mesis Vizir in the last siege, that Fort St. Nicholas was the key of the town, the sultan directed, during ten successive days and nights, a constant fire from twenty-two of his heaviest guns against it ; but in vain. The guns of the Hospitalers were better served than his own, and Soliman beheld his soldiers surely and quickly disappearing. At last, after many murderous assaults upon various and separate portions of the works, a simultaneous attack was made on every point. Beaten back everywhere else, the Turks effected a lodgment in the bastion entrusted to the language of Spain, and the *aga* of the Janissaries there planted his standard. Then ensued a struggle of several hours, at the end of which the Mussulmans retreated to their entrenchments, leaving behind many of their banners and 15,000 dead. But the Ottoman superiority in numbers began to speak eloquently of the probable doom of Rhodes ; every day the breaches yawned wider and wider. To add to the general distress, it was found that the supply of powder was nearly exhausted. Before the siege, and while there was yet time to augment the stock, the Portuguese traitor, D'Amaral, whose duty it was to inspect the magazines, had reported a sufficiency of the indispensable requisite. But the Hospitalers did not lose courage ; they merely studied the aiming of their guns more carefully, and began to manufacture powder in mills improvised in the vaults underneath the palace of the grand-master. Fortunately they possessed a large quantity of carbon and nitre. The treachery of D'Amaral had failed precisely where he had thought it would be most efficacious ; and just as during the first weeks of the siege, so now, every assault of the Osmanlis, though made with their natural bravery intensified by religious zeal and desperation, failed ignominiously before the heroic patience of the Knights of St. John. So furious did Soliman become, that he would have ordered his general, Mustapha, brother-in-law and favorite though the unlucky man was, to be flogged to death, had not all the pashas united in prevailing upon him to banish the unfortunate. Having realized that his choicest troops were no more, and that the Hospitalers were as

resolved as ever, the sultan now began to think seriously of abandoning his bloody enterprise. Suddenly a message from the wretched D'Amaral filled him with new hope. The recreant chevalier informed Soliman that the defenders could not possibly resist many days longer ; let the monarch press a few more assaults—he could afford the loss of a few more thousands—and the place must be his, were that end to be due only to the sheer exhaustion of the few remaining knights. The sultan withheld the order to raise the siege ; but he who had induced this change of mind had already received the punishment of a traitor. His disloyalty had been discovered ; his habit had been torn from him, his knightly spurs had been knocked off by the hangman, and the caitiff who might have been an earthly St. Michael was decapitated (1). Meanwhile the Osmanlis pushed forward their trenches, and opened fresh mines. Several more assaults were made ; but Soliman found himself no nearer to the object of his desires. He now began to reflect on the necessity of offering to the Hospitalers honorable terms of capitulation. The ramparts of Rhodes were nearly ruined, and the town might almost be termed an open place ; but he knew that even his Janissaries hesitated to confront the indomitable defenders in another attack. Six months of siege had cost him the lives of 114,000 men. He ordered a white flag to be displayed before the trenches, and two soldiers advanced to the walls, bearing a letter to the grand-master. This first offer of Soliman was rejected, for the knights were constantly scanning the horizon in hope of desecring approaching aid from the European powers. But at length l'Ile-Adam presented the matter to the Chapter. Each member declared that a capitulation was proper, nay, necessary. To save Rhodes was now beyond the bounds of human possibilities. If the place were taken by assault, the inhabitants would either be massacred or carried into slavery ; all the objects so venerated by the Order of St. John, the churches, the relics of the saints, the tombs of their brethren, would be defiled by the infidels. They were all willing to die with their grand-master, if he gave the word ; but they did not think that duty called upon the order to sacrifice the

(1) The Jewish physician had been detected and hung several days previously.

lives of women and children for a point of mere military pride. And for that matter, the honor of the knights was in no jeopardy. At this juncture the grand-master learned that heavy reinforcements of men and material had reached the enemy, and that Soliman requested him to visit the imperial quarters, there to consult as to the terms of capitulation.

With a heart bursting with anguish the veteran complied with the invitation. When the two dignitaries met—what a subject for a soulful painter!—the grand-master immediately produced the document wherein Sultan Bajazet had covenanted for himself and his successors to respect the independence of Rhodes. For answer Soliman tore the parchment into shreds, and trampled them into the dust. But in a moment, as though deeply impressed by the calm dignity of l'Ile-Adam, and probably ashamed of his ebullition of disrespect for his father's sign-manual, he expressed regret at being compelled to eject so old a man from his home, and after complimenting his foe upon his knightly worth, he promised him great rewards if he would abjure Christianity and enter the service of the Porte. The interview terminated by the signing of the terms of capitulation, and if we consider the violent nature of Soliman, and the weakened situation of the knights, the conditions were highly honorable to the Hospitalers. Of course all the possessions of the Order of St. John in Asia passed into the hands of the Turks; but the knights were allowed to embark with all their movable property, the sacred vessels, their archives, money, plate, and books. They could also take as much artillery and ammunition as was necessary for the equipment of the ships which bore them away. The sultan agreed to respect the churches of the island, and to allow full religious liberty to the inhabitants; but it is almost needless to note that this promise was shamefully violated. The churches were all defiled, and some destroyed. The altars were profaned, and the tombs of the grand-masters were opened, the ashes being scattered to the winds. Every dwelling was sacked, and the inhabitants were subjected to the wonted licentiousness of a Mohammedan army. Thus terminated a siege in which 5,000 Christians withstood for six months the efforts of 200,000 Mohammedans.

On January 1, 1523, the little remnant of the glorious Order of St. John embarked on galleys painted in black, as a sign of its grief. Only one flag was visible in the fleet, the one floating from the mainmast of the grand-master's vessel, and it was the standard of Our Lady with the motto: "*Afflictis Spes Mea Rebus*—Thou art my reliance in my misfortune." Villiers de l'Ile-Adam led his gallant brethren to the Eternal City, and at its gates he was received formally by the entire pontifical household in robes of ceremony, by all the cardinals then in Rome, and by the ambassador of France. The reception of the grand-master by the Sovereign Pontiff was naturally most touching (1), and the veteran soldier of the Cross felt that the thanks of the Vicar of Christ were an earnest of the reward which God held in store for his faithful champions. Viterbo was assigned as a residence for the knights, and during several years they led a purely conventual life, though ever on the search for a new centre where they might resume their military activity, and thus continue the noble traditions of the Hospital. And ere long Providence hearkened to their prayer. The Turkish corsairs were then terrorizing the Italian coasts at their pleasure, and Charles V., master of Sicily and the neighboring islands, well realized how much benefit would accrue to that portion of his dominions if the Order of St. John undertook to dispute the supremacy of the Mediterranean with the Osmanlis. Accordingly, he offered to it the island of Malta and its dependencies, as well as the principality of Tripoli, with full sovereign and proprietary right. Villiers de l'Ile-Adam cheerfully accepted the new responsibility; and on October 26, 1530, the knights made their solemn entry into Malta, thus inaugurating the third period of the glorious history of the Military Order of St. John,—a period which endured, in spite of many attacks on the part of the Turks, until 1798, when Bonaparte, while on his way to Egypt, planted the tricolor on the fortifications of Malta, almost without resistance. The French conquest

(1) Some olden chronicles narrate that while Pope Adrian VI. was celebrating Mass in St. Peter's on the Christmas of 1522 the day when the Turks took possession of Rhodes—a stone in the cornice became detached and fell at his feet. Since all Rome was then trembling for the fate of the Island, this incident was regarded as a presage of its capture.

of their mother-house and last stronghold was virtually the death of the Knights-Hospitalers, although the order still subsists—void of any military significance—as an aristocratic organization, with its headquarters in Rome, devoted to the furtherance of Catholic interests, and to the sanctification of its members. We need make no more than an allusion to the insolent claim of the Russian czars to a still persistent grand-mastership of an “Order of Malta,” a claim based on the *per se* invalid renunciation of the last grand-master, the German Ferdinand Von Hompesch, in favor of the Schismatic autocrat, Paul I.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FABLE OF THE TWO-WIVED COUNT OF GLEICHEN.

When men began to perceive, during the first days of the so-called Reformation, that the new dispensation was much easier to live up to than the old, and that it knew very little of sacrifice or mortification for the sake of God or for the good of man, one of the first to appreciate this laxity was the Landgrave, Philip of Hesse; and we can imagine his gratitude toward the burly Doctor Martin, when that innovator, agreeing with the gentle Melancthon, manifested no reluctance to pander to the brutal passions of the powerful and wealthy. This prince was anxious to repudiate his lawful spouse, and to marry a more attractive woman. Not a shadow of a reason could be alleged for the divorce, save the ordinary one of disgust for the wife and an inclination toward her rival. In this emergency Philip applied for aid to Luther, who was already, in many respects, the Protestant Pontiff. One of the chief objects of the Wittenberg revolutionist, and one without the attainment of which his cause would have collapsed, was to secure, not only the toleration of the civil power for his sectarians, but the active co-operation of that power in his heretical propaganda. Here was an opportunity not to be ignored; and accordingly a formal authorization,

signed by Luther and Melancthon, was issued to the Landgrave of Hesse, allowing him the delectable favor. And in order to silence the tongues of any possibly *scandalizable* persons, the story was put forth that once upon a time the Holy See had sanctioned a case of bigamy in favor of a German noble. In the *factum* which Philip drew up for his justification, we read that the Pope "once allowed a Count of Gleichen to have two wives at once; he having married the second in the Holy Land, being of belief that the first was dead."

This presumed fact, adduced by the Reforming Popes of Germany to justify their flagrant and utterly shameless violation of divine and civil law, was not without effect upon the common people. The popular version of the story, however, indicated a more revolting state of affairs in the Gleichen household than was narrated in the manifesto of the Landgrave; for, according to the vulgar acceptance, the Count of Gleichen had married lady No. 2, knowing perfectly well that No. 1 was living at that very time; and the Pontiff not only tolerated, but positively sanctioned, the simultaneous bigamy. What a delicious morsel for the admiring and credulous victims of Doctor Martin; and how acceptable to the historically brilliant yokels of our day, had not an almost total oblivion been its lot! Certainly it is wonderful that no Protestant historical painter, no ambitious playwright of the spectacular school (of course he should be of the class which holds that theatric exigencies are superior to historical truth), has ever used this subject for his own profit, or for the transient gratification of heresy, or, which would be the more likely event, for the further mystification of ignor-amuses. Strange! They have placed the Roman prelacy upon the stage, to bless with melodious (operatic) chant the daggers which are to inaugurate the Barthélemy; and there are scores of other instances of the dramatization of subjects far less characterized by picturesque lies than is the Gleichen romance. And yet how effective would be the careful representation of the scene where the Sovereign Pontiff unites the Count to lady No. 2! The Pope is seated upon his throne; such a ceremony as this must be conducted with

all possible dignity. The Head of the Church is about to give the lie to the Church past, present, and future. Such an act is not to be consummated perfunctorily, or by the intervention of ordinary bureaucracy. Those who by right surround the Papal throne and a number of cardinals add splendor to the scene. Now appears the fortunate—perhaps unfortunate—Gleichen, leading by either hand his wife *in re* and the wife *in spe*. Much care must be given to the expression of countenance worn by all these personages. The Pope must look like an incarnation of despair on the brink of hell. The artist or stage manager can allow much latitude of judgment as to the looks of Gleichen, according as to whether he deems the Count's position a reward of virtue or a punishment of sin. The dusky bride No. 2 must appear as simplicity itself, if not as the essence of idiocy. As to the original Countess of Gleichen, no actress should attempt to portray her, no painter to depict her, if they cannot make her countenance convey the idea that her soul is ever dominated, at one and the same time, by sisterly love and gratitude toward No. 2, and by the most poignant jealousy and hatred.

In a little church of Erfurt, in Thuringia, the officious guide draws the attention of the tourist to a sepulchral slab, bearing very rude carvings, but which at once challenges interest by the nature of the artist's subject. A knight of tall stature is represented as reposing between two women; and the guide—he is generally the sacristan—tells the significance of the sculpture in something like the following words: While warring under the Cross near Jerusalem, the Count of Gleichen was taken prisoner. Falling to the lot of the sultan, he was assigned to labor in the royal gardens, and here he soon attracted the favorable notice of the sultan's daughter. Their acquaintance ripened into love on the part of the princess; and she offered to become a Christian, to consummate the captive's liberation, and to accompany him to Europe, provided he would marry her. This truly Christian knight and pink of chivalry consented; the escape was effected, the pair betook themselves to Rome, and laid their case before the Pope. A Protestant may imagine the quandary in which

the Pontiff found himself ; a Catholic will fancy the impudent fool politely escorted out of the papal presence. But the story goes that the Pope decided that the Saracen girl, who had risked so much on the faith of a Christian knight, especially since she demanded baptism as well as marriage, should not be disappointed. It has been suggested that this complacent Pope was the very one who had been miraculously reprov'd for having refused a chance of repentance to the supplicant Tanhauser, thus causing him, in his desperation, to return to the feet of Venus, and thereby ensure his eternal damnation. At any rate, Gleichen was permitted to have two simultaneously legitimate wives, and started rejoicing for Thuringia to introduce the ladies to each other. There was not much anxiety in the breast of the Saracen claimant to wifely honors, concerning her reception at Castle Gleichen ; born and raised amidst polygamy, she perceived nothing unnatural in her matrimonial aspirations. But the mind of her lord was terribly harassed as they neared the fastness, where he knew his lawful lady was praying for his safe return to his loving family. Strange to say, however, when the transports of joy for the reunion were over, and the husband had informed the wife of all his obligations to his dusky companion, and had showed the papal dispensation, there was no sign of rage, not even of displeasure, on the part of the half-dethroned one. She took the newcomer to her arms in all sisterly affection, assuring her that she regarded their uxorious rights as equal. From that day the trio lived in unity and peace.

Such is the popular Protestant tradition concerning the two-wived Gleichen, and it requires but little perspicacity to discern that it has originated from the necessity of explaining, in some plausible way, the sculptured effigies on the tomb at Erfurt. In 1887, in a session of the "*Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*"—a more appropriate name for which would be "*Académie des Sciences Historiques*,"—one of the members, by no means a clerical, M. Gaston Paris, read a paper on this subject ; and in it he said that he found in the tombstone of Erfurt one of the numerous examples of what is called iconographic mythology.

Antiquarians universally admit that a vast number of legends owe either their origin or their localization to a popular desire to explain works of art, the meaning of which has been lost. Now, the tombstone at Erfurt bears no name; popular imagination (only that, and simply because the Gleichens had a feudal establishment in the neighborhood, in the olden time) assigned the sepulchre to some of that family. And, of course, concluded the essentially accurate popular mind, some Gleichen had two wives at the same time. But how can we explain, most appositely demands M. Gaston Paris, the erection of a monument in favor of bigamy in a Catholic church? "Certainly the Pope must have authorized it; and to call forth such permission most extraordinary circumstances must have happened. The second wife must have given life and liberty to the already married Gleichen." Then M. Paris shows how, by this same popular logic and facility of producing indefinite sequences, the actuating scene of the drama was naturally laid in the Orient; the Crusades were to the Middle Age very much what the Trojan war was to the Greeks, above all others the Heroic Age. "The troubles which these distant expeditions excited in family life were especially adapted to upset every imagination. The various risks undergone by the returning warrior of the Sepulchre gave rise to as many tales as did the deeds of the conquerors of Ilium. Hence it is that we find, under forms the most varied, this same pathetic theme of the return of the husband at the very moment when the despondent wife is about to yield to one of her suitors,—a theme which forms the essential idea of the *Odysssey*, and which probably is of far more ancient origin than the poem. Here the theme is inverted." Quite naturally, then, a Saracen lady becomes, in the legend, the second wife of the Count of Gleichen; and, of course, as is always the case in mediæval romances, where a Christian knight is delivered by an Oriental lady, she is a king's daughter. Many used to imagine that they could discern traces of a crown over the head of one of the feminine figures on the Erfurt slab; and in 1836, when the tomb was displaced and the adjacent vault cleaned out, a physician examined the skulls of the supposed Gleichen trio, with the

result that he reported that the anatomical characteristics of one of them proved it to have been that of an Eastern female. But it was afterward shown that this enthusiast's own report did not really evince the sex of the subject. In contradiction to the credulous physician's absolute faith in the legend consecrated by Luther and the Landgrave of Hesse, there now came forth a scientist who, with an apparent show of erudition, essayed to demonstrate that the Erfurt monument was of no more ancient date than the fifteenth century, instead of being of the thirteenth, the epoch of the much-married knight's supposed career; in fact, it seemed to be proved that the disputed tomb was the last resting-place of Count Sigismund Gleichen, who, toward the end of the fifteenth century, brought from the East a Turkish woman, introduced her into the castle indeed, but with whom he never dreamed of entering into matrimony. However, it has been finally demonstrated, as M. Gaston Paris proved to the satisfaction of the French Academy in solemn session, that the Erfurt sculpture represented Count Lambert II., who died in 1227, who never went into the East, and who indeed had possessed two wives, but not simultaneously.

Such, then, was the chief of the flimsy pretexts by which the leader of the Reformers justified the permission given to Philip of Hesse to repudiate Christina of Saxony, to whom he had been united sixteen years, and who had borne him eight children; and to espouse Margaret von Saal, a maid of honor to his sister Elizabeth.

CHAPTER X.

THE CONTROVERSY ON THE CHINESE RITES.

In the year 1645 the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda was requested to settle a controversy which had disturbed the missionaries in China during several years, and which, afterward agitated with a bitterness on both sides which would have better befitted a less sacred cause, was of great detriment to the propagation of the faith in the Celestial

Empire, and productive of great scandal throughout Christendom. From the day when the Jesuits resumed in China that propagation of the Gospel which the sons of Sts. Dominic and Francis had intermittently undertaken during the two previous centuries, they had wisely and determinedly endeavored to conciliate the apparently ineradicable prejudices of those whose confidence was to be gained, ere the Christian Faith could make conquest of their intelligences. It was in accordance with this design that the Jesuits in China soon discarded the simple costume and ostentatiously humble manners of the native Bonzes—dress and demeanor which at first they had adopted. They soon donned silken robes, used litters when travelling, and did many other things which were appropriate for lettered persons, such as they undoubtedly were, and such as, for the sake of their mission, they wished to be considered. With the same object in view, the Jesuit missionaries allowed their neophytes to continue the practice of certain ceremonies which they would have preferably abolished, but which they regarded as capable of other than an anti-Christian interpretation, and to which the denizens of the Middle Kingdom were invincibly attached. Thus, the Jesuit superior, Ricci of Macerata, had convinced himself that there was not necessarily anything idolatrous or even superstitious in the prostrations and sacrifices which the Chinese offered to the shades of their ancestors; that, in fine, these ceremonies were not those of worship, properly speaking, but rather demonstrations of filial devotion. Nor can it be said that in forming this conclusion, the wish of Ricci was the father of the thought; for he believed that the doctrine of Confucius on the nature of God—a doctrine on which depended the permissibility of the rites in question—was not different from that which Christianity presented. Ricci contended that the Chinese sage had not asked his disciples to adore merely the visible heavens; the Jesuit fancied that the Confucian utterances indicated the Lord of Heaven, the True God, as the supreme object of human homage. Most of the Jesuits in China adopted the views of their superior; but in the course of time the Dominicans insisted that no Christian evangelist could hold such opin-

ions. The Preaching Friars discerned atheism in the teachings of Confucius ; they declared that the sage recognized only a material heaven, and not a pure spirit who is the Creator of the Universe.

The Dominicans having formulated their complaints at the Propaganda in 1645, the Sacred Congregation prohibited the Chinese ceremonies in question, until the Holy See should pronounce a definitive sentence ; but in 1656, the Jesuits having presented evidence which apparently favored their opinion of the crimated practices, the Congregation issued another decree tolerating said ceremonies as purely civil and political. The dispute waxed warmer ; and in 1669 and 1674 the question was again debated at Rome. The opponents of the Chinese Rites were now reinforced by the suffrages of all the missionaries whom the Seminary for Foreign Missions, that celebrated monument of French zeal for religion which had been recently established in Paris, had sent into China. In 1693, Maigrot, bishop of Conon and vicar-apostolic of Fo-Kien, issued a pastoral in which he ordered his clergy, firstly, to use the words *Tien-chu*, "Lord of Heaven," when they wished to convey the idea of God to the Chinese ; in the same circumstances the words *Tien* and *Xamti*, "Heaven" and "Emperor," were never to be used. The prelate ordered, secondly, that there should be allowed in the churches no tablet bearing the inscription, *King-Tien*, "Adore Heaven." Thirdly, enjoined the bishop, the Chinese Christians could not be permitted to assist at the semi-annual oblations made to Confucius and to the dead. Maigrot also stigmatized as false in many points the explanation given by the Jesuits to Pope Alexander VII., and which had procured the tolerating decree of 1656. The bishop praised those missionaries who had already prohibited the tablets just mentioned ; and he condemned several propositions, bearing on the matter in agitation, which had been advanced by certain Jesuit writers. This pastoral of the vicar-apostolic of Fo-Kien caused great excitement ; and the Jesuits upbraided the bishop "for having presumed to decide, by his sole authority," a question which the Holy See, as they contended, regarded as debatable. Of the six bishops then

forming the Chinese hierarchy, only two upheld the Jesuit position; against it were ranged, besides four bishops, all the Dominicans and Franciscans, and all the secular priests from the Seminary for Foreign Missions. A new element now entered into the controversy. Most of the missionaries being then, just as they are in our day, from the Land of the Lilies, it was quite natural that the Sorbonne, as yet a powerful factor in all things Catholic, should participate in the dispute. On Oct. 18, 1700, the still justly revered Faculty condemned several propositions which a Jesuit author in Europe had advanced in favor of the views held by his brethren in China. Such was the condition of things when Pope Innocent XII. appointed a special Congregation to consider the nature of the Chinese Rites; and perhaps superficiality would not have been predicated of him who would have then declared that apparently charity had become a stranger in the hearts of all who were debating the matter. In the words of one of the most judicially-minded polemics who have commented on this melancholy subject, "In these discussions there were most regrettable animosities. Some bitter foes of the Jesuits painted their conduct in the darkest colors, exaggerating their faults, and accusing them of idolatry; whereas at most, they might have been charged with excessive tenderness, human prudence, or laxity. But the Jesuits, on their side, imagined that they were right in reality, because their adversaries were apparently wrong; and they clung the more to their opinion, because they saw that many combatted it through passion, and without understanding it. An effect of extreme injustice is to embitter, and to disgust; and this fact seems to explain the long resistance of the Jesuits. Undoubtedly we do not yearn to discover culpability in a body of men whom we esteem; but facts do depose against many of the Society. We have already recorded the results of our researches in this matter; and we have received many protests, urging us to read the apologies written by certain members of the Society. However, those apologies do not seem to us as excusing entirely the faults of the missionaries, of whom we have spoken. The *Memoirs* of Father d'Avrigny and the collection of

Edifying Letters, rather furnish testimony against them" (1).

On April 18, 1705, Mgr. de Tournon, titular patriarch of Antioch, who had been papal legate in India, arrived in China with the usual legatine faculties. This envoy of the Holy See had already experienced trouble with the Jesuit missionaries in India, because of the Rites of Malabar (2); therefore he was well fitted to cope with the difficulties of his Chinese legation. In September he was received in solemn audience by the emperor; but having notified His Majesty that the Holy See had condemned the practices which the Jesuits tolerated, he was ordered to leave the empire. Speaking of this episode, Picot says: "In his narrative of this embassy, Father d'Avrigny gives no exalted idea of the moderation or intelligence of Mgr. de Tournon, nor any similar appreciation of the qualifications of Mgr. Maigrot, the bishop of Conon and vicar-apostolic. However, this writer appears to aim only at a justification of such of his brethren as favored the Chinese Rites. One would imagine that he counted as nothing the sentiments of other missionaries, the authority of the papal legate, and the express decisions of the Holy See. These last decisions alone ought to have restrained a religious who, on all other occasions, professes a legitimate respect and a laudable zeal for the apostolic judgments. . . . In two letters written at this time by the legate to Mgr. Maigrot and to the Jesuits of Peking, he upbraids those religious most strongly for having abused the favor of the emperor in order to nullify the pur-

(1) PICOT; *Memoirs de Servc for the Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. i., p. 213. Paris, 1853.

(2) When the patriarch arrived in Pondicherry in 1703, he found that the Capuchins, Dominicans, and seculars complained that the Jesuits tolerated several idolatrous practices on the part of their converts. The charges were based on the fact that the neophytes were allowed to retain images which resembled idols, and that some of them as were musicians were permitted to play at the feasts of the idolaters. The Jesuits were also charged with neglecting the despised Pariahs; with omitting some of the ceremonies of baptism; with deferring the baptism of infants; with performing the marriage ceremony for children who were only six years of age; with allowing hats which were taken merely for luxury; with practicing superstitious and even immodest rites at nuptials; and with several other things of lesser moment. After an examination which lasted six months, the legate issued a pastoral, condemning these usages. The Jesuits sent deputies to Rome, asking to be allowed to follow such usages of the Indians as were in themselves indifferent, and such as the missionaries had rendered innocuous by elimination of everything baneful; alleging the invincible attachment of the Indians to their customs. Nevertheless, on Jan. 7, 1706, the Holy Inquisition commanded that the pastoral of the legate should be observed. Pope

pose of the Pope's representative" (1). Having received his dismissal at the imperial hands, the patriarch proceeded to Nankin, where he issued a decree condemnatory of the Chinese Rites, and announced that on Nov. 20, 1704, the Supreme Pontiff had ordered the missionaries to observe the rules given by Mgr. Maigrot in 1693. The Jesuits ignored the legatine prescriptions; most of them, and a few of the other missionaries, had already promised the emperor to continue the honors to Confucius, and never to return to Europe, thus entitling themselves to an imperial rescript which accorded them the freedom of the empire. All who obeyed the legate, that is, all of the secular clergy, and the greater part of the Dominicans and Franciscans, were banished; but many of these confessors succeeded in eluding the imperial police, and continued to perform their apostolic work in the manner prescribed by the Head of the Church. Twenty-two Jesuits signed an appeal to the Pope, dated May 28, 1707, in which they sought to justify their compliance with the imperial wishes by the dangers which a refusal would have entailed on the missions. In the meantime Mgr. de Tournon had been arrested at Nankin, conducted to Macao (a Portuguese possession), and placed in the hands of the Portuguese authorities, who were requested to allow him to have no communication with the Chinese empire. The Portuguese officials were hostile to the patriarch; for while he was in Lisbon, on his way to the Orient, he had memorialized His Most Faithful Majesty concerning the rapacity and generally un-Christian conduct of the royal representatives in the East. Quite naturally, therefore, the legate was thrown into prison, and was furthermore treated

Clement XI. was obliged to renew this order several times, so determined were the Jesuits, especially as they were sustained by two of the Indo-Portuguese bishops, to continue the obnoxious practices. However, one of the Jesuits, Visdelou, whom Tournon had appointed bishop of Claudiopolis, differed radically from his brethren in this matter; and he obeyed the pontifical injunction to use every means to secure obedience to the legate's orders. The practices were still continued; again they were condemned by Benedict XIII. in 1727; by Clement XII. in 1739; by Benedict XIV. in 1744. It is well to note that Benedict XIV. solved the tremendous difficulty concerning ministrations to the despised Pariahs—a difficulty derived from the system of caste which allowed no Hindoo of another class to communicate in any way with one who had communicated with those outcasts—by ordering that certain priests should be designated for their special and exclusive service.

(1) *Ubi supra.*

with the utmost cruelty. Pope Clement XI. replied to the appeal of the Jesuits by enrolling his legate in the Sacred College; but when the *biretta* reached the prelate, he was dying, and Father Carre, the bearer of the insignia, enjoyed the greater honor of administering the last Sacraments to him (1). The apologists of the recalcitrant missionaries are fond of dilating on the alleged "imprudences" of Cardinal de Tournon; indiscretions or worse, according to these apologists, which entailed all his suffering and his premature death. Thus, Francesco Pellico, the Jesuit brother of the renowned Silvio, tells us that the legate "did not conduct himself with that prudence" which befitted the circumstances, and that therefore "he experienced many tribulations" (2). The sole "imprudence" of the patriarch was his obedience to the pontifical commands—a deference which should have extorted the admiration of Father Pellico, who could be very eloquent when he undertook to extol the obedience of his brethren to their general. Crétineau-Joly, the most ultra among the apologists of the Society, insinuates that when the patriarch refused to obey the imperial command to tolerate the Chinese Rites, he "*outraged*" the proper independence and dignity of the monarch; and the same Crétineau-Joly, defending the Jesuits against the Jansenistic calumny which asserted that they "were the real murderers of the cardinal" (3), complacently adduces the "*neutrality*" observed by the Jesuits in the contest between the papal representative and the Chinese sovereign (4). Such desperate attempts at extenuation will

(1) Not the least amusing among the innumerable audacities of Voltaire, since all France knew the history of Mgr. de Tournon well, was his representation of the prelate as an adventurer, "a Savoyard priest named Maillard, who assumed the name of Tournon." The patriarch was born in Turin, and was the second son of Victor Amadeus Maillard, Count of Tournon and Marquis of Alby. His ecclesiastical studies were made in the College of the Propaganda in Rome; and his body, brought by the vicar-apostolic, Mezzabarba, was interred in the sepulchral vaults of that institution.

(2) Thus in the open letter entitled *Francesco Pellico, of the Society of Jesus, to Vincenzo Gioberti*, p. 183. Genoa, 1845. This work, written in reply to the *Prolegomeni* of Gioberti, and especially as a refutation of that philosopher's charges against the Society (accusations which were mild, if compared with the venom contained in the posterior *Modern Jesuit*), bears this epigraph at the beginning of the volume: "*Insimulâri quivis innocens potest; revinci nisi nocens non potest.*"

(3) This absurd charge was formulated by Condrette, in his *General History of the Birth of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. ii., p. 285. Paris, 1760.

(4) "*Kang-Hi n'était pas habitué à voir douter de sa parole et de son autorité. Il ne tolérât la contradiction que par passe-temps; elle venait là sous la forme d'un outrage; il bannit de son empire Maigrot, vicar apostolique, et il ordonna de liv-*

scarcely be endorsed by the Jesuits of our day. But we would draw the attention of the reader to the judgment which Pope Clement XI. delivered when he announced the death of his legate to the Sacred College: "We have lost a most zealous friend of true religion; *an intrepid defender of the pontifical authority; a valiant vindicator of ecclesiastical discipline; a great luminary and ornament of your College.* We ourselves have lost a son, your brother, *who was exhausted by the many labors which he performed for the cause of Christ; who was crushed by the daily sufferings which afflicted him; who, like gold, was purified in a crucible—a crucible of innumerable insults which he endured with great strength of soul...* We are bidden to hope by that unconquerable constancy, because of which this truly apostolic man, although fed by the bread of tribulation and the water of anguish, never failed in his duty; and because of which he withstood imprisonment and other grievous injuries bravely until the last moment of his life. *He fought a good fight; he kept the faith*" (1). Pope Clement XI. would scarcely have pronounced, in full Consistory, such a eulogy whose character was familiar to all the cardinals, had the subject been of that calibre which has been assigned to him by the defenders of the Chinese Rites. Before we bid farewell to Cardinal de Tournon, we would note that one of the best sources of information concerning him is the Capuchin, Pierre Parisot, known in religion as Father Norbert, whose *Historical Memoirs on the Missions in the East Indies, Presented to the Supreme Pontiff, Benedict XIV.*, were praised by that perspicacious Pope, and were

rer aux Portugais le Legat du Saint-Siege. . . . Les Jésuites restèrent neutres dans cette circonstance. . . . Ils n'osèrent pas se porter médiateurs entre le monarque et le Legat." CRETINEAU-JOLY; *Religious, Political, and Literary History of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. v., ch. 1. Paris, 1846.

(1) "*Amisimus orthodoxe religionis zelatorem maximum; pontificie auctoritatis intrepidum defensorem; ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ assertorem fortissimum; magnum Ordinis vestri lumen et ornamentum. Amisimus filium nostrum fratrem vestrum, plurimis quos pro Christi causa suscepit, laboribus attritum; diuturnis, quos pertulit ærumnis confectum; contumeliis, quas forti magnoque animo sustinuit innumcris, velut aurum, in fornace probatum. . . . Sperare nos denique jubet invicta illa sacerdotis roboris constantia, qua vir vere apostolicus, tametsi sustentaretur pane tribulationis et aqua angustiar, officium tamen suum nunquam dimisit; ac non minus diuturne custodiæ injuriis, quam aliis gravissimis vexationibus ad supremum usque vitæ spiritum fortiter toleratis, bonum certamen certavit, eorum consummavit, fidem servavit.*" NORBERT; *Memoirs*, Vol. ii., p. 6. Paris, 1742.

formally approved by Fra Carlo Maria da Perugia, Qualificator of the Holy Office, and Consultor of the Congregation of the Index. The defenders of the Chinese Rites endeavored to nullify the effect of this work by decrying the character of its author; but with small success. Another authority for the learning, zeal, and prudence of Cardinal de Tournon is one that cannot be decried. The celebrated Cardinal Passionei, than whom no man was better versed in the diplomatic, theological, and literary history of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries; and to whose judgment the critical Pope Benedict XIV. habitually deferred; gives full evidence that the legate possessed in an eminent degree the virtues and talents which his opponents refused to discern in him (1).

Pope Clement XI. now gave to the world the decree which he had signed in 1704, and in virtue of which his legate had acted. Accompanying the pontifical mandate which was sent to all the superiors-general of the various institutes represented among the missionaries in China, were strict orders to each of those superiors to enforce obedience to the Papal prescriptions. Among the generals who promised to respect the commands of the Vicar of Christ, was Tamburini of the Jesuits; and on Nov. 20, 1710, in the presence of his assistants and of the deputies of the various provinces then assembled in the Eternal City, this head of the Society declared that he would not recognize as a Jesuit any one who would thereafter defend the permissibility of the criminated Chinese Rites. Why was this declaration of their general ignored by the immense majority of the Jesuits who were laboring in China? We must reply with Picot, that this matter is one of the things which we cannot undertake to explain. Father d'Avrigny vainly endeavors to excuse his recalcitrant brethren by a use of the same arguments which were adduced by those Jansenists whom his Society so zealously and brilliantly refuted. "These traits, and many others," remarks Picot, "are too similar to those manifested by mere partisans (and by all heresiarchs); and they are not redolent of that

(1) PASSIONEI; *Historical Memoirs Concerning the Legation and Death of Cardinal de Tournon*. Rome, 1702.

frank submission which Father d'Avrigny demands from others when different matters are involved—a submission, an example of which he should have given" (1). On March 19, 1715, Clement XI., issued his Bull *Ex illa die*, in which he stated that the decree of the pontifical legate ought to have put an end to all the dissensions concerning the Chinese Rites ; but that the defenders of the ceremonies had refused to abandon them, under various pretexts, and chiefly relying on a misinterpretation of the decree of Pope Alexander VII. The Pontiff reminded the Christian world how Pope Innocent XII. had instituted a commission of theologians, among whom was the vicar-apostolic of Hon-Quang, then just returned to Europe, for an examination of the questions which the Jesuits had presented in regard to the pastoral of Mgr. Maigrot. This examination, observes the Pontiff, lasted during several years ; and finally, in 1704, the condemnation of the ceremonies was issued by himself (Clement XI.), the legate in China being ordered to see that the decree was observed. On Sept. 25, 1710, continued the Pope, the Holy See confirmed the decree which, in accordance with the pontifical desire, Mgr. de Tournon, had promulgated on Jan. 25, 1707 ; and nevertheless, laments the Head of the Church, very many of the missionaries were still disobedient. In conclusion, therefore, in order to obviate every possible subterfuge in the future, the Pope ordered that each missionary in China should subscribe, under oath, to a formula which he would receive ; and from the moment that he received that formula until the same should have been signed, no missionary should presume to exercise his priestly functions. Most of the recalcitrants yielded to this pressure ; and in 1720, the Holy See despatched another legate to China who was to relieve the unfortunates from the censures which they had incurred. The chosen prelate was Charles Ambrose Mezzabarba, a referendary of the *Segnatura*, who was now raised to the dignity of patriarch of Alexandria (2). On his arrival in China, many of the Jesuits applied for

(1) *Loc. cit.*, p. 279.

(2) Picot speaks of Mezzabarba as patriarch of Antioch ; but all the contemporary documents ascribe Alexandria as the source of his titular dignity.

absolution from their censures ; so also did the bishop of Macao, who had incurred excommunication by his complicity in the iniquitous treatment of the late legate.

After some difficulty, Mezzabarba obtained an audience with the Chinese sovereign ; but he found that Kang-Hi had determined to meet the papal resolution with a decree banishing all Christians from his dominions. Under the very eyes of the legate, many were arrested ; and the persecution was suspended only when Mezzabarba had promised to return to Europe without exercising any more acts of jurisdiction. The details of this embassy are given in the narrative published in Milan in 1739 by Viano, a Servite who had accompanied Mezzabarba. Much of Viano's account is incredible ; we therefore decline to receive his assertion that the Jesuits had poisoned the mind of Kang-Hi against the legate, filling it with apprehensions lest the upholders of the pontifical decrees should prove to be rebels to the civil authority of the emperor. Mezzabarba returned to Macao ; and on Nov. 4, 1721, a few days before his departure for Europe, he issued an address to the missionaries, exhorting them to persevere in fidelity to the commands of the Holy See. He declared that although it was not his intention to derogate, in any way, from the force of the Bull *Ex illa die*, nevertheless, love of peace persuaded him to yield temporarily so far as to grant certain "permissions" in the matter of the Chinese Rites. However, added the legate, these "permissions" were not to be made known to the neophytes, nor even to be translated into the Chinese or Tartar language, under pain of excommunication, *lata sententia*; these "permissions" could be used at the discretion of each missionary, according as contingencies might demand. In fine, Mezzabarba insisted that the general tenor of the pontifical prohibitions was to be held as inviolable. We note the "permissions" as they were afterward recorded in the Constitution *Ex quo singulari*, issued by Benedict XIV. on Aug. 9, 1742. I. It was allowed to the Chinese Christians to have in their domiciles the customary "tablets of the dead," inscribed merely with the name of the deceased ; but on condition that all superstition and every danger of scandal were

avoided. II. Permission was given for ceremonies referring to the dead, when those ceremonies were purely civil, and therefore free from any suspicion of superstition. III. A purely civil respect was tolerated for the memory of Confucius; candles, eatables, etc., could be placed in front of his tablets. IV. Candles, incense, etc., could be used at funerals, and offered for the funeral expenses, if no superstition was intended. V. Prostrations of respect were allowed before the tablets, biers, and corpses. VI. It was permitted to place food at the side of a bier, if respect for the dead was the sole object of the act. VII. The prostration *Ko teu* before a tablet, especially on the Chinese feast of the New Year, was allowed. VIII. As in the case of biers and graves, so candles and incense could be used before tablets which were not redolent of superstition. These "permissions," as we have observed, were not to be made known indiscriminately to the neophytes, lest in their simplicity those converts might form an idea that all the Chinese ceremonies were laudable; nay, the "permissions" could not be communicated to others than missionaries—*aut cuiquam qui missionarius non esset eam palam faceret.*" But in defiance of this explicit prohibition, the bishop of Pekin, a Jesuit, availed himself of the concessions to convey the impression that they manifested the mind of the Holy See in regard to the entire matter of the Chinese Rites; that, in fine, they equivalently proclaimed that the rebellious course of the Jesuits had been approved by the representative of the Roman Pontiff. The prelate of Pekin even dared to emit two pastorals, dated July 6, and Dec. 23, 1723, in which he enjoined on his clergy, under pain of suspension *ipso facto*, to interpret the Bull *Ex illa die* as fully explained by the "permissions." These pastorals were condemned by Clement XII. in 1735.

According to the Continuator of Alexandre's *Ecclesiastical History*, in their day there were preserved in the Archives of the Propaganda documents which showed that on Aug. 29, 1723, Pope Innocent XIII. sent for Tamburini, the general of the Jesuits, and after expressing his indignation because of the persistent disobedience of the members of the Society who were laboring in China, told the general that the Sec-

retary of State would inform him as to what His Holiness required of him. Pursuing their narrative, the Continuator say that when Tamburini waited on the Secretary, he learned that if he wished the Society to exist any longer, he should promise as follows: I. All the Jesuits would reverently observe the provisions of the Clementine Constitution *Ex illa die*. II. If any of the Jesuits should refuse this submission, he would immediately summon them to Rome. III. Within three years the Holy See was to receive authentic proof of the persevering obedience of the Jesuit missionaries to the papal commands. IV. From that day no new members were to be received into the Society. V. No more Jesuits, and no more seculars who would join the Society upon their arrival in China, could be sent to the Chinese missions. VI. The Jesuits then in China were to be ordered to remain at their posts; but they were to perform no missionary work until further orders from the Holy See reached them. VII. The general was to revoke the faculties possessed by certain inferior officers of the Society, whereby they were empowered to send members to the Orient. VIII. Since it was well known that the Jesuits of Pekin had procured the imprisonment of certain missionaries, the general would try to effect the liberation of those missionaries. IX. The general would warn all his subjects never again to dare to disregard the Constitutions emitted by the Apostolic See. X. Father Nicholas Giampramo would never leave Rome without the permission of the Pope. The Continuator say that Tamburini signed a promise to observe these injunctions, and that the document was countersigned by his assistants, on Sept. 13, 1723 (1). But whether or not this testimony of the Continuator of Alexandre be true, it is certain that Popes Benedict XIII. and Clement XII. found no less obstinacy in the recalcitrant Jesuits than their predecessors had experienced since the beginning of the controversy. When Clement XII. condemned the pastoral of the bishop of Pekin, he announced that he reserved to the Apostolic See the right to determine the true significance of the "permissions" accord-

(1) *Supplement to the Ecclesiastical History of Noel Alexandre*, pt. 2, Diss. 4. Bingen, 1791.

ed by the papal legate, Mezzabarba—"permissions" which the rebellious missionaries still adduced in justification of their audacity. Death prevented Clement XII. from accomplishing his design; but on July 11, 1742, Benedict XIV. promulgated his Constitution *Ex quo singulari*, in which, after a detailed narrative of all that his immediate predecessors had effected, and all else that they had attempted, in the matter of the Chinese Rites, he declared that when the patriarch of Alexandria granted the "permissions" which had been so impudently abused, the said legate of the Apostolic See merely used "a sort of economy which was necessary in the circumstances, and which he would have abandoned, had he been able to discuss the matter with learned men who were zealous for the purity of Christian worship, and who were faithful to the Apostolic decisions." Then referring to the bishop of Pekin, the Pontiff solemnly reprobated that prelate's interpretation of the "permissions"—an interpretation which indicated that the position assumed by the recalcitrants was justifiable (1). Finally, His Holiness pronounced the "permissions" superstitious; and declared

(1) We give the text of this passage: "*Quum autem patriarcha Alexandrinus in præcitata pastorali mentem suam satis prudenter explicuisset, nimirum pastoralis suæ epistolæ notitia opus non esse ad promovendum in neophytis erga pontificia decreta venerationem et observantiam, quum satis esset ut juxta Constitutionis Pontificiæ mandata in via salutis dirigerentur; præterea quum omnibus interdictum voluisset, sub pœna quoque excommunicationis latæ sententiæ, ne quis illam in Sinenesium aut Tartaricum sermonem verteret, aut cuiquam qui missionarius non esset eam palam faceret; de permissionibus autem quum statuisset non nisi caute, et ubi tantum utilitas vel necessitas id postularet, esse evulgandas; profecto omnis, ad quem pastoralis illa epistola dirigebatur, ex tali procedendi modo haud obscure inferre debebat quantis illæ animi angustiis obsessus, et quam anceps et perplexus in permissionibus hujusmodi proponendis extitisset; adeo ut œconomia quadam usus fuisset ad loci et temporis circumstantias prorsus necessaria; a qua putandum est cum recessurum fuisse, si libertas sibi data esset rem disutiendi cum episcopis aliisque doctis viris qui nihil aliud quam Christiani cultus puritatem, et Apostolicæ Constitutionis observantiam ante oculos haberent. At permissiones illæ contra expressam adeo patriarchæ ipsius voluntatem evulgatæ, et quod mirum, Pekini episcopus per binas suas pastorales mandavit, sub pœna suspensionis ipso facto incurrendæ, universis diocæsis suæ missionariis ut observarent et observari præciperent, Constitutionem *Ex illa Dei* juxta permissiones quas ipse contendeat ad ea potissimum referri quæ in præcitata Constitutione fuerat sollemniter interdicta; præcepit insuper ut Christi fideles quater singulis annis in diebus omnium celeberrimis distincte instruerentur quum in iis quæ a patriarchæ Alexandrini pastoralis permittuntur. Clemens Papa XII., prædecessor noster, tam audax episcopi Pekinensis factum æquo animo ferre haud potens, muneri suo maxime interesse binas illas epistolas damnare, ac penitus reprobare, Apostolico Brevi quod anno 1735 promulgavit."*

that they "should be as though they never had been" (1). The intimation of punishment for the refractory is as follows: "If any of the regular missionaries of the Society of Jesus, or of any other order, congregation, or institute, refuse—which God forbid!—exact, full, absolute, inviolable, and strict obedience to all that which is prescribed in this Constitution, we command their superiors, both provincial and general, and in virtue of holy obedience, to remove such contumacious and reprobate men from the missions without delay, to call them to Europe, and to inform us of the fact, so that we may punish them according to the degree of their crime. If any of the aforesaid provincial or general superiors do not obey this our command, or are slow in obeying it, we shall not hesitate in proceeding also against them, even, among other punishments, depriving them forever of the privilege or faculty of sending any members of their order to the missions" (2). We

(1) "*Volentes itaque quemquam ad Constitutionem ipsam summo Christianæ religionis damno malitiose evertendam permissionibus ejusmodi uti, definimus ac declaramus præfatas permissiones ita esse habendas ac si nunquam extitissent, earumque praxin tamquam superstitiosam omnino damnamus et execramur.*"

(2) "*Ex prædictorum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ cardinalium consilio, motu quoque proprio, ac certa scientia, maturaque deliberatione, tum etiam de plenitudine Apostolicæ potestatis, Constitutionis præsentis tenore, in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ præcæpimus et expresse mandamus omnibus et singulis archiepiscopis et episcopis in Sinarum imperio aliisque regnis sive finitimis sive adjacentibus nunc existentibus, aut olim pro tempore futuris, sub penis suspensionis a pontificalium exercitio, et ab ecclesiæ ingressu interdicti, eorum vero officialibus et vicariis in spiritualibus generalibus, aliisque eorundem locorum ordinariis vicariis, tum etiam eorum procurariis, et insuper missionariis universis tam secularibus quam regularibus, cujuscunque ordinis, congregationis, instituti, etiam Societatis Jesu, sub penis privationis quarumcumque quibus gaudent facultatum, et suspensionis ab exercitio curæ animarum, tum etiam suspensionis a divinis ipso facto incurrendæ absque alia declaratione, demum excommunicationis lætæ sententiæ, a qua non possint nisi a nobis et a Romano Pontifice pro tempore existente absolvi, præter quam in articulo mortis constituti, addita quoad regulares etiam vocis activæ et passivæ privationis pena, præcæpimus et districte mandamus ut omnia et singula quæ in hac nostra Constitutione continentur, exacte, integre, absolute, inviolabiliter, atque immobiliter, non modo ipsi observent, sed etiam omni conatu ac studio ea ipsa observari curent a singulis et universis qui quoquomodo ad eorum curam et regimen spectant; nec colore, causa, occasione, seu prætextu aliquo huic nostræ Constitutioni ulla in parte contraire aut adversari audeant vel præsumant. Præterea quoad missionarios regulares cujuscunque ordinis congregationis, instituti, ac Societatis quoque Jesu, si quis eorum (quod Deus avertat!) exactam integram, absolutam, inviolabilem, strictamque obedientiam denegaverit is quæ a nobis præsentis hujus Constitutionis tenore statuuntur ac præcipiuntur, eorum superioribus tam provincialibus quam generalibus in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ expresse mandamus, ut homines hujusmodi contumaces, perditos, ac refractarios a missionibus absque ulla more dimoveant, eosque in Europam statim revocent, ac de illis notitiam nobis exhibeant, ut eos pro gravitate criminis punire valeamus. Quod si prædicti superiores provinciales aut generales huic nostro præcepto minus obtemper-*

subjoin the form of the oath which, in accordance with this Constitution of Pope Benedict XIV., each missionary in China was ordered to take, ere he could exercise his functions : " I, N., a missionary sent to China by the Apostolic See or by my superiors in accordance with the faculties given to them by the same Apostolic See, have clearly understood and shall fully and faithfully obey the mandate of the Holy See concerning the Chinese Rites, which is contained in the Constitution of Pope Clement XI. which treats of that matter, and which is prescribed in the formula of this present oath. I shall observe it exactly, absolutely, and inviolably ; fulfilling its injunctions without any tergiversation ; and I shall strive with all my power to induce the same obedience on the part of all the Chinese Christians whose spiritual direction may be committed to my care. Furthermore, if I can prevent them, I shall never allow the Chinese Christians to avail themselves of the ' permissions ' which were accorded at Macao on Nov. 4, 1721, in the pastoral letter of the patriarch of Alexandria, and which have been condemned by our Most Holy Pontiff, Pope Benedict XIV. And if I should ever fail in this promise (which God forbid !), I shall proclaim myself, on each occasion of such failure, as subject to all the penalties imposed in the aforesaid Constitutions. Thus I promise, vow, and swear on the Gospels of God " (1). The majority of the hitherto refractory Jesuits now yielded to the exhortations and menaces of the Vicar of Christ ; and in a few years the

averint, aut in eo desides fuerint, nos contra ipsos quoque procedere non recusabimus, atque inter cetera mittendi aliquem ex ipsorum ordine in earum regionum missiones privilegio seu facultate eos perpetuo privabimus."

(1) " Ego, N., missionarius ad Sinas (vel ad regnum N.), a Sede Apostolica vel a superioribus meis juxta facultates eis a Sede Apostolica concessas missus vel destinatus præcepto ac mandato Apostolico super ritibus ac ceremoniis Sinensibus in Constitutione Clementis Papæ XI. hæc de re edita, qua præsentis juramenti formula præscripta est contento, ac mihi per integram ejusdem Constitutionis lectionem apprime noto plene ac fideliter parebo ; illudque exacte, absolute, ac inviolabiliter observabo, et absque ulla tergiversatione adimplebo ; atque pro virili evitar ut a Christianis Sinensibus, quorum spiritualem directionem quoquomodo me habere contigerit, similis obedientia præstetur. Ac insuper, quantum in me est, nunquam patiar ut ritus et ceremoniæ Sinenses in literis pastoralibus Patriarchæ Alexandrini Macai datis die IV. Novembris, 1721, permissæ, ac a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Benedicto Papa XIV. damnatæ, ab eisdem Christianis ad praxim deducantur. Si autem (quod Deus avertat) quoquomodo contravenerim, toties quoties id evenerit, pœnis per prædictas Constitutiones impositis me subiectum agnosco et declaro. Ita tactis Evangeliiis promitto, voveo, et juro. Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sanctissima Dei Evangelia. Ego, N., manu propria."

Controversy on the Chinese Rites was happily relegated to the domain of Ecclesiastical History.

CHAPTER XI.

HETERODOXIES OF RUSSIAN "ORTHODOXY."

Many misconceptions concerning the Greek Schism and its offshoots have found lodgment in the minds of Western people, especially in the minds of the people of the United States of North America. Until recently very few Russian or other Oriental Schismatics came to our shores, and very few even of our more educated Americans have cared to know anything about their spiritual condition and religious history. Then we have been accustomed to hear that the Russian Church "is almost Catholic;" or that "it is Catholic in everything, save the Pope;" or the real truth that "it has a true episcopate and a true priesthood, the Holy Mass and all the Seven Sacraments;" and the more simple-minded among American Catholics have come to believe implicitly, certainly not explicitly, that perhaps after all the poor Schismatics are about as well off spiritually as is the obedient flock of him to whom Our Lord and Saviour said: "Feed my sheep!" Again, comparatively few among us have had anything like an accurate notion of the meaning of the word "Schism," unless in its philological sense; and hence it seemed quite natural to think of a Russian as only or *merely* a Schismatic, one who might not be on the straight road which Christ indicated as leading to heaven, but who, at any rate, skirted the road, and who, with a little care, might avoid the ditches at its sides. We heard, now and then, of some unfortunate priest who disobeyed his bishop, and who, followed by some poor ignoramuses or perhaps by some problematical Catholics, set up a little "Catholic Church" of his own. We pitied the poor schismatics, and in time we saw them all returning to the obedience of him who was commissioned by the Vicar of Christ; but in all such instances we failed to apprehend the deep significance of the term "Schismatic" in the sense

in which it is applied to, and deserved by, the "separated churches of the East." The great misery of all the Oriental Schismatic churches, including the Russian, the principal one, is found in the stubborn fact that each of them is historically and theologically *heretical*. The poor man, or set of men, who simply refuse to obey the authority divinely established in the Church, may be merely *schismatical*; but they who absolutely deny the supremacy of the successors of Peter are heretics purely and simply, since they deny an article of Catholic faith. Again, the "Orthodox" Russian Church is heretical because it denies the Catholic dogmas of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father *and from the Son*; of the existence of Purgatory; of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady; and of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. The time was when there was no great need for an accurate perception of this truth by the Catholics of this republic; but now that large numbers of Russian and Greek Schismatics are dwelling among us, too frequently mixing with our Catholic congregations, and not seldom causing dissension among them (whether as emissaries of the Holy Synod or not, we are unaware); now, we insist, our people should be taught the wicked absurdity of which they would be guilty, were they to palliate the heinousness of rending the seamless garment of Christ by the cherishing of such a thought as that expressed in the asseveration: "The Russian Church is *merely schismatical*." Reflections such as these have prompted us to dilate to some extent on the heterodoxies of which Russian "Orthodoxy" is culpable, and upon some of the flagrant inconsistencies into which its heretical blindness and obstinacy have led it.

One of the principal grievances of Russian "Orthodoxy" against the Roman Church is found in the fact that the Mother Church administers the Sacrament of Baptism by "infusion" instead of by "immersion." For the Russian, as well as the Constantinopolitan Schismatic theology, holds that immersion is *probably* of the very essence of valid baptism; and therefore, say all the separatist Eastern Christians, the efficacy of the Roman rite of baptism is at the best problematical. Thus, in the reply to Gagarin's *Will*

Russia Eccene Catholic? written by Karatheodori, physician to the Sultan of Turkey, under the title of *Orthodoxy and Pofcry*, we are told that "the baptism of the Latins is not a true baptism," although, according to the medical theologian, "it may be adopted in case of urgent necessity." Gagarin, one of the most learned and judicious of the modern converts from the Russian Establishment, informs us that this same doctrine is inculcated in many works which have received the approbation of the Russian Holy Synod; and we know that after the rupture of the reunion of the Eastern Schismatics with the Catholic Church which the Council of Florence had effected in 1436, and after the deposition of Isidore, the Muscovite patriarch who had signed the Act of Reunion, his successor decreed: "The Russians must rebaptize all Roman converts to their faith, since the Westerns baptize only by infusion, a condemnable practice which renders the rite null and void." But, strange to say, in the face of this opinion of the Holy "Orthodox" Church, and despite the tremendous importance of Baptism in the minds of Russian theologians, it is not the custom of the "Orthodox" clergy to insist on a rebaptism, even on a conditional one, of such Catholics and Protestants as embrace the Photian Schism. None of the German Protestant princesses who enter the imperial Russian family, not even the one who becomes Czarina, is asked to submit to what "Orthodoxy" pronounces essential to her status as a Christian; she is simply required to declare her adhesion to the Holy "Orthodox" Church of Russia, even though there is very great probability that, owing to the not uncommon carelessness of Protestants in the essentials of the baptismal rite, the "converted" lady is a mere Pagan. The clergy of Holy Russia are not shaken out of their supineness by the fact that some day the possibly Pagan Czarina, like that Princess of Anhalt-Zerbst who became the infamous Catharine II., may become in time the Russian Pope as supreme mistress of their Holy Synod. They know that the lecherous "Semiramis of the North" was not rebaptized when she married Peter III.; and the fairly well-read among them know that Catharine avowed to the sycophantic philo-

sophist, Voltaire, that the Russian Church does not rebaptize its converts from Catholicism or from Protestantism (1). In our own day there have been instances of wholesale so-called "conversions" to the Russian Establishment on the part of Polish Catholics, thanks to the knout, the bayonet, starvation, fear of Siberia, and, above all, to treachery and chicanery (2); and in no instance were these "converts" rebaptized, thanks to Peter the Great, the institutor of the Holy Synod, who by virtue of his autocratic power abrogated the decree of the Patriarch Jonas, thus opening to many a perhaps unbaptized Protestant the way to the priesthood and even the episcopate in the Russian Church. It is worthy of remark that the more intellectual among the "Orthodox" clergy have frequently appreciated the significance of this inconsistency, especially when they reflected on the more consistent practice of the clergy of the Constantinopolitan Schismatic Patriarchate, from which they pretend to derive their origin, and with which they communicate; they have endeavored to explain away the contradiction in a very curious fashion. Thus, in the *Causerie Ecclesiastique*, a periodical published by the Ecclesiastical Academy of St. Petersburg under the very eyes of the Holy Synod, we read in the issue of September 17, 1866: "The Greek Church (Schismatic) admits willingly the *validity* of baptism given by infusion; but it demands from converted Latins a new baptism in order that it may draw a well-defined line of demarcation between the Greeks and the Latins—in fact, the Greek Church so dreads a possible reconciliation with Rome that it has thought it wise to make the Greeks believe that the Latins are in no sense Christians." It is amusing to note that the famous William Palmer (3), while still involved

(1) On December 27, 1773, O. S. (January 7, 1774), Catharine wrote to Voltaire, who had alluded to his impression that the "Orthodox" rebaptized their converts from other Christian denominations: "As head of the Russian Church I cannot allow you to persist in this mistake. We do not rebaptize."

(2) See our Vol. v., ch. 3.

(3) William Palmer, one of the luminaries of the Oxford Movement, characterized by Dean Church as "a man of exact and scholastic mind, well equipped at all points in controversial theology," was perhaps most famous for his attempt to effect a union between the Russian and the Anglican Establishments. His efforts resulted only in his being told by the Greco-Slavonic heretics that he should be reconciled with his own patriarch, ere he extended the olive-branch to the separatist patriarchates of the Orient. He became a Catholic in 1856.

in the mazes of the English Royal Establishment, discovered that if he wished to become a Constantinopolitan Schismatic, a trip to St. Petersburg would dispense him from a rebaptism. "There is a way out of the difficulty," he opined, "a trip to St. Petersburg will settle the matter. I can join the Russian Church without being rebaptized; then I can go to Constantinople, and since the 'Orthodox' and the Greek (Schismatic) Churches communicate, I can be admitted to the sacraments and even to the priesthood at the hands of His Greek Œcumenicity" (1).

No less striking than that in reference to baptism is the inconsistency of the Russian "Orthodox" Church in regard to the dissolubility of matrimony. According to the olden doctrine of that Church, just as according to that of its pretended source, the Schismatic Greek Church, a consummated Christian marriage can be dissolved only because of adultery; but in practice there are now one hundred and ninety-five cases in which the tie of marriage may be nullified. One of the most interesting modern instances of this flagrant inconsistency was that of the divorce of the Grand Duke Constantine, brother of Alexander I., from his wife, Anna Feodorowna. Not a soul breathed a word against the matrimonial fidelity of the princess; the state of her health compelled her to live apart from her husband; and he had fallen in love with the Countess Grudzinska. On March 20 (April 2), 1820, Alexander I. made known to all his subjects that the Holy Synod, "relying on the precise text of the thirty-fifth Canon of St. Basil the Great, declared that the marriage of the Grand Duke and Czarwitch, Constantine Paulowitch, with the Grand Duchess, Anna Feodorowna, was dissolved, and that he was free to contract a new marriage." It would be interesting to know how many members of this Holy Synod, this servile creature of the autocrat, were acquainted with the life of one of the glories of the Greek Church—St. Theodore Studita, who flourished at a period when the Eastern Churches were still devotedly attached to the communion of the Apostolic See. When the Greek emperor, Constantine VI. (Porphyrogeni-

(1) See Palmer's *Eastern Question*, p. 10.

tus), having discarded his wife and contracted a "marriage" with his concubine, Theodota, was upheld by a conciliabulum of courtier prelates like those who are the slaves of the Protasoffs, etc., of our day, Theodore protested against the legalized adultery; and from his dungeon he wrote to the Father of the Faithful, Pope St. Leo III.: "Since Our Lord Jesus Christ confided the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven to Peter, and afterward conferred on him the dignity of Prince of the Apostles, it is our duty to make known to the successor of Peter such innovations as are introduced into the Church of God. . . . Oh divine superior of all superiors! There has been formed here, according to the expression of Jeremiah, an assembly of prevaricators and a meeting of adulterers." But the members of the Holy Synod were then, as they have ever been and still are, of calibre diametrically contrary to that of the Studita; as for the support which they pretended to find in a Canon of St. Basil, it is evident that just as in the case of the Grand Duke there was no question of adultery, so in the adduced canon there was no question of divorce, but simply one of a more or less grave ecclesiastical censure to be visited on spouses who separated "from bed and board" (1). But instances like this of Constantine Paulowitch are insignificant when compared with the consequences of a ukase of Nicholas I. permitting new marriages to all Catholic wives whose husbands had been sent or would be sent to Siberia, to prison, or to forced labor in the mines—providing, of course, that they would promise to raise their children, future and already born, in the Church of the State. The reader who has accompanied us in our investigations into the martyrdom

(1) Cardinal Pitra gives the text of this Canon in his *History and Monuments of the Ecclesiastical Law of the Greeks*, Vol. I. p. 592:

Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ καταλειφθέντος ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναίκος, τὴν αἰτίαν χρὴ σκοπεῖν τῆς ἐγκαταλείψεως· κὰν φανῇ ἀλόγως ἀναχωρήσασα, ὁ μὲν συγγνώμης ἐστὶν ἄξιος, ἡ δὲ ἐπιτιμίον· ἢ δὲ συγγνώμῃ τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ κοινωνεῖν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ δοθήσεται.

The following is a free but accurate translation: "If a man has been abandoned by his wife, the reason for the abandonment must be investigated; and if there seems to have been no just reason, the husband will deserve indulgence, while the wife will merit punishment, the indulgence toward the husband consisting in his not being segregated from the communion of the Church." The judicious Oratorian, Lescœur, in his valuable work entitled *The Church in Poland* (Paris, 1876), tells us that he compared the Greek text with the Slavonic of the *Kniga Pravil*, or Book of Canons of the Russian Church, and with the *Kormitshia Kniga*, used by the Holy Synod in 1830, and that he found the three versions agreed.

of Poland from the days of Voltaire's "St. Catharine" to the advent of the present Czar, and who is therefore able to appreciate the iniquities of the great majority of the "criminals" who have languished in Russian penal establishments, will understand how widespread would have been the desolation if most of the Polish women had not been worthy of their Catholic ancestors (1). We would merely note that by the provisions of his matrimonial ukase Nicholas I. simply enforced the principles of modern Liberalism regarding the competency of the State, and the incompetency of the Church, in matrimonial causes—principles which an American proconsul has recently actuated in Cuba, in illustration of the beauties of a new "civilization," and which were interpreted for the benefit of Pope Gregory XVI. by Count Gourieff, Russian Ambassador at the Vatican, when in a memorial *ad hoc* presented to the Pontiff in May, 1833, he impudently asserted that "the pretensions of the Catholic Church in regard to matrimony constitute an attack on the prerogatives of the State, and that the efforts of the Roman Court in behalf of those pretensions are mere attempts to actuate certain enactments of ancient Councils *which have now fallen into desuetude.*" Such inanities as these of the little diplomat call for no attention. Let us rather use some of our limited space for a few observations on the manner in which the Canon Law of "Orthodoxy" came to recognize the one hundred and ninety-five causes for dissolution of matrimony which are unknown to the Divine and to the original Russian Ecclesiastical Law. In every age of the Christian era, just as in the days of the Old Law and of Gentile Paganism, the conflict between the ecclesiastical and the civil power has been perennial; and such it will be until the end of time, since the average human ruler will ever refuse to act as though he recognized that between him and his subjects there is always extended the ordaining and guiding hand of God. Rulers like Charlemagne, St. Edward, St. Louis IX. and Garcia Moreno are seldom granted, even to Christian peoples. Thus the Eastern Emperors, even while the Eastern Patriarchates were still devotedly

(1) See our Vol. v., ch. 3.

bound to the Chair of Peter in ecclesiastical and filial communion, frequently pretended to a right to arrange matrimonial causes according to their momentary whims. Justinian, by his *Novella 117*, admitted six reasons for divorce in favor of a husband and five in favor of a wife, in spite of the fact that even the Eastern Church, when it mistakenly relied on a false interpretation of certain verses of St. Matthew, allowed divorce only in the case of adultery. Then, just as in later days in the case of the United Greeks, the Holy See could only protest, and exclaim: "*Ipsi viderint.*" But the condemnation was launched against this violation of the law of God, and the obstinate and puerile Orientals could enjoy such satisfaction as may be derived from continuing a practice which is reprobated by the Vicar of Christ. In time the sins of the Lower Empire merited for it the usurpation of Photius, the imperial sword-bearer; and when governmental brute force had detached the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate from the communion of the Catholic Church, the intruder compiled a new code of Canon Law which he designated as a *Nomocanon*, and in which he incorporated all the *Novellae* of Justinian. From that day the canonists of the Constantinopolitan Schism, and those of all the derivatives of that Schism, have accorded a place, aye, even the first place, to the matrimonial ordinances of a civil government. Nor should we forget that Photius augmented the matrimonial consequences of the Justinian *Novella* by the addition of three new causes for divorce; for that matter, the Canon Law of the Walachian Greek Schismatics admits three others. And we must note that the most recent Collection of Canon Law received by the Schismatic Greeks, the one compiled by Rhalli, the president of the Athenian Areopagus, under the auspices of the Holy Synod of the governmental Hellenic Church (1856), opens with the *Nomocanon* of the disreputable Photius, and eulogizes the reprobate in most extravagant terms. From these observations the reader will understand the readiness with which the Holy Synod recognized the Nicholaite one hundred and ninety-five causes for the dissolution of the matrimonial tie, when it failed to breathe a word of disapproval of them,

and allowed the "Orthodox" clergy to bless the unions which were contracted in accordance with the imperial dispensations. It is true that these privileges of Satan were ostensibly granted to the Poles alone; but we fail to comprehend how an autocrat can possess religious jurisdiction over one portion of his "thrice blessed subjects," and not over all of them. Nor can it be said that the case of the hundred and ninety-five dissolving causes was a matter of the civil law. In Russia the civil and ecclesiastical law emanate from the same source; the civil and ecclesiastical autocrat cannot be supposed to regard his civil and his ecclesiastical enactments as mutually destructive; and when the "Orthodox" priests perform a religious rite with the consent of the Holy Synod, that tribunal must be supposed to approve the act (1). However, we cannot drop this subject of Russian Cæsarian usurpation in matters of matrimony without an admission that in our day there have been many abuses by Polish Catholics in the matter of divorce; there have been adduced nullifying reasons which had been deliberately ignored by the contracting parties at the time of the marriages. But we must remember that in the premises there is one great difference between the conduct of the "Orthodox" Schismatics and that of the Catholic Church, namely, the protestation which the latter, when suffering because of human passions, never fails to emit. The Catholic Church is never derelict in this matter, even though the blood of her bishops and priests must necessarily flow in consequence of her steadfastness. In 1830, when Poland still had a semblance of a National Diet, that assembly heard the courageous protests of the Polish bishops against the frequent violations of the Ecclesiastical Canons in matrimonial causes, and it was in spite of those protests that supposedly nullifying reasons were relegated to the consideration of the civil tribunals, and that the apostolic zeal of Gutkowski, Bishop of Podlachia, and of Skorkowski, Bishop of Cracow, entailed upon them dismissal from the capital before the dissolution of the Diet.

(1) For details concerning the matter of imperial interference in matrimonial causes in the days of the Eastern Empire, the reader may profitably consult Perrone's *Christian Matrimony*, Vol. iii, p. 397, *et seqq.* Rome, 1858.

The great "reformer" of the Muscovite Church, and also its greatest robber, was the Czar, Ivan the Terrible; and according to him the foulest error of the "Western heretics" was the shaving of the beard. In an edict which this Head of the "Orthodox" Church issued in 1551, being unaware that another Russian Supreme Pontiff, the "great" Peter, would one day enact the contrary, he proclaimed that "the effusion of a martyr's blood would not atone for this crime." However, with all due respect to the memory of the terrible Ivan, the modern clergy of Holy Russia agree with their cousins of the Schismatic Constantinopolitan Patriarchate and with the derivative Churches of that separatist organization, in the declaration that the prime justification of the Photian rebellion must be found in the fact that the Roman Pontiffs had confirmed the "heretical" teaching according to which the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and* from the Son. In fact, the doctrine that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *alone* is the cardinal dogma of the "Orthodox" belief. And nevertheless, in the most important official act which the Russian Establishment has performed in modern times, namely, the declaration of the Holy Synod dated March 25, 1839, whereby certain apostates from Catholicism, a few United Greek bishops of Lithuania, were received into the communion of the Russian Establishment, no recantation of "the most damnable Latin heresy" was demanded from the "converts." The sole requisite for an admission to the yearning embrace of Holy Russia was a renunciation of obedience to the Pope of Rome. Listen to the text of the Synodal declaration: "Their solemn profession that Our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, is alone the veritable Head of the One and True Church, and their promise to persevere in unity with the holy orthodox patriarchs of the East and with this Holy Synod, leave nothing for us to demand from these members of the United Greek Church in order to effect their true and essential union in the faith; and therefore nothing prohibits their hierarchical reunion with us. Therefore the Holy Synod, by virtue of the grace and power given to it by God the Father, by Our Saviour Jesus Christ, and by the Holy Ghost, has resolved

and decreed," etc. And then the Holy Synod warns the "converted" prelates not to trouble their flocks, whom they hoped to drag with themselves into the vortex of the schism, with questions of merely "local significance," things which "involve neither dogma nor sacraments." Can it be that the Holy Synod would have asked the innocent and ignorant to believe that an exterior and public manifestation of the nature of the belief in the Procession of the Holy Ghost was a mere matter of "local significance, which involved no dogma?" Truly this act of the Holy Synod was both cowardly and (according to its faith, if it had any) sacrilegious; and when the brigandage of Chelm, which we have elsewhere described, almost destroyed the remnants of the United Greek Church in Russia, there was observed what the powers of darkness must have regarded as the same "prudent silence." How different this course from that pursued by the Holy, Roman, Catholic and Apostolic Church, which receives no convert into its pale, let the person be ever so humble or ever so exalted, until he or she has abjured not only every dogmatic error in general, but also the specific errors of the forsaken creed!

Plato, metropolitan of Moscow, probably the most illustrious churchman whom Russian "Orthodoxy" has produced during the nineteenth century, was once asked by a Western concerning the teaching of his Church on Purgatory; and the prelate replied: "We reject the doctrine of Purgatory as a modern invention, excogitated probably for the sake of money" (1). And this assertion, a delectable morsel for the average Protestant, is dinned into the ears of every "Orthodox" student, despite the notorious fact that almost the principal revenue of the Russian priests is derived from prayers for the dead, and although the Russian *Particular Catechism*, the work of Philarete, metropolitan of Moscow, inculcates the propriety and even the necessity of that practice.

Not the least strange among the inconsistencies of Russian "Orthodoxy" is the hostility which it manifested toward the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception

(1) LESCŒUR; *The Church in Poland*, Vol. II., p. 504.

of Our Lady; it is strange indeed, since the principal monuments of the Eastern Church are so redolent of testimonies in favor of the doctrine, that it may well be said that if Pius IX. had proclaimed its contrary, the Holy Synod would have denounced him as a heretic *ex alio capite*. However, the author of "Orthodoxy and Popery" avers that in the dogmatic definition of Mary's great prerogative, the Roman Church "manifested its unbridled love of change, of movement, and of innovations in the domain of a faith which is eternally unchangeable by its very nature." And, nevertheless, this author tells us that according to the Eastern Church the Blessed Virgin "was exempt from the effects of original sin"—an avowal which is so true, that any reader of the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus* will perceive that His Holiness relies chiefly on the testimony of the Eastern Fathers for the establishment of his thesis. This same "Orthodox" author knew very well that one of the chief complaints of the Russian Starovere heretics against the Holy Synod is to the effect that this would-be authoritative tribunal renounced, in 1655, the ancient belief of the Christian East in the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God. The same author must have remembered that in the seventeenth century the ecclesiastical Academy of Kiev, speaking through Lazarus Baranowitch, Bishop of Tchernigow, regarded that doctrine as indubitably true (1); and we can scarcely imagine that the Academy could have deemed otherwise when it was accustomed to hear, among other and innumerable evidences furnished by the Russian Liturgy, that passage of the Office for the Nativity of the Virgin: "We proclaim and celebrate thy birth, and we honor thy Immaculate Conception."

We shall merely touch the manner with which the "Orthodox" Church treats the secret of the confessional. The awfulness of the subject, and the notoriousness of the sins of "Orthodoxy" in this regard, excuse us from dilation on the matter. In 1854 Snagoano, a Greek archimandrite, who gloried in his communion with "the holy patriarchs of the Orient," published in Paris a work on *The Religious Ques-*

(1) GAGARIN; *The Russian Church and the Immaculate Conception*. Paris, 1876.

tion in the East, from which we cull the following passages: "The Russian Church is simply a schism, because it has separated from the great Eastern Church; because it does not recognize the Patriarch of Constantinople as its head; because it does not receive the Holy Unction from Byzantium; because it is ruled by a Synod, over which the Czar is a despot. . . . and because Confession, instituted for the betterment and the salvation of penitents, has become, through the servility of the Muscovite clergy, a mere instrument of espionage in the interest of Czarism." That this accusation is well founded has been demonstrated for the enlightenment of those who have had no extensive experience in Russia, by Tondini (1), and by the "Orthodox" author of *The Raskol* (2). The latter writer tells us that "there is an ordinance which compels each priest to reveal to the government every plot against it which may come to his knowledge in the confessional." And this ordinance is in accordance with a ukase issued by Peter "the Great" on February 17, 1722, enjoining the taking of the following oath upon every priest of the "Orthodox" Church: "I will denounce and reveal (all conspiracies) with entire truthfulness and without any disguise or palliation, having in my mind the fear of losing my honor and my life." Certainly the term "inconsistency" is too mild to serve as a qualification of such sacrilege on the part of the priests of a Church which holds, at least theoretically, the same views concerning Sacramental Confession that are taught by the Church of Rome. However, this abject cowardice and diabolical treachery is but natural in an organization in which the civil power takes no pains to disguise its tyranny over the ecclesiastical, and in which the clergy manifest no shame because of their grovelling, but rather consider it a matter of course that they should give to the autocrat the blind obedience of a soldier.

The "Orthodox" Church claims to be a divinely instituted organization, empowered to labor for the eternal salvation of men, and resolved to accomplish its task in spite of the

(1) In his commentary on *The Ecclesiastical Regulation of Peter the Great*, p. 248.

(2) *The Raskol; An Essay on the Religious Sects in Russia*, p. 236. Paris, 1859.

influence of earthly power, when that power is hostile to its objects. Did it not claim such origin, endowment, and intention, it could not present itself as the Church of God. We pass, for the present, the matter of the origin of the Russian Ecclesiastical Establishment; now we would briefly consider its course when it finds itself confronted by the civil power. "It would be easy," remarks Lescœur, "and it has been done a thousand times, to multiply proofs of the absolute degradation of the Russian sacerdotal order in its relations with the government. Were we to examine all the grades of the hierarchy, from the pretended Holy Synod which is servile when it is silent, and more servile when it speaks, down to the humblest village pope; from the Universities and the privileged convents where are trained the few distinguished governmental candidates for bishoprics, or for diplomatic posts, or for the general run of the public offices, down to the miserable convents of men or of women, in which there languish wretched beings without piety or charity, and which are inevitably homes of ignorance and vice; everywhere we would find the same conditions produced by the same cause—the subordination, or rather the absolute effacement of the religious element, absorbed by the civil power" (1). Even in purely theological matters, the "Orthodox" episcopate and priesthood have seldom or never been able, if willing in rare instances, to withstand the governmental pressure. When Peter "the Great," following the counsels of the Genevan, Lefort, to whom he owed the invention of the Holy Synod, tried to demi-Protestantize his Church, he found his clergy, his seminarians, and even his bishops, so subservient, that when the Lutheran, Frederick Lütjens, dedicated his curious book (2) to the Grand Duke Peter Feodorowitch (afterward Peter III.) he felt justified in congratulating the Prince and his bride (the future Catharine II.) on the fact that "the glorious Peter had so restored and modified the modern religion of the Russians in accordance with the Scriptures and with the rules of the primitive Church, that he had made it as similar as possible

(1) *Loc. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 468.

(2) *Historico-Ecclesiastical Essay on the Present Religious Condition of the Ruthenians*, 1745.

to that of the Evangelico-Lutherans" (1). And the Lutheran was able to support his assertion by quoting the text of the Catechism which had been compiled by the "Orthodox" bishop, Theopanes Procopowitch, the prelate whom Peter "the Great" had employed to formulate his *Ecclesiastical Regulation*. In this Catechism, declared Lütjens, "we find the purest Evangelical doctrine on the forgiveness of sin, on justification, and on the eternal salvation which is attained by faith in Jesus Christ alone" (2). And when, in 1807, the court of St. Petersburg had tired of its playing with Protestantism, and felt the necessity of resuming its comparatively closer connection with the primitive Church, did it turn to its bishops for the accomplishment of the restoration? By no means. The imperial "supreme judge of the Holy Synod" appointed a mixed commission of ecclesiastics and laymen, according to it absolute control over the curriculum of each seminary; and in this commission there were numbered merely a few bishops, and they were all favorites of the court. But the Holy Synod perceived no insult to itself, no usurpation of the things of the sanctuary, in this imperial pretension; it was as ready then to abrogate every ecclesiastical prerogative as it was in 1830, when, in order to aid in the final destruction of agonizing Catholic Poland, it took from the seminaries 20,000 seminarians, declared them forever debarred from the priesthood, incorporated them into the army, and sent them to evangelize the Poles in the fashion which we have seen recommended and adopted by Siemaszko (3). There is one instance of abjection, however, on the part of the "Orthodox" clergy, which perhaps speaks more eloquently than those which we have indicated. In every Russian liturgical service at which the litanies are recited, not only the name of the

(1) For more information on this subject, see the already cited work of Tondini, as well as Gagarin's *Studies in Theology and History*, Vol. I., p. 56, and De Maistre's *Four Unedited Chapters on Russia*, ch. 3. Paris, 1859.

(2) See Gagarin's *Russian Clergy*, p. 135.

(3) The reader need not be surprised at this treatment of the seminarians by the Holy Synod; for during many centuries the Russian Church has not known the meaning of the phrase "ecclesiastical vocation." In Russia the priesthood has been until very recently as much a hereditary caste as it is in Hindustan; but with this difference, observes Lescœur, that in the latter country the priesthood is honored, whereas in the former, to be called a son of a pope is to receive a mortal affront. See Gagarin's *Russian Clergy*, p. 20.

Czar, but that of the last little baby of the imperial family, is mentioned before the existence of the Holy Synod is recognized. But hearken to a few of the abject phrases used by the Holy Synod; we cull them at random from some acts of the tribunal: "Conformably to the most exalted will of His Majesty, the Holy Synod has undertaken to better the condition of the provincial clergy—By order from above, many monasteries have been deprived of their rights of fishing—The bishop of Kursk is allowed to print his sermons—His Majesty has found it wise to dissolve the Commission for Ecclesiastical Schools, and to confide their direction to the Holy Synod, charging the supreme procurator (always a layman, and generally a soldier) with the execution of its orders—By a decision of the Imperial Council, confirmed by His Majesty, the marriage of ———, a Pagan, with ———, a Mussulman, is pronounced valid, provided that the latter receives Baptism—We humbly beg Your Majesty to assure the salvation of the United Greeks by allowing them to join the Orthodox Church of All the Russias." It is not surprising that Voltaire, after feasting on such fulsomeness as exhales from these and similar phrases, should write to his "saint," the Messalina of St. Petersburg: "As for me, Madame, I am faithful to the Greek Church (Voltaire was very weak in historical knowledge), and so much the more since in a certain sense your beautiful hands swing its thurible, and since you may be regarded as the Patriarch of All the Russias" (1). Nor can we wonder that among the many millions of Russian dissidents who to-day despise the authority of the official Church, who await an opportunity to combat it *à l'outrance*, and who hate the Catholic Church with a venom almost equal to that expressed by the Holy Synod, by far the greater number find the sole justification of their revolt in the really unchristian dependence of "Orthodoxy" on an earthly power. "For a long time," remarks Gagarin, "the bosom of the Russian Church has been lacerated by dissident sects, but the development of these to-day is immense; between fifteen and eighteen millions are enrolled under their standard" (2). The

(1) Letter of July 6, 1771.

(2) *Studies in History and Theology*, Vol. iii., p. 483.

"Orthodox" author of *The Raskol* says that the obstinate Raskolniks "confound the temporal sovereign with the head of the Church (and why not?), and therefore they are in a state of perpetual, although latent, war with the laws of the land. They excommunicate the Czar; they style him Antichrist."

Now for a few reflections concerning the Holy Synod, the presumed authoritative voice of Russian "Orthodoxy;" we shall see that the very existence of this tribunal is both an inconsistency and a heterodoxy. We have noted that the author of *Orthodoxy and Popery* reprobates the Roman See for an alleged "insatiable yearning for religious innovations;" and it is notorious that the "Orthodox" have always prided themselves on the immobility of their Church, even when they were obliged to ignore the fact that with them immutability and lethargy are generally synonymous. But can the "Orthodox" show us, we will not say any Scriptural foundation, but rather any Eastern tradition—any Eastern conciliar or patristic warrant for the existence of this Holy Synod? Is it not a matter of cold history that this body is much less than two centuries old? And can any student deny that from its very creation it has been the docile instrument of innovations at once anti-canonical and scandalous? Has the Roman Pontiff, whose alleged "omnipotence" is denounced as strenuously by the "Orthodox" as by the Anglicans and other Protestant sectarians, ever attempted to change the essential form of ecclesiastical government; has he ever dared to suppress anything in this line that the Apostles prescribed; has he ever presumed to substitute a cardinalitial, episcopal, presbyteral, or civil governmental régime for that monarchical primacy of Peter alone which all his predecessors declared to be of divine institution? But this most fundamental of all innovations the Russian Czarate effected, without any efficacious or even serious protest on the part of the "Orthodox" hierarchy, when it instituted the Holy Synod. In the *Particular Catechism* of the Russian Church, the sublimity of impudence is reached when, on page 68, to the question as to "what ecclesiastical authority rules the principal divisions

of the Universal Church," the following answer is given: "The orthodox patriarchs of the East and the Synod of Russia, the order of hierarchical precedence being, 1st, Constantinople; 2d, Alexandria; 3rd, Antioch; 4th, Jerusalem; 5th, the Patriarchate or Synod of Russia." And then to the question as to the rank of the Holy Synod, the reply is: "The Synod has the rank of a patriarch, since it takes the place of the Patriarchate of Russia which was abolished with the consent of the other patriarchs." The more than implication that there is no such thing as the Patriarchate of Rome; that the Church of God is peculiarly an Oriental Church; was probably very acceptable to the simple "Orthodox" who received as Gospel truth the lessons in history which Nicholas I. gave to his subjects when he decreed that in all the educational institutions of his empire the qualification of "tyrant" should never be given to Nero, Caligula, or Ivan the Terrible; that no teacher should dare inform his pupils that the House of Romanoff became extinct in 1761 in the person of the Empress Elizabeth, and that it was the foreign family of Holstein-Gottorp which then (as now) held the czarate; that every pedagogue should insist that the reigning autocrat descended in direct line from Rurick of Moscow; and that the reason for the preference of the ancient Romans for a republic is to be found in the fact that *they had not the good fortune of being acquainted with the blessings which are entailed by the rule of an autocrat*" (1). As for the implied falsehood that the consent of the Oriental patriarchs to the establishment of the Holy Synod was both seriously asked and freely accorded, we reply that granted this seriousness and this freedom, the prelates in question had no power to change the patriarchal constitution of their churches; and, furthermore, that there is good reason to believe that at least the patriarchate of Constantinople afterward withdrew its consent. This we are led to believe from the words of the well-informed Greek archimandrite, Snagoano, who added to the already cited anathema against "Orthodoxy" the following indictment: "Since the impieties of this Synod are so signal,

(1) *The Truth Concerning Russia*, by Prince Dolgoroukove, p. 317. Paris, 1860.

who will dare to assert that the Russian Church is not schismatical? It is rejected by the Councils; the Canons forbid its recognition; the Church spurns it, and all who hold the faith of the Church, and whom the Church acknowledges as her children, must respect her decisions and regard the Russian Rite as schismatical." However, even if we hold that the Oriental patriarchs could and did abolish the Russian patriarchate, we cannot forget that the constitution of the Holy Synod destroyed the episcopal authority, a thing of divine institution, as to its very essence; that it left the Russian bishops that episcopal character which is God-given, and which no Synod could efface, but that it left them no more authority than that exercised by the unconsecrated Methodists, Episcopalians, Moravians and such like, who merely parade an empty episcopal title. But what would the Greek Fathers have thought of this assembly, composed of nominees of an emperor, men who were movable at his caprice? (1). Listen, for instance, to that St. John Damascene whom the "Orthodox" are so fond of quoting in fancied support of their theory concerning the Procession: "The emperors have no right to give laws to the Church. Harken to the words of the Apostle: The Lord has established Apostles, prophets, pastors and teachers. He says nothing about emperors" (2). And what would St. Athanasius say? "If the bishops so decree, why do you speak of the emperor? When did an episcopal decree derive any authority from an emperor; when was such a decree regarded as an imperial decree? Long before our day many Synods have been assembled and many decrees have been published by the Church; but the Fathers never consulted the emperors, the emperors never examined into ecclesiastical matters. St. Paul had friends among the familiars of Cæsar; but he never admitted them into his councils" (3). Bishops of the calibre of Sts. John Damascene and Athanasius would scarcely have submitted the results

(1) Only three bishops sit in the Synod *ex officio*—those of Moskow, Kiew and St. Petersburg, and of course these can be removed from their sees at the imperial pleasure. Vol. xxv., Sig. 5.

(2) *On Images*, Art. II., no. 12, cited by Pope Gregory XVI. in his *Brief to Mgr. Lewicki* Archbishop of Leopoldis, Ruthenian Rite, July 17, 1841.

(3) *History of the Arians*, no. 52.

of their deliberations to the judgment of a colonel of hussars, himself the creature of a temporal ruler. But this temporal ruler must fain talk in pontifical fashion when he institutes his new secretariate. In 1720, announcing to his subjects the great blessings about to accrue to them, Peter "the Great" thus perorated: "Amid the innumerable cares which are entailed upon us by the supreme power which has been given to us by God, we have cast our regards on ecclesiastical affairs in order to reform our people and the kingdoms subject to our empire; and we have discovered grave disorders, as well as many faults of administration. This fact filled our conscience with legitimate fear lest we might prove ungrateful to the Most High, if, after having effected, through His aid, such happy reforms in the military and civil orders, we neglected (mark the logical sequence of ideas) to exert ourselves to the utmost in order to restore sacred affairs to their highest perfection and their greatest glory. Therefore, following the example of those monarchs of both the Old and the New Testament whose piety was so illustrious (1), we have determined to improve the present condition of sacred things." And observe the eloquent significance of the oath which each member of the Holy Synod takes on his installation: "*I avow and affirm under oath that the supreme judge of this Synod is our monarch the Most Clement* (listen, spirits of Polish martyrs!) *Emperor of All the Russias*" (3). It is a remarkable fact, observes Tondini, that this avowal of dependence on the Czar—a dependence so utterly incompatible with the Gospel and so repugnant to the honest student of ecclesiastical history—is not demanded from the members of

(1) What one of these pious monarchs had three "wives" at the same time? Peter had discarded Endoxia Lapoukine as well as her successor, and was at this time, while both of these women were still living, "married" to Catherine (afterward Empress as Catharine I.), the wife of a Swedish soldier who had been made prisoner of war. Catherine had been the mistress of two Russian nobles before Peter "married" her.

(2) The journals of Russia seem to consider the enslavement of both the Holy Synod and its subjects as a matter of course. On February 2, 1860, just after the death of Colonel Protasoff, the late procurator of the Synod, the *Nord* of St. Petersburg said: "He was in reality, if not in name, the head of the Orthodox Church in Russia. With his firm and energetic will he knew how to conquer the retrograde tendencies of the older clergy. By means of the Synod of which he was the veritable head, he distributed mitres among the young and civilized ecclesiastics." In our dissertation on *The Struggle of Russian "Orthodoxy" with Polish Catholicity* (Vol. v.), we have shown how Dimitri Tolstoy, although a mere civilian, was a fit successor of this Colonel in the matter of *civilizing* the Russian clergy.

other Russian tribunals. "The framer of the oath knew what he wanted," says Tondini; "he wanted docile prelates, and he gained his point, thus proving, as he himself boasted, that he was greater than Louis XIV."

Before we treat of the prime inconsistency of Russian "Orthodoxy," its rejection of the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, it may be well to notice another inconsistency which it manifests in regard to the instigator of the Greek Schism. Prince Augustine Galitzin, in his valuable work on the "Orthodox" Church (1), remarks that "the origin of the Schism was so disgraceful that it dares not venerate its founder, whereas, among its thousand other contradictions, it joins the Universal Church on October 23 in celebrating the Feast of St. Ignatius (patriarch of Constantinople), the first victim of Photius" (2). It is true that individual writers of the Russian Church and of the Schismatic Constantinopolitan Patriarchate have been sufficiently audacious to describe Photius as of "happy memory;" and some have ventured to quote his letters to Pope Nicholas I. as models of piety, brazenly ignoring his deposition of his legitimate patriarch and his violent occupation of the patriarchal throne after a reception of Orders *per saltum*—of all, from tonsure to the episcopacy, in the space of six days. Sincerity could not have been characteristic of a prelate who, when prepared to forswear his allegiance to the Holy See, nevertheless wrote to the Pontiff in the following strain so long as he conceived it possible that Rome might countenance sacrilege and ecclesiastical intrusion: "My predecessor having *resigned* his dignity, the assembled metropolitans, the clergy, and, above all, the emperor, who is so kind to others, but so cruel to me, impelled by I know not what idea, turned to me, and paying no attention to my prayers, insisted that I should assume the episcopate; in fact, in spite of the tears of my despair, they seized me and executed their will upon me."

As is well observed by Lescœur, if the "Orthodox" theo-

(1) *The Greco-Russian Church*. Paris, 1851. This Galitzin should not be confounded with another Galitzin, also a convert, and the author of *Is Russia Schismatie?* Paris, 1859. The name of the latter was Nicholas Borrisowitch.

(2) For a concise but detailed account of the beginning of the Greek Schism, and therefore of the sufferings of Ignatius, see our Vol. II.

logians have frequently fluctuated between the Church and Protestantism, according to the spirit of the times, and especially according as the imperial will has inclined for the nonce, there is one doctrine concerning which they are frankly Protestant. "When one hears the theologians of the Holy Synod declaiming against Popery, he might believe himself in London or in Geneva; but when he beholds the measures, sometimes petty and often barbarous, with which all recourse to Rome is either prevented or punished, he recognizes that he is in Russia. The Poles know full well that it is more dangerous to be a Papist frankly in Warsaw than it is to be a Raskolnik in Moscow." And nevertheless—and here we approach the chief, the most radical inconsistency, and the *raison d'être* of every heresy which afflicts "Orthodoxy"—a Russian cannot consult the Liturgy of his own Church, or celebrate the feasts which that Liturgy prescribes, or peruse the most authoritative books of devotion recommended by his spiritual advisers, without being confronted in bold relief, as it were, by St. Peter proclaiming his prerogatives, and by the entire body of doctrine which the Roman See teaches to the world. The cultivated Russian cannot escape the knowledge that the Church of Constantinople, from which, as he believes, his ancestors received Christianity, was at that time subject to the See of Rome, or was, as moderns are fond of saying, *Roman Catholic*. He knows that originally his "Orthodox" Church was far more Roman than Greek; that his Church was not Schismatic Greek in its origin, and that it is not Greek in its language, its polity, or its government. History tells him that his ancestors were converted by the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church; for whether, as we learn from Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the first missionaries to Russia were sent by the Catholic patriarch of Constantinople, Ignatius, in 867, or, as Nestor asserts, by the Schismatic intruder, Photius, in 866, it is certain that no real impression was made upon the Russian masses before the close of the tenth century (1), when the Grand Duke Vladi-

(1) About the year 945 Olga or Elga, widow of a grand duke of Russia, journeyed to Constantinople, and was there baptized. Returning to Russia, she tried in vain to convert her countrymen. But her grandson, Vladimir, having married Anna, a sister of the Greek Emperor, Basil II., was baptized in 968, and in a few years nearly all the Russians received

mar, called "the Apostolic," embraced Christianity—an epoch at which the Greeks were in communion with Rome, for the properly so-called Photian Schism had ended with the second and final deposition of the intruder in 889, and the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate remained subject thenceforward to the Holy See until the definitive actuation of the Greek Schism by Cerularius in 1054. Our cultivated Russian knows also that the definitive defection of the Greeks did not much affect the relations of his countrymen with the Papacy until the twelfth century; that only then they were seduced entirely from the Roman obedience; that a reaction having taken place, by the time that the Council of Florence was held (1439) there were as many Catholics as Schismatics in Russia (1); and that it was a second Photius, Archbishop of Kiev, who extended the Schism throughout the land about the middle of the fifteenth century (2). Nor will our well-informed Russian fail to realize that his Church is not Greek in its liturgical language; that this language is the Slavonic, and not the vernacular, but the Old Slavonic, with which the people are not familiar (3). Again, this unbiased Russian will learn from the monuments of his own "Orthodox" Church that the Papal supremacy over the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate, or, as

(1) See the Bollandists, at month of September, No. 41.

(2) Some authors hold that the Schism of Cerularius did not affect the entire Greek Empire in the eleventh century. It is certain that Pope Alexander II. had an agent, an *apocrisarius* (not a legate) at the court of the Emperor Michael Ducas, in the person of Peter, Bishop of Anagni; and it is equally certain that this representative of the Papacy remained as such in Constantinople for a year. Pope Pascal II. sent Chrysolanus as legate to Alexis Comnenus. It is to be noted that Euthymius Zagabenus, who obeyed the order of Alexis Comnenus to collect all patristic testimonies against each and every heresy, never speaks of the Latins as heretics. Even in the twelfth century there were many Greeks in the communion of Rome, as we learn from many narratives of the Crusades, from the *Life of Anna Comnena*, from the *Life of Manuel*, by Niceetas Choniates, and from the letters of the Venerable Peter of Cluny to the Emperor, John Comnenus, and to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

(3) Protestants should note this fact as evidence of their mistake when they adduce the example of the Russian Church as an encouragement for their own use of the vernacular in their Liturgy—when they have one. Not one of the ancient Churches, neither the Greek nor the Syrian, nor the Coptic, nor the Chaldean, nor the Armenian, nor the Nestorian, nor the Jacobite, has the vernacular of the people for the medium of its Liturgy. The reason is evident: they all have preserved the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and they realize the necessity of having an unchangeable medium for the expression of their sentiments and doctrines—a medium which is furnished by the now unspoken languages in which their ancestors learned the truths of Christianity. For information on this point consult Assemani's *Oriental Library*, Vol. IV., ch. 7, 22. Rome, 1719.

it was at that time not improperly termed, the Greek Church, dates from the first day of that patriarchate's existence. He must feel that if obedience to the See of Peter had not been part of the faith of all the Oriental Patriarchates when Photius started the Greek Schism on its first stage, that desperate intruder would not have troubled himself so exceedingly to obtain the Pontifical confirmation of his sacrilegious and all but murderous seizure of the Constantinopolitan crozier. Quite naturally he must reason in the same manner when he thinks of Cerularius, who separated definitively the greater number of the Eastern Christians from the communion of Rome. He must ask himself how it is, in the supposition that his own "Orthodox" Church was not Roman in its origin, that his Church celebrates so many feasts, which Rome prescribes, but which the Schismatic Greeks reject? And finally he must wonder how it happens that if the Russian Church did not in its early days proclaim the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, nevertheless the ancient "Orthodox" Liturgy avows that supremacy in terms which admit of no exception on the part of a Catholic theologian. For instance, St. Peter is termed "the sovereign pastor of all the Apostles—*pastyr vladychnyi vsich Apostolov.*" Pope St. Sylvester is called "the divine head of the holy bishops" (1). We read of Pope St. Celestine I. that "firm in his speech and in his works, and following in the traces of the Apostles, he showed himself worthy of occupying the Holy Chair by the decree with which he deposed the impious Nestorius (patriarch of Constantinople)." It is said of Pope St. Agapetus that "he deposed the heretical Anthimus (another patriarch of Constantinople), anathematized him, and consecrating Mennas, whose doctrine was irreproachable, placed him in the See of Constantinople." Similarly we hear of Pope St. Martin I. that he "adorned the divine throne of Peter, and holding the Church upright on this rock which cannot be shaken, he honored his name;" and this praise is given to St. Martin

(1) Gagarin cites the quotations which we give, and many similar ones, in the Old Slavonic text in his *Studies in Theology*, Vol. II., and Tondini comments on them most judiciously in his *Primacy of St. Peter Proved by Titles Given to Him in the Liturgy of the Russian Church*. Paris, 1867.

because "he segregated Cyrus (patriarch of Alexandria), Sergius (another patriarch of Constantinople), Pyrrhus, and all their adherents, from the Church." Pope St. Leo I. is styled "the successor of St. Peter on the highest throne, the heir of the impregnable rock." Pope St. Leo III. is thus addressed: "Chief pastor of the Church, fill the place of Jesus Christ." What must be the feelings of any sacerdotally sensitive member of the enslaved "Orthodox" clergy, when he hears his Liturgy teaching how a Pope ought to speak to a wicked or heretical sovereign! We hear Pope Gregory II. warning Leo the Isaurian, the imperial champion of the Iconoclasts: "Endowed as we are with the power and sovereignty of St. Peter, we have determined to prohibit you," etc. Nor does this same Liturgy of the Russian Church hesitate to admit that a Roman Pontiff can excommunicate emperors as well as patriarchs; and not only emperors who belong to the Roman Patriarchate, but also those of the Eastern. In a fragment of a *Life* of St. John Chrysostom this Liturgy tells its admirers that "Pope Innocent wrote more than once to Arcadius, separating him and his wife, Eudoxia, from the communion of the Church, and pronouncing anathema on all who had helped in driving St. John Chrysostom from his See. He not only deprived Theophilus (patriarch of Alexandria), but he segregated him from the Church. Then Arcadius wrote to Pope Innocent, begging pardon most humbly, and assuring the Pope of his repentance. The emperor wrote also to his brother Honorius, asking him to implore the Pontiff to lift the excommunication, and he obtained the favor." It certainly appears strange that during so many centuries the leaders of the "Orthodox" Russian Church have not found some means of disembarassing themselves of these and many similar testimonies of their own Liturgy to the supremacy of the Chair of Peter; but at least they have endeavored to neutralize the force of these arguments by a free use of that favorite weapon of all heretics—calumny. Prince Nicholas Galitzin, writing while he was still an "Orthodox" professor, averred that "in Russian seminaries it is taught that in the eyes of Catholics the Pope is an irresponsible autocrat, claiming

to be *impeccable*" (1). And that medical theologian, Karatheodori, whose work, by the way, was translated into French by a Russian priest formally commissioned to the task by the Russian government, dared to emit the following: "Popery asks us to recognize in this mortal (the Pope) all the rights and all the authority of the Universal Church . . . and what is more, it asks us to believe that by ordinance of God this mortal is superior to all the Divine Commandments themselves, and that he enjoys the right to change them, adding to them or subtracting from them according to his own will." Having read this barefaced illustration of "Orthodox" mendacity, we are prepared for the Greek physician's assertion that men of the stamp of "the Jesuit Prince" (Gagarin, whose writings Karatheodori affected to refute) are "ever ready to reject the clearest truths," and that they prosecute their ends by means of lies and the falsification of documents, following the example of the "Council of Florence, in which Cardinal Julian (Cesarini) adduced forged *Acts* of the Seventh General Council." Here the Sultan's physician simply imitated the time-serving Mark of Ephesus in his too successful efforts to undo the good work of the Florentine synodals, carefully refraining, however, from any mention of the refutation of the Ephesine prelate's charges which Bessarion, the most eminent Greek Schismatic of any day, and who was converted by his experience at this same Council of Florence, adduced in his apposite letter to Alexis Lascaris. The reader will scarcely be displeased, if we here repeat the words of Bessarion, which we quoted when treating of the Council of Florence; for those words illustrate the position assumed by Karatheodori and others of that ilk. Mark of Ephesus had accused the Latins of having adduced falsified testimonies of the Fathers as corroboratory of the Catholic doctrine on the Procession of the Holy Ghost; and to this calumny Bessarion, who was still the Schismatic Archbishop of Nicea, thus replied: "Finally they (the Latins) showed us testimonies of the Fathers which evinced most clearly the truth of their teaching; and they adduced pas-

(1) *Is Russia Schismatical?* p. 38.

sages not only of Western Fathers, against which we could only contend that they had been corrupted by the Latins, but also sayings of our Epiphanius which declared plainly that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, and to this evidence we also retorted that it had been corrupted. Then they introduced Cyprian and others, and we gave the same answer; finally we repeated this reply when they adduced the authority of Western saints. And when we (the Schismatics) had debated among ourselves for many days as to what we ought to say, we could devise no other reply, even though it seemed too trivial for our purpose. And firstly, the doctrine (of the Roman Church) appeared to be concordant with the mind of the saints; secondly, so many and so ancient were the volumes containing it, that they could not have been falsified easily, and we could show neither Latin nor Greek copies which gave the quoted passages differently from the version of the Latins; and thirdly, we were unable to cite any doctors who contradicted the Roman doctrine. Therefore it was that being unable to find an apposite reply, we remained silent for many days, holding no sessions with the Latins" (1).

So much for the "Orthodox" allegation of dishonesty on the part of that Œcumenical Council which put a temporary end to the Greek Schism. Such charges form the stock in trade for such of the "Orthodox" clergy as enjoy some smattering of theological education; but unfortunately for the prospects of conversion of the majority of the teachers of "Orthodoxy," few of them are at all versed in the essential elements of ecclesiastical lore. Were the "Orthodox" clergy well indoctrinated even with profane science, of course not

(1) But Bessarion was not satisfied with repelling the Schismatical charge that the Roman theologians were falsifiers; he retorted the charge against the Greeks. Speaking of a passage from St. Basil in which that Father says that "the Holy Ghost is from the Son, having His being from Him, receiving from Him, and depending entirely from that Cause," the Archbishop of Nicea declared that out of six codices of St. Basil's works brought by his fellow-schismatics to Florence, five gave the passage in question in its entirety, while the sixth codex "was defective in some parts, and presented many additions which had been made according to the whims of the transcriber." When he returned to Constantinople the Archbishop searched the libraries, and he discovered indeed some codices in which the questioned passage was absent; but those codices were perfectly new, having evidently been written after the termination of the Council of Florence. At the same time the prelate found in the libraries many ancient manuscripts of St. Basil's works in which the passage occurred.

with the German materialism which alone has affected some of them, they would come to realize the truth of those words which Lamoricière addressed to the Pontifical army on the eve of the unsuccessful but glorious campaign of Castelfidardo: "Christianity is not only the religion of the civilized world. It is the moving principle and the very life of civilization, and the Papacy is the key-stone in the arch of Christianity. To-day all Christian nations seem to have some consciousness of these truths." Gagarin would discern Russia among the nations whose perspicacity appealed to Lamoricière. "Russia does not yet believe," reflected the zealous ex-Orthodox polemic, "that the Papacy is the key-stone of Christianity; she does not comprehend the phrase, but already she seems to have a sort of consciousness of its truth, and in her pale there is an increasing number of souls who are penetrated by that truth, and who place their chief hopes in it."

DEO OMNIPOTENTI,
 BEATÆ Mariæ IMMACULATÆ,
 BEATO JOSEPHO, ECCLESIAE PATRONO,
 AC SANCTIS APOSTOLIS PETRO ET PAULO,
 ROMANÆ SEDIS FUNDATORIBUS,
 HOC QUALECUMQUE OPUS
 AUCTOR HUMILLIMUS
 DICAVIT.

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